Jersey's Population – A History

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Preface

Although a Jersey 'exile' in London I have long maintained an interest in Jersey history and politics, starting in 1971 with a thesis on the Jersey economy and the European Community. That, and my work in the area of public policy in the UK, led to an invitation in 1996 to chair a States Working Party on immigration. So began an interest in population trends, since when I have closely followed, and contributed to, the never-ending debate on population policy in the Island, a debate I found to be lacking an historical perspective. This is perhaps not surprising as very little has been written about the economic and social history of Jersey – as opposed to the well-researched political history. I decided to attempt to improve the situation by pulling together the available factual and analytical information on population trends. This proved to be more interesting but also more time-consuming than I had expected, as even Census data were not always easy to find.

The result was *Jersey's Population – A History*, which I self-published in 2010. I followed this up with a second edition in 2012, taking on board the results of the 2011 Census. This third (and I hope final) edition contains some additional analysis.

I am delighted that the Société Jersiaise has agreed to publish the book, as I believe it makes a modest contribution to an understanding of the island's rich and varied history. It has liberally drawn upon some previous work published by the Société, notably Jason St John Nicolle's 'New evidence for the population of Jersey in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' which was published in the 1991 *Bulletin*. This work is so relevant that it is included as an annex in the present book.

I hope that this study will serve two principal purposes. Firstly, that it will be used by those who participate in the public policy debate on immigration and population. Surely it is relevant that Jersey has for centuries had substantial immigration and emigration, and that it has always been outward-looking. It is perhaps also relevant that concerns about population growth were first heard in 1635, and that a major States report on immigration, also included as an annex to this book, was published in 1906. There are very few public policy debates that are not better informed by understanding the past; this is particularly true of the population issue. Secondly, I hope that the book will stimulate further research. Why, for example, did over four hundred young Jersey people, including a relative of mine, emigrate to New Zealand in the 1870s? And were there really 20% more women than men in Jersey for most the nineteenth century? And perhaps someone may even be prompted to write a proper economic history of Jersey, to match Rose-Marie Crossan's excellent book on Guernsey between 1814 and 1914.

Mark Boleat
February 2015

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INTRODUCTION

The Island of Jersey, 118 square kilometres, currently has a population of about 100,000, and since 1950 has experienced a rapid rate of population growth. The size of Jersey's population and immigration have been on the political agenda in the Island for well over 100 years. This is not surprising, as there have been high rates of migration into and out of the Island.

Jersey's population growth has been variable – very rapid growth in the first half of the 19th century, decline then recovery from 1850 to 1950, and rapid growth subsequently.Immigration has played a significant part in population growth, but large-scale emigration, particularly of young men, has also been an almost permanent feature.

The first edition of this paper, published in May 2010, sought to bring together the available statistical and other analytical information on population trends in Jersey, within a sound theoretical framework. This had not been an easy task as even census data are not perfect, and there are changes in definitions between different census reports. Also, the census reports for Jersey prior to 1951 range from being difficult to access to impossible to find. However, the data are sufficient to provide the basis for analysis and debate. The second edition updated the analysis to take account of the results of the 2011 census and other data that had become available. This final edition includes an additional chapter on occupational trends and a limited amount of new data.

The approach is broadly chronological, but also seeks to cover specific topics, such as French agricultural workers, so there is some overlap between chapters.

Population growth and economic prosperity are inextricably linked, so this paper is also a brief economic history of Jersey, but only to the extent necessary to explain population trends.

Much of this paper is not original, but rather draws on a variety of published and unpublished work done by others. This is fully attributed. The author is grateful to those who have done pioneering work in this area, and also to Colin Powell, Dr Duncan Gibaut, Margi Clarke, Marie-Louise Backhurst and Dr Rose-Marie Crossan who commented on the first edition.

Mark Boleat
August 2014

SUMMARY

Theoretical issues

Population trends need to be analysed within a sound theoretical framework in which economic factors play a significant part. Economic growth and a rising population go hand in hand. Immigration depends on relative income levels and job opportunities, physical and cultural barriers to migration and the existing stock of immigrants. Migrants tend to be productive workers and make less call on public resources than the native-born population. Immigration is a politically sensitive issue in many communities.

Population statistics

Measuring the population of an area, even an island, is not an easy task, particularly as people become more mobile. All population statistics need to be treated with caution.

Jersey's population has been estimated at about 2,000 in the Neolithic Age (roughly 4000–3000 BC), 500 in the Middle Bronze Age (2000–1500 BC), 6,000 in 1050, 10,000 in 1331, between 4,000 and 5,000 in the early 15th century following the Black death, and between 10,000 and 20,000 in the 16th and 17th centuries.

More reliable census data give figures of 20,025 in 1788, 22,855 in 1806, 28,600 in 1821, 57,020 in 1851, 57,310 in 1951, 87,186 in 2001 and 97,857 in 2011. In the 45 years between 1806 and 1851 the population increased by no less than 150%, an annual rate of over 2%. After 1851 the population fell significantly before recovering such thatin 1951 it was virtually the same as 100 years earlier. There has been a second period of rapid population growth afterthe end of the Second World War.

Variations in the rate of growth or decline of the population have resulted largely from net migration rather than the relationship between births and deaths.

Jersey's population has grown substantially less than England's since 1821. Over the whole of the 20th century Jersey's population growth was broadly comparable with that of England, although in Jersey growth was concentrated in the second half of the century. Guernsey's population growth has been more stable than Jersey's.

Territories that are often compared with Jersey – Bermuda, Guernsey, Malta and Gibraltar – have higher densities of population. The Far East centres of Singapore and Hong Kong have population densities seven times that of Jersey.

French refugees

From the 16th century to the early 19th century Jersey became the home for large numbers of French religious refugees, possibly as many as 4,000 at any one time. The refugees contributed significantly to economic development.

Economic boom in the first half of the19th century

The huge increase in the population in the first half of the 19th century reflected a favourable economic climate including significant tax advantages. At various times cod fishing in Canadian waters, shipping, shipbuilding, construction, knitting, oysters, cider, cattle, wealthy immigrants and privateering flourished. The immigrant labour needed to sustain the boom came largely from the British Isles, including construction workers from Scotland and Ireland.

Agricultural workers from France

Between 1851 and 1891 the population of Jersey fell by 2,500 while the number of people recorded in the census as born in France increased by more than 3,000. The French migrants were predominantly agricultural workers in the rapidly growing agricultural sector; they were not replacing British migrants, who had largely been working in construction and shipping related activities. The migration was strongly influenced by poor conditions in nearby Brittany and Normandy, which made Jersey attractive as a place in which to work.

Decline and recovery, 1850 to 1950

The population of Jersey in 1851 was 57,020. By 1901 it had fallen 7.8% to 52,576; it fell further to reach a low point of 49,701 in 1921, 12.8% below the 1851 peak. On a comparable basis, the fall was nearer 18%. This decline reflected a less buoyant economy, caused by a combination of factors including a fall in world trade and the erosion of Jersey's competitive advantage in industries such as cider and shipbuilding. The population increased gradually in the inter-war years before falling sharply during the Occupation.

Rapid growth, 1950 to 1990

Between 1951 and 1991 the population increased by 52%, largely as a result of the growth of tourism and then the finance industry. The source of immigrant labour moved from France to Portugal, more specifically Madeira.

Recent years

The population increased modestly in the 1990s and then more rapidly between the 2001 and 2011 censuses – by 10.2% on a comparable basis. This increase was much greater than annual estimates had suggested. It is estimated that the population increased from 98,100 at the end of 2011 to 99,000 at the end of 2012.

Housing

Between 1821 and 2011 the population of Jersey increased by 242% while the number of houses increased by 828%. The population/houses ratio declined from a peak of 7.17 in 1831 to 2.56 in 2011. This reflects both declining household sizes and increasing affluence, in particular a reduction in different generations sharing a house.

Occupations

In 1821 2,310 families (37.9% of the total) were employed in agriculture. After the economic boom, in 1851 4,876 workers were employed in agriculture (19% of total male workers). In 1921 the number was higher at 5,979 (27.7% of the total). By 2011 the number had fallen to 1,866 (3.7% of the total).

Personal service is a second sector to have declined massively over time. In 1861 3,650 women were in domestic service. The 2011 the number was so small that it was not even registered. Some crafts employed large numbers of people in the 19th century. In 1851 there were 1,149 carpenters and joiners, and 991 shoemakers and bootmakers. 2,195 women were milliners. Again these trades have disappeared.

The major sectors in the 2011 census – financial and legal activities and education, health and other services, with nearly 50% of the labour force – were not even separately identified in 1931.

The parishes

Population growth has been concentrated in the south of the Island. The fastest growing parishes over the last 200 years have been St Clement, St Saviour, St Helier and St Brelade. However, population growth in St Helier was concentrated in the 19th century, the population increasing by just 2% in the 20th century. St Clement was by far the fastest growing parish in the 20th century. There has been a slow rate of growth in some of the country parishes, particularly Trinity where over the whole period 1778 to 2011 the population increased by just 53%.

Jersey émigrés

Beginning in the late 18th century the cod fishing industry led to the establishment of a large Jersey community in the Gulf of St Lawrence. By the mid-19th century it was substantial both in relation to Jersey and to the Canadian fishing industry.

There was significant emigration to Australia, New Zealand and the USA as well as England in the late 19th century. By the end of the 19th century more than 10,000 Jersey-born people were living in England.

More than 20,000 people born in Jersey are currently living outside the Island. There has been an increasing trend for Jersey émigrés to return to the Island, particularly on retirement, the number now probably running at about 150 a year.

Population policy

Many territories wish to limit the growth of their population. In practice, controlling population is difficult as increasing mobility means that it is not easy to define local people who are given preferential treatment in respect of housing, benefits or jobs. Also, most of the determinants of population change, in particular births, deaths, marriages to local people and emigration, are not capable of being controlled.

Over the last 50 years the main objective of population policy in Jersey has been to restrict the population to the same as or a little bit more than the prevailing level. The main elements of population policy have been –

> Preference for 'locals' in access to the housing and labour markets.
>
> Seeking to regulate the growth of the economy to reduce the demand for labour.

Population policy is a major political issue in Jersey. High quality analysis in official reportsis however not matched by a high quality public debate, as a result of which there are expectations that are not capable of being achieved. Currently, there is an 'interim population policy' for 2014 and 2015 as follows –

> Maintain a planning assumption of +325 migrants per year that has underpinned the long-term policies approved by the States. 'This is a reasonable basis for an interim population policy – limited migration that will maintain our working age population and allow our economy to grow.'
>
> Enable migration which adds the greatest economic and social value, and only where local talent is not available. In particular:
>
> a. Support the 'Back to Work programme' and other initiatives to encourage employment and improvements in skills for Islanders;
>
> b. Use migration controls to increase the employment of 'entitled' and 'entitled to work' staff, particularly in businesses that employ more migrants than their competitors.'

1. THEORETICAL ISSUES

This chapter briefly sets out theoretical issues in respect of population growth and migration, so as to provide the framework within which the statistics on population for Jersey can be analysed.

Migration and the size of an area

It is fairly obvious that, other things being equal, the smaller the area considered the greater is likely to be the flow of two-way migration. Taking the UK, for example, two-way migration in and out of Canterbury is much higher than two-way migration in and out of Kent, which, in turn, is much higher than two-way migration in and out of the UK as a whole. The same is no doubt true in Jersey; so migration flows into and out of L'Étacq are greater than migration flows into and out of St Ouen which are greater than migration flows into and out of Jersey as a whole. However, it should be added that other things are not always equal, and some very small communities exhibit little movement in or out. This was probably true of some of the country parishes in Jersey in the past, although not now.

Jersey is, by international standards, a small community of little more than one hundred square kilometres. It follows that inward and outward migration, other things being equal, will be substantially greater than for much larger communities such as England or France.

Economic growth and population

Economic growth and population growth tend to go hand in hand. A prosperous area will attract immigrants and provide an incentive for people who might otherwise have left to remain. Any number of examples can illustrate this. The North Sea oil boom led to rapid economic growth in Aberdeen, which led to strong inward migration. The economic boom in Dubai led to massive immigration to take advantage of significantly higher earnings than people could have obtained elsewhere.

The converse also applies. Where communities have been reliant upon particular industries and those industries decline, then population decline is likely to follow. Mining villages in the north of England are an obvious example, and the same is true of many agricultural areas throughout the world.

Particularly in smallish areas, an upward or downward trend in economic activity, and therefore in population, can easily feed on itself and become accentuated. If there are no job opportunities young people will leave, the population will age, house prices will fall, spending power will fall, shops, restaurants and other facilities will diminish, the area becomes less attractive and more people leave.

This analysis rather begs the question of what determines economic prosperity. Key issues include –

Natural resources such as oil and minerals, soil, vegetation and water.

Physical environment and weather-important for agriculture, a willingness to live in an area and the ability to attract tourists.

A stable, corruption-free political system and the rule of law.

The availability of labour either from the indigenous population or migrants.

A special point for smaller jurisdictions is the ability to provide a favourable tax climate in comparison with its larger neighbours. Colin Powell, formerly Chief Adviser to the States of Jersey, has contrasted the prosperity and population growth of Jersey with its separate tax arrangements, and the position of Belle Île off the coast of South Brittany, faced with net

emigration because it could not distinguish itself from mainland France. A similar comparison can be made between Jersey, which has an income per head 70% above the UK average, and the Isle of Wight, which has a figure 40% lower. A favourable tax climate requires not only comparatively low tax rates but also a stable society where people and businesses have confidence to locate.

Location and transport links.

It is the overall combination of factors that is important. There are some areas with inhospitable climates (such as Dubai and Nevada) but which meet most of the other tests and therefore have been successful economically, with rapidly growing populations.

Jersey's prosperity can easily be explained within this framework. Compared with the UK it has a favourable climate, provides an attractive environment and has a stable political system and the established rule of law. As this paper will subsequently show, its physical location, being almost a 'fortress town' as far as the UK has been concerned, and its strong connections to the UK generally, have allowed it to have a favourable tax climate which has been the foundation of its economic prosperity.

Determinants of migration

At any one time the flow of migrants into an area depends on a combination of five factors –

Relative income levels and job opportunities in the area compared with those in potential sources of migrants.

Population factors including population growth in the source areas, in particular the share of young adults in those populations, as migrants are most likely to be young adults.

The absence of legal, physical and cultural barriers to migration.

The existing stock of immigrants. Broadly speaking, potential migrants prefer to go to an area where there are some people from the same community as themselves.

The strength of bilateral trade, as trade always has some effect on migration flows.

These factors apply at all times, both in and between countries. They explain migration into large urban areas from rural communities and international migration.

The effect of migration on the local economy

In general, economic migration leads to a higher standard of living in the host community. Migrant workers, almost by definition, tend to be people with a good work ethic, they have generally completed their education so make no call on education resources and as they are young they also make very limited call on health resources. Generally, their call on resources financed through taxation is lower than that of the indigenous community. Migrant workers will also do jobs that local workers will not do, particularly where there is a sharp disparity in income levels between the source country and the host country.

It is useful to comment briefly here on the 'lump of labour' fallacy. Some believe that in any economy there is a given amount of labour that is required and that by definition if people come in from abroad to take jobs they are depriving local people of those same jobs. This is fallacious for a number of reasons, most importantly that the migrant workers themselves contribute to the demand for labour because much of their income will be spent in the community, therefore creating jobs. Migrant labour can also lead to an increase in the number of jobs, particularly in export industries, tourism included.

Some examples can illustrate this point. Assume, for example, that Britain decided to expel

migrant workers currently employed in the Health Service. The effect would not be that all of the jobs vacated, ranging from cleaners to surgeons, would be taken by local people. Rather, the result would be serious problems in the health service. The same applies to public transport. In the Jersey context, if there were no migrant workers the tourist industry would be smaller as opposed to there being more jobs for local people.

It is sometimes argued that immigration poses a sustainability issue for any economy. This cannot generally be the case, as immigration has little to do with sustainability. The least sustainable economies are those with a declining population rather than those with a rising one. However, there can be a short-term issue in providing the physical infrastructure that a rising population needs, and there is also a longer-term issue in respect of land use. A rising population, other things being equal, will require more physical development, although generally the effect of declining household sizes has a rather greater effect. If an area with strong immigration makes the necessary land available for increased housing supply, obviously at some environmental cost, then there is no reason why house prices should increase by any more than in other areas. If, however, land is not made available then the effect of rising immigration is to increase house prices.

Social and political factors

Immigration is a politically sensitive subject in many communities. There is a general antipathy to immigration, politicians competing to say that they will be 'tough on immigration'. It is commonly accepted that immigrants 'steal' jobs, jump housing queues, drive down wages and push up house prices. There is also concern at the effect on the way of life of the indigenous population, such concern tending to be greater where migrant workers are of a different race, speak a different language or have a different lifestyle. Public policy has to take account of such views.

2. POPULATION STATISTICS

The difficulty of measuring population

Measuring the size of the population is a far from easy task. While technological developments have made the task of measuring population easier, this has been swamped by a range of factors, particularly the increasing mobility of the population.

The most accurate population statistics derive from regular censuses, now normally conducted at ten-year intervals. However, notwithstanding the huge resources that go into such censuses, the resultant statistics are not wholly reliable for a number of reasons –

> Censuses are conducted at a specific time – typically the end of March or the beginning of April in the UK and Jersey. In areas where the population can vary significantly over the course of the year, for example because of a seasonal tourist industry or retired people who have two homes, a significantly different figure might result from a census taken at a different date.
>
> Censuses now usually seek to record the 'normally resident' population. This is more accurate than the previously used 'census night' definition which excluded residents away on holiday or business and included temporary visitors. However, defining 'normally resident' is not easy as some people have more than one home. University students pose another definitional problem.
>
> Some people, particularly those in an area for a short time, cannot be bothered to complete census returns, and some may find it difficult to complete forms accurately. Also, some people may either not complete or may wrongly complete census forms because of fear of

disclosing information that could be to their disadvantage. This particularly applies to illegal immigrants. The central estimate of the undercount in the 2001 Jersey Census was 1,600, 2% of the enumerated population.

There can be no hard and fast rules on some questions included in census forms. 'How long have you lived in Jersey' can lead to very different answers. For example, a 75-year-old person born in Jersey but who lived outside the island for 40 years before returning to retire five years ago can legitimately give answers of five, 35 and 75 years.

There can be perverse incentives on the part of those managing censuses to seek to inflate the population. In the past census enumerators have sometimes been paid according to the number of forms returned, and in many countries, including the UK, government money is distributed to local authorities based on a formula in which census population plays a significant role.

There have been changes in definitions and practices over the years such that comparing data from a number of different censuses is not always easy.

These points do not mean that census data are not useful. On the contrary, they are essential information for policy makers, which is why so much effort is devoted to ensuring that the data are as accurate as possible. However, these factors do mean that census data should be treated with some caution, and not too much significance should be read into minor changes, and in some cases major changes, between censuses.

Early history

Syvret and Stevens (1998) suggest that human occupation of Jersey first occurred during glacial times, with the earliest reliable dated human occupation going back around 250,000 years. They argue that it was in about 4000 BC that Neolithic colonists arrived. Ford (1989) suggests that they probably came over from the adjacent coast of France, bringing their breeding stock. Renouf (1989) suggests that between 4000 and 3000 BC it is unlikely that the population of Jersey was less than 2,000, but may have been double this. This is based on between 10 and 20 separate communities each with a population of between 200 and 250. Renouf then suggests that there was a significant decline in the population largely because of the loss of land to a rising sea level. The population may have fallen to about 500 in the middle Bronze Age (2000–1500 BC).

There was subsequently some small scale immigration, and in the Iron Age the emergence of the Celtic peoples.

In 56 BC the Roman armies defeated a coalition of tribes near Avranches, and it seems that a number of the defeated Gauls took refuge in Jersey. Syvret and Stevens (1998) and Platt (2009) note that while there is some evidence of Roman activity in Jersey there is no definite evidence of Roman occupation. There were further refugees as a result of Roman activity in the fifth century. Also at that time, Britons were under attack from Germanic settlers, and some fled southwards to Brittany via the Channel Islands where a proportion of them settled.

Ford (1989) then notes Norse activity in the adjacent regions of France in the tenth century and concludes that 'it would be a foolhardy man that could put hand to heart and say that the Vikings were not present on the Island'. Indeed, Ford argues that the local population would have been outnumbered by the new Norse-speaking settlers.

Rybot (1937-40) used the accommodation provided by parish churches as a pointer to the population of the Island. He concludes that in the year 1050 there were not more than 6,000 people.

Platt (2009) notes that in the 13th century the economies of Europe were booming and accordingly populations rose. Jersey and Guernsey both benefited by being close to the sea route from Bordeaux to Southampton; the wine fleets often took shelter in Guernsey and called in at the

islands on their return journey to load dried fish and other produce. Platt suggests that even by 1300 Jersey was 'becoming dangerously overcrowded'.

The Jersey Doomsday Book was compiled in 1331. Syvret and Stevens (1998) suggest that there were at least 2,000 houses, and with an average of six persons to a house, at least 12,000 people. Blench (1967) considered that five persons to a house was more appropriate and therefore suggested a figure of 10,000. At that time St Ouen was the most densely populated parish. In the following century part of its land was lost to the sea, and now St Ouen is one of the three least populated parishes.

Platt (2009) comments that the average death-rate in the black death of 1348-9 was 30-40%, and he suggests that by the early 15th century the population may have fallen to 4,000-5,000.

A letter sent by Henry Cornish, Lieutenant of Earl of Hertford estimated that there were 1,418 houses in 1541; assuming five persons to a house would give a total population of about 7,100. St Ouen, St Martin and Trinity had the largest number of houses.

Rybot quotes some later estimates –

> Heylyn [1629] was much struck by the numbers and poverty of the people. He was told that there were between 25,000 and 30,000 persons on the island. Poingdestre [1682] states that it was commonly held that the population of the island was formerly 50,000, - but does not believe it. He thinks however, that the planting of orchards at the expense of wheatlands and the neglect of agriculture due to the frenzied manufacture of knitted goods had tended to diminish the population. He says that there are 'not past twenty thousand' persons in the island.

The paper cites Dumaresq (1685) as quoting a house census in 1594, which gave 3,200 houses and one in 1685 giving 3,069 houses. Allowing five persons per house would give a population in 1594 of 16,000 and in 1685 of 15,300.

Nicolle (1991) analysed in detail evidence on the population in the 17th and 18th centuries. A militia roll in 1617 recorded 2,675 men, which Nicolle extrapolated to a total population of 9,900–10,000. Nicolle suggests that the 1685 housing census implied a population of 16,200, a little above Rybot's estimate, both of which are in line with the estimate by Falle (1734) of between 15,000 and 20,000 for 1694.

Census data

Nicolle (1991) describes a manuscript copy of a 1737 census in the University of Cambridge library, probably prepared to provide evidence to support the retention of Jersey's special tax status. This was incomplete, but combined with other evidence led him to suggest a population of 18,400 in 1737.

The Société Jersiaise Library includes a single sheet of paper giving the population of each parish and a total population in 1770 of 19,788 and in1788 of 20,025. It is not known how the figures were compiled.

Censuses in 1806 and 1815 were conducted by General Don, the Governor of Jersey, and provide more reliable estimates, and since 1821 there have been formal censuses. Table 1 shows the best estimates of population trends in the very long term. The very rough nature of the estimates for the earlier years must be stressed. Table 1 excludes the 20,000 estimate by Heylyn for the 1500s as this is based merely on impressions and looks unreasonable high compared with the more soundly based estimates for 1331 and 1617.

Table 1 Population of Jersey, long term-trends

Year	Population	Increase
3000BC	2–4,000	
2000BC	500	
1050	6,000	
1331	10-12,000	
1400	4-5,000	
1617	10,000	
1685	16,200	62% over 68 years
1737	18,400	14% over 52 years
1788	20,025	9% over 51 years
1806	22,855	14% over 18 years
1821	28,600	25% over 15 years
1851	57,020	99% over 30 years
1901	52,576	-8% over 50 years
1951	57,310	9% over 50 years
2011	97,857	71% over 60 years

Source: Estimates as explained in this chapter up to 1737, ad hoc census for 1788, General Don censuses for 1806 and 1821, decennial censuses for 1851-2011.

Table 2 shows the figures from each of the decennial censuses. The table shows the percentage increases, calculated over a ten-year period, for the 'headline' total population figures from each census. However, the percentages are misleading because of significant changes in definitions (particularly from 1981 when resident population was recorded rather than census night population) and one-off factors. The figures in the final column attempt to correct for these factors so that the percentage increases are on a more comparable basis. It will be seen that the corrected figures show a smoother trend than the uncorrected figures. The various corrections are described in the footnotes and explained more fully in Appendix 1.

Table 2 Population of Jersey, 1821-2011

Year	Population	Increase %	Corrected increase %
1821	28,600	15.4	15.4
1831	36,582	27.9	27.9
1841	47,544	30.0	24.5
1851	57,020	19.9	19.9
1861	55,613	-2.5	-2.5
1871	56,627	1.8	-1.8
1881	52,445	-7.4	-4.0
1891	54,518	4.0	4.0
1901	52,576	-3.6	-3.6
1911	51,898	-1.3	-1.3
1921	49,701	-4.2	-10.3
1931	50,462	1.5	6.6
1939	51,080	1.5	1.5
1951	57,310	10.2	10.2
1961	59,489	3.8	12.6
1971	69,329	16.5	16.5
1981	76,050	9.7	5.2
1991	84,082	10.6	10.6
2001	87,186	3.7	3.7
2011	97,857	12.2	10.2

Source: census reports.

Notes:

1. The percentage increase to 1821 is based on an estimated population in 1811 of 24,776, extrapolated from the 'General Don' censuses in 1806 and 1821.
2. The percentage increases to 1939 and 1951 are calculated at a ten-yearly rate to be comparable with the other data.
3. There are four significant discontinuities in the series –

   The 1821 and 1831 censuses exclude the military population, seamen ashore and people on board vessels adjacent to the Island. From 1841 these groups were included although with some variations.

   Up to 1951 the figures included visitors.

   From 1981 resident population rather than census night population was recorded.

   In 2011 the figure included for the first time the estimated undercount.
4. In two of the years the figures are distorted by special factors –

   In 1871 many refugees were present as a consequence of the Franco-Prussian War.

   In 1921 the census took place on the night of 19/20 June instead of the originally planned date of 24 April. There were 4,875 visitors recorded in 1921 as against 1,940 in 1931, suggesting that the 1921 figure was inflated by about 3,000. The 1931 census report suggested a 6.6% increase in the resident population between 1921 and 1931.
5. The 1939 figure is a mid-year estimate.

The crude total population figures from 1821 to 2001 are shown graphically in Figure 1.

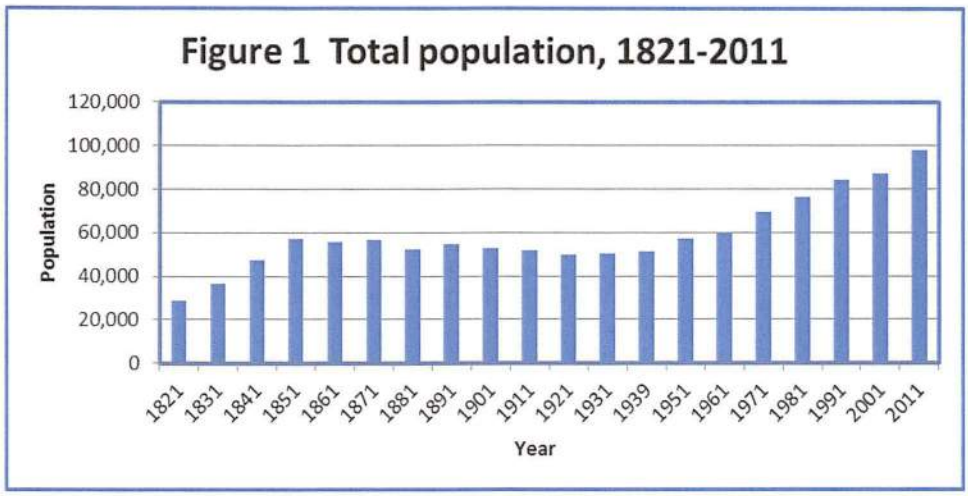
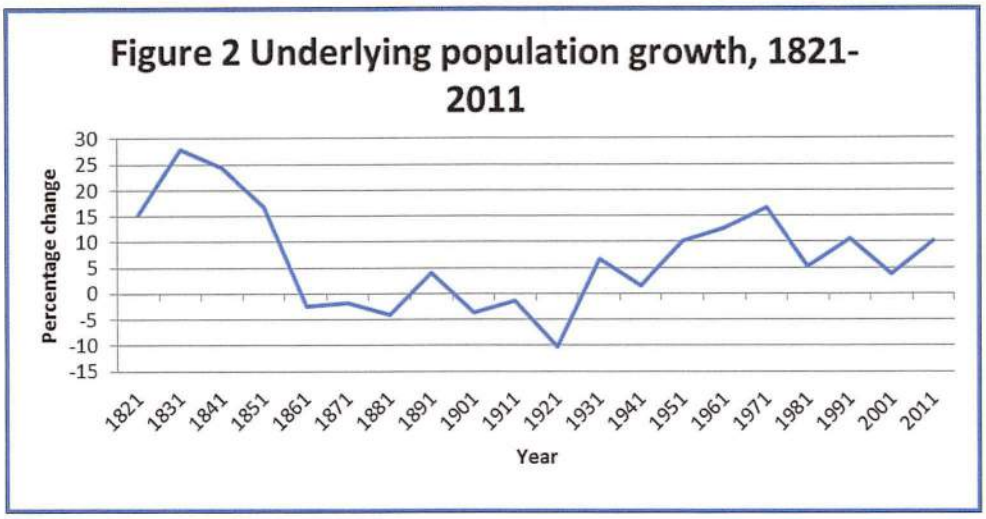


Figure 2 shows the rate of increase in the underlying population,that is corrected for the various points noted under Table 2.



The dubious quality of the data and the long time periods, together with the lack of any comparative data, make it difficult to interpret the figures prior to 1806, other than to note that they do not show a very rapid growth.

By contrast, the period since 1806 shows a remarkable pattern. In the 45 years between 1806 and 1851 the population increased by no less than 150%, an annual rate of over 2%. The 1820s and 1830s were periods of particularly rapid growth, around 25% in each decade.

After 1851 the population declined significantly over a 70-year period before recovering such that in 1951 it was virtually the same as 100 years earlier. From the peak of 57,020 in 1851 there was a 13% decline to a low point of 49,701 in 1921. However, the 1921 figure was artificially inflated as explained in Note 4 to Table 2. On a comparable basis the 1921 population was more like 47,000, a decline of 18% from 1851.

From 1951 to 2011 there was a second period of very rapid population growth. The 10-yearly increase peaked at 16.5% in the 1970s and exceeded 10% in the 1980s and 2000s.

Net migration and natural increase

Significant variations in population are generally explained by net migration rather than by the natural increase. This is the case for Jersey. Table 3 shows the position.

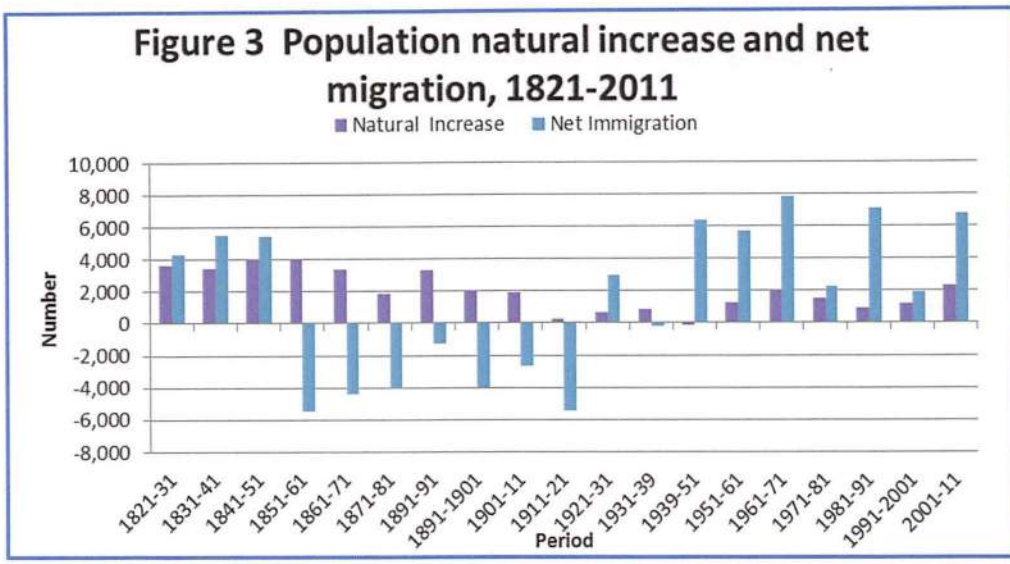
Table 3 Population of Jersey, natural increase and net migration, 1821-2011

Year	Population	Total Increase	Corrected Increase	Natural Increase	Net Migration
1821	28,600				
1831	36,582	7,982	7,982	3,638	4,344
1841	47,544	10,962	8,963	3,448	5,515
1851	57,020	9,476	9,476	4,000	5,476
1861	55,613	-1,407	-1,407	4,035	-5,542
1871	56,627	1,014	-986	3,401	-4,387
1881	52,445	-4,182	-2,182	1,864	-4,046
1891	54,518	2,073	2,073	3,310	-1,237
1901	52,576	-1,942	-1,942	2,069	-4,011
1911	51,898	-678	-678	1,949	-2,627
1921	49,701	-2,197	-5,132	291	-5,423
1931	50,462	761	3,696	685	3,011
1939	51,080	618	618	851	-233
1951	57,310	6,230	6,230	-120	6,350
1961	59,489	2,179	6,976	1,287	5,689
1971	69,329	9,840	9,840	1,996	7,844
1981	76,050	6,721	3,747	1,510	2,234
1991	84,082	8,032	8,032	950	7,082
2001	87,186	3,104	3,104	1,171	1,933
2011	97,857	10,671	9,071	2,300	6,771

Source: The natural increase figures are taken from census reports up to 1951, medical health reports from 1961 to 1981, and census reports for the period from 1981 to 2011.

Note: The 'corrected increase' figures allow for the changes in definitions and special factors outlined in the footnotes to Table 2 and in Appendix 1.

Table 3 needs to be treated with particular caution. The data are taken from a number of different sources and the natural increase figures are for periods that are not fully aligned with the period between censuses. The 'corrected increase' figures are subject to a significant margin of error although they are more realistic than the 'total increase' figures. Also, the 'natural increase' figures reflect not only children of Jersey-born parents or people dying who were present at the previous census. Births include children of parents who arrived in Jersey as immigrants and deaths also include migrant workers. However, the table is sufficient to show the broad trends. As would be expected, the bulk of the variation is explained by net migration. The table shows strong net immigration until 1851 followed by 70 years of net emigration, and then strong net immigration in the post-War period. These trends are illustrated in the Figure 3.



The figure suggests a strong correlation between net migration and the natural increase in the population. This is largely explained by immigrants being in the age groups most likely to have children. Crossan (2007) has made a detailed study of population trends in Guernsey, and the analysis, which seems equally applicable to Jersey, provides evidence on this -

> Well over 30,000 separate individuals can be identified from enumerators' books as migrants to Guernsey between 1841 and 1901. Two-thirds of these appeared in just one census. Economic conditions were such as to continue attracting hopeful newcomers each decade, but insufficient to prevent many earlier movers from leaving when they felt that better opportunities might be available elsewhere. The constantly self-renewing supply of youthful incomers not only went much of the way to replacing inhabitants who had left, but contributed significantly to what would otherwise have been a low level of local births, helping to boost overall population totals. (Crossan, 2007, p. 61)

It should be noted that the 'net migration' figures are relatively small compared with gross immigration and emigration. Every year several thousand people move to Jersey, some intending to stay for a short period, although they may stay for life, others intending to stay for life, although they may leave after a few weeks. Conversely, several thousand people leave the Island each year, again some intending never to come back and some intending to come back after a short period. Net migration is the difference between these two large numbers. The 2001 census (States of Jersey, 2002) suggested that gross immigration and emigration were running at about 2,500 a year. So although net immigration in 2001 was estimated at 100 people, this did not mean that 100 people came to Jersey to settle. It means that about 2,600 people arrived and 2,500 left. This is important in any discussion of population policy where net immigration is seen as a target variable to be influenced, but it can be influenced only through gross immigration or emigration. It is conceivable for net immigration to fall while gross immigration rises and vice versa.

Jersey's population growth in context

It is helpful in analysing Jersey's population trends to look at the situation in comparable communities. Guernsey and the Isle of Man are obvious comparators, and figures for England provide a useful benchmark. Table 4 shows the position.

Table 4 Comparative population data, Jersey, Guernsey, Isle of Man and England, 1821-2011

Year	Jersey No	Increase	Guernsey No	Increase	Isle of ManNo	Increase	England No M	Increase
1821	28,600		20,302		40,081		12.0	
1851	57,020	99%	29,757	49%	52,387	31%	17.9	49%
1901	52,576	-8%	40,446	36%	54,752	5%	32.5	82%
1951	57,310	9%	43,534	8%	55,253	1%	43.8	35%
2011	97,857	71%	62,915	43%	84,497	53%	53.0	19%
2011/1821		242%		210%		111%		342%
2011/1901		86%		56%		54%		63%

Source: Census reports, except that for 2011 the Guernsey figureis the official estimates for that year.

The table shows marked variations between the territories and perhaps some surprising results –

Jersey's population has grown substantially less than England's in the whole of the period since 1821.

Guernsey's population growth has been more stable and lower than Jersey's.

Each of the Islands had slower population growth than England between 1851 and 1951 and more rapid growth subsequently.

Although estimates of population prior to 1821 are less reliable it is possible to make some longer-term comparisons. Jefferies (2005) has estimated the population of England as follows (figures for Jersey from Table 1 shown for comparison) –

Year		
1086	1-4-1.9 million	(estimate for Jersey of 6,000 in 1050)
1300	4-6 million	(estimate for Jersey of 10-12,000 in 1331)
1377	2.2-3.1 million	(estimate for Jersey of 4-5,000 in 1400)
1750	5.74 million	(estimate for Jersey of 18,400 in 1737)
1801	8.3 million	(estimate for Jersey of 22,855 in 1806)

These figures show a similar pattern in England and Jersey, but over the whole period from 1086 to 1801 a slightly faster rate of growth in England. The increase in England from 1086 to 1801 was 4.4-5.0-fold; the increase in Jersey from 1050 to 1806 was 3.8-fold.

Jersey's population density in context

There is debate in many communities about the 'desirable' size of the population for that community. Often the debate is about whether the area has the resources to accommodate a larger population. With the important exception of land, the resources a community requires are not predominantly natural resources but rather manufactured goods and services. Whether these can be acquired depends on the purchasing power of the community. An area that is not naturally inhospitable or inaccessible can accommodate almost any size of population.

This can usefully be illustrated by constructing a table of what the population of Jersey would be if it had the same density of population as other areas, such as individual parishes in Jersey, comparable territories such as the Isle of Man and Guernsey, and parts of the UK. Table 5 shows the position. This applies the population density of other territories to Jersey to give theoretical population figures.

Table 5 Comparative Population Densities, 2011

Territory	Area Sq km	Population	Population Density	Theoretical Jersey Population
Jersey	119	97,857	819	97,857
St Brelade	13	10,568	803	95,595
St Helier	11	33,522	3,541	421,547
St John	9	2,911	320	38,095
Trinity	13	3,156	253	30,119
Comparable territories				
Bermuda	53	68,679	1,283	154,265
Gibraltar	7	28,956	4,143	492,448
Guernsey	63	62,915	998	117,972
Hong Kong	1,092	7,122,508	6,427	776,480
Isle of Man	572	84,497	134	17,586
Liechtenstein	160	35,2360	217	262,172
Malta	316	408,333	1,281	153,832
Monaco	2	30,539	16,398	1,817,795
Singapore	693	4,740,737	6,650	814,391
England	130,410	52,200,000	400	47,652
Bromley	153	312,400	1,932	243,075
Hertfordshire	1,639	1,107,500	631	80,442
Kent	3,950	1 ,427,400	337	43,020

Sources: The figures are taken from a variety of sources and are not exactly comparable. The figures for the Jersey parishes are taken from the 2011 census. The population figure for Guernsey is the official estimate for 2011 (States of Guernsey, 2014) and both the population and area figures exclude the other islands. The figures for England are the official estimates for 2010. The figures for other countries are estimates for 2011 by the CIA (2011).

The table shows that territories that are often compared with Jersey – Bermuda, Guernsey, Malta and Gibraltar – have higher densities of population. The Far East centres of Singapore and Hong Kong have population densities more than seven times that of Jersey.

If Jersey was as densely populated as the London borough of Bromley it would have a population of 243,000; if it had Guernsey's density the population would be 118,000, Bermuda's density would give a population of 154,000, Gibraltar's density 492,000 and Singapore's density 814,000.

3. FRENCH REFUGEES

From the 16th century to the 19th century Jersey became the home for French religious refugees. The impact of the refugees was covered in a lecture given by the Chief Advisor to the States of Jersey, Colin Powell (1988a). This chapter summarises the lecture.

French protestant refugees first came to Jersey in the mid-16th century and there was a particularly large influx between 1585 and 1588. There is no indication of the numbers involved although it was such that it was necessary to have an extra market day each week. Powell suggested that the immigrants played a significant role in the development of the knitting industry.

In 1635 the first legislation on immigration was enacted, through which no inhabitant of the Island could have an alien in his house for more than one night without notifying the appropriate parish constable. Other restrictions were imposed on aliens.

Following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the flow of refugees increased significantly. Generally, the refugees were entrepreneurial and industrious, and contributed significantly to the economic development of Jersey.

From 1779 there was a further burst of immigration, this time predominantly of Roman Catholic priests following the French revolution. Moore (2007) reports that in the first few months of 1790

at least four boatloads of French men and women had reached Jersey and that over the next year or so 'members of the French clergy began to flood into Jersey'. The refugees put a strain on existing resources while often living in very poor accommodation. Moore suggests that the refugees led to a doubling of St Helier's population. This was recorded as 4,064 in 1788 so this implies some 4,000 refugees as against a total Island population of around 20,000.

In 1848 as a result of the political upheavals in that year there was a rather different inflow of refugees, not only from France but also from Russia, Poland, Hungary and Italy.

A final burst of French refugees occurred in the early 1870s as a result of anti-clerical laws.

4. ECONOMIC BOOM IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

The French refugees came to Jersey to avoid religious persecution, but their enterprise and entrepreneurship proved beneficial to the Island. Beginning in the early 19th century there was a very differentwave of immigration-economic migrants seeking to benefit from, and contributing to, the booming Jersey economy. The statistics in Chapter 2 show an increase in the population of nearly 100% between 1821 and 1851, and probably an increase in the 30 or so years before then of around 40%. To put these figures in context, the increase in the population between 1831 and 1841 of 30% was some three times as great as that in the period since 1991, a time when population and immigration has been the subject of political concern.

To set the context for this boom it is necessary to understand how Jersey's special status had provided the platform for rapid economic growth, led by a number of different industries and which had its originswell before the 19th century.

Underlying causes of the economic Boom

Powell (1988b) quotes Robert Mudie in a guide written in 1839 as saying that the estimated 60% increase in the population from 1806 to 1831 '. . . is almost unprecedented except in single manufacturing towns and very extraordinary circumstances . . . .' Mudie gave the reasons for this increase as follows –

> The perfect freedom of trade; the plentiful supply of provisions from the French markets, of good quality and moderate price; the abundance and cheapness of colonial produce; the fact of living among the people who are, and who have always been, their own governors in all local matters; and above all, the high and independent spirit, and the great industry and enterprise of the people themselves; must be the chief causes of the extraordinary prosperity of this interesting Island.

Powell (1988b) himself then gave his analysis of the course of the economic boom –

> For 30 years or more the Island benefited from a combination of factors, which in terms of the pressure on the economy might have been better if they had come separately. Many had a common source in the absence of taxation and import duties; privileges that Inglis in his guide written in 1834, states are necessary to the prosperity of Jersey. Without them, he says, the population would dwindle away, trade would languish and property would fall in value.
>
> Cheap timber and other materials were a key factor in the success of the shipbuilding industry that emerged rapidly after the [Napoleonic] war. Cheap imported materials, such as leather from France and free trade generally, boosted the trade in shoes, garments and other items for settlers in the British Colonies; cheap imported goods and absence of income tax made Jersey an attractive place in which to live; and cheapness of living and the attraction to the Island of labour meant cheap labour which served to reinforce the advantages of shipbuilding and the other export trades to which I have referred.

> Buoyant trading conditions meant pressure for improved harbour facilities, and population growth produced a demand for houses; and together these activities led to increased production in building materials, including the making of bricks, which were also exported. Add to this the boom in the oyster fishing, and little wonder that the period from 1821 to 1851 were years of great economic expansion for the Island.

Powell noted that notwithstanding the economic boom another tendency was for local people to take advantage of better employment opportunities and leave the Island, leaving the more menial tasks to be undertaken by immigrants.

One point becomes clear from analysing Jersey's booming economy and population until 1850 – the favoured tax position that the Island enjoyed, which both benefited goods produced in the Island and also made it a centre for manufacturing. This freedom dates back to 1394 when Jersey was permitted to exports goods to England free of tax. This privilege was extended to exports to the colonies in 1468, and can be seen as a necessary counterpart to Jersey's strategic importance to England. A strong, well-fortified Jersey was essential to England in the long-running wars with the French. Tax-free status was deliberately designed to contribute to this. Businesses in Jersey could import raw materials and export manufactured goods to England and its colonies without having to pay any taxes or duties. So, for example, flour was imported and biscuits exported. Brandy was imported and exported free of tax, the only manufacturing process being some 'maturing'. It is likely also that some manufactured goods were clandestinely imported and then exported as manufactured in Jersey so as to avoid taxes.

Crossan (2007) makes a similar point in respect of Guernsey –

> During the last Millennium, Guernsey (and its sister Isles) have reaped considerable advantage from their role as strategic British outposts off a frequently hostile continent. Favourable treatment from the metropolis in return for continued loyalty has enabled the Islands to retain their own separate identity and polity through 800 years of allegiance to the English Crown. Substantial political and fiscal autonomy have also enabled Guernsey and Jersey to maximise their trading advantages by preventing the diversion of financial returns and facilitating local economic consolidation. Over the last three centuries, this has led to a level of economic development far in excess of that of other European islands of comparable size. (Crossan, 2007, p. 1.)

The changing nature of the boom

This section draws heavily on a number of studies, including Le Feuvre (2005), Monteil (2005), Ommer (1991), Powell (1988b), Vane (1993) and Williams (2000).

Jersey's economic boom was not a single product boom related to a specific natural resource – such as the gold rush in the Yukon in the late 1890s or the oil boom in Aberdeen in the 1970s. Rather, the underlying conditions described in the previous section resulted in the rapid expansion and then gradual decline of a succession of industries. A trigger point was the Napoleonic Wars, which put Jersey in an important strategic position, leading to an influx of both money and people into the Island. There was a reasonable fear that the end of the wars in 1815 would lead to a decline in the Jersey economy as a result of the withdrawal of British forces from the Island and the end of the lucrative privateering industry. In the event, these forces were swamped by the growth in world trade.

The **fishing** industry dates back to the 12th century. Initially, the catch was congers and mackerel in local waters, both of which were exported to England and France. As early as the 16th century the Jersey fleet was involved in the Newfoundland cod trade, and there were permanent bases in Newfoundland in the 1670s. The business developed strongly in the late 18th century, largely in the Gaspé peninsular. Typically, the fishing boats left Jersey in the spring and returned in

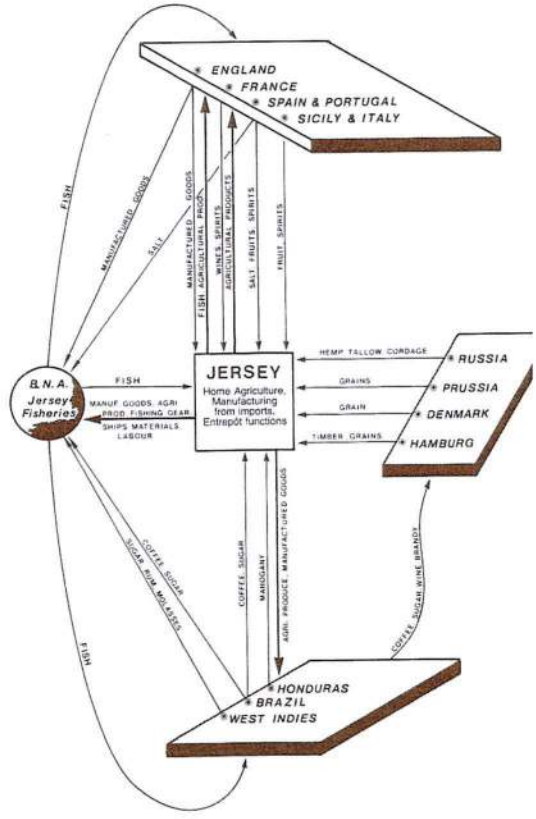
the autumn, the fishermen probably working in agriculture in the winter months. At its peak, in the 1830s or 1840s, perhaps 2,500 Jerseymen were on board a fishing fleet of over 100 vessels. In the context of this paper they may well not have been counted in the decennial censuses. Williams (2000) noted that at the time of the 1851 census 2,747 Channel Islanders (of whom about 1,700 can be assumed to be from Jersey) were at sea.

The Atlantic cod trade generated a demand for shipbuilding and for the many support services that fishing requires. It also generated a shipping industry that was related to Jersey's tax-free status.

The cod trade was the key industry in the early part of the 19th century. Ommer (1991) attributes its success to 'skilful manipulation of constitutional ambiguities and the institution-alisation of merchant solidarity in the creation of the Chamber of Commerce', Jersey's privileged tax position playing a key role. Ommer also concludes that Jersey rather than Canada succeeded in capturing most of the benefits of the trade. The wealth that the cod trade brought to the Island was reflected in the construction of many splendid houses, still known today as 'cod houses'.

Ommer's study includes a rather complex diagram, which illustrates how the cod trade developed into a much wider trading network with Jersey at its hub. The diagram, which specifically covers the period 1830-40, is reproduced in Figure 4.

Figure 4 Jersey's trading links, 1830-40



Source: Ommer,1991, p. 165.

The figure needs explaining. At the centre are Jersey and the British North America (BNA in the

figure) fisheries. Jersey provided the labour, shipping and material for the fishing industry. Most of the cod was exported not to Jersey but rather to Honduras, Brazil, the West Indies, England, France, Portugal, Spain and Italy. With the proceeds of the sale of the cod, commodities such as coffee, sugar, mahogany, wines and spirits and fruit were bought and exported mainly to Jersey, from where most were then re-exported to England or the colonies. Russia, Prussia, Denmark and Hamburg were also involved in the trade, supplying material for shipbuilding and grain to Jersey in exchange for coffee, sugar and brandy.

Shipping and shipbuildinghave been comprehensively analysed by Williams (2000). The shipbuilding industry was created on the back of the Atlantic cod trade. Initially, fishing vessels were built in the outposts in Canada. The activity then shifted to Jersey, the first large scale commercial shipyard being built in 1815. The industry benefited from Jersey's tax-free status, being able to import timber more cheaply than competing British shipyards. In 1815, 69 vessels with a total tonnage of 7,519 were registered in Jersey. By 1865 these figures had increased to 422 and 48,629, about 80% of the tonnage having being built locally. Williams reported that in 1864 5.9% of the total tonnage of wooden fishing boats built in the UK that year had been built in the Channel Islands. Williams estimated that in 1851 15% of adult men were engaged in shipping related activities. Much of the labour in the shipbuilding industry was migrant labour from other parts of the British Isles. The shipbuilding and shipping industries began to decline from the 1860s as a result of a depression in world trade and the switch from sail to steam, which rendered the Jersey shipyards uncompetitive.

Privateering is the privatisation of naval activity. Privateers were private businesses run on a profit-seeking basis. They had official endorsement from national governments, the privateers making their money from capturing 'enemy' ships and selling their cargoes. Privateering began in the 17th century and was at its peak in the late 18th century and the early years of the 19th century, particularly during the Napoleonic Wars. The Channel Islands were a natural centre for privateering, primarily because of their location combined with the strong maritime influence. Guernsey had a more prominent privateering industry than Jersey, whereas in respect of the Atlantic cod trade Jersey was much larger. This might all seem irrelevant to economic development and population trends, but it is not. The privateers amassed huge amounts of money that they spent, particularly on property development. This required labour, a demand that was met either by locals or immigrants. The defeat of Napoleon in 1815 marked the end of privateering, which was officially abolished by international agreement in 1856.

Informal trading, like other informal activity, is not well documented. However, there seems little doubt that it made a contribution to the growth of the economy from the late 17th century to the mid-19th century. The point has also been made that manufactured goods may well have been laundered through Jersey to take advantage of the favourable tax position, so that for example any real manufacturing of shoes may have been accompanied by shoes being discreetly shipped into Jersey and then immediately exported so as to benefit from the exemption from import duties.

There also seems to have been massive importing of brandy, gin and wines, far beyond the consumption capabilities of the local population. Again, this may well have been re-exported as Jersey produce. Tobacco smuggling into France was prominent for a time; in the 19th century the business extended into England which prompted the English authorities to take action, effectively curbing the trade.

Prior to the 19th century **knitting** had been a key industry. The industry probably predates the Huguenot refugees although they gave it a significant boost. Stockings were the key product, and were exported all over Europe. Falle (1734) estimated that 10,000 pairs of stockings a week were exported to France, a seemingly astonishing figure. In the late 17th century it is estimated that between a quarter and a half of the population was engaged in the industry. Factors that helped this

trade included the absence of duties on both the wool that had to be imported and the stockings that were exported and relatively easy access to the port of Southampton. Knitting declined in the early 19th century, partly because woollen stockings went out of fashion but also because more profitable opportunities arose in the form of cider and cattle.

Compared with knitting there was a modest **boot and shoe industry**. The industry probably developed as a result of the tax position of Jersey, combined with the fishing industry which otherwise would have had empty vessels sailing across the north Atlantic. Leather could be imported from France free of duty and the manufactured shoes exported to England and the colonies, again free of duty. At its peak there were five active tanneries in the Island, and 12,000–14,000 pairs of shoes and 1,000–1,200 pairs of boots were exported annually to North America.

The **cider** industry has been analysed by Vane (1993). It overlapped with knitting, probably starting earlier but carrying on after knitting began to decline. There was a certain synergy between the two in that the sheep often grazed on the grass in the cider orchards. Also cider, being a bulky product, was more easily transportable by sea from Jersey to the UK market than it was from English producers using the rudimentary road network. At its peak, in the late 18th century, cider production accounted for around 25% of all land use with annual production peaking at 1.6–1.8 million gallons, of which a little under half was exported. (This suggests that on average each adult consumed over 30 gallons of cider a year.) There was also some exporting of apples. Cider began to decline in the first half of the 19th century, partly because producers in Hereford and Somerset became more competitive but also because cattle and, later, potatoes offered better commercial returns.

Ford (1999) has analysed the rise and fall of the **oyster** industry. Oyster beds had first been discovered in the late 18th century. The industry took off in a big way. In very round terms the annual catch increased from around 7.6 million oysters in 1809–10 to nearly 100 million in the early 1820s, and then rising but with sharp variations to peak at 216 million in 1853-54. Jamieson (1986) estimates that in 1822 1,500 British seamen were employed in oyster farming on 300 boats, with a further 1,000 women and children working as packers, mainly in the Gorey area. The industry shrank as quickly as it developed. Production collapsed to fewer than 2 million in the late 1860s. The main causes were overfishing and health scares.

From about 1820 the Jersey economy was boosted by the first inflow of **wealthy immigrants**, largely retired military officers and senior officials from the colonies, attracted by the tax regime and way of life, including cheap alcohol. It was estimated that there were 5,000 English residents in the early 1840s. To a large extent they were middle class, did not work and seemed to have kept their distance from the local community. However, their local spending power would have created local jobs, and perhaps helps to explain the seemingly high alcohol consumption. Inglis (1835) gave a contemporary description of the English immigrants –

> It is certain, that there is no colony, or dependency of Britain, in which there are so many resident English, as Jersey, – meaning by the term, those who reside in a place, without tie or employment: and with the exception of some few great cities, Paris, Rome, Brussels, and Florence, I believe Jersey contains more resident English than any place abroad. (Inglis, 1834, p. 74)

The economic boom in the early 19th century was also fuelled by major **construction** projects, in particular Fort Regent and St Catherine's breakwater, both built by and financed by the British Government, and a network of roads. There was insufficient local labour to man the construction sites, and there was an influx of Irish, Scottish and English manual workers. The increase in the population between 1841 and 1851 was largely explained by construction activity. St Catherine's Breakwater was part of a plan by the British Government to build a number of harbours in the

Channel Islands for defence purposes. Work began in 1847 and ceased in 1853, only a single pier having been built.

Cattle was another growth industry in the 19th century. A key factor in the success of the industry was a ban in 1789 on the importation of live cattle. This was partly to prevent French cattle being 'laundered' through Jersey and then passed off as Jersey cattle in the British market, and perhaps also to maintain the purity of the Jersey breed. Le Feuvre (2005) commented -

> Whatever the reason, the effect of the 1789 Act of the States – intentional or otherwise – was to save the Jersey breed of cattle from contamination by outside sources both genetically and in terms of risk of bovine diseases. Nobody could then possibly have forecast the extraordinary consequences, or the astonishing benefits, the decision was to bring to the Island's smallholders in the decades that followed. (Le Feuvre, 2005, p. 110.)

Jersey cattle became a valuable commodity. Exports rose rapidly during the 19th century, the trend continuing into the 20th century.

The **potato** industry began to develop in the early part of the 19th century, but serious blight in 1845 led to a 75% reduction in production. It became the growth industry of the late 19th century, at a time of economic decline generally. Jersey found a market niche – early potatoes that got to the English market before any others and which could command a premium, and the breeding of the Jersey Royal. By 1900 half of all arable land was taken by potatoes, and exports peaked at 81,000 tonnes in 1907. The major role that French agricultural workers played in the development of the new potato industry is explained in Chapter 5.

Towards the end of the 19th century **tomatoes** complemented the potato industry, in particular by providing a longer working season for the French farm workers – who at that time had become the major immigrant group.

This brief economic history of Jersey up to the end of the 19th century shows a remarkable pattern – a succession of industries growing and then declining but in such a way that the economy, and therefore the population, grew strongly until the middle of the 19th century. Even the decline in the second half of the 19th century was accompanied by strong growth in two industries – cattle and new potatoes – and the gradual emergence of tourism, which was to become the major industry for much of the 20th century. (The number of visitors increased from 23,000 in 1875 to 56,000 in 1895.) Furthermore the decline in economic activity resulted in emigration rather than rising unemployment. In effect, Jersey was able to export its unemployment problem.

Table 6 provides a summary of the changing nature of the Jersey economy up to the end of the 19th century.

Table 6 The changing nature of the Jersey economy

Industry	16th Century	17th Century	18th Century	Early 19th Century	Late 19th Century
Cod fishing	Developing	Strong	Strong/dominant	Dominant	Declining
Privateering			Strong	Declining	Weak
Shipbuilding/ shipping				Strong	Weak
Knitting	Developing	Dominant	Strong	Declining	Weak
Cider		Strong	Dominant	Declining	Weak
Oysters				Strong	Weak
Wealthy immigrants				Strong	Declining
Construction			Developing	Strong	Declining
Cattle			Developing	Strong	Strong
Potatoes				Developing	Strong
Tourism					Developing

The impact of migration on the population

The previous section described the changing nature of the Jersey economy. This section looks specifically at population trends. These reflect economic developments, but equally the attractions of the Island to immigrants stimulated some economic development. The relationship between migration and economic development is two-way and complex. The data on population are more extensive than data on the economy generally, so population data can facilitate the understanding of economic developments.

An economic boom such as that which Jersey experienced in the first half of the 19th century can be sustained only by large-scale immigration. In 1834 Inglis wrote –

> The surplus labour acquired upon the soil, beyond that which the possessors and their families can give . . . is performed by English, Irish and French labourers for Jersey labourers are not to be obtained for hire. (Inglis, 1834, p. 52.)

It is not clear whether this meant that Jersey labour was otherwise employed, for example in cod fishing or shipping, or whether Jersey people were available but simply did not want to do the work.

Table 7 helps to explain the Jersey economy in the mid-19th century by showing the place of birth of the population in 1841 and 1851.

Table 7 Population of Jersey by place of birth, 1841–51

Population by place of birth	1841	%	1851	%	Increase 1851 – 41%
Jersey	32,997	69	38,779	68	18
Guernsey			999	2	N/A
England & Wales	9,686	20	11,125	20	15

1. The 1841 census form did not include Guernsey as an option. The 'unidentified' category probably includes some Guernsey-born people.

2. The 1851 census gives conflicting figures for the 'other' category and the total is slightly different from the addition of the individual figures.

Unfortunately, the breakdown of places is different between the two censuses so a full comparison is not possible. Also, there may well be a significant undercount of Jersey-born men because of those in the fishing and shipping industries who may not have been in the island on census day.

The key points to emerge from this table are –

> The number of people born in Guernsey in the 1851census. Censuses no longer record births in Guernsey but the figure is probably minimal today. This suggests a closer relationship between the Channel Islands than was the case later.
>
> The very strong increase between 1841 and 1851 in the numbers born in Scotland and Ireland, largely reflecting the construction boom.
>
> The high proportion of the population born in England and Wales – about 20% in each of the two years.
>
> The small proportion born in France, not shown in the table but 2,017 out of the 'other' 2,812 in 1851.
>
> The 18% increase in the number of Jersey-born people in a ten-year period, reflecting to some extent children born to immigrants as well as children born to those who had been living in Jersey in 1841.

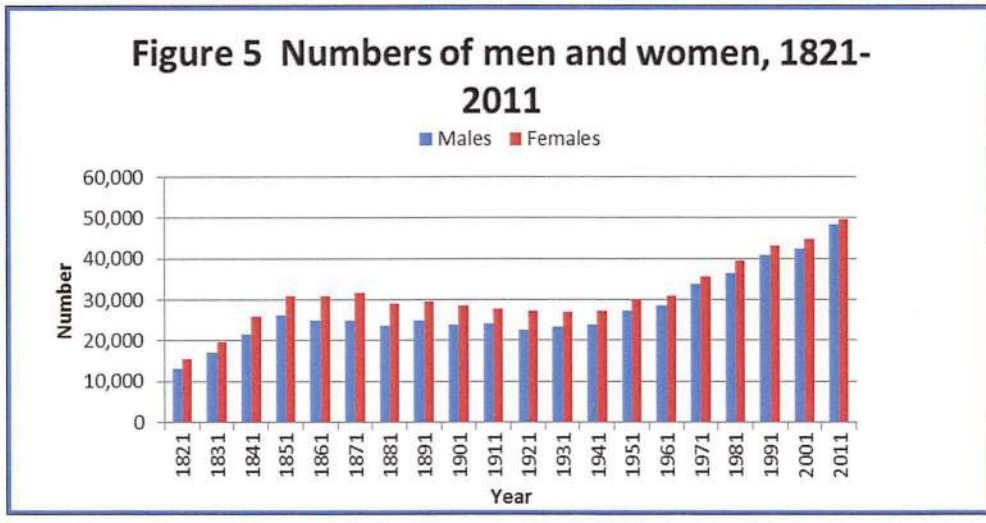
Appendix 2 provides a more detailed analysis of the population of Jersey by place of birth.

It is also worth noting that the influx of people into Jersey was concentrated in St Helier. In 1788 the population of St Helier was 4,064, 19% of the Island total. By 1901 the number had increased to 27,866 and the proportion to 53%.

The disparity between males and females

The 1737 'census' was only partial, for example excluding St Helier. It counted 2,559 males and 3,648 females, an astonishingly high ratio of 1.42 females to every male. The more complete 1806 census showed a lower but still high ratio of 1.24.

The full census reports for the 19th century continued to show a remarkable divergence between the number of men and the number of women, illustrated in Figure 5.



Between 1831 and 1841 the number of men increased by 4,596 and the number of women by 6,366, a seemingly implausible difference given that this was a time of substantial immigration of men to work in the construction industry. Table 7 shows that the number of Jersey-born people increased by 5,782 between 1841 and 1851, again a seemingly implausible high number implying an exceptionally high birth-rate. It is reasonable to hypothesise that the number of men may well have been substantially undercounted, particularly in 1841, the undercount being closely related to the fishing and shipping industries, which meant that many young men in particular were on board vessels and therefore not counted in the censuses. This probably continued until about 1880.

This phenomenon was commented on in the 1871 census. The comments apply to the 'Islands of the British Seas' – Jersey, Guernsey and the Isle of Man –

> There is a remarkable excess of women in the Islands of the British Seas; thus to every 100 men of the age 20-40 there were 137 women of the same ages, to every 100 men of the age 40-60 there were 129 women, and to every 100 men of the age 60-80 there were 130 women. The proportion at all ages was 118 women to every 100 men. The excess of women in these Islands is much greater than that observed in England and Wales, where the relative proportions at all ages were 105 women to every 100 men.
>
> The unmarried women and widows are in much greater proportion than in England and Wales; thus of every 1,000 women in the islands aged 20 years and upwards, 313 were spinsters, and 170 were widows; the proportions in England and Wales were 258 spinsters and 136 widows. The proportional number of married women to every 1,000 females aged 20

years and upwards is greater in England, viz, 606 against 517 in the Islands. (Census, 1871, p. lxxv)

Between 1831 and 1871 the ratio of women to menin Jersey rose from 1.15 to 1.28, before falling back again to 1.16 in 1911. In number terms the excess of women over men increased by more than 4,000. While more women than men can be expected because of the much longer life expectation of women in the 19th century it is difficult to explain the excess of married women over married men. One would expect the two numbers to be similar. In 1851 the number of married women exceeded the number of married men by 615; this number increased to 995 in 1861, was much the same at 967 in 1871 before falling back to just 209 in 1911. It is reasonable to assume that most of the excess can be explained by the married men not being counted because they were temporarily out of the Island, most likely as ships' crew or working in the Canadian outposts. It has already been suggested that perhaps 1,600 men from Jersey were on board ships at the time of the 1851 census. Some of these would have been married but probably the majority were single. Another factor touching on the gender mix was that there were many jobs in service, which attracted more women than men. As a result men had to leave the island for work to a greater extent than women.

Williams (2000) estimates that at its peak, probably in the 1830s or 1840s, perhaps 2,500 Jerseymen were on board a fishing fleet of over 100 vessels. In the context of this paper they may well not have been counted in the decennial censuses. Williams noted that at the time of the 1851 census 2,747 Channel Islanders (of whom about 1,700 can be assumed to be from Jersey) were at sea. However, she also notes that the 1851 census included 996 troops and sailors on board ships in St Helier and 559 sailors and fishermen in St Martin.

Crossan (2007) suggests that female immigrants to Guernsey outnumbered male immigrants, and it may well be the case that the same applied in Jersey, which would help to explain both the seemingly high birth-rate and the greater number of women than men.

Perhaps a skilled demographer armed with the full census records could make better sense of the crude figures. This brief analysis leads to the conclusion that comparisons between censuses are fraught with difficulty, that the figures have a high margin of error and that for much of the 19th century there was a significant undercount of Jersey-born males.

Appendix 3 provides a more detailed analysis of population by sex.

5. AGRICULTURAL WORKERS FROM FRANCE

From the 1840s to the middle of the 20th century there was a steady flow of migrant workers from Brittany and Normandy to Jersey. Most probably intended to be short term migrants, planning to return to France. But some decided to settle in Jersey, many of today Jersey's population being descended from them.

Estimated numbers

Between 1851 and 1921 the population of Jersey fell by nearly 20% on a comparable basis, the decrease being particularly marked in the 1870s and between 1911 and 1921, in the latter period largely a consequence of the Great War. Immigration from France occurred largely during this time of falling population. Between 1851 and 1891 the population of Jersey fell by 2,500 while the number of people recorded in the censuses who were born in France increased by over 3,000. This immigration was different from the immigration of the religious refugees in previous centuries. Table 8 shows the numbers.

Table 8 French-born population of Jersey, 1841-2011

Year	Total Population	French-Born Population	French-Born/ Total (%)
1841	47,544	[2,800]	[5.9]
1851	57,020	2,017	3.5
1961	55,613	2,790	5.0
1871	56,627	4,092	7.2
1881	52,445	3,972	7.6
1891	54,518	5,576	10.2
1901	52,576	6,011	11.4
1911	51,898	5,610	10.8
1921	49,701	4,373	8.8
1931	50,462	3,209	6.4
1939	51,080		
1951	57,310	2,811	4.9
1961	59,489	2,459	4.1
1971	69,329		
1981	76,050	1,233	1.6
1991	84,082	1,061	1.3
2001	87,186	1,093	1.3
2011	97,857	857	0.9

Source: census reports and author's estimate for 1841.

Note: The 1939 mid-year census and the 1971 census do not give figures for the French-born population.

Unfortunately, the 1841 census does not give a figure for the French-born population. However, it does give a figure for total 'non-British' of 3,032. In 1851 just 204 people were recorded as having a place of birth outside the British Isles or France, suggesting that most of 3,032 'non-British' in 1841 were French born. In turn this suggests that the French-born population may have declined between 1841 and 1851.

There was a fairly steady increase in the French-born population of almost 4,000 between 1851 and 1901, at a time when the total population fell by 4,500. As a consequence the proportion of the population born in France rose from 3.5% to 11.4%. This is a clear indication that a high level of migration to serve a sector of the economy is compatible with net emigration. In addition, as the 1891 and 1901 censuses show, many of the French immigrants settled in Jersey and had children who, although Jersey-born, were part of the French community. In 1901 31% of children born in Jersey had fathers who were French.

In the second half of the 19th century the number of Irish-born people recorded in the censuses fell from a peak of 2,704 to just 623, while in the same period the number of people born in Scotland and England and Wales more than halved. There was also significant emigration of young Jersey-born people.

The French migrants were predominantly agricultural workers working in the rapidly growing agricultural sector; they were not replacing British migrants, who had largely been working in construction and oyster farming. Also, unlike previous immigrants, they lived in the country parishes rather than St Helier.

French migration to Jersey between 1850 and 1950 has been the subject of a detailed study by a French academic, Michel Monteil (2005).

Monteil reviewed the available evidence on the number of French workers in Jersey. It has already been explained that census figures may well not be reliable, particularly in respect of transient workers. This is even more significant in respect of French agricultural workers, many of whom were seasonal and therefore would not have been recorded on census night, which generally was in April, just as the potato season was beginning. Monteil quotes the French Consul in 1871 that there were 5,000 French people in Jersey. His successor in 1873 suggested the figure was

8,000. In 1882 the Consul said that there were not less than 10,000 French people in Jersey of whom 2,000 had become naturalised Jersey people. The following year the Consul quoted a figure of 8,000 French citizens. Monteil notes that these figures are some two to three times the census estimates. He suggests that the Consul's estimates may well be exaggerated, perhaps to emphasise the importance of their own positions. Having said this, it is probably the case that the census figures understate the number of French workers and certainly do not capture all the short-term seasonal workers.

The causes of the immigration of French workers

Monteil analyses both the economy of Jersey and its need for migrant labour, and the economic situation in Brittany and Normandy that led to emigration in search of work. Monteil contrasts the economic or voluntary migration in the 19th century with the previous migration of refugees. Like other writers quoted in the previous chapter he notes Jersey's fiscal advantages that contributed significantly to its economic prosperity in the 19th century, also the key decision in 1789 to ban the import of cows, which proved to be the stimulation for the cattle industry.

Monteil suggests that the first workers from France arrived in the 1820s to work in the quarry at Ronez, and to help build the port of St Helier. However, this source of work declined rapidly in the 1840s leading to the significant decline in the French-born population by 1851, shown in Table 8.

The major immigration was of agricultural workers. Monteil noted the growth of the new potato industry, exports increasing from 1,400 tonnes in 1810 to 17,670 tonnes in 1840, and in particular being able to get to the British market before competitors therefore commanding a premium price. The new potato season lasted just six weeks. Monteil commented –

> Jersey ne possédant pas de réserve de mains-d'œuvre suffisante pour l'arrachage des pommes de terres primeurs, la seule régulation de la population existant depuis toujours sur l'île étant l'émigration, il était donc nécessaire de faire appel à une force temporaire de travail venue de l'extérieur. Ce que firent en effet les agriculteurs de Jersey en faisant venir des travailleurs agricoles français. (Monteil, 2005, p. 63.)

In short, Jersey did not have a supply of workers able to harvest the new potato crop so French agricultural workers had to be imported.

Monteil notes that Jersey was British, and analyses why workers were sought from France rather than England. The answer was that French workers were cheaper, and also the new potato season coincided with the time of year of least agricultural activity in Brittany and Normandy.

Migration depends on conditions in both the host and the home state. Monteil explains the severe economic conditions in Brittany in particular in the second half of the 19th century. Between 1866 and 1946 more than 115,000 people left the Département of Côtes-du-Nord (now the Côtes-d'Armor), emigration being particularly strong in 1872 and between 1911 and 1921. Economic migrants from the Côtes-du-Nord went either to Jersey, the French colonies, Canada or Paris.Monteil notes that agriculture was not well developed in the Côtes-du-Nord, and he mentions the famine in 1847 when 20,000 people died. Pay rates in the Côtes-du-Nord on average were half those in France generally. The Département of Manche, including the Cotentin Peninsula, was in a similar position. Manche lost 155,000 inhabitants through emigration between the middle of the 19th century and the middle of the 20th century.

As an aside, Monteil describes what happened in the 1930s when Jersey responded to a request from the British Government to employ seasonal workers from England rather than France. The English workers were found to be unsatisfactory compared with the traditional workers from France.

Monteil's important study deals in detail with how workers were recruited, their living conditions and their impact on society in Jersey.

The origin of the French agricultural workers

This section seeks to analyse the place of origin of the French immigrants, using alien registration cards of people born in France. Under the Alien Restrictions Act 1920 aliens over the age of 16 were required to register with the Immigration Officer. Around 2,000 individual records of aliens born prior to 1907 are available. The registration documents are held in the Jersey Archive and can be accessed at: www.jerseyheritagetrust.jeron.je.

Some words of caution are necessary. Interpreting the wording of the records is not always easy. The place of birth is recorded, but this not necessarily where the migrants were when they decided to move to Jersey.

Table 9 shows the breakdown of the 2,000 people by Département.

Table 9 Birthplace of French-born people registered as alien in Jersey by Département

Departement	No of communes	Number of people
Côtes-du-Nord	305	1,067
Manche	155	403
Ille-et-Vilaine	32	93
Morbihan	36	59
Finistère	19	30
Others (estimated)	180	350
Total (estimated)	**727**	**2,000**

The table shows that over half the migrants were from the Côtes-du-Nord, 20% from Manche and the remainder from other Départements, although it is quite possible that some of the 'others' were in fact from the Côtes-du-Nord or Manche. But perhaps what is most striking about Table 9 is the very large number of communes recorded. 169 communes in the Côtes-du-Nord and 94 in Manche appear just once in the records.Most of the French migrants from Brittany travelled to Jersey from the port of St Brieuc. Table 10 shows the communes in the Côtes-du-Nord most often recorded as places of birth. Again, this must be qualified, as some communes may be little more than suburbs of larger towns.

Table 10 Birthplace of French-born people from the Côtes-du-Nord registered as alien in Jersey by commune

Commune	Births recorded	Distance from St Brieuc km
Ploeuc	218	19
Plaintel	56	13
St Brieuc	55	-
Plouec	49	37
Pommerit Le Vicomte	38	17
Pléhedel	34	27
Plouagat	30	18
St Carreuc	26	13
Languex	25	4

One commune stands out – Ploeuc, or more fully Ploeuc-sur-Lie. This commune, about 20 kilometres south of St Brieuc, now has fewer than 3,000 inhabitants. Its neighbouring communes, Plaintel, and St Carreuc, are also in the table. All the communes listed are within 40 kilometres of St Brieuc. With a few exceptions they are also all inland. Generally, the agricultural workers did not come from the coastal towns such as St Quay Portrieux and Étables.

Table 11 shows the comparative data for Manche. The communes in Manche are, for the most part, in a 15 kilometre strip between Carteret and Lessay, Carteret probably being the port of embarkation. As in the Côtes-du-Nord most of the communes are inland.

Table 11 Birthplace of French-born people from Manche registered as alien in Jersey by commune

Commune	Births recorded	Distance from Carteret km
St-Remy-des-Landes	33	13
Haye-du-Puits	29	20
St Lô-d'Ourville	22	9
Barneville	18	-

Today, Jersey's links with France are predominantly through St Malo. However, the registration cards record just 19 people born in St Malo and 17 in neighbouring St Servan. Other communes with more than a few records are Cléguérec (7), Berne, Guern and Silfiac (4 each) in Morbihan and Quimperlé (5) and Brest (4) in Finistère.

Comparison with Monteil's analysis

Monteil analysed passport applications in the 1920s and observed that the following communes were most frequently mentioned (in alphabetical order): Gomenech, Langeaux, Plaintel, Plédran, Plérin, Ploeuc-sur-Lie, Plouha, Quintin, St Brieuc, Trimerven, Vieux-Bourg and Yffiniac. There is a reasonable correspondence between this list and Table 10.

Monteil also analysed the geographical origin of French people married in the Parish Church of St Martin between 1850 and 1940. 25% were recorded as coming from Brittany, 37% from Manche, 1% from Paris and for 38% the region was not stated. The communes most frequently mentioned were St Brieuc (11 times), Portbail (9) and St Lô (5).

6. DECLINE AND RECOVERY, 1850 TO 1950

The population of Jersey in 1851 was 57,020. By 1901 it had fallen 7.8% to 52,576; it fell further to reach a low point of 49,701 in 1921, 12.8% below the 1851 peak. However, it has been noted that the population in 1921 was artificially inflated by about 3,000 people because the census was taken in June rather than April; on a like-for-like basis the fall was about 18%. The population increased steadily in the 1920s and 1930s to 51,080 in 1939, and then more quickly to 57,310 in 1951, almost exactly the same as 100 years earlier.

This period needs to be broken down into distinct phases. However, analysis is not easy as the census reports, to the extent that they can be found, are not very full – and perhaps paradoxically economic developments particularly in the first half of the 20th century have been less well analysedthan those in the earlier period.

The ending of the boom, 1851–1911

The economic boom, which had stimulated the rapid increase in population in the first half of the 19th century, ended abruptly in the 1850s. The primary reason was the collapse of world trade and the cod fishing industry. Other factors played a part –

> The oyster industry peaked in 1852-53 and within 10 years output fell 95% as a result of over-fishing and health scares.
>
> The shipbuilding industry could not make the change from sails and wooden hulls to iron and steam.
>
> The cider industry declined by 90% in the ten years after 1865, partly because of competition from English suppliers, and partly because the potato industry offered higher returns.

Jersey had ceased to be of significant strategic importance to the UK after 1815 – although with a temporary blip in the 1840s. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 Jersey ceased to have any strategic value to the UK and therefore no longer benefited from defence expenditure.

The major construction project of St Catherine's breakwater was completed and other projects were abandoned.

Jersey's uniquely favourable tax position was eroded in the 1850s and 1860s by a series of measures, in particular the Customs Amendment Act 1860, which imposed a duty on all goods entering the UK.

The 1861 census report suggested that the decline in population between 1851 and 1861

> is fairly attributable not so much to any decline in the advantages of Jersey as to the diminution in the disadvantages under which the English mainland has laboured by heavy fiscal duties. Which the progress of the public revenue and of free trade has enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to remove. (Census, 1861, p. 71.)

However, this may be a political rather than an economic comment.

The official report on the 1871 census attributed the increase from 1861 to 1871 of just over 1,000 people

> almost exclusively to the number of French families which sought refuge there during the Franco-Prussian war, the greater number of whom resided in the parishes of St Saviour, St Brelade, St Laurence (*sic*), and St Helier; the population of this latter parish and town was 29,528 in 1861, and 30,756 in 1871. In nearly all the other parishes there is a decrease of population, attributed partly to emigration, partly to the fact that most of the necessaries of life are dearer in Jersey than in England, and partly to the intermarrying of members of the same family, which is especially noticeable in some of the rural parishes. (Census 1871, p. lxxiv)

The economic decline, particularly in the maritime industry, contributed to three bank failures between 1873 and 1886, which had the effect of further accelerating the decline.

However, as Chapter 4 explained, the decline in some industries was partly offset by strong growth in the potato and cattle industries and the emergence of tourism, although not nearly sufficient to prevent large scale net emigration.

Table 12 shows the key data for 1851, when the population peaked, and 1911, a 60-year period during which the population fell by 9%.

Table 12 Population of Jersey by place of birth, 1851 and 1911

Place of birth	1851	%	1911	%	Increase 1851–1911 %
Jersey	**38,779**	**68**	**37,634**	**73**	**-3**
Guernsey	999	2	801	2	-20
England & Wales	11,125	20	5,823	11	-48
Scotland	581	1	237	-	-59
Ireland	2,704	5	510	1	-81
Other British Isles Total	**15,409**	**27**	**7,381**	**14**	**-52**
Other	2,956	5	6,879	13	133
Total	**57,020**	**100**	**51,898**	**100**	-9

Source: 1851 and 1911 censuses.

The table shows that even the number of Jersey-born people fell, confirming significant emigration of 'locals'. But far more pronounced is the more than halving of the population born elsewhere in

the British Isles. The more than doubling of the 'other' category is explained almost entirely by French farm workers, as explained in the previous chapter.

However, it is possible that the table overstates the decline in population. The previous chapter noted different estimates of the number of French workers in Jersey. It is also the case that the second half of the 19th century may have seen the emergence of a more seasonal economy, based on potatoes and tourism. Censuses taken at the beginning of April do not capture the number of seasonal workers.

The decline in the population was particularly marked in some of the country parishes. Kelleher (1994) observed that the population of St Martin fell by 32% between 1851 and 1881 largely because of the completion of the St Catherine's breakwater project and the decline of the Gorey oyster industry, which at its peak had employed 3,000 people.

Kelleher also estimates that 6,000 people left the Channel Islands for Australia between 1852 and 1855. This looks implausibly high, although there certainly was significant emigration to Australia at this time, and also to Canada and America. He also estimated that a total of 14,000 people emigrated from Jersey between 1851 and 1881. In fact this is the total net emigration figure for this period. Actual emigration was much higher as there was still a high level of gross immigration, particularly from France. In just three years between 1883 and 1885 about 400 Jersey people emigrated to New Zealand, most settling in Auckland, Lyttelton, and Port Chalmers.

The English census data show the number of people born in Jersey, Guernsey and the Isle of Man in total living in England. Making assumptions about the proportion of such people who were Jersey-born suggests that the number of such people living in England increased from 5,000 in 1851 to 10,000 in 1881. In very round terms it is possible that in 1881 one third of the Jersey-born no longer lived in the Island, although many of these were probably first generation children, born to migrant workers who had lived in Jersey for a comparatively short time.

The 1906 report on immigration

In 1906 the States established a special committee on immigration. Perhaps paradoxically the only official copies of its report are in French under the title of *L'Immigration d'étrangers en cette île* (Special Committee of the States of Jersey, 1906). (An English version is included in Boleat (2010.)) The report began by noting that immigration was a subject of some discussion in a number of countries, but added that in Jersey there was a special position because of outward migration by the young and enterprising and inward migration by people less well qualified.

Prior to 1851 immigration into Jersey had been almost exclusively from England. The report noted that in the 1901 census the number of French-born people was 6,286, but it added that in the potato season there were an additional 3,000. The report analysed the number of births according to the names of the fathers. It noted that between 1843 and 1901 the proportion of births where the father was Jersey-born had fallen from 48.2% to 37.4%, where the father was English from 44.3% to 31.7%, and that where the father was French there had been an increase from 7.5% to 30.9%.

The report suggested that by 1921 the number of births to foreign born fathers would be the same as the number of births to Jersey-born fathers. It said it was essential to recognise this and the impact on Jersey's social and political situation.

The report includes a table that suggests that of the Jersey-born population in 1901 of 38,109, 17,013 (45%) had a Jersey origin, 15,779 (41%) had an English origin, and 5,397 (14%) had a foreign (in practice French) origin.

The report called for the implementation of a voluntary system of registration of foreign workers, which somehow would enable there to be a distinction between those who were desirable and those who were not. It is perhaps worth concluding with the last paragraph of the report, which reflects the prevailing mood at the time -

> Les Jersiais dans le passé ont toujours défendu leur île contre l'invasion à main armée, ils sont toujours prompts à la défense de leurs droits et de leurs privilèges, mais jamais ils n'ont eu à se défendre contre une attaque, une invasion aussi formidable, quoique pacifique, que celle dont ils sont menacés aujourd'hui, et qui semble devoir être largement favorisée par les moyen mêmes qui sont censés avoir pour objet la défense de l'île contre une invasion militaire ennemie. (Special Committee of the States of Jersey, 1906, p. 24)
>
> In the past Jerseymen have always defended their island against armed invasion and they are always quick to defend their rights and privileges, but they have never had to defend against an attack, an invasion as formidable, although peaceful, as that which threatens them today and which seems to have been largely favoured by the very same measure that aims to defend the Island against an enemy military invasion.

1911–39

The period 1911–21 was obviously influenced by the Great War, so trends are difficult to interpret. 8,300 Jerseymen enlisted of whom 862 died. The great flu epidemic in 1918 led to a further 600 deaths.

The 1921 census figure was artificially inflated because it was taken in June and therefore included many seasonal workers and visitors who would not have been counted had the census taken place in April as usual. Correcting for these factors, between 1921 and 1931 the population increased by 6.6 % and between 1931 and 1939 by 1.5%. However, both figures are distorted by the effects of the end of WW1 and the beginning of WW2. One significant trend from the 1920s was a new wave of wealthy English settlers, attracted by the lifestyle and tax benefits that Jersey could offer.

1939–51

The German occupying forces ordered that a census (excluding the German forces) be taken on August 10, 1940. The census report (States of Jersey, 1940) showed a total population of 41,101, a reduction of 9,979 (19%) on the mid-1939 figure of 51,080. The number of males was 18,766, a reduction of 5,190 (21%) and the number of females was 22,335, a reduction of 4,789 (17%). The ratio of females to males was 1.19. A disproportionate amount of the fall was in St Helier such that it accounted for 40% of the Island's population compared with 51% in 1931.

The wartime and immediate post-war experience is well covered in the comprehensive report on the 1951 census –

> In the latter half of 1939 many men left the Islands to join the Forces. In Jersey, these were estimated, on the basis of the reduction in the numbers registered for Social Insurance, at about 2,000 by April 1940. Later that year came the German occupation following large-scale evacuations to the United Kingdom, the size of this movement being apparent from the figures given by the count of the civilian population made after the German Military Authorities had installed themselves. This count indicated that the overall reductions between mid-1939 and the latter part of 1940 were about 10,000 persons for Jersey and double that number for Guernsey. In the occupation period itself, 1940 to 1944, there was a steady reduction in the population of the islands due to the excess of deaths over births and deportations to the continent by the Germans. After the liberation the increase in population was rapid. At mid-1945 the population of Jersey was estimated at 45,000 and that of Guernsey at 25,500 representing rises of 1,000 and 3,000 respectively since mid-1944. In the next 12 months the increases were 9,700 and 12,500 respectively. Both islands continued to

gain rapidly in population until 1948, and in Jersey the population surpassed its pre-war numbers before mid-1947. (Census, 1951, p. xi.)

The report went on to suggest that in the whole of the period 1931–51 there was net migration into Jersey of over 5,000 people.

7. RAPID GROWTH, 1950 TO 1990

The period from 1950 to 1990 was the second period of rapid population increase for Jersey, although not nearly as pronounced as that between 1821 and 1851. Between 1951 and 1991 the population increased by 47%, from 57,310 to 84,082. However, this understates the true position because of the discontinuity in the series from 1981 when resident population rather than census night population was recorded. On a comparable basis the increase was 52%. The increase was most rapid in the 1950s and 1960s, slowing down in the 1970s and 1980s. Table 13 shows the statistics for the resident population.

Table 13 Jersey's resident population, 1951–91

Year	Resident population	Increase(%)
1951	55,244	
1961	62,220	12.6
1971	72,303	16.2
1981	76,050	5.2
1991	84,082	8.7

Source: census reports.

Note: Definitions other than resident population show different rates of growth although of broadly similar orders of magnitude. Using the definition applied for the official count up to 1951 the increase between 1951 and 1961 was 10.9%, whereas the resident population increased by 12.6%. Between 1961 and 1971 the official count, which excluded residents not present on census night, increase was 16.5% as against the resident population increase of 16.2%.

As in the boom in the first half of the 19th century this was not a one industry boom, and similarly it depended to a large extent on Jersey's favoured tax status. Cattle and new potatoes remained significant but were declining in relative importance, and tomatoes and flowers also contributed significantly to the economy. However, the real growth industries, which in turn were closely related with population trends, were tourism and then finance.

Tourism

The tourist industry began in the 19th century as the development of steamships facilitated travel between Jersey and the English ports, and developed further in the interwar period. Jersey's attractions were the sun and the sea combined with low taxes, particularly on alcohol, and cheap travel offered by the rail companies to their employees. The industry really took off in the 1950s and 1960s, fuelled particularly by increasing affluence. English workers wanted to and could afford to go 'abroad' for their holidays, and Jersey offered a relatively cheap option with the advantage of being sufficiently like home in respect of language and customs while still qualifying as being abroad. The ability to use British currency was another advantage, particularly when restrictions were imposed on the amount of foreign currency that British residents could purchase. The growth in the tourist industry is illustrated in the number of arrivals in Jersey. The figure increased from 170,000 in 1937 to 250,000 in 1951, 560,000 in 1961 and 800,000 in 1969 (Powell, 1971, p. 50).

By 1969 tourism accounted for about a quarter of gross value added in the economy, and was the dominant industry.

But tourism, like new potatoes, required a large volume of relatively low cost labour. Initially,

much of this was provided by local people – married women and students working in the peak summer months. But this was not nearly enough, particularly as over the years married women no longer found it necessary to work for low pay and students found more adventurous things to do in their summer holidays. Jersey was increasingly less attractive to French workers as France itself became much more prosperous. Jersey turned first to Italy, then Spain and then Portugal, more specifically Madeira, for staff to work in hotels, cafés and restaurants. The 1961 census recorded 118 Portuguese (0.2% of the population). The 1971 census did not include a breakdown of non-British nationals. In 1981 the number of Portuguese was 2,321 (3.1% of the population) and it increased further to 3,439 (4.1%) in 1991, 5,137 (5.9%) in 2001 and 7,031 (7.2%) in 2011. Over this period there was also increasing number of children born to Portuguese parents. Jersey was attractive to the Portuguese for much the same reasons as it had been attractive to French agricultural workers 100 years earlier – the opportunity to earn much more than they could at home while being in a community of their fellow countrymen. The censuses clearly understate the total number of Portuguese (and other) workers in the tourist industry as they were undertaken in April when the tourist season was barely beginning.

Jersey was also attractive to young Britons. The opportunity to work in a tourist resort with cheap alcohol and tobacco appealed to many. Those who worked in Jersey for a season could also avoid tax in both the UK and Jersey as they were entitled to a full personal allowance in each jurisdiction.

Throughout this period housing restrictions were in place such that non-local people generally could neither buy nor rent property. This was typically not a problem for the tourist industry as it provided tied accommodation. The lodging house industry also developed. The large influx of young single people into Jersey every summer, combined with an equally large emigration of young Jersey people to higher education in the UK, also led to an increase in the number of marriages between Jersey residents with housing qualifications and British or Portuguese people who thereby acquired housing qualifications.

The requirement for large numbers of workers, together with the tourists themselves, put a considerable strain on the Island's infrastructure, which had to be able to cope with a huge increase in the population during the summer months, although it is fair to say that workers in the tourist industry generally occupied very little housing.

During the 1990s Jersey began to lose its attractiveness to the Portuguese as Portugal itself benefited from its membership of the European Union. However, many Portuguese had settled in Jersey – often running hotels and guest houses rather than working in them. Ford (1989) commented –

> Since the War these seasonal jobs have been filled by workers from countries poorer than Jersey and a feature of this trend has been the change in nationality of the groups coming to do the work. In the 1950s, it was the French; in the early 60s, it was the Italians; in the late 60s and early 70s, it was the Spaniards and since then the Portuguese. As each country's agricultural and tourist economy has developed, especially since the advent of the European Community, the workers have stopped coming to work for the season in Jersey. This situation begs the question, 'What will happen after the Portuguese?' – because until now we have been dealing with Christian based communities with basically the same lifestyle and values. Will the new immigrants be European Christians or perhaps North African Arabs, how would Jersey cope with a culture with different concepts and lifestyles. (Ford, 1989, p. 7)

The answer to the question 'what will happen after the Portuguese' is the Poles, something that could not reasonably have been foreseen in the 1980s or even 1990s. The Poles have proved to be excellent workers – in the UK as well as Jersey – and have easily integrated into the local community. The first Poles were recruited (for agriculture as well as tourism) in 2003 when Poland

joined the European Union. The 2011 census recorded 3,133 people who had been born in Poland.

Table 14 shows trends in the place of birth of Jersey residents over the last 30 years.

Table 14 Place of birth of Jersey residents, 1981-2011

Country	1981 (%)	1991(%)	2001(%)	2011(%)
Jersey	53	52	53	50
British Isles	37	37	34	31
Portugal	3	4	6	7
Republic of Ireland	0	3	2	2
France	2	1	1	1
Poland	0	0	0	3
Other European	2	1	1	3
Rest of the World	3	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: *Report on the 2011Jersey Census*, States of Jersey, 2012.

The most significant trend is the increase in the proportion of the population born in Continental Europe (other than France), from 5% in 1981 to 13% in 2011, largely at the expense of the proportion born in the British Isles, which fell by six percentage points over the same period.

Tourism peaked in Jersey in the 1970s, and like knitting, oysters, cider, fishing and potatoes before it has since been in steady decline. This was not because Jersey became absolutely less attractive, but rather because other resorts became relatively more attractive. As low cost charter flights and then scheduled air services became more available and as incomes of the British rose so resorts in Spain and other countries became relatively more attractive, offering cheaper prices and more sun than Jersey. Tourism remains a significant industry in Jersey but now more geared towards high value short-stay breaks rather than the more traditional 'bucket and spade' holidaymakers. Tourism's contribution to gross value has declined from around 25% in 1969 to about 5%. The number of leisure visitors fell from 590,000 in 1997 to 332,000 in 2012 (States of Jersey, 2013a). Registered tourist bedspace capacity peaked at over 27,000 in the mid-1970s, and more than halved to 12,000in 2009 (States of Jersey, 2010).

Wealthy Immigrants

Jersey's status as being part of the UK for many practical purposes but independent in respect of tax, together with the natural attractions of the Island, have always made it a destination of choice for wealthy British residents seeking to avoid tax. As Chapter 4 noted, the first influx of such immigrants was retired military and colonial officers in the early part of the 19th century. Jersey's attractiveness to wealthy immigrants increased as wealth increased and more particularly as the taxation of wealth increased. This was most pronounced with the Labour governments between 1964 and 1979, when tax rates were increased to unprecedented levels.

Wealthy immigrants are relatively small in number but make a huge contribution to economic prosperity in the Island, primarily through the tax that they pay, and also through their spending power, particularly in respect of housing, domestic staff and restaurants. However, it is difficult to estimate precisely the number of people whose jobs they support.

Finance Industry

The finance industry has important connections to wealthy immigrants, and to some extent may have developed from services to them. Jersey was particularly attractive to retiring civil servants in the former British colonies as these obtained independence. They were British expatriates who had no wish to return to the UK and have their pensions and other income taxed at UK tax rates but who at the same time wanted to be close to the UK. They had a need for financial services. Then those

who had remained in the colonies wanted to put their funds in a safe location and Jersey offered that security. As a result UK banks saw a business opportunity in Jersey. This could be realised only when Jersey relaxed the limit on the rate of interest that banks could charge to their borrowers.

However, the finance industry is different in nature and could exist even if Jersey did not have wealthy immigrants. Like so many other industries the finance industry depends on Jersey's ability to set its own taxes, although now within a framework established by the international community. This factor has combined with Jersey's political stability and its 'Britishness' to enable a huge finance centre industry to develop, embracing fund management, securitisation, trusts, insurance and banking. In 2012 financial services accounted for 40% of gross value added (States of Jersey, 2013b.), the proportion having peaked at over 50% in 2007. The industry has generated a huge demand for labour, but unlike tourism and agriculture this time for skilled labour. The finance industry has needed to import skilled people, mainly from the UK, while also providing well-paid work for locally-born people.

The industry has also contributed to the maintenance of the hospitality industry, hotels and restaurants now increasingly serving the business travellers who need to come to Jersey for meetings. The finance industry has been the cause of economic growth and prosperity in Jersey over the last 30 years, and therefore the net immigration. Finance is the ideal industry for an Island like Jersey that wants to grow but at the same time limit its population. Finance has proved very profitable with salaries to match, so a given number of people can make a much greater contribution to the Island's economy than they could if employed in agriculture or tourism.

The finance industry has experienced two significant and related shocks over the past few years – the financial crisis which has led to a reduction in the volume of financial intermediation, and increasing scrutiny of offshore financial centres. The extent to which the Jersey finance industry can weather these storms and adapt will determine its growth – or decline – and so also the rate of change of the Jersey population.

8. RECENT YEARS

Since 2000, annual estimates of population have been published in an annual report *Jersey's Resident Population*. Table 15 shows the published figures for 2000–2012.

Table 15 Jersey's Population, 2000-2012

End-Year	Population	Increase	Natural increase	Net migration	Economic growth %
2000	88,400				
2001	88,900	500	190	300	-3
2002	89,300	400	90	300	-3
2003	89,600	300	250	0	-4
2004	90,100	500	220	300	-1
2005	91,000	900	220	700	1
2006	92,300	1,300	190	1,100	5
2007	94,000	1,700	320	1,400	5
2008	95,400	1,400	300	1,100	-3
2009	96,200	800	250	500	-6
2010	97,100	900	270	700	-5
2011	98,100	1,000	390	600	-1
2012	99,000	900	360	500	-4
Total		10,600	3,150	7,500	

Sources: *Jersey's Resident Population 2012*, States of Jersey, 2013c. States of Jersey, 2013b for economic growth - the annual increase in gross value added.Note: Total increase and net migration figures are rounded to the nearest 100

Table 15 is based on the 2001 and 2011 censuses. Annual estimates made prior to the 2011

census results becoming available should have implied a 2011 census figure of about 93,100. In the event the figure was 97,857, and the population increase since the 2001 census was not 6,000 but rather 10,700. Part of the increase is explained by the 'undercount' being included in the total population figure for 2011. However, net migration between the censuses, at 6,800, was twice the level previously estimated.

The 2011 census report breaks down the actual net migration figure by place of birth. Table 16 shows the position.

Table 16 Net migration by place of birth, 2001-2011

Place of birth	Net migration
New EU countries	+4,100
British Isles	+3,500
Portugal and Madeira	+1,900
Rest of the world	+1,400
Jersey	-4,100
Total	**+6,800**

Source: *Report on the 2011Jersey Census*, States of Jersey, 2012, Figure 2.5.

The increase in the population was heavily concentrated in St Helier, the population of which increased by 5,200 between the 2001 and the 2011 censuses.

The fact that net migration in the 2000s was running at 300 a year more than had previously been believed has significant implicationsfor population policy, considered in Chapter 13.

Table 15 shows a correlation between economic growth and net migration, which is as expected. However, the correlation significantly weakened during the decade. *Jersey's Resident Population 2012* included a commentary on why the previous estimates proved incorrect –

> Specifically, up-to-date information on inward migrant year-of-arrival, residential qualification, employment status, economic activity and household structure enabled a recalibration of the modelling aspects of the methodology of population estimation; in particular the mathematical parameters which describe:
>
> > the proportion of recent inward migrants remaining in the Island for at least five years (thereby, the number each year who achieve locally qualified employment status under RUDL);
> >
> > the rates of subsequent outward migration of recent arrivals;
> >
> > the level of inward migration each year.
>
> Each of the above will likely have been influenced in recent years by:
>
> > the ongoing reduction of the period of residency required to achieve a-h category housing status (from 19 years in 2001 to 10 years by 2010);
> >
> > the consequent narrowing of the gap between the five-year employment rule (under RUDL) and that for a-h category residential status;
> >
> > EU Accession (2004) and EU Enlargement (2007);
> >
> > the relative stability of the Jersey labour market, in terms of total employment, throughout the post-2008 global economic downturn.

It is relevant to note here a change in the employment participation rate. In 2001 82% of Jersey-born residents of working age were economically active compared with 78% of those born elsewhere in the British Isles. In the 2011 census the figure for Jersey-born residents had fallen to 75% while that for those born in the British Isles had increased to 85%. It should be noted that the

proportion for those born elsewhere in Europe was much higher – 90% for those born in Portugal/Madeira and 94% for those born in Poland. These figures are significant. If the Jersey-born proportion had remained at 82%, 2,000 more Jersey-born people would be working. It does not follow that net immigration would have been exactly 2,000 less, but clearly if jobs need to be done and local people are not doing them then labour has to be attracted from outside the Island. However, it is necessary to qualify this analysis. However, it should be noted that the differences in participation rates are much lower if people in full time education are excluded.

There is then a question of what caused the change in the employment participation rate. One possibility is that the availability of good value workers from Poland has both made it more difficult for local people seeking work to obtain it and at the same time made it easier for local people running businesses to use imported labour rather than family members.

However, there is an overriding point – the lower the employment participation rate of local people the higher net immigration will be, other things being equal. Taking a simple example, a farmer or shopkeeper may have employed family members in the past, but a combination of increasing wealth and the availability of good quality labour may mean that family members can now enjoy more leisure. In this way increased immigration is a consequence of increased wealth.

9. HOUSING

Syvret and Stevens (1998) suggest that there were at least 2,000 houses in 1331, based on the Jersey Doomsday Book. Dumaresq (1685) quoted a house census in 1594 of 3,200 houses and one in 1685 of 3,049 houses. These figures need to be treated with caution. Table 17 shows the available data on the housing stock compared with the population.

Table 17 Population and houses in Jersey, 1331–2011

Year	Population	Houses	Population per House
1331	12,000	2,000	
1685	16,200	3,069	
1737	18,400		
1806	22,855		
1815	22,763		
1821	28,600	4,094	6.99
1831	36,582	5,105	7.17
1841	47,544	6,939	6.85
1851	57,020	8,246	6.91
1861	55,613	8,705	6.39
1871	56,627	9,209	6.15
1881	52,445	9,457	5.55
1891	54,518	9,710	5.61
1901	52,576	10,083	5.21
1911	51,898		
1921	49,701		
1931	50,462	10,895	4.63
1939	51,080		
1951	57,310	15,381	3.73
1961	59,489	17,966	3.31
1971	69,329	22,304	3.11
1981	76,050	24,536	3.10
1991	84,082	28,725	2.93
2001	87,186	32,704	2.67
2011	97,857	44,698 [38,000]	[2.56] [2.52]

Sources: Syvret and Stevens (1988) p. 40 for 1331;Dumaresq (1685) for 1685; census reports for later years. Figures in brackets for 2011 are author's estimates of figures comparable to those for 2001.

Note: The figures for the earlier years are not sufficiently reliable to enable a meaningful population per house to be calculated.

There was a significant change in the definition of a dwelling in 2011 (States of Jersey, 2012a). In 2001 and previous years a dwelling may have contained more than one household if they had a shared entrance, but existed as separate households behind their front doors. In 2011 a dwelling was defined as where a single household lived. The official census figure was that there were 44,698 dwellings in 2011, an increase of 12,000 or 37% over the 2001 figure. This is clearly not comparing like with like. New house building has averaged about 500 a year. This is compatible with a 2011 figure, comparable to the 2001 figure, of 38,000, a figure also given in the Island plan.

As would be expected the table shows a steady decline in the population/houses ratio, from a peak of 7.17 in 1831 to 2.56 in 2011, using the figure of 38,000 as the stock in that year. However, the inclusion of the undercount in the population figure means that compared with 2001 the ratio fell further, to 2.52. This trend reflects both declining household sizes and increasing affluence, in particular a reduction in different generations sharing a house.

10. OCCUPATIONS

The point was made at the beginning of this paper that comparisons between census are not easy, partly because definitions change, but also because practice changes. This is particularly acute in any attempt to analyse trends in occupations over time. The definitional changes over time in occupational categories are so great that trends cannot be accurately measured. And over the longer term published data cannot explain the move over time from an agricultural economy, where many people worked for themselves or in a family business, to a modern economy in which most people's employment is quite separate from their family life. This chapter attempts to do no more than give snapshots at particular census dates before drawing out some broad conclusions.

Pre-census

Earlier chapters of this book have given some indication of the dominant industries prior to the availability of census data in the 19th century. In the 17th and 18th centuries, cider and knitting were major industries and for most of this period there was little formal employment, people working for themselves or in family groups, or being 'servants', the men as farmworkers and the women largely with domestic duties. The local fishing industry probably began as early as the 12th century. Cod fishing in what are now Canadian waters developed in the 16th and 17th centuries and was the dominant industry for much of the 18th and 19th centuries. Even when censuses begun it was still difficult to capture details of people whose occupation by definition meant that they were at sea for long periods. Privateering was also a significant industry in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

1821 and 1831

The first attempt to categorise the population by occupation was in 1821 census. The variable was families rather than individuals and the breakdown simply attempted to categorise families as to whether they were in agriculture or not. The same analysis was used in the 1831 census. Table 18 shows the data.

Table 18 Breakdown of families by occupation, 1821 and 1831

Category	1821		1831	
	No	%	No	%
Families chiefly employed in agriculture	2,310	39.7	2,102	28.8
Families chiefly employed in trade, manufactures and handicraft	2,756	47.4	3,490	47.9
All other families	747	12.8	1,700	23.3
Total	**5,813**	**100.0**	**7,292**	**100.0**

Source: 1821 and 1831 censuses.

This was a period of economic boom and the table shows a 25% increase in the number of families between 1821 and 1831, predominantly in the 'other' category, including shipping, fishing and construction. The economic boom led to a modest reduction in the total number of families employed in agriculture, and a decrease of over ten percentage points in the proportion. This decade marked a significant change in the Jersey economy away from agriculture.

There were marked differences between the parishes. St Lawrence, St Martin, St Mary, St Ouen, St Peter, St Saviour and Trinity all recorded more than half of all families employed in agriculture in 1831; the proportion was highest in St Mary at 72% and Trinity at 68%. By contrast, only 8% of families in St Helier were employed in agriculture.

The 1831 census gives a further breakdown of males over the age of 20.

Table 19 Breakdown of males over 20 by occupation, 1831

Category	Number	%
Agriculture - occupiers employing labourers	448	5.1
Agriculture - occupiers not employing labourers	1,499	17.1
Agricultural labourers	891	10.2
Manufacturing	12	-
Retail or handicrafts	3,317	36.8
Capitalists, bankers and other educated men	668	7.6
Labourers not in agriculture	992	11.3
Other males except servants	717	8.2
Male servants	303	3.4
Total	**8,747**	**100.0**

Source: 1831 census.

The table usefully shows the nature of the agricultural sector. There were 1,499 self-employed farmers not employing any workers and just 448 employing a total of 891 workers.

The 1841 census gives a long list of numbers employed by occupation, rather than sector, with breakdowns by sex and age (under 20 and 20 or over) and separate figures for St Helier. There were 1,498 farmers and graziers and 730 agricultural workers, the figures suggesting lower numbers than in 1831. The census also recorded 812 boot and shoemakers, 774 seamen and 585 masons and stonecutters. However, the census data failed to record the huge cod fishing industry that was the mainstay of the Island's economy in the mid-19th century. Chapter 4 noted that in the 1830s and 1840s perhaps 2,500 Jerseymen were on board a fishing fleet of over 100 vessels.

1851 – 1931

1851 marked the end of the great economic boom in Jersey, the population reaching 57,020, nearly double the figure in 1821 and a figure that would not be surpassed until exactly 100 years later. It is therefore relevant to look at the breakdown of employment in that year. Table 20 shows the

position. Some of the classifications clearly look strange – in particular 'Entertaining, clothing and personal services'. This includes domestic service

Table 20 Breakdown of workers by occupation, 1851

Occupation	Number	%
General or local government	132	0.5
Defence	1,168	4.5
Learned professions	304	1.2
Literature, fine arts and sciences	454	1.8
Entertaining, clothing & personal services	8,961	34.9
Commerce	550	2.1
Transport	2,325	9.0
Agriculture	4,876	19.0
Art and mechanical productions	2,978	11.6
Vegetable matters	1,687	6.6
Animal matters	464	1.8
Minerals	860	3.3
Labourers and undefined	942	3.7
Total	**25,701**	**100.0**

Source: 1851 census.

The census also recorded 25,347 people as 'domestic work, including families, 505 'persons of rank or property' and 447 persons 'supported by the community or unspecified'.

The census, and that of 1861, also gives numbers for specific occupations. Among men the main ones were merchant seamen (1,330 and 1,414), farmer and grazier (1,191 and 1,408), carpenter and joiner (1,149), and shoemaker and bootmaker (991 and 737). For women the main occupations were domestic service (2,278 and 3,650) and milliner (2,195 and 2,197).

The period from 1851 to 1911 saw a gradual decline in the Jersey population, and a significant change in the nature of the economy. The fishing and maritime industries (never properly recorded in the census data as by definition many of the seamen are not in the Island when the census is taken) disappeared to virtually nothing, the cider industry completely disappeared, but there was strong growth in the cattle and potato industries and the emergence of tourism.

Fairly consistent definitions were used between 1911 and 1931, enabling trends between these years to be analysed with more precision than was possible between earlier censuses. Table 21 shows the position.

Table 21 Breakdown of workers by occupation, 1911-31, taken from the relevant censuses

Occupation	1911		1921		1931	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Agriculture	5,226	22.0	5,979	27.7	4,235	19.0
Textiles & clothing	2,308	9.7	1,062	4.9	730	3.2
Food, drink & tobacco	2,366	9.7	336	1.6	331	1.5
Building	1,738	7.3	586	2.7	984	4.4
Transport	1,673	7.0	1,715	7.9	1,871	8.4
Commerce & finance	609	2.6	2,306	10.7	2,567	11.5
Public admin & defence	1,297	5.5	484	2.2	165	0 .7
Professional occupations	1,330	5.6	1,058	4.9	1,127	5.1
Personal service	3038	12.8	3,834	17.8	3,551	16.0
Other	4,167	17.5	4,237	19.6	6,678	30.0
Total	**23,752**	**100.0**	**21,597**	**100.0**	**22,239**	**100.0**

The decline of manufacturing (textiles, clothing and food, drink and tobacco) during this period is evident, as is the significant increase in commerce and finance. The huge number in the 'other' category in 1931 (30% of the total) illustrates the definitional problems. The definitions used in the census had simply not caught up with the changing nature of the economy.

1951 and 2011

Table 22 shows the data from 1951 and the most recent census in 2011.

Table 22 Breakdown of workers by occupation, 1951 and 2011

Sector	1951		2011	
	No	%	No	%
Agriculture & fishing	4,013	15.8	1,866	3.7
Manufacturing	2,088	8.2	1,042	2.1
Construction	2,871	11.3	5,143	10.3
Electricity, gas & water	803	3.2	504	1.0
Wholesale and retail	5,502	21.6	6,853	13.7
Hotels, restaurants & bars			3,759	7.5
Transport, storage & communication	1,898	7.5	2,506	5.0
Financial and legal activities			12,444	24.9
Miscellaneous business activities			3,602	7.2
Education, health & other services			12,269	24.5
Other	8,259	32.5		
Total	**25,434**	**100.0**	**49,988**	**100.0**

The table shows the dominance in 2011 of financial and legal activities (24.9%) and education, health and other services (24.5%). These sectors were not separately identified in 1951. However, just 448 workers (1.8% of the total) were employed in financial intermediation. The table shows the very sharp decline in the numbers employed in agriculture and manufacturing.

Long-term trends

While the census data do not enable precise changes over time to be measured they are sufficient to indicate broad trends. The main one is clearly the decline in the importance of agriculture. In 1821 2,310 families (37.9% of the total) were employed in agriculture. After the economic boom, in 1851, 4,876 workers were employed in agriculture (19% of total male workers). In 1921 the number was higher at 5,979 (27.7% of the total). By 2011 the number had fallen to 1,866 (3.7% of the total).

Personal service is a second sector to have declined massively over time. In 1861 3,650 women were in domestic service. In 1931 3,551 men and women (16.0% of the total) were in personal service. The 2011 the number was so small that the figure was not even registered.

Some crafts employed large numbers of people in the 19th century. In 1851 there were 1,149 carpenters and joiners and 991 shoemakers and bootmakers. 2,195 women were milliners. Again these trades have disappeared.

The major sectors in the 2011 census – financial and legal activities and education, health and other services, with nearly 50% of the labour force – were not even separately identified in 1931.

11. THE PARISHES

So far this paper has largely been concerned with Jersey as a whole. This chapter analyses population trends between the parishes.

Nicolle's (1991) analysis of the 1331 Doomsday Book suggested that the most populated parishes were St Ouen, St Saviour, St Martin, Trinity and Grouville.

Table 23 and Figure 6 show the key data since the 1788 census.

Table 23 Population of Jersey by parishes, 1788-2011

Parish	1788	1901	2001	2011	2011	Increase 2011/1788	Increase 2011/1901	Increase 2011/2001
	No	No	No	No	%	%	%	%
Grouville	1,262	2,513	4,702	4,866	5.0	286	94	3.5
St Brelade	1,756	2,231	10,134	10,568	10.8	502	374	4.3
St Clement	635	1,508	8,196	9,221	9.4	1,352	511	12.5
St Helier	4,064	27,866	28,310	33,522	34.3	725	20	18.4
St John	1,419	1,620	2,618	2,911	3.0	105	80	11.2
St Lawrence	1,598	2,292	4,702	5,418	5.5	239	136	15.2
St Martin	1,393	2,748	3,628	3,763	3.8	170	37	3.7
St Mary	869	934	1,591	1,752	1.8	102	88	10.1
St Ouen	2,025	2,246	3,803	4,097	4.2	102	82	7.7
St Peter	1,611	2,596	4,293	5,003	5.1	211	93	16.5
St Saviour	1,335	4,053	12,491	13,580	13.9	917	235	8.7
Trinity	2,058	1,969	2,718	3,156	3.2	53	60	16.1
Total	**20,025**	**52,576**	**87,186**	**97,857**	**100.0**	**330**	**86**	**12.2**

Source: census reports.

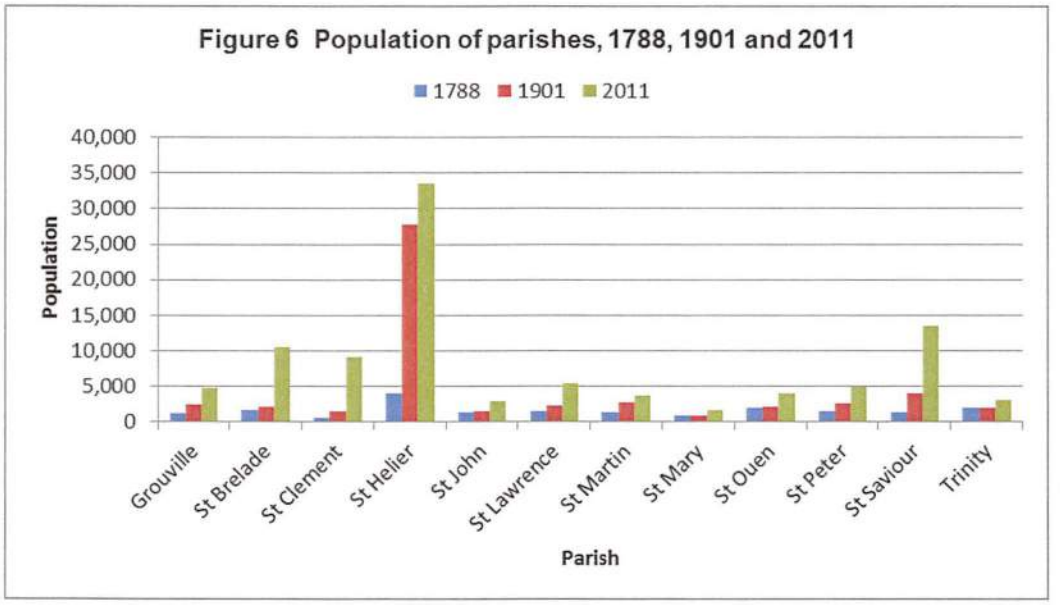


Table 23 shows a marked variation between the parishes in respect of population growth, which has been concentrated in the south of the Island. The fastest growing parishes over the 223 years covered by the table were St Clement, St Saviour, St Helier and St Brelade. However, population growth in St Helier was concentrated in the 19th century, the population increasing by just 2% in the 20th century, and then very significantly in the first decade of the 21st century. St Clement has been by far the fastest growing parish since 1901. The table shows a slow rate of growth in some of country parishes, particularly Trinity where over the whole period 1778 to 2011 the population

increased by just 53%. The population of St Martin actually fell by 12% from the peak of 4,270 in 1851 to 3,763 in 2011.

Table 24 shows the population density in each parish in 2011.

Table 24 Density of population of Jersey by parish, 2011

Parish	Area sq km	Population	Population per sq km
Grouville	8	4,866	594
St Brelade	12	10,568	803
St Clement	4	9,221	2,142
St Helier	9	33,522	3,541
St John	9	2,911	320
St Lawrence	10	5,418	552
St Martin	10	3,763	368
St Mary	7	1,752	267
St Ouen	15	4,097	270
St Peter	12	5,003	425
St Saviour	9	13,580	1,471
Trinity	12	3,156	253
Total	**118**	**97,857**	**819**

Source: *Report on the 2011Jersey Census*, States of Jersey, 2012.

Population density is highest in the southern parishes, 3,541 people per square kilometre in St Helier, 2,142 in St Clement, 1,471 in St Saviour, 803 in St Brelade and 594 in Grouville. By contrast, the figures in the country parishes are significantly lower at 253 in Trinity, 267 in St Mary and 270 in St Ouen.

12. JERSEY ÉMIGRÉS

America

Jamieson (1986) had described the development of modest Jersey settlements in the American colonies in the 17th century. Even though New Jersey might seem the obvious place for such settlement there does not seem to have been any. However, from about 1660 there was some Channel Island migration to the eastern seaboard of America, which was driven by a combination of reasons including religion, trade and a wish to escape from poverty. The settlement was concentrated in the Boston area, in particular Marblehead, Newburyport and Salem. Turk (2009) has commented 'by 1699 there were hundreds, possibly thousands, of Channel islanders in New England'. She suggested that they came directly from Jersey, and also from Canada and England, particularly Cornwall, where a number of Jersey people had gone to work in the tin mines.

A prominent Jersey émigré was Philippe Langlois, born in Jersey in 1651, who settled in Salem and built up a significant trading business. He abandoned his Jersey name, to become John English.

A more significant Jersey émigré was John Cabot, born in Jersey in 1580, who settled in Salem and rapidly built up a successful trading and shipping business. (This John Cabot is not to be confused with the Italian John Cabot, who landed in Newfoundland in 1497.) John Cabot's children married into other leading Boston families and his descendants held prominent positions in Boston society, being eminent in trading, privateering, medicine, industry and the army and navy. This has been comprehensively documented by Briggs (1927). By 1927 no less than 47 Cabots had been educated at Harvard. Direct descendants include George Cabot (US Senator and Secretary of the Navy), Oliver Wendell Holmes (Supreme Court Justice), Henry Cabot Lodge (US Senator), Henry Cabot Lodge, grandson of his namesake (vice presidential candidate and Ambassador to South Vietnam and Germany) and John Kerry (US Secretary of State).

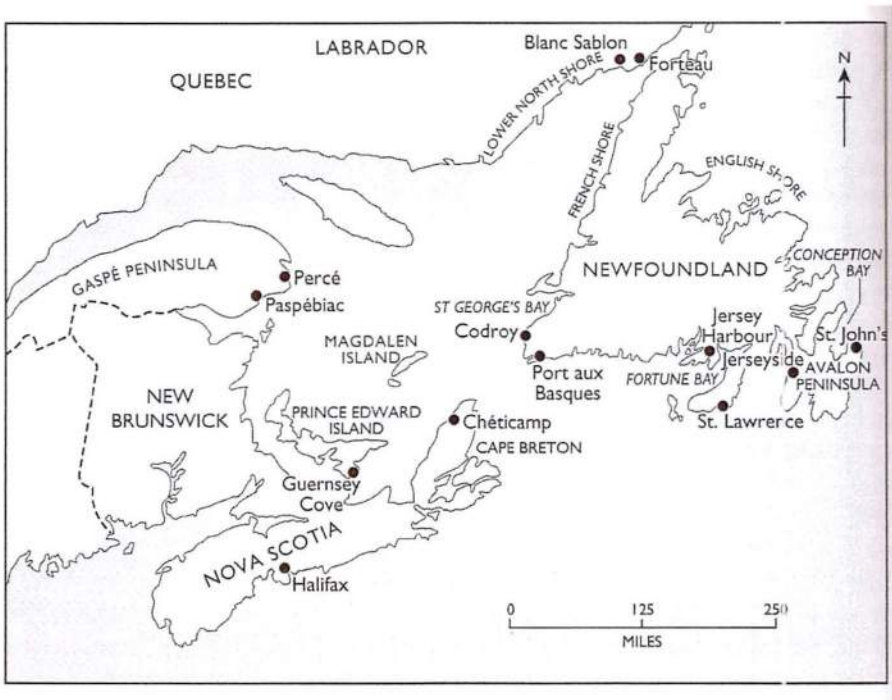
Canada and the fishing industry

Chapter 4 briefly described the development of the Jersey fishing industry, and the major role thatit played in the cod business in Canada. A traditional view is that Channel Islanders were fishing in the Grand Banks in the 15th century, even before Christopher Columbus 'discovered' America in 1492, and there is clear evidence that they were in the 16th century. The first trading posts were established in the late 17th century in Newfoundland, particularly Conception Bay, Trinity Bay and the aptly named Jersey Bay. The main expansion was between 1770 and 1790, initially in Harbour Grace and then Arichat in Cape Breton Island.

Ommer (1991), in her detailed study of the subject, describes the activity of the Jersey companies as economic colonization. The Canada business was run firmly from Jersey and had little benefit for the local economy in Canada.

A number of Jersey firms, in particular Charles Robin & Co, Le Boutillier Brothers and Janvrin & Janvrin, came to dominate the industry around the Gaspé passage. Janvrin Island in Nova Scotia is named after John Janvrin. The largest company, Charles Robin & Co, operated from a base is Paspébiac, although it was firmly controlled from Jersey. This and other onshore bases in Port Daniel, Grande-Rivière, Percé, Gaspé and Grande-Grave, were staffed largely by young men from Jersey. Typically, they arrived in the spring and left in the autumn, although some stayed for one winter and some for as long as five years.

Figure 7 The North Atlantic cod fisheries



Source: Map reproduced from Platt (2009), p. 60.

Williams (2000) estimated that there were 1,237 Jersey people in Canada in 1837. The Canadian census records 411 people born in the Channel Islands living in Quebec in 1851 and 628 in 1861. The 1871 census recorded a total of 650 Jersey-born people of which 374 were in Quebec (mainly Gaspé, Bonaventure, Percé and Maltbaie), 162 were in Ontario, 60 in Nova Scotia and 54 in New

Brunswick. However, these numbers probably understate the true position for the same reason that French agricultural workers were probably undercounted in the Jersey census – a reluctance to fill in forms and many people being away on census night.

The Jersey-based cod trade and maritime business generally declined rapidly after the 1860s, both contributing to and suffering from the bank failures in Jersey.

It is understood that Jersey-French was widely spoken, to the extent that it was the dominant language in some areas, and that it survived into the middle of the 20th century.

In the same way as economic migrants to Jersey have married local people and made their homes in the Island so Jersey's own economic migrants settled on the east coast of Canada where their descendants live today. As very few Jersey women worked in the fishing industry the Jersey men married local women.

People from Jersey seemed to have a disproportionate influence on local life –

> People from Jersey and Guernsey also dominated local political life, where their influence far surpassed their meagre numbers but was an accurate representation of their social position. They were mayors, town councillors, sheriffs, custom agents, justices of the peace, school commissioners, secretaries of municipal councils and school boards, postmasters and telegraph operators. Living among largely illiterate populations, the Channel Islanders appear to have benefited from their few years of education. (Frenette, 1999, p. 346.)

Today, there is a Gaspé-Jersey-Guernsey Association, dedicated to the collection of artefacts, documents and other information relative to the history of the early settlers from the Channel Islands on the Gaspé Coast. Its genealogical records and reference books are housed in the Kempffer House Genealogical Room in New Carlisle, Quebec.

The New World in the 19th Century

During the 1850s and 1860s the economic downturn in Jersey led to emigration to Canada (separate from the Jersey cod fishing Industry), the USA and, following the discovery of gold, to Australia. However, unlike in Canada there were no Jersey 'settlements' established. Between 1883 and 1885 some 400 Jersey people emigrated to New Zealand, influenced by the depressed local economy and the offer of free passage to New Zealand as part of that territory's policy of rapidly increasing its population.

Emigration to England

Chapter 6 commented that the economic downturn in the second half of the 19th century led to significant emigration of Jersey people to England. This section provides a more detailed analysis of the numbers. Between 1841 and 1921 the censuses for England and Wales included a figure for people born in the 'Islands of the British Seas', that is Jersey, Guernsey and the Isle of Man. Only in one year (1911) was a breakdown given, when a disproportionate number (42%) of these people were from the Isle of Man. If it is assumed that 60% of the remainder were from Jersey rather than Guernsey this implies that 34% of the total were from Jersey. Table 25 shows the estimated number of Jersey-born people living in England and Wales, based on this assumption.

Table 25 Jersey-born people living in England and Wales, 1841-1921

Year	Born in Islands of the British Seas Total	Jersey-born estimate	'Émigrés' as percentage of Jersey-born people living in Jersey
1841	11,705	4,000	12
1851	13,753	5,000	13
1861	18,423	6,000	16
1871	25,655	9,000	23
1881	29,316	10,000	27
1891	30,370	10,000	26
1901	35,763	12,000	31
1911	36,762	12,000	32
1921	38,862	13,000	37

Source: census reports.

Like all census data this table needs to be interpreted with caution. It records not only 'true' Jersey people who have emigrated but also children born in Jersey of short-term immigrants to the Island. However, the table shows a continual upward trend. Using the analysis in the final section of this chapter, a reasonable estimate for the proportion today is 50%, that is 24,500 Jersey-born people living in England compared with 48,600 living in Jersey.

War-time refugees

Chapter 3 covered French religious refugees in Jersey. In the Second World War the German occupation led to many Jersey people becoming refugees in England, well documented by Read (1995). The 1951 census report estimated that the Jersey population fell by 10,000 between mid-1939 and the end of 1940. Most of those evacuated immediately prior to the occupation were taken to the north-west, particularly the towns of Barnsley, Bradford, Brighouse, Bury, Doncaster, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Nantwich, Oldham, Rochdale, St Helens, Stockport and Wakefield. Some also went to Glasgow while others settled in the South-west. A Channel Island Refugee Committee was established in London, which helped many islanders who had arrived in England with no money and few possessions. Wherever large numbers of Channel Islanders lived Channel Island Societies were established and provided a valuable service in keeping islanders in touch which each other and to a very limited extent with the relatives who had remained. Following the Liberation, most Channel Islanders returned home although some chose to remain in what had become their new homes.

Today's émigrés

From the 19th century generations of young Jersey people have left the Island, either temporarily or permanently. Job opportunities have been a key factor. Over the long term the increasing proportion of young people going on to higher education, which in the vast majority of cases means leaving the Island, combined with the increasing integration of the Jersey economy into the British economy, has contributed to this trend. The number of Jersey people outside the Island is not just of academic interest, it also has implications for the Island's attempts to control the growth of its population. Most of the 'Jersey exiles' have full residential qualifications and it is reasonable to expect that an increasing, although small, proportion will wish to retire to the Island.

Appendix 4 analyses this issue in detail. Table 26, taken from this appendix, attempts to calculate the number of Jersey-born people currently living outside the Island. The table shows the number of people born in Jersey in each ten year period, the estimated number of thosewho have died and the number in the Island at the time of the 2011 census. The number of Jersey born non-residents is the residual.

Table 26 Comparison of births and census data for Jersey-born people, 1911-2010

Years	Births	Number in 1991 census living in Jersey	Number in 2001 census living in Jersey	Number in 2011 census living in Jersey	Estimated deaths by 2011	Estimated non-residents in 2000
1911 - 1920	8,000			480	7,500	-
1921 - 1931	8,243	3,680	2,855	760	5,300	2,200
1931 - 1941	8,951	4,252	3,815	2,470	2,800	3,700
1941 - 1950	5,950	3,979	3,770	3,420	800	1,700
1951 - 1960	7,887	5,428	5,090	4,850	500	2,500
1961 - 1970	11,380	7,049	6,500	6,450	400	4,600
1971 - 1980	8,585	6,702	5,405	5,020	200	3,400
1981 - 1990	9,658	8,291	7,875	6,580	100	3,000
1991 - 2000	10,896	-	8,860	8,600	100	2,200
2001 - 2010	9,930	-	-	8,580	100	1,300
Total	**89,480**			**47,210**	**17,700**	**24,500**

Source: census reports.

Notes:

1. The figures for estimated deaths are a rough calculation based on *Interim Life Tables* produced for ONS, based on 2000–02 data. These figures, and the estimated non-resident figures, have been rounded to avoid a spurious impression of accuracy.

2. Figures for 1911-1920 are an extrapolation of the trends for later years.

It is helpful to explain this table a little. The table shows, for example, that between 1971 and 1980 8,585 people were born in Jersey. At the time of the 1991 census, 6,702 remained, by the 2001 census 5,405 remained and by the 2011 census 5,020 remained. In addition, about 200 died. So the estimated number of Jersey born non-residents is equal to the number of births (8,585) less the number in Jersey in 2011 (5,020) less the estimated number of deaths (200), that is 3,400.

The table shows that an estimated 24,500 people born in Jersey were no longer living in the Island. It is reasonable to assume that the vast majority of these were living in the UK. Quite a number will have left Jersey as children, perhaps as their parents returned to the UK or to Madeira. The table suggests that of those born between 1971 and 1980, 1,880 (22%) had left Jersey by 1991 (that is when they were aged between 11 and 20) a further 1,297 (15%) had left by 2001 (that is when they were between 21 and 30) and another 385 (5%) had left by 2011 (when they were between 31 and 40).

13. POPULATION POLICY

Jersey wishes to limit the growth of its population. The theoretical issues were discussed in Chapter 1. The key points relevant to policy are –

Population growth and economic growth go hand in hand.

Economic migrants generally have a beneficial effect on the prosperity of the indigenous population.

Population growth is not relevant to sustainability but is relevant to land use and provision of infrastructure.

This chapter analyses the practicalities of seeking to influence population growth and describes the evolution of population policy in Jersey.

Policy - defining local

Any community that wishes to influence the rate of growth of the population by discriminating against those who are not 'local' has to deal with the critical issue of how to define 'local'. The world is not divided into two groups of people, that is locals born and bred in the area of parents who were also born and bred in the area, and foreigners. Rather, there is any number of variations with that number increasing over time as people become more mobile. In seeking to define 'local' there are particular issues in respect of –

Spouses, who generally are regarded as being the equivalent of local. However, what about unmarried partners of the same or different sexes and what about spouses following divorce?

People who are born in an area, leave and then return.

The children of local people who are born in another area, perhaps where the parents lived for a very short time or perhaps where they lived for many years.

People born and educated in the area but of parents from outside the area.

People who were not born in the area but have lived there for a very long time.

Special cases, that is people who are deemed to be desirable because they are famous or rich.

These points can usefully be illustrated by asking the question - which of the following is the true Jerseyman? –

Christiano Gonzalez, living in Lisbon, aged 12, born in Jersey of Portuguese parents who after living in Jersey for ten years returned home to Portugal with his parents. He has Portuguese nationality and his first language is Portuguese although he speaks English. He has no relatives in Jersey.

John Le Brocq, aged 23, born in London of Jersey parents, both teachers, who returned to Jersey with his parents at the age of ten before going on to university in England at the age of 18. He has many relatives in the island including brothers, sisters, grandparents and cousins. Under Jersey's current housing law Christiano Gonzalez would count as being the Jersey person by virtue of having been born in the Island and living there for ten years.

Where states seek to give preference to locals, then generally they define 'local' using a combination of the following factors –

Birthplace, which counts disproportionately.

Partners, with a hierarchy running from married partners to unmarried partners and former partners.

Length of residence in the area.

Length of residence away from the area, particularly for people returning.

Birthplace of parents.

Nature of employment.

Influencing the size of population

States that wish to influence the size of their population can use one or more of three variables -

Seeking to influence birth-rates, something which has been done in China but which is not appropriate or practical for advanced industrialised economies.

Giving preference to locals in respect of jobs, housing and perhaps other variables, this policy perhaps even extending to outright prohibition on outsiders from taking jobs, owning houses or even living in the state.

Influencing the volume of activity so as to reduce the demand for labour.

Such policies can have only a limited influence and operate within constraints –

The number of births or deaths cannot be directly influenced.

People acquire local rights by marriage.

People defined as local who live abroad can return.

People cannot be stopped from emigrating, and where people doing essential jobs emigrate then they may well need to be replaced by immigrants.

Some jobs are essential and if local labour is not available either the jobs do not get done or immigrant labour is needed.

If policies are unduly harsh on non-local people the migrant labour that is needed will not materialise, issues of fairness may arise and there might be adverse public reaction.

Controls can often be circumvented.

Policy in practice

This paper is not the place for a detailed analysis of population policy in Jersey, but a brief summary is helpful to conclude the paper.

Immigration first became a political issue following the influx of French refugees at the end of the 16th century. In 1635 legislation required inhabitants to notify the parish constable if an alien stayed in their home for more than one night. Chapter 6 explained the 1906 report on immigration. This led to some restrictions being imposed on immigrants and an Aliens Officer being appointed.

Since the Second World War population policy has been a permanent feature of the political agenda. The main objective has seemed to be to restrict the population to the same as or a little bit more than the prevailing level. The main elements of population policy have been –

Restrictions on the ability of 'non-locals' to acquire housing or take up employment.

Seeking to regulate the growth of the economy to reduce the demand for labour.

There has been a succession of policy reviews and initiatives. In 1972 the States set up a special committee with the object of protecting the Island 'against immigration and unemployment'. The Committee reported in March 1973. It recommended was that the average annual net rate of immigration should be such that by 1995 the population would not exceed 80,000. In 1974 the States approved measures with the declared aim that by the census of 1981 the population would not exceed 78,000. In 1980 a new target rate of net immigration of 250 was set. In the event the various targets were exceeded, the population increasing to over 84,000 in 1991.

In 1995 the Policy and Resources Committee established a Working Party, chaired by the author of this paper, on population policy. Its principal remit was to consider options for further controlling the number of permanent residents in the Island. The Working Party report (Boleat, 1996) noted that there was general agreement that, other things being equal, it would be better if the population was lower than was then the case, but it went on to say that other things were not equal, and that this policy objective had to be balanced against others including maintaining the health of the economy and not imposing onerous restrictions on individuals and organisations. The Working Party considered various options that had been proposed including work permits and residence permits.

The Working Party was critical of the effect of the Housing Regulations and recommended the abolition of all of the provisions by which people could lose residential qualifications or the building up of residential qualifications by leaving the Island. It argued that these provisions had a perverse effect of deterring people from leaving who might otherwise do so. Similarly, the Working Party recommended an urgent review of the short-term contract system on the grounds that there was little evidence that it actually reduced the size of the population while at the same time causing adverse side effects. It saw no merit in introducing either work permits or residence permits arguing that they would have no overall effect, but would impose unnecessary bureaucracy or if they did have an effect they would have unacceptable side effects. Like other analyses, it observed that population pressures would be reduced if there was greater labour force participation by the local population.

Finally, it noted the poor quality of relevant information and recommended that steps be taken to improve understanding of how the labour market operates to better estimate population trends between censuses and to analyse the factors influencing the growth and composition of the population.

It recommended an explicit population policy as follows –

> The policy objective should be to maintain the population of Jersey at around the level it was in the second half of 1995 (around 84,000).
>
> The Housing Regulations should continue to be used to discourage immigration by people attracted by the lifestyle in Jersey, but who have nothing to contribute economically to the Island or who have no ties to Jersey.
>
> Population pressures arise predominantly from labour pressures, and accordingly the size of the population can be controlled only if the growth of jobs is controlled. The Regulation of Undertakings and Development Law should be used for this purpose.
>
> Every effort should be made to increase participation in the labour force by local people.
>
> All major States policy decisions should include an assessment by the Chief Adviser's Office of the population impact.

A report by the Policy and Resources Committee in 2002 (States of Jersey, 2002b) noted that the States had decided in November 1997 that the long-term objective should be a resident population no greater than or less than in September 1995, estimated at about 85,000. The report recognised the limited ability to control the population, for example in respect of net marriages of non-residents to residents and net returns of residentially qualified people. The Committee had commissioned an economics consultancy, Oxera (Oxera, 2002), to examine the economics of the population issue from first principles, and much of the work it did has been used subsequently. The report came to no firm conclusions, but the analysis in it represented a significant step forward from previous work.

In April 2009 the Council of Ministers published a policy statement (States of Jersey, 2009). This used the Oxera model and noted that in the absence of any net inward migration the population of Jersey would fall to just over 72,000 in 2065, and with a sharp adverse change in the ratio of working people to non-working people. The Council set out its long-term policy as follows –

> Maintain the level of the working age population in the Island.
>
> Ensure the total population does not exceed 100,000.
>
> Ensure population levels do not increase continuously in the longer term.
>
> Protect the countryside and green fields.

Maintain inward migration within a range between 150 and 200 heads of household a year in the long term.

In the short term allow maximum inward migration at a rolling five-year average of no more than 150 heads of household a year (an overall increase of about 325 people a year). This would be reviewed and set every three years.

The statement noted that a set of initiatives would be required to make the strategy work, in particular increasing local labour force participation and increasing taxation. If the targets set by the Council were achieved then it was estimated that the population would rise to 97,000 by 2035 and then decline to about 95,000 by 2065. The paper linked immigration with the implications of an ageing society, spelling out in some detail that a policy of limiting immigration unreasonably would have significant adverse impacts on the local population, particularly in respect of taxation.

In fact, net immigration averaged 680 a year in the 2000s, and the 2011 census figure was 97,857. Allowing for the change in definition to include the undercount this equates to a figure of 96,257 that is comparable with the projection of 97,000 for 2035. The inward migration target was due to be reviewed in 2012. In the event there has been no review of the target but rather a series of holding announcements.

However, there has been one significant new law, the Control of Housing and Work (Jersey) Law 2012. This simplified previous controls. A second new law, the Register of Names and Address (Jersey) Law 2012 provides for registration cards which are needed in order to obtain a new job or to buy, sell or lease property. It provided for four statuses – entitled, licensed, entitled to work and registered.

Table 27 Residential status underthe 2012 law

Status	Definition	Housing	Work
Entitled	Someone who has lived in Jersey for 10 years	Can buy, sell or lease any property	Can work anywhere and doesn't need a licence to be employed
Licensed	Someone who is 'an essential employee'	Can buy, sell or lease any property in their own name if they keep their licensed status	Employer needs a licence to employ a 'licensed' person
Entitled to work	Someone who has lived in Jersey for five consecutive years immediately before the date a registration card is issued, or is married to someone who is 'entitled', 'licensed', or 'entitled to work'	Can buy property jointly with an 'entitled' spouse/civil partner. Can lease registered (previously 'unqualified') property as a main place of residence.	Can work anywhere and doesn't need a licence to be employed
Registered	Someone who does not qualify under the other categories	Can lease 'registered' property as a main place of residence	Employer needs a licence to employ a 'registered' person

The registration cards will form the basis of a population register, which it is hoped will give a better ability to measure the success of policy rather than waiting for the annual population estimates. However, it is recognised that it will be some years before the register is sufficiently robust to be used for this purpose, not least because of the absence of any effective mechanism for recording people who leave the island.

Under the Control of Housing and Work Law all businesses must have a licence to trade, which

limits the number of 'registered' and 'licensed' workers they can employ. Businesses wanting to employ migrant workers must demonstrate that they are 'high economic value'. Alongside this policy a number of initiatives have been introduced to equip local people to become more employable. In implementing the policy ministers have sought to bear down on those employers employing a higher proportion of migrant workers than their competitors.

A consultation paper on the Strategic Plan (States of Jersey, 2012b) also covered population policy. It listed as one of six priorities –

> We will update the population model using the new Census information and set realistic targets for population.
>
> We will control inward migration while maintaining competitiveness.

It will be noted that there remained a commitment to have targets and a commitment to control inward migration. The paper provides a useful analysis of this issue, which is reproduced below –

> Inward migration remains a concern for many Islanders who see the increasing size of the population and inward migration as threats to their way of life.
>
> One of the main challenges for the Island is the increasing population and the change in the population profile as natural increases and migratory flows combine both to increase the population and to increase the proportion of the elderly population in Jersey. This unavoidable trend affects all the challenges and any strategies devised to combat them.
>
> The aim should be to balance the need for sufficient workers to support sustainable economic growth and new employment opportunities – and provide the tax revenues to support the inevitable increase in demand for public services as the proportion of elderly increases – against the undesirable impacts of an increased population.
>
> The current migration policy of a reasonable limitation on inward migration was devised after several rounds of public consultation ('Imagine Jersey'). The policy allows for a maximum inward migration of an average of 150 heads of household per annum over a five-year rolling average (overall increase circa 325) and although actual numbers will vary from year to year but this policy was expected to maintain the population below 100,000 in the longer term.
>
> The recent publication of the 2011 Census showed that population levels actually increased from 87,186 in 2001 to 97,857 in 2011 – higher than projected in the last strategic plan – and showed that the control mechanisms in place during the last three years have not worked properly.
>
> The 2011 Census data will allow the population model to be updated. The projections and updated population model will not be available until later in 2012. These, along with the completion of a population register, will inform future inward migration policy.
>
> The link between inward migration and the value of jobs needs to be considered strategically. The use of 'low value' migrant labour in traditional industries such as tourism, agriculture andretail may need to be questioned if limiting migrant worker numbers leads to difficulties in recruiting to 'high value' jobs.

The most recent policy statement (States of Jersey, 2014) 'Report: Interim Population Policy' was issued in January 2014. In this report the Council of Ministers said:

> We need a balance between economic, community and environmental goals. Earnings, productivity, health, town development, policies to protect the countryside – they all play a part in helping frame population policy. This is why we have developed 'Preparing for our Future' – providing a framework to enable our community to coherently plan for the long

term, and setting the issue of population in the wider context of what type of Island we want Jersey to be.

In the meantime, we are proposing an interim population policy for 2014 and 2015.

1. Maintain the planning assumption of +325 migrants per year that has underpinned the long-term policies approved by this Assembly. This is a reasonable basis for an interim population policy – limited migration that will maintain our working age population and allow our economy to grow.

2. Enable migration which adds the greatest economic and social value, and only where local talent is not available. In particular;

a. Support the 'Back to Work programme' and other initiatives to encourage employmentand improvements in skills for Islanders

b. Use migration controls to increase the employment of 'entitled' and 'entitled to work' staff, particularly in businesses that employ more migrants than their competitors.

The report notes the implications of an ageing population. It argues that 'net migration cannot be the primary response to our ageing society . . . but without some net migration our situation would be much worse. It confirms the strategy of limiting immigration, focusing immigration on higher economic and social value activities, supporting local employment and complemented by other policies, for example skills development.

The report stated that the Control of Housing and Work (Jersey) Law 2012 would be subject to a post-implementation review by July 2014. However, this seems to have been deferred.

Clearly, the Island is struggling to develop a meaningful population policy. The politicians have to balance the views of the public, as regularly expressed in opinion surveys, that control of immigration is a key issue with targets regarded as being necessary, with the weight of evidence showing that population numbers cannot be controlled with any degree of precision without having significant adverse side effects. While policy documents clearly analyse the various issues comprehensively the public debate seems to assume away trade-offs and treat immigration policy as a discrete issue separate from other issues. Debate often gets bogged down in the discussion of numbers, with a seeming belief that announcing a target somehow constitutes a policy and often no acceptance that net emigration is a relatively small number, being the difference between the much large numbers of gross immigration and emigration.

APPENDIX 1

ALTERNATIVE TOTAL POPULATION STATISTICS

The variable for the total population in the official census figures has changed from time to time, sometimes significantly. This can make the percentage changes from one census to another misleading, sometimes considerably so. This appendix attempts to correct for these definitional changes and produce an accurate run of statistics showing the percentage change in the population between the censuses.

Table A.1 shows the various definitions that have been used for the official count since 1821. Figures in bold are the headline population numbers, corresponding to those in the official count. The corrected increase column is based on comparable variables and correcting for other known distortions.

Table A.1 Total Jersey population statistics, alternative definitions, 1811-2011

Year	Official count	Including visitors	Excl military & seamen	Excl visitors	Resident	Incl Under count	Crude increase %	Corrected increase %
1811	[24,77]							
1821	28,600		**28,600**				15.4	15.4
1831	36,582		**36,582**				27.9	27.9
1841	47,544	**47,544**					30.0	24.5
1851	57,020	**57,020**					19.9	16.8
1861	55,613	**55,613**					-2.5	-2.5
1871	56,627	**56,627**					1.8	-1.8
1881	52,445	**52,445**					-7.4	-4.0
1891	54,518	**54,518**					4.0	4.0
1901	52,576	**52,576**					-3.6	-3.6
1911	51,898	**51,898**		49,958			-1.3	-1.3
1921	49,701	**49,701**		44,826			-4.2	-10.3
1931	50,462	**50,462**		48,522			1.5	6.6
1939	51,080	**51,080**					1.5	1.5
1951	57,310	**57,310**			55,244		10.2	10.2
1961	59,489	63,550		**59,489**	62,220		3.8	12.6
1971	69,329	72,629		**69,329**	72,303		16.5	16.5
1981	76,050			72,970	**76,050**		9.7	5.2
1991	84,082			79,316	**84,082**		10.6	10.6
2001	87,186				**87,186**	88,786	3.7	3.7
2011	97,857					**97,857**	12.2	10.4

The key points in the construction of this table are –

1. The 1811 figure is an estimate, based on interpolating the figures in the General Don censuses of 1806 and 1821.
2. The figures for 1821 and 1831 exclude the military population, seamen ashore and people on board vessels adjacent to the Island. Subsequent figures include these groups with some variations. The percentage increase to 1841 allows for this.
3. The 1851 census includes 1,555 sailors on board ships and fishermen in St Martin who would not have been counted in the 1841 census. The increase to 1851 has been

adjusted to take account of this; there may also be a case for a higher net emigration figure in the ten years to 1861 although there are insufficient data to enable this to be done.

4. In 1871 there were an estimated 2,000 refugees in the Island. The percentage changes to 1871 and 1881 are based on the 1871 census figure less this number.
5. The 1921 census was on 19/20 June instead of the planned date of 24 April. The visitor number was therefore artificially inflated by about 3,000. The percentage changes to 1921 and 1931 correct for this. The report on the 1931 census suggests that the increase between 1921 and 1931 was 6.6%.
6. Visitors ceased to be included in the official count from 1961.
7. The resident population figure, the official count from 1981, includes people normally resident but not present on census night.
8. Prior to 2011 the published figures made no allowance for the 'undercount', that is the number of people who should be included in the census figures but for whom no data could be obtained. That figure was estimated at 2% of the population in 2001, that is 1,600 plus or minus 100. For 2011 the published total figure includes the estimated undercount.
9. The percentage increases to 1931 and 1951 are calculated at ten yearly rates to be comparable with the other percentages.

The figures need to be interpreted with considerable caution, although the corrected increase figures give a better indication of trends than the crude figures.

Compared with the uncorrected figures the corrected increases show a markedly changed picture on two occasions –

A much sharper reduction in population between 1911 and 1921 than the official figures show.

Population growth in the post-War period was stronger in the period to 1971 than subsequently.

APPENDIX 2

POPULATION BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Analysing the population of Jersey by place of birth is not easy because of changes in definitions and in the data collected in censuses. Table B.1 summarises the available data.

Table B.1 Population of Jersey by place of birth, 1821-2011

Year	Total	Jersey %	Guernsey %	England & Wales %	Scotland %	Ireland %	British Isles total %	France %	Portugal %	Poland %
1821	28,600									
1831	36,582									
1841	47,544	69.4		20.4	0.6	2.9	24.2	[5.9]		
1851	57,020	68.0	1.8	19.5	1.0	4.7	28.1	3.5		
1861	55,613	68.9					28.1	5.0		
1871	56,627	69.3	2.0	15.1	0.5	3.2	20.8	7.2		
1881	52,445	71.5	1.7	13.5	0.6	2.4	19.2	7.6		
1891	54,518	71.8	1.5	12.1	0.5	1.7	15.6	10.2		
1901	52,576	72.6	1.4	10.5	0.4	1.2	12.4	11.4		
1911	51,898	72.5	1.5	11.2	0.5	1.0	14.2	10.8		
1921	49,701	71.0	1.2	14.3	0.7	0.9	17.2	8.8		
1931	50,462	73.0	1.2	14.6	1.6	0.9	17.5	6.4		
1939	51,080									
1951	57,310	63.1	1.6	23.5	2.5	1.9	28.5	4.9		
1961	59,489	60.6	1.6	27.9	0.6	2.9	36.2	4.1	0.2	
1971	69,329	55.0					36.0			
1981	76,050	51.0					35.2	1.6	3.1	
1991	84,082	51.5					39.4	1.3	4.1	
2001	87,186	52.6					35.8	1.3	5.9	
2011	97,857	49.7					32.8	0.9	7.2	3.2

Source: census reports.

Notes:
1. The table excludes those not born in the territories listed, so the percentages do not add up to 100.
2. There has been no attempt to correct for the definitional changes described in Appendix 1.

Table B1 shows that as early as 1841 over 30% of the population of Jersey was not born in the Island. Until WW2 the proportion of the population not born in Jersey was fairly constant at between 27% and 32%. However, the proportion born elsewhere in the British Isles was very variable, falling from 28% in 1861 to 12% in 1901 before increasing to 18% in 1931. These variations largely mirror the variations in the proportion of the population born in France.

Born in Jersey does not of course mean 'Jerseyman', as many Jersey-born people have one or both parents born outside the Island. The 1906 immigration report (States of Jersey, 1906) noted that between 1843 and 1901 the proportion of births where the father was Jersey-born had fallen from 48.2% to 37.4%, where the father was English from 44.3% to 31.7%, and that where the father was French there had been an increase from 7.5% to 30.9%.

The table shows a rapid decline in the proportion of Jersey-born people from 73% in 1931 to 63% in 1961 and 50% in 2011. However, the change in the definition of the total population distorts the figures. Residents not present on census night were included in the census figures from 1981. The effect of this is difficult to calculate, but it probably means that the decline in the proportion of Jersey–born population has been less than the table suggests.

APPENDIX 3

POPULATION BY SEX

Chapter 4 noted the disparity between the number of men and the number of women. The 1737 'census' was only partial, for example excluding St Helier. It counted 2,559 males and 3,648 females, an astonishingly high ratio of 1.42 females to every male.

The more complete 1806 census recorded 12,551 females and 10,084 males, a female/male ratio of 1.24. This census had separate figures for girls (6,018) and boys (4,707), an even higher ratio of 1.28, and suggests the much higher number of females cannot be explained for example by men in the fishing industry.

Table C.1 shows the key statistics from the complete censuses.

Table C.1 Population of Jersey by sex, 1821-2011

Year	Population	Male	Female	Female/ male	Excess of females	Married men	Married women	Excess of married women
1821	28,600	13,056	15,544	1.19	2,488			
1831	36,582	17,006	19,576	1.15	2,570			
1841	47,544	21,602	25,942	1.20	4,340			
1851	57,020	26,238	30,782	1.17	4,544	9,205	9,820	615
1861	55,613	24,843	30,770	1.24	5,927	8,040	9,035	995
1871	56,627	24,875	31,752	1.28	6,877	9,001	9,968	967
1881	52,445	23,485	28,960	1.23	5,475	8,538	9,059	521
1891	54,518	24,965	29,553	1.18	4,588	9,049	9,358	309
1901	52,576	23,940	28,636	1.20	4,696	9,014	9,248	234
1911	51,898	24,014	27,884	1.16	3,870	9,303	9,512	209
1921	49,701	22,438	27,263	1.22	4,825	9,830	9,906	76
1931	50,462	23,424	27,038	1.15	3,614	10,593	10,568	-25
1939	51,080	23,956	27,124	1.13	3,168			
1951	57,310	27,291	30,019	1.10	2,728			
1961	59,489	28,664	30,825	1.08	2,161			
1971	69,329	33,770	35,559	1.05	1,789			
1981	76,050	36,496	39,554	1.08	3,058			
1991	84,082	40,862	43,220	1.06	2,358			
2001	87,186	42,484	44,702	1.05	2,218			
2011	97,857	48,296	49,561	1.03	1,265			

Source: census reports.

The table shows that between 1831 and 1871 the number of women increased by 12,176 while the number of men increased by 7,869, this during a period when there was significant immigration of men. In 1871 the excess of females was most pronounced in the 20-25 age group – 1,786 men and 65% more women – 2,950. The figures suggest one or both of large-scale emigration of Jersey-born men or an undercount of men, particular of those employed in cod fishing and shipping. However, there also seems to have been a huge disparity in death-rates. In 1851 there were 878 widows and 2,975 widowers.

APPENDIX 4

JERSEY-BORN NON-RESIDENTS

Introduction

This appendix attempts to calculate how many Jersey-born people live outside Jersey and more specifically how many have residential qualifications to live in the Island. It examines theoretical issues and analyses the available statistics.

Why is this important?

For many years Jersey has sought to restrain the rate of growth of its population. This has largely been done by restrictions on the ability of businesses to employ workers and by restrictions on the ability of 'non-locals' to purchase or rent properties. It is planned to back up this policy with the establishment of a population register listing everyone living in Jersey categorised between 'entitled', 'registered' and 'licensed'.

The ability of the authorities to influence the rate of growth of population is constrained by a number of factors. It is not possible to have any meaningful control over birth or death-rates, or over the establishment of partnerships whether formalised in marriage or not, or over the rate of emigration. Even the ability to control immigration is limited by the need to fill essential jobs.

There is no attempt to control the re-entry into Jersey of people currently not living in the Island but who have residential qualifications through birth and ten years' residence. It would not be acceptable to impose any limitation on such people. However, it is important to know how many such people there are and of these how many may return to Jersey, as this should influence the tightness with which other controls are applied.

Who are the residentially qualified non-residents?

The core group of residentially qualified non-residents is people born and brought up in Jersey for at least ten years who left the Island after leaving school, some having gone to higher education but some not, and who have subsequently worked in the UK or abroad.

In addition to this group are the partners of such residentially qualified people, a small proportion of whom may be residentially qualified in their own right, but most of whom would not be. There are also dependants of residentially qualified non-residents, largely children of people in their 30s and 40s.

The final group of residentially qualified non-residents are people who were not born in Jersey, but came to Jersey with their parents or to work and who lived in the Island long enough to acquire residential qualifications, but without having been abroad for long enough to lose those qualifications. This group is much smaller than the first group, and also its ties to the Island are significantly less.

Why may residentially qualified non-residents wish to return?

There are a number of related reasons why residentially qualified non-residents may wish to return to Jersey. Generally, it is the combination of factors which is important.

The first factor is a significant preference for Jersey as against anywhere else, which may extend to being homesick. This is most likely to apply to younger Jersey people.

The second factor is family ties, perhaps to support elderly parents or perhaps because the support of parents or children is needed or perhaps simply to be near family.

A third factor is to minimise taxation. This is particularly important when people retire. They may have no choice but to live outside Jersey to earn the salary they are receiving, but they do have a choice as to where they enjoy their retirement. By moving to Jersey, they can significantly reduce taxation on any income from employment and on much investment income. Most importantly, all forms of inheritance duty and capital taxes can be avoided. This becomes particularly attractive as people near the ends of their lives and may wish to leave money to their children and other family. A new factor is relevant here. Previously, a person returning from the UK would have had their pension taxed at source, in many cases at 40% (and for the richest, 50% from April 2010). With the signing of a Tax Information Exchange Agreement with the UK that pension is now taxed in Jersey at 20%. This could well add to the attraction of returning to Jersey.

The final factor, again relevant predominantly to people about to retire, is that Jersey is a nice place in which to live, particularly if friends and family are also there.

At any one time, it is reasonable to assume that there is one group of residentially qualified non-residents who may return, comprising young people in their 20s or 30s who have lived outside Jersey for a few years, but who wish to return to the Island, quite possibly bringing a partner and children who may not be residentially qualified in their own right. The much larger group of potential returners are people in the 55 to 70 age group for whom each of the factors of family ties, nice place in which to live and minimising the tax burden are likely to apply.

It is also reasonable to assume that the size of this group of people will rise over time as an increasing proportion of Jersey school leavers has gone on to higher education in the UK and has remained there, and as the wealth of this group increases.

Estimating the number of residentially qualified non-residents

It is difficult to estimate the number of residentially qualified non-residents and the number of potential returners. There are three broad approaches –

Extrapolating from existing information on the number of returning residentially qualified people.

Using births and census data to examine particular population cohorts, seeking to identify what proportion of people born in certain years, who may reasonably be assumed to have residential qualifications, are no longer living in the Island.

A sample survey of people living in Jersey seeking to identify how many relatives they might have living outside the Island who are residentially qualified.

Residentially qualified returners

There is some existing data from the last four censuses on the date when the most recent period of residence began for Jersey-born residents. Table D.1 shows the figures.

Table D.1 Jersey-born people returning to live in Jersey by year of beginning of current period of residence, 1981-2011

Census	Pre-1960	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000-09	Total
1981	223	169	262				692
1991	229	225	427	680			1,691
2001	125	193	407	602	818		2,145
2011		220	290	450	510	830	2,300

Source: census reports.

Notes:

1. The 1981 figures are for heads of household only and therefore understate the position considerably as Jersey-born married women are excluded.

2. The 2011 census gives a total of 220 people whose residence began prior to 1970; this figure therefore coversboth 1960-69 and pre-1960.

The table shows a steady increase in the number of Jersey-born people coming back to Jersey over 1970, 290 between 1970 and 1979, 450 between 1980 and 1989,510 between 1990 and 1999 and 830 between 2000 and 2009. In 2010, the last full year for which figures are available, the number was 140 and it has been 100 or more a year since 2006. The figure is likely to continue increasing as the number of Jersey émigrés who reach retirement continues to increase. It is fair to assume that a significant proportion of such people, probably around half, have partners who are not residentially qualified in their own right.

Analysis of population cohorts

This analysis looks at the distribution of the Jersey-born population by age group as recorded in the 1981 census, and then at how many in that age group were recorded in the 1991, 2001 and 2011 censuses. The data are shown in Table D.2 below.

Table D.2 Progress of age cohorts of Jersey-born in 1981

Age Cohort in 1981	Number in 1981	Number in 1991 (age in 1981 + 10 years)	Number in 2001 (age in 1981 + 20 years)	Number in 2011 (age in 1981 + 30 years)	Change 1981–2011	
0-4	3,507	3,422	2,900	2,550	-957	-27%
5-9	3,251	3,280	2,505	2,470	-781	-24%
10-14	3,818	3,483	3,045	3,036	-782	-20%
15-19	3,980	3,566	3,455	3,400	-580	-15%
20-24	2,802	2,919	2,830	2,730	-72	-3%
25-29	2,220	2,329	2,260	2,120	100	-5%
30-34	2,469	2,571	2,460	2,240	-229	-9%
35-39	1,046	1,408	1,310	1,180	+134	13%
40-44	2,121	2,172	1,980	1,710	-411	-19%

Source: census reports.

Some of the trends, particularly between 1981 and 1991, are puzzling and need explaining. Following is an attempt –

> The 35-39 age cohort were born in the War years and was aged 45-49 in 1991, 55-59 in 2001 and 65-69 in 2011. Some people in this age group were returning to Jersey towards the end of their working lives, having worked in the UK. However, the increase still looks implausibly high, particularly bearing in mind that there would have been a significant death-rate affecting this group.
>
> The small rise in the 5-9 cohort between 1981 and 1991 is very difficult to explain.
>
> Those in the 20-24 cohort were most likely to have been studying in the UK in 1981 and some of these may have returned to Jersey at the completion of their studies.
>
> The figures for the older age groups reflect the return of Jersey-born people as explained in the previous section. The figures for the oldest cohort (70-74 in 2011) will be affected to some extent by deaths.

The most significant line is that for the 5-9 year olds. In 1981, there were 3,251 children in this category; ten years later, when they were 15-19, the number had actually increased marginally to

3,280, but by 2011, when they were 35-39, the number had fallen by 24%. In other words 24% of those born in Jersey between 1972 and 1976, who were still living in Jersey in 1981, were no longer living in the Island in 2011. This figure can be regarded as the minimum percentage of people born in Jersey who live away from the Island in their 20s. However, the table does not show the full picture as it does not cover those who left the Island prior to 1981, and also the figures for 1991, 2001 and 2011 include returners who were not in Jersey in 1981.

Comparing births with census data

To obtain the most accurate picture of the number of residentially qualified non-residents it is necessary to try to track people born in Jersey, that is to compare the number of people born in a period with the number of such people in successive censuses. Table D.3 shows the crude data.

Table D.3 Comparison of births and census data for Jersey-born, 1911-2010

Years	Births	Number in 1991 census living in Jersey	Number in 2001 census living in Jersey	Number in 2011 census living in Jersey	Estimated deaths by 2011	Estimated non-residents in 2000
1911 – 1920	8,000			480	7,500	-
1921 – 1931	8,243	3,680	2,855	760	5,300	2,200
1931 - 1941	8,951	4,252	3,815	2,470	2,800	3,700
1941 - 1950	5,950	3,979	3,770	3,420	800	1,700
1951 - 1960	7,887	5,428	5,090	4,850	500	2,500
1961 - 1970	11,380	7,049	6,500	6,450	400	4,600
1971 - 1980	8,585	6,702	5,405	5,020	200	3,400
1981 - 1990	9,658	8,291	7,875	6,580	100	3,000
1991 - 2000	10,896	-	8,860	8,600	100	2,200
2001 - 2010	9,930	-	-	8,580	100	1,300
Total	**89,480**			**47,210**	**17,700**	**24,500**

Source: census reports.

Notes:

1. The figures for estimated deaths are a rough calculation based on *Interim Life Tables* produced for ONS, based on 2000–02 data. These figures, and the estimated non-resident figures, have been rounded to avoid a spurious impression of accuracy.
2. Figures for 1911-1920 are an extrapolation of the trends for later years.

Table D.3 suggests that as many as 13% of children born in the 2000s were not in the Island in 2011, all having failed to reach the ten-year residence period that would guarantee them residential qualifications for life. There then seems to be a fairly clear pattern with around 30% of Jersey-born people in their 20s not living in the Island, the figure rising to about 40% of people in their 30s. However, a proportion of these, perhaps as many as half, may not have residential qualifications because they did not complete ten years residence.

These figures need to be qualified in all sorts of ways but they probably give the best estimate of the number of residentially qualified non-residents.

A reasonable estimate is that 20–25% of Jersey-born people have residential qualifications but are not living in the Island. In round terms this represents 10,000–12,000 people, of whom perhaps 1,500 are in the 50-60 age bracket for whom return to Jersey may be on their agenda.

Partners and dependants

With a central estimate of around 11,000 people born in Jersey who have residential qualifications and who are no longer living in the Island there is then a question of how many dependants do they

have who would be entitled to live with them? It is reasonable to assume that perhaps 70% have a partner, and also that the vast majority of these partners would not be residentially qualified in their own right. A reasonable guess, and it is no more than that, is that perhaps 50% have a partner who is not residentially qualified.

The number of dependent children is probably much lower and is relevant only for the younger age groups. Again, no more than an intelligent guess, but perhaps the number of dependent children is just 10% of the core number.

Other residentially qualified

There is a small group of people who were not born in Jersey but who have residential qualifications, acquired through a period of residence in Jersey. For the most part this group would have little affiliation to the Island and are unlikely to return. However, some will be the children of Jersey-born parents who may regard themselves as Jersey people in all but name.

Summary of the numbers

Putting all of these figures together gives a central estimate of residentially qualified non-residents of around 18,000 comprising –

11,000 Jersey-born people
6,000 partners
1,000 non-Jersey born people and dependants

However, this figure is subject to a very wide margin of error. More realistically it should be assumed that there is a range of between 12,000 and 25,000.

Relevance of this information for population policy

Clearly, this is a huge number of people who can come back to the Island to live at any time. It should not be assumed that they would be a burden as most would have pension and investment income from outside the Island, and not only would they be well able to look after themselves, but they would actually contribute both to tax revenue in the Island and also to the maintenance of employment through their spending power.

It is possible that there would be some additional call on public services, particularly health in the last few years of people's lives. Generally, however, such people should not be seen as being a potential burden to the Island.

However, given that there is a specific policy on the rate of net immigration, and there is a reluctance to allow the provision of housing to meet the demand for it, clearly a significant inflow of residentially qualified non-residents could jeopardise the achievement of the Council of Minister's aims on population policy.

It is reasonable to assume that the number of returning residentially qualified people will rise steadily over time from perhaps 140 to 150 a year at present to well over 200 a year – together with around 100 dependants – and perhaps significantly more. That number will be influenced not only by the number of residentially qualified non-residents, but also by relative economic circumstances, and in particular tax rates in Jersey and the UK. The more attractive Jersey is compared with the UK for retired people with some financial assets, the more that residentially qualified people are likely to return to Jersey.

APPENDIX 5

POPULATION TRENDS IN GUERNSEY

Jersey and Guernsey are similar in many respects although Jersey is larger in terms of both area and population than Guernsey. The islands have broadly similar natural resources, and of course both are surrounded by the sea and have a long maritime tradition. Jersey is slightly favoured compared with Guernsey in that the Island slopes from north to south, therefore making it more favourable for some crops, but the difference is marginal. However, Guernsey has a more favourable natural harbour.

While being similar, the islands are independent of each other, both politically and economically. This is not surprising as they are separated by 20 kilometres of the English Channel, and have little to offer each other in terms of trade. Both islands are more heavily dependent on their links with the United Kingdom than they are on each other. The economies of the islands have never been integrated and there has been only a small overlap between businesses, and indeed population, in the two islands. However, the islands have had almost identical relationships with the United Kingdom and the international community generally, although they have not always chosen to treat those links in the same way.

For all of these reasons a comparison of population trends in Jersey and Guernsey is of interest to anyone studying either island. Fortunately, such a comparison is greatly facilitated by a comprehensive analysis of the Guernsey economy and migration between 1814 and 1914 by Dr Rose-Marie Crossan (2007). The information on Guernsey in this appendix draws almost exclusively on this excellent publication. Unfortunately however, Guernsey decided not to conduct a full scale census in 2011 but rather has relied on other population estimates. Bearing in mind that the annual estimates for Jersey proved wide of the mark when the census figures became available this means that comparisons between Jersey and Guernsey since 2001 should be viewed with caution.

Dr Crossan makes the same point that is being made in this paper, that the Channel Islands have benefited from their roles as strategic British outposts –

> During the last Millennium, Guernsey (and its sister Isles) have reaped considerable advantage from their role as strategic British outposts off a frequently hostile continent. Favourable treatment from the metropolis in return for continued loyalty has enabled the Islands to retain their own separate identity and polity through 800 years of allegiance to the English Crown. Substantial political and fiscal autonomy have also enabled Guernsey and Jersey to maximise their trading advantages by preventing the diversion of financial returns and facilitating local economic consolidation. Over the last three centuries, this has led to a level of economic development far in excess of that of other European islands of comparable size. (Crossan, 2007, p. 1.)

Economy

Initially stimulated by involvement in privateering, Guernsey's capital, St Peter Port, grew rapidly as an entrepôt for wines, spirits and East India goods during the 18th century. Alongside a legitimate bulk-breaking and warehousing, the supply of dutiable goods to English smugglers played a major role in the Guernsey economy in the final 30 years of the 18th century such that anti-smuggling legislation was targeted at the islands in 1805 and 1807 and had a major adverse effect on St Peter Port. As in Jersey after the Napoleonic Wars, many British expatriates chose to settle there.

The shipping industry continued to be important after the Napoleonic wars, concentrating

heavily on trade with South America as well as transporting stone and coal from and to the island. At its height in the early 1860s the Guernsey sailing fleet employed about 1,100 people. A shipbuilding industry did develop in Guernsey but it was much smaller than that of Jersey. By contrast, the stone trade was significantly more important than that of Jersey, granite exports increasing throughout the 19th century and peaking at over 450,000 tons in 1913.

Population and Migration

The earliest year for which a firm estimate of population for Guernsey exists is 1727 when the figure was 10,246 of whom 43% lived in St Peter Port. An 1800 enumeration produced a figure of 16,155, and in 1814 an estimate was made of 21,293. Crossan suggests that the population fell immediately before the first official census in 1821 as a consequence of the ending of the Napoleonic Wars. Newspaper reports suggested that between 1817 and 1819 1,310 people emigrated to Baltimore, Philadelphia, Gaspé and Québec.

In 1821 the population was heavily centred in St Peter Port, which had over 50% of the total population and a population density ten times that of the rest of the island. St Peter Port was far more dominant than St Helier in this respect, St Helier at that time having just one third of the Jersey population.

Table E1 compares the population growth in Jersey with that in Guernsey according to the census records from 1821 to 2011.

Table E1 Population of Jersey and Guernsey, 1821-2011

Year	Jersey No	Increase %	Guernsey No	Increase %	Jersey/ Guernsey
1821	28,600		20,302		1.41
1831	36,582	27.9	24,349	19.9	1.50
1841	47,544	30.0	26,649	9.4	1.78
1851	57,020	19.9	29,757	11.7	1.92
1861	55,613	-2.5	29,804	0.2	1.87
1871	56,627	1.8	30,593	2.6	1.85
1881	52,445	-7.4	32,607	6.6	1.61
1891	54,518	4.0	35,243	8.1	1.55
1901	52,576	-3.6	40,446	14.8	1.30
1911	51,898	-1.3	41,826	3.4	1.24
1921	49,701	-4.2	38,283	-8.5	1.30
1931	50,462	1.5	40,588	6.0	1.24
1939	51,080	1.2	41,000	1.0	1.25
1951	57,310	12.2	43,534	6.2	1.32
1961	59,489	3.8	44,968	3.3	1.32
1971	69,329	16.5	51,500	14.5	1.35
1981	76,050	9.7	53,500	3.9	1.42
1991	84,082	10.6	58,800	9.9	1.43
2001	87,186	3.7	59,600	1.4	1.46
2011	97,857	12.2 [10.2]	62,915	5.6	1.55 [1.52]

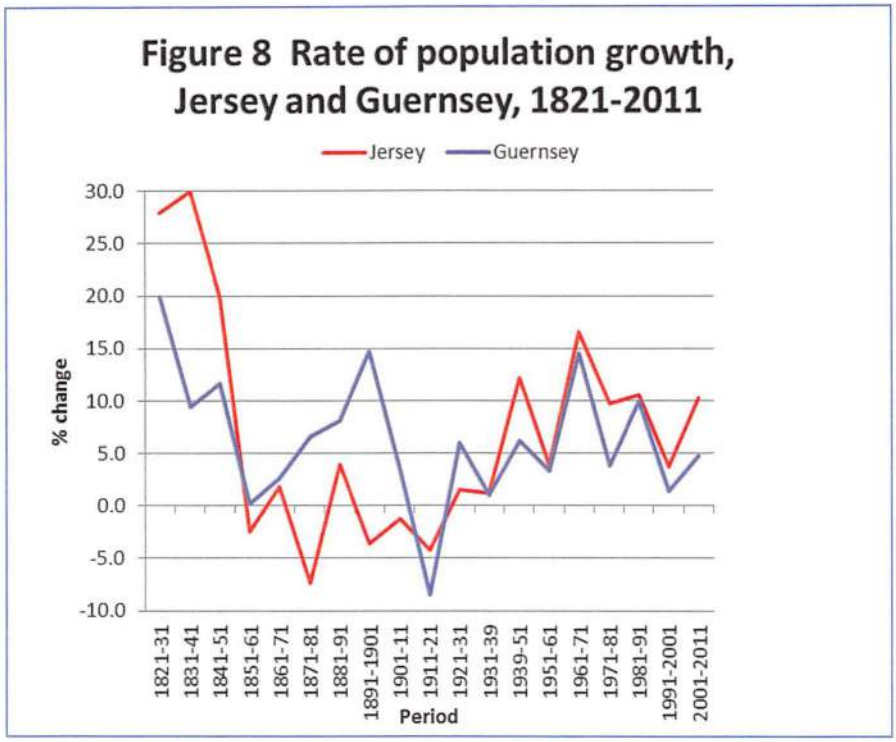
Source: census reports and official Guernsey estimate for 2011 (States of Guernsey, 2014).

The table shows a significant divergence of trend between 2001 and 2011. However, here it should be noted that the percentage increase for Jersey implied by the annual estimates (the method used for Guernsey) was not 10.2% (the actual increase on a like for like basis) but rather 6.3%, much nearer the Guernsey estimate of 5.6%.

The figures are directly comparable until 2001, as the same census definitions were used in both islands and indeed census reports were published for the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man as a whole until 1951. (However, it should be noted that the figures for Guernsey include the adjacent

islands, mainly Sark, Alderney and Herm.) It will be seen that the population of Jersey increased much more rapidly than that of Guernsey until 1851 following which the position was reversed in each census until 1931, the only exception being in the ten years to 1921 when the figures were distorted by the Great War and other factors.

Figure 8 both illustrates the more stable rate of population growth in Guernsey and also the convergence of the trends in the post-war period.



As in Jersey, Guernsey experienced immigration by French religious refugees. In the second half of the 16th century an initial contingent of French religious refugees sought refuge in Guernsey, and a century later, following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, there were several waves of refugees between 1685 and 1727. It is estimated that 80 to 100 Huguenot families had settled in St Peter Port by the early 18th century.

Crossan calculates that there was substantial emigration from Guernsey between 1814 and 1821, total net emigration for the period from 1800 to 1821 totalling 4,703. This was reversed after 1821 with immigration continuing to contribute to population growth until the late 1820s, and subsequently from 1841 to 1851 and 1891 to 1901, but with net losses through emigration in all other decades. Crossan observed that the decades of loss conformed to a Europe- wide pattern, and that the Guernsey peaks also corresponded with peaks calculated by Kelleher (1994) for Jersey, although numerical losses from Jersey in the peak periods were much higher.

Crossan estimated that between 1851 and 1861 there was the largest net emigration from Guernsey as indeed there was from Jersey. As in Jersey there were concerns at the number of young men from Guernsey who were emigrating. The principal destinations seem to have been

Australia, New Zealand, North America and the Cape of Good Hope part of South Africa. Interestingly, Crossan suggests that there was a very small number of Guernsey natives living in England in 1881, which rather contrasts with the information for Jersey given in Table 25.

Crossan did a detailed analysis not only of net immigration and emigration but also of gross immigration and emigration. The results usefully inform what the gross position in Jersey might be – Table E2 shows the position.

Table E2 Gross migration flows by decade, Guernsey, 1841-1901

Period	Immigrants	Emigrants	Of which non-native	Of which native
1841-51	6,103	5,568	3,785	1,783
1851-61	4,913	7,018	4,591	2,427
1861-71	3,822	5,120	3,798	1,322
1871-81	4,283	4,680	3,261	1,419
1881-91	4,541	5,206	3,551	1,655
1891-1901	5,963	5,636	2,793	2,842

Source: Crossan (2007) p. 60.

In the peak decade for immigration, 1841 to 1851, there were 6,103 immigrants and 5,568 emigrants, showing that the gross figures are much higher than the net figures. The table also shows that until 1891 to 1901 the vast majority of emigrants were non natives.

Crossan asks how Guernsey's population continued to grow in the decades when outflows exceeded inflows. She concludes that the answer lies partly in the contribution made by immigrants in enhancing Guernsey's potential for natural increase. The incomers were young adults and therefore caused birth-rates to rise. Over 70% of migrants arriving between 1841 and 1901 were under 36. The following quote summarises the position -

> Well over 30,000 separate individuals can be identified from enumerators' books as migrants to Guernsey between 1841 and 1901. Two thirds of these appeared in just one census. Economic conditions were such as to continue attracting hopeful newcomers each decade, but insufficient to prevent many earlier movers from leaving when they felt that better opportunities might be available elsewhere. The constantly self-renewing supply of youthful incomers not only went much of the way to replacing inhabitants who had left, but contributed significantly to what would otherwise have been a low level of local births, helping to boost overall population totals. (Crossan, 2007, p. 61.)

There is no reason to think the situation in Jersey was any different, and indeed Kelleher's analysis confirms this. Crossan estimates that over the whole period 1841 to 1901 56.5% of the immigrants into Guernsey came from England, 11.8% from France, 11.0% from Jersey, 6.6% from Ireland, 3.6% from Alderney and 1.5% from Sark. Crossan suggests that the total non-native presence hovered at around a quarter of the insular population between 1841 and 1901, broadly similar to the position in Jersey.

Crossan analyses the disparity between the number of women and the number of men in Guernsey, a feature also noted in Jersey. Perhaps surprisingly, between 1841 and 1901 the number of female immigrants exceeded the number of male immigrants by 17%. However, Crossan attributes the main difference to the combination of seafaring and male emigration, the same points that were noted for Jersey.

Crossan notes that non-natives comprised a greater proportion of the 25 to 34 section of the overall population than for any other age group, and as fertility in this age group is high the number of non-natives in this cohort bore a direct relationship to the high total of apparently native under-15s, as many of these would have been born not to islanders but to migrants. Thus

Guernsey's continued 19th century population growth was attributable to a large extent to the reproductive input of immigrants.

Immigration from Jersey and France

Crossan notes that the number of people recorded in the Jersey census as being residents of Guernsey and adjacent islands fell between 1851 and 1901 from 1,080 to 750. However, for Guernsey the trend was in the opposite direction, 473 Jersey natives in 1851 and 1,766 in 1901. Crossan suggests that this trend is partly explained by the step migration of French people and their Island-born children to Guernsey via Jersey.

As in Jersey, French immigration began to rise in the 1870s. By 1901 the French community was four times the size it had been in 1841 and accounted for 5% of Guernsey's population, as against 11% for Jersey. The French migrants were employed in quarrying and farm work. Crossan notes that a significant proportion of the French immigrants to Guernsey cited Jersey as their last residence. She suggests that after working on the potato harvest in Jersey many then travelled to Guernsey to pick up a few more weeks work. Crossan undertook a detailed analysis of where the migrants came from using a comprehensive '*Stranger register*', much more detailed than the information available for Jersey. As for Jersey the migrants came from Manche and Côtes-du-Nord. The specific villages from France from where the migrants came seem almost identical with those that feature in the chapter on Jersey, with the addition of Pont-Melvez, about 40 kilometres west of St-Brieuc.

Recent years

Guernsey decided to move away from large-scale 10-yearly censuses and did not conduct one in 2011. Rather it uses administrative records to include counts of births, deaths, immigration and emigration. Guernsey is progressing the development of a fully electronic system for reporting population data. The project is due for completion in 2014, and an expanded population bulletin (including population by parish and other information, which was previously collected via a census) will be published annually from 2015 onwards.

Table E3 shows the most recent data.

Table E3 Guernsey population, 2008-2013

Year (March)	Population	% Change	Natural Increase	Net Migration
2008	61,726	0.9	108	443
2009	62,274	0.9	111	437
2010	62,431	0.3	143	14
2011	62,915	0.8	102	382
2012	63,085	0.3	127	43
2013	62,732	-0.6	111	353

Source: Guernsey Annual Population Bulletin 2013 (States of Guernsey, 2014)

It will be noted that there was quite a significant downturn in the year to March 2013. It is also perhaps surprising that while Guernsey's economy has performed better than Jersey's over the last few years its population growth has been significantly lower. This is partly because the natural increase in Jersey is much higher than in Guernsey – more than double given the relative population sizes.

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Annex 1: THE 1906 STATES REPORT ON IMMIGRATION INTO JERSEY

by

MARK BOLEAT

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In 1906 the report of a States Committee on immigration was published. The report is now available only in French in the library of the Société Jersiaise and in the Jersey Archives. The report includes some statistics on births by origin of parents that are not otherwise available and gives a contemporary view of attitudes to immigration into, and emigration from, Jersey.

It is perhaps paradoxical that a report dealing with concerns about the French influence on Jersey is available only in French, but French was the language used in all States documents at the time. It is believed that an English version of the report did exist but it has not been possible to trace a copy. The French version has been translated by Translat Ltd and is reproduced verbatim as section 5, with just a few changes to the format of the tables to improve clarity.

The report needs to be seen in context. This paper also seeks to give that context, drawing particularly on three studies:

Mark Boleat, *Jersey's Population: A History*

Rose-Marie Crossan, *Guernsey 1814-1914*, The Boydell Press, 2007

Michel Monteil, *L'émigration Francaise vers Jersey 1850-1950*, Université de Provence, 2005. This book, available in French only, is one of the most important studies on the history of Jersey. A specific chapter on the 1906 report has been translated by Translat Ltd and is included as section 6 of this paper. The consent of Michel Monteil in allowing this chapter to be included is gratefully acknowledged.

This paper is available in electronic form on www.boleat.com.

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1. MIGRATION TO AND FROM JERSEY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

A History (2010) This section briefly summarises population trends. In the 45 years between 1806 and 1851 the population increased by no less than 150%, an annual rate of over 2%. The 1820s and 1830s were periods of particularly rapid growth, around 25% in each decade. This population growth both reflected and contributed to an economic boom, which resulted from a combination of circumstances, in particular Jersey's geographical location and favoured tax position in relation to trade with the UK and its colonies. The Atlantic cod trade was the foundation of the boom, bringing with it shipping and shipbuilding industries, and at times other industries also flourished including oyster farming, construction and cider production.

In the 1830s and 1840s net immigration averaged 500 a year, and in addition a significant proportion of children born in Jersey had parents one or both of whom were not born in the Island. During this period Jersey also welcomed its first tax exiles – predominantly retired military and colonial officers. This immigration was almost entirely from the UK. By 1841, 24% and by 1851, 27% of the Jersey population had been born elsewhere in the British Isles, and of the Jersey-born population a small but growing proportion were the children of immigrants. And in addition, in 1851 5% of the Jersey population were classified as other, predominantly French.

The economic boom turned sour in the 1850s for a combination of reasons, particularly the decline in world trade. And so net immigration turned to net emigration. From the peak of 57,020 in 1851 there was an 18% decline in the population on a comparable basis by 1921. In the 1860s, 1870s and 1890s net emigration averaged 400 a year. However, at the same time there was significant immigration from France. The following table shows the census data.

French-born population of Jersey

Year	Total Population	French Born Population	French Born Total %
1841	47,544	[2,800]	[5.9]
1851	57,020	2,017	3.5
1961	55,613	2,790	5.0
1871	56,627	4,092	7.2
1881	52,445	3,972	7.6
1891	54,518	5,576	10.2
1901	52,576	6,011	11.4

Source: census reports and author's estimate for 1841

These figures almost certainly understate the size of the French population, partly because migrant workers are less inclined to complete census returns and partly because much of the migrant labour was seasonal, the season beginning after the census was taken. Consular estimates put the French population in the 1870s and 1880s at between 8,000 and 10,000.

The French workers were sought largely to serve Jersey's new growth industry, new potatoes, an industry which was heavily seasonal in nature. The island could not provide the necessary labour itself and French labour was far more economical that British labour. There was also a 'push' factor from France – the relative poverty of Brittany and Normandy in relation not just to Jersey but also to the rest of France. This immigration was different from the previous immigration from the UK in that the workers spoke a different language, had a different religion, regarded themselves as part of a different community and also they were predominantly in the country parishes rather than in St Helier.

While immigration of 'foreigners' was one factor causing concern in Jersey, another was emigration of locals. The economic downturn in the second half of the 19th century led to significant emigration of Jersey people to England and to a lesser extent the New World. Between 1841 and 1921 the censuses for England and W ales included a figure for people born in the 'Islands of the British Seas', that is Jersey, Guernsey and the Isle of Man. Only in one year (1911) was a breakdown given, when a disproportionate number (42%) of these people were from the Isle of Man. If it is assumed that 60% of the remainder were from Jersey rather than Guernsey this implies that 34% of the total were from Jersey. The following table shows the data.

Jersey-born people living in England

Year	Total	Born in Islands of the British Seas	Jersey-born estimate 'émigrés' as percentage of Jersey-born people living in Jersey
1841	11,705	4,000	12
1851	13,753	5,000	13
1861	18,423	6,000	16
1871	25,655	9,000	23
1881	29,316	10,000	27
1891	30,370	10,000	26
1901	35,763	12,000	31
1911	36,762	12,000	32
1921	38,862	13,000	37

Source: census reports

Like all census data this table needs to be interpreted with caution. It records not only 'true' Jersey people who have emigrated but also children born in Jersey of short term immigrants to the Island. However, the table shows a continual upward trend.

By 1900 Jersey had ceased to be an insular community. 28% of the population had been born outside the Island, 60% of children being born in Jersey had parents not born in the Island, and of the total number of people born in Jersey a quarter were living in England and perhaps a further 5% in Canada, Australia and other parts of the world.

These trends had a massive effect on the Island, and not surprisingly were a subject of political interest. They led to the creation of the special committee of the States that produced the 1906 report.

2. A FRENCH VIEW OF MIGRATION FROM FRANCE TO JERSEY

French migration to Jersey between 1850 and 1950 has been the subject of a detailed study by a French academic Michel Monteil (*L'émigration française vers Jersey, 1850-1950*, l'Université de Provence, 2005).

Monteil analyses both the economy of Jersey and its need for migrant labour, and the economic situation in Brittany and Normandy that led to emigration in search of work. Monteil contrasts the economic or voluntary migration in the 19th century with the previous migration of refugees.

Monteil suggests that the first workers from France arrived in the 1820s to work in the quarry at Ronez, and to help build the port of St Helier. However, this source of

work declined rapidly in the 1840s leading to the significant decline in the French-born population by 1851.

The major immigration was in respect of agriculture. Monteil noted the growth of the new potato industry, exports increasing from 1,400 tonnes in 1810 to 17,670 tonnes in 1840, and in particular being able to get to the British market before competitors therefore commanding a premium price. The new potato season lasted just six weeks. Monteil commented:

> *Jersey ne possédant pas de réserve de mains-d'ouvre suffiscante pour l'arracharge des pommes det terres primeurs, la seule régulation de la population existant depuis toujours sur l'île étant l'émigration il était donc nécessaire de faire appel à une force temporaire de travail venue de l'éxtérieur. Ce que firent en effet les agriculteurs de Jersey en faisant venir des travailleurs agricoles français.*

In short, Jersey did not have a supply of workers able to harvest the new potato crop so French agricultural workers had to be imported.

Monteil notes that Jersey was British, and analyses why workers were sought from France rather than England. The answer was that French workers were cheaper, and also the new potato season coincided with the time of year in Brittany and Normandy of least agricultural activity.

Migration depends on conditions in both the host and the home state. Monteil explains the severe economic conditions in Brittany in particular in the second half of the 19th century. Between 1866 and 1946 more than 115,000 people left the Department of Côtes du Nord (now the Côtes d'Armor), emigration being particularly strong in 1872 and between 1911 and 1921. Economic migrants from the Côtes du Nord went either to Jersey, the French colonies, Canada or Paris.

Monteil notes that agriculture was backward in the Côtes du Nord, and he mentions the famine in 1847 when 20,000 people died. Pay rates in the Côtes d'Armor on average were half those in France generally.

The Department of Manche, including the Cotentin Peninsula, was in a similar position. Manche lost 155,000 inhabitants through emigration between the middle of the 19th century and the middle of the 20th century.

As an aside, Monteil describes what happened in the 1930s when Jersey responded to a request from the British Government to employ seasonal workers from England rather than France. The English workers were found to be unsatisfactory compared with the traditional workers from France.

Monteil's important study deals in detail with how workers were recruited, their living conditions and their impact on society in Jersey.

Monteil devoted a chapter to the 1906 report. This has been translated and is reproduced in section 6.

3. THE GUERNSEY EXPERIENCE

Guernsey's economy in the 19th century was been comprehensively analysed by Rose-Marie Crossan *Guernsey 1814-1914* (The Boydell Press, 2007) which is the source for this section. Guernsey's population did not grow nearly as rapidly as Jersey's in the first half of the 19th century, but unlike Jersey's it did not decline at all in the second half of the century. The following table shows the trends.

Population of Jersey and Guernsey, 1821 - 2001

Year	Jersey No	Increase %	Guernsey No	Increase %	Jersey/ Guernsey
1821	28,600		20,302	1.41	
1831	36,582	27.9	24,349	19.9	1.50
1841	47,544	30.0	26,649	9.4	1.78
1851	57,020	19.9	29,757	11.7	1.92
1861	55,613	-2.5	29,804	0.2	1.87
1871	56,627	1.8	30,593	2.6	1.85
1881	52,445	-7.4	32,607	6.6	1.61
1891	54,518	4.0	35,243	8.1	1.55
1901	52,576	-3.6	40,446	14.8	1.30

Source: census reports

Crossan estimated that between 1851 and 1861 there was the largest net emigration from Guernsey as indeed there was from Jersey. As in Jersey there were concerns at the number of young men from Guernsey who were emigrating. The principal destinations seem to have been Australia, New Zealand, North America and the Cape of Good Hope part of South Africa.

Crossan did a detailed analysis not only of net immigration and emigration but also of gross immigration and emigration. The results usefully inform what the gross position in Jersey might be. The following table shows the position.

Gross migration flows by decade, Guernsey, 1841-2001

Period	Immigrants	Emigrants	Of which non-native	Of which native
1841-51	6,103	5,568	3,785	1,783
1851-61	4,913	7,018	4,591	2,427
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1881-91	4,541	5,206	3,551	1,655
1891-1901	5,963	5,636	2,793	2,842

In the peak decade for immigration, 1841 to 1851, there were 6,103 immigrants and 5,568 emigrants, showing that the gross figures are much higher than the net figures. The table also shows that until 1891 to 1901 the vast majority of emigrants were non-natives. Crossan attributes the continued population growth in the face of high net emigration to the fact that most immigrants were young people, in the age groups likely to become parents.

So a significant proportion of the Guernsey-born population were born to non-Guernsey born parents.

Crossan notes that the number of people recorded in the Jersey census as being residents of Guernsey and adjacent islands fell between 1851 and 1901 from 1,080 to 750. However, for Guernsey the trend was in the opposite direction, 473 Jersey natives in 1851 and 1,766 in 1901. Crossan suggests that this trend is partly explained by the step migration of French people and their Island-born children to Guernsey via Jersey.

As in Jersey French immigration began to rise in the 1870s. By 1901 the French community was four times the size it had been in 1841 and accounted for 5% of Guernsey's population, as against 11% for Jersey. The French migrants were employed in quarrying and farm work. Crossan notes that a significant proportion of the French immigrants to Guernsey cited Jersey as their last residence. She suggests that after working on the potato harvest in Jersey many then travelled to Guernsey to pick up a few more weeks work.

4. THE 1906 REPORT: KEY POINTS

The 1906 report is of interest both because it includes statistics on births not otherwise available and because of the attitudes it demonstrates. The key points in the report are:

1. Recognition that two way migration is an essential part of the Jersey economy with immigration being necessary to counteract the effects of emigration:'there is no hope of halting the emigration of our young people, and thus curbing the flow of foreign immigrants'

2. The true 'French population was much higher than the census figure of 6,286. In June there is 'a purely foreign population of nearly 10,000, not counting their children born here'.

3. Births in the island had been studied to identify whether the parents were Jersey, English or foreign. The statistics are shown below:

Year	Jersey	English	Foreign	Total
1843	761	761	117	1,579
1861	691	703	164	1,558
1881	616	537	198	1,351
1901	426	360	351	1,137

They show that in 1901 only 37% of births were to Jersey parents, with 32% being to English parents and 31% being to foreign (almost entirely French) parents.

4. Again, recognition of the necessity of immigration: 'We must have no hesitation in recognising foreign immigration as an inevitable element of our social and political existence. Our population will be more and more recruited from foreign immigrants and their descendants, and we will have to ensure that we absorb them, if possible, without altering the British character of our population.'

5. In the past immigrants but have been assimilated into the island but 'the island is beginning to be swamped, and assimilation is becoming more and more difficult.' This is largely attributed to 'the ever growing number of immigrants of both sexes and the larger number of married couples of the same foreign nationality have made them more independent, more inclined to be self-sufficient, and less obliged to mix with their purely Jersey neighbours; above all since the establishment of schools run by foreign priests, who maintain foreign traditions and make it more difficult if not impossible to assimilate the children of foreigners.'

6. Concern about the characteristics of those leaving the island: 'emigration is carrying off a large part of the best of our young people from the island, whether they are of Jersey, English or foreign origin, and that the place of these emigrants is being taken here by foreign immigrants who come here above all for the needs of our farming'.

7. A wish to distinguish between 'good' and bad foreign workers: 'Here we wish to support especially the system of voluntary registration of good foreign workers. That would supply us with the most effective means of distinguishing between the desirable foreign element and the undesirables, since only those who could produce proof of good character would register voluntarily, and this in itself would throw suspicion on those who were not registered, or rather those who could not fulfil the requirements for registration.' The report did not say how 'proof of good character' would be demonstrated.

8. Concern about the failure of French immigrants to assimilate: 'Immigrants and their children can live separate lives. They have been allowed to set up foreign religious associations, churches and schools managed by foreign priests, largely maintained by subsidies from foreign countries .... What is the remedy? It is hard to find one, but it would be useful to make sure that the elementary education of every child in Jersey of Jersey, English or foreign origin was received in an elementary school run by a person of British nationality.'

5. INTERIM REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO EXAMINE THE WHOLE QUESTION THE IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGNERS TO THIS ISLAND

PRESENTED BY JURÉ-JUSTICIER GERVAISE LE GROS PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE

Lodged au Greffe
and ordered to be printed on 29 March 1906

TO THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED ON 9 FEBRUARY 1905 TO CONSIDER THE WHOLE QUESTION OF THE IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGNERS

The year 1906, the 21st of March
Considering that the subject which occupies the attention of this Committee is partly affected by the question of free education, which has been raised in the States since the Committee was appointed, the Committee has felt obliged to submit the report adopted by it at its meeting of 31 January 1906 to the Assembly in the form of an interim report.

The President is requested to present the said report to the States at their next session.

ERNEST LE SUEUR
Greffier

INTERIM REPORT ON THE WHOLE QUESTION OF FOREIGN IMMIGRATION IN THIS ISLAND

The question of foreign immigration is one which seriously concerns a certain number of the civilised countries of the world, above all those which have reached the most advanced stage of civilisation and welfare. The United States, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom and France attract immigrants from all quarters in search of work. The United Kingdom and France, although they attract immigrants, themselves supply a large number of emigrants who go in search of work or seek to better their conditions beyond the frontiers in overseas countries.

Jersey too is in both these cases, since it makes a large contribution to the flow of emigrants to England and the Colonies, which take from it a large part of its most capable and most enterprising young people. On the other hand it receives a flow of foreign immigrants, numerically proportional but relatively less advanced, who threaten to overflow it if measures are not taken to regulate and assimilate these immigrants and turn them, as far as possible in the circumstances, to Jersey's profit and advantage; for as we shall see below, there is no hope of halting the emigration of our young people, and thus curbing the flow of foreign immigrants.

Since English and Jersey emigrants are generally driven by the same motives to emigrate overseas, it is obvious that there is no reason to hope for a movement of emigrants from England to Jersey, since the obligation to serve in the Militia on its own is enough to deter the English workman. The statistics that we present, on the other hand, indicate only too clearly the tendency towards an exodus from Jersey of those who bear English or Jersey names.There are therefore no grounds to hope for a reversal, and in the circumstances we have to regard foreign immigration as a necessity for our country, without which it would be impossible for us to get the labour we need for our agriculture and to a certain extent to let our farms. As long as French immigrants find better working conditions here than in France, we must expect to see them continue to come, and we must also pay serious attention to the consequences and the influence they will have on the future of our island, all the more so since foreigners and their children now form a very significant part of the whole population. In short, we need them, but at the same time we have to keep a close watch on the political consequences of their presence here and that of their children.

To form a clear idea of the importance of the question, we need to survey the most salient points that emerge from the various censuses of our population and the statistics of the birth rate in Jersey supplied by the register of births.

The population of Jersey is estimated as follows at various dates given below, the last nine of which are those of the decennial census:

Year	Population	Year	Population
1806	22,855	1861	55,615
1815	22,763	1871	56,627
1821	28,600	1881	52,445
1831	36,582	1891	54,518
1841	47,544	1904	52,576
1851	57,020		

It will immediately be obvious that the population grew enormously between the peace of 1815 and the year 1851, when it reached its peak. Immigration at that time must have been almost exclusively from England, since the figures that we give below prove that inhabitants of British origin made up a large part of our population in 1843 and since that date.

It is only since 1851 that the population of the island has been subdivided in the censuses between the rural parishes and the urban parish of St Helier.

It is true, however, that the parish of St Helier also includes a rural population, but on the other hand certain neighbouring parishes also have an urban population, which largely balances the rural population figure for St Helier.

Year	St Helier population	Rural Population	Total
1851	29,741	27,279	57,020
1861	29,528	26,085	55,613
1871	30,756	25,871	56,627
1881	27,990	24,455	52,445
1891	29,133	25,385	54,518
1901	27,866	24,710	52,576

In 1901 the census gives us for the first time the population of the island according to the nationality of each person. Out of the population of 52,576 (or 51,540 omitting the garrison and their families) we find the following subdivisions:

Natives of the island)		Below 16 years	13,677
i.e. of Jersey, English)		Between 16 and 30 years	9,163
and foreign origin)		Above 30 years	15,349 – 38,189
British subjects)		Below 16 years	1,072
not natives to the)		Between 16 and 30 years	1,546
island)		Above 30 years	4,447 – 7,065
Foreigners)		French	6,011
)		Other nationalities	275 – 6,286
			51,540 51,540

The foreign population of the island, almost entirely French, thus numbered 6,286, not counting their children born here, who are classed in the native population, and it exceeds 12 per cent of the total population of the island. The censuses in question were generally taken on 1 April. During the potato season numerous French labourers, said to be more than 3,000, arrive to work in the harvest. In the month of June, therefore, we have in the island a purely foreign population of nearly 10,000, not counting their children born here. It is also more or less certain that a very large proportion of these 6,286 foreign inhabitants of the island are adults, partly because their children born on the island are classed as natives, and also because the immigrants are largely unmarried workers, or married people who have no families or only small ones born before they arrived here.

Here is a table which will indicate how this purely foreign population is divided between the parishes according to the census:

Parish	Total population	Foreign	Percentage population
St Helier	27,145	2,538	9%
St Brelade	2,231	233	10%
St Ouen	2,246	258	11½%
St Martin	2,691	402	15%
St Clement	1,503	221	15%
Grouville	2,513	387	15½%
St Pierre	2,360	362	15½%
St Saviour	4,053	688	17%
St Lawrence	2,292	386	17%
St John	1,614	274	17%
St Mary	931	163	17½%
Trinity	1,969	374	19%

According to researches in the register of births, marriages and deaths for the following four years, which represent four periods of roughly twenty years, 1843, 1864, 1881 and 1901, births in this island, divided between the parish of St Helier and the rural parishes, were as follows:

Year	St Helier	Rural parishes	Total births
1843	910	669	1,579
1861	875	683	1,558
1881	764	587	1,351
1901	599	538	1,137

We shall subdivide the totals into three categories according to the origin of the names of the fathers of the children, i.e.

1. Births of Jersey origin

2. Births of British origin

3. Births of foreign origin

The names of foreign origin only include those foreign names recently introduced into the island. No Jerseyman of the old stock could be mistaken in making this analysis; and the author of these tables has devoted the greatest care to them and believes that these figures for births of foreign origin are rather below the true figure than above it. Moreover the figures for the four years in question, having been compiled on the same principles and in thesame way, offer a precise and exact comparison and provide a firm basis for our conclusions.

Births of Jersey origin are numbered as follows for the whole island, subdivided into the parish of St Helier on the one hand and the rural parishes on the other:

BIRTHS IN JERSEY

Year	St Helier	Rural parishes	Total
1843	265	496	761
1861	256	435	691
1881	274	342	616
1901	197	229	426

The point to notice here is the enormous reduction in births of Jersey origin, especially in the rural parishes. At St Helier the reduction is less, no doubt because many of the rural families have come to live in town, but the movement in the town is very marked since 1881, and in the country since 1864.

Births of British origin for the four years in question are as follows, subdivided into the town of St Helier and the rural parishes, viz.:

ENGLISH BIRTHS

Year	St Helier	Rural parishes	Total
1843	575	126	701
1861	541	162	703
1881	407	130	537
1901	279	81	360

The population of British origin has never been very numerous in the countryside, and has established itself largely in the town; it is in town that we find the enormous reduction in births since 1861, a fall of nearly 50 per cent.

It will also be noticed that the number of births of English origin was higher in 1861 than that of births of Jersey origin, a proof of the extent of English immigration since 1815; before that date, everything indicates that the population of Jersey was made up almost entirely of people with Jersey names and origins.

We now come to the births of foreign origin, which since 1881 have developed very considerably. However, this increase in births of foreign origin, although considerable, in no way compensates for the fall in Jersey and English births, and the result is a fall in the total number of births on the island since 1861 of more than 400 a year.

The four years selected for our examination give us the following results for the foreign birth rate, subdivided between urban and rural parishes, viz.:

FOREIGN BIRTHS

Year	St Helier	Rural parishes	Total
1843	70	47	117
1861	78	86	164
1881	83	115	198
1901	123	228	351

That is, in the rural parishes the foreign births have quintupled since 1843, and in the whole island they have tripled in the same period.

The following tables summarise the tables above.

BIRTHS ON THE WHOLE ISLAND

Year	Jersey	English	Foreign	Total
1843	761	701	117	1,579
1861	691	703	164	1,558
1881	616	537	198	1,351
1901	426	360	351	1,137

Subdividing these figures between the parish of St Helier and the rural parishes we find the following results:

	1843			1861			1881			1901		
	Jer	Eng	For	Jer	Eng	For	Jer	Eng	For	Jer	Eng	For
St Saviour	30	17	6	44	30	14	31	33	23	27	17	32
St Clement	30	12	1	27	8	4	24	7	5	7	9	13
Grouville	48	18	2	31	33	18	33	14	11	16	11	25
St Martin	57	20	11	71	31	13	52	16	19	26	10	20
Trinity	54	5	4	36	3	3	37	3	13	26	4	28
St John	55	6	2	33	4	9	30	5	8	16	3	16
St Mary	21	2	2	14	2	2	19	3	4	11	1	9
St Ouen	74	4	3	62	4	1	43	7	5	30	3	13
St Peter	39	11	5	39	1	4	6	31	18	173	76	25
St Brelade	36	20	5	39	25	6	17	12	2	15	8	17
St Lawrence	43	2	11	6	39	8	10	25	12	181	89	30
Sub-total	406	126	47	435	162	86	342	130	125	229	81	228
St Helier	265	575	70	256	541	78	274	407	83	197	279	123
Total	761	701	117	691	703	164	616	537	208	426	360	351

We observe:

1. that the births of foreign origin for the whole island, which in 1881 were little more than a third of the births of English origin, almost equalled them in 1901;
2. that the births of foreign origin in the countryside, which in 1881 were fewer than those of English origin, were almost three times as many in 1901; and
3. that the births of foreign origin in the countryside, which in 1881 were a third of those of Jersey origin, equalled them in 1901.

The births on the island since 1843 are summarised below, according to the origin of the children's fathers.

ORIGIN

Year	Jersey	English	Foreign	Total
1843	48.2%	44.3%	7.5%	1,579
1861	44.3%	45.1%	10.6%	1,558
1881	45.6%	39.8%	14.6%	1,351
1901	37.4%	31.7%	30.9%	1,137

Everything indicates that these trends will continue, and experience over the twenty years since 1881 shows us the extent of the changes that will have taken place by 1921, and forces us to reflect seriously on a situation that threatens such a marked reduction of the purely Jersey and British elements in the island. We estimate that by 1921 births of foreign origin will almost equal those of Jersey and English origin put together.

In these circumstances we must have no hesitation in recognising foreign immigration as an inevitable element of our social and political existence. Our population will be more and more recruited from foreign immigrants and their descendants, and we will have to ensure that we absorb them, if possible,without altering the British character of our population.

We must point out that there is a growing tendency among us to become closer to our neighbours, to facilitate communications with France and to 'bridge over' the arm of the sea that separates us. This can only increase the number of immigrants, for if visitors or trippers from France come over for pleasure in large numbers, we shall see a class of immigrants very different from the labourers and one it will not be so easy to assimilate. It is in the nature of things that hotels, shops and the numerous trades that cater for the needs of foreign visitors will be supplied by French immigrants rather than by the British element. We shall the emergence of a numerous class of 'outlanders' who are better educated than the peasant farm labourers and who by their peaceful penetration will create an 'outlander question' which is important in a different way from that of the absorption of the labourer and his children.

We do not have the exact data to establish the precise number of persons who form part of the island's population and who are children or descendants of foreigners, but if we take as a basis the figures for births of foreign origin since 1843 supplied by the registers and take the native population of the island in 1901 as 38,189, we can estimate that it must be made up as follows:

17,013 of Jersey origin

15,779 of English origin

5,397 of foreign origin

But since it is certain that emigration from Jersey since 1843 has removed proportionally more persons of Jersey and English origin than of foreign origin, it is also certain that a larger number of persons of foreign origin have remained in the island, and consequently it would be correct to estimate the population of foreign origin at about 6,000, or 12 per cent of the whole population.

We have seen from the census of 1901 that the purely foreign element of our population, that is the foreign born, is 12 per cent of the whole population, and when added to the native-born population of foreign parentage they make up nearly 35 per cent of the population of the island who are neither Jersey nor English by origin. We believe that in the countryside or at Trinity the purely foreign element rises to 19 per cent, and the native born of foreign origin can hardly be less numerous, nor can the population of foreign origin be less in our rural parishes.

Far be it from us to say that there are not some Jersey people of foreign origin who are just as good Jerseymen and women as those of the old stock and on the same level as them when it comes to their obligations to the country and to the British Empire. Assimilation has been all the more effective for them because the number before 1881 was relatively low, and also because we have seen that births of foreign origin have increased so much since 1881 that 34 per cent of all births are now of foreign origin. Everything leads us to believe that the increase in the future will be in proportion. The island is beginning to be swamped, and assimilation is becoming more and more difficult. Formerly immigrants for the most part married Jersey women, and their children had no difficulty in being absorbed into the purely Jersey population, but for the last 20 years the ever growing number of immigrants of both sexes and the larger number of married couples of the same foreign nationality have made them more independent, more inclined to be self-sufficient, and less obliged to mix with their purely Jersey neighbours; above all since the establishment of schools run by foreign priests, who maintain foreign traditions and make it more difficult if not impossible to assimilate the children of foreigners.

It is important not to lose sight of the figures we gave above, especially those that concern the rural parishes, for it is in these parishes that we see the French element making so much progress that it will end up by becoming dominant, and we shall see the administration of our rural parishes pass into the hands of persons whose education for

the most part has been in foreign schools, and who will be largely under the influence of foreign ecclesiastics. Once the municipal government of our rural parishes has passed under the domination of the foreign element, it must follow that the Jersey element will be completely overshadowed in the States. In these circumstances our very institutions, in which the principles of autonomy are so firmly established, will become a danger to the country. This danger is very real, and to fight it we will have to assimilate the foreign element, control its education and eliminate foreign influences.

As our statistics show, it is since 1881 in particular that the fall in births of Jersey and English origin and the rise in births of foreign origin have been accentuated. These trends were already beginning in 1861, but it was not until around 1881 that they took on the alarming forms that have raised the questions which now concern us.

It is not difficult to trace the causes that have led to these great changes. Here as elsewhere we find a tendency for the population to move to the large towns, to the colonies and abroad; but we also find a less pronounced taste for farm work, possibly caused by the development of elementary education and the ambitions that it tends to arouse; we have seen the disappearance of the great shipbuilding industry; we have witnessed the departure of the great Newfoundland trade and the replacement of sail by steam, the creation of rapid communications and so on. All these have helped to change the direction of our work, and to remove the most enterprising part of our population; perhaps too the changes made to the law of inheritance and the more egalitarian tendency have also contributed, while the reduction of the rights of the eldest child may have induced them to give up the cultivation of their paternal acres, perhaps also the extension of the right to make a will, which must soon reach its peak, and the duty of service in the Militia, a heavy obligation on Jerseymen since 1881, but not imposed on the foreign immigrant. Competition from foreign labour and the small foreign farmer, which has changed the conditions of existence and social life in the countryside, has also discouraged the native farm labourer and driven him towards the town, to England, and to the colonies. The new potato industry has no doubt also had a big influence on immigration, but it is very noticeable that this new industry, which has brought so much money into the country and has led to a large rise in the value of land in Jersey, has not been able to keep more of our native farmers and landowners here. It is clear that the material profit has not been enough, and that the causes of the exodus of our young people are causes that cannot be removed as long as agriculture remains our only important industry.

The growing of early potatoes, which has not been able to keep young Jersey people here, has opened the gate even wider to the admission of foreigners, who replace them and who also tend, by their competition, to drive out the indigenous element, which is increasingly averse to farm work.

It may be claimed that there will soon be a halt, that the flow of immigration will one day be slowed down if not stopped, and that the assimilation of the foreign element will end by being complete, and that the dangers we point out will be averted; but it

must not be forgotten that for this to happen we would also have to slow down or halt the flow of emigration of the flower of our native young people. It is difficult to imagine how that could be done, since we have only one large industry, farming, which is falling into the hands of foreign immigrants and their children, and so the flow of emigrants is removing not only the Jersey and English element but also the best assimilated of our young Jersey people, the children of foreigners, who follow the example of others and share their ambitions. This leaves a gap in the island which will continue to be filled, as in the past, by immigration of the same class as that from which they originate.

The situation is aggravated, from our point of view, by the privileges granted without formalities or dispute to the children of foreigners simply by virtue of being born on the island.

First of all any child of a foreigner, even of a foreign father and mother, born on the island is permitted to share all the privileges of a Jersey native without any formality or option, or oath of allegiance or any request on his part, in spite of the fact that he is claimed as a citizen or subject by the country of origin of his father. He can become an elector or principal of a parish without any other formality than possession of the property required by law; he can take part in any election to public office by virtue of the law, or even become himself a municipal officer: constable, deputy, even a juré justicier, and at the same time be the son of a foreign father and mother, brought up in a foreign school, and he and his family may be under the influence and direction of foreign ecclesiastics.

As long as the number of immigrants was moderate and births of children of foreign parentage were not numerous, their absorption into our indigenous population was easy; all the influences contributed to it: marriage, religion, material interest, social life and the preponderance of Jersey people etc. Nowadays these influences hardly have the same effect. In many cases the effects are quite the opposite, and absorption is more and more delayed.

MARRIAGE There are nowadays a great many married couples who are both of foreign nationality, and there are relatively fewer marriages with Jersey people of the old stock.

RELIGION The arrival here of so many foreigners, and the birth on our soil of their children have attracted a large number of foreign ecclesiastics, who are distributed throughout almost all the parishes of the island, and whose very obvious aim is to exercise and defend their exclusive influence on all this population of foreign origin. The establishment here of several foreign religious associations has only added to these foreign influences, which have already grown so powerful that the purely British religious organisations which once hastened the absorption of foreign immigrants now only have a comparatively weak influence as agents of assimilation.

EDUCATION Foreign schools are found everywhere, under the direction of foreign

priests, who may perhaps conform to the letter of our law, but who, maybe without wishing it, contribute materially to delay or prevent the assimilation of the children of foreigners born on our soil.

SOCIAL LIFE AND PREPONDERANCE OF JERSEYMEN As long as Jersey natives are preponderant in the countryside, and the well-off landowners still live in their parishes, social influences will be all in favour of the fairly rapid assimilation of the foreigner and his children, but when the population in the countryside becomes more and more impregnated with foreign blood, and well-off farmers and landowners are rarer and rarer there, the immigrants and their children will be self-sufficient, and the Jersey element will no longer be as dominant as it was in the past; the influences will in fact tend to come from the other direction, and instead of the assimilation of the French by the Jersey people, it is to be feared that the opposite will happen: that is, Jersey people will be assimilated by the French, as the old Jersey influences become less and less effective, and the flow of immigration continues to reinforce the foreign element.

The municipal government of each parish is still carried on under Jersey influences, the parish notables and above all the elders are still of the old Jersey stock, but each year sees their numbers diminish and the number of landowners of foreign origin increase. Once the municipal government of the parishes has changed hands, the representation of the parishes in the States will fall into the hands of a majority of foreign origin.

We believe that we have established above that emigration is carrying off a large part of the best of our young people from the island, whether they are of Jersey, English or foreign origin, and that the place of these emigrants is being taken here by foreign immigrants who come here above all for the needs of our farming. We have also established that the number of foreigners is already very considerable and tending to grow; that their children and descendants are also very numerous and also increasing largely. In these circumstances it becomes urgent for us to consider the whole question, in order to regulate the conditions under which these immigrants establish themselves here, and to ensure that their children born on our soil, who are the Jersey citizens of the future, are brought up in such a way that there is no doubt of their loyalty to the British Empire and of the use that they will be able to make of the autonomy and self-government which is the heritage of the people of Jersey.

The question of immigration pure and simple is twofold: the immigration of labourers who come to help in the harvest of potatoes and grains, and who return to their own country after the harvest; and the immigration of labourers who are looking for permanent work and who establish themselves here indefinitely.

We have the greatest interest in encouraging and even favouring both these forms of immigration, as long as they do not exceed the needs of our island. It must therefore be our duty to look for ways by which we can ensure:

1. that the persons who come here for the season or to establish themselves are respectable, sober, peaceable and hard working;
2. that worthless fugitives from justice are removed from the island by all means that will not have the effect of discouraging the temporary or permanent immigration of suitable persons whom we need for our farms;
3. that the search for work is facilitated for all good workmen through an employment agency, a voluntary registration bureau or other practical means.

Here we wish to support especially the system of voluntary registration of good foreign workers. That would supply us with the most effective means of distinguishing between the desirable foreign element and the undesirables, since only those who could produce proof of good character would register voluntarily, and this in itself would throw suspicion on those who were not registered, or rather those who could not fulfil the requirements for registration.

The rolls of our correctional court bear witness each week to the considerable and growing number of offences committed by foreigners. The annoyance and difficulties often caused by foreign labourers in the countryside would appear to confirm what we learn from the court rolls: that there is now a larger number of undesirables in the island than even in the very recent past.

It is true that the Royal Court has the right, which it frequently exercises, to inflict the penalty of deportation on those who are brought before it and accused and convicted of a crime, but is to be feared that the infliction of this penalty if too often repeated could have disastrous consequences for the immigration of respectable workers. It is certain that to a great extent the fear of deportation has the effect of keeping desirable and undesirable immigrants on the path of good behaviour, but unfortunately this penalty is a two-edged sword: while it rids us of the ne'er-do-wells who are unlucky enough to be caught, it may sometimes deprive us of the worker whom an accident or a moment of aberration has brought before the Court. However, if it is acknowledged to be possible to implement the idea of voluntary registration, and the Royal Court is willing to allow the registered worker a privilege similar to that granted by the First Offenders Act, it might be that the fear of deportation would be very much moderated.

We now turn to the question of the assimilation of foreigners' children. As we have shown above, formerly the assimilation of the children of immigrants was easier, because of the influences that surrounded them; everything helped towards it, but nowadays this is no longer the case. Family, school and church are now outside Jersey or English influence. Immigrants and their children can live separate lives. They have been allowed to set up foreign religious associations, churches and schools managed by foreign priests, largely maintained by subsidies from foreign countries, with an object which it is difficult to identify, because if all this had been due to religious propaganda it would not have been difficult to leave it under the control of British associations or ecclesiastics.

What is the remedy? It is hard to find one, but it would be useful to make sure that the elementary education of every child in Jersey of Jersey, English or foreign origin was received in an elementary school run by a person of British nationality.

We have confined ourselves up to now to informing you of the circumstances which in the past appear to us to have caused the emigration of our young people and facilitated the immigration of foreigners in their place. We have also judged that these causes continue to exist and that they are still producing the same results. It remains for us to point out to you another circumstance that may very soon aggravate the situation. We refer to the new law on the Militia, which has not yet come into force. It is undeniable that the general terms of this law are much more rigorous than the old laws and customs, and we believe that it might perhaps be useful to appreciate how far this law may in future accelerate the exodus of those who are and will be subject to its requirements, and thereby increase the number of those who escape from it, that is immigrants and foreigners.

In the past Jerseymen have always defended their island against armed invasion and they are always ready to defend their rights and privileges, but they have never had to defend themselves against an attack or invasion as formidable, although peaceful, as that which threatens them today and which seems to have been largely favoured by the very measure that aims to defend the island against an enemy military invasion.

6 MICHEL MONTEIL, *L'ÉMIGRATION FRANÇAISE VERS JERSEY 1850-1950*, UNIVERSITÉ DE PROVENCE, 2005

PART 3 CHAPTER 2

THE POLITICAL RESPONSE: THE REPORT OF THE 1906 COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION TO JERSEY

[This is a translation by Translat Ltd from the French original and has not been edited. However, footnotes have been removed as almost all refer to the 1906 report which is reproduced in full in this paper. Some other references have been moved from footnotes to the text and are shown in square brackets as are any phrases that refer to other parts of the book.]

At a meeting of the States of Jersey in 1897 the Bailiff of the island pointed out that sooner or later the deputies would have to examine the question of immigration in detail. It was a matter of regulating as dispassionately as possible the problems raised by the substantial French presence.

Wishing to provide a political response to the numerous questions posed by

immigration, on 9 February 1905 the States appointed a committee, which was instructed to consider the whole question of foreign immigration. Evidently its remit would be to examine the problems raised by the massive arrival of French people in the island.

The committee published its conclusions in a report presented to the States on 21 March 1906, which was to serve as the basis for discussion and the drafting of new legislation.

The 1906 report

This report is essential for the history of French immigration in Jersey. In fact it was the first official document to deal with the question. It tried to answer at the same time the two questions that concerned the coming of French immigrants to the island. On the one hand, how were the movements of seasonal workers to be regulated to avoid inconveniences for them, and to prevent problems in the host country? And on the other hand, since it was apparent that these workers were increasingly eager to stay in Jersey for a long time or even settle there for good, the report studied the means of controlling this immigration, which a growing section of the population was inclined to find increasingly 'invasive'.

The preliminary findings of the committee's report on French immigration

The report began by stating that movements of population were an everyday occurrence in both France and the United Kingdom, and that the arrival of immigrants was not to be regarded in isolation, as a unique one-way phenomenon.

> 'The United Kingdom and France, although they attract immigrants, themselves supply a large number of emigrants who go in search of work or seeking to better their conditions beyond their frontiers in overseas countries.'

Jersey too was in both these situations, since it welcomed immigrants while it was itself a country of emigration. In fact it made a large contribution to the flow of emigrants to England and the Colonies, which removed from it a large part of its most capable and most enterprising young people. Moreover,

> '... it receives a flow of foreign immigrants, numerically proportional but relatively less advanced, who threaten to overflow it if measures are not taken to regulate and assimilate these immigrants and turn them, as far as possible in the circumstances, to Jersey's profit and advantage.'

The French presence was felt to be necessary, but it was not without consequences for the daily life of the country; in particular, from the introduction the report referred to the possible political implications of the presence of a large foreign community on the island's soil.

'As long as French immigrants find better working conditions here than in France, we must expect to see them continue to come, and we must also pay serious attention to the consequences and the influence they will have on the future of our island, all the more so since foreigners and their children now form a very significant part of the whole population. In short, we need them, but at the same time we have to keep a close watch on the political consequences of their presence here and that of their children.'

Population figures taken from the census of 1901 were then given and commented on at length. The gross figure for 1901 was 52,576 inhabitants, or 51,540 residents after deducting the English soldiers in the garrison on the island. Of these 51,540 persons, 38,189 had been born on the island, and 13,351 came from abroad. The latter included 7,065 British subjects not born on the island and 6,286 non-British foreigners, among them 6,011 French people, or 12 per cent of the total population. This figure of course did not include the seasonal labourers, who could be estimated at about 3,000 persons. In the month of June, in the middle of the early potato harvest, when the influx of seasonal farm labourers was at its peak, there was a purely foreign population of nearly 10,000, 'not counting their children born here', the report adds.

The report went on to analyse the percentage of foreigners by parish and found that, because of the nature of the immigration, the population of French origin was concentrated above all in the rural parishes. The figures ranged from 9 per cent for the parish of St Helier (2,538 foreigners out of 27,145 inhabitants), to 19 per cent in the parish of Trinity (374 foreigners out of 1,969).

The anxieties expressed by the committee

Besides the problems of the large number of non-British foreigners who were permanent residents of the island, the committee was also alarmed by a comparison of the birth rates of the three communities present on the island. Table 19 reveals the demographic dynamism of the foreign population, principally French, which in 1901 had almost as many children as the British group, even though the latter was 15 per cent more numerous.

TABLE 19: Comparison of the birth rates of the three communities present in Jersey in 1901

Year	Total	of which births of Jersey families	of which births of British families	of which births of foreign families
1881	1,351	616 (45.6%)	537 (39.7%)	198 (14.7%)
1901	1,137	426 (37.4%)	360 (31.7%)	351 (30.9%)

Source: Report on immigration, publications of the States of Jersey, March 1906, p. 13

One must not forget to relate these figures to the numerical weight of each of the communities present on the island. For example, it must be noted that the English community comprised 7,065 persons, while the French numbered 'only' 6,011.

In 1901 births to foreigners practically equalled the births of English origins, a fact the official report does not fail to point out, certainly with alarmist concerns at the back of its mind, as the following remark suggests:

> 'Everything indicates that these movements will continue, and experience over the twenty years since 1881 shows us the extent of the changes that will have taken place by 1921, and forces us to reflect seriously on a situation that threatens such a marked reduction of the purely Jersey and British elements in the island.'

The proposition is clear: the fall in the 'purely' Jersey and British components of the population is perceived as a threat by the authors: a social threat, perhaps, a cultural threat without a doubt. The following lines make the nature of this threat clear to the reader:

> 'In these circumstances we must have no hesitation in recognising foreign immigration as an inevitable element of our social and political existence. Our population will be more and more recruited from foreign immigrants and their descendants, and we will have to ensure that we absorb them, if possible, without altering the British character of our population.'

The problem is stated precisely: Jersey risks losing its British character. This was a relatively recent preoccupation in Jersey and doubtless the result of the growing influence of the English community on the island.

During the second half of the 19th century, many people had reaffirmed their Norman culture and identity, as a reaction to the two influences, French and English, by which they felt threatened. But in 1906 it would seem that only the first influence was still considered a major danger. The anti-French riots of 1900 at the time of the Boer War may still have been present in people's minds, but even more so the arguments over the installation in the island of numerous religious congregations which originated in France.

It must not be forgotten that in 1906 the bulk of the Jersey press was in English, all the daily newspapers being in English from this time. This had a great influence on public opinion.

Furthermore, since 1900, when the use of English in the proceedings of the States was made legal, the French language had lost a great deal of ground, even in the fields in which it seemed invulnerable, that of official publications among others.

The committee also evoked the constantly increasing closeness to the great French neighbour, thanks in particular to progress in means of communication. This closeness could have disastrous consequences for the future of the island community. The

committee voiced the fear that if visitors and trippers came to enjoy the island in large numbers, there was a risk that a new category of immigrants would begin to arrive: people whose occupations were connected with tourism, hoteliers, merchants and so on. The committee was wary of them, for they would be much more difficult to integrate. The view of the official report was that

> 'We shall see a class of immigrants very different from the labourers and one it will not be so easy to assimilate.... We shall see the emergence of a numerous class of 'outlanders' who are better educated than the peasant farm labourers and who by their peaceful penetration will create an 'outlander question' which is important in a different way from that of the absorption of the labourer and his children.'

Moreover the report evaluates the number of inhabitants of Jersey who, although classed as of Jersey origin, could be considered of foreign, that is French, origin. The authors refer to the children of French parents, born on the island and enjoying Jersey nationality by virtue of the *jus soli* which applied on the island. Their number was calculated from the figures for the foreign population present since 1843, taking into account the fact that most emigrants from Jersey were subjects of Jersey or English origin. The report arrived at a percentage, quite plausible in view of the figures at our disposal, of 25 per cent of the inhabitants counted in 1901 who were of foreign origin (that is, about 12,500 to 13,000 inhabitants). It estimated that in the countryside, where the French element was strongly represented, the population of foreign origin must have been around a third of the total on average.

One can detect in this a kind of obsession with the purity of the race, reinforced by an unconcealed fear of an invasion of French people and their descendants.

Would these new Jerseymen be as good citizens as those of the old stock? The fear that the new arrivals would cease to integrate seems to have been very real, and was one of the principal concerns of the authors of the report.

> 'Far be it from us to say that there are not some Jersey people of foreign origin who are just as good Jerseymen and women as those of the old stock and on the same level as them when it comes to their obligations to the country and to the British Empire. Assimilation has been all the more effective for them because the number before 1881 was relatively low, and also because we have seen that births of foreign origin have increased so much since 1881 that 34 per cent of all births are now of foreign origin. Everything leads us to believe that the increase in the future will be in proportion. The island is beginning to be swamped, and assimilation is becoming more and more difficult.'

This is strong language: the island is beginning to be swamped. The report goes on to raise the principal fear of the rural population, more and more impregnated with foreign blood, as well-off landed proprietors became rarer in the countryside.

The allusion here is to the nature of the rural population and the profound transformation it was undergoing under the influence of the installation of small peasants from France. The fear expressed could also have been described as cultural: the old stock Jersey people feared being submerged by the foreign population, which was becoming a majority in the countryside.

> '... instead of the assimilation of the French by the Jersey people, it is to be feared that the opposite will happen: that is, Jersey people will be assimilated by the French, as the old Jersey influences become less and less effective, and the flow of immigration continues to reinforce the foreign element.'

The other anxiety made explicit in the report is that of seeing the political institutions of the island profoundly affected by an influential foreign group, and above all of seeing all or part of the power pass into the hands of a majority of foreign origin, with all the risks that can be read between the lines of this formula. Certainly the municipal government of each parish was still carried on under Jersey influences, and power was still in the hands of the local elites:

> '... the parish notables and above all the elders are still of the old Jersey stock, but each year sees their numbers diminish and the number of landowners of foreign origin increase.'

A political crisis was looming in the relatively near future, for as the report went on to underline a little later, once the government of the parishes had changed hands, their representation in the States would fall into the hands of a majority of foreign origin. The islanders were afraid of the disappearance of their autonomy and of the self-government that they enjoyed within the British Empire. Self-government, in the form of the States, was, the report reminded readers, the heritage of the people of Jersey. They were proud of being different by being Jerseymen, and they wanted the outside world to recognise and accept this difference.

The frequency of the expression 'of foreign origin', the agreed euphemism to refer to the French and their descendants, is remarkable; the term is used several dozen times in the report, no fewer than six times on page 15 alone! Apart from the anecdotal aspect, it also denotes a great degree of distrust of the foreign element and a certain fixed idea, already apparent before, the aspiration for an island with a homogeneous and controllable population.

The views of the committee on the evolution of French immigration in the 1900s

The first French immigrants had found it all the easier to integrate into Jersey society since many of them married women from the island, the report notes on page 15. Their children became altogether Jersey and had no difficulty in merging into the population described as of pure Jersey stock. The large number of marriages between the first French

farm labourers and young women from the country can doubtless be explained on the one hand by the fact that the great majority of them were young single men (these were the first to try their luck abroad), and on the other by the shortage of local young people of marriageable age. The report underlines in the preamble that Jersey was at this time supplying numerous candidates for emigration: above all young men wishing to make a career, if not a fortune, in the navy, commerce or by settling in the English colonies.

Nor is there any doubt that working together in the fields was an opportunity for young people of French and Jersey origin to get to know one another; or that the ability of French Normans or French-speaking Bretons and the local population to understand each other's dialects, made such meetings easier.

But the report is prompt to note that the new trend in immigration (not further elaborated) was for a fall in marriages with people of Jersey stock (the report's expression), and the arrival of migrants of both sexes, among them many who were already married or engaged. The result was to make them

> '... more independent, more inclined to be self-sufficient, and less obliged to mix with their purely Jersey neighbours; above all since the establishment of schools run by foreign priests, who maintain foreign traditions and make it more difficult if not impossible to assimilate the children of foreigners.'

The religious question mentioned or suggested in the Report

The last citation illustrates the attitude of the authors of the report, and no doubt through them of a large part of the population. It was not just the existence of schools run by religious orders that was seen as a threat, but the fact that these schools were from the start established by foreign orders, Catholics into the bargain. From this to assuming Machiavellian intentions on their part was but a short step, and one which the committee was not far from taking.

> 'The arrival here of so many foreigners, and the birth on our soil of their children have attracted a large number of foreign ecclesiastics, who are distributed throughout almost all the parishes of the island, and whose very obvious aim is to exercise and defend their exclusive influence on all this population of foreign origin.'

The law of 1902 which restricted the establishment of religious orders in Jersey does not appear to have calmed all the tensions between the local churches and the imported churches. One can also detect the powerful resentment of the communities of Jesuits and oblates who had been settled in the island for several years, in the following lines:

> 'The establishment here of several foreign religious associations has only added to these foreign influences, which have already grown so powerful that the purely British religious organisations which once hastened the absorption of foreign immigrants now only have a comparatively weak influence as agents of assimilation.'

The paragraph under the heading 'Education' repeats with some insistence the same ideas on the presence of foreign schools, which was felt to be invasive:

> 'Foreign schools are found everywhere, under the direction of foreign priests, who may perhaps conform to the letter of our law, but who, maybe without wishing it, contribute materially to delay or prevent the assimilation of the children of foreigners born on our soil.'

To put it in plain language, the committee recognised that the Catholic orders were performing a great work in educating the children of immigrant workers, but there was a risk that the education provided, even though it was within the framework laid down by Jersey law - for it must not be forgotten that many of these schools had enjoyed official subsidies since the Elementary Education Act of 1872 - might be turned against the community which so generously financed it. What is not mentioned in this section, but appears in the measures proposed by the committee, is the implicit recognition of the role played by the school in the assimilation, or as we would say nowadays the integration, of children of French immigrant labourers. On the other hand, if the foreign orders took such a preponderant place in the educational institutions of the island, it was perhaps because the existing local structures were incapable of providing sufficiently for educational needs.

The practical measures recommended by the committee

After setting out the problems, some of them serious, for the present and future of Jersey raised by the arrival and presence of a large foreign community, the committee attempted to formulate some proposals.

The question of the legitimacy of this immigration had been clearly answered in the preamble: it was necessary, and therefore it was appropriate to take practical steps to make it easier for immigrants to settle in Jersey in such a way that they would become good citizens, and their children

> 'are brought up in such a way that there is no doubt of their loyalty to the British Empire and of the use that they will be able to make of [Jersey's] autonomy and self-government ...'

Nevertheless it should be emphasised that the problems of immigration concerned two distinct realities, both in their implications and in their treatment.

First of all, one must consider the seasonal immigrants, the labourers who came for the harvest of early potatoes and hay, and who returned to France after the season. These were classic seasonal workers. On the other hand there were those who sought permanent employment and came to settle in Jersey indefinitely or even definitively.

These two forms of immigration were complementary and even necessary for the needs of Jersey's agriculture. Consequently the report judged them to be worthy of encouragement, as long as they did not exceed the needs of the island.

Two series of measures were proposed, with the aim of improving the conditions and consequences of immigration for migrants and the host country: the first series, 'upstream' as it were, that is before the arrival of the foreigners, and the second series 'downstream', that is once the French were settled in Jersey and wished to integrate themselves into island society.

Measures aimed to control the arrival of migrants

The measures proposed to allow Jersey to control immigrants were of three kinds, and they met the fears of disturbance of public order that were felt by a large part of the population, and expressed throughout the report.

First of all, there was a need to make sure that those who came to Jersey, either for a few weeks or for good, were respectable, sober, peaceable and hard working. A kind of check on good morals had to be instituted. One cannot help thinking of the virtues that Victorian society demanded in the ideal labourer.

The committee's next recommendation, which can be seen as the direct consequence of the first, was to remove from the island all the worthless fugitives from justice, without discouraging the suitable people who were needed on Jersey's farms. This point answered the fears of those who dreaded the arrival in Jersey of a population of paupers who would live on public charity. This had been a constant source of concern to the island authorities throughout the 19th century, and several laws had been passed which sought to forbid the disembarkation of the indigent or the mentally ill.

Finally the report advised the creation of a body to find work for good workers, in the form of a labour exchange, registration bureau or other practical means. This was a plea for a centralised recruitment agency for farm labourers, but it did not make it clear if it was to be run by the professional organisations chiefly concerned with French immigration (e.g. the growers of early potatoes) or by the public authorities.

Few genuinely new or original measures to control immigration were suggested. The report in fact advised the hardening of the existing laws, a few improvements here and greater collaboration between different departments there.

Measures intended to facilitate the assimilation of permanent immigrants

The measures proposed concerned only the education and assimilation of the children of immigrants. The report's authors acknowledged that it was very difficult to remove them from the influence of their families or churches. The fault clearly lay with the island authorities, who had allowed the setting up of foreign religious associations, churches and schools run by foreign priests, without asking too many questions about their true motives. One solution envisaged was to ensure that the elementary education of every child who went to school on Jersey (and elementary education was the only schooling obligatory since the Act of 1872), was received in a school run by persons of British nationality. This meant Jersey or English people.

This was no more and no less than urging that the educational system should be

taken back or perhaps just taken? - into the hands of the elements who were regarded as reliable: that is the heads of the English or Jersey establishment, who would guarantee that their pupils learned English and were trained to respect the values and traditions of the Empire and the special characteristics of Jersey. At least, that was what the authors of the report hoped to achieve.

The results of the report of 1906

The members of the States were largely inspired by the conclusions of the committee's report when they came to draft the new legislation.

The first practical consequence were the proposal and voting of new conditions for the admission of non-British foreigners. The laws of 1909 restricted the conditions under which immigrants could enter the island; they were obliged to deposit a surety of five shillings on arrival, to prove their identity and good health, and were forbidden to disembark except at Gorey or St Helier. These measures can be considered the most direct and visible results of the debate of the years 1906-07: they were the laws that earned the admiration of Pierre Galichet [*Le fermier de l'ile de Jersey*, Bibliothèque de la Science Sociale, Paris, 1912] in 1912. After describing in detail the regulations pronounced by the States of Jersey to contain and control immigration, he concluded: 'thus regulated, temporary Breton immigration renders Jersey's agriculture a service it could not do without, it is a benefit to the country'. But the element he appreciated the most in the controls as a whole was undoubtedly the repressive aspect:

> 'To guarantee itself Jersey has passed legislation which the United Kingdom may envy: the right to expel foreigners is absolute, and the Royal Court may order them to leave the island when they have been found guilty of a crime which it judges sufficient to entail this penalty, whatever the nature of the offence. This prudence is not without its uses.'

From the same period dates the post of Aliens Officer. This senior official in charge of the question of immigration was appointed on the recommendation of the lieutenant-governor of the island and paid by the States of Jersey. His principal task was to coordinate the activity of the various bodies (chiefly the customs and the police) that controlled foreigners arriving on Jersey soil. And if they wished to settle definitively, it was he to whom they had to apply for the main administrative formalities.

The laws relating to the arrival of foreigners were maintained after the War of 1914-18. Restrictions on the departure of French farm workers were essentially imposed by the French authorities.

Controls on foreigners coming from outside the British Isles were set up by the law of 1920, and amended in 1937, but in both cases these were no more than local applications of English laws.

Annex 2

NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE POPULATION OF JERSEY IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

by

JASON ST JOHN NICOLLE

Attempts to quantify the total population of Jersey in the centuries before the census of 1806 have been hampered by the scarcity of contemporary estimates and by over reliance on one type of evidence: lists of the number of households in each parish.[1] Nevertheless, three additional sources are available: a census from 1788 has already been published,[2] an apparently unknown manuscript census of 1737 has recently come to light in Cambridge University Library,[3] and there is the militia roll of 1617.[4] Used in conjunction with other sources, the militia roll and the census of 1737 can provide us with significant new information on the population of Jersey in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although a satisfactory and authorative account of our island's demographic history must await a thorough analysis of the parish registers and careful back projection from the early census records, along the lines pioneered, in England, by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.[5]

When the Royal Commissioners, Conway and Bird, reviewed the island militia in 1617, they recorded that there were some 2,675 men on the muster roll, adding that the existence of earlier rolls, "which doe specifie more men" led them to believe that "the island undoubtedly hath 3,000 men at least able to carry arms"[6] A total population figure can be extrapolated from this in two different ways. If one assumes that the 2,675 on the roll are virtually all the males over the age of 14, as listed in the census of 1737, and that the age structure of the population in 1617 was identical with that one hundred and twenty years later, it is simply a matter of multiplying 2,675 by the ratio of adult males to total population derived from the later census. If these large but not unreasonable assumptions are accepted, a total population of *c.* 9, 900 is generated.[7] The other method of extrapolation produces a remarkably similar estimate. The survival of matching militia and population totals for eighteenth-century Guernsey allows us to calculate a ratio between the two, and if we assume that this is also applicable to her sister isle a century earlier, we can apply it as a multiplier to the militia figure from 1617

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– although in this case, the appropriate figure is not the theoretical total entered on the muster roll, but the number actually reviewed.[8] Applying the average multiplier of 5.14 produces a total population of *c.* 10,000.

The population figure derived from the number of houses recorded in 1685 cannot corroborate this estimate for 1617, as the demographic history of the intervening years is unclear although it does rest on a secure foundation. There seems no reason to think that the average house/inhabitant ratio derived from the census of 1737 would not be applicable half a century earlier, especially as contemporaries thought 5 to be a reasonable multiplier, and that the consequent total, of *c.* 16,200, fits in with Philip Falle's estimate of between 15,000 and 20,000 for 1694.[9]

By the time Falle came to write the second edition of his history, he saw fit to note a marked increase in population in Saint Helier, and the census of 1737 indicates a rise in the total population of the island as a whole over the last fifty years.[10] The manuscript gives a total of 13,642 inhabitants for ten parishes, including those out of the island at the time of the census, but excluding the largest parish. Saint Ouen, and the most populous, Saint Helier. These spaces can be filled if we assume that their population in 1737 was half way between what it had been in 1685 and what it would be in 1788, multiplying households by 5.32 to work out the former, whilst taking the latter from the figures in the census of that year. This generates an estimated total population for the island of c. 18,400 in 1737, *c.* 2,400 less than it was fifty years later.[11]

As far as I have been able to discover, this census of 1737 survives in a single, contemporary manuscript copy: Cambridge, University Library. Additional MS. 2766.[15] It consists of a single paper folio, twelve and three-quarters inches wide and seventeen inches tall, written in a neat eighteenth-century hand. It was bound up with a miscellaneous collection of twenty-seven printed pamphlets, poems and parliamentary petitions covering the years 1728-1740, which probably explains why it seems to have lain unnoticed. The volume as a whole came into the University Library collection through purchase, in 1898, but there seems to be no record of the dealer involved. As it lacks any inscription or bookplate, discovering the volume's provenance must remain a matter of guesswork, but I suggest that it was owned by John, Lord Carteret and Earl Granville, who was Bailiff of Jersey from 1715 to 1763. The contents of the collection reflect the interests of a Whig peer in the House of Lords, a man whose dislike of Walpole's policies had become clear by 1738 at least and whose mind was troubled over the effect of excise duties on the British woollen and textile trade, especially between Ireland and Britain, the problems of public finance, the likely effects on English trade of peace with Spain and the omnipresence of political bribery.[12] Concerns about placemen, the textile trade, the National Debt, together with a dislike of Walpole, were shared by many, although it is suggestive that Carteret took a prominent part in debates over the National Debt in 1720, "identified himself with Irish interests" trying to reduce the excise paid in England on Irish produced cloth during the six years he spent in Dublin as Lord Lieutenant, and, from 1730, played a prominent role in the struggle against Walpole, moving a

resolution in the Upper House in 1741, requesting George II to remove the Minister from his "presence and counsels for ever"[13] What is more, the thirteenth item in the collection confirms that its owner had a specific interest in Jersey: it is a printed copy of the respondent's case, following the coinage riots of 1731, presented to the Council in 1733, and it is the only printed document in the collection to contain a hand-written emendation of the printed text, an emendation which seems to show a familiarity with the relevant Order in Council.[14] One of the respondents, Abraham Richardson, had already written to Carteret, as well as to the Governor, Viscount Cobham, in 1732, and Carteret's interest in coinage had been shown eight years earlier, when he had campaigned successfully against William Wood's similarly unpopular copper half pence.[15] The weight of evidence seems to suggest that this was Carteret's book, but the other Whig politician with a Jersey connection, Viscount Cobham cannot be ruled out, as he too broke with Walpole, opposed his plans for the excise and had received a letter from Richardson – although he does not seem to have had any particular interest in the textile trade in general or as it affected Ireland and at least a third of the items in the collection are concerned with this trade.[16]

Having possibly unravelled the mystery of the collection to which the census of 1737 belonged, we can concentrate our attention on the document itself; what was its origin and purpose?

The manuscript as it stands seems to have been a private record, constructed by totalling vingtaine by vingtaine the numbers given in each category in the returns from each parish, which was included subsequently among a collection of documents which were bound up together some time in the mid-eighteenth century, probably by Carteret, the principle guiding the selection of material being the inclusion of whatever he would have found interesting and important, rather than merely useful.[17] It is clear that the Cambridge manuscript, apparently the only form in which the census of 1737 survives, is not an administrative document: it is free from the finger marks and scribblings which tend to be a feature of any document which is regularly consulted; the volume which contained it gives no indication of its presence; and, as to the document itself, the parishes are arranged without any apparent order, and two are left out entirely – Saint Ouen and Saint Helier – in contradiction to what would seem to have been the very purpose of the census, the provision of a total population for the island. When the scribe of the Cambridge manuscript approached the end of his sheet, he does not seem to have considered starting a new one: instead, he ceased copying down totals for all the different sorts of information contained in the parish returns, and from then on gave the totals which he must have considered the most important for the purpose of his record – the number of inhabitants and the numbers of fishermen away from the island engaged in the Newfoundland Fisheries.[18] The fact that there was still room to include totals for the houses, men, women and children in each parish, but that the appropriate boxes had been left empty, with a line of dots to indicate that something had been left out, strongly suggests that they had been included for the seven previous parishes merely

as a matter of curiosity. The census of 1788, the only extant Jersey document before the census of 1806 which I know to contain demographic information similar to that in the manuscript of 1737, supports these suppositions. There were originally full parish returns listing both men, women and children, whether present or absent, as shown by the chance survival of such a return from Saint Lawrence, but as the intention of the census was the "*Dénombrement des habitans de Isle*", any information other than the numbers of inhabitants per parish was ephemeral and no attempt was made to record it in a more permanent fashion.[19]

What was the purpose behind the census which had generated the parish returns that were subsequently copied to produce a private memorandum such as the Cambridge manuscript? As there are, so far as I have been able to discover, no references to the census from any period, or from any source, the answer must involve a high degree of speculation. Nevertheless, there does seem to be sufficient indirect evidence at least to suggest a connection between the desire for a census and a perceived need to protect Jersey's exemptions from the restrictions which usually applied to subjects of the Crown engaged in the import and export of goods. The States in 1788 certainly thought that presenting an accurate total of population to Parliament would secure, or perhaps improve, their privileged trading position: the preamble to the return from Saint Lawrence says that the Constable is sending it, in response to the States' order of the 1st of April, "*pour servir d'information devant le Parlement d'Angleterre touchant les affaires des laines etc, & pour faire partie du Dénombrement des Habitans de Isle de Jersey*".[20] *These affaires des Laines etc* presumably refer to the recent statute. 28 George III *c.* 38 § 16, 17, 18, which regulated the quantity of wool which could be exported each year from Southampton to the islands. Although I can find no explicit evidence that the quantities of wool allowed to be exported were fixed with reference to the island population, a numerical confirmation of its populousness might be used to argue that the privileges it enjoyed were entirely necessary. In this context, the numerous bills and petitions presented to Parliament in 1734 and 1735, with the aim of preventing the export of wool from Britain or Ireland, might well have been a spur to get a census drawn up, and, given Carteret's position as Bailiff and the fact that the only record of the census survives in a collection of assorted documents, probably owned by him, indicating an interest in Jersey affairs and, more generally, in the production and export of wool and other textiles, it is not unreasonable to suggest that he was behind the enterprise.[21] As for the inclusion of those away in Newfoundland in the census of 1737, a statute of 1774 not only confirmed the islanders' right "to import whatever quantity of grains required for the sustenance and use of the inhabitants", but also their right to export whatever amount of grains, bread and biscuit, "fit and necessary for the Fishery in these parts, or for the use and support of the Mariners, or other Persons employed ... in carrying on the said Fishery", and it is clear that some records of the numbers of men and of the shipping involved were kept by the island authorities, suggesting that this information was useful to them.[22]

Many of the conclusions arrived at in this article are clearly speculative, based on assumptions of varying degrees of probability. This reflects the indirect nature of the evidence that has been available, and the fact that certain knowledge of the demographic history of Jersey in the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries can be based only on a thorough analysis of the surviving parish registers, supplemented by careful back projection from the earliest census records. Nevertheless, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest the following totals a population of about 9,900 in 1617, rising to about 16,100 in 1685, and *c.* 18,400 in 1737. These are compatible with contemporary estimates, and with the population totals given in the earliest of the later censuses, namely about 20,800 in 1788 and 22,855 in 1806. Although the earlier totals are clearly provisional, they are an improvement on the estimates that have been available previously. As for the census of 1737, which seems to have escaped attention entirely, it perhaps results from a desire to protect the island's import and export privileges in the face of hostile Parliamentary bills and, possibly, represents the initiative of the Bailiff, Lord Carteret, who seems to have been the most probable owner of the miscellaneous collection of pamphlets and poems which included the only extant reference to its existence in the form of an incomplete private summary of the returns for each of the parishes.

Interest in the population of Jersey in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will not abate when definitive totals have been produced. After growth, marriage and fertility rates have been calculated, these figures will need to be integrated into the social economic and cultural framework of contemporary island life. What were the effects of Jersey's high population density on its economy and agriculture, on island politics, on the quality of life and the standard of living? Did housing and opportunities for employment keep up with a rising population? Our own problems in these areas will trouble Jerseymen increasingly in the 1990s, as the island population continues to rise. Historians may work in the past but they live in the present, and it will be interesting to see how these concerns will be reflected in the historical demography of the next decade.

Acknowledgement

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Notes

1 The fullest treatment of the subject to date is B. J. R. Blench, *La population et le peuplement de Jersey*. Norois XIV (1967), pp 227-239 and pp. 459-471. I am grateful to Mr Ian Monins for drawing my attention to this article. Two lists of households have survived The first can be deduced from the hearth tax returns included in the *Extente de L'Isle de Jersey 1331 – Edward III* (Jersey, Société Jersiaise, 1876), having made allowance for the clergy, seigneurs and poor widows who were exempted from this *fouage*, for which see C. Le Quesne, *The Constitutional History of Jersey* (London, 1858), p. 79-80; Blench, *op. cit.* p. 232. The second, for 1685, is given in (P. Dumaresq), 'A Survey of Ye Island of Jersey', *Bull. Ann. Soc. Jersiaise*, 1935, 12(4). 444-446. These are available also in T.

Quayle, *General View of the Agriculture and Present State of the Islands on the Coast of Normandy* (London, 1815), pp. 319-323 which gives them alongside a census of the number of families in each Vingtaine, made in 1807, pp. 315-318 of the same work gives the much fuller census returns of 1806. For three late seventeenth-century estimates, see W. Nicolle, (ed.) 'Caesarea or A Discourse of the Island of Jersey par Le Lieutenant-Bailli Jean Poingdestre' (Jersey, Société Jersiaise, 1889), p. 5 ("not past Twenty Thousand" *c.* 1680; *A Survey of Ye Island of Jersey, op. cit.* p. 418 ("hardly exceed Fifteen thousand" in 1685); P. Falle. *An Account of the Island of Jersey* (London, 1694), p. 82 ("betwixt 15 and 20 Thousand" in 1694).

2 M.-L. Backhurst, The 1788 Census of Saint Lawrence, Jersey, *The Channel Islands Family History Journal* No. 8 (Autumn 1980), pp. 82-85. This is printed from Société Jersiaise Library, D8, X33; a xerox of an eighteenth-century copy of the census returns. The original document is in private hands.

3 Cambridge, University Library, Additional MS. 2766 (15), originally part of a book entitled *Pamphlets*, with the Library reference 7500 a1. I am grateful for the courteous and efficient assistance which I received from the library staff during my research there.

4 The roll is printed in P. Falle, *An Account of the Island of Jersey*, edited by Edward Durell (Jersey, 1837), pp. 405-408. For the militia in general, see 'Ordres Pour La Milice', *Bull. Ann. Soc. Jersiaise*, 1894, 3(5), 274-287; F. A. L. de Gruchy, 'The Royal Jersey Militia and the Military Role of Jersey in History'. *Bull. Ann. Soc. Jersiaise*, 1956. 16(4), 365-372, Le Quesne *op. cit.* pp. 482-501; Falle, *op. cit.* (edition of 1837), p. 141-143; *A Survey of Ye Island of Jersey, loc. cit.* pp. 420-422. I have been able to discover only two militia rolls for individual parishes in this period: 'Etats de la Campagnie de la Paroisse de St Sauveur en 1617 d'Apres l'Original Conserve au Bureau des Roles à Londres', *Bull. Ann. Soc. Jersiaise.* 1885. 2(1), 11-29. 'Les Etats de la Compagnie de St Pierre en 1692', *Bull. Ann. Soc. Jersiaise*, 1888, 2(4), 356-359. Doubtless there are more.

5 The fruit of the Group's work on English demographic history has been printed in E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield. *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London, 1981).

6 Falle, *op. cit.* (edition of 1837), p. 406.

7 For the seven parishes for which the census of 1737 provides both pieces of information, the ratio of *habitants* to *hommes* is 9.381 to 2.559, or 3.67 to 1.2675 multiplied by 3.67 is 9.817. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether this total of 2,675 represents males over the age of 14 or males over the age of 16 and the number of *hommes* who were not on the militia roll, by design, accident, poverty or occupation, is similarly hard to know: Falle, *op. cit.*, (edition of 1837), p. 407 and p. 141, and Le Quesne, *op. cit.*, p. 498, provide some relevant information These two problems remain unsolved, but it is reassuring that the suggested multiplier falls well within the range of values suggested for England by R. S. Schofield 'total population (lies) somewhere between 3.33 and 4.5 times the number of males aged 16-60 listed in the muster returns' (*Local Population Studies*, 6. (Spring 1971) p. 64).

8 For Guernsey's population in general, see G. H. Dury, 'The Population of Guernsey: An Essay in Historical Geography', *Geography* XXXIII (1948). pp. 61-69. A. C. Robin. 'Notes on Population of Guernsey'. *Rep. and Trans. Soc. Guernesiaise*, 1947, 14(2), 181-194; G. H. Dury, 'Land Use Statistics for Guernsey in the late Eighteenth Century', *ibid.*, 1953. 15(4). 258-265; E. C. Barrington. 'The Human Geography of Guernsey', *ibid.*, 1935, 12(2). 352-426, especially p. 407-416. For the Guernsey militia, see L. J. Marr. *A History of the Bailiwick of Guernsey*, (London and Chichester, 1982), pp. 164-167; F. B. Tupper. *The History of Guernsey and its Bailiwick: With Occasional Notices of Jersey*, (Guernsey, 2nd edition, 1876), pp 545-565. Four ratios can be calculated. The population of Guernsey in 1800 was 16,155 (Tupper, *op. cit.*, p. 428), and in the same year there were 3,158 militiamen, with an additional 455 aged 14 to 16: this produces a ratio of either 5.12 or 4.47, depending on whether these youths are included in the total. In 1727, the population was 10,500 (Tupper, *ibid.* p 253-254, quoting

unspecified documents in the Guernsey Greffe, dated 13th February 1727), which is 5. 52 times the 1,902 men reviewed in 1680 (Tupper, *ibid.*, p 555). and 5.46 times the 1,924 men reviewed in 1750 (Tupper, *ibid.*, p. 556). Applying an average multiplier of 5.14 to 1,954, the number of Jerseymen reviewed in 1617, produces a total population of 10,044. The number actually reviewed, rather than the number entered on the rolls, needs to be taken in order to make the Jersey figure compatible with the Guernsey evidence, where the militia totals refered to above all fall short of the theoretical total of 1,956 given in the roll of 1615, printed in G. S. Syvret's *Chroniques Des Iles*, (Guernsey, 1832), p. 225.

9 There were 3,049 houses in Jersey in 1685: *A Survey of Ye Island of Jersey, op. cit.*, p. 446, where the total is given mistakenly as 3,069. For the seven parishes for which figures are available in 1737, the total number of *maisons* was 1,763. the total number of habitants 9,381, producing an average ratio of 5.32. which, when multiplied by 3.049, generates a population for 1685 of 16,221. For Falle's estimate, see Falle, *op. cit.* (edition of 1694) p. 82; for a multiplier of 5. *A Survey of Ye Island of Jersey, op. cit.*, p. 418, where the fact that more than one family can live in the same house has been taken into account. Laslett's figures for seventeenth and eighteenth-century England are smaller than these Jersey multipliers, suggesting a mean household size of 5.073 for 1564-1649 and of 4.502 (4.696 for London) tor 1650–1749, which perhaps would fit in with the island's higher population density, although this begs questions about the relationship between housing stock and local population levels as well as about the social, economic and cultural factors affecting household formation: P. Laslett and R. Wall. *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge, 1972), p 138. Table 4.4.

10 Falle, *op. cit.*, (edition of 1837), p. 119.

11 The population of Saint Ouen in 1788 was 2,025 (Backhurst, *op. cit.*). and the estimate for 1685: 1,628 (5.32 x 306 houses: *A Survey of Ye Island of Jersey. op. cit.*, p. 446), producing an estimate for 1737 of 1,826. The comparable figures for Saint Helier are 4,064 and 1,883 (5.32 x 354 houses), which produce an estimate for 1737 of 2,974, which, when added to the totals for the other eleven parishes, produces a population for the island as a whole of 18,424. Backhurst gives 20,825 for the population in 1788, allowing 1,611 for Saint Peter which is left blank in the manuscript.

12 Seven of the collection have a specific Irish connection, five concern the woollen and textile trade, and three refer specifically to the trade in the latter commodities between Britain and Ireland. Five proclaim Whig views, two of which contain a strong attack on Walpole Four show a concern with public finance, and six concern for the damage being done to British trade as a result of Walpole's foreign policy, notably the Convention treaty, while four attack political bribery practiced by Walpole. Seven have a connection with the House of Lords, one with the House of Commons, and an additional four concern both the Upper and the Lower House.

13 B. Williams, *Carteret & Newcastle. A Contrast in Contemporaries*, (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 72-76 for the six years Carteret spent in Dublin between 1724 and 1730; *Dictionary of National Biography* IX, pp. 210-215 (London, 1887). See also W. B. Pemberton, *Carteret* (London, 1936), and A. Ballantyne. *Lord Carteret. A political biography* (London, 1887). Unfortunately, I have been unable to examine the Carteret Papers, London, British Library, Additional MSS 22511–22545, for relevant material.

14 On p. 3, where the sentence "It is to be observed that as to the Orders in council that regulate the Cause, they don't inflict any Pains or Penalties on Disobeyers" has been changed to "It is to be observed, that as to the Orders of Council that regulate the Coin, they don't inflict any Pains or Penalties on Disobeyers" — surely not a correction which one less than fully acquainted with the case would feel obliged to make. For the riots, see E. T. Nicolle, 'Les Émeutes de 1730'. *Bull. Ann. Soc. Jersiaise*, 1903, 5(2), 158-162, and for the petition in this collection. 'Pétition De Jean Le Hardy, Ecr., Procureur-Général Du Roi George II, Au Conseil Prive De Sa Majesté', *Bull Ann. Soc. Jersiaise*. 1895. 3(6), 307-339. See also, 'Pièces Diverses: II: Pétition aux Etats relative a la Monnaie D'Ordre', *Bull. Ann. Soc. Jersiaise*, 1896, 3(7), 415-417, of which Carteret must surely have been aware in his capacity as Bailiff.

15 For the letters, see 'Pièces Diverses: III: Deux Lettres Aux Lords Cobham et Carteret', *Bull. Ann. Soc. Jersiaise*. 1896. 3(7) 417-423. For the campaign against Wood's copper coinage, see Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-3, and a pamphlet published in Dublin in 1724. 'A Letter to the Lord Carteret, in answer to some arguments lately advanced in favour of Mr Wood's copper money', by a member of the Irish parliament. The Bodleian copy of this has the shelf mark Don f. 331 (6).

16 My information on Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham, Governor from 1723 to 1749, comes from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, LVI (London, 1898), pp. 38-39.

17 This would be consonant with the general principles in the light of which an eighteenth-century gentleman regulated his life, and the lack of a list of contents at the beginning of the volume, or an index at the back, suggest either that its owner was familiar with all that it contained, or that the volume was not intended for ready reference.

18 Clearly it is necessary to look at the original manuscript, rather than the transcrip: a photocopy has been deposited the Société Jersiaise Library. Much has been written on Channel Island involvement in the Newfoundland Fisheries: see, inter alia, A. C. Saunders, 'Newfoundland and the Channel Islands', Rep. & Trans. Soc. Guernesiaise, 1933, 12(1), 42-56; C. R. Fay. 'Newfoundland and the Channel Islands' based on the papers of H. W. Le Messurier, *ibid*, 1955, XVI, pp. 76-84; and, more generally, ed. A. G. Jamieson, *A People of the Sea* (London, 1986).

19 For the parish totals in 1788, and a transcript of the individual return from Saint Lawrence, see Backhurst *op. cit.* Attention must be drawn to two additional documents which are relevant to the census of 1737. The first is described as a 'List Roll of the Inhabitants of Jersey 1739, being the rates delivered in by the Constables under seal': ed. J. Le Patourel, et al., *List of Records in the Greffe Guernsey, Volume I.* List & Index Society Special Series Volume 2 (London, 1969), p. 73, referring to Saint Peter Port. The Greffe. Manuscript Collection in the Bailiff's Room. No 106. The other document, dated the 7th of July, 1737, is the return made by the Constable of Saint Clement of the number of people living in his parish, to which is added a list of the names of all men between 16 and 60: Saint Helier. Société Jersiaise Library, Scrapbook 6, p. 26. The Cambridge manuscript is independent of this return from Saint Clement, being dated the previous month, and giving slightly different totals for each vingtaine: 204 for Samarès, rather than 213; 215 for La Grande Vingtaine rather than 206; and 112 for Rocquier rather than 118. These differences can be accounted for probably by births and deaths, movements in and out of the parish, and differences in the numbers who were absent, mostly being at sea, when the census was actually taken. The Saint Clement census is clearly intended to provide information for the militia rolls: the Constable mentioning that he was acting "en conformité a lordre de son excellence Major Gen(eral) Edmund Fielding", who as Governor, had overall responsibility for the militia, and the document itself being endorsed in a contemporary hand, "Liste des Hom(m)es de la P(aroi)sse de St Clem(en)t depuis 16 à 60 ans. 7^{e}. juillet 1737".

20 Backhurst, *op. cit.*; Saint Helier. Société Jersiaise Library, D8 x 33, f.3r.

21 See *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. 23 (covering 1732-1737), (London, 1803), index under 'wool' and 'woollen manufacture'.

22 For a calculation of the numbers involved in the Newfoundland trade, see Falle, *op. cit.*, (edition of 1837): 17 ships and 1,500 men in 1731 (p. 122). See also the comments by Durell, *ibid*, p. 384, and in *A Survey of Ye Island of Jersey*, *op. cit.*, pp. 418-420. The statute of 1774, 14 George III c. 5. sIV and V. confirmed an earlier one: 9 George III, c28, sI.

Appendix

A Transcription of Cambridge, University Library, additional ms 2766 (15)
Juin 1737 'Nombre des Maisons & des Habitant dans chaque Paroisse de L'Isle de Jersey'

Paroisses Vintaines	Maisons	Hommes	Femmes	Sous L'age de 14 Ans	A Terre Neuve	A la mer & en Service	Habitans	A Terre Neuve
Gro(u)ville								
V. des Marés	92	143	171	115	19	6		
V. de La Rue	61	84	110	76	(-)	6		
V. de Longville	51	84	106	57	12	(-)		
V. de La Rocque	38	61	68	58	6	(-)		
	242	372	455	306	37	12	1,182	37
Ste Marie								
V du Nord	78	97	161	101	31	14		
V. du Sud	101	133	236	148	39	12		
	179	230	397	249	70	26	972	70
St Jean								
V. du Nord	110	126	230	181	24	2		
V. du Douet	75	102	158	98	17	12		
V. de Herrupe	68	112	141	103	19	(-)		
	253	340	529	382	60	14	1,325	60
Trinité								
V. de la ville à L'évêque	72	106	149	122	13	1		
V. de Rosel	93	146	210	155	22	5		
V. du Rondin	84	134	193	119	10	1		
V. des Augrès	73	116	153	127	5	3		
V. de la Croiserie	54	84	118	113	12	(-)		
	376	586	823	636	62	10	2, 117	62
St Pierre								
V. du Douet	69	79	145	112	26	4		
V. du Coin Varin	45	49	78	67	26	(-)		
V. de St Nicholas	84	95	162	114	28	4		
V. des Augrès	61	83	126	113	19	2		
Grande V.	63	68	117	66	33	(-)		
	322	374	628	472	132	10	1, 616	132
St Laurent								
V. du Coin Tourgis	80	148	167	131	30	5		
V. du Coin Mottier	68	126	173	110	19	4		
V. de la Vallée	74	121	132	94	16	7		
V. du Coin Hattain	64	112	134	104	15	6		
	286	507	606	439	80	22	1,654	80
St Clement								
V de Saumarez	37	63	75	50	9			
Grande V.	45	59	86	47	4	3		
V. du Rocquié	23	28	49	33		(-)		
	105	150	210	130	15	10	515	15
St Martin	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	1,510	33
St Sauveur (-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	1,316	(-)
St Brelade (-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	1,435	156
							13,642	645

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