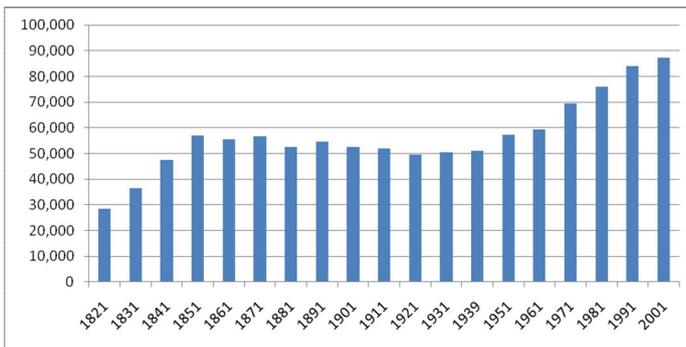




Jersey's Population – A History

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CONTENTS

List of Tables and Figures	ii
Introduction	1
Summary	2
1. Theoretical Issues	5
2. Population Statistics	8
3. French Refugees	17
4. Economic Boom in the First Half of the 19 th Century	18
5. Agricultural Workers from France	28
6. Decline and Recovery, 1850 to 1950	33
7. Rapid Growth, 1950 to 1990	37
8. Recent Years	41
9. Housing	42
10. The Parishes	43
11. Jersey Émigrés	45
12. Population Policy	49
Appendix 1 Alternative Total Population Statistics	53
Appendix 2 Population by Place of Birth	55
Appendix 3 Population by Sex	56
Appendix 4 Jersey-Born Non-Residents	57
Appendix 5 Population Trends in Guernsey	63
References	68
Further reading	71

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

		Page
Table 1	Population of Jersey, long term trends	10
Table 2	Population of Jersey, 1821-2008	11
Table 3	Population of Jersey, natural increase and net immigration, 1821-2008	13
Table 4	Comparative population data, Jersey, Guernsey, Isle of Man and England, 1821-2001	15
Table 5	Comparative population densities, 2001-09	16
Table 6	The changing nature of the Jersey economy	24
Table 7	Population of Jersey by place of birth, 1841–51	25
Table 8	French-born population of Jersey, 1841-2001	28
Table 9	Birthplace of French-born people registered as alien in Jersey by department	30
Table 10	Birthplace of French-born people from the Côtes du Nord registered as alien in Jersey by commune	31
Table 11	Birthplace of French-born people from Manche registered as alien in Jersey by commune	32
Table 12	Population of Jersey by place of birth, 1851-1911	34
Table 13	Jersey's resident population, 1951-91	37
Table 14	Country of birth of continental Europeans in Jersey, 1970s-2000s	39
Table 15	Jersey's population growth, 2000-08	41
Table 16	Population and houses in Jersey, 1331-2001	42
Table 17	Population of Jersey by parishes, 1788-2001	43
Table 18	Density of population of Jersey by parish, 2001	44
Table 19	Jersey-born people living in England and Wales, 1841-1921	47
Table 20	Comparison of births and census data for Jersey-born people, 1901-2000	48
Table A1	Total Jersey population statistics, alternative definitions, 1811-2008	53
Table B1	Population of Jersey by place of birth, 1821-2001	55
Table C1	Population of Jersey by sex, 1821-2001	56
Table D1	Jersey-born people returning to live in Jersey by year of beginning of current residence, 1981-2011	59
Table D2	Progress of age cohorts of Jersey-born in 1981	59
Table D3	Comparison of births and census data for Jersey-born, 1901-2000	60
Table E1	Population of Jersey and Guernsey, 1821-2001	64
Table E2	Gross migration flows by decade, Guernsey, 1841-1901	66
Figure 1	Total population, 1821-2001	12
Figure 2	Underlying population growth, 1821-2008	12
Figure 3	Population natural increase and net migration, 1821-2008	14
Figure 4	Jersey's trading links, 1830-40	20
Figure 5	Numbers of men and women, 1821-2001	26
Figure 6	Population of parishes, 1788, 1901 and 2001	43
Figure 7	The North Atlantic cod fisheries	46
Figure 8	Rate of population growth, Jersey and Guernsey, 1821-2001	66

INTRODUCTION

The Island of Jersey, 116 square kilometres, currently has a population of about 92,000, 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, rapid growth between 1951 and 1991 and more modest 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.

This paper seeks to bring together the available statistical and other analytical information on population trends in Jersey, within a sound theoretical framework. This has 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 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 an earlier draft of this paper.

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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 4,000–3,000 BC), 500 in the Middle Bronze Age (2000–1500 BC), 6,000 in 1050 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 and 87,186 in 2001. 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 that in 1951 it was virtually the same as 100 years earlier.

There was a second period of rapid population growth after the end of the Second World War. This period ended in 1991, since when the rate of increase has been more modest, although still high by international standards. Variations in the rate of growth or decline of the population have resulted largely from net migration rather than natural changes.

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 the 19th 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 of 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 was caused by a combination of factors including a decline 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 resident population increased by 52%, largely because 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 early years of the 21st century, from 87,100 in 2000 to 87,700 in 2004. The rate of increase has since increased, the population at the end of 2008 being estimated at 91,800.

Housing

Between 1821 and 2001 the population of Jersey increased by 204% while the number of houses increased by 699%. The population/houses ratio declined from a peak of 7.17 in 1831 to 2.67 in 2001. This reflects both declining household sizes and increasing affluence, in particular a reduction in different generations sharing a house.

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 2001 the population increased by just 32%.

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 140–150 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 market.
- Seeking to regulate the growth of the economy to reduce the demand for labour.

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 in 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'Etacq 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 will, other things being equal, 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, while it lasted, 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 political system and the rule of law.
- The availability of labour either from the indigenous population or from 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 Isle off the coast of South Brittany, faced with net emigration because it could not distinguish itself from mainland France. 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 young adults are most likely to be migrants.
- 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 them.
- 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 will, other things being equal, 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 colour, 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 point of time – typically 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 very 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 840, 1% of the enumerated population. This percentage is significantly smaller than that in the UK.
- 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 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 5th century. Also at that time, Britons were under attack from Germanic settlers, and some fled southwards to Brittany via the Channel Islands where some of them settled.

Ford (1989) then notes Norse activity in the adjacent regions of France in the 10th 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 Domesday 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.

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.

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 in 1788 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	12,000	
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
2001	87,186	52% over 50 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 1851-2001.

Table 2 shows the figures from each of the decennial censuses together with the 2008 official estimate. 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, 1821-2008

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
2008	91,800	6.8	6.8

Source: census reports and official estimate for 2008 (States of Jersey, 2009a).

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, 1951 and 2008 are calculated at a ten yearly rate to be comparable with the other data.
3. There are three 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.
 - There is a more significant discontinuity in the series in 1981 when resident population rather than census night population was recorded.
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.

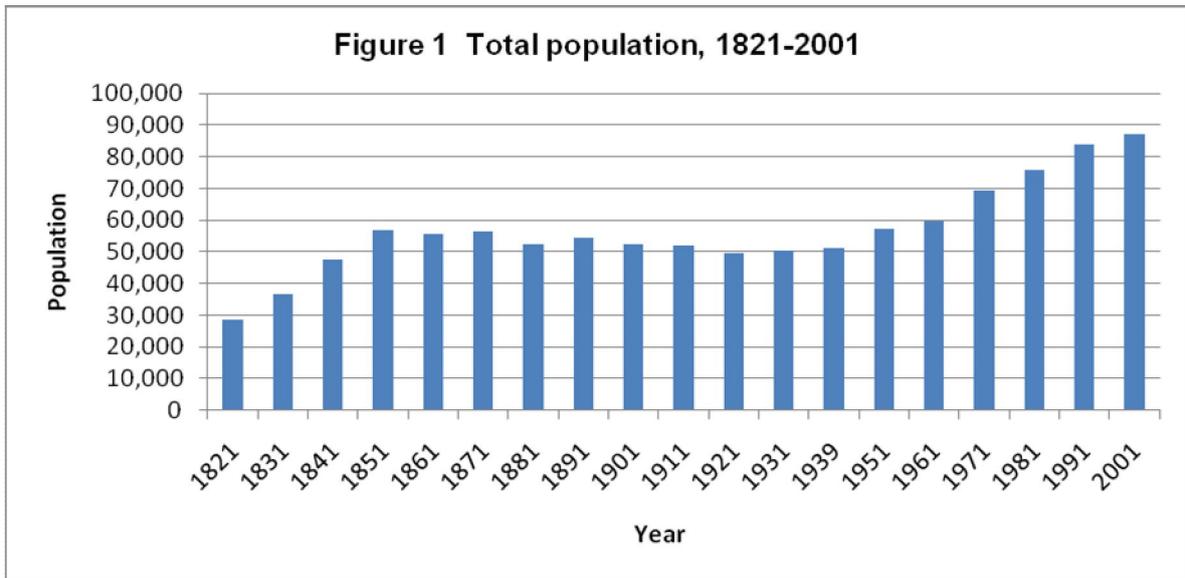
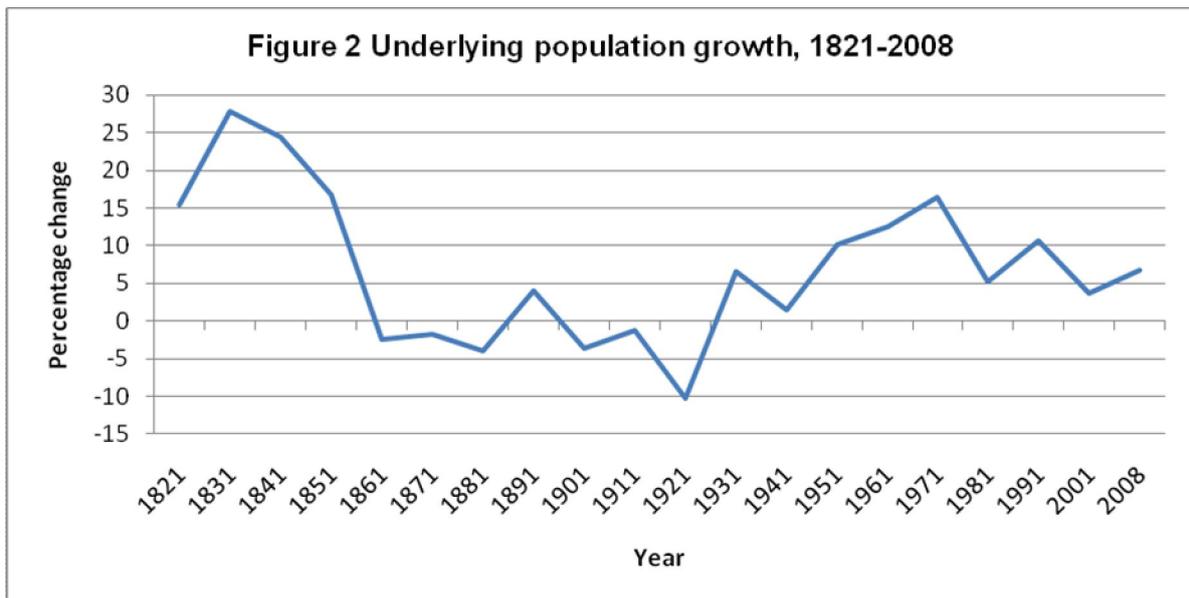


Figure 2 shows the rate of increase in the underlying population, that is corrected for the various points noted under Table 2.



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 for 70 years 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 1991 there was a second period of very rapid population growth. Subsequently, the rate of increase has been more modest, although still high by international standards.

Net immigration and natural increase

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

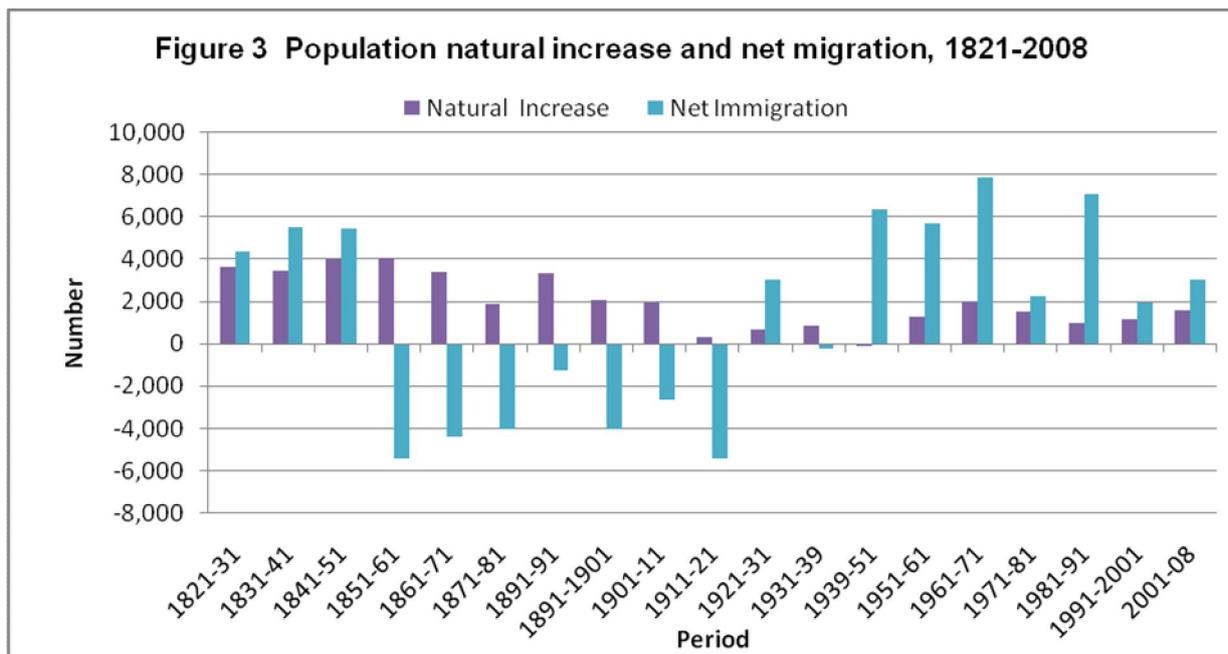
Table 3 Population of Jersey, natural increase and net migration, 1821-2008

Year	Population	Total Increase	Corrected Increase	Natural Increase	Net Immigration
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
2008	91,800	4,614	4,614	1,600	3,014

Source: The natural increase figures are taken from census reports up to 1951, medical health reports from 1961 to 1981, census reports for the period from 1981 to 2001 and the annual States Report *Jersey's Resident Population 2008* (States of Jersey, 2009a) for the period to 2008.

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. The table also shows strong net immigration from the end of the War until 1971 followed by a lower level of net immigration subsequently. These trends are illustrated in the Figure 3.



The figure suggests a strong correlation between net immigration 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 is also necessary here to explain the concept of “net migration”. 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, 1821-2001

Year	Jersey No	Increase	Guernsey No	Increase	IoM No	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%
2001	87,186	52%	59,600	37%	78,266	42%	52.1	19%
2001/1821		205%		198%		95%		334%
2001/1901		66%		47%		43%		60%

Source: census reports.

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

- Jersey’s population has grown substantially less than England’s since 1821. Even in the 20th century Jersey’s population growth was broadly comparable with that of England.
- Guernsey’s population growth has been far more stable 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 comparison. 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 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, 2001-09

Territory	Area Sq km	Population	Population Density	Theoretical Jersey Population
Jersey	116	91,800	791	91,800
St Brelade	13	10,134	792	91,848
St Helier	11	28,310	2,671	309,838
St John	9	2,618	301	34,910
Trinity	13	2,718	221	25,636
Comparable Territories				
Bermuda	53	68,000	1,283	149,000
Gibraltar	7	29,000	4,143	480,000
Guernsey	63	65,000	1,016	118,000
Hong Kong	1,092	7,055,000	6,427	749,000
Isle of Man	572	77,000	134	16,000
Liechtenstein	160	35,000	217	25,000
Malta	316	405,000	1,281	149,000
Monaco	2	33,000	16,398	1,913,000
Singapore	693	4,658,000	6,650	779,000
England	130,410	52,100,000	400	46,000
Bromley	153	295,530	1,932	224,000
Hertfordshire	1,639	1,033,977	631	73,000
Kent	3,950	1,329,653	337	39,000

Sources: The figures are taken from a variety of sources and are not exactly comparable. The total figure for Jersey is the official estimate for end-2008 (States of Jersey, 2009a). The figures for the Jersey parishes are taken from the 2001 census. The population figure for Guernsey is the official estimate for 2008 (States of Guernsey, 2009) and both the population and area figures exclude the other islands. The figures for England are taken from the 2001 census. The figures for other countries are estimates for 2009 by the CIA (2010).

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 seven times that of Jersey.

If Jersey was as densely populated as the London borough of Bromley it would have a population of 224,000; if it had Guernsey's density the population would be 97,000, Bermuda's density would give a population of 149,000, Gibraltar's density 480,000 and Singapore's density 779,000.

3. FRENCH REFUGEES

From the 16th century to the early 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 this 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 (2007) 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.

A final burst of 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 different wave 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 1980s, another period of rapid population growth, and nearly 10 times that of the period since 1991, a time when population and immigration have 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 origins 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 which 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 ship building 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 filled 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 benefitted goods produced in the Island and also made it a centre for manufacturing. This freedom dates back to 1394 when Jersey was permitted to export goods to England free of tax. This privilege was extended to exports to the colonies in 1468. The privilege 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". And it is likely 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.

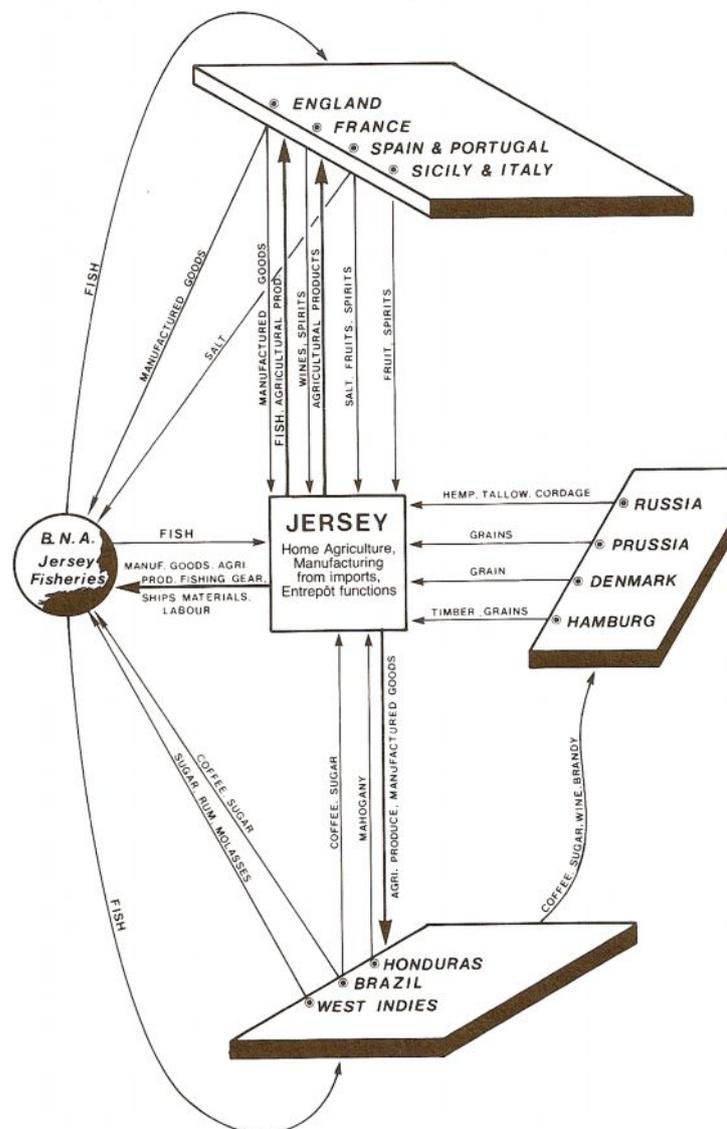
The **fishing** industry dates back to the 12th century. Initially, the catch was congers and mackerel in local waters, both of which were exported to England and France. As early as the 16th century the Jersey fleet was involved in the Newfoundland cod trade, and there were permanent bases in Newfoundland 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, probably in the 1830s or 1840s, perhaps 2,500 Jersey men 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 institutionalisation 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 shipbuilding has 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 criminal 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 on 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 12,000–14,000 pairs of shoes and 1,000–1,200 pairs of boots were exported annually to North America and there were five active tanneries in the Island.

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 good, was more easily transportable by sea from Jersey to the UK market than it was from possible 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, 1835, 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 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.) And 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	16 th Century	17 th Century	18 th Century	Early 19 th Century	Late 19 th 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
Scotland	292	1	581	1	99
Ireland	1,357	3	2,704	5	99
Other British Isles Total	11,338	24	15,409	27	36
Other	2,054	4	2,812	5	36
Unidentified	1,155	2	32		
Total	47,544	100	57,020	100	20

Source: 1841 and 1851 censuses.

Notes:

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 –

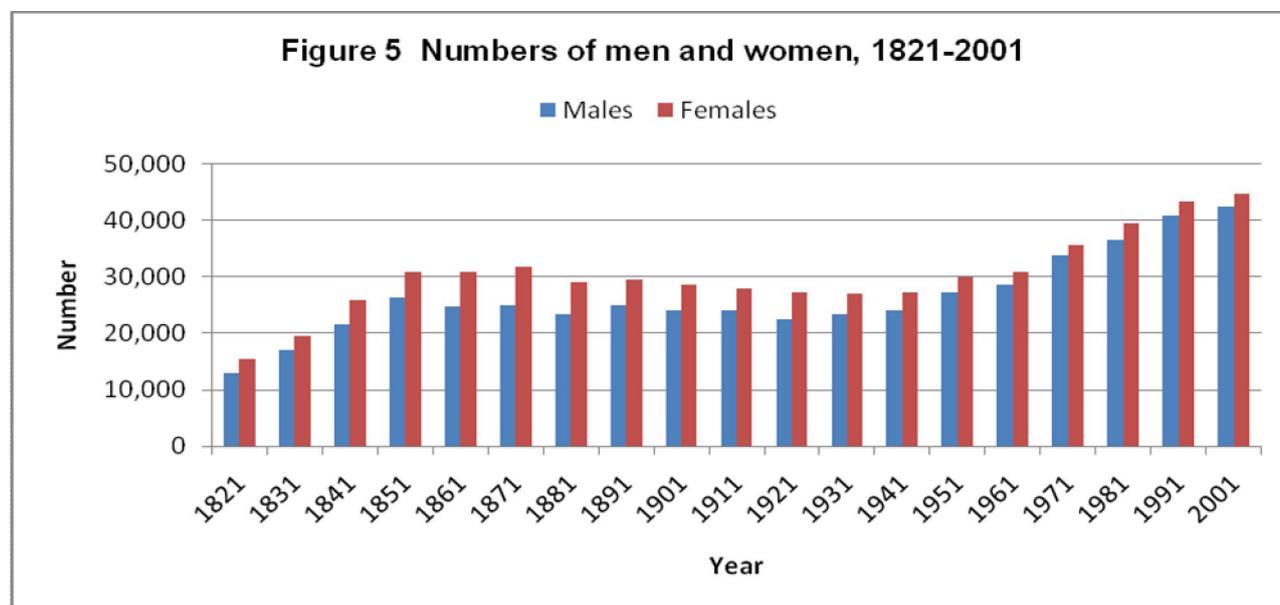
- The number of people born in Guernsey in the 1851 census. Censuses no longer record births in Guernsey but the figure is probably minimal today. This suggests much stronger trading relationship between the Channel Islands than is the case today.
- The very strong increase between 1841 and 1851 in the 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, 19.5% of the Island total. By 1901 these figures had increased to 27,866 and 53%.

The mystery of the missing men

The census reports for the 19th century show a remarkable divergence between the number of men and the number of women recorded in censuses, 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 men in 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 Jersey men 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, 1841-2001

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

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 reviews 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 Consuls' 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 1786 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, suggested 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 reserve de mains-d’œuvre suffiscante pour l’arracharg des pommes det terres primeurs, la seule regulation de la population existant depuis toujours sure l’ile étant l’émigration il etait donc necessaire de faire appel ‘a une force temporaire de travail venue de l’extérieur. Ce que firnt en effet les agriculteurs de Jersey en faisant venir des travailleurs agricoles francais. (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 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 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 d’Armor on average were half those in France generally.

The Department of Manche, including the Cotentin Peninsular, 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 provide a more accurate analysis of the location of the French immigrants. It is based on analysis of alien registration cards of people born in France. Under the Alien Restrictions Act 1920 all aliens over the age of 16, no matter how old they were or how long they had been living in Jersey, were required to register with the Immigration Officer. Around 2,000 individual records are available of aliens born prior to 1907. The registration documents are held in the Jersey Archive and can be accessed from 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 department.

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

Department	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 just of half the migrants were from the Côtes du Nord, 20% from Manche and the remainder from other departments, 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 8 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
Plehedel	34	27
Plouagat	30	18
St Carreuc	26	13
Languex	25	4
Quintin	18	26
Begard	17	42
Guincamp	17	29
Lantic	16	13
Loargat	15	45
Uzel	13	26
Ivias	13	32
Lannion	12	58
Corlay	11	30
Henon	11	15
Plouha	11	22
Gommenec'h	10	26
Le Foeil	10	14
Merzer	10	24
Plourivo	10	35
Peder nec	10	40

One commune stands out – Ploeuc, or more fully Ploeuc-sur-Lie. This commune, about 20km south of St Brieuc, now has a little under 3,000 inhabitants. Its neighbouring communes, Plaintel, St Carreuc and Henon, are also in the table. Ploeuc can be easily confused with Plouec, which was renamed Plouec-de-Trieux in 1980, which is nearly 40km north west of St Brieuc.

With the exception of the large town of Lannion, all the communes listed are within 45km of St Brieuc. With a few exceptions they are also all inland. Generally, the agricultural workers did not come from the coastal town such as St Quay Portrieux and Etables.

Table 11 shows the comparative data for Manche. The communes in Manche are, for the most part, in a 15km strip between Carteret and Lessay, Carteret probably being the port of embarkation. There are a few exceptions – Granville and Muneville-sur-Mer, 60 km to the south, and Bricquebec which is north east of Carteret. 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 Lo d'Ourville	22	9
Barneville	18	-
Denneville	11	11
Granville	11	62
Bricquebec	10	14
Creances	10	25
Surville	10	15
St Nicolas de Pierrepoint	8	15
Glatigny	7	16
Besneville	6	11
Bretteville	6	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 Cleguerec (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, Pledran, Plerin, Ploeuc-sur-Lie, Plouha, Quintin, St Briec, 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 Briec (11 times), Portbail (9) and St Lo (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 analysed than 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 in the 1860s. 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.

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 probably 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, 1851–1911

Population by 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 (1994) 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. Kelleher also estimated that a total of 14,000 people emigrated from Jersey between 1851 and 1881. In fact this is the total net emigration figures for this period. Actual emigration was much higher as there was still a high level of gross immigration, particularly from France.

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 which 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 Jersias 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 et leur droits, mais jamais ils n'ont eu à défendre contre une attaque, une invasion aussi formidable, quoique pacifique, que celle dont ils ont menaces aujourd'hui, et qui semble devoir être largement favorisée par les moyens 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. 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 censuses 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 position that Jersey could offer.

1939–51

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

“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 from 57,310 to 84,082, an increase of 47%. 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 and 5,137 (5.9%) in 2001. 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 not 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. Doug 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 only source of information on the number of Poles in Jersey is the number making social security contributions. By 2008, this had reached 4,800, implying that Poles accounted for over 8% of the workforce.

Table 14 shows trends in the nationality of non-British residents in Jersey.

Table 14 Country of birth of continental Europeans living in Jersey, 1970s-2000s

Country	1970s (%)	1980s (%)	1990s (%)	2000s (%)
Portugal/Madeira	47	57	63	47
France	8	33	11	4
Scandinavia	9	5	8	4
Poland	-	-	-	40
Germany	17	-	-	-
Other	19	4	18	4
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: *Report on the Annual Jersey Social Survey 2005*, States of Jersey, 2005.

Note: The Report includes a bar chart; the percentages have been estimated from the diagram and may be incorrect up to two percentage points.

The emergence of the Poles as a significant and growing section of the Jersey community rivals previous immigrations from France (refugees and later agricultural workers) and Portugal (workers in the tourist industry), a development that seems to have occurred without raising significant public policy issues – a similar position to that in the UK. However, there is some doubt about the validity of the statistics; the Social Survey for 2008 shows a Polish percentage of Europeans of 10% rather than 40%.

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 added fell from perhaps 25% in 1969 to just 3% in 2007. The number of leisure visitors fell from 590,000 in 1997 to 371,000 in 2008 (States of Jersey, 2009, P.32). Registered tourist bedspace capacity peaked at over 27,000 in the mid-1970s, and more than halved to 12,770 in 2008 (States of Jersey, 2009b, P.23).

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 etc 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. However, this could only be realised 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 2007 the finance industry accounted for no less than 53% of gross value added (States of Jersey, 2009c. P.16). 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 traveller who needs 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, although this has been at a lower level since 1991. 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 two years – the financial crisis which has led to a reduction in the volume of financial intermediation, and a concerted attack on 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 size of the Jersey population.

8. RECENT YEARS

Information on recent population trends is available from the States annual report *Jersey's Resident Population*. Table 15 shows the position.

Table 15 Jersey's Population growth, 2000-08

End-Year	Population	Increase	Natural increase	Net migration	Economic growth %
2000	87,100				
2001	87,400	300	190	100	-3
2002	87,600	200	90	100	-3
2003	87,600	-	250	-200	-4
2004	87,700	100	220	-100	-1
2005	88,400	700	220	300	3
2006	89,400	1,000	190	800	7
2007	90,900	1,500	320	1,100	7
2008	91,800	900	230	700	2

Sources: Jersey population change table, on www.gov.je on 2 April 2010. States of Jersey, 2009d for economic growth - the annual increase in gross value added.

Note: The figures have been rounded to the nearest 100 to reflect uncertainty.

The figures are estimates based on birth, death, employment, health and education data and have been rounded, and should be taken as no more than rough indications. The table shows marked variations in net migration which explain the variation in the total increase figures. The turnaround from net emigration of 200 in 2003 to net immigration of 1,100 in 2007 is closely related to the rate of economic growth shown in the final column. It is currently estimated that the economy contracted by 7% in 2009 and will contract by a further 2% in 2010. The downturn in the economy from 2008 is likely to be reflected in a significant fall in the rate of growth of the population, and possibly an absolute fall, in both 2009 and 2010.

9. HOUSING

Syvret and Stevens (1998) suggest that there were at least 2,000 houses in 1331, based on the Jersey Domesday 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 16 shows the available data on the housing stock compared with the population.

Table 16 Population and houses in Jersey, 1331–2001

Year	Population	Houses	Population per House
1331	12,000	2,000	
1685	16,200	3,049	
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

Sources: Syvret and Stevens (1988) P.40 for 1331. Dumaresq (1685) for 1685. Census reports for later years.

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

As would be expected the table shows a steady decline in the population/houses ratio from a peak of 7.17 in 1831 to 2.67 in 2001. This reflects both declining household sizes and increasing affluence, in particular a reduction in different generations sharing a house.

10. 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 Domesday Book suggested that the most populated parishes were St Ouen, St Saviour, St Martin, Trinity and Grouville.

Table 17 and the Figure 6 show the key data over time.

Table 17 Population of Jersey by parishes, 1788-2001

Parish	1788		1901		2001		Increase	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	2001/1788	2001/1901
Grouville	1,262	6.1	2,513	4.8	4,702	5.4	273	87
St Brelade	1,756	8.4	2,231	4.2	10,134	11.6	477	354
St Clement	635	3.0	1,508	2.9	8,196	9.4	1,191	444
St Helier	4,064	19.5	27,866	53.0	28,310	32.5	597	2
St John	1,419	6.8	1,620	3.1	2,618	3.0	84	62
St Lawrence	1,598	7.7	2,292	4.4	4,702	5.4	194	105
St Martin	1,393	6.7	2,748	5.2	3,628	4.2	160	32
St Mary	869	4.2	934	1.8	1,591	1.8	83	70
St Ouen	2,025	9.7	2,246	4.3	3,803	4.4	88	69
St Peter	1,611	7.7	2,596	4.9	4,293	4.9	166	65
St Saviour	1,335	6.4	4,053	7.7	12,491	14.3	836	208
Trinity	2,058	9.9	1,969	3.7	2,718	3.1	32	38
Total	20,025	100.0	52,576	100.0	87,186	100.0	319	66

Source: census reports.

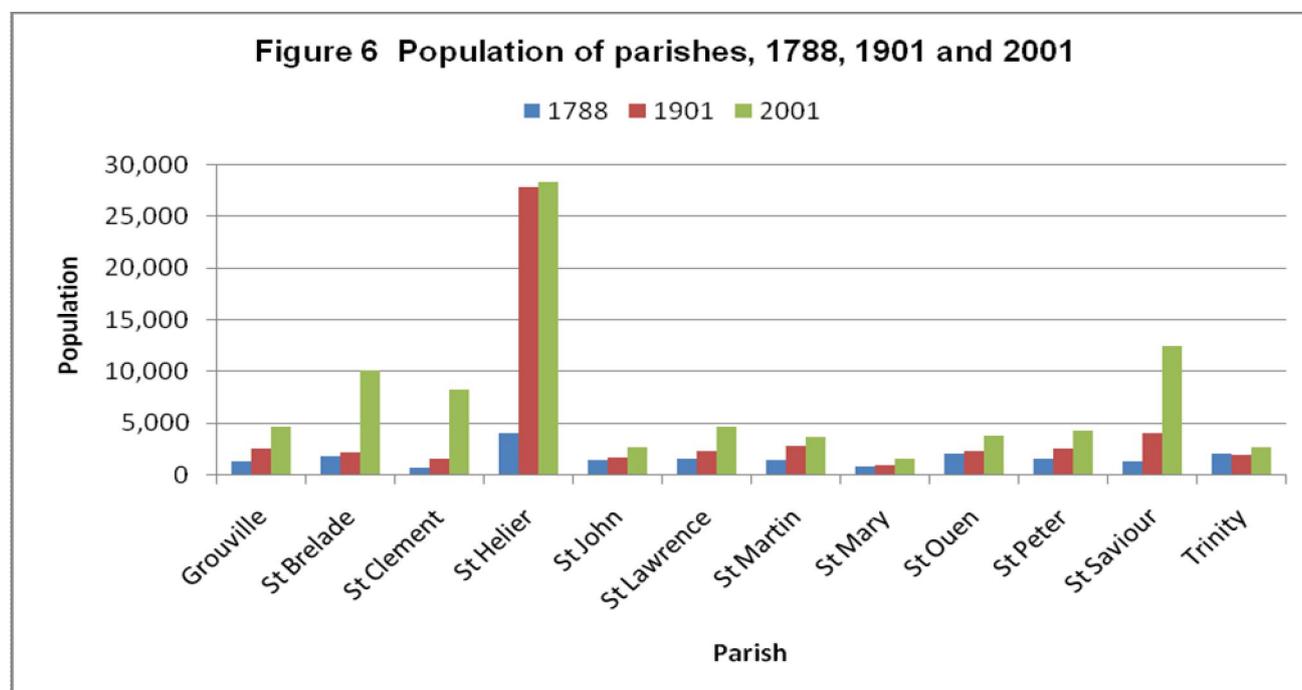


Table 17 shows a marked variation between the parishes in respect of population growth, which has been concentrated in the south of the Island. The fastest growing parishes over the 213 years covered by the table have been St Clement, St Saviour, St Helier and St Brelade. However, population growth in 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. The table shows a slow rate of growth in some of country parishes, particularly Trinity where over the whole period 1778 to 2001 the population increased by just 32%. Most of this increase occurred prior to 1851. Since then the population has risen by only 4%. The population of St Martin actually fell by 15% from the peak of 4,270 in 1851 to 3,628 in 2001.

Table 18 shows the population density in each parish in 2001.

Table 18 Density of population of Jersey by parish, 2001

Parish	Area sq km	Population	Population per sq km
Grouville	7.8	4,702	603
St Brelade	12.8	10,134	792
St Clement	4.2	8,196	1,951
St Helier	8.6	28,310	3,292
St John	8.7	2,618	301
St Lawrence	9.5	4,702	495
St Martin	11.6	3,628	366
St Mary	6.5	1,591	245
St Ouen	15.0	3,803	254
St Peter	11.6	4,293	370
St Saviour	9.3	12,491	1,343
Trinity	12.3	2,718	221
Total	116.2	87,186	750

Source: States of Jersey (2002).

Population density is high in the southern parishes, 3,292 people per sq km in St Helier, 1,951 in St Clement, 1,343 in St Saviour, 792 in St Brelade and 603 in Grouville. By contrast, the figures in the country parishes are as low as 221 in Trinity, 245 in St Mary and 254 in St Ouen.

11. 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 settlement 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.

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 Senator and presidential candidate).

Canada and the fishing industry

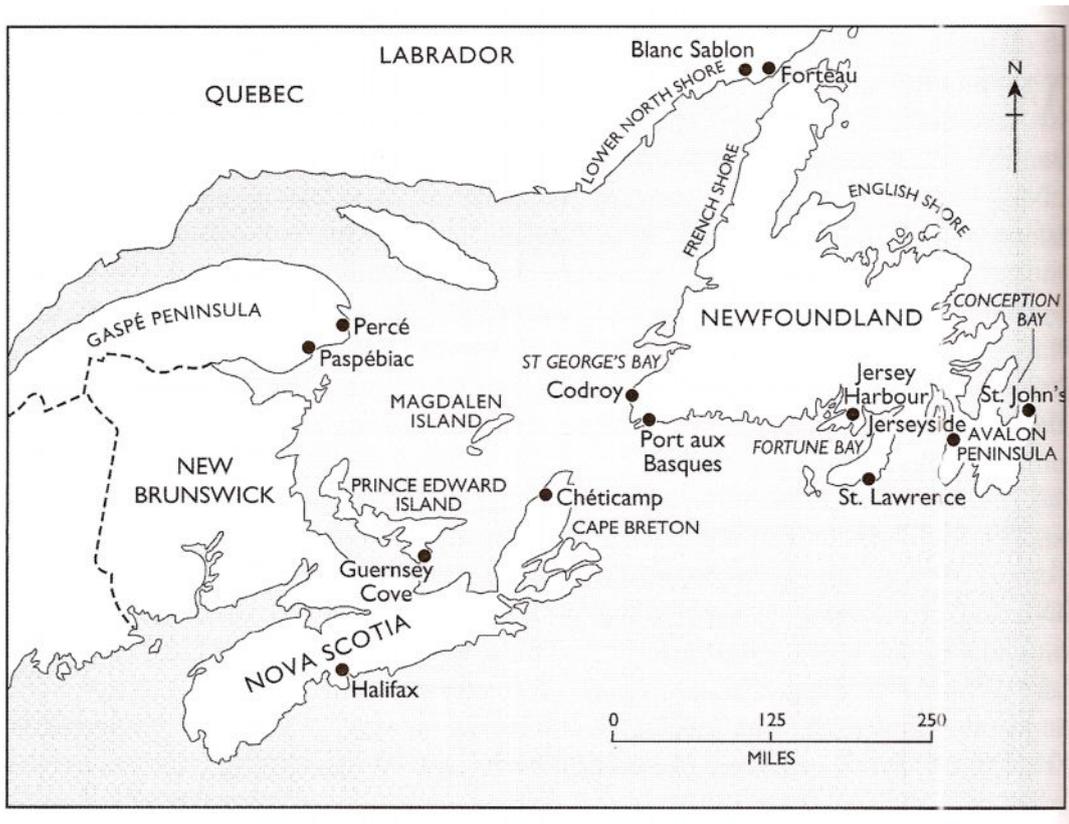
Chapter 4 briefly described the development of the Jersey fishing industry, and the major role that it played in the cod business in Canada. A traditional view is that Channel Islanders were fishing in the Grand Banks in the 15th century, even before Christopher Columbus "discovered" America in 1492, 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 in 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.

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. 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.

Figure 7 The North Atlantic cod fisheries



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

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.

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 19 shows the estimated number of Jersey-born people living in England and Wales, based on this assumption.

Table 19 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 40%, that is 23,500 Jersey-born people living in England compared with 45,800 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 German 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 and 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 with 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 home.

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, have 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 20, 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 those who have died and the number in the Island at the time of the 2001 Census. The number of Jersey born non-residents is the residual.

Table 20 Comparison of births and census data for Jersey-born people, 1901-2000

Years	Births	No in 1991 census living in Jersey	Number in 2001 census living in Jersey	Estimated deaths by 2000	Estimated non-residents in 2000
1901 – 1910					300
1911 – 1920					1,200
1921 – 1930	8,243	3,680	2,855	2,900	2,500
1931 - 1940	8,951	4,252	3,815	1,400	3,700
1941 - 1950	5,950	3,979	3,770	450	1,730
1951 - 1960	7,887	5,428	5,090	300	2,500
1961 - 1970	11,380	7,049	6,500	260	4,600
1971 - 1980	8,585	6,702	5,405	120	3,100
1981 - 1990	9,658	8,291	7,875	80	1,700
1991 - 2000	10,896	-	8,860	80	2,000
Total	54,356		37,500		23,500

Source: census reports.

Notes:

1. The figures for estimated deaths are a rough calculation based on *Interim Life Tables* produced for ONS, based on 2004-06 data. These figures, and the estimated non-resident figures, have been rounded to avoid a spurious impression of accuracy.
2. Figures for 1901-1920 are an extrapolation of the figures 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 and by the 2001 census only 5,405 remained. In addition, about 120 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 2001 (5,405) less the estimated number of deaths (120), that is 3,100.

The table shows that an estimated 23,500 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) and a further 1,297 (15%) had left by 2001 (that is when they were between 21 and 30).

12. 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 is concerned with the practicalities of seeking to influence population growth and with the evolution of population policy in Jersey over time.

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 country, 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 of 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 some 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 -

- Birth place, 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.
- Birth place 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 most 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 or owning houses.
- Influencing the volume of activity so as to reduce the demand for immigrant 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 emigration. 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.
- 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 that the average annual net rate of immigration should be such that by 1995 the population would not exceed 80,000.

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 which 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 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 State policy decisions should include an assessment by the Chief Adviser's Office of the population impact.

Since that time population policy has been almost continually on the agenda. 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.

The most recent statement on population policy was published by the Council of Ministers in April 2009 (States of Jersey, 2009e). 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 change adversely 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 are 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 aging 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.

These targets will not be easy to meet. The working population can be maintained only if there is significant immigration, and the population policy tools are such that fine tuning is difficult. In the short term the financial crisis is leading to a downturn in the Jersey economy which is likely to lead to a sharp reduction in net immigration, and possibly net emigration, in both 2009 and 2010, which will be reflected in the next full scale census in 2011.

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 official figures 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, 1811-2008

Year	Official count	Including visitors	Excl military & seamen	Excluding visitors	Resident	Crude increase %	Corrected increase %
1811	[24,776]						
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	3.7	3.7
2008	91,800				91,800	6.8	6.8

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. The percentage increases to 1931, 1951 and 2008 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 far better indication of trends than the crude figures.

Compared with the corrected 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 much 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 by 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, 1821-2001

Year	Population	Jersey %	Guernsey %	England & Wales %	Scotland %	Ireland %	British Isles total %	France %	Portugal %
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

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 51% in 1981 since when it has increased very slightly. 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. On a comparable basis the proportion of the population born in Jersey was probably much the same in 2001 as it was in 1961.

APPENDIX 3

POPULATION BY SEX

The analysis of population trends in the 19th century noted a significant difference between the number of men and the number of women and suggested that a significant number of Jersey men were employed in the shipping and fishing industries and therefore may not have been counted in the censuses. Table C.1 shows the key statistics.

Table C.1 Population of Jersey by sex, 1821-2001

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			

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, and 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 at 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 currently 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 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 are 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 their 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 earning, 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 will in future be 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 there are friends and family.

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 returnees are people in the 55 to 70 age group for whom each of the factors of family ties, nice place 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 have gone on to higher education in the UK and have 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 returnees. 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 returnees

There is some existing data from the last three censuses on the date when the most recent period of residence began for Jersey-born residents. Table D.1 shows the figures together with the author's estimate for 2011.

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

Census	Pre-1959	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 est	100	150	320	530	700	1,200	3,000

Source: census reports and author's estimates for 2011.

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 figures in the final row are the author's estimates based on an extrapolation of past trends.

The table shows a steady increase in the number of Jersey-born people coming back to Jersey over the years. In 2001 125 Jersey-born people had begun their most recent period of residence prior to 1959, 193 between 1960 and 1969, 407 between 1970 and 1979, 602 between 1980 and 1989 and 818 between 1990 and 1999. In 2000, the last full year for which figures are available, the number was 112, and if the trend of the late 1990s has continued that number is now probably in the 140 to 150 range, with a total number coming back to the Island between 2000 and 2009 perhaps being 1,200. 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 and 2001 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)	Change 1981–2001
0-4	3,507	3,422	2,900	-607 -17%
5-9	3,251	3,280	2,505	-746 -23%
10-14	3,818	3,483	3,045	-773 -20%
15-19	3,980	3,566	3,455	-525 -14%
20-24	2,802	2,919	2,830	+28 1%
25-29	2,220	2,329	2,260	+40 2%
30-34	2,469	2,571	2,460	-9 -
35-39	1,046	1,408	1,310	+264 21%
40-44	2,121	2,172	1,980	-141 -6%

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 were aged 45-49 in 1991 and 55-59 in 2001. 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.
- The small rise in the 5–9 cohort between 1981 and 1991 is very difficult to explain.

- 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 (60-64 in 2001) 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 2001, when they were 25-29, the number had fallen by 23%. In other words 23% 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 2001. This figure can be regarded as the minimum percentage of people born in Jersey with residential qualification 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 and 2001 include returnees who were not in Jersey in 1981.

The 2011 census data when it is available may enable this analysis to be refined. Similarly, there may be some data in the 1961 and 1971 censuses that would act as a useful check on this analysis.

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, 1901-2000

Years	Births	No in 1991 census living in Jersey	Number in 2001 census living in Jersey	Estimated deaths by 2000	Estimated non residents in 2000
1901 – 1910					300
1911 – 1920					1,200
1921 – 1931	8,243	3,680	2,855	2,900	2,500
1931 - 1941	8,951	4,252	3,815	1,400	3,700
1941 - 1950	5,950	3,979	3,770	450	1,730
1951 - 1960	7,887	5,428	5,090	300	2,500
1961 - 1970	11,380	7,049	6,500	260	4,600
1971 - 1980	8,585	6,702	5,405	120	3,100
1981 - 1990	9,658	8,291	7,875	80	1,700
1991 - 2000	10,896	-	8,860	80	2,000
Total	54,356		37,500		23,500

Source: census reports.

Notes:

1. The figures for estimated deaths are a rough calculation based on *Interim Life Tables* produced for ONS, based on 2004 – 06 data. These figures, and the estimated non-resident figures, have been rounded to avoid a spurious impression of accuracy.
2. Figures for 1901-1920 are an extrapolation of the trends for later years.

Table D.3 suggests that as many as 19% of children born in the 1990s were not in the Island in 2001, 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 38% of Jersey-born people in their 20s not living in the Island, the figure rising to over 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. However, the numbers could be higher if the 19% of Jersey-born people leaving the Island before the age of ten in 2001 was untypically high.

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 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 in fact 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 with 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.

While being similar, the islands are totally 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.

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 of 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 2001.

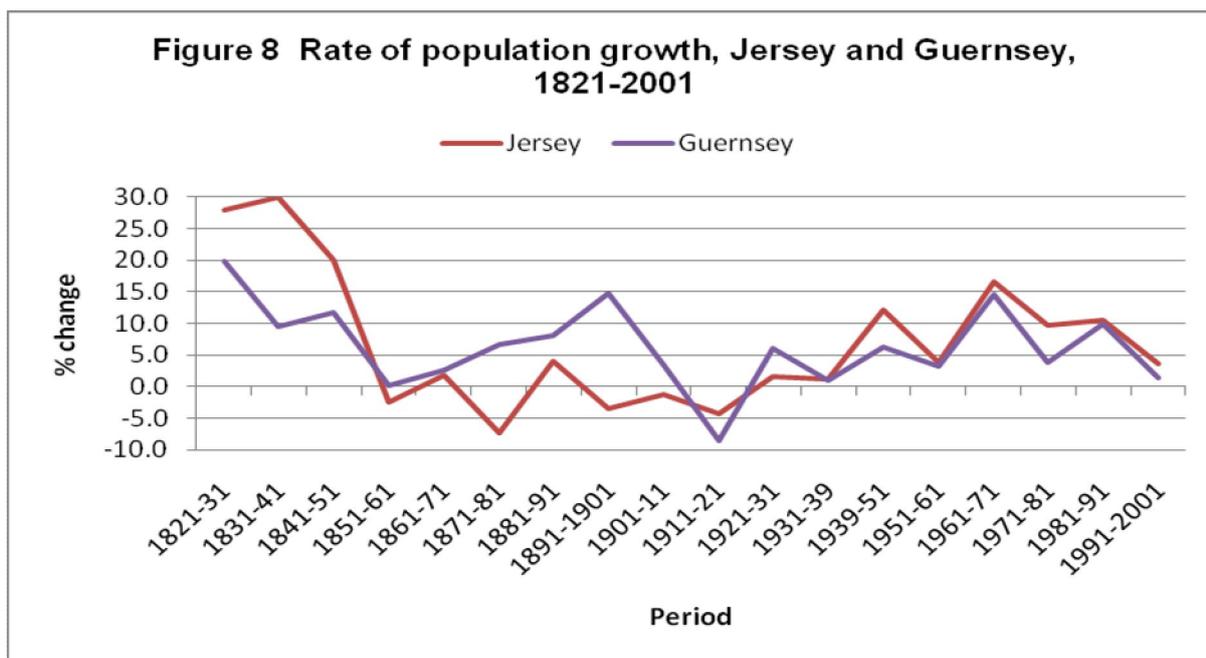
Table E1 Population of Jersey and Guernsey, 1821-2001

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
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

Source: census reports.

The figures are directly comparable 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. (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 European 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 19.

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 the La Manche and the 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.

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