

University of Southampton

Faculty of Social Sciences

Economic, Social and Political Sciences

**The Elderly Populations of England and Wales, 1851-1911: A Comparative Study of
Selected Counties**

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

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The historical scholarship on the elderly populations of England and Wales has continued unabated, particularly through the examination of older people in extreme poverty, or pauperism, and also through familial and state-funded provision. While these studies have usefully explored the lives of older people below elite social groups, they reinforce a pathological typology of old age. First, very few studies emphasise the autonomy of older people regarding their occupational structure and the capacity to voluntarily retire from work. Second, little is known about historical older individuals and their backstories through their life course, or any local and regional variations in their socio-economic background.

Further research on historical ageing populations has been limited by the lack of ‘big data’ source materials. However, the release of Integrated Census Microdata datasets (I-CeM) provides a comprehensively transcribed database of the elderly population as derived from the Victorian and Edwardian census enumerators’ books. This means that themes can be investigated that transcend the pathological issue of care for older people, such as a detailed assessment of occupational structure and their retirement patterns. This thesis uses I-CeM datasets to examine four main themes associated with the elderly population in five selected counties of England and Wales in 1851 to 1911: the demographic composition of older people; their employment and retirement patterns; the extent of old age pauperism; and living arrangements in old age and during their life course. Several key findings that demonstrate the autonomy of older people in the past are presented, as well as providing several causes of old age pauperism. As a result, we can appreciate the diversity of the experiences of older people in the past. This will help inform public discourse in the present day when attention is focused heavily on the needs of older people, rather than their capabilities.

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Tom Sean Heritage, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

‘The Elderly Populations of England and Wales, 1851-1911: A Comparative Study of Selected Counties’

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exceptions of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work have been published as:
Tom Heritage, ‘Old Age, Regionalism and the “North-South” Divide in Late Victorian and Edwardian England’, *Romance, Revolution and Reform*, 1 (2019), pp. 46-71;
8. This work received ethical approval by Ethics and Research Governance Online on 12 November 2015 (submission ID number: 18056).

Signed:

Date:

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List of Abbreviations

CAMPOP	Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure
CEBs	Census Enumerators' Books
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
GNP	Gross National Product
I-CeM	Integrated Census Microdata Datasets
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
LBR	Legitimate Birth Rate
LFPR	Labour Force Participation Rate
OADR	Old Age Dependency Ratio
Pop. Change	Population Change
RD	Registration Sub-Districts (also known as RSD)
SMAM	Singulate Mean Age at Marriage
SRD	Superintendent Registration Districts (also known as Registration Districts)
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
TNA	The National Archives, Kew

List of Counties

Ches	Cheshire
Glam	Glamorganshire
Hants	Hampshire
Herts	Hertfordshire
Yorks	Yorkshire West Riding

1 Introduction

Elderly Populations in the Past: A Re-examination

1.1 Introduction

Academic interest in the history of old age has been given renewed impetus by present-day issues of population ageing. In the United Kingdom (UK) and in other developed countries, the ageing of the population is one of the most important aspects of demographic change, owing to a combination of declining birth rates, declining infant mortality and increasing life expectancy since the late nineteenth century.¹ Very few researchers would challenge Sarah Harper's notion that 'demographic ageing is a reality.'² There are many statistics that show the growth in the elderly population in Britain since the early twentieth century. In 2013, one in six people was aged 65 years and over, compared with one in twenty a century before.³ It is also evident that there is a higher proportion of people over the age of 65 years than those under 15 years. The United Nations Population Division's World Population Prospects estimated that, in 2017, 19 per cent of the UK population were aged 65 years and over, narrowly ahead of the 18 per cent aged between 0-14 years.⁴ There is no doubt that rapidly ageing societies have helped strengthen an interest in the history of the elderly population prior to the 'ageing boom' or before the creation of the modern welfare state. Most notably, the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP) have contributed immensely to our understanding of historical older populations.⁵ There is now an established body of research on the historical relationship between older people and state-funded welfare systems, their extended families, the economy and their role in society. This has inspired many articles and monographs depicting older people across several periods of history, culminating in an entire survey of old age across the second millennium, seen in Pat Thane's seminal work *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (2000).⁶ Social science and social history narratives of old age have been complemented by recent literary and cultural

¹ J. Spijker and J. MacInnes, 'Population Ageing: The Timebomb that Isn't?' *BMJ*, 347 (2013), pp. 1-5.

² S. Harper, *Ageing Societies* (Oxford, 2013), pp. xiii, 1.

³ Spijker and MacInnes, 'Population Ageing', p. 1.

⁴ Data on the percentages of the population aged 65 years and over and aged 14 years and under by country are available on The World Bank website, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.65UP.TO.ZS> (those aged 65 years and over, accessed 30 January 2019); <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.0014.TO.ZS> (those aged 0-14 years, accessed 30 January 2019).

⁵ The contributions from the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure are recognised in K. Boehm, A. Farkas and A. Zwierlen, 'Introduction', in K. Boehm, A. Farkas and A. Zwierlen (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Aging in Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 1-20.

⁶ P. Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000).

perspectives on this theme, which have enhanced our knowledge of older people in the Victorian period, particularly regarding gender differences.⁷

In general, the studies specified above have refined our understanding of old age in history. This is because researchers have questioned the dichotomy between the ‘pre-modern’ era, where older people were predominantly cared for by their families and respected for their wisdom and life experiences, and the ‘industrial’ period, which involved the growth in state-sponsored support in place of familial care and the marginalisation of older people as a welfare-dependent social group.⁸ In the ‘industrial’ era, especially in the nineteenth century, intergenerational support was still integral to the lives of older people in spite of a state welfare system, known since 1834 as the New Poor Law.⁹ Likewise, older people relied on the Old Poor Law, implemented in 1601, in place of or in association with family provision.¹⁰ This means that, despite attempts to differentiate periods, continuities existed. One of these continuities is the strong relationship between old age and pauperism, a term used in the nineteenth century to refer to those that received transfer payments on account of their extreme poverty. To summarise Victorian philanthropist Charles Booth, when he surveyed the elderly population recorded as paupers in the late nineteenth century, ‘on the whole people are poor because they are old.’¹¹ In particular, while the Old and New Poor Law differed in terms of their treatment of the ‘working-age’ or what was then called the ‘able-bodied’ population (usually taken to represent those aged 15 to 59 years old), older people were meant to be treated more generously than those whom society believed should have been actively working.¹² Therefore, the care given to older people since the Old Poor Law has been viewed by historians

⁷ For an introduction to literary and cultural perspectives on ageing, see Boehm, Farkas and Zwierlen, ‘Introduction’, Monographs include K. Chase, *The Victorians and Old Age* (London, 2009); K. Heath, *Ageing by the Book: The Emergence of Midlife in Victorian Britain* (Albany, 2009) and D. Looser, *Women Writers and Old Age in Great Britain, 1750-1850* (Baltimore, 2008). An examination about the anxieties of ageing from a female perspective is in T. Mangum, ‘The New Woman and Her Ageing Other’, in J. John (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Victorian Literary Culture* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 178-192.

⁸ A thorough exploration of this dichotomy is found in J. Quadagno, *Ageing in Early Industrial Society: Work, Family and Social Policy in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1982), pp. 3-12.

⁹ The seminal text that challenges the ‘modernisation’ theory that industrialisation broke up the extended family structure is M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 139-144.

¹⁰ See R.M Smith, ‘Ageing and Well-being in Early Modern England: Pension Trends and Gender Preferences under the English Old Poor Law, c. 1650-1800’, in P. Johnson and P. Thane (eds.), *Old Age from Antiquity to Post-modernity* (London, 1998), pp. 64-95. On the ways in which older people could receive poor relief and familial care as complementary forms of provision, see P. Thane, ‘Old Age and their Families in the English Past’, in M. Daunton (ed.), *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare in the English Past* (London, 1996), pp. 113-138.

¹¹ C. Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894), p. 54.

¹² This is particularly evident in the variations in the proportion of older people (defined by Smith as 50 years and over) receiving poor relief as a pension by parish, compared with younger populations. Smith, ‘Ageing and Well-being in Early Modern England’, Table 4.5, p. 75, where ‘we observe a very definite preference for prioritising the elderly as a category of the deserving poor.’

as one of the Poor Law's 'least controversial doctrines.'¹³ In general, the 'continuity' approach has shown us that the welfare of older people was a main priority across history, long before the creation of the modern welfare state in 1948.

While the emphasis on continuity has allowed an understanding of the patterns of old age pauperism over centuries and generated a history of older people 'from below' the social hierarchy, it has somewhat narrowed our focus on the history of older people through an emphasis on the aged *poor*.¹⁴ Also, it has been argued that the greater provision of welfare provided in the form of the Old Age Pension Act of 1908 represented 'a major watershed' in the position of older people.¹⁵ Historians arguing this case are right that a greater number of elderly people were given old age pensions after 1908 than were given poor relief beforehand.¹⁶ However, a tendency to focus on the aged poor can result in the marginalisation of older people in the pre-old age pension past. Consequently, they are analysed as a social group characterised by dependency, decline and insecurity. There is little examination of older people in Victorian England and Wales above the scale of pauperism, or of their role as active contributors to the economy, the latter of which can be examined in depth using census records from the Victorian period. There is a propensity to create stereotypical characterisations of elderly people; examples being that it is inevitable for them to experience both mental and physical decline, have their status in society diminished through mandatory retirement, or for them to become impoverished as they age.¹⁷ In fact, Susannah Ottaway has argued that there is a 'tendency to view old age through a "pathology model" that encourages us to look for dependence rather than autonomy in the elderly of the past.'¹⁸ This thesis will seek to redress the balance between dependence and autonomy in the historical experiences of older people.

¹³ S. Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 173.

¹⁴ An introduction to researching history 'from below' (in other words, primarily examining the lives of the poor and working-class populations) and a historian's biographical account of approaching this research is provided in S. Lynd, *Doing History from the Bottom Up: On E.P. Thompson, Howard Zinn, and Rebuilding the Labor Movement from Below* (Chicago, 2014). For an English perspective that corresponds to the phenomenon of family history, see A. Light, *Common People: The History of an English Family* (London, 2014), p. 6.

¹⁵ G. Boyer, *The Winding Road to the Welfare State: Economic Security and Social Welfare Policy in Britain* (Woodstock, 2019), p. 25.

¹⁶ G. Boyer, "'Work for their prime, the workhouse for their age": Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', *Social Science History*, 40 (2016), pp. 3-32, at p. 28, where he writes, 'For England as a whole, 59.8 per cent of persons 70 and older received a pension in March 1912, more than two-and-a-half times the percentage of persons of the same age who were poor relief recipients on March 31, 1906.'

¹⁷ For an introduction on ageism and age discrimination as concepts, see J. Macnicol, *Age Discrimination: An Historical and Contemporary Analysis* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 6-11.

¹⁸ Ottaway, *Decline of Life*, p. 66.

In this thesis, historical approaches to older people are addressed in greater depth, to see more clearly what has been established in the literature. This section will summarise in more detail theoretical narratives (concerning, for example, interpretations associated with the political economy perspective), thematic approaches such as the changing relationship between family and state in the treatment of older people, and the changing position of older people over time. This means that we can subsequently discuss the elements that have been underexplored by historians and the reasons why these issues remain so, particularly when examining the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We propose solutions to addressing the lacunae in the study of historical older populations and discuss the source materials and methodology to be used in our study of older people in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century England and Wales. The following four main themes, or chapters, that will be discussed in the thesis are briefly summarised. By paying attention to a detailed study of older people in a particular historical period, and by drawing attention to main themes, we provide a comprehensive overview of older people irrespective of their socio-economic status, and challenge an overly ‘welfare-dependent’ perspective on older people in Victorian and Edwardian society.

1.2 Approaches to Historical Older Populations

1.2.1 Chronological Narratives and the ‘Golden Age of Ageing’

As described above, old age in history has been addressed through a series of chronological narratives. First, Ottaway argues that historians initially searched for an ‘elusive golden age of ageing’ which contrasted with the scenarios of older people in recent times, one example being a growing decline in respect for older individuals.¹⁹ Unlike the relatively high proportion of people aged 60 or 65 years and over in developed economies since the mid-twentieth century, there was a ‘rarity value’ ascribed to the smaller proportions of older people in the past, in which they were respected for their wisdom.²⁰ As the numbers of older people grew and industry became more technologically-intensive, older people became marginalised and negatively constructed as an unproductive social group wholly reliant on old age pensions.²¹ Any attempt to regain some sense of autonomy in the workplace was diminished by the increasing bureaucratisation of industries.²² Older people were prevented from pursuing more

¹⁹ Ottaway, *Decline of Life*, pp. 1, 277-8.

²⁰ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 1.

²¹ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 2. This forms the crux of political economist C. Phillipson’s argument in *Capitalism and the Construction of Old Age* (London, 1982). The ‘political economy’ perspective of old age as argued by Phillipson and others will be discussed in depth later in the text.

²² Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 140.

hazardous forms of work which, as John Macnicol argues, laid the foundation for old age pensions as a more functional safety net for the aged than the New Poor Law.²³ Furthermore, structural-functional interpretations have argued that, as a result of their 'rarity value', older people were more likely to remain in contact with their family members before the advent of industrialisation and urbanisation. Afterwards, the increased out-migration of the 'working-age' or younger populations to urban areas meant that these familial contacts diminished. Therefore, industrialisation and urbanisation, through the way in which household structure changed in response to industry and in the migration of younger populations, resulted in the declining importance of older people in the family.²⁴ Notwithstanding Michael Anderson and Marguerite Dupree's seminal research, which argues that industrialisation did not displace but reinforced extended familial ties, one does notice an overall decline since the end of the nineteenth century in intra-household familial contacts between older people and their relatives.²⁵ Richard Wall finds that the proportions of those living alone or with spouses increased over time, accelerating since the end of the Second World War.²⁶ While it seems imprudent to propose a 'golden age' in any period of time for older people, it is correct to argue that familial contacts, at least in the household, were greater in the nineteenth century than in recent times and perhaps greater than in earlier centuries.

1.2.2 Old Age and Interpretations of Progress and Improvement

Second, another narrative advocates that life has actually improved for older people since the Old Age Pension Act of 1908. It is argued that, generally, those living in old age in the nineteenth century are disassociated from a degree of self-reliance, autonomy and power. Historical narratives aimed at public audiences provide a good example of this. In 2014, a study by researchers representing the online genealogical organisation Ancestry argued that 57 per cent of those aged 65 years and over in the 1891 census were recorded in an occupation, compared to only 10 per cent in 2014. It is certainly true that the employment rates of older men were substantial in the mid-Victorian period, as confirmed in two academic studies by

²³ J. Macnicol, *The Politics of Retirement in Britain, 1878-1948* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 44-8.

²⁴ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 13.

²⁵ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, pp. 139-144; M.W. Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries, 1840-1880* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 328-30.

²⁶ R. Wall, 'Elderly Persons and Members of their Households in England and Wales from Preindustrial Times to the Present', in D.I. Kertzer and P. Laslett (eds.), *Aging in the Past: Demography, Society and Old Age* (London, 1995), pp. 81-106 and his additional article, 'Relationships Between the Generations in British Families Past and Present', in C. Marsh and S. Arber (eds.), *Families and Households: Divisions and Change* (Basingstoke, 1992), pp. 63-85.

Paul Johnson and Matthew Woollard.²⁷ From this data, it is concluded that present-day findings regarding the increase in the numbers of older people in work reflect similar historical trends in the high proportions of elderly workers. The Old Age Pension Act is argued to be one of the ‘first steps towards government protection of the economically vulnerable.’²⁸ By contrast, social protection for older people in the Victorian period was very limited:

In the Victorian era [...] the concept of ‘retirement’ didn’t exist, and a lack of state pension or welfare funds meant that elderly people had no financial support unless they had help from relatives. For most working-class people, the only options were work or the workhouse, which forced many people into continued employment no matter how old they were.²⁹

Despite the lack of any reference to outdoor relief as a major source of provision for older people in the Victorian period, academics that do make reference to poor relief share the same sentiments in dividing a less progressive Victorian period from a socially progressive twentieth century. Andrew Blaikie and Chris Gilleard also argue that the Old Age Pension Act virtually changed the status of elderly people overnight. For Blaikie, they facilitated the ‘emerging political power of the elderly’ in their attempt to push for further pension reforms.³⁰ Gilleard stresses that ‘for the old, at last, the long, hard nineteenth century seemed well and truly over.’³¹ In Victorian Ireland, where Gilleard’s study is based, the country ‘grew old; the old grew poor; and the aged poor grew frailer and more marginalised than ever.’³² Pat Thane also finds that the opportunities for the aged ‘to obtain adequately paid, status-conferring labour before the 1920s’ were ‘very limited.’³³ In terms of the proportion of the population that were elderly in nineteenth-century England and Wales, older people are viewed as an insignificant minority. In general, 7 per cent of the population of England and Wales were aged 60 years and over between the periods 1851 to 1901.³⁴ Richard Smith thus describes the Victorian era as ‘an

²⁷ P. Johnson, ‘The Employment and Retirement of Older Men in England and Wales, 1881-1981’, *Economic History Review*, 47 (1994), pp. 106-128; M. Woollard, ‘The Employment and Retirement of Older Men, 1851-1881: Further Evidence from the Census’, *Continuity and Change*, 17 (2002), pp. 437-63.

²⁸ Ancestry Online, ‘Down the Mine at 89: Working Life of Elderly Victorians Revealed’, <https://blogs.ancestry.co.uk/cm/down-the-mine-at-89-working-life-of-elderly-victorians-revealed/> (accessed 28 January 2019).

²⁹ Ancestry Online, ‘Down the Mine at 89’.

³⁰ A. Blaikie, ‘The Emerging Political Power of the Elderly in Britain 1908-1948’, *Ageing & Society*, 10 (1990), pp. 17-39.

³¹ C. Gilleard, *Old Age in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Ageing under the Union* (London, 2017), p. 71.

³² Gilleard, *Old Age in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, p. 97.

³³ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 286.

³⁴ P. Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1977), Table 3.6, p. 193.

aberrant period against which to compare present-day developments.’³⁵ Due to the national rise in the proportion of the elderly population (from 7.9 per cent in 1911 to 11.5 per cent in 1931), old age became an important social and political issue.³⁶ This generated anxieties about an ‘ageing boom’, the growing burden of old age dependency and the decline in an ‘actively working’ population.³⁷ Blaikie argues that these issues ‘ran in tandem with the growth of activism by and on behalf of pensioners themselves.’³⁸ In other words, older people in the Victorian period were marginal and most likely poor. Afterwards, through their growing numbers in relation to the population, older people became a recognisable entity, empowered with agency.

1.2.3 Old Age as a ‘Burden’ on Society

Third, one reason why some historians rely on the narrative that life was ‘better’ for older people after 1908 is because old age in the past is often viewed from a present-day perspective. Ottaway argues that the history of old age is characterised by a certain ‘present-centeredness’, where approaches are structured based on the burdensome role of older people in society, in parallel with contemporary concerns about the treatment of older people in the modern welfare state or in the care home sector.³⁹ This is particularly the case when recent scholarship has been somewhat biased towards collective provision, which included outdoor relief, workhouse and almshouse accommodation.⁴⁰ Studies also place greater emphasis on family provision for the

³⁵ R.M. Smith, ‘The Structured Dependence of the Elderly as a Recent Development: Some Sceptical Historical Thoughts’, *Ageing & Society*, 4 (1984), pp. 409-28, at p. 414.

³⁶ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, Table 3.6, p. 193.

³⁷ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 333-4.

³⁸ Blaikie, ‘The Emerging Political Power of the Elderly’, p. 18.

³⁹ Ottaway, *Decline of Life*, p. 278. For a contemporary perspective on the treatment of older people in residential care, see F. Glendenning, ‘The Abuse of Older People in Institutional Settings: An Overview’, in N. Stanley, J. Manthorpe and B. Penhale (eds.), *Institutional Abuse: Perspectives across the Life Course* (London, 1999), pp. 173-190. Media discourse about older people is in recent times characterised by the vulnerability of older people in the face of public spending cuts, see P. Butler, ‘£1bn Needed to Stave Off Crisis, Say Social Care Bosses’, *The Guardian*, 16 June 2018, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/jun/16/1bn-needed-to-stave-off-crisis-say-social-care-bosses> (accessed 25 April 2019).

⁴⁰ Literature on workhouse populations was first published through S. Page, ‘Pauperism and the Leicester Workhouse in 1881’, *Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society*, 63 (1989), pp. 85-95. However, starting a trend in the academic journal *Local Population Studies* was A. Hinde and F. Turnbull, ‘The Populations of Two Hampshire Workhouses, 1851-1861’, *Local Population Studies*, 61 (1998), pp. 38-53, followed by N. Goose, ‘Workhouse Populations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Case of Hertfordshire’, *Local Population Studies*, 62 (1999), pp. 52-69. Also, see D.G. Jackson, ‘The Medway Union Workhouse, 1876-1881: A Study based on the Admissions and Discharge Registers and the Census Enumerators’ Books’, *Local Population Studies*, 75 (2005), pp. 11-32; A. Gritt and P. Park, ‘The Workhouse Populations of Lancashire in 1881’, *Local Population Studies*, 86 (2011), pp. 37-65; L. Darwen, ‘Workhouse Populations of the Preston Union, 1841-61’, *Local Population Studies*, 94 (2014), pp. 33-42; J. Purser, ‘The Workhouse Population of the Nottingham Union, 1881-1882’, *Local Population Studies*, 99 (2017), pp. 66-80. Almshouse literature is not as extensive, but academic interest was developed by Professor Nigel Goose, whose research initiative to analyse historical almshouse accommodation on a national and county basis was funded by

aged, often but not always through non-reciprocal care towards older people, as opposed to the self-reliance of older people that lived independently from their relatives in their own homes.⁴¹ Often scholars do not acknowledge the very low proportions of older people based in workhouses and almshouses in the mid-Victorian period, which can exaggerate the view of older people as objects of institutional social policy.⁴² In some ways, it is commendable that such studies of old age pauperism have been taken. George Boyer's recent research has challenged the idea that 'widespread government support for the elderly' was 'a relatively recent phenomenon', pointing to the substantial proportions of older people receiving state-funded allowances, particularly outdoor relief granted in their own homes.⁴³ This provides an effective counterpoint to the narrative that the lives of older people before the Old Age Pension Act were characterised by either 'work or the workhouse'.⁴⁴ However, studies of old age pauperism have overemphasised older people's reliance on institutions. As a result, there has been an exaggeration of older people's dependence on the state as opposed to their own resources, and an overemphasis of their dependency in general.

1.2.4 Old Age as Opportunity and as an Economic Resource

Earlier findings by CAMPOP on the dependency of older people, along with their changing demographic composition, have inspired ideas that challenge an ageist narrative of decline in

the Family and Community History Research Society in 2005, with assistance from the Economic History Society. See C. Leivers, 'Housing the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Derbyshire: A Comparison of Almshouse and Workhouse Provision', *Local Population Studies*, 83 (2009), pp. 56-65; N. Goose and L. Moden, *A History of Doughty's Hospital, Norwich, 1687-2009* (Hatfield, 2010); N. Goose and M. Yates, 'Charity and Commemoration: A Berkshire Family and their Almshouse, 1675-1763', in C. Briggs, P.M. Kitson and S.J. Thompson (eds.), *Population, Welfare and Economic Change* (Suffolk, 2014), pp. 227-48. On outdoor relief more generally, studies are limited to the extent that, according to Steve King in the abstract of an article written in 2017, 'we know almost nothing' about those on outdoor relief; see S. King, 'Thinking and Rethinking the New Poor Law', *Local Population Studies*, 99 (2017), pp. 5-19. A summary of outdoor relief allowances across England and Wales in the mid-Victorian period is provided by L.H. Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 186-190.

⁴¹ As well as the seminal historical studies by Michael Anderson and Marguerite Dupree, recent works in *Local Population Studies* include M. Freeman and L. Wannell, 'The Family and Community Lives of Older People after the Second World War: New Evidence from York', *Local Population Studies*, 82 (2009), pp. 12-29; T. Heritage, 'The Living Arrangements of Older People in the 1851 and 1891 Census Enumerators' Books for Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 98 (2017), pp. 30-53. The living arrangements of older widowed people are also analysed in V. Holmes, *In Bed with the Victorians: The Life-Cycle of Working-Class Marriage* (London, 2017), pp. 84-6.

⁴² The proportion of those aged 65 years and over and recorded in Poor Law institutions (which not only include workhouses but also hospitals) reached 6 per cent in 1906, up from 3.2 per cent in 1851, see M. Anderson, 'The Impact on the Family Relationships of the Elderly of Changes since Victorian Times in Governmental Income-Maintenance Provision', in E. Shanahan and M.B. Sussman (eds.), *Family, Bureaucracy and the Elderly* (North Carolina, 1987), pp. 36-59, figures on p. 44. As for almshouses, only 0.71-0.88 per cent of those aged 60 years and over in England were recorded in almshouses in 1870, below the 2.32-2.90 per cent in 1520, Goose and Yates, 'Charity and Commemoration', Table 8.1, p. 230.

⁴³ Boyer, 'Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', p. 3.

⁴⁴ Ancestry Online, 'Down the Mine at 89'.

old age.⁴⁵ Peter Laslett, for example, argues for the realisation of a new period in the life course of individuals. Between the ‘second age of work’ and a ‘fourth age of decline’, there is the ‘third age’.⁴⁶ Owing to greater life expectancy, those that retired from work could pursue new opportunities that would enrich their lives.⁴⁷ In other words, the ‘third age’ should not be characterised by ‘mass indolence’, thereby challenging ageist attitudes in society.⁴⁸ Similarly, Pat Thane stresses that the varied cultural, social and economic experiences of ageing in history mean that ‘we should [...] conceive of older people as a resource, not as a burden.’⁴⁹ She elaborates, ‘we need to work with a more complex and realistic picture of who older people are and of their roles in society and the economy than the simple, depressing, inaccurate image of burdensome dependency.’⁵⁰ Clearly, historians are aware of the need to consider the agency of older people in the past in order to inform the present.

When examining the recent extant literature relating to old age in the nineteenth century, Thane and Laslett’s arguments have gone unnoticed. This is despite Thane’s view that ‘...the history of the engagement of the aged poor with poor relief systems and pensions is not the whole history of old age.’⁵¹ For example, there is continuing interest in the disproportionate number of older people recorded as paupers compared with the ‘able-bodied’ population (usually aged 15 to 59 years). In March 1891-92, 29.3 per cent of those aged 65 years and over were recorded as paupers, compared with 3.7 per cent of those aged 15-64 years and 5.1 per cent of those aged under 15 years.⁵² However, when 29.3 per cent is considered in isolation, this is relatively small in comparison with the 70 per cent that were not paupers. From this, there is seldom consideration of the remaining proportions of people spending their final years away from pauperism. Not only do historians tend to focus on the elderly poor, but they also overemphasise the later nineteenth century. This is because the period was featured in

⁴⁵ Examples at CAMPOP involve Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, pp. 174-213 and his article ‘Family, Kinship and Collectivity as Systems of Support in Pre-Industrial Europe: A Consideration of the “Nuclear-Hardship” Hypothesis’, *Continuity and Change*, 3 (1988), pp. 153-175. Also, there is the doctoral work of D.W. Thomson, ‘Provision for the Elderly in England, 1830-1908’ (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1981). There is also the already specified works of R.M. Smith, ‘Ageing and Well-being’ and ‘The Structured Dependency of the Elderly’.

⁴⁶ P. Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life: The Emergence of the Third Age* (London, 1991), pp. 1-7.

⁴⁷ Laslett, *Fresh Map of Life*, pp. 196-203; For critiques of Laslett’s concepts, such as variations in potential experiences by social class, see I.R. Jones, M. Hyde, C.R. Victor, R.D. Wiggins, C. Gilleard and P. Higgs, *Ageing in a Consumer Society: From Passive to Active Consumption in Britain* (Bristol, 2008), pp. 14-20.

⁴⁸ Laslett, *Fresh Map of Life*, pp. 140-4.

⁴⁹ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 493.

⁵⁰ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 493.

⁵¹ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 15.

⁵² G. Boyer and T.P. Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly in Late Victorian England’, *Economic History Review*, 62 (2009), pp. 249-78, at Table 1, p. 251.

contemporary publications exploring poverty as a social problem by Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree.⁵³ Booth and Rowntree's texts have been exploited by several researchers on the subject of older people before the Old Age Pension Act of 1908.⁵⁴ The early years of the New Poor Law are treated with marginal interest, although exceptions are noted, such as David Thomson's pioneering research into Poor Law 'pensions' in rural parishes and market towns of the 1840s and 1850s.⁵⁵ Nigel Goose's accounts of mid-Victorian Hertfordshire from the 1851 census have also underpinned further work into the relationship between pauperism and old age and the ways in which older men were favoured less as relief recipients compared with women.⁵⁶ In spite of the detailed census data that cover the demographic composition of older people in Victorian and Edwardian society, a monolithic view of older people in the period still stands. Perhaps this is because 'old people for most of *recorded* history have been more or less poor.'⁵⁷ Workhouse admissions and discharge registers survive and have been subject to scrutiny, especially in conjunction with workhouse populations recorded in the census enumerators' books (CEBs). Less examined sources also include outdoor relief application and report books and biannual accounts of poor relief as recorded in the House of Commons parliamentary papers archive.⁵⁸ Despite Thane's conclusion that society must perceive older people as resourceful, the dependent subgroup of the aged poor, particularly in the later nineteenth century, has been the most documented and analysed.⁵⁹

⁵³ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*; S. Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London, 1901).

⁵⁴ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 173-7, 213-5; Macnicol, *The Politics of Retirement*, pp. 48-59; Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, pp. 247-50.

⁵⁵ D. Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past: A Family or Community Responsibility?' in M. Pelling and R.M. Smith (eds.), *Life, Death and the Elderly: Historical Perspectives* (London, 1991), pp. 194-221, at p. 203.

⁵⁶ N. Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender in Nineteenth-Century England: The Case of Hertfordshire', *Continuity and Change*, 20 (2005), pp. 351-84.

⁵⁷ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 15 (N.B. Emphasis added).

⁵⁸ With regard to workhouse admissions and discharge registers, see Jackson's analysis of the Medway Poor Law Union, Kent from 1876 to 1881 in 'The Medway Union Workhouse'; see also Hinde and Turnbull's analysis of Winchester, Hampshire, from 1850 to 1857 in 'The Populations of Two Hampshire Workhouses', pp. 43-8; Goose provides a brief analysis of detailed registers from Hatfield workhouse in Hertfordshire recorded from 1836 to 1861 in 'Workhouse Populations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', pp. 64-6, an investigation later expanded by K. Rothery, 'An Analysis of the Admission and Discharge Records at the Hatfield Union Workhouse 1835-1899' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Hertfordshire, 2012). A study of Barnet Poor Law Union's workhouse registers from 1835 to 1839 and in 1852 to 1856 are in T. Heritage, 'Continuity and Change under the New Poor Law in the Barnet Union, Hertfordshire and Middlesex, c.1834-1881' (unpublished BA dissertation, University of Hertfordshire, 2012), pp. 17, 20-24, 28-30. For Nottingham, see Purser, 'The Workhouse Population of the Nottingham Union', pp. 74-9. For a summary of studies that have used outdoor relief application and report books, see Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, pp. 186-190. For analysis of biannual poor relief returns derived from the House of Commons parliamentary papers archive, see Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', pp. 354-9 and K. Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty* (London, 1981), pp. 156-233.

⁵⁹ Indeed, three of the twenty-three chapters in Thane's *Old Age in English History* contain the word 'poor' in the titles, and six additional chapters are titled with references to 'pensions' or 'pensioners', which is

1.2.5 Old Age and the Political Economy Perspective

One way of re-examining historical older people (and recovering their autonomy) is found in the political economy literature. Richard Smith has emphasised the lack of historical context provided by Christopher Phillipson and Peter Townsend in their arguments that the status of older people was lowered in the development of modern industrial capitalism.⁶⁰ While Smith is right that the ‘structured dependence’ of older people has its origins in historical population rates and kinship systems, political economy perspectives offer valuable insights into our approach to historical older people.⁶¹ Elderly people are located within the wider socio-economic context, whereas biological perspectives emphasise their inevitable decline.⁶² In this way, we should ‘focus on the social creation of dependent status’, by considering the relationship between older people and younger populations, different sectors of older people themselves and their relationship with the labour market.⁶³ This challenges the notion of older people necessarily creating a burden on society. Also, older people do not encounter structural inequalities for the first time when reaching retirement; they are inherent throughout the life course.⁶⁴ This emphasises the importance of the life course in determining the many circumstances experienced by people in old age and thus recognises the diversity of the elderly population. Ageing is multifaceted, not monolithic. Despite the ability for historians to construct the life course of an individual by linking their name across several decades of census material, there is a severe dearth of studies that link individuals across censuses recorded in Victorian England and Wales.⁶⁵ As a result, dependency in old age is often analysed without asking why some sectors of the elderly population rely on state-sponsored support and how other sectors avoid it. While workhouse admissions and discharge registers offer a window into

understandable given that the advent of old age pensions has been one main line of enquiry since her doctoral work, as seen in P.M. Williams (Thane), ‘The Development of Old Age Pensions in the UK, 1878-1925’ (unpublished PhD dissertation, London School of Economics, 1970).

⁶⁰ Smith, ‘The Structured Dependency of the Elderly’, p. 413; Phillipson, *Capitalism*, p. 158; P. Townsend, ‘The Structured Dependency of the Elderly: A Creation of Social Policy in the Twentieth Century’, *Ageing & Society*, 1 (1981), pp. 5-28.

⁶¹ Smith, ‘The Structured Dependency of the Elderly’, p. 413.

⁶² A. Walker, ‘Towards a Political Economy of Old Age’, *Ageing & Society*, 1 (1981), pp. 73-95. For a summary of the political economy literature on old age, see A. Clarke, *The Sociology of Healthcare* (2nd edition, Oxford, 2013), pp. 204-6.

⁶³ Walker, ‘Towards a Political Economy’, p. 75.

⁶⁴ Clarke, *Sociology*, p. 205; A. Walker, ‘The Politics of Ageing in Britain’, in C. Phillipson, M. Bernard and P. Strang (eds.), *Dependency and Interdependency in Later Life – Theoretical Perspectives and Policy Alternatives* (London, 1986), pp. 30-45.

⁶⁵ An example of using census data from the United States to examine the life course of older people is in H.P. Chudacoff and T.K. Hareven, ‘From the Empty Nest to Family Dissolution: Life Course Transitions into Old Age’, *Journal of Family History*, 4 (1979), pp. 69-83. The closest to a life course study of old age in nineteenth-century England is in a case study of the parish of Colyton, Devonshire in J. Robin, ‘Family Care of the Elderly in a Nineteenth-Century Devonshire Parish’, *Ageing & Society*, 4 (1984), pp. 505-16.

the lives of older people ‘from below’ the elite, they reinforce what political economists describe as ‘welfarising’ the elderly population.⁶⁶ Furthermore, in terms of the problems experienced by older people and the methods used to treat them, Richard Hugman argues that ‘we learn to meet need rather than to understand the causes of that need.’⁶⁷ Undoubtedly, with the emphasis on pauperism and familial care in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this has seeped into an historical understanding of older people. For example, historians examine older paupers without often considering why they received outdoor relief or workhouse admissions.

It is clear from the literature that ‘dependency is not seen as being the inevitable outcome of the ageing process, but is a product of the social structure.’⁶⁸ We should go further to argue that dependency can also be economically and demographically constructed. How far can old age pauperism under the New Poor Law be explained by the occupational structure of the district in which these older people are situated? Does the degree of old age pauperism differ in accordance with changes to the local economy? How different was the treatment of older people in societies based on the varying proportions of older people in particular localities? In historians’ attempts to challenge the ahistorical argument of the political economy literature on old age, they are unable to recognise its merits. A political economy perspective, despite its disregard for historical context, encourages historians to appreciate the complexity of old age past and present, by considering those that are reliant upon care and also those productive to the economy and society.

1.3 Several Lacunae in the Study of Older People in England and Wales, 1851-1911

1.3.1 Examining Four Main Gaps

The emphasis on pathological approaches to older people means that there are several gaps in an analysis of elderly people from the period 1851-1911. First, there has been little to link the size of the elderly population with the wider social context. It has been argued that the proportion of people living in old age in the nineteenth century was atypical of the general population history of England, owing to high fertility and population growth.⁶⁹ Despite this,

⁶⁶ G. Fennell, C. Phillipson and H. Evers, *The Sociology of Old Age* (Milton Keynes, 1988), p. 6; S. Arber and J. Ginn, “‘In Sickness and in Health’: Care Giving, Gender and the Independence of Elderly People”, in Marsh and Arber (eds.), *Families and Households*, pp. 86-105, at p. 86.

⁶⁷ R. Hugman, *Ageing and the Care of Older People in Europe* (London, 1994), p. 27. See also Fennell, Phillipson and Evers, *The Sociology of Old Age*, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Clarke, *Sociology*, p. 205.

⁶⁹ Smith, ‘The Structured Dependency of the Elderly’, p. 414.

David Thomson has found that the proportions of those receiving poor relief in mid-Victorian England were highest in areas ‘where the ratio of “dependents” to “working-age” persons was most severe—that is, the populations *least* “burdened” with large numbers of the aged were those *least* likely to be generous to their few dependents.’⁷⁰ Although historians have since accepted that ‘Victorian Britain had a large elderly population’, very little has been done to consider the variations of old age pauperism in relation to the size of the population living in old age, geographically or over time.⁷¹ Interestingly, Victorian people clearly recognised older people as a distinct social group requiring special assistance. Keith Snell emphasises rural-urban differences in the provision of outdoor relief, presenting the testimony of an inspector of the Local Government Board (those administering the New Poor Law from the 1870s) who commented that the ‘personal knowledge on the part of the guardians of the poor’ differed between town and countryside.⁷² He further explained that ‘the [workhouse test] becomes necessary in proportion to the ignorance of the administrators of relief.’⁷³ If we follow Richard Smith’s view that elderly populations were higher in the countryside, where the ‘personal knowledge’ of the Board of Guardians towards the poor was greatest, then older people would have been fully recognised as deserving applicants of poor relief.⁷⁴ In turn, they would be viewed as a distinct social group that fully deserved state-funded assistance based on circumstances associated with old age. Long before the Old Age Pension Act was implemented in 1908, older people were recognised in some places as a collective that deserved the right to relief after their working lives.

Second, if older people in the nineteenth century were recognised as a distinct social category, how far were they recognised as a group that voluntarily retired from the workforce? Some have even questioned the concept of ‘retirement’ in the nineteenth century; to save and plan for one’s future is synonymous with the ‘modern consciousness’ theory based on individuals in recent times.⁷⁵ Ottaway in fact shows that in the eighteenth century, gradual withdrawal from

⁷⁰ Thomson, ‘The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past’, pp. 203-4 (N.B. Original emphasis).

⁷¹ Boyer and Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly’, p. 250.

⁷² Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1873, VIII, *Select Committee on Boundaries of Parishes, Unions and Counties*, p. 71, quoted in K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 255.

⁷³ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1873, VIII, *Select Committee on Boundaries*, p. 70, quoted in Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, p. 255.

⁷⁴ Smith, ‘The Structured Dependence of the Elderly’, p. 414, based on his argument that ‘many rural areas, especially those in the immediate hinterland of London, had proportions of their population over the age of 60 far in excess of the 10 per cent which characterised the nation as a whole in the early decades of the eighteenth century.’

⁷⁵ Boehm, Farkas and Zwierlen, ‘Introduction’, p. 9. On the ‘modern consciousness’ theory, see P.L. Berger, B. Berger and H. Kellner, *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness* (New York, 1973), pp. 73-5.

the workforce based on old age was not unusual, but meant different circumstances for the middle- and working-classes.⁷⁶ Retirement ‘was either a function of earlier savings and personal choice (among the better-off) or a result of decrepitude (among the labouring classes).’⁷⁷ Therefore, if Ottaway’s concepts are applied to the nineteenth century, withdrawal from work on account of old age was not unusual. It is right to argue that the numbers that were able to retire proliferated in the twentieth century, as demonstrated by the increase in pension payments in monetary terms and as a percentage of Gross National Product (GNP).⁷⁸ Arguing the case for an ‘emergence of mass retirement’ in the twentieth century should not be taken to suggest that there was no retirement before the twentieth century.⁷⁹ We now have the means to research older people’s lives before 1908, which not only includes the numbers that received poor relief in the parliamentary papers, but also those enumerated in the CEBs as ‘retired’ or ‘formerly’ in work.⁸⁰ A tendency to criticise the CEBs as a reliable indicator of retirement patterns means that there are few studies using retirement data in the CEBs. According to John Macnicol, ‘notionally precise terms like “retired” and “gainfully occupied” were in fact misleading, since most males aged 65 years and over were awkwardly poised between these two states.’⁸¹ A study that also assesses how women experienced retirement in the nineteenth century also deserves attention. There are of course limitations with using census data to analyse employment and retirement patterns.⁸² However, such dismissals of CEB data result in a dearth of studies that may actually capture the autonomy of older people in the nineteenth century. Rather than simply critique the reliability of census data without assessment, we should at least devote a detailed study to testing how far older people were enumerated as ‘retired’ and ‘formerly’ in work in the CEBs.

⁷⁶ Ancestry Online, ‘Down the Mine at 89’; Ottaway, *Decline of Life*, p. 9.

⁷⁷ Ottaway, *Decline of Life*, p. 9.

⁷⁸ P. Johnson, ‘Parallel Histories of Retirement in Modern Britain’, in P. Johnson and P. Thane (eds.), *Old Age from Antiquity to Post-modernity* (London, 1998), pp. 211-25, at p. 213.

⁷⁹ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 385-406.

⁸⁰ For a detailed essay on how the concept of retirement was approached in the CEBs and published census abstracts, see E. Higgs, ‘Retirement’, available on the Histpop website, <http://www.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/View2?ResourceType=Essays&SearchTerms=retirement&simple=yes&path=Results&active=yes&titlepos=0&mno=2082> (accessed 4 February 2019).

⁸¹ Macnicol, *The Politics of Retirement*, p. 24. See also E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census – Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901* (London, 2005), pp. 113-4.

⁸² Higgs in ‘Retirement’ writes that ‘when work was very casual and stoppages frequent, especially in the later years of people’s working lives,’ the distinction in being employed, retired or unemployed ‘might be very difficult to draw.’ Histpop website, available at <http://www.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/View2?ResourceType=Essays&SearchTerms=retirement&simple=yes&path=Results&active=yes&titlepos=0&mno=2082> (accessed 4 February 2019).

As well as retirement, we can also examine the labour force participation rate of older people in greater depth. This will reassess the generalised statements about older people in work which involve a crude chronological emphasis, such as in Thane's argument: 'What may have begun to diminish, especially following the introduction of old age pensions, were some of the pathetic or degrading ways of making a living, some little short of begging, into which old people had been long forced.'⁸³ While not detracting from the view that life in the nineteenth century was unpleasant for the lower-status sectors of older people, Thane's argument ignores the many histories of older people in higher-status occupations, or participatory in industry.⁸⁴ The volume of occupations across the CEBs (and subsequently coded in many transcribed datasets) suggests that not all the occupations that would have been pursued by older people were of low status.⁸⁵

Third, a pathological 'care-based' approach to the history of older people means that analyses of local and regional variations in the autonomy and dependency of older people are lacking in the wider literature. This contrasts with the recent growth in the literature on the history of female and child employment.⁸⁶ Even in the national-based analysis of employment patterns by Johnson and Woollard, regional contexts are rarely ascribed. A more comprehensive view from a regional perspective would show that some sectors of older people were economically active. We could, for example, compare the employment patterns of older people in 'high old age pauperism' districts with that in districts with lower rates, to understand if employment patterns governed the rates of pauperism. Ideas of whether census designations of 'retirement', or those described as 'living on own means', varied regionally also deserve greater attention.⁸⁷

⁸³ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 286.

⁸⁴ Her argument is reinforced by the use of Charles Booth's studies of poverty and pauperism as evidence for the working habits of older people, in *Old Age in English History*, pp. 283-4. Woollard, however, is right to argue that Booth, particularly in *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, 'excludes from his analysis those who could not be described as poor.' Woollard, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', p. 448.

⁸⁵ The occupational codes devised for the 1851 census of Hertfordshire transcribed by researchers at the University of Hertfordshire in the 1990s number 760. Derived from an Excel spreadsheet distributed by Professor Nigel Goose through personal communication in 2013. With the newly released Integrated Census Microdata datasets (I-CeM), there are 797 codes for occupations. The use of I-CeM datasets will be discussed later in the text, see E. Higgs, C. Jones, K. Schürer and A. Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide* (2nd Revised Edition, University of Essex, 2013), pp. 163-183.

⁸⁶ N. Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England: Regional and Local Perspectives* (Hatfield, 2007); N. Goose and K. Honeyman (eds.), *Childhood and Child Labour in Industrial England: Diversity and Agency* (Farnham, 2013). See N. Goose's article in particular, 'Child-Employment Prospects in Nineteenth-Century Hertfordshire: Varieties of Childhood?' in Goose and Honeyman (eds.), *Childhood and Child Labour*, pp. 157-214, which captures the diverse experiences of children in several occupations.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of those that were recorded in the CEBs as 'living on own means', as well as relying on annuities and additional incomes see C. Jones, 'From Hartland to Hartley: Marital Status and Occupation in the Late Nineteenth Century', in Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England*, pp. 289-313, esp. pp. 294-5; E. Garrett, 'The Dawning of a New Era? Women's Work in England and Wales at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', in Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England*, pp. 314-62, esp. p. 362.

This suggests that the interaction between regional distinctions with differences in older people's activities is important. Investigations on these themes are limited, perhaps due to the inaccessibility of large-scale census data.

A tendency to study the elderly population at the national level precludes a further insight into the regional variations of older people's experiences. This is evident in the context of a 'north-south' divide, which Steve King has found in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England.⁸⁸ Scholars have also documented how the 'north-south' divide has a detailed history that extends beyond our understanding of such a divide in the present day, where the prosperity of the south is contrasted with the economic dislocation of the north.⁸⁹ In fact, owing somewhat to a combination of parsimony and higher wages in the northern districts of the past, provision for the poor was fairly limited compared with the south. Policies such as the Speenhamland system of the 1790s (where relief was accorded to claimants based on the number of children and the price of bread) were common in southern England.⁹⁰ The cultural legacy of Speenhamland may have resulted in the continuation of very high rates of pauperism in mid-Victorian southern England.⁹¹ Alternatively, the lower expenditure invested in poor relief in northern districts has origins going beyond the nineteenth century. Relatively high productivity, the transformation of the living standards of individuals and England's innovative role in industry since the seventeenth century had reduced the degree of pauperism in northern England.⁹² This underpins what Nigel Goose terms 'the cultural roots of industrialisation'.⁹³ With regard to old age, these regions may have influenced the behaviour and circumstances of older people in several ways. Could the 'north-south' divide in old age pauperism extend to regional variations in employment patterns or the degree of familial care? Marguerite Dupree

⁸⁸ S. King, *Poverty and Welfare in England 1700-1850: A Regional Perspective* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 141-2.

⁸⁹ For an introduction to the idea of a 'north-south' divide across the second millennium, see H.M. Jewell, *The North-South Divide: The Origins of Northern Consciousness in England* (Manchester, 1994), pp. 1-10; on the present-day 'north-south' divide, see R.L. Martin, 'The Contemporary Debate over the North-South Divide: Images and Realities of Regional Inequality in Late-Twentieth-Century Britain', in A.R.H. Baker and M. Billinge (eds.), *Geographies of England: The North-South Divide, Imagined and Material* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 15-43; the origins of our present-day 'north-south' divide are examined through an analysis of migration in mid-Victorian and Edwardian London in K. Schürer and J. Day, 'Migration to London and the Development of the North-South Divide, 1851-1911', *Social History*, 44 (2019), pp. 26-56.

⁹⁰ Boyer, 'Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', pp. 26-7; King, *Poverty and Welfare in England*, p. 34.

⁹¹ Boyer, 'Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', p. 27.

⁹² For an analysis which shows that higher rates of long-run social mobility were found in northern districts in the early modern period (1520-1749), see N. Bolberg-Falzić and P. Sharp, 'North and South: Long-run Social Mobility in England and Attitudes towards Welfare', *Cliometrica*, 12 (2018), pp. 251-76.

⁹³ N. Goose, 'The Social Geography of Philanthropy in England and Wales or, the Cultural Roots of Industrialisation?' (unpublished paper presented at the Local Population Studies Society Conference in April 2012, summarised by G. Butler, N. Goose and S. Williams, 'LPSS Spring Conference Report 2012: Regional Development in Industrialising Britain, c.1670-1860', *Local Population Studies*, 89 (2012), pp. 4-5).

provides an answer: '[In] northern, urban, industrial areas [...] family and kin appear to have taken responsibility for the elderly, while the collectivity, particularly the Poor Law, which played such a central role in rural areas and small towns, was relatively less important.'⁹⁴ Dupree bases this on the 67 per cent and 58 per cent of older people that were co-resident with offspring in Preston and Stoke-on-Trent respectively in the 1850s and 1860s.⁹⁵ By contrast, co-residence only applied to 40 per cent of older people in the southern counties of Bedfordshire, Middlesex and Devonshire.⁹⁶ It would be interesting to see how a 'north-south' divide extended to other counties in England and how far the larger-scale census data confirms this.

Fourth, gaps emerge in the literature of historical older people due to the way in which census data was accessed by historians. Very few studies have analysed older people based on the 100 per cent coverage of census data; if so, these are usually parish-based without a clear appreciation of the regional context.⁹⁷ This is understandable when access to comprehensive transcriptions of machine-readable census data has been impossible until recently. As a result, studies of household structure and employment patterns from the census, such as those by Michael Anderson and Matthew Woollard have primarily used sampling techniques.⁹⁸ Their studies have helped to refine generalisations about old age in the past based on the local context. It remains to be seen how typical Preston was in relation to Lancashire in terms of the degree of familial care, or if the results from the 1851 CEBs changed over time. This leads to a crude binary divide between two schools of thought: one which suggests that older people were primarily cared for by their families and another which stresses the importance of the

⁹⁴ Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, p. 328.

⁹⁵ Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, p. 328; Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, p. 139.

⁹⁶ D. Thomson, 'Welfare and the Historians', in L. Bonfield, R.M. Smith and K. Wrightson (eds.), *The World We Have Gained: Essays Presented to Peter Laslett* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 355-78, figures on p. 364.

⁹⁷ For example, discussions of older people through an analysis of the 100 per cent coverage of census data are provided by Robin, 'Family Care of the Elderly', pp. 506-7 and in a study of three Kentish parishes by B. Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 170-1.

⁹⁸ Michael Anderson, referenced in *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, p. 19, used a 10 per cent sample of all private residences (excluding institutions) in the Municipal and Parliamentary Borough in Preston; he also created a National Sample of the 1851 CEBs of Great Britain, comprising 2 per cent of the population that lived in rural settlements with populations fewer than 2,000 and were recorded in every 50th enumeration book of non-rural settlements, discussed in his article, M. Anderson, 'Mis-specification of Servant Occupations in the 1851 Census: A Problem Revisited', originally published in *Local Population Studies*, 60 (1998), pp. 58-64, later revised in Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England*, pp. 260-8. An analysis of household structure using the 2 per cent sample is in his article 'Households, Families and Individuals: Some Preliminary Results from the National Sample from the 1851 Census of Great Britain', *Continuity and Change*, 3 (1988), pp. 421-38. Matthew Woollard, for 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', p. 438, uses not only Anderson's 2 per cent sample for 1851 but also a 5 per cent random sample of the digitised 1881 CEBs originally produced by the Genealogical Society of Utah, Federation of Family History Societies and produced as computer files by Kevin Schürer and Matthew Woollard for the UK Data Archive.

‘collectivity’ of state-funded resources for older people, such as poor relief.⁹⁹ Little quantitative work has been done to compare the two resources of family and ‘collectivity’ and assess how ‘complementary’ they were.¹⁰⁰ Peter Laslett’s ‘nuclear hardship’ hypothesis, in which state provision was emphasised in place of familial care, deserves some kind of assessment using census data.¹⁰¹

Sampling techniques or parish-based studies also have the tendency to present a static picture of older people.¹⁰² The longer-term context of why there was a certain proportion of people that maintained links with their family members into old age, or the extent to which old age was ‘a precarious existence’, where the ‘last resort would be the Poor Law Union workhouse’, is not often considered.¹⁰³ Analysing older people in one period in the CEBs, particularly those recorded in Union workhouses, gives the illusion that they suddenly emerge as victims of destructive social policy. There is no story or explanation why some sectors *avoided* workhouses as well. Regarding Thomson’s argument that ‘families were not positioning themselves so as to support the elderly,’ his ideas lack contextual consideration of the life course of these individuals.¹⁰⁴ In the case of older people living alone, why did they? What went on in their lives beforehand? The snapshot nature of the decennial CEBs might make this investigation difficult. However, if older people are linked across CEBs, could it be inferred that their offspring moved out of their parental household, or were they in fact childless? A desire for independent living, rather than ‘neglect’ by offspring, might have explained the living arrangements for the period, based upon the notion that co-residence could have caused tension and conflict.¹⁰⁵ By presenting snapshots of older people receiving familial and state-funded assistance, there are no backstories that account for the variation in the likelihood of receiving familial support or becoming pauperised. In turn, we reinforce an idea of old age as a burden, or older people as a group that lacks agency.

⁹⁹ Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, p. 328; Laslett, ‘Family, Kinship and Collectivity’, p. 154.

¹⁰⁰ Thane, ‘Old People and their Families’, p. 113.

¹⁰¹ Laslett, ‘Family, Kinship and Collectivity’, p. 154.

¹⁰² With the exception of Robin, ‘Family Care of the Elderly’, which links the familial arrangements of people aged 50 years and over in 1851 across 1861 and 1871 when those people reached old age, at pp. 507-12.

¹⁰³ Macnicol, *The Politics of Retirement*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁴ Thomson, ‘The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past’, p. 210.

¹⁰⁵ Anderson, ‘The Impact of Family Relationships on the Elderly’, p. 59.

1.3.2 A Framework for Old Age: Indicators of ‘Security’ and ‘Vulnerability’

The themes which are lacking in the wider literature of the history of old age, as well as issues explored in greater depth, can be summarised in a descriptive framework (Table 1.1) where the elderly population are divided into two main groups. We can place older men and women in two sets that denote ‘indicators of security’ and ‘indicators of vulnerability’. ‘Security’ refers to designations or sources of provision that relate to relative degrees of comfort and well-being amongst elderly people, based on their socio-economic status or the familiarity of the provision in question (specifically, the familiarity of their own family members, rather than the state or any other less familiar subjects, issuing reciprocal or non-reciprocal assistance). ‘Vulnerability’ means those in old age that are in a precarious position through their limited financial savings or lack of familial assistance. Without these resources, the individual has to rely on collective provision, or the New Poor Law, with the associated personal indignity of being assigned the designation of pauper. As Michael Freeden has discussed, pauperism was ‘the extreme and often irredeemable poverty associated with idleness, inefficiency, destitution, weak character and, on another level, social destabilisation.’¹⁰⁶ This model has some issues that need discussion. First, in no way do we stress the exclusivity of the concepts of ‘security’ and ‘vulnerability’: one could be enumerated as a dependent kin (related to the third issue discussed as an ‘indicator of security’) and simultaneously receiving outdoor relief (the first issue characterising an ‘indicator of vulnerability’). Second, the living arrangements associated with ‘vulnerable’ older people, such as solitary residence, could also be associated with those that are financially secure (for example, those receiving a dowry or additional incomes relating to ‘living on own means’) that they do not need recourse to relatives. Nor need it be associated with loneliness or familial neglect.¹⁰⁷ Third, the framework assumes the linear and static nature of these themes, without any changing historical context. For example, it has been found that the workhouse developed in character towards the twentieth century, from institutions characterised by their repressive and deterrent nature to quasi-retirement homes providing a fair degree of medical care and other resources for the aged that would have been unavailable in their own homes.¹⁰⁸ Finally, receiving poor relief may be termed a form of ‘security’ that

¹⁰⁶ M. Freeden, ‘The Coming of the Welfare State’, in T. Ball and R. Bellamy (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 7-44, quote at p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ K.D.M. Snell, ‘The Rise of Living Alone and Loneliness in History’, *Social History*, 42 (2017), pp. 2-28, esp. pp. 4-5.

¹⁰⁸ For evidence that elderly workhouse inmates refused the new old age pensions introduced in 1908 as they lacked the available medical care provided in the workhouse see K. Schürer, E.M. Garrett, H. Jaadla and A. Reid, ‘Household and Family Structure in England and Wales (1851-1911): Continuities and Change’, *Continuity and Change*, 33 (2018), pp. 365-411, at p. 382. On the increasing presence of older people in the

one would prefer having than relying on no resources at all. The two indicators of ‘security’ and ‘vulnerability’, while crudely defined and prone to debate, encapsulate the many experiences of older people in the past; they link effectively with the autonomy and pathology models. What this framework shows is the overemphasis on certain themes that focus primarily on the subgroup of the elderly poor.

workhouse population over time and parallels with the long-stay residential care home of recent times, see D. Thomson, ‘Workhouse to Nursing Home: Residential Care of Elderly People in England Since 1840’, *Ageing & Society*, 3 (1983), pp. 43-69, at p. 47.

Table 1.1 – Descriptive framework of various themes regarding the historical study of old age, divided into two groups concerning the ‘security’ and ‘vulnerability’ of older people

INDICATORS OF SECURITY	INDICATORS OF VULNERABILITY
<p>1) Older people that were described as ‘retired’, ‘superannuated’ and ‘living on own means’ in the occupational column of the census enumerators’ books (CEBs).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Persons enumerated as ‘retired’ or ‘superannuated’ hypothesised to have voluntarily exited from work, on the basis of savings, land, capital or private pension. • Persons with no occupation but deriving income from land, houses, dividends or other private sources required since 1891 to be enumerated as ‘living on own means’. • No reference to state-funded allowances such as poor relief. Consequently, those ‘living on own means’ may have been more secure than they would have been on poor relief. 	<p>1) Receiving outdoor relief from the Board of Guardians under the New Poor Law.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outdoor relief was usually sought when assistance by relatives was lacking, or when they involuntarily exited work due to infirmity or unemployment. • Allowances on average meagre (usually three shillings for single individuals and four shillings for married couples), a small percentage of the weekly wages of male unskilled labourers. • Outdoor relief residual in nature and selective by gender and by age (since the ‘crusade’ against outdoor relief of the 1870s, determined also by whether families could help support their older relatives).
<p>2) Intra-household relationships between older people and their relatives.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The maximising benefit of parent-offspring co-residence described by Michael Anderson in terms of ‘short-run calculative instrumentality’. • For example, in Preston in 1851, one household pattern was of a grandmother assuming childminding role while the mother maximised her earnings by working away from home in textiles. • ‘An additional potent force encouraging actors to adopt a fairly calculative and short-run orientation in their relationship with kin was the extreme poverty which prevailed.’ (M. Anderson, <i>Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire</i> [Cambridge, 1971], p. 165) 	<p>2) Receiving workhouse admissions.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A cultural stigma was attached to workhouses from those fearing a loss of freedom or social status within the community. • Similar to outdoor relief, it was treated as a last resort and designed to deter applicants from applying for outdoor relief, fearing the prospect of admissions. • Conflicted with the cultural ideals of the Victorian family, which stressed its social and moral importance in a society characterised by the public sphere of work and the private sphere of refuge and comfort.

Table 1.1 continued

INDICATORS OF SECURITY	INDICATORS OF VULNERABILITY
<p>3) Certain forms of household structure and position within the household: the extended household.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In extended households, ‘symmetrical’ household pattern would, for example, involve household head, offspring and grandchildren; ‘asymmetrical’ household pattern would involve household head, offspring and extended relative. • ‘Symmetrical’ forms of care involve a reciprocal relationship between older people and their relatives. ‘Asymmetrical’ forms of care involve non-reciprocal care towards older people by their relatives. • ‘Asymmetrical’ assistance may be seen as an ‘indicator of vulnerability’ among older people, but it provides security from what was perceived by society as the most stigmatising form of state welfare provision at the time (e.g. the New Poor Law). • Resources could be exchanged and pooled between older people and their relatives. Extended households inhabited by older people multiply the number of adult workers and thus maximise the household budget, relieve the household economy and determine land inheritance and land transfer (e.g. running family farms on condition of provision for old age). • Peter Laslett’s ‘Nuclear Hardship Hypothesis’ refers to the many ‘social rules’ that require people to live in nuclear families. (e.g. whether it is an acceptable custom for older people to join the household of a relative). Older people would thus have to rely on a ‘collectivity’ of resources, such as the Poor Law, charity or neighbours. 	<p>3) Certain forms of household structure: ‘solitary’ and ‘no-family’ forms of living arrangement.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residents living in ‘solitary’ and ‘no-family’ forms perceived by Peter Laslett as ‘victims’ of nuclear hardship. • Individuals are in the later stages of nuclear hardship when the nuclear family is disrupted as offspring leave the parental household either due to marriage or work. • If the nuclear family is disrupted and leads to solitary or ‘no-family’ living arrangements, this increases dependency on inadequate resources under the New Poor Law. • Solitary residence is characterised as an ‘epidemic’ in present-day media discourse. Historians such as Keith Snell pay too much attention to historical forms of solitariness as pre-1960s rates are lower than rates afterwards, without focusing on other living arrangements such as extended household structures.

Source: Conceived by the author, based on the extant literature referred to in the text and references.

The objective behind the indicators of ‘security’ and ‘vulnerability’ is to assess the several issues regarding old age, some of which have been examined in great detail, and others which need exploring in greater depth. This thesis calls for a comparison between both indicators and solutions that approach such comparisons are presented below.

1.4 Solutions Addressing the Lacunae in the Study of Older People

First, in order to challenge the pathological model of old age in history, we have to examine old age pauperism, but not in isolation. Specifically, this thesis involves a comparison between those receiving poor relief and those that did not. This will show that pauperism was not a universal experience among older people. If the proportion of elderly paupers was indeed substantially higher than ‘adult able-bodied’ paupers, there needs to be greater explanations as to why older people were more likely to fall into extreme poverty. Pauperism could be rooted in the demographic composition of older people, such as the size of the elderly population in the district. It could also be explained by the occupational structure of the district, or by the ability to voluntarily retire from work and rely on additional savings. It could depend also on the age of an elderly applicant; the ‘oldest-old’, or those aged 80 years and over, receiving more generous allowances. As indicated in Laslett’s ‘nuclear hardship’ hypothesis, the proportions in various living arrangements may also be correlated with the rates recorded in pauperism.¹⁰⁹ In this way, we appreciate the diversity of the elderly population recorded in the past by considering the occupational structures and living arrangements that either positively or negatively correlate with old age pauperism.

Second, we should also examine themes that do not always involve a direct comparison between the poor and the non-poor. The proportion of the population that were aged 60 years and over by county and by region deserves a more thorough enquiry. A clearer assessment of why the elderly population started to increase in proportion by 1911 is also needed, perhaps by linking demographic variables such as the change in fertility and mortality to the changing proportions of older people. This will underpin the root causes of the increase in the elderly population in England and Wales, and also acknowledge why proportions of older people declined over time in particular regions and localities. Old age and demography has not received enough attention compared with studies of infant and child populations, although a

¹⁰⁹ Laslett, ‘Family, Kinship and Collectivity’, p. 154.

recent study of old age mortality rates in mid-Victorian Scotland shows an emerging interest.¹¹⁰ By doing this, we go beyond the pathological, or care-based, approach to old age by considering their substantial presence in the population. Another important theme involves a life course perspective of old age. A study by Jean Robin of Colyton, Devonshire traces a cohort of men and women aged 50-59 years in the 1851 census through subsequent census periods.¹¹¹ However, very little research has actually traced older people back to events and circumstances earlier in their lives. There is little understanding of the backstory of why they came to be in a particular living arrangement in their old age. It may not be the case that solitary living resulted from a lack of or unwillingness by relatives to provide care, as Thomson argues.¹¹² It may also have resulted from personal choice, dictated by circumstances. By examining the life course of older people, we gauge the longer-term relationships between them, their offspring and relatives, as well as assessing how their decisions in the past resulted in their living arrangements in old age.

Third, there needs to be greater continuity in the definition of when one becomes 'elderly'. There is a wealth of historical evidence that defines older people as those aged 60 years and over, compared with the contemporary definition of old age as beginning at 65 years.¹¹³ This is despite the relatively low life expectancy of the mid-Victorian period, at birth or past it.¹¹⁴ The age threshold for claiming poor relief as an 'aged and infirm' applicant, a subcategory of the 'non-able-bodied', was taken to be 60 years. Workhouse dietary lists outlined by the Poor Law Commissioners in the mid-1830s defined 'old people' as 'being all 60 years of age and upwards'.¹¹⁵ When an age threshold of 65 years is applied to demographic methods such as the Old Age Dependency Ratio (or, the numbers aged 65 years and over per 100 aged 15-64 years), this does not reflect the definitions proposed by contemporaries of the Victorian period.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ A. Reid, E. Garrett, C. Dibben and L. Williamson, "'A Confession of Ignorance': Deaths from Old Age and Deciphering Cause-of-death Statistics in Scotland, 1855-1949", *The History of the Family* 20 (2015), pp. 320-44.

¹¹¹ Robin, 'Family Care of the Elderly', pp. 505-16.

¹¹² Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', p. 210.

¹¹³ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 167. See also P. Johnson, 'Historical Readings of Old Age and Ageing', in Johnson and Thane (eds.), *Old Age from Antiquity*, pp. 1-18, esp. pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁴ By 1900-9, male life expectancy at birth was only 48.1 years, 55.1 years at age 1; in the same period, female life expectancy was 51.9 years at birth, 57.8 years at age 1. Schürer, Garrett, Jaadla and Reid, 'Household and Family Structure', at Table 2, pp. 372-3.

¹¹⁵ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1836, 595, *Second Year Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales; Together with Appendices A, B, C and D*, p. 59.

¹¹⁶ For a critique of the old age dependency ratio as a reliable indicator of ageing, see Spijker and MacInnes, 'Population Ageing', p. 1. We accept that there are problems with using old age dependency ratios, but will use these in this thesis as they usefully capture the high proportions of older people in Superintendent Registration Districts (SRDs) compared with younger populations and also enhance our understanding of the degree of familial relationships in the SRD.

Accounting for a wider age spectrum allows consideration of those in their sixties alongside those in their seventies and beyond. As such, the need to choose 60 years as a lower age boundary for becoming old is justified by the historical context.

The decision to define those aged 60 years and over as ‘elderly’ is chosen to facilitate clearer comparisons of the ‘young-old’ (aged 60-69 years) with the ‘oldest-old’ (aged 70 years and over). They are used to examine variations by age group in the proportion of older people receiving poor relief or recorded in employment. In this way, we ask ourselves, ‘What did it mean to be “elderly” in the Victorian and Edwardian past? Are the characteristics of old age adequately defined by a preconceived age threshold?’ These are insightful questions worth exploring in this thesis, although age thresholds are necessary in order to generally analyse historical older populations. It is essential that comparisons are provided between the subgroup of the elderly poor and the group of older people disassociated from pauperism. Throughout this thesis, the proportion of older people recorded in pauperism from the parliamentary papers is used as the dependent variable. Therefore, bivariate and multivariate relationships need testing through the generally established age threshold proposed by the Poor Law Commissioners for the ‘aged and infirm’, being 60 years. Comparing the numbers aged 60 years and over recorded as ‘retired’ in the CEBs with the numbers of ‘non-able-bodied’ (used as a proxy for older people) recorded in the parliamentary papers requires a static definition of old age across time and by occupation. The threshold of 60 years has been incorporated in the past literature on elderly workhouse inmates and in the demographic composition of older people overall.¹¹⁷ Using an age threshold in this thesis provides comparisons with the wider literature. While a subjective consideration of old age is crucial, age boundaries are necessary to assess the impact of fertility or migratory patterns of younger populations on the demographic composition of older people. Despite this, this thesis will partially consider the changing and subjective definition of old age. For example, we discuss the transition from the Poor Law to old age pensions in the 1910s, where the age threshold for claiming old age pensions was 70 years and over, rather than 60 years.

Fourth, more needs to be done to link pauperism, living arrangements and the occupational structure of older people with the wider economy and in the regional context. Nigel Goose’s

¹¹⁷ On the definition of ‘elderly’ workhouse inmates as aged 60 years and over, see Goose, ‘Poverty, Old Age and Gender’, pp. 359-61; Leivers, ‘Housing the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Derbyshire’, p. 56; Darwen, ‘Workhouse Populations of the Preston Union’, pp. 47-8; on age profiles and the demographic composition of older people, see Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, Table 3.6, p. 193; Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, pp. 76-7.

studies are exceptional by consulting poor relief records from before the 1890s (when Charles Booth and his contemporaries began their studies of the aged poor) and linking the variations in old age pauperism in Hertfordshire with the county's various regional economies. For example, Superintendent Registration Districts (SRDs) that contained high proportions of women working in the straw plaiting and hat manufacturing trade in the west of Hertfordshire were less likely to have female paupers than in the more agrarian economies of the east.¹¹⁸ Goose's findings have not been replicated for other counties beyond the long term developments of Union workhouses.¹¹⁹ What Goose has shown is that SRDs *within* the county contain differing economic characteristics. It may not always be true that eastern England was relatively generous in the distribution of relief or that northern England was more stringent. Little has been explored about why certain regions and counties were more likely to issue outdoor relief, or offer workhouse accommodation, to older people. George Boyer and Timothy P. Schmidle have speculated about relatively higher wages in northern than in southern England. Another characteristic of southern England was its seasonal unemployment rates, which affected labourers working in the arable economies in the south.¹²⁰ A willingness to further investigate regional variations in the prospects of older people has been expressed by Boyer and Schmidle, although they admit that comparative employment data are difficult to locate.¹²¹ A way forward in examining old age pauperism in the regional context would be to cross-check comprehensive poor relief data, published by county since the 1850s and by Poor Law Union since 1857, with data from the 1890s by Booth and Rowntree.¹²² Census datasets can then correlate pauperism with local employment patterns both generally and in old age, although one must acknowledge differences in administration by the Board of Guardians in the provision of poor relief. Workhouse registers and outdoor relief application books can also be cross-examined with the CEBs, by calculating the number of aged workhouse inmates or

¹¹⁸ N. Goose, 'The Straw Plait and Hat Trades in Nineteenth-Century Hertfordshire', in Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England*, pp. 97-137, at p. 110. However, when assessing workhouse populations in Hertfordshire, SRDs with the highest proportions of straw plait and hat workers also contained the highest proportion of older inmates in their workhouses. Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', pp. 360, 362. Perhaps the straw trade contributed to the lower proportions of inmates *under* the age of 60 years.

¹¹⁹ However, recent doctoral research has considered sub-regional differences at county level in Staffordshire and Lancashire, see R. Talbot, 'North South Divide of the Poor in the Staffordshire Potteries 1871-1901' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Leicester, 2016) and L. Darwen, 'Implementing and Administering the New Poor Law in the Industrial North: A Case Study of Preston Union in Regional Context' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Nottingham Trent University, 2015).

¹²⁰ Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', pp. 267-8, 275.

¹²¹ Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', p. 263.

¹²² A guide to the biannual poor relief data contained in the House of Commons parliamentary papers archive is in M. MacKinnon, 'The Use and Misuse of Poor Law Statistics, 1857 to 1912', *Historical Methods*, 21 (1988), pp. 5-19.

outdoor relief recipients as a proportion of the population aged 60 years and over on census night. Poor relief is then determined on a supply and demand basis: was the decision to issue relief to older people based on the age of the applicant or by gender? Also, full justice cannot be done to the changing development of co-residence through a select number of parishes irrespective of the regional context. Comparisons and contrasts between counties in specified regions (north, east, south and west) are required to determine demographic and economic causes, especially in the underexplored area of Wales.¹²³

Finally, in order to research regional variations and their changes over time, older people must be analysed in a comparative framework at SRD and parish level, rather than as isolated samples from the CEBs. By using samples or limiting a focus on aged pauperism to workhouse populations, certain concepts in the study of old age in the past are lacking. One primary concept is a life course approach to old age, which is severely limited by the lack of transcribed SRD data. Although life course data can be examined at parish level, there is little comparison with the wider SRD where the parish is situated. SRDs provide an effective way of capturing substantive populations with their unique demographic and economic characteristics. The Poor Law Union in question is linked conterminously with the SRD, since the Poor Law Commissioners in the past have confirmed their similarities.¹²⁴ Furthermore, we must also appreciate all the periods of the mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries for which census data are accessible. Most of the influential studies using census data, which include Steven Ruggles' analysis of the changing proportions of extended-family households, are confined to earlier periods, mostly before the 1891 CEBs.¹²⁵ Unanswered questions are raised about whether there were significant changes between 1851 and 1911.¹²⁶ Although the 1901 CEBs were not accessible when Anderson and Dupree first published their research on family structure in 1971

¹²³ An increasing number of studies on the Poor Law are focusing on Wales; see B. Curtis and S. Thompson, "'This is the Country of Premature Old Men': Ageing and Aged Miners in the South Wales Coalfield, c. 1880-1947', *Cultural and Social History*, 12 (2017), pp. 587-606; M. Evans and P. Jones, "'A Stubborn, Intractable Body': Resistance to the Workhouse in Wales, 1834-1877', *Family and Community History*, 17 (2014), pp. 101-121; A. Croll, "'Reconciled Gradually to the System of Indoor Relief': The Poor Law in Wales during the 'Crusade against Out-relief', c. 1870-1890', *Family and Community History*, 20 (2017), pp. 121-144.

¹²⁴ It is written in a parliamentary return recording the numbers receiving poor relief on 1 January 1861 that 'the Union-Counties,' or the county forming the size of the Poor Law Union boundaries, 'are now made, as far as possible, co-extensive with the Registration Counties of the Census.' Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1860, LVIII.183 (383B.I) *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861*, p. 8.

¹²⁵ S. Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections: The Rise of the Extended Family in Nineteenth-Century England and America* (Wisconsin, 1987), pp. 127-135, using data before the 1891 CEBs were publicly released.

¹²⁶ Schürer, Garrett, Jaadla and Reid have started to tackle this issue with newly transcribed CEB data in 'Household and Family Structure', p. 403.

and 1995 respectively, there has been no attempt to compare Preston and Stoke-on-Trent in later times.

1.5 The Integrated Census Microdata Datasets

What is needed to greatly enhance our understanding of the elderly population is a computerised database of the comprehensively detailed CEBs in order to pursue a quantitative analysis. A systematic dataset will provide an opportunity to analyse four major themes associated with the elderly population in England and Wales in the Victorian and Edwardian period. This thesis will investigate these four themes through four main chapters, analysing, in order: the population size of older people; occupational patterns and retirement in old age; the extent of old age pauperism; and the living arrangements of older people. They will be examined chronologically from 1851 to 1911 to examine, for example, the changing development of the elderly labour force participation rate. By analysing four systematic themes, one of the main objectives is to assess older people that were *not* recorded as paupers, while acknowledging those that appear in the relief rolls. This thesis will comprise a more general assessment of old age in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as opposed to a primarily pathological approach to old age.

Access to complete transcribed census data of the elderly population in England and Wales is now possible with the individual-level Integrated Census Microdata datasets (I-CeM). Released in 2014 to audiences with university addresses, it was devised by the University of Essex with funding from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). Provision of original CEB data covering 210 million individual entries and 45 million households was supplied by commercial genealogical organisation FindMyPast.¹²⁷ The datasets contain 100 per cent coverage of raw CEB data in machine-readable formats for all of England, Wales, Scotland and the British Isles from 1851 to 1911 (excluding 1871 for England and Wales and 1911 for Scotland).¹²⁸ The main objective of the I-CeM project is to create a large-scale study of economic and social change as seen through the CEBs themselves. This is opposed to the published census reports, on which CEB data were based and which were previously the only materials that were accessed to fully assess the economy and society on a national level.¹²⁹ The datasets permit not only a national overview of occupational change or household structure, but also a local and regional perspective through parish- or county-based study. With I-CeM,

¹²⁷ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, pp. 1, 111.

¹²⁸ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, p. 1.

¹²⁹ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, p. 2.

it is now possible to analyse communities and regions with diverse economic characteristics, from coastal communities to parishes defined by the Industrial Revolution, as well as parishes based on pre-industrial rural and cottage industries. Researchers can now delve into early twentieth-century census datasets (1901 and 1911), which remain underused compared with 1851. Most significantly, one can now compare industrial and ruralised communities together, rather than in isolation as Michael Anderson and David Thomson have done.¹³⁰

As well as a direct transcription of raw CEB data, I-CeM also facilitates a variety of codes that, if chosen on the search facility on the I-CeM website, runs to almost 100 variables for each parish. The sheer complexity of occupational and relationship strings, running from hundreds of thousands to millions, means that codes from previous projects, such as the occupational directory of the 1881 census and the Hollerith codes for 1911, were automatically matched to the I-CeM datasets through algorithms.¹³¹ This enables the numbers of individuals by occupation to be easily tallied. Relationship codes are also numbered, which, for example, conveniently measure the proportion of older people recorded as dependent kin in another household as opposed to being a ‘head’ or ‘wife’.

However, a task as rich and complex as I-CeM would naturally lead to problems with the enrichment and transcription process.¹³² First, reconciling raw enumeration data to the appropriate geographical boundary has been difficult, with observed populations different from expected populations.¹³³ This means that populations listed in the 1851 census could be excluded for 1861 due to boundary changes in the parish over time. The team behind I-CeM have identified parishes of enumeration consistently across the CEBs. Parishes that may have been transferred in part to other parishes have been amalgamated in order to provide constant geographical territory over time.¹³⁴ However, it must be ensured that the same geographical

¹³⁰ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*; Thomson, ‘The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past’.

¹³¹ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, p. 116.

¹³² Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, p. 117.

¹³³ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, p. 114.

¹³⁴ Available at <https://www.essex.ac.uk/history/research/icem/documentation.html> as an Excel spreadsheet entitled ‘The Consistent Parish Look Up Table’ (accessed 23 January 2019). The variable ‘COMPARID’ identifies enumeration parishes consistently across CEBs in the I-CeM datasets, based on the work of Professor Sir E.A. Wrigley for England and Wales and of Professor Michael Anderson for Scotland. However, consistent parish geography covering the entire period 1851-1911 is not possible due to changes in the administrative geography of Great Britain at the end of the nineteenth century. As a result, there are two consistent geographies for the periods 1851-1891 and 1901-1911. I-CeM datasets were downloaded by consulting all the parishes available in the county in each period and, in the case of the Yorkshire West Riding, selecting the parishes on the basis that they appeared in the selected SRDs as listed in the published census abstracts for each period. It is assumed that, between 1891 and 1901, very few parishes transferred from the selected counties to others outside of them and from the SRDs of the Yorkshire West Riding examined in this thesis to others that are not. For

territory is covered for each parish over time. This was first noticed when the parish of Stonesfield, Oxfordshire, was consulted on I-CeM's search facility.¹³⁵ The parish, despite being mentioned on a guide on the I-CeM website titled 'The Parish ID for All Years Table', fails to appear in the search facility for 1861. Stonesfield's population also experiences an unusual increase from 497 in 1901 to 925 in 1911.¹³⁶ The Ancestry website informs that Stonesfield was merged with Combe, which was unacknowledged by I-CeM.¹³⁷ Therefore, new populations are incorporated in I-CeM's database for Stonesfield even when they are not correctly situated in the parish. As for failing to appear in the search facility in 1861, this is because Stonesfield's CEB data for 1861 no longer exist; it is either lost or destroyed.¹³⁸ Again, I-CeM does not provide any information on this. This is not a problem if all the parishes available for a county are selected, but it could be for studies that are selective in the parishes chosen for the county. Since a partial selection of SRDs was taken for one of the counties in this thesis, it was decided to consult the published census abstracts for that county, examine the parishes available for the SRDs selected in this thesis and check if they were available on the I-CeM search facility. The problem of linking the same parish despite geographical boundaries becomes greater when names and addresses are excluded from the standardised datasets, where boundary changes are inferred when the names and addresses that appear in one census fail to appear in another. Consequently, names and addresses have to be acquired from a secure data environment within the UK Data Archive, or linked with the original CEB data that is available on Ancestry Online.¹³⁹

Second, I-CeM cannot rectify the original problems with CEB manuscripts and their conversion to machine-readable formats. A selection of manuscripts from Barnsley SRD in 1851 appear to be transcribed poorly, with blank gaps appearing in the relationship column and occupational designations partially filled or containing question marks. Fortunately, additional

more information on the 'COMPARID' variable see Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, p. 126.

¹³⁵ Stonesfield was chosen as a unique 1821 census survey with names of household heads and family size exists for the parish, which is ideal for a longitudinal study across 90 years, see Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census – Revisited*, Figure 2.1, p. 30.

¹³⁶ Also available as an Excel spreadsheet at <https://www.essex.ac.uk/history/research/icem/documentation.html> (accessed 23 January 2019).

¹³⁷ Consulted at <http://search.ancestry.co.uk/search/db.aspx?dbid=2352> (accessed 23 January 2019).

¹³⁸ The loss of 1861 census manuscripts also applies to several parishes in Woodstock SRD where Stonesfield was based, at http://www.familyhistory.uk.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=73&Itemid=2 (accessed 23 January 2019). Fortunately, no other missing manuscripts apply to the parishes in the five selected counties examined in this thesis.

¹³⁹ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, pp. 140, 142-3, 243.

districts can be downloaded as a substitute for Barnsley, if, for example, a study of old age in mining districts was to be conducted.¹⁴⁰

Third, a study of I-CeM data that is largely aggregative in nature means that there are nuances that even the most sophisticated coded variables will fail to pick up.¹⁴¹ For example, a married daughter-in-law who was enumerated as ‘wife’ in the following column above the married ‘son’ will receive a relationship code of 22 for ‘wife’, rather than 34 for ‘daughter-in-law’. This was discovered when a test was taken for the parish of Widford, Hertfordshire, using the University of Hertfordshire’s 1851 census transcription against the I-CeM dataset.¹⁴² Six ‘inference’ variables inform the researcher that erroneous data from the CEBs have been corrected by the I-CeM team, ranging from occupational to relationship variables.¹⁴³ In the case of the ‘daughter-in-law’ from Widford, however, this went unchecked. Codes have also been devised for those inactive from employment, as indicated, for example, by the textual designation ‘retired’ in the occupational column of the CEBs. However, not all the ‘retired’ as defined textually were coded as ‘inactive’. It was then decided to collate all the numbers enumerated as ‘retired’, ‘formerly’ in work, or ‘paupers’ through their textual descriptions in the occupational column of the CEBs.

Finally, anybody using I-CeM must not replace their critical approach to the way that household systems were defined by the contemporaries that compiled and analysed census data. The long-standing issue of what constitutes a household has to be taken into account. Enumerators often failed to differentiate between lodgers sharing meals with a family, or subletting a room within a household and being designated as the household head. For this reason, a study of living arrangements, especially in towns, requires careful analysis.¹⁴⁴ I-CeM has conformed to Anderson’s definition of a household in that a household begins with the head and finishes with the last inhabitant before the subsequent head. All sub-households within the household have been acknowledged by I-CeM and coded with ‘1’ under the variable HEADINF.¹⁴⁵ Nonetheless, it does not rectify the definition of a lodger or household head. In

¹⁴⁰ Barnsley was classed as a Group XIV Poor Law Union (Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Mining) in Booth’s economic classification scheme noted in *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 86. It was initially chosen for analysis as the mining district of the Yorkshire West Riding, before errors with the transcripts were found for 1851. Nearby Pontefract SRD has taken Barnsley’s place.

¹⁴¹ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, pp. 117-8.

¹⁴² As recorded on a CD-Rom of the transcription of the 1851 census for Hertfordshire in N. Goose (ed.), *The Hertfordshire Census 1851: Family History CD-Rom* (Hatfield, 2005).

¹⁴³ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, pp. 119-20.

¹⁴⁴ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, pp. 120-2.

¹⁴⁵ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, p. 122.

addition, problems arise over the definition of private and institutional households. Coding has been established once again by I-CeM, although the size of a household would make it difficult to define what was private or institutional.¹⁴⁶ The definition of almshouses as a private household may cause problems when differentiating with privately run domestic households that were not established by almshouse benefactors. The coding seems to disregard Peter Laslett's conviction that 'almshouses were institutions in which personal and institutional life were mingled.'¹⁴⁷ A more severe problem arises when standardised datasets exclude household addresses. Not all almshouses contained residents who are recorded in the occupational column as residing in them.¹⁴⁸ This means that some almshouses may slip through the net of a large-scale study unless names and addresses are requested from the UK Data Archive. However, the structure of these almshouses, typically comprising only one inhabitant, provides a clue as to the type of household, but one can only speculate without addresses.¹⁴⁹

The issues listed above show how I-CeM, like all other historical sources, cannot be 'perfect', but is nonetheless the most comprehensive and systematic database pertaining to the economic, social and demographic history of the period 1851-1911. While the datasets are highly detailed, additional source materials will be used to nominally link named individuals, thereby re-examining the situation of older people as they reached their sixties, seventies and beyond.

1.6 Additional Source Materials

The I-CeM search facility website also provides complete access to individual-level data from the CEBs in England and Wales across 1851-1911 (excluding 1871), Scotland (excluding 1911) and the British Isles. Data from the website can be accessed by academics and the public without subscription to the UK Data Archive. This allows comparisons between local and regional patterns, such as the numbers of textile workers in a parish compared with the county. A national perspective (for example, the numbers aged 60 years and over in all of England and Wales in 1851) is also given. Alternatively, a transcribed dataset of the 1861 published census abstracts by David Gatley is used primarily in Chapter One to reconstruct age profiles by

¹⁴⁶ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, pp. 122-4.

¹⁴⁷ Laslett, *Fresh Map of Life*, p. 133.

¹⁴⁸ In the 1851 census for Church House Alms Houses in Northchurch, Hertfordshire, the fact that residents are living in an almshouse is only specified through the address. In nearby Great Berkhamsted, the six residents are all specified that they are residing in almshouses by both the address and their occupation. Data gathered through printed transcripts of the 1851 census for the Berkhamsted region in N. Goose, *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851, Vol. 1: The Berkhamsted Region* (Hatfield, 1996), pp. 171, 188.

¹⁴⁹ As seen in Goose, *Berkhamsted*, p. 188.

county and by SRD.¹⁵⁰ Gatley's dataset was used before accessing the I-CeM datasets to gain an initial understanding about the economic and demographic characteristics of English and Welsh counties. While the I-CeM search facility focuses directly on numbers, the website Populations Past is an online atlas which uses maps to display variations in different demographic measures such as fertility and mortality and various occupational structures in England and Wales. The population data are derived from I-CeM. Originally conceived as part of CAMPOP's *An Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline* project, it is designed for both academics and general audiences to access more background information on the various socio-economic characteristics that make up England and Wales across 1851-1911.¹⁵¹ Data from Populations Past are directly used in Chapter One to measure the scale of demographic change in relation to the changing proportions of older people towards 1911. This is in the context of falling fertility and mortality which characterised the demographic transition and led to the steady increase in the proportion of people aged 60 years and over by 1911.¹⁵²

Besides I-CeM, the most extensive materials to contain historical elderly populations are those relating to the New Poor Law, mainly because older people were disproportionately represented in the set of applicants for relief and workhouse admissions.¹⁵³ Most of these materials date from the end of the nineteenth century, with workhouse registers the most extensively analysed and outdoor relief application books less so.¹⁵⁴ Fortunately, workhouse and outdoor relief books exist in the same periods: the Ripon Union in the West Riding, Yorkshire, contains weekly outdoor relief lists running from 1867 to 1924, with workhouse registers starting at 1880 and ending in 1973, long after the end of the New Poor Law in 1929.¹⁵⁵ Alternatively, in Hampshire, the Alton Union's outdoor relief books commence in 1879, with workhouse registers starting from 1888.¹⁵⁶ Winchester Union's workhouse registers in fact start from 1835 and end three years after the introduction of the National Health Service (NHS) in 1951.¹⁵⁷ This would provide an excellent framework for an assessment of the extent of old age pauperism. Data recorded in a census year from these materials can be cross-checked

¹⁵⁰ Information on Gatley's project is in D.A. Gatley, 'Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics', *Local Population Studies*, 58 (1997), pp. 37-47. A copy of the database has been kindly supplied by Dr. Andrew Hinde.

¹⁵¹ An overview of the Populations Past website is provided at <https://www.populationspast.org/about/> (accessed 24 January 2019).

¹⁵² P. Johnson and J. Falkingham, *Ageing and Economic Welfare* (London, 1992), pp. 21-2.

¹⁵³ Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', Table 1, p. 251.

¹⁵⁴ Observed through consulting Peter Higginbotham's website www.workhouses.org (accessed 24 January 2019).

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.workhouses.org.uk/Ripon/> (accessed 24 January 2019).

¹⁵⁶ <http://www.workhouses.org.uk/Alton/> (accessed 24 January 2019).

¹⁵⁷ <http://www.workhouses.org.uk/Winchester/> (accessed 22 February 2019).

with the overall elderly population from the I-CeM datasets. The majority of records exist near the period of Charles Booth's contemporary publication on old age pauperism and of George Boyer's recent studies of pauperism in late Victorian England.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, Booth and Boyer's findings can be reassessed through detailed case examples of Poor Law Unions and analysis at parish level. For information that pertains to the mid-Victorian period, parliamentary papers contain relief patterns of the able-bodied and the non-able-bodied (the majority in the latter category presumed to be older people) on 1 January and 1 July of each year from 1850 at county level and from 1857 at Poor Law Union level.¹⁵⁹

In terms of qualitative data, autobiographical and diary testimony also offers more depth on the economic and social life of older people. A retrospective account of village life in the 1860s in Harpenden, Hertfordshire by Edwin Grey also makes reference to the elderly villagers. However, identifications such as 'Grannie' Reid may be difficult to cross-check with the census.¹⁶⁰ Also contained in the House of Commons parliamentary papers are many parliamentary enquiries about the plight of the aged poor, most notably the *Royal Commission of the Aged Poor*, published in 1895 following Charles Booth's investigations. These reports offer contemporary perspectives on the relationship between occupations in old age and pauperism, as well as the link between kinship ties and different forms of relief provision (outdoor relief and workhouse accommodation). Overall, they support the detailed quantitative data presented throughout this thesis.

1.7 Research Design

The majority of the analysis in this thesis will focus on five selected counties in England and Wales, save for references to additional counties in south-west England in Chapter One, and also a detailed study of three Poor Law Unions in Chapters Three and Four. The counties will be comparatively assessed based on four themes which correspond to the four main substantive chapters of the thesis. These five selected counties were chosen based on accessibility to additional source materials and an appreciation of distinctive regional variations represented by each county. It was decided to select four counties in England and one in Wales. First, each county in England and Wales was examined based on Charles Booth's classification of five

¹⁵⁸ As seen in Boyer and Schmidle 'Poverty among the Elderly' and Boyer, 'Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England'.

¹⁵⁹ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', pp. 353-9; MacKinnon, 'The Use and Misuse of Poor Law Statistics', pp. 5-19. A critical discussion about the interrelationship between the elderly poor and 'non-able-bodied' paupers is first discussed in Chapter One.

¹⁶⁰ E. Grey, *Cottage Life in a Hertfordshire Village* (Harpenden, 1977), p. 38.

regions in his 1894 publication, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales*. They are North, East, Midland, South and West. Then, from data supplied by Booth, calculations were performed on the proportion of men and women recorded aged 65 years and over as receiving poor relief between 1891 and 1892 by county.¹⁶¹ Variations by region were then considered and counties selected on the basis of high and low elderly pauperism rates. Further analysis focused on the proportion of the population aged 60 years and over by a set number of counties across time, as well as the percentages of older people recorded as extended relatives to the household head. These calculations were performed on the publicly available I-CeM search facility website prior to consultation of the main datasets. The extent to which the SRDs in the counties spread across 18 of Booth's 20 economic classifications, ranging from wholly rural to wholly urban, was also a factor for choosing which counties to select.¹⁶²

Once contrasting economic characteristics were found between Cheshire (Midland), Glamorgan (West, or Wales), Hampshire (South), Hertfordshire (East) and the Yorkshire West Riding (North), these counties were selected as the five for examination in this thesis. A map displaying the location of these five counties is presented in Figure 1.1. By default, Hertfordshire was selected due to the greater accessibility of additional source materials that could be nominally linked with the CEBs, as well as the prior detailed knowledge of the county. The decision to take a comprehensively national emphasis was rejected in favour of a focus on old age through a local and regional perspective, which is underexplored in the past literature. Including a regional perspective means that economic characteristics associated with the Industrial Revolution, such as metal and textile manufacturing, can be viewed alongside pre-industrial rural economies such as agriculture and cottage industry. The West Riding of Yorkshire differs from the other counties due to its large population size, reaching over a million persons across 1851 to 1911. To ensure that the size of the West Riding is fairly proportionate with the other counties, only certain SRDs were selected due to the time-consuming nature of a complete study of the West Riding. The parishes of these SRDs were gathered from the published census abstracts and downloaded via the I-CeM search facility. Each SRD was based on Booth's 20 economic groups of Poor Law Unions in his publication *The Aged Poor in England and Wales*, where one SRD was selected from each group containing Unions from the West Riding.

¹⁶¹ Originally broken down by Poor Law Union, data are available for each region in Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, pp. 108-41 (northern), 150-177 (eastern), 186-217 (midland), 232-51 (western and Wales), 262-309 (southern).

¹⁶² These 18 economic classifications are located in Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, pp. 56-104.

Figure 1.1 – Pre-1974 historical county boundaries map of England and Wales, with selected counties highlighted



Notes: The region representing each county is highlighted in the boxes as parentheses. The Yorkshire West Riding does not encompass the entire boundary of Yorkshire, but is located to the west and south of the boundary, near the boundaries of the original Yorkshire North Riding to the north and the Yorkshire East Riding to the east.

Source: [https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/England_County_Boundaries_\(National_Institute\)](https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/England_County_Boundaries_(National_Institute)) (accessed 1 November 2019).

The decision to select counties by region is perhaps influenced by the definitions of London-based philanthropists and census registration bureaucrats over what constitutes a region. Such constraints imposed by Booth and others may inhibit use of more adequate concepts of the geography of relief, such as Steven King and John Stewart's idea of 'welfare peripheries'. Places outside centres of political and civic administration organised their own welfare cultures, irrespective of region, with regard to relief distribution, the local market and economic structure.¹⁶³ Evidence for these peripheries were found in a recent study examining welfare in eastern England, the midlands and mid-Wales.¹⁶⁴ This would suggest that a closer examination of Poor Law Unions (or coterminous SRDs) is taken to consider these peripheries in greater depth. However, a study of distinctively regional cultures is important precisely because local and regional perspectives of old age are underexplored. Regional studies capture the rich variety of the experiences of older people, which may be obscured in a study of 'peripheries'. Furthermore, the 'welfare peripheries' model is not conducive to a broader study of elderly populations outside the realm of pauperism. We need to not only consider welfare cultures, but also geographies of outcome in old age. This ranges from the ability to continue in employment or to voluntarily retire from work and the accumulation of additional private incomes. The 'welfare peripheries' model does encourage us to examine more closely Poor Law Unions/SRDs that may have behaved differently from convention in their respective counties. However, this study breaks away from the idea that older people universally experienced old age pauperism. Regional studies can refine a 'national' view of old age that emphasises dependency and gradual infirmity.

Overall, this thesis focuses on 63 SRDs across the five counties; Table 1.2 is a guide to these SRDs, their economic classifications as defined by Charles Booth and the numeric designations of these economic classifications. It appears that the 63 SRDs cover a wide variety of Booth's economic classifications, excluding Group 8, or 'Rural and Mostly Rural. Residential and Pleasure Resorts', and Groups 19-20, which concern London. They range from the wholly rural districts of Fordingbridge and Kingsclere SRDs in Hampshire to the provincial urban SRDs of Birkenhead in Cheshire, Sheffield in Yorkshire West Riding and the residential district of Southampton, Hampshire. The SRDs in Table 1.2 fairly represent the varying economic

¹⁶³ S. King and J. Stewart, 'Welfare Peripheries in Modern Europe', in S. King and J. Stewart (eds.), *Welfare Peripheries: The Development of Welfare States in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Europe* (Bern, 2007), pp. 9-38, esp. pp. 24-7.

¹⁶⁴ N. Blacklaws, 'The Twentieth-Century Poor Law in the Midlands and Wales, c.1900-1930' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Leicester, 2019), pp. 309-12.

characteristics that made up England and Wales in the mid-Victorian period. SRDs are an adequate unit of analysis because each contains unique economic characteristics even within the same county. For example, Table 1.2 shows that, in the Yorkshire West Riding, Pontefract SRD differs from Settle SRD as the former is associated with mining, whilst the latter is recognised by Booth as predominantly agrarian. It is possible to conduct analysis at sub-district level (or RD) beyond the SRD. However, such analysis could confine our attention to excessive local issues that lack comparison with the wider regional and national context. The local is imperative in studies of nineteenth-century demographic history, although too much information locally can compromise a broader regional and national understanding. To give on example, there would be the danger of repetitively discussing characteristics in the RDs of Settle and Giggleswick when Settle SRD alone would suffice. A sample size of 63 SRDs facilitates clearer comparisons of themes across the thesis. For example, readers can compare the proportions of older men and women recorded as paupers in Chapter Three with the percentages recorded in extended and multiple households in Chapter Four. RDs are referred to in this thesis, but, in future research, it is essential to delve beyond the local variations found at SRD level. Currently, it is necessary to refer to a mainly three-tier system of unit analysis, with the SRD representing the local, the selected county associated with the region, and England and Wales comprising the national. The inclusion of parishes in our discussion of Poor Law registers in Chapter Three means that even a four-tier system is explored. We now turn to discussing the five selected counties and their representative economies.

Table 1.2 – Profile of 63 SRDs, their representative counties and their economic classifications defined by Charles Booth in 1894

SRD	COUNTY	Charles Booth Economic Classification Group of Poor Law Unions (1894)	Group Number
Altrincham	Cheshire	Half Rural. Residential	13
Birkenhead	Cheshire	Provincial Urban. Manufacture and Trade	17
Chester	Cheshire	Half Rural. Residential	13
Congleton	Cheshire	Half Rural. Manufacture	11
Macclesfield	Cheshire	Half Rural. Manufacture	11
Nantwich	Cheshire	Half Rural. Manufacture	11
Northwich	Cheshire	Half Rural. Manufacture	11
Runcorn	Cheshire	Half Rural. Shipping	12
Stockport	Cheshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Manufacture	15
Wirral	Cheshire	Half Rural. Residential	13
Bridgend	Glamorgan	Half Rural. Mining	10
Cardiff	Glamorgan	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Mining	14
Gower	Glamorgan	Half Rural. Shipping	12
Merthyr Tydfil	Glamorgan	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Mining	14
Neath	Glamorgan	Half Rural. Shipping	12
Pontardawre	Glamorgan	Rural and Mostly Rural. Mining	5
Pontypridd	Glamorgan	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Mining	14
Swansea	Glamorgan	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Mining	14
Alresford	Hampshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture/Town (1)	3
Alton	Hampshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town	9
Alverstoke	Hampshire	Provincial Urban. Residential	18
Andover	Hampshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture/Town (2)	4
Basingstoke	Hampshire	Half Rural. Manufacture	11
Catherington	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (2)	2
Christchurch	Hampshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Residential	16
Droxford	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (2)	2
Fareham	Hampshire	Half Rural. Shipping	12
Fordingbridge	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)	1
Hartley Witney	Hampshire	Half Rural. Residential	13
Havant	Hampshire	Half Rural. Shipping	12
Isle of Wight	Hampshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Residential	16
Kingsclere	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)	1
Lymington	Hampshire	Half Rural. Shipping	12
New Forest	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)	1
Petersfield	Hampshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture and Town	4
Portsea Island	Hampshire	Provincial Urban. Residential	18
Ringwood	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)	1
Romsey	Hampshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Shipping	7
South Stoneham	Hampshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Residential	16
Southampton	Hampshire	Provincial Urban. Residential	18

Table 1.2 continued

SRD	COUNTY	Charles Booth Economic Classification Group of Poor Law Unions (1894)	Group Number
Stockbridge	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)	1
Whitchurch	Hampshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Manufacture	6
Winchester	Hampshire	Half Rural. Residential	13
Berkhampstead	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town	9
Bishop's Stort.	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town	9
Hatfield	Hertfordshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (2)	2
Hemel Hemp.	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Manufacture	11
Hertford	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town	9
Hitchin	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town	9
Royston	Hertfordshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture/Town (2)	4
St Albans	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Manufacture	11
Ware	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town	9
Watford	Hertfordshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Manufacture	15
Doncaster	Yorkshire	Half Rural. Mining	10
Ecclesall Bierlow	Yorkshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Residential	16
Goole	Yorkshire	Half Rural. Shipping	12
Keighley	Yorkshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Manufacture	15
Pontefract	Yorkshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Mining	14
Ripon	Yorkshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town	9
Settle	Yorkshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)	1
Sheffield	Yorkshire	Provincial Urban. Manufacture and Trade	17
Skipton	Yorkshire	Half Rural. Manufacture	11
Wetherby	Yorkshire	Half Rural. Residential	13

Source: (for the economic classifications and the numeric groups) C. Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894), pp. 56-104.

According to the 1851 census reports, Hertfordshire was one of the least urbanised counties in England and Wales. Only 24 per cent of the county lived in towns, compared with 46 per cent in the West Riding, Yorkshire and 49 per cent in Hampshire.¹⁶⁵ The straw trade attracted a high proportion of women and child workers, contributing to the unusual population sex ratios (males per 100 females) found in the Berkhamsted and St. Albans regions in 1851, at 90 and 91 respectively, compared with 96 in England and Wales.¹⁶⁶ The straw plaiting industry reached a peak of 12,089 workers in Hertfordshire in 1871, falling to 681 in 1901.¹⁶⁷ Cheap

¹⁶⁵ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1852-3, LXXXV 1- (1631), *Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population Tables I, Vol. I*, p. cvi. See also N. Goose, *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851, Vol. 2: St. Albans and its Region* (Hatfield, 2000), p. 33.

¹⁶⁶ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', Table 6, p. 369; Goose, *St. Albans*, p. 37.

¹⁶⁷ Goose, *St. Albans*, Table 6, p. 71.

imports from Asia hastened an end to the trade by the 1890s.¹⁶⁸ By the late nineteenth century, the lack of industrial diversification in the Royston and Bishop's Stortford areas of north-eastern Hertfordshire resulted in heavy out-migration from severe agricultural depression. In Therfield, the population declined by 36 per cent from 1851 to 1901, ten percentage points more than the Royston region itself.¹⁶⁹ Contrastingly, railway development created a population boom in the London hinterlands in the mid-nineteenth century. From 1801 to 1901, Watford and Barnet's populations grew by 439 per cent and 410 per cent respectively compared with 159 per cent for the whole county.¹⁷⁰

Hampshire's fortunes were boosted by Portsmouth's naval development. A recent analysis of Portsmouth has described the town as 'the chief naval station in Europe and therefore, the guidebooks boasted, "the world".'¹⁷¹ The introduction of steamships meant that the first wet dock and four graving docks commenced in 1843; Queen Victoria opened the new Steam Basin dock in 1848.¹⁷² As a result, Portsmouth was a garrison township that boosted commercial success for the British Empire, bringing in goods from the Atlantic colonies, the Baltic powers and Newfoundland.¹⁷³ The dockyards provided one of the largest grounds for industry in the country, containing nearly 4,000 workers in 1814, although falling to 1,500 in the 1830s.¹⁷⁴ The economic position of Portsmouth was volatile. The demobilisation of soldiers and sailors after war could result in high rates of pauperism.¹⁷⁵ Casualties of men from war and shipwreck could mean that elderly relatives were being called upon for assistance in the household. When there was good fortune, dockyard workers were eligible for pensions. Definitions of pensioned elderly people from the 1851 census for Portsea Island (later named Portsmouth) include 'superannuated shipwright' and 'pensioner Portsmouth Dock Yard'.¹⁷⁶ The maritime economy

¹⁶⁸ Goose, *St. Albans*, p. 70.

¹⁶⁹ J. Moore, 'The Impact of Agricultural Depression and Land Ownership Change on the County of Hertfordshire, c. 1870-1914' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Hertfordshire, 2010), pp. 16, 50-62, 263, derived from data procured by N. Goose for the article 'Population, 1801-1901', in D. Short (ed.), *An Historical Atlas of Hertfordshire* (Hatfield, 2011), pp. 56-7. A more detailed discussion of the parishes of Barley and Therfield in Royston is addressed in T. Heritage, 'A Comparative Perspective on Changing Household and Family Structure in Mid-Victorian Hertfordshire' (unpublished MA by Research dissertation, University of Hertfordshire, 2014), pp. 17, 25-6.

¹⁷⁰ N. Goose, 'Cottage Industry, Marriage and Migration in Nineteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review*, 61 (2008), pp. 798-819.

¹⁷¹ Light, *Common People*, p. 191.

¹⁷² L.F. Vernon-Harcourt, *Harbours and Docks: Their Physical Features, History, Construction, Equipment and Maintenance with Statistics as to their Commercial Development* (Cambridge, 2014, originally published 1885), p. 560.

¹⁷³ Light, *Common People*, p. 191.

¹⁷⁴ Light, *Common People*, p. 196.

¹⁷⁵ Light, *Common People*, p. 199.

¹⁷⁶ Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851; Light, *Common People*, p. 205.

also helped boost the reputations of Southampton and the Isle of Wight as pleasure resorts; the former characterised as a spa town, the latter benefitting from summer holidaymakers.¹⁷⁷

From 1851 to 1911, Glamorganshire's population increased by 253 per cent, compared with 80 per cent in England and Wales.¹⁷⁸ A huge population influx was caused by coal mining and steel making, with tinplate works established in Swansea from the 1860s.¹⁷⁹ Akin to Hampshire, dockyards were established, coping with the growing shipments of coal, totalling 16 million tons by 1870.¹⁸⁰ Industries such as coal mining had profound demographic consequences as high fertility persisted long after the demographic transition. Miners' brides lacked employment opportunities when the workforce was highly male and women were culturally expected to simply stay at home and raise children, often when relatively young. The arduous nature and dangerous conditions of mining meant that a worker's earnings diminished early. This resulted in high fertility to ensure that enough sons would bring in money for the family.¹⁸¹ Therefore, in terms of the elderly population, their numbers are expected to be quite small, not only through mortality, but through the in-migration of younger populations that wanted to work in mining and the high fertility of mining populations, which would affect the age structure of the population.

The midlands county of Cheshire was also noted for high population increases brought on by industrialisation. Birkenhead SRD, besides Cardiff, contained the highest population increase of 60 SRDs surveyed, at 152,105 between 1861 and 1911.¹⁸² This growth was not lost on the trade directory for Birkenhead in 1894, commenting that 'few places in England has risen so rapidly.'¹⁸³ Originally part of Wirral SRD, it became a Parliamentary Borough in 1861, famed for its role as a seaport outside the prosperous city of Liverpool, separated by the river Mersey.¹⁸⁴ Birkenhead benefited from an Act of Parliament for docks in 1844 and the

¹⁷⁷ B.C. Turner, *History of Hampshire* (London, 1963), p. 98; Kelly's Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight (1898), p. 581.

¹⁷⁸ B. Thomas, 'The Migration of Labour into the Glamorganshire Coalfield (1861-1911)', in W.E. Minchinton (ed.), *Industrial South Wales, 1750-1914: Essays in Welsh Economic History* (London, 1969), pp. 37-56, figures on p. 38.

¹⁷⁹ T. Brennan, E.W. Cooney and H. Pollins, *Social Change in South-West Wales* (Suffolk, 1954), p. 15.

¹⁸⁰ W.E. Minchinton, 'Industrial South Wales, 1750-1914', in Minchinton (ed.), *Industrial South Wales, 1750-1914*, pp. ix-xxx, figure on p. xx.

¹⁸¹ D. Friedlander, 'Demographic Patterns and Socio-economic Characteristics of the Coal-Mining Population in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 22 (1973), pp. 39-51; A. Hinde, *England's Population: A History since the Domesday Survey* (London, 2003), pp. 237-8.

¹⁸² Calculated from Integrated Census Microdata datasets. While there are 63 SRDs overall, three others (Gower, Pontardawre and Pontypridd in Glamorganshire) did not fully exist as SRDs in 1861.

¹⁸³ Kelly's Directory of Liverpool and Birkenhead (1894), p. 787.

¹⁸⁴ Kelly's Directory of Liverpool and Birkenhead (1894), p. 787. The parish of Birkenhead was part of Wirral SRD in the 1851 census.

construction of the Liverpool-Wirral railway, completed in 1886.¹⁸⁵ Businessmen and merchants working in Liverpool resided in the neighbouring district of Birkenhead, characterising the town as genteel.¹⁸⁶ Macclesfield SRD, the site of Cheshire's silk manufacturing trade, suffered from a population decline of 2,202 people between 1861 and 1911.¹⁸⁷ While the boom years of silk trading were in the 1840s, the number of silk firms fell from 55 in 1860 to 30 in 1886.¹⁸⁸ The tariff protecting British silk goods was abolished in 1864 and French imports contracted the silk industry.¹⁸⁹ Stockport SRD, near Manchester, provided cotton manufacturing; in 1827, half of the cotton boom in Britain came from Manchester and Stockport.¹⁹⁰

The West Riding of Yorkshire was also an industrial county. Keighley SRD, for example, was concerned with worsted (lighter weight) cloths that required larger-scale industries and high concentrations of capital.¹⁹¹ The industry attracted a substantial proportion of married female workers; a quarter to half of the married female population were involved in textiles in 1861.¹⁹² The textile industry in Keighley meant that young women did not have to leave home to pursue domestic service, working in nearby factories. For women, these factors, combined with their higher singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM), may have significantly led to high co-residence ties between older people and their female offspring in 1851 and 1861 when SMAMs were higher for women in Keighley than in England.¹⁹³ In nineteenth-century Sheffield, puddled iron was gradually replaced and allowed the cheap production of steel.¹⁹⁴ Steel was used in producing cutlery and armaments, including pen-knives, pocket-knives, hammers and spades.¹⁹⁵ As a result, employment in the heavy steel industry (as opposed to lighter steel

¹⁸⁵ Kelly's Directory of Liverpool and Birkenhead (1894), p. 787; I. Collard, *Birkenhead from Old Photographs* (Gloucestershire, 2011), no pagination.

¹⁸⁶ Kelly's Directory of Liverpool and Birkenhead (1894), p. 787.

¹⁸⁷ Calculated from Integrated Census Microdata datasets.

¹⁸⁸ C.S. Davies, *A History of Macclesfield* (Manchester, 1961), pp. 135, 230.

¹⁸⁹ F. Crouzet (trans. A. Foster), *The Victorian Economy* (London, 1982), p. 220.

¹⁹⁰ W.H. Chaloner, 'The Birth of Modern Manchester', in the British Association for the Advancement of Science Manchester Meeting (eds.), *Manchester and its Region: A Survey Prepared for the British Association* (Manchester, 1962), pp. 121-146.

¹⁹¹ P. Hudson, *The Genesis of Industrial Capital: A Study of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry c. 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 29, 41.

¹⁹² R. Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 99.

¹⁹³ E.M. Garrett, 'Before their Time: Employment and Family Formation in a Northern Textile Town, Keighley, 1851-81' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Sheffield, 1986). The singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM) for women began to parallel that of England in 1871, at 25.58 years compared with 25.13 years in England, at p. 122. Data for England taken from E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, 1981), Table 10.3, p. 437.

¹⁹⁴ Crouzet, *Victorian Economy*, pp. 235-7.

¹⁹⁵ Crouzet, *Victorian Economy*, pp. 248-9; B. Hobson, *West Riding of Yorkshire* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 75.

trades) increased by 80 per cent from 1891 to 1914, recruiting 40,000 workers.¹⁹⁶ Coal mining was also practised in nearby Pontefract. As there were substantially higher proportions of young women married in mining districts, Pontefract would provide an interesting comparison with Keighley, especially in terms of the proportions of older people co-resident with their offspring.¹⁹⁷

The counties examined contain a variety of industries ideal for a comparative study of the elderly population in England and Wales. The 63 SRDs that represent the five counties are also diverse in terms of changing populations. There was a population decline in the Cheshire and Hertfordshire SRDs of Congleton, Royston and Chester; their populations shrank by 3,986, 3,167 and 1,874 respectively between 1881 and 1911.¹⁹⁸ Contrastingly, populations grew in Pontypridd and Cardiff in Glamorgan and in Birkenhead in Cheshire, at 196,078, 159,011 and 108,042 respectively.

1.8 Chapter Overview

Chapter One will first comprise an aggregative demographic assessment of the elderly population in five selected counties, with the percentages aged 60 years and over out of the overall population analysed by SRD. Data covering all of England and Wales, not only the 63 SRDs, are obtained through the I-CeM search facility in order to compare the national population with the selected counties. Second, the relationship between the population size of older people and social policy for the aged is explored. The idea that the proportion of older people in the SRD has an influence on the percentages of older people recorded as paupers in the conterminous Poor Law Union will be tested. Data from parliamentary papers on the numbers relieved on 1 January in a census year are divided by the percentage of the elderly population in the corresponding census period.¹⁹⁹ A more detailed SRD-based analysis focusing on counties in south-west England in 1861 will further analyse the relationship between demography and social policy.

¹⁹⁶ M. Jones, *The Making of Sheffield* (Barnsley, 2013), p. 106.

¹⁹⁷ Friedlander, 'Demographic Patterns and Socio-economic Characteristics of the Coal Mining Population', Table 1, p. 41. In 1891, 70.5 per cent of women aged 20-24 years were married in coal-mining districts, compared with 60.3 per cent in England and Wales.

¹⁹⁸ A comparison between 1881 and 1911 was chosen because complete population data exist for all 63 SRDs from 1881 onwards, following the creation of Gower (although merged with Swansea SRD) and Birkenhead SRDs in 1861, Pontypridd SRD in 1871 and Pontardawre SRD in 1881.

¹⁹⁹ Although data are available for 1 July, it was decided to focus on 1 January as the numbers on relief are higher in the winter months, owing partly to seasonal unemployment. See Hinde and Turnbull, 'The Populations of Two Hampshire Workhouses', pp. 43-8.

Chapter Two will assess the employment and retirement patterns of older people. This study uniquely analyses the change in the labour force participation rate from the mid-Victorian period (1851) to the end of the Edwardian period (1911). This chapter also focuses on older women as well as men, which is lacking in detailed studies of old age and employment. Gender will also be accounted for in a chronological study of retirement patterns based on geography and occupational association. In this way, we help to uncover how ‘retirement’ was defined before the introduction of the Old Age Pension Act in 1908.

Chapter Three is devoted to pauperism among the elderly population. It will start with an aggregative assessment of data from the parliamentary papers and of workhouse populations from census data to assess whether there was a decline in the rates of old age pauperism from the 1870s, followed by a steady rise from the 1900s.²⁰⁰ The second half of the chapter discusses the variations in the proportions receiving outdoor relief, as recorded in the underexplored outdoor relief application and report books. Examining Poor Law Unions in northern and southern England, we test if a stigma existed in the provision of outdoor relief in northern England, or if there were other factors that governed a ‘north-south’ divide in old age pauperism.²⁰¹

Chapter Four examines the assistance of older people through familial ties and living arrangements. With the I-CeM datasets, 22 living arrangements can be assessed by region and by period. For the first time, we can examine if the change in familial ties was affected by the change in social policy, such as the ‘crusade against outdoor relief’ in the 1870s and the introduction of old age pensions in 1908. The second half examines the changing living arrangements of individuals during their life course. This will reflect recent interests by gerontologists in ageing as a long-term process that takes place in the context of past events; this thesis will add historical leverage to the issue.²⁰² It will allow us to analyse the living arrangements of older people in a longer-term context, as well as find out who was most likely to become pauperised in old age, based on their past living arrangements.

²⁰⁰ Boyer and Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly’, p. 272.

²⁰¹ Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, p. 27; King, *Poverty and Welfare in England*, pp. 257-9.

²⁰² V.L. Bengtson, G.H. Elder and N.M. Putney, ‘The Lifecourse Perspective on Ageing: Linked Lives, Timing and History’, in M. Johnson, V.L. Bengtson, P. Coleman and T.B.L. Kirkwood (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Age and Ageing* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 493-501.

1.9 Conclusion

This thesis breaks new ground by accessing comprehensive and transcribed datasets for all populations contained within the CEBs. It does so with an appreciation for local and regional differences, by considering five selected counties representing distinctive regions in England and Wales. It also allows a detailed quantitative study to take place for the first time on historical elderly populations. We can now examine substantial numbers of older people, thereby confirming or challenging past conclusions made through small-level parish and sampled data. If our studies reflect past conclusions, we can examine the changes in these proportions across time and through comparison with SRDs that had different economic characteristics and in different regions. We appreciate older people's dependency upon the New Poor Law more astutely. This is because we can calculate the proportions on the New Poor Law as a share of the elderly population and explain why there was wide variation in the proportions that were pauperised. As well as pathological themes, this thesis provides a perspective on older individuals with agency. This is particularly redolent in life course theory, in which 'individuals are active agents in the construction of their lives. They make choices within the opportunities and constraints provided by family background, stage in the life course, structural arrangements and historical conditions.'²⁰³ By emphasising the agency of older individuals over structural circumstances, we do not aim to undermine the view that life for some older individuals in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had its problems. In fact, this thesis examines why there was a tendency for older people to become pauperised, but does this without simply arguing that people are poor as a result of the inevitability of becoming old.²⁰⁴ What this thesis argues is that past studies, by focusing solely on workhouse populations, or other themes associated with poverty and pauperism, fail to account for the diversity of older-age populations in history.

This thesis will show how the study of older people needs to be integrated more with the wider economic and social historical context. For example, it will consider how the economic activities and familial relationships of older people in northern England are linked with the region's customs of self-reliance and relative prosperity. To discuss this, we need to acknowledge the autonomous nature of the elderly population, by examining those involved in economic activity or having the capacity to retire from work without relying on state resources. At the same time, we also acknowledge why several sectors of older people fell into pauperism

²⁰³ Bengtson, Elder and Putney, 'Lifecourse Perspective on Ageing', p. 494.

²⁰⁴ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 54.

by considering the size of the population in question, the occupations they held throughout their lives, or the structural patterns that occurred during their life course. To put it simply, we compare autonomy with pathology and agency with structure, as well as focusing on how the two interrelate. Through the substantial numbers of older people examined in this thesis, we attempt to give older people that were recorded in the past a history. We start by examining in Chapter One the demographic composition of older people and the impact this had on nineteenth-century social policy.

2 Chapter One

Demographic Composition of Older People in England and Wales, 1851-1911

2.1 Introduction

When it comes to an assessment of the population of mid-Victorian England and Wales, older people (or, those aged 60 years and over) formed a small minority of the population, at around 7 per cent from 1841 to 1901.¹ A high fertility regime placed a particular focus within families on the care of children, rather than older people.² Household economies in the early part of the reign of Queen Victoria suggest that children were highly valued as they could enter the labour force at an early age. However, from the late Victorian period, when the children's labour force participation rate declined and the perceived value of children changed, families began to limit the number of offspring. This resulted in anxiety regarding the impact of smaller families on Victorian society, involving fears that the population would contract.³ At the same time, there was little concern about the impact of fertility and mortality decline on the increasing proportion of the population composed of older people. Such discourses on an 'ageing boom' only started to permeate discussions about fertility decline after the First World War.⁴ This perhaps explains why very few studies have examined the composition of the elderly population prior to 1911.⁵ Although Victorian elderly populations are generally low in proportion to the total population, the *numbers* of elderly people were fairly substantial as early as 1861.⁶

There is also a fruitful scholarship on the treatment of older people by the state welfare system that operated in England and Wales from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, the Poor Laws. Much has been written with regard to the substantial proportion of older people dependent upon the Poor Laws, whether through institutionalised accommodation such as workhouses, or on

¹ P. Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1977), Table 3.6, p. 193.

² L. Hannah, *Inventing Retirement: The Development of Occupational Pensions in Britain* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 4.

³ For the concerns surrounding Victorian fertility decline in Australia and the importance of children in the household economies of Britain, see A. Mackinnon, 'Was There a Victorian Demographic Transition?' in M. Hewitt (ed.), *The Victorian World* (Abingdon, 2012), pp. 276-90.

⁴ P. Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 333-4.

⁵ Indeed, in R. Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000), there is little discussion about the elderly population.

⁶ George Boyer and Timothy P. Schmidle report that there were 932,000 people aged 65 years and over in England and Wales in 1861, increasing to 1.4 million in 1891. See G. Boyer and T.P. Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly in Late Victorian England', *Economic History Review*, 62 (2009), pp. 249-78, at p. 250.

welfare allowances outside institutions, historically termed outdoor relief.⁷ Studies have also compared state-funded assistance to older people with private philanthropy, based mainly on almshouse accommodation and charitable organisations.⁸ However, a detailed study is required of the New Poor Law in nineteenth-century England and Wales from a demographic perspective. An assessment of geographical variations in the proportion of older people deserves further enquiry, not only as a study in its own right, but also to help us understand the treatment of older people by the New Poor Law. In this chapter, we test the hypothesis that the varying treatment of older applicants for indoor and outdoor relief under the New Poor Law depended on how large a group older people formed in the local area.⁹

Reasons for examining geographical variations in the proportion of older people are two-fold. First, it reassesses Laslett's 1977 argument that 'if the aged in our generation and in our society present a "problem to be solved", it is a problem that has never been solved in the past, because it did not then exist.'¹⁰ Laslett is right in the sense that the proportion of older people was indeed smaller in the nineteenth century than in the present day, although we need to distinguish the absolute number of older people from relative proportions. For example, while approximately 7 per cent of the population in England and Wales were aged 60 years and over in 1851, more than a million people were in that age category.¹¹ We should also remember that the age structure of the population varied across England and Wales. Indeed, local variations in fertility, migration and the economy would mean that, on a regional basis, populations in some areas contained a higher proportion of older people than that found nationally. Second, as is the case today, we would hypothesise that the higher the proportion of older people, the

⁷ On the relationship between older people and the workhouse, see A. Hinde and F. Turnbull, 'The Populations of Two Hampshire Workhouses, 1851-1861', *Local Population Studies*, 61 (1998), pp. 38-53; N. Goose, 'Workhouse Populations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Case of Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 62 (1999), pp. 52-69; A. Ritch, 'English Poor Law Institutional Care for Older People: Identifying the "Aged and Infirm" and the "Sick" in Birmingham Workhouse, 1852-1912', *Social History of Medicine*, 27 (2014), pp. 64-85; L. Darwen, 'Workhouse Populations of the Preston Union, 1841-61', *Local Population Studies*, 94 (2014), pp. 33-42. On older people that received outdoor relief, see L.A. Botelho, *Old Age and the English Poor Law, 1500-1700* (Suffolk, 2004); N. Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender in Nineteenth Century England: The Case of Hertfordshire', *Continuity and Change*, 20 (2005), pp. 351-84; Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', pp. 249-78; G. Boyer, "'Work for their prime, the workhouse for their age": Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', *Social Science History*, 40 (2016), pp. 3-32.

⁸ C. Leivers, 'Housing the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Derbyshire: A Comparison of Almshouse and Workhouse Provision', *Local Population Studies*, 83 (2009), pp. 56-65; N. Goose and M. Yates, 'Charity and Commemoration: A Berkshire Family and their Almshouse, 1675-1763', in C. Briggs, P.M. Kitson and S.J. Thompson (eds.), *Population, Welfare and Economic Change in Britain, 1290-1834* (Suffolk, 2014), pp. 227-48.

⁹ D. Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past: A Family or Community Responsibility?' in M. Pelling and R.M. Smith (eds.), *Life, Death and the Elderly: Historical Perspectives* (London, 1991), pp. 194-221.

¹⁰ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, pp. 180-1.

¹¹ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, Table 3.6, p. 193.

more likely that pressure is imposed on society to provide for them. Therefore, the support given to older people by the New Poor Law in a particular parish or Poor Law Union might be viewed as a response to a relatively high older population in that locality, governed by demographic and economic processes. Rather than assuming that the challenges of older age structures are exclusively a problem of recent times, we present case examples of local districts in mid-Victorian England and Wales that reflect contemporary concerns regarding the relationship between ageing and welfare.¹² This chapter will examine two main themes. First, the geographical variation in the proportion of older people is analysed. Second, we test the argument that such variations governed or influenced treatment under the New Poor Law.

2.2 Literature Review

Researchers have shown that the age structure of England and Wales across the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century was predominantly youthful. The percentage of the population aged 60 years and over ranged from only 7.2 per cent to 7.4 per cent in the period 1851-1901. The proportion of elderly people jumped to 7.9 per cent in 1911 and broke the 10 per cent barrier in 1931.¹³ Before the nineteenth century, there were fluctuations in the size of the elderly population. Those aged 60 years and over reached 10.1 per cent in 1716, falling to a lowly 6.6 per cent in 1836.¹⁴ This was associated with a low fertility rate in the late seventeenth century compared with a high peak in the 1810s.¹⁵ Based on this, Peter Laslett concludes that ‘at least for half a century, elderly people remained as scarce as they ever had been.’¹⁶ Richard Smith further argues that ‘the nineteenth century stands out as a distinctly “youthful” phase.’¹⁷ The first signs of the growth in an ageing population occurred through the demographic transition of the 1870s, when mortality and fertility started falling. A fall in fertility reduced numbers in the younger age groups, while a fall in mortality meant that more people were successfully heading towards their old age.¹⁸ It was not necessarily improvements in old age that produced an ageing population, as life expectancy and death rates of older people remained stable by 1901.¹⁹ It was also not determined by the capacity to survive to old age, but by changes in the

¹² J. Macnicol, *Neoliberalising Old Age* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 6-7.

¹³ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, Table 3.6, p. 193.

¹⁴ E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 528-9.

¹⁵ Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England*, pp. 215-9, 449.

¹⁶ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, p. 196.

¹⁷ R.M. Smith, ‘The Structured Dependence of the Elderly as a Recent Development: Some Sceptical Historical Thoughts’, *Ageing & Society*, 4 (1984), pp. 409-28.

¹⁸ P. Johnson, ‘Old Age and Ageing in Britain’, *ReFRESH*, 17 (1993), pp. 5-8.

¹⁹ Johnson, ‘Old Age and Ageing’, pp. 5-6; J. Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society: Work, Family and Social Policy in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1982), p. 29.

sizes of generations available to survive. Consequently, the ‘main engine’ of ageing was fertility.²⁰

Although Jill Quadagno argues that noticeable differences in age structure did not occur in nineteenth-century England, her local analysis betrays her argument.²¹ The 1851 census enumerators’ books (CEBs) for the parish of Chivers Coton, Warwickshire, show that 9.2 per cent of the population were aged 60 years and over, about two percentage points higher than the national figures.²² By 1901, only 4.9 per cent of people were aged 60 years and over. This was based on the higher increase of the population aged 20-29 years, which indicates the high in-migration of young adults.²³ In Derbyshire, there was a neat correspondence between the size of those aged 60 years and over and the increase in the overall population. In 1851, the Poor Law Union of Bakewell had the smallest increase in population, but the highest proportion of older people at 9.2 per cent. On the other hand, Chesterfield experienced a three-fold increase of workers in the iron sector, but only 5.4 per cent of the population were aged 60 years and over.²⁴ In his detailed study of the elderly poor, Victorian philanthropist Charles Booth found that there were 763 people aged 65 years and over per 10,000 population in agricultural districts, compared with 409 per 10,000 population in the manufacturing Poor Law Unions.²⁵ Local economic changes at parish level also show higher proportions of older people in particular parishes. Bassingham, Lincolnshire was affected by a downturn in agriculture, resulting in high out-migration and a high proportion of older people aged 60 years and over in 1871, at over 10 per cent.²⁶ In contrast, in industrialising Stoke-on-Trent in 1861, only 2 per cent were aged 65 years and over.²⁷ Furthermore, in the parishes of the Berkhamsted region in 1851, 6 per cent to 9.7 per cent of the population were elderly, along with 5.7 per cent to 9.6 per cent in the St. Albans region in the same period.²⁸ The higher proportion of older people in

²⁰ P. Johnson and J. Falkingham, *Ageing and Economic Welfare* (London, 1992), pp. 21-2.

²¹ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 32. Boyer and Schmidle report that only 4.6 per cent of the population were aged 65 years and over in 1861, compared with 4.7 per cent in 1891. Boyer and Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly’, p. 250.

²² Calculated from Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, Table 3.5, p. 76; Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, Table 5.6, p. 193.

²³ Calculated from Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, Table 3.5, p. 76.

²⁴ Calculated from Leivers, ‘Housing the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Derbyshire’, Table 2, p. 62.

²⁵ C. Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894), Table 3, p. 13.

²⁶ E. Hunt, ‘Household Size and Structure in Bassingham, Lincolnshire, 1851-1901’, *Local Population Studies*, 75 (2005), pp. 56-74, figure on Figure 1, p. 58.

²⁷ Calculated from M.W. Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries, 1840-1880* (Oxford, 1995), using the numbers of those aged 65 years and over provided in Table 8.1, p. 329, divided by the sample population on p. 356.

²⁸ N. Goose, *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851, Vol. 1: The Berkhamsted Region* (Hatfield, 1996), Table 1, p. 27 and *Vol. 2: St. Albans and its Region* (Hatfield, 2000), Table 1, p. 34.

urban parishes may be explained by the greater cultural opportunities offered by urban society.²⁹ In this case, towns as well as rural parishes could contain higher proportions of older people than the national figures; it may be that a lower proportion of older people was found in cities such as Chesterfield and Stoke-on-Trent.

It is necessary to summarise in greater detail the context of the New Poor Law and why its approach to older people varied across England and Wales. The New Poor Law was created in 1834, after a parliamentary enquiry that explored the increase in poor law expenditure in the early nineteenth century. Its main aim was to primarily restrict the numbers of able-bodied people, usually of ‘working age’, receiving poor relief.³⁰ Poor older people were in one of the prioritised ‘impotent’ or ‘non-able-bodied’ groups, claiming relief on account of disability, infirmity or old age. This crude binary distinction between the ‘able-bodied’ and the ‘non-able-bodied’ persisted after the inception of the New Poor Law. The emphasis on the generous treatment of the ‘non-able-bodied’ extended to provision for older people. Part of the historiography has attributed the varying degree of support by the New Poor Law towards older people to a ‘north-south’ divide. The New Poor Law was more selective in the treatment of older people in northern England than in the south.³¹ The higher wages earned by northerners may have been a safeguard against needing to rely on the New Poor Law for support in their old age.³² Also, northerners may have felt more stigma towards the stringent New Poor Law than southerners.³³ In the south, it was more socially acceptable to ask for relief. Populations in southern England experienced mass pauperisation under the Old Poor Law in the early nineteenth century and the generous response through the ‘Speenhamland’ system, where relief varied in relation to the number of children and the price of bread.³⁴ To summarise, economic and cultural reasons may partly explain the varying treatment of older people under the New Poor Law.

In addition, Thomson maintained that relief was most widespread ‘in areas where the ratio of “dependents” to “working-age” persons was most severe—that is, the populations *least* “burdened” with large numbers of the aged were those *least* likely to be generous to their few dependents.’³⁵ In other words, where older people were relatively numerous, the local Poor

²⁹ Goose, *St. Albans*, pp. 35-37, 97-101.

³⁰ K. Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty* (London, 1981), p. 59.

³¹ S. King, *Poverty and Welfare in England 1700-1850: A Regional Perspective* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 141-2.

³² Boyer and Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly’, p. 267.

³³ Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, pp. 26-7.

³⁴ Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, p. 29.

³⁵ Thomson, ‘The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past’, pp. 203-4 (N.B. Original emphasis).

Law Board of Guardians were more likely to recognise those entitled to relief as a distinct category of pauper. By contrast, in areas where the percentage of the population aged 60 and over was below or at the average for England and Wales, applications for relief through old age were decided on an individual, and apparently less generous basis. Thomson's relationship between the proportions of older people and the New Poor Law echoes a study by Easterlin. Despite their different approaches, the link between them is in the idea that cohort size matters. Unlike Thomson, Easterlin's focus is on young adults in the 1950s, where the varying relative cohort size of the population, governed by the birth rate, is linked with income and the labour market. Life chances, he argues, are negatively affected among those who belong in a larger cohort, as the competition to succeed educationally, economically and socially becomes more intense.³⁶ By contrast, Thomson describes that there is strength in larger numbers of older people. There was, in the nineteenth century, an 'inversion of the demographic determinist argument' that outlines a less generous attitude to old age dependants based on their large numbers. Communities facing 'the greatest burden of dependence' were the most developed in the redistribution of resources for dependent social groups, particularly in southern and western England, compared with northern areas.³⁷

Few studies have tested Thomson's argument regarding the impact of the proportions of older people on welfare provision in nineteenth-century England and Wales.³⁸ Chris Gilleard supports Thomson's ideas when assessing the Irish Poor Law's changing treatment of older people after the Great Irish Famine. As a result of heavy out-migration from younger populations, Ireland experienced a 'premature ageing' unique to other European populations. In 1851, 6.3 per cent of Ireland's population were aged 60 years and over, increasing to 11 per cent in 1901.³⁹ Consequently, older people became increasingly represented as workhouse inmates and as general paupers. While 3.4 per cent of the population aged 60 years and over were in Irish workhouses in 1851, this increased to 9.5 per cent in 1901.⁴⁰

³⁶ R.A. Easterlin, *Birth and Fortune: The Impact of Numbers on Personal Welfare* (2nd Edition, Chicago, 1987), p. 3; L.A. Morgan and S.R. Kunkel, *Aging, Society and the Life Course* (5th Edition, New York, 2016), pp. 46-8.

³⁷ D. Thomson, 'The Decline of Social Welfare: Failing State Support for the Elderly since Victorian Times', *Ageing & Society*, 4 (1984), pp. 451-82, quotes at p. 469.

³⁸ Although in Dupree's study of Stoke-on-Trent, where 2 per cent of the population were aged 65 years and over, only 11 per cent of poor relief applications were made on the grounds of old age. Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, pp. 328-30, 356.

³⁹ C. Gilleard, 'The Other Victorians: Age, Sickness and Poverty in 19th-century Ireland', *Ageing & Society*, 36 (2016), pp. 1,157-84, figures on Table 2, p. 1,165.

⁴⁰ Calculated from Gilleard, 'The Other Victorians', Table 5, p. 1,176.

On the other hand, a regression analysis by George Boyer and Timothy P. Schmidle using data from Charles Booth reveals a negative relationship between the share of the population represented by older people and the proportions recorded as paupers. Boyer and Schmidle conclude that the financial burden faced by various Poor Law Boards of Guardians in their treatment of aged paupers meant that relief was restricted.⁴¹ However, Charles Booth himself concluded that, in the 1890s, the ‘increase, or relatively slow decrease of pauperism seems to be very closely connected with decrease of population, and consequent increase of proportionate numbers of the old.’⁴² Migration from the countryside to industrial towns meant that ‘the young and vigorous move; the old stay behind and are reinforced by those who, as they become old, drift back.’⁴³ Booth further reported that it governed the ‘character of the relief’ given, or, the proportions of outdoor or indoor relief.⁴⁴

2.3 Questions

As has been seen, there was an ageing of local populations in the nineteenth century, partially resulting from the out-migration of younger populations from rural to urban parishes. An increasing elderly population could also result from a gradual fall in fertility and mortality rates. In the mid-nineteenth century, there may have been higher proportions of older people in rural than in urban parishes, suggesting that the isolation of older people in rural areas in the present day has historical precedent.⁴⁵ We must ask, how far do the local and regional proportions of older people in the period 1851-1911 conform to national figures? How widely did they vary at the local and regional level? Was fertility ‘the main engine’ of ageing, or do changing migratory patterns of young adults (or, those aged 15-29 years) play a part?⁴⁶ Were there parishes similar to Bassingham, Lincolnshire, where the 10 per cent barrier in the proportion of people living in old age was broken in 1871, a proportion not matched nationally until 1931?⁴⁷ Are changes in the proportion of older people explained by general population changes in mainly rural and urban districts towards 1911?

Furthermore, if the proportion of older people varied widely by parish and by Superintendent Registration District (SRD), did this influence the social policy of the New Poor Law? To

⁴¹ Boyer and Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly’, pp. 265-6.

⁴² Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 422.

⁴³ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 12.

⁴⁴ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 13.

⁴⁵ W. Kay, ‘Ageing in Rural Communities: From Idyll to Exclusion?’ in G. Bosworth and P. Somerville (eds.), *Interpreting Rurality: Multidisciplinary Approaches* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 251-66.

⁴⁶ Johnson and Falkingham, *Ageing and Economic Welfare*, pp. 21-2.

⁴⁷ Hunt, ‘Household Size and Structure in Bassingham, Lincolnshire’, Figure 1, p. 58.

summarise Thomson's argument: the size of the population living in old age may be an important factor in the varying treatment of older people by the Board of Guardians.⁴⁸ This has not been assessed in greater depth and may explain why the treatment of old age was not a priority of Stoke-on-Trent's Board of Guardians, where the population size of older people was lower than the national figures.⁴⁹ Contrastingly, in agricultural areas dominated by out-migration of the young and high proportions living in old age, there would have been pressure on the Board of Guardians to relieve large numbers that lacked additional support.⁵⁰ In some ways, the nineteenth century forms a microcosm of contemporary concerns over the relationship between an ageing population and demand for welfare.⁵¹ Finally, what demographic and economic factors affected the age structure of the population, resulting in a high number of older people and thus aged pauperism?

2.4 Source Materials and Methodology

This chapter will include an aggregate demographic assessment of the share that older people comprise of the total population. This will be based on the percentages aged 60 years and over and will be analysed primarily by SRD. This is seen through a database of the 1861 census covering England and Wales, produced by David Gatley. It contains, firstly, the 1861 printed census abstracts, derived from the raw individual-level CEBs of that year.⁵² They comprise a wealth of information on population totals, occupational structure, birthplaces, age profiles and marital status. There are over 100 variables and numbers are amalgamated by 635 SRDs. A more detailed study spanning 1851 to 1911 will be taken of a maximum of 63 SRDs across five selected counties, as transcribed by the Integrated Census Microdata datasets (I-CeM). It is now possible to analyse the proportion of the elderly population in a locality through transcribed versions of the original CEBs, which means new opportunities for exploring the elderly population. Unlike Gatley's database, I-CeM enables a parish-based analysis, which means that we also assess the importance of populations with high proportions of elderly people at community level. Particular attention will be paid to parishes where 10 per cent of the

⁴⁸ Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', pp. 203-4.

⁴⁹ Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, pp. 328-30, 356.

⁵⁰ For example, the population of Royston SRD in Hertfordshire declined by 26% from 1851 to 1901 based on severe agricultural depression. See J. Moore, 'The Impact of Agricultural Depression and Land Ownership Change on the County of Hertfordshire, c. 1870-1914' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Hertfordshire, 2010), pp. 50-62, derived from data procured by N. Goose for the article 'Population, 1801-1901,' in D. Short (ed.), *An Historical Atlas of Hertfordshire* (Hatfield, 2011), pp. 56-7.

⁵¹ Macnicol, *Neoliberalising Old Age*, pp. 6-7.

⁵² D.A. Gatley, 'Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics', *Local Population Studies* 58 (1997), pp. 37-47.

population were aged 60 years and over. This relates to Laslett's finding that older people failed to represent 10 per cent of the population nationally until 1931.⁵³ We can define parishes where 10 per cent or more of the population were elderly as having 'older' populations. We also break down the percentage of parishes that had 'older' populations by parish size. Booth's 1894 publication *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* will be used to analyse rural and urban variations in the proportion of older people, by examining the size of the elderly population through 17 groups in which the 63 SRDs are based.⁵⁴ Variations in the age-profile of the population are also examined. We take districts with very high and very low proportions of older people and assess them in relation to variations in the age profiles of children (0-14 years), young adults (15-29 years) and those in middle age (30-59 years). A high proportion of young adults would suggest in-migration to the district, as well as high fertility, and thus a low proportion of older people. A lower proportion of young adults would suggest out-migration and possibly lower fertility rates.

Data are also incorporated through the Annual General Reports on fertility and mortality rates recently transcribed by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP), as part of their Populations Past project.⁵⁵ It provides a comprehensive list of differing demographic measures, such as total fertility, marital fertility, infant mortality and childhood mortality. They are linked with the population totals from I-CeM across the periods 1851-1911. Therefore, variations in fertility and mortality rates are measured by SRD and RD (the sub-districts of SRDs) and are correlated with the changing proportion of older people. Total fertility, marital fertility and legitimate birth rates will be used to measure fertility change and infant mortality will measure mortality change by SRD. We know that infant mortality declined later compared with crude mortality, although the former variable is deployed because

⁵³ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, Table 3.6, p. 193.

⁵⁴ For more information regarding Booth's 20 economically defined groups and the classification behind his methods, see Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, pp. 56-104. A guide is presented in Appendix 2A.

⁵⁵ Populations Past is a publicly available website released by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure in April 2018, 'allowing users to create and view maps of different demographic measures and related socio-economic indicators every 10 years between 1851 and 1891', available at <https://www.populationspast.org/about/> (accessed 8 December 2018). It covers both SRDs and RDs (sub-districts of SRDs) as geographic units on which to measure the relationship between the proportions of the population living in old age with several demographic measures. It is based on the research project 'Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline', which has been funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and the Isaac Newton Trust (Cambridge). The data used in this chapter from PopulationsPast.org have been produced by the 'Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline' project (PI: A.M. Reid, ES/L015463/1), using an enhanced version of data from K. Schürer, and E. Higgs (2014), *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911* [data collection]. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor].

it is currently available for consultation on Populations Past, unlike the latter.⁵⁶ We also create a variable where we measure the rate of population change between each period. The size of a population in one period is divided by the preceding period and multiplied by 100; a figure of over 100 per cent denotes an increasing population. We present changing fertility, mortality and population change as three main predictors that assess the change in the size of the elderly population in the periods 1891-1911. These periods were chosen as fertility and mortality declined in accordance with the demographic transition.⁵⁷ To provide a longer-term perspective, we analyse the relationship between the proportions of older people and fertility and mortality in each period, from 1851 to 1911.

We subsequently link the proportions of older people with aged pauperism. Poor relief returns from 1 January 1861 are used to examine the proportions of older people receiving relief under the New Poor Law. The analysis focuses on particular districts in which old age pauperism was highly prevalent. Although Gatley's database contains simple counts of poor relief claimants on 1 July 1861, it was decided to produce a more detailed database of the 'Comparative Numbers of Paupers Relieved', as recorded on 1 January 1861 and published in the House of Commons parliamentary papers archive.⁵⁸ This is one of a series of biannual parliamentary reports that charted the numbers of adults and children that received poor relief under the categories of 'able-bodied', 'non-able-bodied' and 'lunatic' on 1 January and 1 July from 1858 to 1912.⁵⁹ The report accounts for relief claimants admitted to workhouses and other institutions (indoor relief), and those given relief in their own homes (outdoor relief). It further breaks down the numbers of relief claimants by 45 counties and 629 Poor Law Unions. A further column classed as 'Special Industries' highlights the specialist industry practiced by each Poor Law Union. For example, Melksham Union in Wiltshire contained the woollen cloth trade.⁶⁰ These data are available by county and at Poor Law Union level. It was decided to examine three south western counties (Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset) in order to examine the relationship between poor relief and the local economic context. The document reports that the geographical boundaries of the Poor Law Unions are closely coterminous with the registration

⁵⁶ E. Garrett, C. Galley, N. Shelton and R. Woods, 'Infant Mortality: A Social Problem?' in E. Garrett, C Galley, N. Shelton and R. Woods (eds.), *Infant Mortality: A Continuing Social Problem* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 3-16. In England and Wales, infant mortality had passed its peak in the 1890s and began declining by 1900.

⁵⁷ Johnson, 'Old Age and Ageing', pp. 5-8.

⁵⁸ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1860, LVIII.183 (383B.I) *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861*.

⁵⁹ M. MacKinnon, 'The Use and Misuse of Poor Law Statistics, 1857 to 1912', *Historical Methods*, 21 (1988), pp. 5-19.

⁶⁰ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, LVIII.183 (383B.I), *Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861*, p. 34.

districts listed in the census.⁶¹ As a result of this, despite some imperfections, it is possible to link the 1861 parliamentary report with the corresponding 1861 census.

The report does not provide the numbers of poor relief claimants that were specifically over the age of 60 years. However, in accordance with Charles Booth, we have assumed that older people represent the majority of ‘non-able-bodied’ adult claimants, so our data originate from the indoor and outdoor ‘non-able-bodied’ category.⁶² As a precautionary measure, however, numbers from the ‘lunatic’ category were also included in our analysis.⁶³ This is not an ideal method, since the report does not inform who specifically comprised the ‘non-able-bodied’. However, it has been shown that the ratio of specified aged paupers to non-able-bodied claimants was constant.⁶⁴ For example, Booth found that up to 75 per cent of non-able-bodied people from 1890 to 1892 were aged 65 years and over.⁶⁵ The proportion of non-able-bodied paupers that were actually older people may have differed in the 1860s, before changes to the New Poor Law took place in the 1870s through expenditure cuts known by contemporaries as a ‘crusade against outrelief’.⁶⁶ In fact, the Poor Law Commissioners, from the early years, based the age of 60 years as a threshold for becoming ‘old’ and thereby ‘non-able-bodied’. A dietary list designed for workhouse inmates, published in the Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, shows that ‘older people, being all 60 years of age and upwards’ were to receive a more generous diet than able-bodied inmates. An addition of one ounce of tea, milk and sugar was to be given ‘to those whose age and infirmities it may be deemed requisite.’⁶⁷ Also, since MacKinnon argues that terms such as the ‘non-able-bodied poor’ and ‘aged paupers’ were interchangeable throughout the New Poor Law, the proportion of the ‘non-able-bodied’ that were aged 60 years and over is constant across time and space.⁶⁸

⁶¹ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, LVIII.183 (383B.I), *Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861*, p. 8.

⁶² C. Booth, ‘Poor Law Statistics as Used in Connection with the Old Age Pension Question’, *Economic Journal*, 9 (1899), pp. 212-23.

⁶³ ‘Lunatics’ were not specified by age, so it is assumed that some of the sectors recorded as ‘lunatics’ were living in old age.

⁶⁴ MacKinnon, ‘The Use and Misuse of Poor Law Statistics’, p. 9; Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, pp. 8-10.

⁶⁵ Booth, ‘Poor Law Statistics’, pp. 218-9.

⁶⁶ M. MacKinnon, ‘English Poor Law Policy and the Crusade against Outrelief’, *The Journal of Economic History*, 47 (1987), pp. 603-25.

⁶⁷ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1836, 595, *Second Year Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales; Together with Appendices A, B, C and D*, p. 59.

⁶⁸ MacKinnon, ‘The Use and Misuse of Poor Law Statistics’, p. 9.

2.5 Analysis - The Proportions of Older People

Figures 2.1a and 2.1b are maps that show changing variations in the Old Age Dependency Ratio (OADR), or the numbers of elderly people aged 65 years and over per 100 persons of 'working age' aged 14-64 years, over time in all SRDs representing England and Wales. The period 1861 represents Figure 2.1a, where the highest OADRs were to be found in north and west Wales, the south west (especially in parts of Devonshire), East Anglia, parts of the North Riding of Yorkshire and scattered districts in central southern England. Clusters of low OADRs are located in South Wales, London and south eastern England, north-west England where Cheshire and Lancashire are based and in Durham to the north of England. Figure 2.1b presents the OADRs as recorded in 1901. There is a greater number of red-shaded districts, or those where there were 14 or more elderly persons per 100 of 'working age', located primarily in the districts where higher OADRs were noted in 1861. The cluster of low OADRs noted in the Cheshire and Lancashire regions in 1861 has extended downwards. Several districts with relatively lower OADRs in 1861, such as those in central southern England and north-east Lincolnshire, also have some of the highest OADRs. Interestingly, the two periods share some similarities, in that the mining areas of South Wales and Durham, as well as the northern industrial cities and London, had low OADRs. This is consistent with the high in-migration of younger populations searching for work in urbanised districts. Although we do not completely see a 'north-south' divide in OADRs, the highest OADRs are concentrated mainly in southern and eastern agricultural districts, where younger populations out-migrated to the urban areas.

Figure 2.1a – Number of persons aged 65 years and over per 100 of working-age people aged 14-64 years, 1861

RSDs of England and Wales, 1861

Old Age Dependency Ratio

Number of elderly persons aged
65 and over per 100 persons
of working age (14-64)

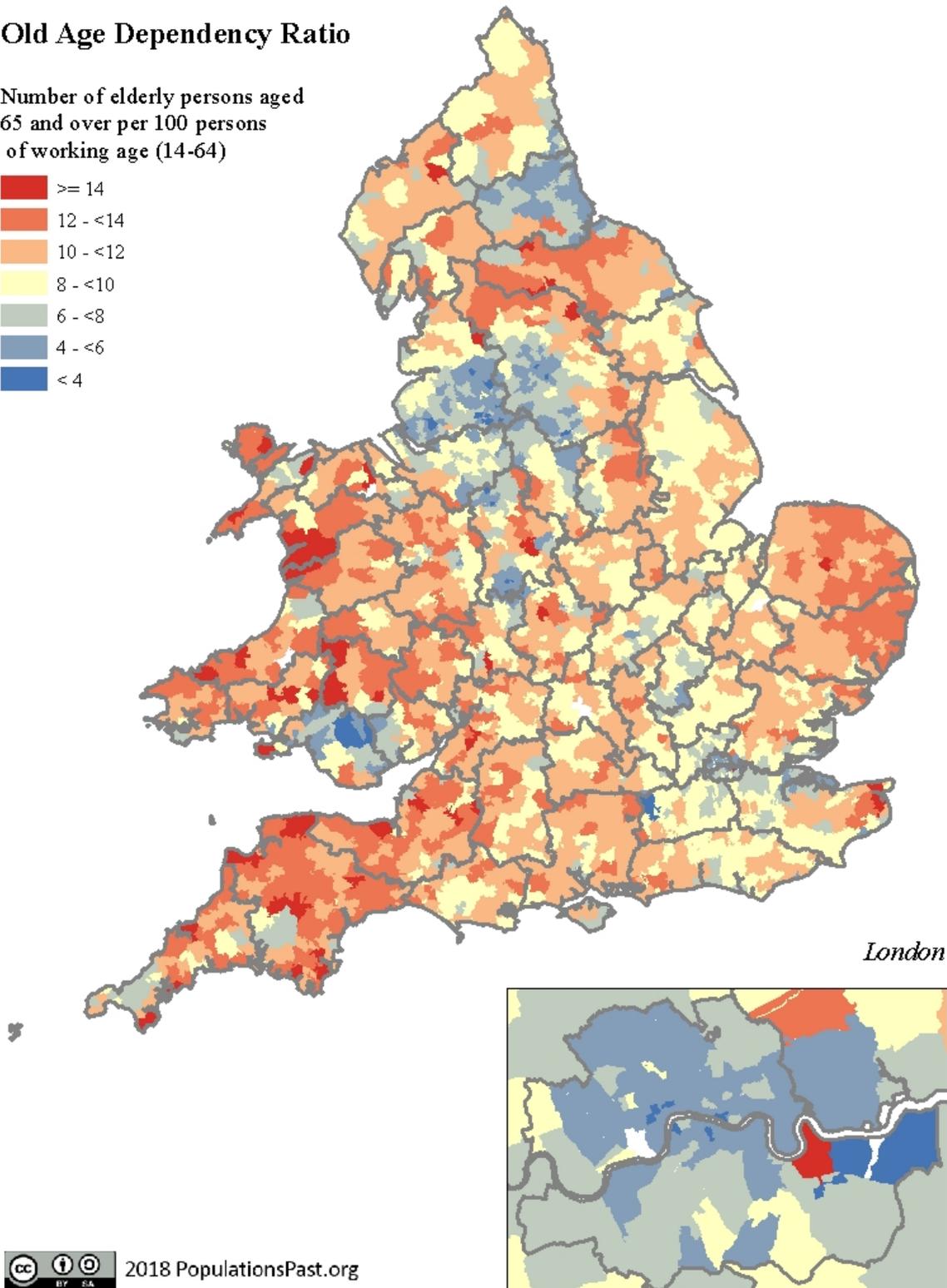
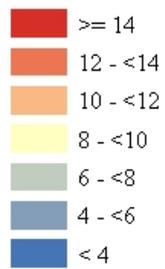
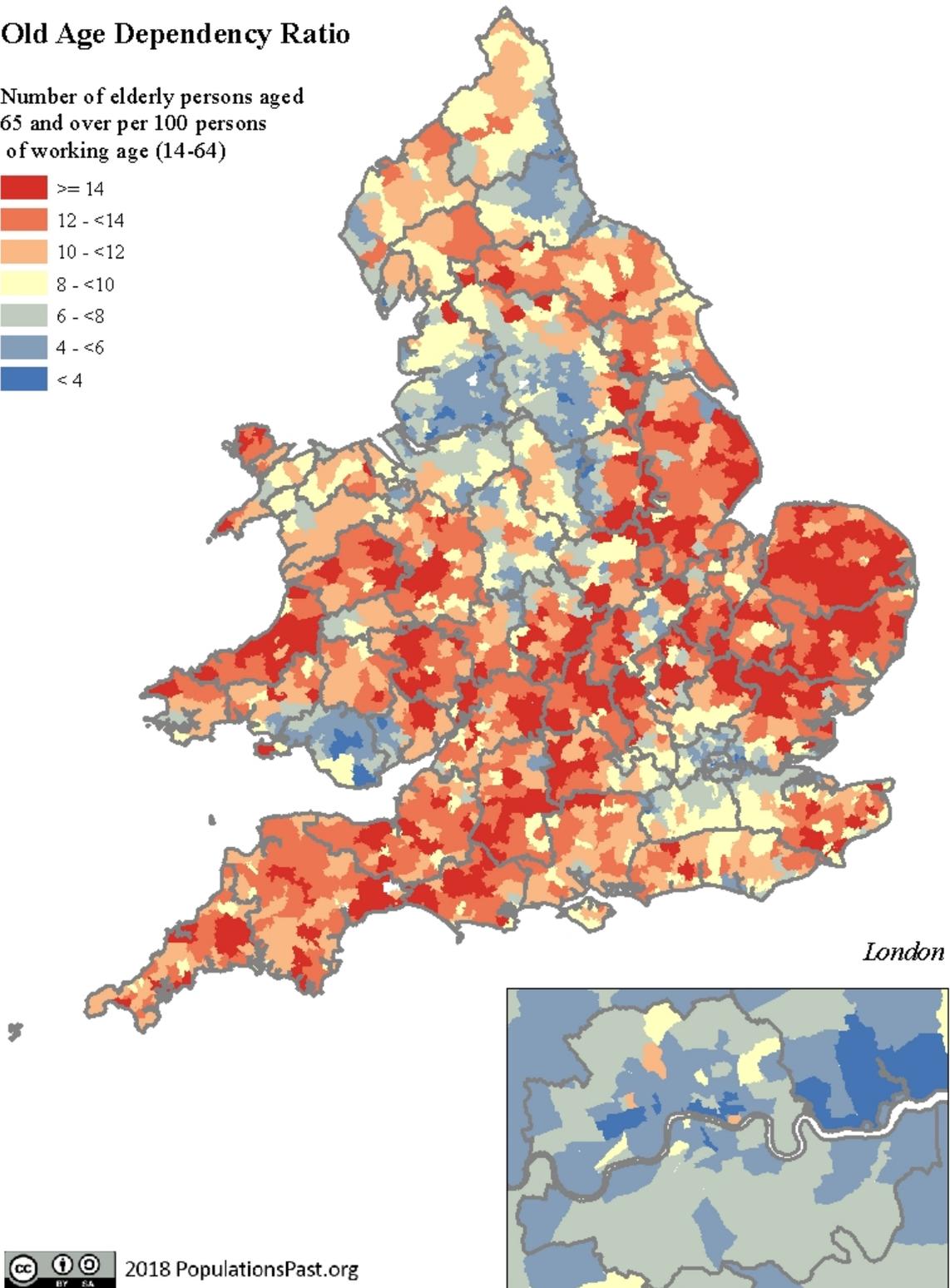
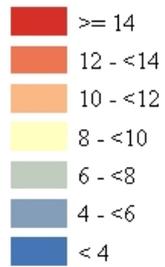


Figure 2.1b – Number of persons aged 65 years and over per 100 of working-age people aged 14-64 years, 1901

RSDs of England and Wales, 1901

Old Age Dependency Ratio

Number of elderly persons aged
65 and over per 100 persons
of working age (14-64)



Notes: Old Age Dependency Ratios (OADRs) are broken down by c. 2,000 sub-districts, or RDs (called RSDs in the maps), of the Superintendent Registration Districts (SRDs) of England and Wales in 1861 and 1901.

Source: Maps provided by PopulationsPast.org and supplied by Eilidh Garrett, Alice Reid and Sophy Arulanantham of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP). Used with kind permission. Data provided by PopulationsPast.org, derived from the 'Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline' project (PI: A.M. Reid, ES/L015463/1), using an enhanced version of K. Schürer and E. Higgs (2014), Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911 [data collection], Colchester, Essex, UK Data Archive [distributor].

While Figures 2.1a and 2.1b show that the proportions of older people were likely to be above the national average in some counties, others contained lower percentages. For example, in Lancashire, Durham and Staffordshire, 5.3 per cent, 5.7 per cent and 5.8 per cent respectively were aged 60 years and over in 1861. By contrast, 9.9 per cent of the population of Somersetshire and Herefordshire were aged 60 years and over, with 10.0 per cent in the small county of Rutland. Table 2.1 shows that older people were more likely to be concentrated in the eastern, south western and British Island regions. They were less likely to be found in the northern and north western regions and London. Generally, it is found that the higher the population of the region, the lower the proportion of older people in the region.

Table 2.1 – Percentages of the population aged 60 years and over by region, 1861

Region	No. 60+	Population	% 60+
Eastern	108923	1142580	9.5
Islands	13284	143447	9.3
London	172217	2803989	6.1
North Midland	107575	1288928	8.3
North Western	161994	2935540	5.5
Northern	78365	1151372	6.8
South Eastern	86452	1029125	8.4
South Midland	109994	1295497	8.5
South Western	173928	1835714	9.5
Southern	64222	818536	7.8
Wales	107864	1312834	8.2
West Midland	179379	2436568	7.4
Yorkshire	136934	2015541	6.8
England and Wales	1501131	20209671	7.4

Notes: Regions defined as such are taken from the categorisation of counties into specified registration divisions, located in the published census abstracts for 1861. A newly created 'Southern' region comprises data from the London-based counties of Surrey and Kent.

Source: Database compiled by D.A. Gatley, see his article, 'Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics', *Local Population Studies*, 58 (1997), pp. 37-47.

The proportions of older people are further analysed through a local and regional perspective. This involves a detailed examination of five selected counties across England and Wales. Table 2.2 presents the percentages of the population in each SRD and each county that were aged 60 years and over starting in 1851 and ending in 1911. This is accompanied by the proportions aged 60 years and over in England and Wales as recorded from the I-CeM search facility. The five selected counties show wide variations in the proportions aged 60 years and over, which remain consistent throughout the period 1851 to 1911. A greater disparity in these variations is noted by 1911, where 9.8 per cent of the population of Hertfordshire were aged 60 years and over, compared with 5.3 per cent in Glamorgan. In 1851, Hampshire out of the five counties had the highest proportion of older people at 8.2 per cent, whereas Glamorgan had the lowest at 5.8 per cent. Between these figures are the proportion for England and Wales nationally, constantly around 7.4 per cent until 1911, when there was an increase to 8 per cent. Unlike the national figures, counties differed widely in the increase or decrease in the proportions of older people. Hampshire, Hertfordshire and Cheshire experienced an increase; the Yorkshire West Riding saw a fall from 1851 before rising by 1911 and older people as a proportion in Glamorgan declined. At SRD level, the biggest increase was noted for Royston in Hertfordshire, from 7.6 per cent in 1851 to 14.2 per cent in 1911. The biggest decrease was in Bridgend, Glamorgan, where 8.5 per cent and 5.5 per cent were aged 60 years and over in 1851 and 1911 respectively. If we examine the 59 SRDs that had recorded proportions for all six census periods, 43 saw a rise in the proportion of elderly people from 1851 to 1911. The proportion of SRDs where 10 per cent of the population or more were elderly increased between 1851 and 1911; in the former period, only 3.4 per cent of SRDs were in the category. By 1911, 38.1 per cent of SRDs had a proportion of the elderly population that reflects Laslett's national figures for 1931.⁶⁹ Again, the national figures (and those of the five counties combined) obscure wide local and regional variations in the proportions aged 60 years and over.

⁶⁹ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, Table 3.6, p. 193.

Table 2.2 – Percentages of the population aged 60 years and over in five selected counties of England and Wales, by SRD and by county, 1851-1911

SRD	County	% Percentage of Population Aged 60 Years and Over					
		1851	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Altrincham	Ches	7.1	7.4	7.3	7.4	7.3	7.7
Birkenhead	Ches	N/A	3.9	5.3	5.5	6.0	6.8
Chester	Ches	8.0	7.8	8.0	8.0	8.1	8.6
Congleton	Ches	7.2	6.9	7.9	8.4	9.1	9.6
Macclesfield	Ches	6.3	7.0	8.7	9.0	8.9	9.1
Nantwich	Ches	8.1	7.7	7.0	7.0	7.1	7.7
Northwich	Ches	7.3	7.4	6.9	6.5	6.6	7.5
Runcorn	Ches	6.3	7.0	6.7	6.2	7.2	7.3
Stockport	Ches	5.4	5.7	6.4	6.2	6.7	7.3
Wirral	Ches	4.6	7.1	6.7	6.3	6.5	6.7
Bridgend	Glam	8.5	8.6	7.7	6.9	6.0	5.5
Cardiff	Glam	6.5	5.3	5.1	4.7	5.1	6.2
Gower	Glam	N/A	N/A	9.5	9.2	9.8	9.7
Merthyr Tydfil	Glam	4.4	4.4	6.2	5.7	5.4	5.2
Neath	Glam	4.9	5.1	6.1	5.9	5.8	5.3
Pontardawre	Glam	N/A	N/A	6.5	6.4	6.2	4.9
Pontypridd	Glam	N/A	N/A	4.4	4.1	4.0	4.0
Swansea	Glam	7.0	6.4	5.2	5.2	6.2	6.2
Alresford	Hants	8.5	10.0	10.0	11.0	10.7	10.6
Alton	Hants	8.2	9.4	9.7	9.9	11.2	8.8
Alverstoke	Hants	8.0	5.7	7.4	6.8	6.7	7.1
Andover	Hants	9.1	10.2	10.3	10.4	10.5	8.3
Basingstoke	Hants	9.3	9.3	9.7	9.2	9.7	10.4
Catherington	Hants	8.9	10.2	10.9	10.3	11.6	12.8
Christchurch	Hants	9.3	8.7	7.1	7.1	8.9	11.3
Droxford	Hants	9.5	9.3	11.9	11.3	11.2	12.1
Fareham	Hants	9.6	10.1	10.5	10.3	10.0	10.4
Fordingbridge	Hants	9.3	9.5	11.7	11.3	10.9	11.0
Hartley Witney	Hants	8.8	10.0	7.8	8.2	7.7	7.7
Havant	Hants	9.5	10.3	10.2	9.7	10.4	11.4
Isle of Wight	Hants	7.7	8.2	8.8	9.2	10.4	11.8
Kingsclere	Hants	9.1	10.0	10.5	11.6	12.2	11.9
Lymington	Hants	8.3	9.9	10.4	10.0	11.4	11.0
New Forest	Hants	8.7	9.6	10.5	10.0	9.4	10.5
Petersfield	Hants	9.6	9.4	10.6	10.0	9.2	8.7
Portsea Island	Hants	7.7	6.5	6.7	7.1	7.4	7.6
Ringwood	Hants	10.0	10.3	10.7	10.3	10.1	11.1
Romsey	Hants	9.2	8.6	10.1	10.3	10.6	10.0
South Stone.	Hants	7.6	6.9	7.8	8.4	6.9	6.9
Southampton	Hants	5.9	5.9	7.6	7.6	7.9	8.3

Table 2.2 continued

SRD	County	% Percentage of Population Aged 60 Years and Over					
		1851	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Stockbridge	Hants	8.5	9.7	10.5	11.4	11.8	11.2
Whitchurch	Hants	9.6	10.1	10.6	10.1	9.9	10.4
Winchester	Hants	8.1	8.4	9.2	8.9	9.2	9.6
Berkhamsted	Herts	7.0	7.6	8.9	9.0	9.7	10.9
Bishop's Stort.	Herts	8.4	8.9	10.2	10.5	11.3	11.7
Hatfield	Herts	8.0	9.0	8.6	8.8	8.3	8.9
Hemel Hemp.	Herts	6.7	7.4	9.5	9.4	9.6	9.8
Hertford	Herts	7.8	8.5	9.6	9.3	9.7	10.1
Hitchin	Herts	7.2	8.1	9.4	9.8	10.4	10.1
Royston	Herts	7.6	9.0	10.6	11.4	13.3	14.2
St Albans	Herts	7.8	8.4	9.0	9.0	8.8	9.1
Ware	Herts	8.2	8.6	9.6	9.0	9.1	10.3
Watford	Herts	8.3	8.1	8.9	8.3	7.4	7.8
Doncaster	Yorks	8.6	8.1	7.7	7.3	6.7	6.0
Ecclesall Bier.	Yorks	5.2	4.6	5.3	5.5	5.6	6.5
Goole	Yorks	7.6	8.2	8.1	7.1	7.8	7.6
Keighley	Yorks	5.4	6.4	6.2	6.4	6.8	8.0
Pontefract	Yorks	7.8	7.3	5.8	5.5	5.5	5.7
Ripon	Yorks	10.1	10.2	10.1	10.7	10.8	11.7
Settle	Yorks	9.6	10.0	9.6	9.2	8.7	9.5
Sheffield	Yorks	4.9	4.6	4.7	4.9	5.2	5.8
Skipton	Yorks	7.8	7.9	7.5	7.8	7.2	7.8
Wetherby	Yorks	9.6	9.3	10.6	10.7	10.1	10.2
CHESHIRE		6.4	6.6	6.9	6.8	7.1	7.5
GLAMORGAN		5.8	5.4	5.6	5.2	5.3	5.3
HAMPSHIRE		8.2	8.1	8.5	8.5	8.7	9.2
HERTFORDSHIRE		7.7	8.4	9.5	9.4	9.5	9.8
YORKSHIRE		6.5	6.3	6.1	6.1	6.1	6.6
FIVE COUNTIES		7.0	6.9	7.0	6.9	7.0	7.3
England & Wales		7.4	7.4	7.4	7.5	7.4	8.0
N (FIVE COUNT.)		107512	123384	174858	202518	234610	298354

Notes: 'Five Counties' represents the combined total of Cheshire, Glamorgan, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and Yorkshire West Riding. As the figures for 'England & Wales' are derived from the raw census enumerators' books transcribed by I-CeM, they may not reflect Peter Laslett's figures derived from published abstract data in *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1977), Table 3.6, p. 193. While data for Gower SRD exists in 1861, it was combined with Swansea SRD as the two SRDs were merged as one in 1861.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851-1911. Data for 'England & Wales' for all periods derived from the I-CeM search facility website.

When considering the proportions aged 65 years and over, they represented 4.4 per cent of the population of the five counties in 1851 and 4.3 per cent in 1901. This contrasts with Quadagno's figures for England and Wales where she noticed an increase.⁷⁰ Despite this, the disparity between the five counties widens by 1901, as 6.3 per cent of people in Hertfordshire were aged 65 years and over, compared with 3.1 per cent in Glamorgan. A high of 9 per cent was found for Royston, Hertfordshire in 1901, whereas 2.3 per cent of the population of Pontypridd, Glamorgan were aged 65 years and over in the same period. Royston and Pontypridd's differences relate to population growth. Between 1891 and 1901 the population of Royston fell by over 2,000 people before narrowly rising by over 400 in 1911. The wider literature has referred to the agricultural depression affecting Royston's economy since the 1870s, which evidently led to the out-migration of predominantly young adult workers.⁷¹ On the other hand, the large influx in the numbers coming to Pontypridd are indicative of Glamorgan's booming mining industry.⁷² The very high fertility rates of Pontypridd were also significant. Of the 63 SRDs, the population was the fourth highest, second highest and highest in 1891, 1901 and 1911 respectively, overtaking Sheffield in the latter period. Developments in Royston and Pontypridd illustrate the wide variations in the proportions aged 65 years and over. The national figures thus obscure wide regional variations.

To assess Charles Booth's findings that older people were more prominent in rural areas than urban ones, Table 2.3 shows the proportions of those aged 60 years and over when the populations of the SRDs in the five counties are classed in 17 categories. Groups 1-2 represent the most agrarian SRDs; Groups 17-18 comprise those that are 'provincially urban', or the most urbanised. Data from the periods 1851 and 1891 are selected. The data from the five selected counties conform to Booth's analysis.⁷³ Older people are more prominent in rural districts than urban ones, confirming Leivers' research relating to mid-Victorian Derbyshire.⁷⁴ The differences among the 17 groups widen by 1891. For example, the highest proportion is found in the rural manufacture districts that make up Group 6 at 9.6 per cent, with a lowly 4.9 per cent found in Group 17 (districts that are 'provincial urban' and comprising of manufacturing and trade). One possible explanation for these findings is the migration of people from rural to urban areas, which contributed to relatively lower population numbers in the rural districts,

⁷⁰ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 32.

⁷¹ Moore, 'The Impact of Agricultural Depression', pp. 50-62.

⁷² W.E. Minchinton, 'Industrial South Wales, 1750-1914', in W.E. Minchinton (ed.), *Industrial South Wales, 1750-1914: Essays in Welsh Economic History* (London, 1969), pp. ix-xxxi.

⁷³ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, Table 3, p. 13.

⁷⁴ Leivers, 'Housing the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Derbyshire', Table 2, p. 62.

while causing populations to grow in large numbers in more urbanised SRDs. The migration of people from rural to urban areas was selective, in that it was specifically younger populations that contributed to the older age structures found in rural districts. The findings for 1851 are accentuated for 1891, where the highest proportions of people aged 60 years and over belong to the 'rural or mostly rural' category in Group 3, its sole representative being Alresford, Hampshire. The lowest proportions are found in Group 14, characterised by the 'mostly urban or semi-urban' mining districts, at 4.9 per cent. Group 14 districts experienced the largest population growth between 1851 and 1891, where there were 414,009 more people in five SRDs: the Yorkshire West Riding district of Pontefract and the four Glamorgan SRDs of Merthyr Tydfil, Swansea, Cardiff and Pontypridd. Contrastingly, the population of Alresford (Group 3) and Group 4 SRDs declined by 666 and 693 people respectively. Also, the population in the SRDs comprising Group 1 remained virtually constant, with a fall of 30 people between 1851 and 1891. Populations in the rural groups saw the highest increases in the percentages of older people (Groups 3 and 4), while there was a decrease in the two groups that specialised in mining (Groups 10 and 14). This is consistent with the importance of the local economy to the nature of local population change and age structure. Overall, there was generally an increase in the proportions of older people when 17 groups are examined separately, despite the narrow fall of 0.1 per cent when considering all SRDs and the fall found specifically in mining districts.

Table 2.3 – Percentages of the population aged 60 years and over by groups of economic characteristics by Charles Booth, five counties, 1851 and 1891

Group	Economic Classification	1851			1891		
		60+	Pop	% 60+	60+	Pop	% 60+
1	Rural. Agriculture (1)	5132	56047	9.2	5814	56017	10.4
2	Rural. Agriculture (2)	1911	21576	8.9	2457	24047	10.2
3	Rural. Agriculture/Town (1)	631	7407	8.5	739	6741	11.0
4	Rural. Agriculture/Town (2)	4307	51310	8.4	5441	50617	10.7
5	Rural. Mining	N/A	N/A	N/A	1394	21684	6.4
6	Rural. Manufacture	536	5611	9.6	583	5772	10.1
7	Rural. Shipping	992	10763	9.2	1123	10932	10.3
9	Half Rural. Agriculture/Town	9744	119511	8.2	13079	134300	9.7
10	Half Rural. Mining	4927	57493	8.6	8239	116094	7.1
11	Half Rural. Manufacture	17732	240731	7.4	25455	318270	8.0
12	Half Rural. Shipping	7454	111932	6.7	13145	178570	7.4
13	Half Rural. Residential	12782	185438	6.9	20868	264354	7.9
14	Mostly Urban. Mining	11332	191331	5.9	29803	605340	4.9
15	Mostly Urban. Manufacture	8506	148285	5.7	16237	246796	6.6
16	Mostly Urban. Residential	7691	110456	7.0	23263	325910	7.1
17	Prov. Urban. Manufacture/Trade	5076	103884	4.9	17205	337442	5.1
18	Prov. Urban. Residential	8759	121060	7.2	17673	245111	7.2
TOTAL		107512	1542835	7.0	202518	2947997	6.9

Notes: The numbers in the column marked 'Group' refer to the group classifications for each economic characteristic in the following column, see Appendix 2A for a comprehensive guide to Charles Booth's 20 economic classifications for all Poor Law Unions of England and Wales. Group 8 is excluded as none of the 63 SRDs are recorded in that group.

Sources: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851 and 1891; C. Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894), pp. 56-104.

Unlike the published census reports, which are limited to SRDs, the I-CeM datasets have the capacity to analyse trends in the elderly population at parish level. It would be interesting to examine the wide variations in the percentages aged 60 years and over in a local context. One method is to compare the proportion of parishes that are 'older' parishes (where 10 per cent or more of the overall population was elderly) as opposed to the 7 per cent seen nationally or in the five counties combined. At parish level, did their proportions precede the national figure of 10 per cent in 1931? Data from 1851 and 1891 are examined and broken down by five counties and by seven categories of population size to examine any changing developments in the parishes. Table 2.4 shows that 25.3 per cent and 38.2 per cent of all parishes in 1851 and 1891 respectively were 'older' parishes. This indicates that populations in certain local areas were ageing long before the percentages aged 60 years and over started to rise nationally by 1911.

By 1891, a slight majority of the parishes with a population size between 201 and 1,000 people were ‘older’. In other words, local communities were increasingly ageing, particularly those small in size. In contrast, only 5 out of the 106 parishes in 1891 with populations of over 5,001 people were ‘older’, possibly because larger populations were predominantly urban and therefore less likely to contain a high elderly population. Ryde, Hampshire is an exception: it was the only community to have a population in excess of 10,001 and contain an ‘older’ population, where 10.8 per cent were aged 60 years and over.⁷⁵

Table 2.4 – Percentages of parishes where ≥ 10 per cent of the population are aged 60 years and over, by population size of parish, 1851 and 1891

Pop. Size of Parish (1851)	Ches	Glam	Hants	Herts	Yorks	All Counties
1-200	27.2	38.0	30.0	31.6	43.2	32.5
201-500	25.3	53.1	35.9	11.1	37.8	32.7
501-1000	11.1	33.3	22.0	9.4	34.2	19.3
1001-1500	3.7	18.8	21.9	11.8	15.4	14.3
1501-5000	6.3	0.0	13.2	3.2	0.0	5.5
5001-10000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
10001 +	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
% Parishes ‘Older’	20.9	35.0	26.7	11.2	33.7	25.3

Pop. Size of Parish (1891)	Ches	Glam	Hants	Herts	Yorks	All Counties
1-200	29.5	39.5	46.9	40.0	54.2	41.2
201-500	26.1	56.4	61.7	84.8	57.1	50.9
501-1000	31.6	25.0	62.9	62.8	54.8	50.2
1001-1500	10.0	8.3	37.9	21.4	7.7	20.5
1501-5000	0.0	3.7	34.8	26.9	19.4	16.5
5001-10000	0.0	0.0	23.1	0.0	16.7	7.1
10001 +	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	2.0
% Parishes ‘Older’	22.5	27.2	50.6	52.4	45.7	38.2

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851 and 1891.

In 1851, Glamorgan contained the highest percentages of ‘older’ parishes out of the five counties, although, by 1891, it was Hertfordshire followed by Hampshire. The majority of the parishes in the latter two counties were ‘older’. This may reflect changing rural-urban

⁷⁵ The Isle of Wight SRD represented the county of Hampshire for purposes of census registration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

migration patterns during the period, where change to the agricultural economy in southern England since the 1870s resulted in an out-migration of predominantly younger populations to market towns or larger cities.⁷⁶ ‘Older’ parishes were also proportionately high by 1891 in the Yorkshire West Riding, suggesting out-migration from rural parishes to market towns or to the larger conurbations of Sheffield, Leeds or York nearby. If, to quote Laslett, elderly people were ‘scarce’ in mid-Victorian England and Wales, they represented a greater proportion of the total population in certain local communities.⁷⁷

Among local populations, the recognition of older people may have been greater than that previously argued by historians. Edwin Grey’s testimony of his life in the parish of Harpenden, Hertfordshire in the 1860s and 1870s provides examples of the many ‘cottagers’ that ‘lived to extreme old age’.⁷⁸ The population of Harpenden in 1861 and 1881 was 2,190 and 3,064 respectively; in the same period, the proportion of the population aged 60 years and over increased from 7 per cent to 8.5 per cent.⁷⁹ Although the proportion of the population that was elderly did not reach 10 per cent or above, Grey’s testimony is consistent with the increasing presence of older people in relation to the population. He remembers ‘Grannie Reid’, possibly Elizabeth Reed, aged 67 years in the 1871 census for Harpenden who was ‘called upon to come along and give advice as to what to do for a sick child or maybe an older person [...] Grannie would be ready to start on her errand of mercy.’⁸⁰ Interestingly, older people are described as agents of the community, rather than as dependent upon welfare systems. Although Grey mentions the increasing dependence on poor relief in old age, most of the descriptions of older people denote authority, community identity and economic activity.⁸¹ When discussing cases of sickness in Harpenden, Grey notes that ‘Grannie Reid or Grannie Luck, or some other old and experienced person, would come along and advise treatment.’⁸² His comments reflect earlier ideas by scholars regarding a ‘golden age of ageing’, where older people in the past were respected by the community for their experience and wisdom prior to the changing status of older people during industrialisation.⁸³ Grey as a child was ‘taught to address’ older women ‘affectionately as “Grannies”.’⁸⁴ He also remembers Elizabeth Crane, described as ‘Betsy

⁷⁶ Moore, ‘The Impact of Agricultural Depression’, pp. 50-62.

⁷⁷ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, p. 196.

⁷⁸ E. Grey, *Cottage Life in a Hertfordshire Village* (Harpenden, 1977), p. 52.

⁷⁹ Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1861 and 1881.

⁸⁰ Grey, *Cottage Life*, p. 38; The National Archives (hereafter TNA), Kew, Harpenden, 1871: RG10/1376/64/8.

⁸¹ Grey, *Cottage Life*, p. 67.

⁸² Grey, *Cottage Life*, p. 174.

⁸³ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, pp. 1-3.

⁸⁴ Grey, *Cottage Life*, p. 166.

Crane', who was aged 67 years in 1861 and held an informal 'plaiting school' to teach boys and girls, including Grey himself, straw plaiting.⁸⁵ This occupation, along with hat manufacturing, formed an integral part of the local economy in south-west Hertfordshire, where Harpenden was based.⁸⁶ In this case, as the proportion of older people increased in Grey's lifetime, they were recognised as pillars of the community whom people consulted for medical knowledge and local education (i.e. the plaiting schools). Paradoxically, as we will see, relatively higher proportions of older people in the population accentuated awareness of older people as a dependent subgroup on the Poor Law. Alternatively, some of the older people that formed a substantial presence in the community were increasingly recognised and respected for their active involvement in community life and to the economy.

In terms of the sub-districts of SRDs, or RDs, there was a wider disparity in the proportions aged 60 years and over. Data from 1901 are taken to analyse four RDs, two of which come from SRDs with the highest and lowest percentages of the population aged 60 years and over in 1901: Royston, Hertfordshire and Pontypridd, Glamorgan. The percentage for the five counties in 1901, 7 per cent, is in the middle of the exceptionally high proportions for Buntingford and Melbourn RDs, Royston, at 13.8 and 13.4 per cent respectively, and for the very low percentages in Llanwonno and Ystradyfodwg RDs, Pontypridd, at 3.6 per cent and 3.7 per cent respectively. As Tables 2.5a-2.5c show, the age profile of the four sub-districts helps to understand the disparity in the proportions aged 60 years and over. The percentages aged 15-29 years are greater in Llanwonno and Ystradyfodwg, with slightly higher proportions aged 0-14 years. In Buntingford and Melbourn there are higher proportions aged 45-59 years. When considering Pontypridd's population increase in the later years of the Victorian period, coupled with population decline in Royston, the variations in the proportions of the population that were elderly are thus consistent with the inward and outward migration of young adults. Infant mortality was also much higher in Llanwonno and Ystradyfodwg than in Buntingford and Melbourn, although this does not explain the different age structures.⁸⁷ They are more likely to be affected by differential fertility rates and specifically by migration.

⁸⁵ Grey, *Cottage Life*, pp. 71-2; TNA, Harpenden, 1861: RG9/827/58/4.

⁸⁶ For more information on the straw plaiting and hat manufacturing trade in mid-Victorian Hertfordshire, see N. Goose, 'The Straw Plait and Hat Trades in Nineteenth-Century Hertfordshire', in N. Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England: Regional and Local Perspectives* (Hatfield, 2007), pp. 97-137.

⁸⁷ The number of children that died before their first birthday per 1,000 live births in the two sub-districts of Pontypridd and Royston SRD in 1901 are as follows: Llanwonno: 206.22; Ystradyfodwg: 203.16; Buntingford: 89.52; Melbourn: 86.48. Data derived from the Populations Past website, available at <https://www.populationspast.org/imr/1901/#6/53.035/-7.124> (accessed 25 February 2019).

Table 2.5 – Percentages of age groups in four selected sub-districts (RDs) belonging to two SRDs, Royston, Hertfordshire and Pontypridd, Glamorganshire, 1901

(a) Male, female and ‘unknown’ populations

	% Percentage of Age Groups					
RD	0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60+	Pop.
Buntingford	33.2	20.2	18.6	14.1	13.8	5020
Melbourn	32.5	21.7	17.2	15.1	13.4	8294
Llanwonno	36.5	29.9	20.7	9.3	3.6	51494
Ystradyfodwg	36.6	30.3	19.9	9.5	3.7	88968

(b) Male populations only

	% Percentage of Age Groups					
RD	0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60+	Pop.
Buntingford	33.0	20.8	17.9	14.0	14.4	2427
Melbourn	32.2	23.0	17.0	15.0	12.7	4008
Llanwonno	32.9	31.5	22.7	9.7	3.1	27004
Ystradyfodwg	32.6	32.1	21.9	10.0	3.4	46203

(c) Female populations only

	% Percentage of Age Groups					
RD	0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60+	Pop.
Buntingford	32.5	19.2	19.6	14.8	13.8	2466
Melbourn	31.9	20.4	17.8	15.7	14.3	4097
Llanwonno	39.9	27.8	19.1	9.1	4.1	23114
Ystradyfodwg	40.1	27.9	18.4	9.4	4.2	39965

Notes: ‘Unknown’ refers to individuals with unspecified gender, marked with ‘U’ on I-CeM datasets.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1901.

The age profiles of men and women separately reveal some interesting differences. For women, there was an exceptional proportion of those aged 0-14 years in Ystradyfodwg RD, at 40.1 per cent, which is indicative of high fertility. Contrastingly, there were roughly equal percentages of men aged 0-14 and 15-29 years in the same RD, at 32.6 per cent and 32.1 per cent respectively. This is consistent with the high in-migration of young males, suggesting that Glamorgan is generally an exception to Ravenstein’s law that most young migrants are female.⁸⁸ Therefore, a combination of differences in fertility and patterns in internal migration

⁸⁸ Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration are introduced in E.G. Ravenstein, ‘The Laws of Migration’, *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 48 (1885), pp. 167-227 and in E.G. Ravenstein, ‘The Laws of Migration’, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 52 (1889), pp. 214-301. See also D. Mills and K. Schürer, ‘Migration and Population

is likely to account for the variation in the elderly population. For females in Buntingford, there is a narrowly higher proportion aged 30-44 years than 15-29 years, which is consistent with the out-migration of young females. For men in Buntingford, a narrowly higher percentage were aged 60 years and over than aged 45-59 years. There is greater disparity in the proportions aged 45-59 years and those aged 60 years and over in Llanwonno and Ystradyfodwg. This may again be explained by the out-migration of men, or population decline through the exit of an agricultural workforce which characterised Buntingford. As Assistant Poor Law Commissioner Cecil M. Chapman reported to the 1893 *Royal Commission on Labour*, in Buntingford: ‘The young men of intelligence have left the country, and nothing but oldish men, or men hampered by their circumstances, are left behind.’⁸⁹ At the local level, wide variations in the proportion of older people are explained by the migratory habits of young and middle-aged adults.

Table 2.6 shows demographic variations in the four sub-districts that form Royston and Pontypridd SRDs, with their total fertility rates, legitimate birth rates, infant mortality rates and Old Age Dependency Ratios (OADRs) in 1901.⁹⁰ A rank order is given of the place of each sub-district out of the 2,059 that comprise England and Wales in 1901. The findings are consistent with Johnson and Falkingham’s argument that ageing populations occur through declining fertility.⁹¹ This is because Llanwonno and Ystradyfodwg RDs, which had very low proportions of older people, had very high total fertility and legitimate birth rates, compensating for the relatively high infant mortality rates. In fact, Llanwonno and Ystradyfodwg are ranked as two of the fifty highest RDs for total fertility rates and of the one hundred highest for legitimate birth and infant mortality rates. Buntingford and Melbourn, by contrast, sit in the middle of the rank order for total fertility and legitimate birth rates, ranking relatively lower for infant mortality rates. Interestingly, Llanwonno and Ystradyfodwg had exceptionally low OADRs. With only 3 older people per 100 people of ‘working age’, they were ranked in the five lowest OADRs out of all RDs in England and Wales. By comparison, Buntingford was ranked 38 out of 2,059 RDs, as there were 17 older people per 100 of ‘working

Turnover’, in D. Mills and K. Schürer (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators’ Books* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 218-28, at p. 219.

⁸⁹ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1893-4, XXXV (BVII.), *Royal Commission on Labour: The Agricultural Labour, Vol. 1: England, Part II*, pp. 148-157.

⁹⁰ Total Fertility Rates (TFR) estimate the average number of children a woman gives birth to between the ages of 20 and 50 years; Legitimate Birth Rates (LBR) are the number of legitimate births per 1,000 married women aged 15-49 years; Infant Mortality Rates (IMR) are the number of children per 1,000 live births that died before their first birthday; Old Age Dependency Ratios (OADR) are the number of people aged 65 years and over per 100 working-age people aged 15-64 years.

⁹¹ Johnson and Falkingham, *Ageing and Economic Welfare*, pp. 21-2.

age’. This reflects the relatively lower proportions of people of ‘working age’ in Buntingford and Melbourn as specified by Tables 2.5a-2.5c.

Table 2.6 – The ranking of four selected RDs in relation to RDs in England and Wales with the highest total fertility rates (TFR), legitimate birth rates (LBR), infant mortality rates (IMR) and Old Age Dependency Ratios (OADR), 1901

RD	Rank Order from Highest to Lowest in England and Wales			
	Total Fertility Rate	Legitimate Birth Rate	Infant Mortality Rate	Old Age Dependency Ratio
Buntingford	1166	1411	1805	38
Melbourn	981	1141	1862	179
Llanwonno	43	94	48	2056
Ystradyfodwg	23	37	54	2058

Notes: Ranked out of 2,059 RDs in England and Wales.

Source: Data provided by PopulationsPast.org, derived from the ‘Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline’ project (PI: A.M. Reid, ES/L015463/1), using an enhanced version of K. Schürer and E. Higgs (2014), Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911 [data collection], Colchester, Essex, UK Data Archive [distributor].

The changing percentages of those aged 60 years and over can also be used as a dependent variable to explore the relationship with a set of other demographic variables at aggregate level. CAMPOP have publicly released datasets relating to several demographic variables as part of Populations Past: an online database containing a virtual atlas of the population of England and Wales in the Victorian and Edwardian period.⁹² Data on mortality and fertility rates have been extracted from civil registration data on births, marriages and deaths and linked with the I-CeM datasets for England and Wales from 1851 to 1911 (excluding 1871). These variables are important factors in helping us to understand changes in age structure. A high infant mortality rate (IMR) lowers the life expectancy of the population *at birth* and thus lowers the proportions that live to old age in the population. When infant mortality declines, fertility declines, life expectancy increases and the potential to reach old age is enhanced. High total fertility rates (TFR) are associated with a younger population age structure. The Populations Past databases

⁹² An overview is provided on the Populations Past website, <https://www.populationspast.org/about/> (accessed 10 December 2018). For articles that make use of data from Populations Past and the ‘Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline’ project, which resulted in Populations Past, see E. Garrett and A. Reid, ‘Composing a National Picture from Local Scenes: New and Future Insights into the Fertility Transition’, *Local Population Studies*, 100 (2018), pp. 60-76 and the sources-based article by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, ‘PopulationsPast: an Interactive Atlas of Victorian and Edwardian Population’, *Local Population Studies*, 100 (2018), pp. 77-81.

allow for an assessment of both IMR and TFR in 1901 (the last period before IMR began to decline). The two measures of IMR and TFR are interrelated through the behavioural patterns of parents known as the 'replacement effect', in that the deceased child's death is compensated for by the birth of a new child.⁹³ Therefore, as IMR falls, fertility begins to fall, which would increase the proportion of older people in the long run. Also, in-migration and out-migration are inferred when populations increase and decrease respectively, holding fertility and mortality constant. We can calculate population change (Pop. Change) between two periods when the numbers in the subsequent period are divided by the preceding period. The numbers in the subsequent period are expressed as a percentage of those in the preceding period. A percentage of under 100 per cent indicates that the population in the preceding period was bigger than that recorded in the subsequent decade, thus demonstrating population decline. Conversely, the higher the percentage, the larger the population growth between the two periods.

We can examine the relationship between the dependent variable (the percentages aged 60 years and over) and the independent variables IMR, TFR and Pop. Change, for each period from 1851-1911. We also incorporate legitimate birth rates (LBR). Most notably, we can measure the change in the proportion of older people with the changes in the three independent variables between the periods 1891-1901, 1901-1911 and 1891-1911. This is measured through a series of binary regressions. We do this for the 63 SRDs that represent the five selected counties in England and Wales.⁹⁴ Table 2.7 presents a clear relationship between the size of

⁹³ For evidence of the relationship between mortality and fertility across Europe, see T.W. Guinnane, *The Vanishing Irish: Households, Migration and the Rural Economy in Ireland, 1850-1914* (New Jersey, 1997), pp. 257-8; J.E. Knodel, *Demographic Behaviour in the Past: A Study of Fourteen German Populations in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 393.

⁹⁴ As well as the binary regressions on the 63 observations, one could do a formal regression model using the 1861 published census abstracts transcribed in a database compiled by D.A. Gatley, consisting of 623 observations, or SRDs, and a population of 1,501,131 aged 60 years and over in England and Wales, as well as decennial reports by the Registrar General recording birth and death rates in the 1850s. The model shows that the proportion of older people can be understood as a consequence of past fertility and mortality rates and migration patterns. By assuming birth and death rates as constant and also zero migration, stable population theory can determine the proportion of the population in any age group. The dependent variable is an 'adjusted old-age population', accounting for variations in the birth rate. Models are created for men and women separately as well as the overall older-age population. We find that the adjusted proportion of older people increased along with the death rate, but fell at higher death rates. Using dummy variables to distinguish 'low wage' from 'high wage' counties, a higher proportion of older people was identified in the 'low wage' counties, characterised by out-migration of younger populations. Aside from females working in agriculture and public service and holding property income, the proportion of men and women in specific occupations such as mining, building, manufacturing and commercial work was negatively correlated with the proportion of people aged 60 years and over. We suggest that young in-migrants participated in these occupations, thus lowering the proportion of older people. Property ownership and agricultural work pursued by women was associated with older people (older women would have been represented in the former two variables) staying in one place. For more information on the formal regression model and for full results see T. Heritage, D. Clifford and A. Hinde,

the population aged 60 years and over and demographic variables for each census period. All of the regression coefficients (bar TFR in 1851) are significant at a 95 per cent confidence interval. IMR, LBR and TFRs show a consistent negative relationship with the size of the elderly population. Also, population change was negatively associated with the size of the elderly population. Populations that were constant in size or decreasing were more likely to contain higher proportions of older people (the lower the percentages, the bigger the decline). The consistent negative coefficients across all periods for IMR, LBR and TFR confirm that the Victorian regime of relatively high mortality and fertility rates lowered the proportions of older people.⁹⁵ Population change through in-migration and out-migration is also significant. A combination of both in-migration and high fertility lowered the proportions of older people in mining-based SRDs. That being said, SRDs where IMR, TFR and population change were lowest contained the highest percentages of the population aged 60 years and over. Therefore, Laslett's argument regarding the scarcity of the elderly population in the mid- to late nineteenth century fails to account for the wide demographic variations seen locally.⁹⁶

Table 2.7 – Binary regressions of several independent variables (infant mortality rates, total fertility rates, legitimate birth rates and population change) on the dependent variable (the size of the population aged 60 years and over), aggregate data provided at SRD level, 1851-1911

	Dep. Variable: Percentage of Population Aged 60+, 1851-1911					
Variables	1851	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
IMR	-0.039***	-0.047***	-0.062***	-0.061***	-0.054***	-0.069***
LBR	-0.024**	-0.037***	-0.047***	-0.045***	-0.048***	-0.059***
TFR	-0.329	-1.350**	-0.964**	-1.057**	-1.603***	-2.162***
Pop. Change	N/A	-0.040***	-0.024***	-0.077***	-0.105***	-0.048***
Observations	59	59	63	63	63	63

Notes: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. For 1861, 58 observations were taken for the variable 'Pop. Change'. For 1881, 60 observations were taken for the variable 'Pop. Change'.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851-1911. Data on demographic variables provided by PopulationsPast.org, derived from the 'Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline' project (PI: A.M. Reid, ES/L015463/1), using an enhanced version of K. Schürer and E. Higgs (2014), Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911 [data collection], Colchester, Essex, UK Data Archive [distributor].

Table 2.8 shows binary regressions of the relationship between several demographic variables and the size of the elderly population as they changed over three selected periods (1891-1901,

'Geographical Variations in the Proportion of Old People and Aged Pauperism in Mid-Victorian England and Wales' (unpublished paper presented at the British Society for Population Studies Conference, University of Winchester, 2016).

⁹⁵ Smith, 'The Structured Dependence of the Elderly as a Recent Development', p. 414.

⁹⁶ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, p. 196.

1901-1911 and 1891-1911). These periods are selected because they represent a key moment in the demographic transition in England and Wales when fertility and mortality are declining.⁹⁷ For 1891-1901, the increase in the size of the elderly population is associated with a significant decrease in TFR and IMR. Population change is also highly significant when all 63 SRDs are considered and when considering Hampshire and Hertfordshire SRDs. The higher the population growth, the lower the proportion of older people in the SRD. The reason for doing a separate regression on Hampshire and Hertfordshire is to demonstrate how out-migration may have played a part in the ageing of a district. From 1901 to 1911, the relationship with TFR in the five counties is weakly positive and insignificant. All other variables are insignificant except for population change. Interestingly, when considering the counties of Cheshire, Glamorgan and the Yorkshire West Riding (outside of the English southern counties), the results show a strong negative coefficient between changing TFR and the changing proportion of older people. This extends to the changing rates between 1891 and 1911. Specifically for the counties of Hampshire and Hertfordshire, we find that the negative relationship between the fall in TFR and the increase in the size of the elderly population was negative and significant only between the periods 1891 to 1901. For the period 1901-1911, there is an unusual positive relationship where, for every 1.5 per cent increase in TFR, there was a 1 per cent rise in the elderly population. It may suggest that other factors, besides fertility, governed the increase in the size of the elderly population, such as population change in Hampshire and Hertfordshire, in which there is a negative relationship between the two coefficients, albeit insignificant. Also, fertility decline may have been delayed in rural areas, hence a temporary reversal of the changed relationship. When comparing infant mortality in Cheshire, Glamorgan and the Yorkshire West Riding combined with that of Hampshire and Hertfordshire, infant mortality was negatively correlated with the size of the elderly population. However, it was only significant in Cheshire, Glamorgan and the Yorkshire West Riding combined in 1891-1911, and for all five counties in the period 1891-1901 and 1891-1911. Population change appears to be consistently significant across all three periods.

⁹⁷ Johnson and Falkingham, *Ageing and Economic Welfare*, pp. 21-2.

Table 2.8 – Binary regressions of several independent variables (changing infant mortality rates, changing total fertility rates, changing legitimate birth rates and population change) on the dependent variable (the changing size of the population aged 60 years and over), aggregate data provided at SRD level, 1891-1911

Dep. Variable: Changing Rate of the Size of Population Aged 60+				
Row	Variables	1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1911
1	TFR	-0.699**	0.061	-0.527
2	LBR	-0.006	-0.010	-0.017*
3	IMR	-0.009*	-0.008	-0.024**
4	Pop. Change	-0.024***	-0.013**	-0.010**
5	TFR (Ch/GI/WR)	-0.461*	-1.259**	-0.790**
6	IMR (Ch/GI/WR)	-0.006	-0.008	-0.029**
7	TFR (Ha/He)	-1.251*	1.485*	0.104
8	IMR (Ha/He)	-0.010	-0.009	-0.022
9	Pop. Change (Ch/GI/WR)	-0.017**	-0.022***	-0.015***
10	Pop. Change (Ha/He)	-0.027***	-0.008	-0.003
	Observations	63	63	63

Notes: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. All observations total 63, except for rows 5, 6 and 9 (35) and rows 7, 8 and 10 (28). Rows 5, 6 and 9 incorporate the counties of Cheshire, Glamorgan and the Yorkshire West Riding only; rows 7, 8 and 10 incorporate Hampshire and Hertfordshire only.

Sources: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851-1911. Data on demographic variables provided by PopulationsPast.org, derived from the 'Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline' project (PI: A.M. Reid, ES/L015463/1), using an enhanced version of K. Schürer and E. Higgs (2014), Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911 [data collection], Colchester, Essex, UK Data Archive [distributor].

From these results, while Johnson and Falkingham are right to argue that fertility was 'the main engine of ageing', there appears to be regional differences in why populations were ageing.⁹⁸ In the northern English counties and Wales, it was the fall in fertility that saw a rise in the elderly population. In southern English counties, it was mainly the change in the population that governed the rise of the elderly population. As seen in Royston SRD, Hertfordshire, it was mainly out-migration. On average, the population of southern English districts grew by 8,693 people between 1891 and 1911; in northern and Welsh districts, it grew by 30,664. Generally, however, population growth was a significant factor across all the five selected counties. Rather than only emphasising falls in fertility and mortality, aspects of in-migration and out-migration must also be considered.

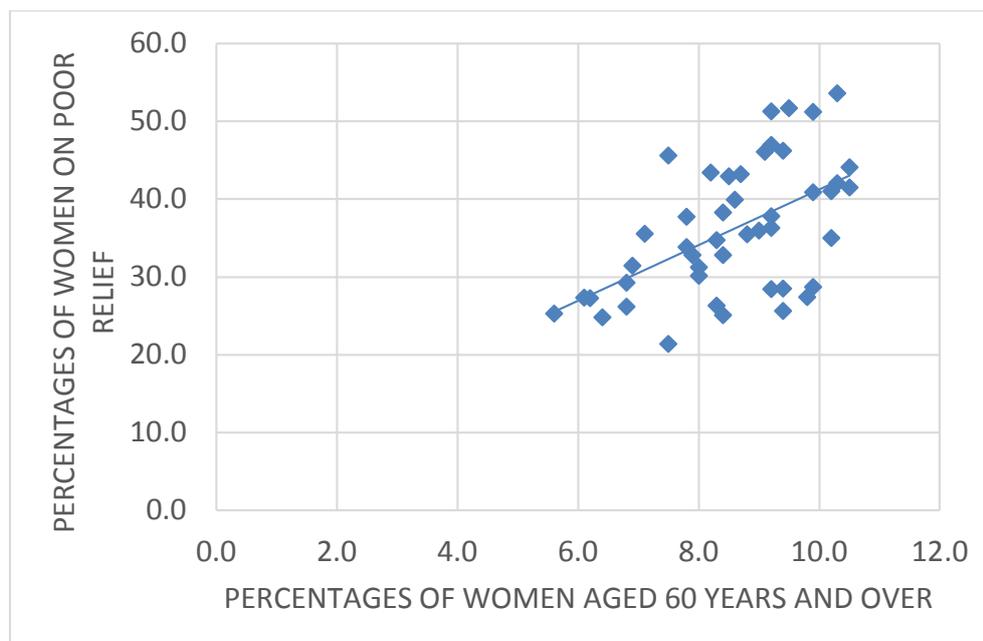
⁹⁸ Johnson and Falkingham, *Ageing and Economic Welfare*, pp. 21-2.

2.6 Proportions of Older People and the New Poor Law

We now turn to the impact of the variations in the proportion of older people on the New Poor Law. The parliamentary report on the ‘Comparative Numbers of Paupers Relieved’ shows how the New Poor Law specifically focused its attention on the non-able-bodied (used here as a proxy for older people). On 1 January 1861, there were 415,728 ‘non-able-bodied’ and ‘lunatic’ claimants, of which 145,150 were male and 270,578 were female. If the ‘non-able-bodied’ and ‘lunatic’ claimants are taken as a proxy for older people and their numbers were divided by the numbers in England and Wales aged 60 years and over in the 1861 census, 27.9 per cent of people aged 60 years and over were estimated to be in receipt of relief. These percentages are much higher than the adult ‘working age’ population estimated to have received relief. If all ‘able-bodied’ (used as a proxy for the ‘working age’ population aged 15-59 years), ‘non-able-bodied’ and ‘lunatic’ claimants aged over 16 years are divided by the census population aged 15 years and over, then 4.4 per cent were estimated to be paupers.⁹⁹ Bivariate associations are tested by taking the numbers of the ‘non-able-bodied’ and ‘lunatic’ population in the parliamentary report by county and dividing into the numbers of older people in the 1861 census to estimate the percentages of older people being relieved.

⁹⁹ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, LVIII.183 (383B.I), *Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861*, pp. 14-21.

Figure 2.2 – Percentages of females aged 60 years and over against percentages of females aged 60 years and over receiving relief, 1861



Sources: Database compiled by D.A. Gatley, see his article, 'Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics', *Local Population Studies*, 58 (1997), pp. 37-47. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1860, LVIII.183 (383B.1) *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861*.

Figure 2.2 depicts the relationship between the estimated percentages of old women on poor relief and the percentages of the female population aged 60 years and over in 1861 (N = 799,505), using 45 counties in England and Wales (excluding the British Isles incorporated in Table 2.1). We have selected old women as they are normally more numerous than old men. As the trend line shows, a positive relationship is identified between the proportions of older people and their entitlement to poor relief. A top five and bottom five rank order in the percentages relieved (Table 2.9) clarifies this positive relationship. Estimated pauperism among old women was highest in North Wales, Dorset, Buckinghamshire, Wiltshire and Huntingdonshire. The percentages of older women in these counties were at 9.2 per cent or more, above the average for England and Wales of 7.8 per cent. North Wales contained the highest percentage of old women receiving relief, at 53.6 per cent, compared with 33.8 per cent nationally. The lowest estimated percentage of old women receiving relief was in Derbyshire, followed by Yorkshire West Riding, Yorkshire East Riding, Lancashire and Westmorland. The proportions of old women in these counties ranged from 5.6 per cent to 9.4 per cent. In three of these five counties, the percentages of women aged 60 years and over were below the England and Wales average of 7.8 per cent. These rank orders are consistent with the idea that

the population size of older people plays an important part in the ‘north-south’ divide in the provision of poor relief since the early nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰

Table 2.9 – Five counties with the highest and lowest estimated proportions of females aged 60 years and over receiving relief and the highest and lowest proportions of females aged 60 years and over in the population, 1861

Rank	County	Percentages on Relief	Numbers on Relief	Percentage aged 60+	Numbers aged 60+
1	North Wales	53.6	11611	10.3	21650
2	Dorset	51.7	4604	9.5	8906
3	Buckinghamshire	51.3	3522	9.2	6866
4	Wiltshire	51.2	6121	9.9	11946
5	Huntingdonshire	47.0	1294	9.2	2754
41	Westmorland	25.7	725	9.4	2823
42	Lancashire	25.3	17921	5.6	70817
43	Yorkshire ER	25.1	2951	8.4	11763
44	Yorkshire WR	24.9	12332	6.4	49572
45	Derbyshire	21.4	2364	7.5	11046
	England and Wales	33.8	270578	7.8	799505

Notes: Yorkshire ER = Yorkshire East Riding; Yorkshire WR = Yorkshire West Riding. The numbers aged 60 years and over in England and Wales exclude the British Isles.

Sources: Database compiled by D.A. Gately, see his article, ‘Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics’, *Local Population Studies*, 58 (1997), pp. 37-47. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1860, LVIII.183 (383B.I) *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861.*

However, the outliers in Figure 2.2 complicate matters, especially the group below the trend line. They belong to the northern counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire’s East and North Ridings and the small midland county of Rutland. That said, even among those outliers, pauperism slightly increases alongside the proportion of older people. Southern counties such as Middlesex and Cornwall also had relatively high female populations aged 60 years and over, but relatively low percentages receiving relief. While the reasons for the lower proportions of female pauperism in Middlesex remain unclear, Cornwall’s economy was singular in that it combined mining, agriculture and fishing, and additionally suffered from relatively high mortality among males.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, the argument that the proportion of older people governed the regional divide of poor relief provision should be treated cautiously. When the northern and southern counties are considered separately, these results are reasonably

¹⁰⁰ King, *Poverty and Welfare in England*, pp. 141-2.

¹⁰¹ A. Hinde, *England’s Population. A History since the Domesday Survey* (London, 2003), pp. 237-8.

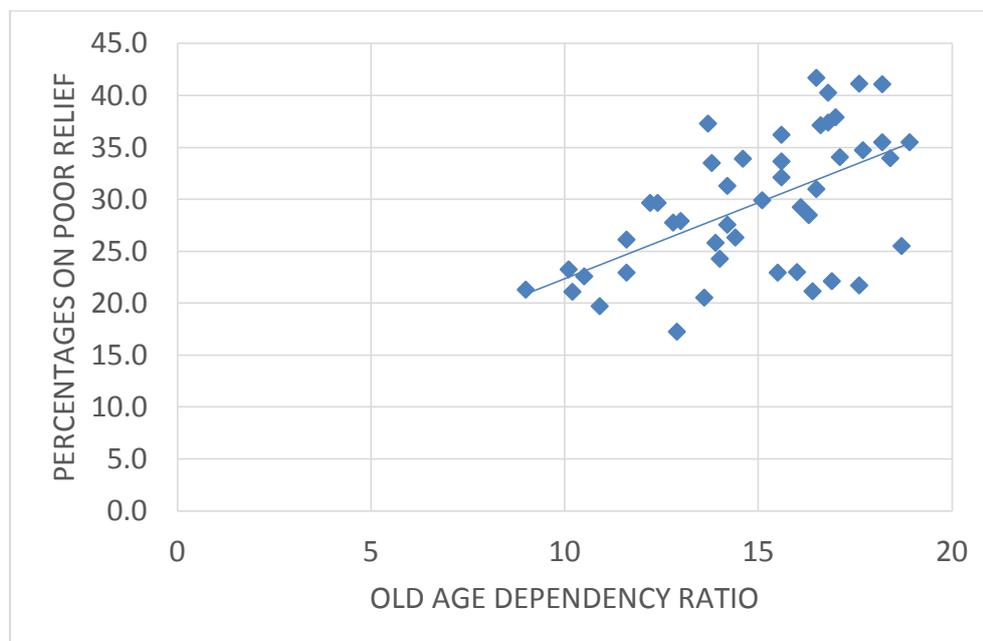
consistent with the regression analysis of Boyer and Schmidle.¹⁰² They found that the relationship between the proportion of older people and aged pauperism was modestly negative in selected northern Poor Law Unions and mildly positive in southern Unions. The same tests for Figure 2.2 were calculated for men aged 60 years and over (N = 688,542). A similar positive relationship was also found in that old men were more likely to receive poor relief in districts where the proportions of older men were higher.

To examine Thomson's argument that aged pauperism was positively associated with the ratio of 'dependents' (presumably older people) to 'working age' populations, an Old Age Dependency Ratio (OADR) was calculated based on the ratio of those aged 60 years and over per 100 of those aged 15-59 years.¹⁰³ Figure 2.3 shows that another positive trend line is identified through the relationship between the OADR and the percentages of older people receiving relief (note that Figure 2.3 considers all older people, both men and women). The lowest OADR of 9 persons aged 60 years and over per 100 persons aged 15-59 years was found in Lancashire, where 21.3 per cent of older people were estimated to receive poor relief. By contrast, there was an OADR of 19 persons aged 60 years and over per 100 aged 15-59 years in Norfolk, where 35.5 per cent in the former age group received relief. Table 2.10 shows that OADR in the top five counties for overall male and female pauperism ranged from 17 to 18, above the England and Wales average of 13. By contrast, the OADR in the bottom five counties for relief ranged from 10 to 16.

¹⁰² Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', p. 268.

¹⁰³ Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', pp. 203-4.

Figure 2.3 – Relationship between the Old Age Dependency Ratio and percentages of males and females aged 60 years and over receiving poor relief, counties in England and Wales, 1861



Sources: Database compiled by D.A. Gately, see his article, 'Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics', *Local Population Studies*, 58 (1997), pp. 37-47. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1860, LVIII.183 (383B.I) *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861.*

Table 2.10 – Five counties with highest and lowest estimated percentages aged 60 years and over on poor relief, with Old Age Dependency Ratios (OADR) and overall percentage of the population aged 60 years and over, 1861

Rank	County	Percentages on Relief	Numbers on Relief	Percentage aged 60+	Numbers aged 60+	OADR
1	Dorset	41.7	6935	9.1	16630	17
2	North Wales	41.2	16570	9.7	40251	18
3	Wiltshire	41.1	9487	9.8	23072	18
4	Buckinghamshire	40.3	5346	9.0	13267	17
5	Cambridgeshire	37.9	6326	9.2	16682	17
41	Westmorland	21.2	1170	9.1	5527	16
42	Durham	21.1	6510	5.7	30793	10
43	Yorkshire ER	20.6	4411	7.8	21437	14
44	Yorkshire WR	19.8	18838	6.4	95364	11
45	Derbyshire	17.3	3733	7.4	21600	13
	England and Wales	27.9	415728	7.4	1488047	13

Notes: OADR = Old Age Dependency Ratio, which is the population aged 60 years and over per 100 of those aged 15-59. Yorkshire ER = East Riding; Yorkshire WR = West Riding. 'England and Wales' excludes the British Isles.

Sources: Database compiled by D.A. Gatley, see his article, 'Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics', *Local Population Studies*, 58 (1997), pp. 37-47. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1860, LVIII.183 (383B.I) *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861*.

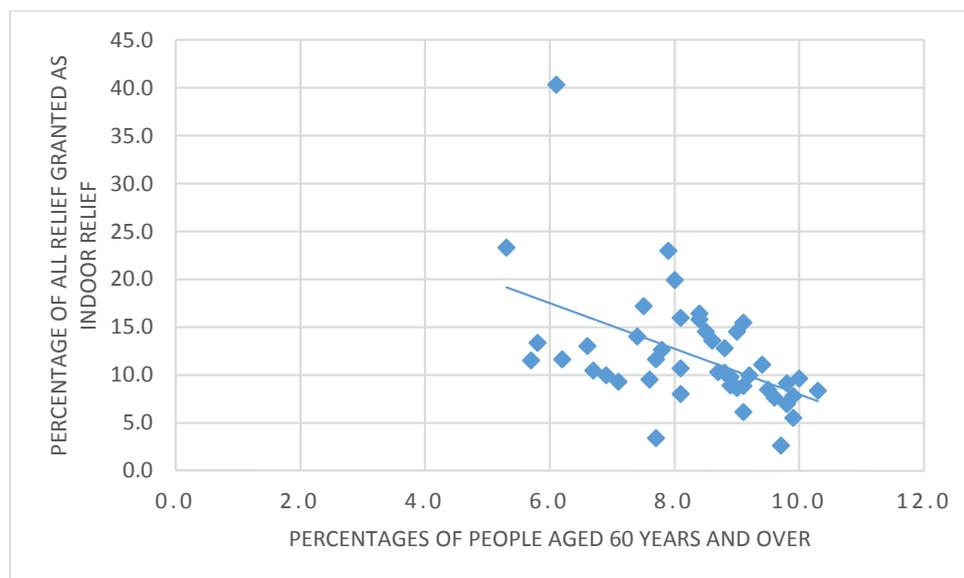
High pauperism levels and high OADRs are concentrated in the south west, the south midlands and Wales, whereas low pauperism and low OADRs are detected in the north midlands, northern and Yorkshire areas. Three counties clustered below the trend line were in the north of England: Cumberland, Westmorland and Yorkshire North Riding. The North Riding has similar percentages of aged pauperism as did the East and West Ridings, at 21.7 per cent, 20.6 per cent and 19.8 per cent respectively but its OADR is 18, compared with 14 and 11 for the East and West Ridings respectively. Additional counties clustered below the trend line were Cornwall, Shropshire and the low populated county of Rutland.

A total of 59,306 'non-able-bodied' and 'lunatic' claimants received indoor relief, that is, relief granted in workhouses and other institutions. Indoor relief recipients represented 14.3 per cent of all relief claimants.¹⁰⁴ Figure 2.4 tests Booth's assessment that the proportion of older people was a key factor in determining the 'character' of relief granted for older people, whether it was indoor relief, or outdoor relief in their homes.¹⁰⁵ It analyses the relationship between the percentages of relief that were granted indoors for non-able-bodied people (or older people) against the percentages of older people by county. The graph presents a negative relationship. In other words, as the overall percentage of the population living in old age declined, the percentage of all relief granted as indoor relief increased. For example, the two counties with the highest share of relief granted as indoor relief, at 40.3 per cent in London and 23.3 per cent in Lancashire, contained a lower proportion of older people than the national average, at 6.1 per cent and 5.3 per cent respectively. The counties of North Wales, South Wales, Herefordshire, Dorset and Wiltshire contained the lowest share of relief granted as indoor relief, ranging from 2.7 per cent to 7 per cent. Aside from South Wales, the proportion of older people in the four counties ranged between 9 per cent and 10 per cent. Booth's argument is valid in this case: the likelihood of older people receiving outdoor relief over the workhouse is determined somewhat by the varying proportion of older people.

¹⁰⁴ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, LVIII.183 (383B.I), *Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861*, pp. 14-21.

¹⁰⁵ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 13.

Figure 2.4 – Percentages of relief granted as indoor relief for males and females aged 60 years and over against percentages of those aged 60 years and over, 1861



Source: Database compiled by D.A. Gatley, see his article, 'Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics', *Local Population Studies*, 58 (1997), pp. 37-47. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1860, LVIII.183 (383B.I) *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861.*

2.7 Case Study: The Cloth Towns of Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset

While the data above show that the treatment of the New Poor Law was associated with the relative proportions of older people, it does not explain these associations in relation to local economic circumstance. A localised case study of several cloth towns in Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset shows a three-way relationship between economy, an ageing population and pauperism. The framing of social policy (being the New Poor Law) in response to ageing populations originates from the nineteenth century, rather than the twentieth century as argued by Laslett.¹⁰⁶ As explained earlier, not only would local economic decline generate the hardship of individuals affected by change, it would also govern the out-migration of younger populations, hence leading to the ageing of the population. The older a population, the less likely that young people were available to provide assistance for their older relatives.¹⁰⁷ Without this assistance, there was only the Poor Law Board of Guardians to recognise the hardship of older people and cope with increasing numbers of older applicants for poor relief.

¹⁰⁶ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, p. 180.

¹⁰⁷ Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, p. 328.

In Wiltshire, employment in manufacturing was concentrated in the declining woollen cloth trade. In the four Poor Law Unions of Wiltshire most dominated by this sector, the percentages of men aged 60 years and over ranged from 9.9 per cent to 11.2 per cent, and for women the range was 10.3 per cent to 11.9 per cent. Evidence from the published census reports of 1861 demonstrates how changes in the woollen cloth trade resulted in a decline in local populations. In Bradford-on-Avon Union, a decrease was ‘attributed to emigration and migration to large towns, caused by the use of the machinery in the various branches of woollen cloth manufacture.’¹⁰⁸ The changing fortunes of Wiltshire’s woollen cloth trade were also noted by contemporary agriculturist James Caird. In 1852, he commented that northern and western Wiltshire contained ‘a decayed manufacturing population [...] A man who is a weaver himself, or descended from weavers, is not held in much estimation as a farm labourer.’¹⁰⁹

Data from the raw CEBs for the cloth town SRDs in Wiltshire reveal that males aged 60 years and over that were enumerated as ‘paupers’ were generally associated with agricultural labouring. However, both male and female paupers evidently participated in the woollen cloth trade, particularly handloom weaving. 10.4 per cent of men aged 60 years and over and recorded as ‘pauper’ were designated as textile workers; for women, it was 11.8 per cent. Specifically, 7.9 per cent of female ‘paupers’ were classed as wool winders, wool warpers and wool weavers.¹¹⁰ The association between aged pauperism and declining manufacturing trades suggests that older people became recognised as a specific group requiring welfare assistance.

The fact that manufacturing in the local Wiltshire districts declined does not entirely explain the high incidence of aged pauperism. If the local economy declined, many people would have out-migrated from these districts to search elsewhere for better fortunes. If one of Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration states that the majority of migrants are young unmarried adults, then the out-migration of the young would skew the age profile towards older age groups.¹¹¹ This would increase the demand by older people for assistance from the Poor Law. One way to determine out-migration on a quantitative scale is to comparatively analyse the age profile of the Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset cloth towns with the counties themselves and with England and Wales nationally. If the proportions of younger populations are lower in the cloth towns

¹⁰⁸ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1861, L (3056), *Census of England and Wales, 1861, Population Tables, Numbers and Distribution of People of [And Index to Names of Places in] England and Wales, Vol. I, Part II. Registration and Poor Law Divisions*, p. 338.

¹⁰⁹ J. Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51* (London, 1852), p. 75.

¹¹⁰ Derived from the Integrated Census Microdata datasets for the SRDs of Melksham, Bradford-on-Avon, Warbury and Warminster, Wiltshire, 1861.

¹¹¹ Mills and Schürer, ‘Migration and Population Turnover’, p. 219.

than in their counties as a whole or in England and Wales, then this would be consistent with the importance of migration, in that younger people left these districts. Table 2.11 is an age profile analysis of the proportions of people aged between 15-29 years and those aged 60 years and over out of the populations of the counties of Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset, selected SRDs and England and Wales nationally. There is a clear difference: 26.1 per cent of men in England and Wales were aged 15-29 years, compared with only 22.3 per cent of men in the four Wiltshire cloth towns. The proportion of women aged 15-29 years in the cloth towns was also smaller than in England and Wales. Also, the proportions of men and women aged 15-29 years, in most cases, are higher in the counties of Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset than in the selected SRDs. The two rows with the lowest proportions of men aged 60 years and over, Dorset and England and Wales, also contained the highest proportions of men aged 15-29 years. As for old women, their proportions in the counties and SRDs fall from 11 to 9 per cent as the women aged 15-29 years increase from 23 to 26 per cent. This is consistent with two main points: the SRDs did not attract migrants to these districts and young adults left these economically dislocated areas. Although there was the possibility that some young people may have died instead of having migrated, the evidence in Table 2.11 is consistent with the idea that the out-migration of younger populations to larger towns altered the age structure of the population of Poor Law Unions that contained declining manufacturing industries. This helps us to understand the higher proportions of older people on poor relief compared with the national average.

Table 2.11 – Age profile of the male and female population aged 15-29 years and those aged 60 years and over, selected Poor Law Unions and counties in south western England, 1861

Poor Law Union	County	15-29 Years		60 Years and Over		N. Aged 15-29/60+ Years	
		Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Number of Males	Number of Females
	Wiltshire	23.4	23.9	9.6	9.9	115898	120129
	Dorset	25.1	25.7	8.7	9.5	88707	93486
	Somerset	23.6	25.6	9.4	10.3	218781	244480
Melksham	Wiltshire	22.4	25.7	10.9	10.8	8006	9227
Bradford-on-Avon	Wiltshire	20.7	22.8	10.9	11.9	5025	5450
Westbury	Wiltshire	23.1	23.3	11.2	11.1	5731	6020
Warminster	Wiltshire	22.7	23.2	9.9	10.3	7796	8146
Four Unions combined	Wiltshire	22.3	23.9	10.6	10.9	26558	28843
Beaminster	Dorset	23.2	24.7	9.9	10.3	6603	6984
Bridport	Dorset	22.7	26.0	9.1	9.8	7806	9022
Frome	Somerset	23.2	23.9	10.9	11.9	11327	12377
	England & Wales	26.1	27.0	7.0	7.8	9842399	10367272

Source: Database compiled by D.A. Gately, see his article, 'Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics', *Local Population Studies*, 58 (1997), pp. 37-47.

Table 2.12 shows the estimated proportions of old men and women on poor relief and by population in the decayed manufacturing towns. Combining the four Wiltshire Unions where woollen cloth manufacture was most prominent, 33.7 per cent of elderly men and 56.4 per cent of elderly women received relief. In the Union of Warminster, almost two out of every three women aged 60 years and over were receiving relief. This compares with 21.1 per cent of old men and 33.8 per cent of old women in England and Wales as a whole.

The local and national percentages of old men and women on poor relief show that old women are more likely to be issued relief than old men, as reflected in the past literature.¹¹² Attitudes about male and female applicants were influenced by gender stereotypes. Men were expected to contribute economically, compared with women. Provision of relief was only granted in temporary cases when they were declared 'out of work'. Contrastingly, there were more reasons for women to claim relief: to help provide care for their children; to support them during pregnancy, or to assist those whose spouses had either deserted them or had died.¹¹³ The

¹¹² L.H. Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 143-4; Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', Tables 1 and 2, pp. 355-6.

¹¹³ Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, pp. 143-4.

death of a spouse most likely explains why the majority of old women in the four Wiltshire Unions were recorded as paupers. Alternatively, attitudes of the Board of Guardians, regarding the relatively ‘good character’ of elderly women, may also explain why they were more likely to receive poor relief compared with men.¹¹⁴

Table 2.12 – Estimated percentages of males and females aged 60 years and over on poor relief, with Old Age Dependency Ratios (OADR) and percentages of males and females aged 60 years and over in the population, selected Poor Law Unions in south western England, 1861

Poor Law Union	County	Estimated percentage and numbers of persons aged 60 years and over in receipt of relief				Percentage and numbers of population aged 60 years and over				
		Men %	N. Mal	Fem %	N. Fem	Men %	N. Mal	Fem %	N. Fem	OADR
Melksham	Wiltshire	38.2	332	58.0	579	10.9	870	10.8	999	20
Bradford-on-Avon	Wiltshire	26.2	143	46.3	301	10.9	546	11.9	650	22
Westbury	Wiltshire	33.0	212	53.4	358	11.2	642	11.1	670	21
Warminster	Wiltshire	34.6	267	64.6	541	9.9	771	10.3	837	19
Four Unions combined	Wiltshire	33.7	954	56.4	1779	10.6	2829	10.9	3156	20
Beaminster	Dorset	36.9	242	59.7	430	9.9	656	10.3	720	19
Bridport	Dorset	30.6	217	50.2	443	9.1	709	9.8	882	18
Frome	Somerset	32.4	401	56.1	823	10.9	1239	11.9	1468	22
	England & Wales	21.1	145150	33.8	270578	7.0	688542	7.8	799505	13

Notes: OADR = Old Age Dependency Ratio, which is the population aged 60 years and over per 100 of those aged 15-59. Yorkshire ER = East Riding; Yorkshire WR = West Riding. ‘England & Wales’ excludes the British Isles.

Source: Database compiled by D.A. Gatley, see his article, ‘Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics’, *Local Population Studies*, 58 (1997), pp. 37-47. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1860, LVIII.183 (383B.1) *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861.*

In Frome, Somerset where near 12 per cent of the female population were aged 60 years and over, population decline in three parishes was caused by the ‘removal of families, owing to the depressed state of cloth manufacture.’¹¹⁵ The number of old women receiving relief in Frome reached 56.1 per cent, one of the highest percentages in Somerset. Again, depression in certain trades caused a high out-migration rate, most likely of young people, leaving behind a high

¹¹⁴ Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, p. 18. He specifically argues that attitudes by the Board of Guardians explain the greater likelihood of elderly men receiving relief in workhouses, although this may have played a part in the refusal of outdoor relief to elderly men.

¹¹⁵ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, L (3056), *Census of England and Wales, 1861*, p. 417.

proportion of older people reliant upon the New Poor Law. Similarly, in Beaminster Union, Dorset, 10.1 per cent of the overall population were aged 60 years and over. Population decrease in the Beaminster parishes of Netherbury and Stoke Abbott was 'attributed to the decline in the flax and hemp trade.'¹¹⁶ In both Beaminster Union and the neighbouring union of Bridport, where the flax and hemp trade was a specialist industry, 33.6 per cent of old men received relief, compared with 54.5 per cent of old women.

Elsewhere in Dorset employment in agriculture was insufficient for the population. Contemporaries identified 'emigration and [...] the migration of agricultural labourers to manufacturing districts' in four parishes of Wareham and Purbeck.¹¹⁷ There was also 'a scarcity of employment for agricultural labourers' in Stoke Abbott, Beaminster.¹¹⁸ Nearly 9 per cent of the male population in Wareham and Purbeck Union were aged 60 years and over, while 40.1 per cent of this group was receiving relief, the highest figure found for Dorset.

Familial ties between older people and their offspring and kin also play an important role in the high proportion of older people and thus aged pauperism. Hypothetically, aged pauperism depends on the degree of familial care in lieu of the Poor Law. A binary relationship between familial care and the Poor Law has been explored by Dupree and Thomson.¹¹⁹ Table 2.13, based on raw census enumeration data, shows in one column the proportion of men and women aged 60 years and over that were declared related as extended kin to the household head in the relationship column of the CEBs.¹²⁰ The second column shows the proportions residing in solitary households without any intra-household assistance. Both men and women were less likely to be recorded in households headed by a relative in the cloth towns than in the counties of Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset. A wider disparity in the proportions of older people enumerated as extended kin was found for women: 9.4 per cent of old women in the four Wiltshire SRDs were enumerated as related to the household head by way of extended kinship. In England and Wales nationally, it was 14.8 per cent.

¹¹⁶ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, L (3056), *Census of England and Wales, 1861*, p. 397.

¹¹⁷ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, L (3056), *Census of England and Wales, 1861*, p. 395.

¹¹⁸ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, L (3056), *Census of England and Wales, 1861*, p. 397.

¹¹⁹ Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, p. 328; Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', fn. 29, p. 220.

¹²⁰ Those recorded as extended kin to the household head include those enumerated upwardly as parents or parents-in-law, laterally as siblings to the household head and downwardly as offspring-in-law. It also includes those designated as offspring (although not actually extended kin) and miscellaneous relatives.

Table 2.13 – Percentages of persons aged 60 years and over declared related as extended kin to the household head and living in households as solitary residents, selected Poor Law Unions and counties in south western England, 1861

Poor Law Union	County	% related as extended kin to household head		% living as solitaries		Population aged 60 years and over	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	Wiltshire	5.9	12.1	10.1	12.8	11088	11837
	Dorset	6.1	14.4	8.7	12.0	7703	8848
	Somerset	6.2	13.5	8.2	13.0	20435	24879
Melksham	Wiltshire	4.0	10.2	7.6	12.9	851	992
Bradford-on-Avon	Wiltshire	4.6	9.2	8.1	16.3	545	638
Westbury	Wiltshire	5.2	9.4	10.3	12.2	634	658
Warminster	Wiltshire	4.5	8.7	9.7	15.2	754	825
Four Unions combined	Wiltshire	4.5	9.4	8.9	14.0	2784	3113
Beaminster	Dorset	4.1	11.4	9.4	11.3	651	717
Bridport	Dorset	5.6	12.5	9.1	10.9	729	878
Frome	Somerset	4.2	12.4	8.5	13.5	1242	1456
	England & Wales	6.6	14.8	7.8	11.9	667561	768632

Note: The sample size of the population used for calculation in this table derives from raw census enumerators' books, which differ in number to the published census abstracts database compiled by D.A. Gatley, see his article 'Computerising the 1861 Census Abstracts and Vital Registration Statistics', *Local Population Studies*, 58 (1997), pp. 37-47. 'England & Wales' excludes the British Isles.

Source: Data derived from the I-CeM search facility website and based on the Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1861.

There is concern about what constitutes a household when analysing the proportion of older people living as solitary residents. Almshouse residents and those living as lodgers but indicated in the census as living in a separate household are included in the analysis. It is assumed here that their numbers are too small to cause distortion. For old women, the Wiltshire cloth town SRDs are more likely to contain solitary residents than in Wiltshire as a county, but the gap between the cloth town SRDs and England and Wales nationally merits comment. 14 per cent of old women lived as solitary residents in the Wiltshire cloth towns compared with 11.9 per cent for England and Wales. For old men, cloth town districts generally contained slightly higher proportions of solitary residents than at the national level, at near 9 per cent compared with near 8 per cent. Unlike Wiltshire, the proportion of male solitary residents was

higher in the selected SRDs of Dorset and Somerset than in the counties themselves. Therefore, it is plausible that the economic dislocation of the cloth trade resulted in a higher degree of isolation among older residents. The potential suppliers of familial assistance, i.e. offspring and kin, were relatively lacking in the cloth towns. As a result, there was little assistance other than the Poor Law for older people in these areas.

Finally, our findings have implications for the way in which familial assistance and state-funded care towards older people functioned since the seventeenth century. This is evident when we link Paul Slack's research on increasing Poor Law expenditure with the estimated proportion of the elderly population from E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield.¹²¹ It appears that investment in the Poor Law increased when the population aged 60 years and over rose to over 10 per cent by the early eighteenth century.¹²² In other words, the growth in the elderly population meant that overseers (who administered relief prior to the Board of Guardians under the New Poor Law) would have treated greater numbers of the elderly poor. If 10 per cent of the *national* population were elderly in 1715, local and regional patterns in the early eighteenth century may have been higher than the percentages found in the regions of mid-Victorian England and Wales. If this was the case, it would explain that the accelerated supply of poor relief was in response to the greater demands expressed by the elderly poor. The statutes of the Old Poor Law classed older people in the deserving 'impotent' category, as opposed to the 'able-bodied', in a similar way to the designations enforced under the New Poor Law.¹²³ In this case, overseers would have greatly recognised the needs of the elderly poor and would have distributed relief to those they perceived as deserving.

From this, we see that attitudes to social policy fluctuated in accordance with the variations in the demographic composition of the elderly population, not only in the nineteenth century, but over time. However, in terms of local SRDs, when the Poor Law Commissioners introduced a 'crusade against outdoor relief' in the 1870s, the proportions of older people from 1861 to 1881 receiving relief fell as the size of the elderly population increased.¹²⁴ Thus, the relationship between demography and social policy was severed from the 1870s.¹²⁵ Despite this, the

¹²¹ P. Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor & Stuart England* (Harlow, 1988), pp. 173-182; Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England*, pp. 528-9.

¹²² As evident through fourteen Norfolk parishes in Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, p. 175, where there is an accelerated rise from 1700 onwards in poor relief expenditure.

¹²³ S. Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 173.

¹²⁴ As evident for those aged 65 years and over in Boyer, 'Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', Table 6, p. 11.

¹²⁵ The percentages in five selected counties that were estimated to be on poor relief fell for elderly men from 19.3 per cent in 1861 to 13.7 per cent in 1881; for elderly women, from 33.5 per cent in 1861 to 21.9 per cent in

accelerated rise in the elderly population in Royston SRD may have generated, as it did in the early eighteenth century, awareness of the elderly poor as a category desperately requiring help beyond the limitations of poor relief and into a more generous pension-based system.¹²⁶ In turn, the increase of the elderly population and of the elderly poor in *rural* SRDs, such as Royston by 1901, may have facilitated a more generous treatment of the elderly poor, culminating in the Old Age Pension Act of 1908.¹²⁷ Based on these ideas, further research is required to examine the demographic origins of the Old Age Pension Act as welfare reform.

2.8 Conclusions

Three key findings arise from this chapter. First, there is evidence that, in many areas, there was a higher proportion of people aged 60 years and over than has been assumed for the mid-nineteenth century, depending on locality and region. This is surprising given that the main demographic characteristic of Victorian England and Wales was of high fertility.¹²⁸ Relatively higher ratios of older people per 100 of ‘working age’ were found in districts based in south western England, East Anglia, the Yorkshire North Riding and north and west Wales. A detailed analysis of five selected counties of England and Wales shows that the national percentages of the population aged 60 years and over from 1851 to 1911 are generally in the middle of relatively high and low regional figures. Although our sample is limited to four English counties, our findings are consistent with the idea of a ‘north-south’ divide, in that Hampshire and Hertfordshire contained higher proportions of the population living in old age. These variations widen by 1911 as the proportions in Hampshire and Hertfordshire increased whereas Glamorgan declined. Therefore, counties differed from the national percentages. Overall, when the five counties are combined, their proportions reflect the national figures, although these figures can mask wide local and regional variations.

One reason for the higher than expected proportions of the elderly population in some SRDs is that older people were more likely to live in rural than in urban districts. This is explained by the rural-urban migration of young adults which reduces rural populations, hence the increase

1881 (data exclude the ‘lunatics’ population; including them showed a similar fall). Observing all 56 SRDs with poor relief data in both 1861 and 1881, where the size of the elderly population increased in 40 SRDs, the percentages on relief fell in 38 of them. Further details on the decline in aged pauperism using data from five selected counties of England and Wales are covered in Chapter Three.

¹²⁶ Out of 63 SRDs, 27 saw an increase in the percentages receiving poor relief from 1891 to 1901 (excluding lunatics). Over half of these (14, or 51.9 per cent) also experienced an increase in the size of the elderly population.

¹²⁷ The combined size of the elderly male and female population increased by 1.9 percentage points and the percentages on relief by 2.7 percentage points in Royston from 1891 to 1901.

¹²⁸ Smith, ‘The Structured Dependence of the Elderly’, p. 409.

in the proportions of elderly people and related population decline from 1851 to 1891. Districts experiencing the highest population growth in the same period corresponded with a decline in the percentages of older people. The local economy may be responsible for fluctuations in the ageing population: the out-migration of people that causes population decline occurred in districts which experienced a dislocation in the agrarian economy, such as Royston SRD. Conversely, there was huge demand for work in the mining districts of Glamorganshire and Pontefract in the Yorkshire West Riding, resulting in the in-migration of young adults and thus a fall in the proportion of older people.

The number of parishes that contained a high elderly population was substantial. If we define parishes where 10 per cent or more of the population were aged 60 years and over as 'older' parishes, this applies to near 40 per cent of all parishes in 1891. A slight majority of parishes with populations of between 201 and 1,000 people were 'older'. When examining sub-districts belonging to the SRDs with the highest and lowest rates of older people in 1901, it is clear that younger populations are more prominent in the districts where older people figure little. In the sub-districts of Pontypridd SRD, there was a very high proportion of females aged 0-14 years, although the arrival of young adult male migrants resulted in a higher proportion of males aged 15-29 years than 0-14 years. Royston SRD presents a different story where out-migration resulted in a lower proportion aged 15-29 years and a higher proportion of females aged 60 years and over than aged 45-59 years. Therefore, older people acquired a greater presence at the end of the Victorian period due to out-migration and characteristics associated with the demographic transition, such as lower fertility and lower mortality over time. Pontypridd's characteristics, by contrast, are based on the high fertility and mortality rates before the transition.

The variations in the size of the elderly population are based on variations in fertility and mortality rates. From 1851-1911, mortality, fertility and population change (mostly through in-migration) are negatively associated with the size of the population aged 60 years and over. Population changes (measured by the numbers in the subsequent census period divided by the preceding one) and high fertility are the most significant predictors. Laslett is correct to argue that older people in mid-Victorian England and Wales were 'scarce' as a proportion of the population due to a high fertility regime.¹²⁹ There is evidence that SRDs with high elderly populations tended to have relatively low fertility and mortality rates. In terms of change over

¹²⁹ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, p. 196.

time, from 1891 to 1911 a fall in fertility and mortality coincided with a rise in the population aged 60 years and over. This is consistent with findings for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the size of the elderly population was a response to fluctuations in fertility.¹³⁰ However, the elderly population also depended on the scale of population growth and decline. Population decline in Congleton, Royston and Ripon SRDs was associated with the increasing size of the elderly population. By contrast, six of the seven SRDs with the largest population growth saw a decline in the changing size of older people. In fact, it was in northern districts where the size of the elderly population significantly rose in response to falling fertility. In southern districts, this relationship did not occur. This suggests that, in those districts, it was changes in the overall population that were more important. This was not only through out-migration and population decline, but also through smaller as opposed to larger population growth. As well as falling fertility rates, we also need to account for those in-migrating and out-migrating to the SRD.

Second, we need to refine the argument that the relationship between a growing ageing population and an increasing reliance on welfare by older people, a preoccupation of the twentieth century, has no historical parallels.¹³¹ This is because aged pauperism in mid-nineteenth-century England and Wales was partly a function of the ageing of the population, and partly determined by the local economy. Thomson's argument that older people received more favourable treatment in areas where their numbers were high is confirmed by this research.¹³² We find little evidence to support Boyer and Schmidle's argument that a financial burden on Poor Law expenditure restricted the proportion of older people receiving relief due to their high numbers. Despite this, such restrictions may have been applied in some northern areas.¹³³ Also, Boyer and Schmidle's research deals with the 1890s, whereas our data are based on the 1860s. As a result of the changing economics of the New Poor Law since the 1870s, budget constraints loomed larger towards the end of the century.¹³⁴ Responding to this, the Board of Guardians may have been more selective in their treatment of older people. However, because there was continuity in the way that the Poor Law Commissioners emphasised deserving and undeserving categories of pauper since the genesis of the New Poor Law, the Board of Guardians thought that older people were deserving of relief as non-able-bodied

¹³⁰ Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England*, pp. 215-9, 449.

¹³¹ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, p. 180.

¹³² Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', pp. 203-4.

¹³³ Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', pp. 265-6.

¹³⁴ MacKinnon, 'English Poor Law Policy', pp. 603-25.

applicants, compared with the 'working age' able-bodied population. This was regardless of changing Poor Law expenditure.¹³⁵

Finally, pauperism was most widespread and deep-rooted in areas where employment in the manufacturing industries contracted as a result of technological and economic changes. The decline in these industries depressed wages and led to out-migration by younger workers to areas where wages were higher. Lacking the skills or the ability to leave, older people remained in the declining towns. As a result, the age structure in areas characterised by depressed trades was skewed towards older age groups. This evidently affected the household structure of older people, as the likelihood of them living in isolation was greater in the cloth towns. Also, the out-migration of younger populations meant that older people were less likely to receive accommodation from their younger relatives. The greater presence of older people, in relative terms, meant that the local Poor Law authorities felt obliged to assist older people with special policies, resolving the problems caused by local economic and demographic changes.

This chapter has shown the importance of conducting a detailed study of the demographic composition of the elderly population using comprehensive nineteenth-century datasets. We have discovered how there was a diversity of demographic patterns affecting the variations in the proportions of older people in the period. Furthermore, a demographic study means a broader focus of the relationship between familial and state support for older people in nineteenth-century society. This inspires further investigations into the longer-term trends of this relationship, lasting from the seventeenth century to the introduction of old age pensions in 1908. Historical older age populations are no longer represented as an insignificant minority. While they may have been 'scarce' in proportion to the national population, they were actually prominent in the context of community life, locality and region.

¹³⁵ Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty*, p. 59. For continuity in the proportion of poor relief that was given to able-bodied and non-able-bodied populations in England and Wales, even after the 'crusade against outdoor relief' in the 1870s, see Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', Table 1, p. 355.

Appendix 2A

Classification of the 20 economic groups of Poor Law Unions taken from C. Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894), pp. 56-104.

- Group I: Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)
- Group II: Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (2)
- Group III: Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture and Town (1)
- Group IV: Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture and Town (2)
- Group V: Rural and Mostly Rural. Mining
- Group VI: Rural and Mostly Rural. Manufacture
- Group VII: Rural and Mostly Rural. Shipping
- Group VIII: Rural and Mostly Rural. Residential and Pleasure Resorts
- Group IX: Half Rural. Agriculture and Town
- Group X: Half Rural. Mining
- Group XI: Half Rural. Manufacture
- Group XII: Half Rural. Shipping
- Group XIII: Half Rural. Residential
- Group XIV: Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Mining
- Group XV: Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Manufacture
- Group XVI: Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Residential
- Group XVII: Provincial Urban. Manufacture and Trade
- Group XVIII: Provincial Urban. Residential
- Group XIX: London. Manufacture and Trade
- Group XX: London. Residential

3 Chapter Two

Employment and Retirement in Old Age in England and Wales, 1851-1911

3.1 Introduction

The employment and retirement patterns of old people in England and Wales from 1851 to 1911 are underexplored in terms of a large-scale quantitative study. This is despite the influential research by Paul Johnson and Matthew Woollard exploring the labour force of older men through published census abstracts of the raw census enumerators' books (CEBs).¹ Local and regional patterns of the older-age labour force, along with rural-urban differences are especially lacking. Also, while there have been studies of old men and their occupational habits, research into the labour force patterns of older women have been fairly limited, although there have been recent studies that provide coverage of the employment patterns of older women.² There is also a severe quantitative dearth in the study of retirement before the Old Age Pension Act of 1908. It is argued that the concept of voluntary retirement as we understand it today (defined here as a self-made choice to withdraw from work) was not a feature of the Victorian and Edwardian past. Scholars, in fact, argue that retirement was 'invented' from the late nineteenth century onwards.³ It is further proposed that 'in the period following World War II, *old age became retirement*.'⁴ From this argument, historians tend to view voluntary retirement through a progressive, somewhat Whiggish stance. While it may be true that voluntary retirement took an evolutionary course in historical England and Wales, becoming more widespread in the twentieth century, studies of voluntary retirement before the Old Age Pension Act of 1908 are virtually non-existent.⁵ This is despite the extensive coverage of employment and retirement recorded for the periods 1851-1911 in the occupational columns of the CEBs.

¹ P. Johnson, 'The Employment and Retirement of Older Men in England and Wales, 1881-1981', *Economic History Review*, 47 (1994), pp. 106-128; M. Woollard, 'The Employment and Retirement of Older Men, 1851-1881: Further Evidence from the Census', *Continuity and Change*, 17 (2002), pp. 437-63.

² E. Garrett, 'The Dawning of a New Era: Women's Work in England and Wales at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', in N. Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England: Regional and Local Perspectives* (Hatfield, 2007), pp. 314-62; X. You, 'Women's Employment in England and Wales, 1851-1911' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2014).

³ L. Hannah, *Inventing Retirement: The Development of Occupational Pensions in Britain* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 5-7; J. Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society: Work, Family and Social Policy in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1982), pp. 166-7.

⁴ X. Gaullier, 'Economic Crisis and Old Age: Old Age Policies in France', *Ageing & Society*, 2 (1982), pp. 165-182 (N.B. Original emphasis).

⁵ For an examination of the 'evolution' of retirement since the nineteenth century in America, see D.L. Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement: An American Economic History, 1880-1990* (Chicago, 1998).

Reasons for the gaps in the study of employment and retirement in old age result from a lack of accessibility in the past towards detailed census datasets. Previous studies have deployed sampling techniques, used large scale datasets confined to one period or relied on published census abstracts.⁶ This was before the introduction of digitised transcriptions from the Integrated Census Microdata project (I-CeM). It has been argued that definitions of ‘retirement’ as described in the CEBs are problematic, as they may not reflect the reality of those enumerated.⁷ This has been proposed despite the lack of actual research through raw CEB data that reassesses this hypothesis. Since I-CeM datasets provide 100 per cent coverage of raw CEB data across the period 1851 to 1911 (excluding 1871), it is now possible to reconsider previous arguments.⁸ As such, this chapter presents a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the changing employment and retirement patterns of men and women aged 60 years and over across 1851 to 1911, using data from five selected counties of England and Wales. Its aims are to boost a regional perspective of those perceived to be self-reliant and productive in their old age, in spite of the recent literature’s overemphasis on the dependency of elderly people on welfare systems.⁹ Nonetheless, this study permits a comparison with the elderly poor, or with those receiving poor relief as paupers. This is to reinforce the importance of older people in employment and voluntary retirement compared with those categorised as paupers.

⁶ For sampling techniques, see Woollard ‘Employment and Retirement of Older Men’; for a 100 per cent sample of the 1881 CEBs that analyses women’s work, see You, ‘Women’s Employment in England and Wales’, ch. 3; for published census abstracts, see Johnson, ‘Employment and Retirement of Older Men’.

⁷ J. Macnicol, *The Politics of Retirement in Britain, 1878-1948* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 24; E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census – Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901* (London, 2005), pp. 113-4.

⁸ E. Higgs, C. Jones, K. Schürer and A. Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide* (2nd Revised Edition, University of Essex, 2013), pp. 1-2.

⁹ On the nineteenth century welfare system known as the New Poor Law, literature on older people receiving institutional accommodation is extensive; for research published in the 2010s, see C. Seal, ‘Workhouse Populations of the Cheltenham and Belper Unions: A Study Based on the Census Enumerators’ Books, 1851-1911’, *Family and Community History*, 13 (2010), pp. 83-100; A. Gritt and P. Park, ‘The Workhouse Populations of Lancashire in 1881’, *Local Population Studies*, 86 (2011), pp. 37-65; A. Ritch, ‘English Poor Law Institutional Care for Older People: Identifying the “Aged and Infirm” and the “Sick” in Birmingham Workhouse, 1852-1912’, *Social History of Medicine*, 27 (2014), pp. 64-85; ; L. Darwen, ‘Workhouse Populations of the Preston Union, 1841-61’, *Local Population Studies*, 94 (2014), pp. 33-42; J. Purser, ‘The Workhouse Population of the Nottingham Union, 1881-1882’, *Local Population Studies*, 99 (2017), pp. 66-80. Studies of outdoor relief (allowances given to people in their own homes) are limited, but for an introduction, see L.H. Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 186-190. On almshouse accommodation, see C. Leivers, ‘Housing the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Derbyshire: A Comparison of Almshouse and Workhouse Provision’, *Local Population Studies*, 83 (2009), pp. 56-65; N. Goose, ‘Accommodating the Elderly Poor: Almshouses and the Mixed Economy of Welfare in England in the Second Millennium’, *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 62 (2014), pp. 35-57; C. Seal, ‘Social Care in Northern England: The Almshouses of County Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries’, *Family and Community History*, 16 (2013), pp. 45-65.

3.2 Literature Review

In terms of the employment of older people, much has been written on men only. Paul Johnson has highlighted a large-scale decline in the numbers of men aged 65 years and over that were occupied, from 73.4 per cent in 1881 to 56 per cent in 1911.¹⁰ He finds that the fall is less severe when agricultural employment is excluded from the analysis, with a corresponding rate of 56 per cent to 48.3 per cent.¹¹ Therefore, the decline in the labour force participation rate (LFPR) of older men was mainly caused by structural changes within the economy, particularly the decline in agricultural employment.¹² While Johnson examines post-1881 data, Matthew Woollard notices an increase in male LFPR from 1851 to 1881. A noted increase was found in the percentages aged 65 years and over from 70.6 per cent in 1851 to 72.9 per cent in 1881, although he found that declining occupational groups, such as agriculture, were more likely to have an ageing workforce.¹³ Marguerite Dupree also finds older men transitioning to lower-skilled jobs within the thriving pottery industry in mid-Victorian Stoke-on-Trent.¹⁴ This resulted in a higher percentage of older men recorded as pottery workers in the 1861 CEBs than as ironmongers and miners; mining was an occupation of the predominantly young due to the ill-health that the industry brought on in old age.¹⁵

Various reasons have been outlined as to why the structural labour force of older men declined. Conclusions have been based on findings beyond the CEBs, such as John Macnicol's argument that, from the 1880s, men in their fifties were increasingly driven out of work that was becoming more technologically intensive and segmented into special divisions.¹⁶ Jill Quadagno discusses the bureaucratisation of industries following the 1897 Workmen's Compensation Act that prevented old men from pursuing hazardous work.¹⁷ Also, weaving in particular was an occupation that became mechanised and the self-employed could not manufacture products cheaply compared with machines.¹⁸ Despite this, she concedes that boot-makers escaped the

¹⁰ Johnson, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', Table 2, p. 116.

¹¹ Johnson, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', Table 2, p. 116.

¹² Johnson, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', p. 116.

¹³ Woollard, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', Table 3, pp. 445-6, Table 4, p. 450.

¹⁴ M.W. Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries, 1840-1880* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 59-60.

¹⁵ Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, Figure 1.3, p. 59; Woollard, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', p. 457.

¹⁶ Macnicol, *The Politics of Retirement*, p. 22.

¹⁷ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 140.

¹⁸ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, pp. 167-8.

effects of technological change and that the self-employed were less likely to retire than those in unskilled or heavy industry.¹⁹

Historians have increasingly paid attention to women's work in nineteenth- and twentieth-century society. Nigel Goose has emphasised the importance of the straw plaiting and hat trade cottage industry in Hertfordshire which commanded a high number of older female workers. The 1851 CEBs for Hertfordshire reveal that the LFPR of widows (presumably the majority of those were older) was generally higher in Superintendent Registration Districts (SRDs) where cottage industry was present.²⁰ Akin to Goose's Hertfordshire, Chivers Coton also boasted a high proportion of older female workers in the cottage industry of the silk weaving ribbon trade. In 1851, over 60 per cent of women aged 60-69 years and half of women aged 70-79 years were actively working.²¹ These figures are higher than the LFPR rate of women aged 65 years and over in 1851, at 23.6 per cent.²² By 1901, the LFPR of women aged 60-69 dramatically changed when under 20 per cent were recorded as actively working, reflecting the national figure for those aged 65 years and over of 18.3 per cent.²³ The fact that French imports of silk goods became duty free by the 1860s is one essential factor for the decline in female LFPR in Chivers Coton.²⁴ Straw plaiting as an occupation also declined due to Asian imports, which could have diminished female LFPR in Hertfordshire by 1901.²⁵ An overall fall in female LFPR nationally has been confirmed by Eilidh Garrett. The proportion of married and widowed women aged 60 years and over that were working fell from 1891 to 1921, a factor possibly attributed to the Old Age Pension Act of 1908.²⁶ Thane interestingly concludes that old age pensions may have enabled older women to give up low paid 'casual' work, although such plights are not always easy to detect in the CEBs.²⁷

Historians have multiple definitions on what retirement meant in the mid-nineteenth century. Quadagno argues that retirement was multi-layered. For the middle-classes, it changed from a system of patronage to a gradual withdrawal from the labour force; the working-classes, by

¹⁹ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, pp. 157, 159.

²⁰ N. Goose, 'The Straw Plait and Hat Trades in Nineteenth-Century Hertfordshire', in Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England*, pp. 97-137, esp. Table 5.3, p. 108.

²¹ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, Figure 3.2, p. 72.

²² You, 'Women's Employment in England and Wales', Figure 2.2, p. 81.

²³ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, Figure 3.2, p. 73; You, 'Women's Employment in England and Wales', Figure 2.2, p. 81.

²⁴ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, pp. 68, 77.

²⁵ Goose, 'Straw Plait and Hat Trades', pp. 100-1.

²⁶ Garrett, 'The Dawning of a New Era?' Table 15.5, pp. 340-1. This was based on a study of anonymised census manuscripts donated by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys to the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.

²⁷ P. Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000), p. 281.

contrast, associated retirement with unemployment and, eventually, pauperisation.²⁸ Quadagno's argument is similar to Susannah Ottaway's for the eighteenth century, when she stresses that "retirement" (in the sense of withdrawal from gainful employment or professional activity) [...] was either a function of earlier savings and personal choice (among the better-off) or a result of decrepitude (among the labouring classes).²⁹ Leslie Hannah argues that life expectancy was too low for the working-classes to experience old age, so workers were uncertain as to whether they should plan for retirement.³⁰ Other scholars have argued that it was a generally rare experience for older people to voluntarily retire from work. Paul Johnson writes that 'over the course of the twentieth century, planned and anticipated retirement from employment has evolved in Britain from being an exceptional experience for a minority of privileged workers to being the commonplace experience of the majority.'³¹ This can be summarised in Thane's words when 'an emergence of mass retirement' occurred in twentieth-century society.³² Johnson further argues that, in the present day, a greater number of people have withdrawn from work to receive occupational and state pensions, payments of which have exponentially increased since 1910.³³ However, in the beginning of the twentieth century, 'to be old and out of work was synonymous with being poor for all but a very small minority of middle- and upper-class people.'³⁴ In this case, the majority of older people experienced poverty rather than a comfortable retirement.

Despite the limited extent of retirement before the Old Age Pension Act, in the mid-Victorian period, retirement slowly became a universal trend as the 'retired' as a group became more prominent. For the first time, the 'retired' were a separate category in the 1881 published census abstracts.³⁵ A further study from the 1911 census surveys the proportions of older men retired by occupational group. Farmers, boot and shoemakers and market gardeners were less likely to be retired, whereas an overwhelming proportion of policemen, railway officials and coal miners were more likely to retire.³⁶ We do not know if they were forced out of the workforce or voluntarily exited. The failure of the CEBs to outline the reasons why one was described as 'retired' explains the reluctance of many historians to attempt a study of retirement through

²⁸ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, pp. 166-7.

²⁹ S. Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 9.

³⁰ Hannah, *Inventing Retirement*, pp. 5-7.

³¹ P. Johnson, 'Parallel Histories of Retirement in Modern Britain', in P. Johnson and P. Thane (eds.), *Old Age from Antiquity to Post-modernity* (London, 1998), pp. 211-25, quote at p. 211.

³² Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 385-406.

³³ Johnson, 'Parallel Histories of Retirement', p. 213.

³⁴ Johnson, 'Parallel Histories of Retirement', p. 220.

³⁵ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 279.

³⁶ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, Table 6.5, p. 160.

census records. John Macnicol and Eddy Higgs express concern with the CEBs as a reliable indicator of employment and retirement patterns. For example, although an individual is enumerated as 'retired', the census does not describe the extent to which the individual was gainfully occupied, permanently retired, or, in Macnicol's words, 'awkwardly poised somewhere between these two states.'³⁷ In other words, the CEBs only scratch the surface of one's occupational experience. This makes the study of retirement using the CEBs appear a redundant exercise. This is especially the case for women, as their retirement percentages were lower than that of men because they returned to the labour force in widowhood.³⁸ The legacy of withdrawal from work at marriage meant that the female labour force, Quadagno argues, was sporadic and low-paid.³⁹ As such, a comfortable retirement for the majority of older women was highly unlikely.

The limited approach to the employment and retirement patterns of older people means that historians often resort to generalisation, often through a linear narrative of progress. This is either through the idea that retirement was democratised since the advent of old age pensions in 1908, or that the line of work older people had to pursue was precarious and uncertain. Thane argues that, before the Old Age Pension Act, opportunities 'to obtain adequately paid, status-conferring labour before the 1920s' were 'very limited.'⁴⁰ In order to demonstrate this, one source that she consults is Charles Booth's *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (1894), in which the activities of the aged poor are taken to be typical of the general experiences of older people.⁴¹ However, Matthew Woollard has criticised the overemphasis on Booth's texts because he 'excludes from his analysis those who could not be described as poor.'⁴² Although it may be true that older people comprised a substantial proportion of those on or below the poverty line, there is a tendency for historians to place a break between the pre- and post-old age pension era to argue that life for older people was 'better' after the Old Age Pension Act.⁴³ While it may have indeed been 'better' for the majority of older people, such arguments can obscure those that were economically productive before the introduction of old age pensions.

³⁷ Macnicol, *The Politics of Retirement*, p. 24; Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census – Revisited*, pp. 113-4.

³⁸ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 153.

³⁹ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, pp. 143-4.

⁴⁰ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 286.

⁴¹ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 283, on the subsection of 'Older Women and Work'.

⁴² Woollard, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', p. 448.

⁴³ George Boyer argues that hidden poverty may have existed for older people based on the gap between the proportions of older people on poor relief and those receiving old age pensions (59.8 per cent of people aged 70 years and over in England in March 1912 received old age pensions, compared with 23.3 per cent of the same age that received poor relief in March 1906). See G. Boyer, "'Work for their prime, the workhouse for their age": Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', *Social Science History*, 40 (2016), pp. 3-32, esp. pp. 28-29.

3.3 Questions

From the Literature Review, it appears that an analysis of the LFPR of elderly people is lacking across the period 1851-1911. This is because Johnson's study takes place from 1881 onwards, whereas Woollard's research examines the period 1851-1881. Now that census datasets can be accessed for six of the seven periods from 1851 to 1911, to what extent did the LFPR of older people decline over time? The employment and retirement patterns of older people also deserve a more local and regional emphasis. This will aid a study of those in old age that were self-reliant and contributing to the economy. It is possible that wide variations existed in the LFPR of older men and women in accordance with the local economy. In other words, did the LFPR of elderly men and women vary regionally in the more industrialised northern counties compared with the more agrarian south? Additionally, did the LFPR of older people vary as the Victorian population became increasingly urbanised? Also, Johnson and Woollard's research represent the two major studies on the employment of elderly men, with an in-depth enquiry lacking on elderly women. How far did the LFPR of older women change in accordance with that of older men and was there a decline in the economic activities of older women?

As for retirement patterns, very little has been done to assess the numbers of those 'retired' in the CEBs as a proportion of the elderly population. To what extent did enumerators designate older men and women as 'retired' in the CEBs? Was the use of this designation increasing by 1911? Also, what did it mean to 'retire' or to be 'formerly' in work? An analysis of the occupational structure of those listed in these categories can demonstrate how concepts of 'retirement' were defined by contemporaries in the Victorian period. For example, if we differentiate between those described as 'retired' and those enumerated as 'formerly' in occupations, which occupations determined these designations in the CEBs? It may be found that those 'retired' belonged to higher-status occupations than those 'formerly' in occupations. The 1901 General Reports provide clues as to those representing the 'retired'. The reporters found that men described as policemen, civil servants and farmers were more likely to be enumerated as 'retired' than those that were railway engine drivers, coal miners and those in the building trade. Women that worked in agriculture and as innkeepers were more likely to be described as 'retired' than as domestic servants.⁴⁴ It may be hypothesised that 'retirement' in the nineteenth century context meant anybody that voluntarily withdrew from work based on

⁴⁴ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1893-4, CVI.629 (C.7222), *Census of England and Wales, 1891, Volume IV, General Report, with Summary Tables and Appendices*, pp. 128-130.

the acquisition of savings, land and capital.⁴⁵ This would conflict with Johnson's view that withdrawal from work before the Old Age Pension Act was synonymous with being poor.

Furthermore, in earlier CEBs (until 1881), older people that received poor relief were often designated as 'pauper' next to their occupation. It would be interesting to compare the occupational structure of those 'retired' with those designated as 'paupers' to assess if retirement and poverty, or more specifically, pauperism, were interchangeable concepts in mid-Victorian society. To summarise, was there a difference between 'retirement' and 'pauperism' in old age? This will provide a comparison of older people that were self-reliant with those dependent upon the state. Another question to ask is to what extent was retirement in the mid-Victorian period carried out voluntarily? If there were particular occupations that led to persons formerly holding them being described as 'retired' and other occupations that led to persons being described as 'paupers', could this be one way of inferring that retirement was carried out voluntarily? Overall, using transcribed census data means that occupational structure is given greater scope across time, region and locality. The reliability of CEB data to assess retirement patterns can be further investigated. Based on these advantages, it becomes easier to uncover the autonomous nature of elderly populations, actively working or retiring voluntarily. A study of self-sufficient old people revises our interpretation of old age as a pathological concept, characterised by dependency on state welfare and hardship.⁴⁶

3.4 Source Materials

It is now possible to reassess previous arguments with the 100 per cent coverage of CEB data arising from the I-CeM project. This chapter presents a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the changing patterns of employment and retirement of men and women aged 60 and over across 1851 to 1911 (excluding 1871). It uses five selected counties, representing each distinctive region of England and a Welsh county, as case examples (Cheshire, Glamorgan, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and the Yorkshire West Riding). Full transcriptions of census data for the five selected counties will provide comparisons with sampled data by Woollard and Johnson. Information on employment patterns is given through textual-based and numerically-coded data, the latter broken down into numbers 1-999 (those in code 772 and beyond are recognised as economically inactive or without specific information on occupations).⁴⁷ Details

⁴⁵ This is based on a reading of Ottaway's descriptions for the eighteenth century in *Decline of Life*, p. 9.

⁴⁶ Ottaway, *Decline of Life*, p. 66.

⁴⁷ A comprehensive guide to the numeric codes for occupations based on the I-CeM Occupational Matrix is in Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, pp. 163-183. As coding was

on retirement and those ‘formerly’ in occupations are indicated textually as based on the original CEB data (for example, one is enumerated in the occupational column of the CEBs as ‘retired farmer’) and numerically by I-CeM.⁴⁸ The numeric codes on occupational structure have been further grouped into 23 major occupational categories.⁴⁹ These 23 categories will be used throughout this chapter to analyse changes in the LFPR of older men and women by occupational group.

We can also compare the numbers in an occupation and those designated as ‘retired’ with the proportions that were estimated to have received poor relief under the New Poor Law. This will directly address the issue of ‘retirement’ and ‘pauperism’ as interchangeable concepts. We also extract from biannual parliamentary papers the numbers of men and women that received poor relief under the categories of the ‘non-able-bodied’ and ‘lunatics’.⁵⁰ In this chapter, data are taken from 1 January 1891 and their numbers calculated against the overall numbers aged 60 years and over in the corresponding census period to provide an estimated proportion of older men and women on poor relief. This enables a comparison with the proportions described as ‘retired’ in the 1891 CEBs, when coverage of the ‘retired’ was greater than in earlier periods.⁵¹ As a result, we consider the varied experiences of older people, comparing those that were able to withdraw from work fairly comfortably with those that became destitute.

Despite the use of I-CeM data, there are still shortcomings when examining the labour force of individuals. First, the CEBs throughout 1851 to 1911 had different criteria for defining the actively working older-age population. For example, workhouse inmates are enumerated under

done automatically rather than manually, some miscoding may have arisen, although the authors estimate that 95 per cent of those with occupations were correctly coded, p. 163.

⁴⁸ Codes denoting those active in and inactive from employment form part of the main occupational coding as part of the I-CeM Occupational Matrix, with code 0 denoting those ‘working’ and codes 1 and 2 representing the ‘retired’ and those ‘late/formerly working’ respectively. Since the present author found miscoding in these codes, it was decided to collate those ‘retired’ and ‘formerly’ in work through their textual descriptions which originally formed part of the occupational column of the CEBs. For more information on the ‘INACTIV’ variable, see Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, p. 203.

⁴⁹ The 23 main occupational groups are available on the I-CeM search facility website, where they can be consulted or requested for download.

⁵⁰ As discussed throughout this thesis, there are understandable concerns with using ‘non-able-bodied’ and ‘lunatic’ relief claimants as a proxy for older people. Since the ‘aged and infirm’ constituted a subgroup of the ‘non-able-bodied’ under the New Poor Law, it is highly unlikely that older people would have grouped as ‘able-bodied’. In fact, one example of the preparation of workhouse dietary lists provided distinctions between the ‘able-bodied’ and ‘old people, being all 60 years of age and upwards’. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1836, 595, *Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales, Together With Appendices, A, B, C and D*, p. 56. With regard to the ‘lunatic’ populations, there is the possibility that people that would have been described as ‘non-able-bodied’ could have been incorporated into these populations, in comparison with the ‘able-bodied’. The numbers of ‘lunatic’ men and women are relatively smaller than the ‘non-able-bodied’ populations; it was therefore decided to incorporate their numbers with the ‘non-able-bodied’ as a precaution.

⁵¹ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 279.

their occupation and are categorised as actively working, regardless of their residential status. As a result, LFPRs are overestimated. The ‘retired’ as a separate category were analysed from 1881 onwards, which may underestimate those recorded as retired before 1881.⁵² Thus, an adjusted LFPR would have to be created out of the 23 main occupational categories, by deploying the method practised by Matthew Woollard. The numbers enumerated as ‘retired’ or ‘formerly’ in an occupation and the numbers of institutional inmates (in workhouses or asylums) are subtracted from the original numbers.⁵³ The I-CeM data, regardless of period, have corresponded those that are retired or resident in institutions with an occupation with the suitable occupational code. However, the exercise of creating an adjusted labour rate is not straightforward. The I-CeM data sometimes fail to incorporate the retired as a subgroup into the correct codes; an ‘inactive’ code has been devised, although not all the retired are covered. Since Woollard’s data was based on a sample distributed across Great Britain, adjusting the labour rate for five counties with different population sizes and varying numbers of workhouse and retired populations may cause distortion.⁵⁴ Therefore, this chapter will acknowledge both unadjusted and adjusted labour rates, assuming no major distortion between the two. Furthermore, when analysing particular occupations such as dock labouring, workhouse inmates and the retired may have been coded as actively working in these occupations. Attention will be paid to this issue throughout this chapter.

Comment is also made on the choice to analyse the LFPR and occupational structure of old people aged 60 and over, rather than the boundary of 65 years and over chosen by Johnson and Woollard. Throughout the New Poor Law, the age of 60 years was often used to distinguish between able-bodied applicants for poor relief and non-able-bodied (the latter comprising the ‘aged and infirm’).⁵⁵ Since this chapter analyses the ‘young-old’ subgroup of older people (those aged 60-69 years), the age boundary of 60 as defining when one became ‘older’ is used here.

⁵² Woollard, ‘Employment and Retirement of Older Men’, pp. 438-9.

⁵³ Woollard, ‘Employment and Retirement of Older Men’, p. 443.

⁵⁴ Woollard, ‘Employment and Retirement of Older Men’, p. 438. His analysis of 1851 is based on the national 2 per cent sample created by Michael Anderson during the 1970s and 1980s, discussed in his article, ‘Mis-specification of Servant Occupations in the 1851 Census: A Problem Revisited’, originally published in *Local Population Studies*, 60 (1998), pp. 58-64, later revised in Goose (ed.), *Women’s Work in Industrial England*, pp. 260-8; the 1881 analysis is a 5 per cent random sample of all parishes of Great Britain from the 100 per cent coverage of the digitised 1881 CEBs, produced by the Genealogical Society of Utah, Federation of Family History Societies and transcribed as computer files by Kevin Schürer and Matthew Woollard for the UK Data Archive.

⁵⁵ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 167; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1895, 123 (C.7684-I), *Report on the Royal Commission of the Aged Poor*, p. 71.

3.5 Methodology

This chapter is structured as follows. The discussion on ‘Employment’ starts with a breakdown of the percentages of older men and women through a selection of the 23 main occupational groups, available on the I-CeM search facility on its website. One of these groups comprises those unoccupied or without a specific occupation; an additional group unavailable on the I-CeM search facility is based on those ‘unknown’ (beyond code 999).⁵⁶ The percentages of old men and women were calculated by the individual county and by a combination of the five selected counties. Several occupations are analysed in detail to denote the reasons for their increasing or decreasing rates towards 1911. Male and female LFPRs are then analysed by region in selected periods (specifically those comparing the key periods explored in Johnson and Woollard’s research) to observe if the employment prospects of old people were higher depending on a ‘north-south’ divide. This will incorporate both adjusted and unadjusted labour rates; the former taken to mean the labour rate of individuals excluding the retired, those ‘formerly’ in occupations and those in workhouses and asylums. A regional analysis will reassess the argument that higher wages in northern areas meant a greater incentive for old people to continue working without recourse to the Poor Law.⁵⁷ A consideration of those ‘young-old’ or elderly people aged 60-69 years demonstrates the relative activity of older people at the stage in their lives before their progressive infirmity.

The subsequent discussion on ‘Retirement’ examines first the proportions of old men and women described as ‘retired’ in three census periods (1851, 1891 and 1911), using data broken down by county and by SRD. To test Quadagno’s argument that retirement before the Old Age Pension Act was strongly correlated with pauperism, a comparison between the percentages of older people retired in the 1891 CEBs and the percentages of older people receiving poor relief as recorded in parliamentary papers on 1 January 1891 is needed. A positive association would mean that retirement in the nineteenth century was generally synonymous with pauperism, consistent with Johnson’s argument. A bivariate and multiple regression analysis will take the proportions of elderly men that were described as ‘retired’ and those estimated to have received poor relief as dependent variables, again using 1891 data. Predictors, or the percentages in specific occupations such as agricultural labouring, will assess which occupations precluded older people from pursuing voluntary retirement and which occupations encouraged it.

⁵⁶ For the purposes of Tables 3.1 and 3.2 of this chapter, the two groups have been combined into the category ‘Unoccupied/Unknown.’

⁵⁷ G. Boyer and T.P. Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly in Late Victorian England’, *Economic History Review*, 62 (2009), pp. 249-78, esp. pp. 267-8, 275.

Through tables and column charts, the occupational structure of old people enumerated as ‘retired’ is analysed and compared with the occupational structure of those enumerated as ‘pauper’ or as inmates in the Poor Law Union workhouses. Again, data will be based mainly on the later periods of census data when the coverage on ‘retirement’ was at its most detailed. This will explain whether voluntary retirement existed before the introduction of old age pensions in the early twentieth century. Finally, for both older men and women, the occupational structure of those ‘retired’ from and those ‘formerly’ in occupations is examined in 1881, to clarify how contemporaries in mid-Victorian society defined retirement.

3.6 Analysis – Employment

The combined occupational structure of old men in the five selected counties is presented in Table 3.1. Those working in 13 of 23 occupational categories (and those unoccupied/unknown) are presented here, the additional nine are combined into ‘Other Occupations’. Despite the use of an unadjusted labour rate, the percentage of those occupied from 1851 to 1881 increased, in accordance with the adjusted sample data analysed by Woollard.⁵⁸ The peak employment rate was 92.5 per cent, closely reflecting the 92.6 per cent noted for England and Wales nationally as calculated from the search facility. The decline in male LFPR from 1881, marked by a more severe fall between 1881 and 1891 before steadily decreasing afterwards, reflects Johnson’s research.⁵⁹ The fall in agriculture mainly happened between 1861 and 1881. However, between 1861 and 1881 it was more than offset by the proportions working in the ‘Other Occupations’ and general labouring sector, explaining the overall increase in LFPR. After 1881, the proportions working in agriculture continued to decline. As there was no offsetting increase in the additional sectors after 1881, the overall LFPR declined. By county, the proportions working in agriculture fell in accordance with the average of 2.3 percentage points, except for Hertfordshire, the most agrarian of the five counties. There, the proportion of old men in agriculture fell by 4.9 percentage points. The decline in agriculture in Hertfordshire towards the late nineteenth century, arising from increased imports abroad and short-term heavy rainfalls, has been documented elsewhere. The attractive lure of the towns, and the resulting out-migration of people approaching old age looking for fortunes elsewhere in the urbanised economy, may also explain the fall in agriculture.⁶⁰ Falls are also found for the Dress and Textiles occupations. In Cheshire, a county strongly associated with the silk weaving industry,

⁵⁸ Woollard, ‘Employment and Retirement of Older Men’, Table 3b, p. 446.

⁵⁹ Johnson, ‘Employment and Retirement of Older Men’, p. 126.

⁶⁰ J. Moore, ‘The Impact of Agricultural Depression and Land Ownership Change on the County of Hertfordshire, c. 1870-1914’ (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Hertfordshire, 2010), pp. 50-62.

9.5 per cent of elderly men worked in textiles in 1881, compared with 6.5 per cent in 1901. The fall in silk weaving specifically was responsible. In 1881, 34.4 per cent of Cheshire's elderly male textile workers specialised in silk weaving (code 576), falling to 26.5 per cent in 1901. This is consistent with the general decline in silk manufacturing by the late nineteenth century, attributed to increased imports from France.⁶¹

Table 3.1 – Labour force participation rate of men aged 60 years and over in Cheshire, Glamorganshire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and parts of Yorkshire West Riding (Five Counties), 1851-1911

Five Counties %	1851	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Agriculture	34.1	33.1	24.1	21.8	16.4	13.0
Building	6.6	6.2	7.3	7.1	8.6	8.8
Commercial	1.1	1.4	1.9	2.1	2.4	3.4
Conveyance	4.3	5.2	6.0	6.5	7.5	8.3
Dom. Services	1.2	1.6	2.6	2.1	3.0	3.3
Dress	5.3	5.2	5.6	4.6	3.8	3.1
Food/Drink	5.6	5.8	6.6	6.4	6.4	5.7
General Workers	9.1	8.9	12.0	12.3	8.9	9.9
Metals/Machines	7.0	7.0	8.6	8.4	10.2	9.8
Mines/Quarries	2.5	2.9	4.2	5.0	6.1	6.8
Prof. Occup's	2.2	2.0	2.8	2.6	2.9	3.2
Textiles	4.5	4.3	3.7	3.1	2.8	2.3
Wood/Furniture	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6
Other Occupations	4.5	4.4	5.3	5.3	6.6	6.5
Unoccupied/Unknown	10.1	10.3	7.5	11.2	12.7	14.1
N. Occupied	45009	52583	76004	80484	89991	116064
% Occupied	89.9	89.7	92.5	88.8	87.3	85.9

Notes: 'Other Occupations' combines occupational variables of Government, Brick/Cement/Pottery/Glass, Chemicals, Skins/Leather, Paper/Prints, Jewels, Defence, Fishing, Gas/Water. Original unadjusted labour rate includes retired, those 'formerly' in an occupation and those institutionalised in workhouses/asylums.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851-1911 (excluding 1871).

When the LFPR data was adjusted in accordance with Woollard's criteria, the percentages of men aged 60 and over actively working excluding the retired and workhouse inmates conforms roughly to Woollard's data. In 1851, 80.8 per cent of men aged 60 and over outside of

⁶¹ F. Crouzet, (trans. A. Forster), *The Victorian Economy* (London, 1982), pp. 220-1.

institutions and the retired worked, above the 77 per cent in Woollard's data.⁶² The reason for the slightly higher rates for the five counties is Glamorgan's exceptionally high rate of near 87 per cent. Not only in Glamorganshire were the proportions in agriculture substantial, at 27.5 per cent, but over 10 per cent worked in general labouring and in mining (14.7 per cent and 10.1 per cent respectively). The proportions retired and in workhouses were fairly small, not least because Poor Law Unions in Wales were generally reluctant to open any workhouses; Merthyr Tydfil's workhouse was not opened until 1853.⁶³ By 1881, the male LFPR fell to 79.7 per cent, close to Woollard's 79 per cent.⁶⁴ The male LFPR in the five counties gradually fell by two percentage points, in contrast with a rise noted by Woollard. His methodology may be responsible for these contrasts, as he consulted a 5 per cent sample distributed across Great Britain.⁶⁵ The five counties shared wide variations in the size of the elderly population excluded from the adjusted labour rate, which may explain the gradual fall in male LFPR. A greater fall in the adjusted labour rate was realised in 1891, at 76 per cent, again confirming Johnson's conclusion that male LFPR began speedily declining after 1891.⁶⁶

The figures presented above confirm Johnson and Woollard's conclusions that the LFPR of older men increased towards 1881, before economic circumstances resulted in a sustained decline from 1891 onwards. What scholars do not acknowledge is that the LFPR of older men *had* increased by the end of the Edwardian era in certain occupations. The Building, Metals/Machines, Commercial, Mines/Quarries, Professional and Conveyance trades saw a rise in the male LFPR by 1911. When comparing occupations in the Conveyance group in 1851 with 1911, we find that there was an increase in the proportion of older male conveyance workers recorded as railway officials (code 125) and as dock labourers (code 166), rising by seven and near six percentage points respectively. The former occupation reflects the growth in railways and its related occupations in the Victorian period.⁶⁷ While it is true that 67.5 per cent of older men working as railway officials (code 125) were described as retired or superannuated, a third were recorded as still participatory in the occupation. When those aged 60-69 years only were analysed, 58 per cent were described as retired or receiving a pension,

⁶² Calculated from Woollard, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', Table 3a, p. 445.

⁶³ K. Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty* (London 1981), Table 4.33b, p. 220; M.A. Crowther, *The Workhouse System, 1834-1929* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 46-7.

⁶⁴ Calculated from Woollard, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', Table 3b, p. 446.

⁶⁵ Woollard, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', p. 438.

⁶⁶ Johnson, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', Table 2, p. 116.

⁶⁷ For an introduction to the railway boom and the increase in persons employed in the railways in the UK, see P.W. Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen: The Emergence and Growth of Railway Labour, 1830-1870* (Abingdon, 2006, originally published 1970), Table 1, p. xii.

suggesting that the Old Age Pension Act of 1911 may have inflated the numbers of older men coded by I-CeM but technically retired owing to their old age pensions. The rise in dock labouring was particularly evident in the maritime SRDs of Cardiff (Glamorganshire); Birkenhead (Cheshire) and Southampton (Hampshire), explaining the overall increase of older men in the Conveyance trade. Higgs argues that dock labouring was characterised in the same way as agrarian labour, which was mostly seasonal and causal.⁶⁸ According to data on older male workhouse inmates in 1911, dock labourers were more likely to enter the workhouse than any other occupational group save for agricultural and general labouring, at 3.1 per cent compared with 11.8 per cent and 21.6 per cent respectively. Only 14.5 per cent of dock labourers surveyed (N = 1,229) were recorded in workhouses. An additional number of those recorded as ‘retired’, or receiving an old age pension meant that 19.4 per cent of dock labourers were effectively inactive. One 60-year-old from Cardiff was enumerated as a ‘dock regger [*sic*] but uncapsitated [*sic*] through an accident nearly sustained three years ago.’⁶⁹ While dock labouring was a precarious job for older people, there is evidence to suggest a greater number of old men actively participated in the trade in 1911 from 1851. Other occupations also experienced a rise in the proportion of older male workers, such as the Building trade, where 8.8 per cent of older men worked in 1911. In the sub-occupations associated with the Building group, builders (code 405), bricklaying (code 412) and painters/decorators (code 421) experienced the highest increases between 1901 and 1911.

An increase was seen for several occupations not associated with a life inside the workhouse. The proportion of older men in the ‘Commercial’ group increased from 2.4 per cent in 1901 to 3.4 per cent in 1911. The largest increases within the ‘Commercial’ group were found for commercial travellers, or salesmen (code 114) and surveyors, or house agents (code 117).⁷⁰ Only seven older men in codes 114 and 117 entered workhouses in the five selected counties in 1911.⁷¹ Similar to dock labouring, the presence of these commercial travellers was most prominent in urbanising SRDs such as Cardiff, Birkenhead, Ecclesall Bierlow and Stockport. Table 3.1 also shows that the proportion of Mining and Metals/Manufacture workers also increased towards 1911, a reflection of the continuing economic strength of the Glamorgan

⁶⁸ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census – Revisited*, p. 113.

⁶⁹ Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1911.

⁷⁰ For evidence that shows a rise in commercial travelling towards and after the 1911 census, see M. French, ‘Commercials, Careers and Culture: Travelling Salesmen in Britain, 1890s-1930s’, *Economic History Review*, 58 (2005), pp. 352-77.

⁷¹ The comprehensive list of numeric codes (ranging from 1-999) for all occupational groups can be located in a guide to using the I-CeM datasets, see Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, pp. 163-183.

mining industry and the Sheffield steelworks. In Sheffield SRD alone, 393 more elderly men participated in Metals/Manufacture. They were more likely to work as cutlery and scissor makers, which involved file-cutting and spring-knife, or penknife, cutting.⁷² However, their percentages fell by four percentage points over time out of the Metals/Manufacture population. This is perhaps based on the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897, where older men were increasingly excluded from industrial and technologically-intensive jobs as they were considered a liability when pursuing hazardous work.⁷³ Despite this, in Sheffield SRD, the proportion of those in the Metal group that worked in pig iron manufacturing (code 241) and as patternmakers in engine and machine making (code 253) increased. This contrasted with the 31,308 workers of all ages that were involved in the Metals trade in Sheffield, where they primarily worked directly in steel manufacturing, smelting and founding. Older men in Sheffield were seen to pursue less dangerous or labour-intensive tasks.

⁷² D. Hey and J. Unwin, 'The Company, Its Freemen and Its Apprentices, 1624-1860', in C. Binfield and D. Hey (eds.), *Mesters to Masters: A History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 26-39, esp. p. 34.

⁷³ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 140.

Table 3.2 – Labour force participation rate of women aged 60 years and over in Cheshire, Glamorganshire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and parts of Yorkshire West Riding (Five Counties), 1851-1911

Five Counties %	1851	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Agriculture	4.7	3.4	2.5	1.4	1.2	0.9
Building	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Conveyance	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Dom. Services	10.9	12.2	12.3	8.3	7.5	7.2
Dress	2.3	3.4	4.0	2.9	2.3	1.4
Food/Drink	2.9	3.1	3.4	3.0	3.0	2.5
General Workers	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.8
Metals/Machines	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4
Prof. Occup's	2.6	2.3	2.0	1.3	1.2	1.3
Textiles	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.1	1.0	0.7
Other Occupations	1.2	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.8
Unoccupied/Unknown	71.6	71.0	71.3	80.1	82.0	83.7
N. Occupied	15959	18768	26586	21492	22800	26577
% Occupied	28.4	29.0	28.7	19.9	18.0	16.3

Notes: 'Other Occupations' combines occupational variables of Mines/Quarries, Wood, Government, Chemicals, Skins/Leather, Brick/Cement/Pottery/Glass, Paper/Prints, Jewels/Watches, Defence, Fishing, Gas/Water, Commercial. Original adjusted labour rate includes retired, those 'formerly' in an occupation and those institutionalised in workhouses/asylums.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851-1911 (excluding 1871).

Overall, the data somewhat challenge Macnicol's argument that changing technology in late Victorian Britain diminished the older-age workforce.⁷⁴ While the presence of old men in agriculture and textiles declined, old men were found to be adapting to an economy that was becoming more urbanised over time. The percentages in Table 3.1 reflect the testimony of the Birkenhead Board of Guardians in 1892. They describe the integration of old men into the dockland workforce: 'Shipyards keep on old hands as long as they can work.'⁷⁵ Simply put, old men may have exchanged agrarian work for urbanised work towards 1911.

Table 3.2 shows the LFPR of women aged 60 and over, with 11 groups combined into 'Other'. The peak employment rate was 29.0 per cent in 1861, compared with an equivalent figure for England and Wales overall of 30.9 per cent as calculated from the search facility. With the downfall in LFPR from 28.7 per cent in 1881 to 19.9 per cent in 1891, this corresponds to the

⁷⁴ Macnicol, *The Politics of Retirement*, p. 22.

⁷⁵ C. Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894), p. 186.

timing in the LFPR decline for older men. An analysis of published census data shows a rise in the LFPR among women aged 65 years and over by 1881, before a fall after 1891.⁷⁶ The adjusted LFPR of older women also parallels the unadjusted LFPR. It shows that a quarter of older women actively worked in 1851 and 1881, before a fall of 17.6 per cent in 1891.

The overall female LFPR was mainly affected by the rate in domestic service, which fell by 12.3 per cent in 1881 to 8.3 per cent in 1891. The proportions occupied in occupational code 84, or 'Other Domestic Indoor Servants – Undefined', is one main factor for the decline in overall domestic service. The proportion of women in Domestic Services recorded in code 84 fell by 9.6 percentage points. The proportions in code 84 enumerated as 'Head' in the relationship column fell from 33.4 per cent in 1881 to 21.2 per cent in 1891, while the proportion coded as 'Servant' in the relationship column increased from 19.3 per cent to 31.5 per cent in 1891. The majority of these 'Heads' in code 84 were enumerated as housekeepers, at 79.8 per cent in 1881 and 75.2 per cent in 1891. Interestingly, census abstractors analysing the CEBs miscategorised housekeepers performing domestic duties at home and not resident in the households of their masters, with those subsequently classified as domestic servants. The works of Eddy Higgs and Michael Anderson have shown that the erroneous incorporation of housekeepers as domestic servants may have been affected by regional definitions of the term 'housekeeper'.⁷⁷ When the numbers of those enumerated as both household head and housekeeper are subtracted from the overall numbers of older women in domestic service, there was a 3 percentage point reduction in domestic service, compared with 4 per cent generally (10.7 per cent in 1881 were domestic servants, compared with 7.7 per cent in 1891). Thus, a decline in domestic service is partly explained by a growing decline in the enumeration of older women as both household head and 'housekeepers'. Why a decline in domestic service took place for female LFPR from 1851 to 1911 is unclear. The last time that housekeepers were incorporated into the classification of domestic service in the published census reports was in 1871.⁷⁸ Also, the strict regional description of 'housekeeper' identified by Higgs and Anderson fell out of favour with enumerators by 1891 and thus lowered the proportions coded by I-CeM as domestic servants. If we calculate the proportion of older women recorded in code 84 that

⁷⁶ You, 'Women's Employment in England and Wales', Figure 2.2, p. 81.

⁷⁷ E. Higgs, 'The Tabulation of Occupations in the Nineteenth-Century Census, with Special Reference to Domestic Servants', *Local Population Studies*, 28 (1982), pp. 58-66, later revised in Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England*, pp. 250-9; M. Anderson, 'Mis-specification of Servant Occupations', later revised in Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England*, pp. 260-8.

⁷⁸ M. Woollard, 'The Classification of Domestic Servants in England and Wales, 1851-1911', <http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~matthew/> (Accessed 23 March 2017).

also were enumerated as 'Head' in 1881 and 1891, where the majority were described as 'housekeepers', we find that the sharpest falls are found in the very districts where the proportion of code 84 individuals that were the 'Head' was very high. For example, in Pontardawre SRD, 70.4 per cent of code 84 females were described as the 'Head', falling to 37.5 per cent in 1891. In both periods, the highest proportions of code 84 females enumerated as the 'Head' were noted in Cheshire, Yorkshire West Riding and Glamorgan, reflecting Anderson's idea of a regional distinction in the term 'housekeeper' in northern England.⁷⁹ The fall in such distinctions by 1891 is partly consistent with the overall fall in the proportion of older women in domestic service occupations. Also, an analysis of all older female domestic servants by SRD shows that falls in domestic service were found for half of the Cheshire and Glamorgan districts surveyed, especially in the towns of Stockport, Merthyr Tydfil and Macclesfield. The growth of the urban population may have resulted in a fall in the numbers of domestic servants, as alternative employments in towns were available.⁸⁰

The Dress trade also experienced a downfall, especially in Hertfordshire, the site of the straw plaiting and hat manufacturing trade. In 1881, 11.2 per cent of older women in Hertfordshire worked in Dress; by 1911, only 1.9 per cent worked in the trade. The data are consistent with the falling numbers of straw plaiting and hat manufacturing workers in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire by late Victorian Britain, owing to cheap Asian imports of straw.⁸¹ The growing urban population marked not only the end of an agricultural economy, but also a decline in protoindustrial cottage industry. Overall, Table 3.2 shows that, unlike older men, women did not experience any significant increase in LFPR in terms of the 22 occupational categories where women were recorded in active work. Older men may have received opportunities, albeit precarious, to participate in the growing urban economies of Birkenhead and Cardiff, but such opportunities were lacking for older women. This confirms a recent study of women's work, which argues that a decline in LFPR for older women took place because the modernisation of the economy over time meant that casual and informal employment reserved for older women was severely reduced.⁸² This chapter elaborates on this finding by arguing that a modernising economy partly affected older women in relatively

⁷⁹ Anderson, 'Mis-specification of Servant Occupations', originally published in *Local Population Studies*, pp. 59-61.

⁸⁰ E. Roberts, *Women's Work, 1840-1940* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 22.

⁸¹ N. Goose, *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851, Vol. 2: St. Albans and its Region* (Hatfield, 2000), Table 6, p. 71.

⁸² You, 'Women's Employment in England and Wales', pp. 155-6.

higher-income occupations such as domestic service and the straw plaiting and hat manufacturing trades.

Table 3.3 – Original and adjusted labour force participation rate of men and women aged 60 years and over in Cheshire, Glamorganshire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and parts of Yorkshire West Riding, 1851, 1881 and 1891

Counties	1851				1881				1891			
	% Original LFPR		% Adjusted LFPR		% Original LFPR		% Adjusted LFPR		% Original LFPR		% Adjusted LFPR	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Cheshire	90.2	32.3	80.7	29.8	94.3	33.0	80.7	27.8	91.0	23.0	78.0	20.1
Glamorgan	92.2	24.9	86.9	22.4	94.6	25.5	85.9	21.8	91.8	16.4	82.7	14.7
Hampshire	87.0	25.7	77.1	21.6	87.9	27.3	74.4	22.8	83.6	19.8	68.5	18.1
Hertfordshire	91.6	32.9	80.7	28.5	92.9	33.8	77.8	27.7	87.5	23.3	74.5	19.3
West Riding	91.5	27.0	83.2	23.8	94.7	25.0	81.4	21.2	91.5	17.6	78.8	15.5
N. occupied	45009	15959	40488	14081	76004	26586	65446	22323	80484	21492	68863	18997
TOTAL	89.9	28.4	80.8	25.1	92.5	28.7	79.7	24.1	88.8	19.9	76.0	17.6

Notes: ‘Adjusted’ labour force participation rate excludes those enumerated as ‘retired’ and ‘formerly’ with an occupation and workhouse and asylum inmates with an occupation, following methodology from M. Woollard, ‘The Employment and Retirement of Older Men, 1851-1881: Further Evidence from the Census’, *Continuity and Change*, 17 (2002), pp. 437-63.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851, 1881 and 1891.

The advantage of a county-based study means that regional variations in the LFPR can be tested. Table 3.3 demonstrates the LFPR of older men and women, adjusted and unadjusted, by county. When unadjusted rates are incorporated, some interesting patterns emerge. A north-south divide is evident in the male LFPR, as Glamorgan commanded the highest original LFPR in 1851 and 1891 and the highest adjusted male LFPR in 1851, 1881 and 1891. The West Riding had the highest original male LFPR in 1881. By 1881, the original and adjusted male LFPRs show that Hertfordshire and Hampshire were lagging behind Cheshire, Glamorgan and the Yorkshire West Riding. In all the periods examined in Table 3.3, Hampshire contained the lowest original and adjusted male LFPRs, which may suggest that economic diversification was lacking in Hampshire. This contrasts with the primary sector of mining in Glamorganshire and the secondary sectors of textiles and metal manufacturing in Cheshire and the West Riding respectively. Although Hampshire is exceptional, counties with a high male LFPR are found to contain relatively lower rates of female LFPR. Glamorgan had the lowest female LFPR in 1851 (original labour rate) and 1891 (original and adjusted); the West Riding commanded the lowest LFPR in 1881 (original and adjusted). Thus, where the male LFPR in old age was

highest, the female LFPR was generally lowest, suggesting that there was little incentive for older women to contribute to an economy comprising high proportions of male labour. Cheshire and Hertfordshire exhibited the highest rates of female LFPR, based on the involvement of older women in textiles and the straw plaiting and hat trade respectively. Their rates are still high despite the noted decline in these industries. Overall, regional differences in the LFPR, in the sense of a divide between northern England/Glamorganshire and southern England, are not realised for women.

When the LFPR is adjusted to exclude institutionalised inmates and those retired/formerly working, there are slight differences to the original LFPRs in 1851. While the original male LFPR in Hertfordshire was higher than in the Yorkshire West Riding, there was a wider disparity in favour of the Yorkshire West Riding when adjusted labour rates were analysed. The adjusted percentages of older men recorded in work in Cheshire and Hertfordshire were equal, showing that a 'north-south' divide in male employment only began in 1881 and continued in 1891. In the four English counties, the disparity in the adjusted male LFPRs widened by 1891, as 78 per cent of men aged 60 years and over were working in Cheshire, compared with 68.5 per cent in Hampshire. The decline in agriculture in the more agrarian southern counties of Hampshire and Hertfordshire is consistent with an emerging 'north-south' divide in male LFPR. Despite the use of only four English counties, what these findings show is that the idea of a 'north-south' divide in the nineteenth century can extend beyond the realm of old age pauperism; the employment patterns in the five selected counties may account for the geographical variations in old age pauperism.⁸³ As for adjusted female LFPR, there are hardly any differences when compared with the original LFPRs. Higher female LFPRs were noted in Cheshire and Hertfordshire, owing to textiles and the dress trade respectively, although the decline in straw plaiting and hat making in Hertfordshire meant that the range in female LFPR between the five counties was lower in 1891 than in 1881. Overall, even when excluding the retired, those formerly in work and the institutionalised, similar patterns remain for older men and women compared with the original LFPR.

⁸³ Boyer, 'Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', pp. 24-7. Recently, other scholars also have noted a 'north-south' divide in the nineteenth century, particularly through patterns of migration to London. See K. Schürer and J. Day, 'Migration to London and the Development of the North-South Divide, 1851-1911', *Social History*, 44 (2019), pp. 26-56.

Table 3.4a – Labour force participation rates of men aged 60-69 years and aged 60 years and over in Cheshire, Glamorganshire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and parts of Yorkshire West Riding (Five Counties), 1851-1911

MALE	% 1851		% 1861		% 1881		% 1891		% 1901		% 1911	
	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+
<i>Age Group</i>	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+
Cheshire	93.2	90.2	92.5	90.7	96.4	94.3	94.2	91.0	93.6	86.2	93.7	87.7
Glamorgan	95.7	92.2	94.8	92.3	96.8	94.6	94.7	91.8	94.4	90.6	95.1	89.0
Hampshire	89.7	87.0	88.5	85.9	90.4	87.9	87.6	83.6	86.4	81.7	86.0	79.3
Hertfordshire	94.4	91.6	93.4	90.7	96.2	92.9	93.3	87.5	92.5	86.2	92.6	85.8
West Riding	94.3	91.5	93.9	91.9	96.7	94.7	94.8	91.5	94.1	89.7	95.2	89.5
N. occupied	29322	45009	34553	52583	51677	76004	54810	80484	62250	89188	84791	116015
TOTAL	92.8	89.9	92.1	89.7	94.9	92.5	92.6	88.8	91.9	86.5	92.3	85.9

Table 3.4b – Labour force participation rates of women aged 60-69 years and aged 60 years and over in Cheshire, Glamorganshire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and parts of Yorkshire West Riding (Five Counties), 1851-1911

FEMALE	% 1851		% 1861		% 1881		% 1891		% 1901		% 1911	
	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+
<i>Age Group</i>	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+	60-69	60+
Cheshire	33.2	32.3	34.5	33.5	34.5	33.0	25.3	23.0	23.4	21.3	22.0	19.1
Glamorgan	26.4	24.9	24.1	23.9	26.4	25.5	17.2	16.4	14.3	13.7	15.1	13.7
Hampshire	27.2	25.7	28.1	26.7	29.4	27.3	22.4	19.8	20.8	18.0	19.2	16.0
Hertfordshire	33.8	32.9	37.4	35.0	35.9	33.8	26.3	23.3	21.4	18.7	19.7	16.6
West Riding	27.8	27.0	27.3	26.7	26.7	25.0	19.7	17.6	19.6	17.7	18.3	15.6
N. occupied	10247	15959	12169	18768	18086	26586	15030	21492	15973	22800	19236	26577
TOTAL	29.6	28.4	30.1	29.0	30.3	28.7	22.0	19.9	20.0	18.0	18.9	16.3

Notes: Original adjusted labour rate includes retired, those 'formerly' in an occupation and those institutionalised in workhouses/asylums.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851-1911 (excluding 1871).

The LFPR of older men and women at an age-specific stage reveals how participation in the Victorian economy was determined by the proportions of older people known as 'young-old', or people aged 60 to 69 years. The finding that old people in their sixties had higher LFPRs than those in their seventies and eighties has been confirmed by Johnson and Woollard.⁸⁴ Tables 3.4a and 3.4b present the unadjusted LFPR of men and women aged 60-69 years across 1851-1911, compared with men and women aged 60 years and over. Percentages were higher

⁸⁴ Woollard, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', Table 3, pp. 445-6; Johnson, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', Table 1, pp. 113-4.

for both men and women in the 60-69 age-bracket than for men and women aged 60 years and over generally. The LFPR for males aged 60-69 years was fairly constant, with a fall to 91.9 per cent in 1901 before a rise to 92.3 per cent ten years later. In fact, Cheshire and the Yorkshire West Riding sees a small rise in male LFPR at ages 60-69 years in 1911 from 1851. The biggest declines in male LFPR are found for Hertfordshire and Hampshire. For female LFPR, a decrease is marked by over eight percentage points from 1881 to 1891, roughly similar to the general decline in LFPR for women aged 60 years and over. Even when analysing women in their sixties, the contribution of older women to the economy declined by the twentieth century. However, for older men in their sixties, there was consistent levels of activity throughout 1851-1911, especially in areas of northern England and Glamorganshire. When Charles Booth surveyed the aged poor in the 1890s, he also found that the proportions of old men and women contributing to the economy (unsupported by poor relief and other assistance) decreased as they aged. Compensating for their gradual withdrawal from the workforce was the Poor Law and reliance upon own means.⁸⁵ This suggests that infirmity or voluntary retirement was a gradual process occurring as one aged.

3.7 Analysis – Retirement

As discussed earlier, there has been little consultation of the CEBs to analyse retirement in great detail. This is for many reasons. First, scholars argue that voluntary retirement was confined to a minority of relatively affluent people before the advent of old age pensions in 1908.⁸⁶ After this period, society experienced the democratisation of voluntary retirement or, as Thane outlines, an ‘emergence of mass retirement.’⁸⁷ Second, a lack of confidence in the CEBs as a reliable indicator of retirement has prevented an in-depth study. Higgs argues that there is ‘the difficulty in making a definite distinction between being in employment, being retired, or being unemployed.’⁸⁸ Finally, it has been perceived that, in the Victorian past, retirement for the majority of people was associated with forced withdrawal from the workforce and descent into pauperism.⁸⁹ This section will reassess these arguments. It will show that the proportion of old people classed as retired was growing, but was higher than expected before the twentieth century. Also, an analysis of different terms to describe the economic position of old people, for example, ‘retired’, ‘formerly’ and ‘pauper’, conveys some revealing disparities

⁸⁵ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 346.

⁸⁶ Johnson, ‘Parallel Histories of Retirement in Modern Britain’, p. 220.

⁸⁷ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 385-406.

⁸⁸ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census – Revisited*, p. 113.

⁸⁹ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 150.

in the use of these terms, especially by occupational group. An analysis of the proportions retired against the numbers on poor relief contradicts the argument that retirement in the Victorian era was another byword for pauperism. Overall, this section will outline how the concept of voluntary retirement in the nineteenth century was more substantial than scholars give credit for.

The methodology examines retirement in three separate periods. First is the earliest reliable census of 1851. The next period is 1891, a decade after the retired became recognised in the published census reports as a distinct category. The final period of 1911 was chosen because this was three years after the Old Age Pension Act. The retired are defined here as those enumerated as such, excluding institutionalised inmates described as ‘retired’ and those who were also enumerated as ‘pauper’ as well as ‘retired’. It was decided to incorporate those in 1911 described as both ‘retired’ and receiving an old age pension. Table 3.5 presents the proportions of old men and women enumerated as retired by five counties. For both groups, an increase is most noticeable between 1851 and 1891, when the retired became a distinct category. The introduction of old age pensions resulted in a steady increase in 1911 from 1891 for older men. Older women, however, faced a fall in the proportions retired in 1911 from 1891, suggesting that old age pensions made little difference to the enumeration of old women as retired. Interestingly, 10.3 per cent of older men in 1891, seventeen years before the introduction of old age pensions, were described as retired. While it is true that retirement was not universally realised among older age groups in the nineteenth century, it is questionable to constitute the numbers of retired as a ‘very small minority’ of middle- and upper-class people.⁹⁰

Table 3.5 – Percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over recorded as ‘retired’ in Cheshire, Glamorganshire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and parts of Yorkshire West Riding (Five Counties), 1851, 1891 and 1911.

	1851%		1891%		1911%	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Five Counties						
Cheshire	5.6	1.5	11.0	2.2	15.5	1.4
Glamorgan	2.8	1.1	6.8	1.2	9.7	0.7
Hampshire	4.1	1.1	13.1	1.6	15.4	1.1
Hertfordshire	3.0	1.1	7.5	1.5	12.7	1.4
West Riding	4.8	0.9	10.4	1.6	12.5	1.1
N	2167	662	9364	1812	18073	1872
TOTAL	4.3	1.2	10.3	1.7	13.4	1.1

⁹⁰ Johnson, ‘Parallel Histories of Retirement in Modern Britain’, p. 220.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851, 1891 and 1911.

Some regional patterns are revealed in the data. In 1851, older men in Cheshire and the West Riding were more likely to be marked as retired than in Glamorgan and Hertfordshire. This becomes complicated by 1891 when Hampshire had the highest percentages of older male retirement and Hertfordshire eclipsed the West Riding in 1911. Hertfordshire has been documented as a traditionally agrarian county in southern England relying heavily upon the Poor Law, compared with counties in northern England.⁹¹ This explains the relatively lower rates of men retired in 1851 and 1891. By 1911, old age pensions superseded parish relief, explaining the surge of retired men in Hertfordshire from 7.5 per cent in 1891 to 12.7 per cent in 1911.

Cheshire and the West Riding commanded higher rates of male retirement than in Hertfordshire and Glamorgan in 1891. In all periods, Glamorgan contained the lowest proportions of men retired and, in 1891 and 1911, the lowest proportions of female retired. Regarding older women, the percentages retired were extremely small and stable. However, women were more likely to experience retirement in Cheshire in all three periods, although Hertfordshire's rates were the same as Cheshire's in 1911. As the LFPR of older women was higher in Cheshire than in the other counties, this would have determined the relatively higher percentage of female retired in Cheshire, since older women pursued voluntary retirement from their occupation.

⁹¹ Seasonal unemployment in agriculture can explain why older men relied on the New Poor Law, as the percentages of the population on poor relief were skewed towards the winter months, especially indoor relief patterns. See N. Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender in Nineteenth-Century England: The Case of Hertfordshire', *Continuity and Change*, 20 (2005), pp. 351-84.

Table 3.6 – Percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over recorded as ‘retired’ by SRD in Cheshire, Glamorganshire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and Yorkshire West Riding (Five Counties), 1851, 1891 and 1911

SRD	County	1851 %		1891 %		1911 %	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
Altrincham	Cheshire	6.9	2.1	12.8	2.3	15.8	1.8
Birkenhead	Cheshire	N/A	N/A	13.5	1.4	16.6	1.0
Chester	Cheshire	6.3	2.3	9.1	2.0	13.1	1.5
Congleton	Cheshire	4.9	2.2	9.5	2.7	14.2	3.3
Macclesfield	Cheshire	5.5	1.9	9.7	3.0	12.7	2.4
Nantwich	Cheshire	5.1	2.0	8.8	1.8	19.5	1.0
Northwich	Cheshire	5.1	1.0	12.0	1.5	14.8	1.1
Runcorn	Cheshire	4.6	1.0	7.0	0.7	12.1	0.6
Stockport	Cheshire	4.4	0.6	12.0	3.4	15.4	1.5
Wirral	Cheshire	8.4	0.9	13.9	1.9	17.8	1.0
Bridgend	Glamorgan	2.3	1.1	6.3	1.2	11.6	1.5
Cardiff	Glamorgan	3.1	1.5	8.4	1.8	10.2	0.7
Gower	Glamorgan	N/A	N/A	14.6	2.7	17.5	2.4
Merthyr Tydfil	Glamorgan	2.4	0.8	4.7	0.7	8.4	0.5
Neath	Glamorgan	2.3	0.6	5.5	0.9	8.8	0.7
Pontardawe	Glamorgan	N/A	N/A	8.1	0.5	13.5	0.4
Pontypridd	Glamorgan	N/A	N/A	5.5	0.9	7.3	0.5
Swansea	Glamorgan	3.5	1.5	8.1	1.5	10.8	0.6
Alresford	Hampshire	3.3	2.4	7.5	1.1	9.1	1.0
Alton	Hampshire	5.3	0.6	6.9	1.4	8.2	1.1
Alverstoke	Hampshire	3.8	0.6	14.3	2.4	12.3	0.5
Andover	Hampshire	3.6	0.8	8.1	1.2	12.5	1.0
Basingstoke	Hampshire	3.0	0.3	7.4	1.1	12.5	0.5
Catherington	Hampshire	1.7	0.0	12.1	1.8	12.0	0.5
Christchurch	Hampshire	3.1	1.9	18.4	2.4	27.1	1.7
Droxford	Hampshire	3.2	1.0	9.3	1.4	11.2	0.8
Fareham	Hampshire	3.2	0.9	8.9	1.0	11.1	0.7
Fordingbridge	Hampshire	4.7	0.9	7.6	2.0	11.1	1.9
Hartley Witney	Hampshire	1.4	2.4	9.1	1.6	14.3	0.8
Havant	Hampshire	3.9	0.6	13.3	2.2	17.5	1.5
Isle of Wight	Hampshire	5.4	1.1	11.9	1.4	13.9	1.1
Kingsclere	Hampshire	2.4	1.1	4.0	1.2	8.6	1.9
Lymington	Hampshire	5.4	2.1	12.7	1.7	13.8	1.1
New Forest	Hampshire	4.0	1.4	7.2	1.2	15.9	1.0
Petersfield	Hampshire	3.1	0.3	5.9	1.0	10.4	1.1
Portsea Island	Hampshire	4.1	0.7	22.1	1.3	17.2	0.8

Table 3.6 continued

SRD	County	1851%		1891%		1911%	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
Ringwood	Hampshire	7.3	1.0	12.9	2.4	13.4	1.2
Romsey	Hampshire	2.7	1.2	4.9	1.1	8.8	1.0
South Stoneham	Hampshire	6.3	1.1	15.2	1.8	14.3	0.9
Southampton	Hampshire	6.8	1.7	11.6	2.2	14.7	1.3
Stockbridge	Hampshire	2.7	0.7	7.8	1.1	7.3	1.0
Whitchurch	Hampshire	3.6	0.7	5.1	1.0	8.9	0.6
Winchester	Hampshire	3.5	1.4	13.2	2.6	15.1	1.7
Berkhamsted	Hertfordshire	2.7	2.6	7.0	1.8	12.6	1.6
Bishop's Stort.	Hertfordshire	2.6	0.5	5.4	0.9	9.7	1.4
Hatfield	Hertfordshire	2.4	0.3	7.4	1.0	9.3	0.8
Hemel Hemp.	Hertfordshire	4.3	1.1	7.7	1.9	11.6	1.5
Hertford	Hertfordshire	2.7	1.0	8.9	2.4	10.0	1.1
Hitchin	Hertfordshire	3.7	1.6	8.1	1.7	18.0	1.5
Royston	Hertfordshire	1.8	0.5	5.5	0.9	10.0	2.4
St Albans	Hertfordshire	2.7	1.7	7.8	1.4	12.7	1.1
Ware	Hertfordshire	3.2	1.2	7.7	1.9	12.1	1.3
Watford	Hertfordshire	4.4	0.9	9.1	1.2	14.6	1.2
Doncaster	West Riding	4.7	1.4	9.3	1.3	15.1	0.8
Ecclesall Bierlow	West Riding	7.4	0.4	11.8	1.6	11.6	0.8
Goole	West Riding	2.8	0.7	9.8	1.5	10.9	1.6
Keighley	West Riding	2.7	0.7	13.7	2.0	19.7	2.1
Pontefract	West Riding	6.1	1.1	7.8	0.9	8.8	0.8
Ripon	West Riding	6.8	1.1	12.6	1.9	15.7	2.2
Settle	West Riding	4.8	1.8	15.5	3.1	20.0	3.8
Sheffield	West Riding	3.6	0.5	6.6	1.2	8.3	0.4
Skipton	West Riding	4.9	1.6	14.0	2.7	16.1	1.9
Wetherby	West Riding	6.1	0.5	11.3	1.7	17.6	1.6
N	N/A	2167	662	9364	1812	18073	1872
TOTAL	N/A	4.3	1.2	10.3	1.7	13.4	1.1

Notes: Pontypridd, Glamorganshire did not exist as an SRD until 1871; Pontardawe, Glamorganshire was not an SRD until 1881. Altrincham, Cheshire, became Bucklow SRD from the 1901 census onwards; Chester SRD in 1851 was then known as Great Broughton; Portsea Island, Hampshire became Portsmouth SRD from the 1901 census onwards.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851, 1891 and 1911.

Table 3.6 presents the percentages of older men and women retired by SRD in 1851, 1891 and 1911. The variation in the percentages of male retirement across SRDs is remarkable. In 1891, while 13.1 per cent of older men were retired in Hampshire, 22.1 per cent and 18.4 per cent in

Portsea Island and Christchurch SRDs respectively were marked as retired. Occupational analysis of Christchurch shows that a significant proportion of retired men were army officials (at 12 per cent of retired men) and farmers and grocers/tea dealers, both at 5.1 per cent. It must be admitted that army officials, described in code 19 of the I-CeM Occupational Directory as 'Army Officers (Retired)' were, from 1881, incorporated into the occupationally active groups used for analysis in the published census reports, rather than the subgroup 'Retired from Business'.⁹² If one subtracts the 33 people in code 19 from the percentages of older men retired, then 16.2 per cent of older men were recorded as retired in Christchurch. Thus, the percentages of those retired, defined in this chapter as a voluntary exit from the workforce, is underestimated by the published census reports. In Portsea Island, a significant proportion (11.1 per cent, or 116 out of 1,043) of the retired comprised men formerly occupied in the navy, followed by the 8.5 per cent (or 89 souls) described as shipwrights on wooden ships (code 348). If one excludes those in codes 19 and 24 (N = 177), the latter code representing men of the navy, then 18.4 per cent of older men in Portsea Island were retired, a substantial proportion. By 1911, 27.1 per cent of older men in Christchurch were retired. In this case, remarkably high percentages of retirement in old age depended spatially on the characteristics of the economy of the SRD. The maritime economies of Christchurch and Portsea Island produced a high percentage of older men retired from the army and navy. Perhaps Christchurch and Portsea Island, like the present day, were also regarded as attractive coastal areas for people approaching old age to spend their retirement.

⁹² Woollard, 'Employment and Retirement of Older Men', p. 443.

Figure 3.1 – Relationship between the percentages of males aged 60 years and over enumerated as retired in the census enumerators' books (CEBs) and percentages receiving poor relief by SRD, 1891



Sources: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1890-1891, LXVIII.393 (130B), *Pauperism (England and Wales), Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1891*.

Quadagno argues that retirement in the nineteenth century ‘meant a choice between unemployment and pauperization.’⁹³ However, by comparing the proportions of older men retired in the CEBs with the percentages receiving poor relief as recorded in biannual parliamentary papers, it can be shown that the ‘retired’ seem in general not to have been poor. The proportions on poor relief are an estimate, with data compiled from the numbers of men and women categorised in the parliamentary papers as ‘non-able-bodied’, of which the ‘aged and infirm’ were predominantly comprised.⁹⁴ The numbers by Poor Law Union were divided against the size of the older-age male population by corresponding SRD to produce an estimate of the proportions on poor relief. The period of 1891 is used for this study, a decade after ‘retirement’ was recognised in its own right by the published census abstracts. Figure 3.1 demonstrates an inverse relationship between the proportions of men retired and the proportions on poor relief. If retirement *was* synonymous with pauperism as has been claimed, then one expects a positive trend line between the two groups. In fact, a highly significant

⁹³ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 150.

⁹⁴ With additional data on ‘lunatics’ receiving poor relief, which may have included some older people.

negative relationship is identified, as Pearson's $r = -0.427$ where p is less than 0.01 with 63 observations. The definition of nineteenth-century retirement as described by researchers differs from the Victorian concept. When a person was enumerated as 'retired' in the CEBs, it was presumed that he (or occasionally she) voluntarily exited from the workforce. This would be through the allowance of occupationally-specific pensions, as documented for the civil service, railway workers and shipwrights.⁹⁵ Retirement could have also resulted from the accumulation of savings, land and capital.⁹⁶ Overall, the concept of retirement was not documented as widely in the Victorian past as in the twentieth century, but a concept of voluntary retirement did exist in the period.

⁹⁵ Hannah, *Inventing Retirement*, pp. 5-7. On the superannuation of shipwrights, see A. Light, *Common People: The History of an English Family* (London, 2014), p. 205.

⁹⁶ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 22.

Table 3.7 – Percentages of men aged 60 years and over enumerated as retired in the CEBs and percentages receiving poor relief by SRD, along with ratio showing the number of men retired per 100 receiving poor relief in a year, 1891

SRD	County	% M Ret	% M Pau	R / (P x 1.12)
Altrincham	Cheshire	12.8	8.6	1.34
Birkenhead	Cheshire	13.5	13.1	0.92
Chester	Cheshire	9.2	14.2	0.79
Congleton	Cheshire	9.5	10.7	0.58
Macclesfield	Cheshire	9.6	13.1	0.66
Nantwich	Cheshire	8.8	17.5	0.45
Northwich	Cheshire	12.0	16.9	0.64
Runcorn	Cheshire	7.0	11.1	0.56
Stockport	Cheshire	12.0	11.0	0.98
Wirral	Cheshire	13.9	10.5	1.18
Bridgend	Glamorgan	6.3	14.3	0.40
Cardiff	Glamorgan	8.4	23.9	0.31
Gower	Glamorgan	14.6	11.0	1.18
Merthyr Tydfil	Glamorgan	4.7	14.7	0.29
Neath	Glamorgan	5.5	10.0	0.25
Pontadawre	Glamorgan	8.1	15.4	0.47
Pontypridd	Glamorgan	5.5	16.5	0.30
Swansea	Glamorgan	8.1	20.1	0.36
Alresford	Hampshire	7.5	16.2	0.42
Alton	Hampshire	6.9	23.9	0.26
Alverstoke	Hampshire	14.3	16.7	0.77
Andover	Hampshire	8.1	20.0	0.36
Basingstoke	Hampshire	7.4	24.3	0.27
Catherington	Hampshire	12.1	17.9	0.61
Christchurch	Hampshire	18.4	8.7	1.88
Droxford	Hampshire	9.3	16.4	0.51
Fareham	Hampshire	8.9	23.7	0.34
Fordingbridge	Hampshire	7.6	20.1	0.34
Hartley Witney	Hampshire	9.1	23.0	0.35
Havant	Hampshire	13.3	20.5	0.58
Isle of Wight	Hampshire	11.9	16.5	0.64
Kingsclere	Hampshire	4.0	17.9	0.20
Lymington	Hampshire	12.7	17.2	0.66
New Forest	Hampshire	7.2	22.4	0.29
Petersfield	Hampshire	5.9	20.8	0.25
Portsea Island	Hampshire	22.1	18.3	1.08
Ringwood	Hampshire	12.9	17.3	0.67
Romsey	Hampshire	4.9	24.7	0.18

Table 3.7 continued

SRD	County	% M Ret	% M Pau	R / (P x 1.12)
South Stoneham	Hampshire	15.2	15.0	0.91
Southampton	Hampshire	11.6	25.1	0.41
Stockbridge	Hampshire	7.8	22.9	0.30
Whitchurch	Hampshire	5.1	20.9	0.22
Winchester	Hampshire	13.2	20.7	0.57
Berkhamsted	Hertfordshire	7.0	21.6	0.29
Bishop's Stort.	Hertfordshire	5.4	28.9	0.17
Hatfield	Hertfordshire	7.4	18.6	0.36
Hertford	Hertfordshire	8.9	24.6	0.32
Hemel Hemp.	Hertfordshire	7.7	22.4	0.31
Hitchin	Hertfordshire	8.1	23.7	0.30
Royston	Hertfordshire	5.5	21.5	0.23
St Albans	Hertfordshire	7.8	19.9	0.35
Ware	Hertfordshire	7.7	24.1	0.29
Watford	Hertfordshire	9.1	17.7	0.46
Doncaster	West Riding	9.3	16.0	0.52
Ecclesall Bierlow	West Riding	11.8	8.9	1.18
Goole	West Riding	9.8	17.9	0.49
Keighley	West Riding	13.7	9.0	1.37
Pontefract	West Riding	7.8	18.8	0.37
Ripon	West Riding	12.6	13.6	0.83
Settle	West Riding	15.5	6.8	2.02
Sheffield	West Riding	6.6	18.1	0.32
Skipton	West Riding	14.0	8.3	1.51
Wetherby	West Riding	11.3	9.9	1.02

Notes: The column labelled 'R / (P x 1.12)' is a ratio depicting the numbers of old men retired on census night per 100 that received poor relief in an estimated year count, based on the method of calculating yearly counts of poor relief by taking the average number of men and women on poor relief on 1 January and 1 July and multiplying by 2.24 (half of 2.24 being 1.12; the ratio is halved as we are examining men only, rather than both men and women). For example, in Alresford SRD, Hampshire, 58 non-able-bodied men (presumably old men) received poor relief on 1 January 1891. Multiplied by 1.12 (the ratio of day-counts to year-counts on male poor relief), it is estimated that 65 old men received poor relief in the year 1891. See G. Boyer, "Work for their prime, the workhouse for their age": Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', *Social Science History*, 40 (2016), pp. 3-32, esp. fn. 9, p.12.

Sources: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1890-1891, LXVIII.393 (130B), *Pauperism (England and Wales), Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1891*.

Interestingly, in some SRDs, the proportions of old men described as retired eclipse the proportions receiving poor relief. The figures are highlighted in Table 3.7, where 13 of the 63 SRDs in 1891 had a higher percentage of men retired than of men receiving poor relief. Five of the thirteen SRDs were based in the West Riding, with four in Cheshire. Therefore, the data are consistent with the argument that old people were less likely to receive poor relief in northern than in southern England, mainly because wage patterns were higher in northern England.⁹⁷ Table 3.7 presents another reason: poor relief percentages were relatively low because older men were in a greater position to voluntarily retire from their occupation. A more sophisticated methodology would be to take the numbers of men on poor relief as recorded on 1 January 1891 and multiply them by 1.12. This is half of 2.24, which is the ratio between day-counts and year-counts of male and female poor relief as deployed recently by George Boyer.⁹⁸ The ratio of 2.24 is halved because we are examining men only, as opposed to both men and women, so our ratio is gender-specific, rather than based on the reported distribution of relief between men and women.⁹⁹ The ratio is also based on the national picture of poor relief, rather than reflecting regional variations. Since no yearly data exists for men aged 60 years and over in 1891, despite its imperfections a ratio has to be provided. Nonetheless, the ratio would show how the proportions of retired men would compare with the yearly estimate of male paupers; the retired to pauper ratio (the latter multiplied by 1.12) is presented in the last column. Apart from ten SRDs, the ratios show that the numbers of retired did not exceed the numbers estimated annually on poor relief. Settle SRD in the West Riding has the highest ratio of retired men per 100 men on poor relief, at 202. The ratios range widely, from 2.02 in Settle SRD to the 0.17 recorded in Bishop's Stortford SRD, Hertfordshire. By county, the lowest ratio was found for Hertfordshire, at 0.30, compared with the highest in Cheshire, at 0.77. Consequently, despite adjusting the numbers on poor relief to provide annual estimates, in some SRDs the numbers of retired were close in proportion to the numbers on poor relief. Despite this, based on percentages alone, the prevalence of retirement in some SRDs is greater than that of pauperism.

⁹⁷ Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', pp. 267-8, 275. For a general analysis of a 'north-south' divide in pauperism in nineteenth-century society, see S. King, *Poverty and Welfare in England, 1700-1850: A Regional Perspective* (Manchester, 2000).

⁹⁸ Boyer, 'Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', fn. 9, p.12.

⁹⁹ Data provided by Nigel Goose on the male and female numbers of 'non-able-bodied' and 'lunatics' receiving poor relief on 1 January and 1 July 1890-92 in England and Wales show that only 37.7 per cent of the 426,327 receiving relief were men. Calculated from Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', Table 1, p. 355.

Table 3.8 – Bivariate and multiple regressions of several independent variables (the percentages of older men in selected occupations) on the dependent variables (the percentages of older men recorded as ‘retired’ in the 1891 CEBs and the percentages of older men estimated to have received poor relief on 1 January 1891), aggregate data provided at SRD level, 63 observations, 1891.

		<i>Dependent Variable: Retirement</i>			
		BIVARIATE		MULTIPLE	
Code	Occupation	Coeff	P-Value	Coeff	P-Value
173	Farmer	0.08	0.30	0.11	0.10
176	Crofter	2.60***	0.00	1.65***	0.00
181	Agricultural Labourer	-0.16***	0.00	-0.16***	0.00
185	Gardener	0.09	0.80	-0.06	0.82
409	Carpenter	-0.25	0.69	0.63	0.23
412	Bricklayer	-0.42	0.56	0.64	0.36
663	Boot and Shoe Maker	0.45	0.38	0.00	1.00
697	Grocer	0.68	0.38	-0.43	0.52
765	General Labourer	-0.29**	0.03	-0.35***	0.00
778	Private Means	1.03***	0.00	0.49**	0.03

		<i>Dependent Variable: Pauperism</i>			
		BIVARIATE		MULTIPLE	
Code	Occupation	Coeff	P-Value	Coeff	P-Value
173	Farmer	-0.43***	0.00	-0.28**	0.01
176	Crofter	-2.65***	0.00	-1.15*	0.09
181	Agricultural Labourer	0.25***	0.00	0.21***	0.00
185	Gardener	0.94*	0.06	-0.10	0.81
409	Carpenter	2.93***	0.00	1.09	0.16
412	Bricklayer	3.83***	0.00	1.43	0.17
663	Boot and Shoe Maker	-1.11	0.15	0.00	1.00
697	Grocer	-3.52***	0.00	-0.14	0.89
765	General Labourer	0.38*	0.06	0.40**	0.02
778	Private Means	-0.42	0.26	-0.18	0.58

Notes: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. The occupations specified in the table are examined based on the highest percentages of men aged 60 years and over by occupational code in the five selected counties.

Sources: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1890-1891, LXVIII.393 (130B), *Pauperism (England and Wales), Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1891*.

Why was there a greater propensity for older men in some SRDs to be recorded as ‘retired’ in the CEBs than to receive poor relief? Some answers are presented in an aggregate-level bivariate and multiple regression analysis in Table 3.8. The independent variables are the proportions of older men in ten selected occupational structures, such as farmers and grocers.

The dependent variables in each table are the percentages of older men described as ‘retired’ in the 1891 CEBs and the proportions estimated to have received poor relief on 1 January 1891 respectively. Not all occupations are selected in Table 3.8. However, we have selected the ten occupational codes with the highest proportions of older men by occupational structure (for example, the code 173 belongs to farmers). Any occupation that featured highly in one county but was virtually non-existent in another (such as the 9.8 per cent of older men in Glamorgan recorded in occupational code 196 as coal miners, compared with the solitary coal miner recorded in Hertfordshire) was excluded from this analysis to allow for a fair comparison between the five selected counties.

First, the coefficients vary for the same occupation based on the dependent variable. For example, there was a highly significant positive relationship between the proportions of men working as agricultural labourers and the percentages that relied on poor relief. Conversely, a highly significant negative relationship was noted between the percentages recorded as agricultural labourers and the proportions described as ‘retired’ in the CEBs. While the proportions of those working as crofters and living on private means positively correlated with the percentages described as retired, there was a negative relationship when the percentage of general labourers was the independent variable. Additional negative correlations were noted between the proportions of men described as farmers, grocers and on private means and those receiving poor relief. In both bivariate and multiple regressions, a high positive coefficient was noted between the percentages of older men working as carpenters and bricklayers with the proportions receiving poor relief, although significant only in the bivariate column. It must be noted that not all occupations are in the regressions and that the proportions of older men that appeared in occupations outside this table varied widely. For example, 80.3 per cent of older men in Ecclesall Bierlow SRD were recorded outside the ten selected occupations, compared with 33.9 per cent in Kingsclere, Hampshire.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, Table 3.8 is consistent with the idea that the prospect of voluntary retirement and pauperism for older men was based on their occupational designation in the CEBs.

Second, it is interesting that the proportion of farmers negatively correlate with pauperism and positively correlate with retirement. Alternatively, the percentages of agricultural labourers positively correlate with pauperism and negatively correlate with retirement; both of these coefficients were significant across the bivariate and multiple regressions. This may suggest

¹⁰⁰ In Ecclesall Bierlow SRD in 1891, 14.6 per cent of older men worked as ‘cutlery and scissor makers’ in the steel trade associated with nearby Sheffield.

that variations in the proportions of men that retired or received poor relief depended on the type of occupation associated with agriculture. In 21 of the 63 SRDs in 1891, a higher proportion of older men worked as farmers than as agricultural labourers. Some of these SRDs were highly urbanised, where the proportion of older men working in agriculture was relatively low. Eight of these were in Glamorganshire, six in both Cheshire and the Yorkshire West Riding, and one in Hampshire. Of the 21 SRDs, a higher proportion of older men recorded as 'retired' than on poor relief was found in eight SRDs. If there was a greater proportion of farmers in northern districts compared with southern SRDs, and that pauperism was lower in these northern districts where the proportion of agricultural labourers was lower, this may provide one answer to Steve King's observation of a 'north-south' divide in the proportions recorded in pauperism.¹⁰¹ While we may accept Boyer and Schmidle's argument that higher agricultural wages in northern districts explain a 'north-south' divide in old age pauperism, it was effectively the occupation carried out by those working in agriculture that may have affected the degree of old age pauperism across England and Wales.¹⁰²

Perhaps the regional variations in the proportion of farmers and of agricultural labourers are explained by how the agricultural economy in northern England was characterised by smallholdings, run by farmers without the reliance on the rural proletariat of southern England.¹⁰³ Charles Booth, in his description of one Ripon parish, near Settle and Skipton SRDs, wrote: 'This last is a moor-land parish, of which the inhabitants are mostly small farmers, who eke out a living by field labour. Wages in this case are 20s a week.'¹⁰⁴ Similarly, in the Diocese of Carlisle further north, he comments: 'The parishes consist chiefly of grazing land and many small holdings, sometimes held for generations by the yeoman class.'¹⁰⁵ Arthur Wilson-Fox, who, in 1903, examined nineteenth-century agricultural wages for the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, commented that 'men in the North were not pauperised by the old Poor Law system, nor underfed [...] Their wages have been sufficient to enable many of them to save money and start on small farms.'¹⁰⁶ Farmers approaching their old age held different

¹⁰¹ King, *Poverty and Welfare in England*, pp. 141-2.

¹⁰² Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', pp. 267-8, 275.

¹⁰³ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, pp. 358-9. For details on regional farming patterns and the 'proletarian' southern workforce, see L. Shaw-Taylor, 'The Rise of Agrarian Capitalism and the Decline of Family Farming in England', *Economic History Review*, 65 (2012), pp. 26-60.

¹⁰⁴ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 359.

¹⁰⁵ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 358.

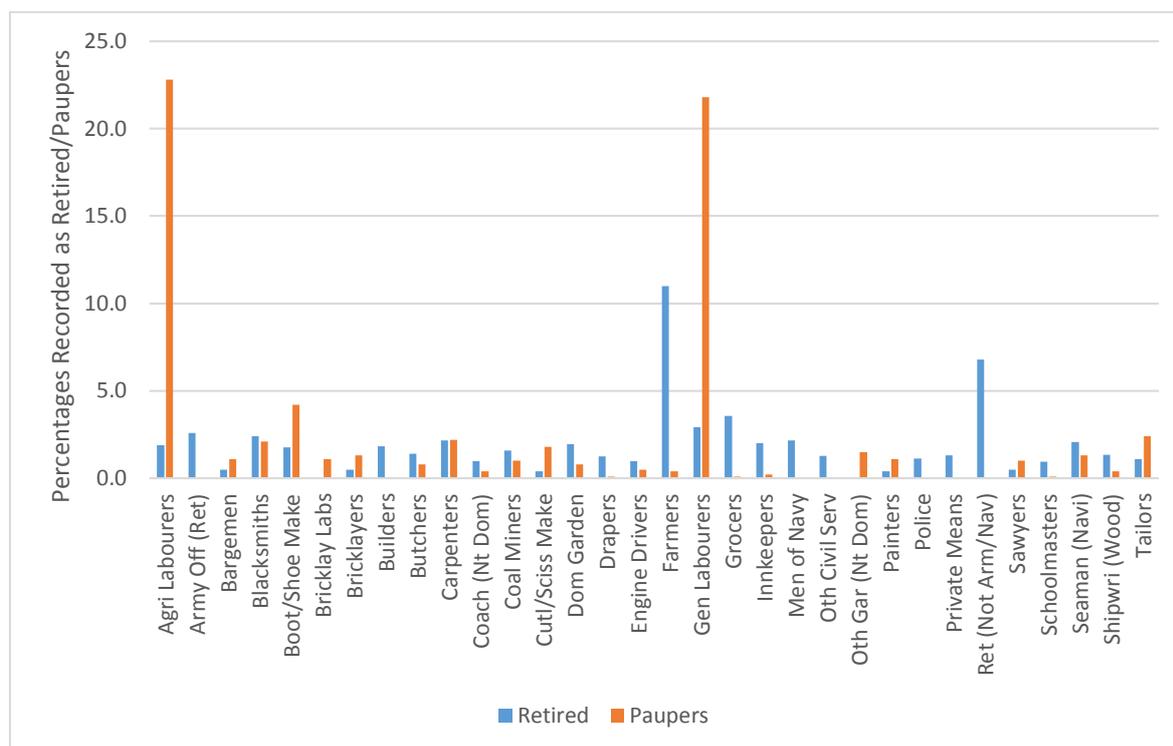
¹⁰⁶ A. Wilson-Fox, 'Agricultural Wages in England during the Last Fifty Years', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 66 (Jun., 1903), pp. 273-359, quote at pp. 317-8. I am indebted to Dr Andrew Hinde for directing me to this reference.

prospects to agricultural labourers, which may interrelate with the variations in the proportions described as 'retired' in the CEBs and the percentages estimated to have been on poor relief.

The analysis in Table 3.8 shows that old men had various destinations in their lives that could lead to either voluntary retirement or pauperism. Not all retirement-based experiences correlated with pauperism. Testimony in 1895 from *the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor*, a parliamentary inquiry investigating the association between old age and pauperism, shows the importance of saving for old age. One member of the Board of Guardians, Mr Stuart, comments: 'Skilled artisans often do come upon the Poor rate in their old age, but it has been through their failure to save money themselves...' He then outlines the plight of 'unskilled artisans', or general labourers, permanently working or pursuing casual work, living on wages 'that did not enable them to lay by for themselves.'¹⁰⁷ There were many routes out of old age pauperism in the past: such as charity, occupational pensions or poor relief. However, this analysis shows how the prospect of voluntary retirement by farmers occurred before the Old Age Pension Act through the accumulation of savings, by their land and by their capital. This may not acknowledge the position of older men in more urbanised districts, such as Ecclesall Bierlow SRD, who were participating in the steel trades. Despite this, the steel trade, while not resulting in the voluntary retirement experienced by farmers, may have provided a safeguard from pauperism.

¹⁰⁷ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1895, *Report on the Royal Commission of the Aged Poor*, 123 (C.7684-I), p. 71.

Figure 3.2 – Occupational structure of men aged 60 years and over in selected occupations retired and as workhouse inmates ('paupers') in Cheshire, Glamorganshire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and parts of Yorkshire West Riding, 1891



Source: Integrated Census Microdata dataset, 1891.

In light of the occupational variables described in Table 3.8, some occupations are more likely to result in the enumeration of older men as ‘retired’, than as ‘pauper’ or ‘formerly’ in work. Specifically, it is more common to find in the CEBs ‘retired farmer’ than ‘retired agricultural labourer’ and ‘pauper labourer’ than ‘retired labourer’. A comparison between those described as ‘retired’, ‘formerly’ and ‘paupers’, the latter either receiving outdoor relief or resident in workhouses, further emphasises occupational disparities between the three groups. Comparing these terms on a period-by-period basis is difficult because requirements to enumerate people along terms such as ‘formerly’ changed as time advanced.¹⁰⁸ Describing those enumerated as ‘formerly’ diminished by 1891, although it was used in 1911 to distinguish workhouse inmates from the rest of society. The enumeration of ‘paupers’ with an occupation was no longer required from 1881. Therefore, Figure 3.2 depicts the percentages of ‘retired’ men and male workhouse inmates by several occupational variables in 1891. The disparities question Higgs’ argument regarding the difficulty of using the CEBs to separate the voluntarily retired from the

¹⁰⁸ Woollard, ‘Employment and Retirement of Older Men’, pp. 438-40, 442-4.

actively working or unemployed.¹⁰⁹ Agricultural and general labourers predominated among male workhouse inmates, while farmers were more likely to be retired than in the workhouse. Boot and shoe makers, cutlery and scissor makers and tailors were more likely to live in workhouses, whereas grocers, innkeepers, men of the navy, army officials, drapers and blacksmiths were more likely to be described as retired.

Table 3.9 – Percentages of men aged 60 years and over recorded as retired and as ‘paupers’ by selected occupational groups in Cheshire, Glamorganshire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and parts of Yorkshire West Riding, 1851, 1891 and 1911

Occupation	I-CeM Code	% Ret 1851	% Pau 1851	% Ret 1891	% Pau 1891	% Ret 1911	% Pau 1911
Army Off (Ret)	19	1.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	3.0	0.0
Men of Navy	24	1.4	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.8	0.2
Seaman (Navi)	157	2.3	1.1	2.1	1.3	2.0	1.7
Farmers	173	23.6	1.7	11.0	0.4	6.8	0.3
Ag Lab	181	0.6	34.9	1.9	22.8	1.8	11.8
Coal Miners	196	0.3	0.9	1.6	1.0	2.4	2.5
Blacksmiths	262	2.1	1.1	2.4	2.1	1.5	1.5
Builders	405	1.7	0.0	1.8	0.0	1.9	0.1
Carpenters	409	3.1	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.6
Bricklayer	412	0.6	1.2	0.5	1.3	0.6	2.4
Weavers (Undef)	606	0.5	1.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.6
Drapers	628	1.2	0.0	1.2	0.1	1.1	0.3
Tailors	653	1.8	1.1	1.1	2.4	0.6	1.1
Boot/Shoe Make	663	2.5	2.1	1.8	4.2	0.9	1.9
Butchers	682	1.5	0.3	1.4	0.8	1.2	0.6
Grocers	697	3.0	0.1	3.6	0.1	2.2	0.4
Innkeepers	713	3.6	0.2	2.0	0.2	1.5	0.1
Gen Labs	765	1.2	8.7	2.9	21.8	1.3	21.6
Other		48.0	43.3	57.6	39.2	67.1	50.3
N		2167	5075	9364	2918	18073	5716

Notes: ‘I-CeM Code’ refers to the numeric code of each textual-based occupation. Data from ‘Pau 1851’ combine workhouse and outdoor relief data in the CEBs; ‘Pau 1891’ and ‘Pau 1911’ derived from workhouse data only.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851, 1891 and 1911.

Table 3.9 shows the occupational structure for men aged 60 years and over that were enumerated as ‘retired’ or as ‘paupers’ in 1851, 1891 and 1911. In all periods, there was a greater tendency for farmers to be described as ‘retired’ than as workhouse inmates (and also outdoor relief recipients in 1851). Conversely, it was general and agricultural labourers that

¹⁰⁹ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census – Revisited*, p. 113.

predominated as workhouse inmates. Over time, as the economy experienced a decline in agricultural labour, the percentages of elderly men in the workhouse were increasingly identified as general labourers.¹¹⁰ Occupational disparities between the retired and ‘paupers’ were also seen when the 1851 CEBs are analysed. 23.6 per cent of the retired worked as farmers, while 34.9 per cent of ‘paupers’ were enumerated as agricultural labourers. Interestingly, when the 1851, 1891 and 1911 CEBs are compared, a higher percentage of boot/shoe makers, tailors and carpenters are noted in the retired column for 1851. However, by 1911, elderly men in the three occupations were more likely to be described as workhouse inmates than retired. This may reflect the changing fortunes of old people in traditional trades and crafts industries, who may have lost out to mechanised forms of labour over time.¹¹¹

Table 3.10 – Percentages of older men in selected occupations enumerated as retired, 1851 and 1891

Occupation	I-CeM Code	1851			1891		
		N Ret.	N Overall	% Ret.	N Ret.	N Overall	% Ret.
Army Officers (Retired)	19	22	66	33.3	243	273	89.0
Men of the Navy	24	30	122	24.6	202	248	81.5
Seamen - Navigating	157	49	389	12.6	194	716	27.1
Farmer, Grazier	173	512	5466	9.4	1033	5876	17.6
Agricultural Labourer	181	12	10002	0.1	181	8298	2.2
Blacksmith	262	45	705	6.4	226	1305	17.3
Carpenter	409	67	1408	4.8	202	2132	9.5
Grocer	697	64	404	15.8	333	1362	24.4
Innkeepers/Publicans	713	78	516	15.1	187	957	19.5
General Labourer	765	25	3730	0.7	276	8674	3.2

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851 and 1891.

Retirement was a greater possibility for older men if they were tied to particular occupations. Table 3.10 shows the percentages of older men in several occupations that were described as retired from that occupation in 1851 and 1891. Nearly a fifth of farmers in 1891 were enumerated as retired, or 17.6 per cent, alongside 24.4 per cent of grocers and 27.1 per cent of seamen. The exceptional figures of 89 per cent for army officers and 81.5 per cent for men of the navy are because they have been specifically coded by I-CeM as retired. In fact, the increase in the proportions of men of the navy enumerated as ‘retired’, from 24.6 per cent in 1851 to 81.5 per cent in 1891, shows that pre-1891 CEBs have a tendency to underreport the

¹¹⁰ Crouzet, *Victorian Economy*, Table 16, p. 67.

¹¹¹ For information on the changing fortunes of boot/shoemakers and textile workers, see Crouzet, *Victorian Economy*, pp. 221-2.

proportions that voluntarily retired. Contrastingly, while 2.2 per cent of agricultural labourers were described as retired in 1891, 8 per cent of agricultural labourers were based in workhouses. By contrast, 24.4 per cent of grocers were retired, whereas only three grocers, or 0.2 per cent, were recorded in workhouses. Thus, Thane's argument that 'many [older people] were very poor in the later nineteenth century' fails to acknowledge the variety of experiences of old men in certain occupations.¹¹² The occupational data show how older men may have exited the workforce on a voluntary basis.

Disparities are also noted for older women, as Table 3.11 demonstrates. The proportions of retired women are compared with female 'paupers', either outside or inside the workhouse, in 1851. While domestic servants were more likely to be enumerated as 'retired', laundresses and charwomen were more likely to be described as 'paupers'. There was also a tendency for women active in occupations to be designated as 'retired', whereas the majority of women that were coded as inactive by I-CeM (codes numbered below 771) were classed as 'paupers'. A higher percentage of female grocers, schoolmasters, innkeepers and dressmakers were enumerated as retired than as paupers. Again, the situation for female innkeepers and grocers would be explained by their widowed status. Since they would become heads of the household after their spouses died, they were described as retired from a trade originally pursued by their spouses. While the percentage of female agricultural labourers was higher for 'paupers' than for the retired, 17.1 per cent of females described as 'retired' were occupied as farmers, compared with 0.3 per cent of females described as 'paupers'. Although the numbers of retired and 'paupers' themselves are disproportionate (662 retired compared with 7,975 'paupers'), it shows that older women had different prospects that could lead to voluntary retirement or a retirement associated with pauperism.

¹¹² Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 194.

Table 3.11 – Percentages of females aged 60 years and over enumerated as ‘retired’ and as ‘paupers’ by selected occupational groups, 1851

Occupation	I-CeM Code	N. Ret 1851	Ret. 1851 %	N. Pau 1851	Pauper 1851 %
Church, Chapel	37	0	0.0	137	1.7
Schoolmasters	52	27	4.1	13	0.2
Dom Serv Undef	84	90	13.4	353	4.4
Cooks (Domestic)	101	2	0.3	7	0.1
Charwoman	104	0	0.0	194	2.4
Laundress	105	11	1.7	203	2.5
Governess	107	5	0.8	1	0.0
Farmers	173	113	17.1	21	0.3
Farmer's Officer	175	7	1.1	23	0.3
Ag Labourer	181	3	0.5	358	4.5
Household Dealer	370	10	1.5	3	0.0
Dressmakers	657	13	2.0	18	0.2
Seamstresses	659	1	0.2	55	0.7
Grocers	697	33	5.0	5	0.1
Innkeepers	713	39	5.9	8	0.1
Gen Shop	758	8	1.2	5	0.1
Hawkers	760	0	0.0	7	0.1
General Labourers	765	1	0.2	44	0.6
Retired	772	96	14.5	23	0.3
Wiv House Dut	788	24	3.6	168	2.1
Wiv Asst Hus	789	36	5.4	252	3.2
Widows	790	29	4.4	582	7.3
Rec Income	794	0	0.0	937	11.7
No Spec Occ	797	0	0.0	3650	45.8
Others		114	17.1	908	11.3
N (not all in table)		662		7975	

Note: The percentages in the two columns are column percentages, for example, of the retired, 17.1 per cent of women were farmers.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851.

The 1881 CEBs were analysed to understand if the word ‘formerly’ (used more frequently in 1881 compared with later periods) was used by enumerators to distinguish the voluntarily retired from those forcibly out of the workplace through unemployment and/or infirmity. Table 3.12a presents the column percentages of older men and women enumerated as retired, ‘formerly’ in an occupation and as workhouse inmates by occupational group. Table 3.12b then discusses the row percentages of older men and women working in several occupations that were enumerated as retired, formerly working and as workhouse inmates. To be more specific, Table 3.12a shows that 2.2 per cent of ‘retired’ men worked as ‘Army Officer (Retired)’; Table 3.12b demonstrates that, of those classed as ‘Army Officer (Retired)’, 100 per cent were

enumerated as 'retired'. As Table 3.12a explains, for older men, there is some association with the proportions described as 'formerly' and in workhouses. Fewer of these were described as 'formerly' farmer than described as 'formerly' agricultural labourer. General labourers were also more likely to be denoted 'formerly' in their occupation than retired from it. The percentage of grocers and innkeepers described as retired was also higher than that enumerated as 'formerly' in work or in workhouses.

As for older women, there were also fairly equal percentages in the numbers enumerated 'formerly' in work and workhouse inmates. This is evident in the proportions of domestic servants, despite the greater proportion of servants that were described as 'retired' than as workhouse inmates and outdoor relief claimants in 1851. A higher percentage of charwomen were recorded in workhouses and a higher proportion of laundry workers were described as 'formerly' working. By contrast, the percentages of female farmers and grocers were higher in the 'retired' column than in the 'formerly' and workhouse inmates groups. By 1881, the numbers of older women retired, 'formerly' in work and workhouse inmates were fairly proportionate, contrasting with 1851, at 1,733, 2,356 and 1,374 respectively. The numbers of female retired were slightly higher than female workhouse inmates, again an indication of how life in the workhouse was not a universal experience for older women. The occupational disparities between the proportions of 'retired' and those 'formerly' in work further emphasise the retired as a distinct and substantial subgroup of elderly people.

Table 3.12a - Percentages and numbers of older men and women enumerated as retired, 'formerly' in an occupation and as workhouse inmates by selected occupational groups, 1881

Occupation	ICeM Code	Retired %		'Formerly' %		Inmates %		N. Retired		N. 'Formerly'		N. Inmates	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Army officer (retired)	19	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	142	0	0	3	0	0
Man of the Navy	24	2.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	130	2	0	0	1	0
Medical nurse	46	0.0	0.2	0.1	3.9	0.0	0.1	0	2	1	92	0	1
Schoolmaster/teacher	52	0.7	3.1	0.4	1.4	0.1	0.2	47	54	6	34	2	3
Domestic indoor servant	84	0.7	7.0	0.8	18.5	0.5	19.5	43	122	12	435	14	268
Domestic gardener	87	1.2	0.1	2.3	0.0	0.7	0.0	75	2	35	0	22	0
Domestic cook	101	0.0	1.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	2.3	1	18	0	59	0	32
Charwoman	104	0.0	0.2	0.0	3.9	0.0	9.9	0	3	0	91	0	136
Laundry worker	105	0.0	1.4	1.1	20.4	0.0	3.2	0	24	17	480	0	44
Domestic governess	107	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0	34	0	14	0	0
Merchant (undefined)	111	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	106	0	0	0	0	0
Coachman	138	0.5	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.6	0.0	35	0	29	0	18	0
Horsekeeper	139	0.2	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.1	0.0	12	0	16	0	35	0
Seaman - navigating	157	2.3	0.0	0.6	0.0	1.6	0.0	147	0	9	0	49	0
Boatman on seas	160	0.1	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.8	0.0	8	0	21	0	24	0
Farmer, grazier	173	20.7	11.4	4.9	1.5	0.5	0.1	1325	198	74	35	15	1
Shepherd	178	0.1	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.6	0.0	6	0	27	0	18	0
Agricultural labourer	181	0.8	0.1	17.9	1.3	24.1	1.5	53	1	272	31	737	21
Other gardener	185	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	1.4	0.0	1	0	8	0	43	0
Coal miner	196	0.9	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.8	0.0	55	0	35	0	24	0
Ironfounder	259	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.1	1.0	0.0	13	0	5	3	29	0
Blacksmith	262	1.2	0.1	2.4	0.0	1.8	0.0	79	1	37	0	54	0
Cutlery/scissor maker	294	0.7	0.1	0.7	0.1	1.8	0.0	47	2	10	2	56	0
Builder	405	2.2	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	139	1	6	0	0	0
Carpenter	409	1.3	0.0	1.7	0.0	2.7	0.0	85	0	26	0	82	0
Bricklayer	412	0.2	0.1	1.2	0.0	1.4	0.0	15	1	19	0	42	0
Bricklayer's labourer	413	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.6	0.0	0	0	2	0	50	0
Mason	414	0.4	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.9	0.0	26	0	10	0	26	0
Sawyer	453	0.3	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	18	0	15	0	33	0
Woollen cloth (combined)	558	0.1	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	5	0	16	0	14	0
Silk worker	576	0.1	0.2	0.8	1.2	1.8	1.1	9	3	12	28	55	15
Draper	628	1.9	1.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	124	22	5	5	5	3
Tailor	653	0.7	0.1	0.6	0.6	1.8	0.5	46	2	9	15	56	7
Dressmaker	657	0.0	1.8	0.0	6.3	0.0	1.1	0	32	0	149	0	15
Seamstress	659	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.8	0.0	5.5	1	2	0	43	0	75
Boot/shoe maker	663	1.5	0.2	2.0	0.8	4.8	0.5	95	4	31	20	147	7
Butcher	682	1.8	0.8	1.6	0.3	0.6	0.1	114	13	24	6	18	1
Baker	691	1.0	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.9	0.1	63	8	10	6	26	1
Grocer	697	5.0	5.9	0.4	0.8	0.1	0.1	317	103	6	18	4	1
Innkeeper/publican	713	3.8	6.6	0.6	1.9	0.1	0.3	244	115	9	45	4	4
Hawker	760	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	1.1	2.4	2	0	3	5	35	33
General labourer	765	1.5	0.1	9.8	0.1	16.3	2.7	93	1	150	2	496	37
Retired (not Army/Navy)	772	6.0	16.8	0.1	1.0	0.1	0.0	381	292	1	23	3	0
Wife household duties	788	0.0	7.6	0.0	1.4	0.0	2.4	0	132	0	32	0	33
Wife assists husband	789	0.0	8.7	0.0	6.0	0.0	0.4	1	151	0	142	0	5
Widow	790	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.2	0.0	1.0	0	103	0	4	0	14
No occupation	797	0.1	0.1	0.8	0.7	1.8	14.9	6	2	12	17	55	205
Other		35.9	16.3	35.4	21.9	24.8	29.9	2282	283	543	517	760	412
TOTAL		6391	1733	1523	2356	3052	1374	6391	1733	1523	2356	3052	1374

Table 3.12b – Percentages of older men and women in occupational groups enumerated as ‘retired’, formerly in an occupation and as workhouse inmates, with total numbers, 1881

Occupation	ICeM Code	Retired %		'Formerly' %		Inmates %		Total numbers	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Army officer (retired)	19	100		0		0		142	3
Man of the Navy	24	99		0		1		131	2
Medical nurse	46		2		97		1	1	95
Schoolmaster/teacher	52	85	59	11	37	4	3	55	91
Domestic indoor servant	84	62	15	17	53	20	32	69	825
Domestic gardener	87	57		27		17		132	2
Domestic cook	101		17		54		29	1	109
Charwoman	104		1		40		59	0	230
Laundry worker	105		4		88		8	17	548
Domestic governess	107		71		29		0	0	48
Merchant (undefined)	111	100		0		0		106	0
Coachman	138	43		35		22		82	0
Horsekeeper	139	19		25		56		63	0
Seaman - navigating	157	72		4		24		205	0
Boatman on seas	160	15		40		45		53	0
Farmer, grazier	173	94	85	5	15	1	0	1414	234
Shepherd	178	12		53		35		51	0
Agricultural labourer	181	5	2	26	58	69	40	1062	53
Other gardener	185	2		15		83		52	0
Coal miner	196	48		31		21		114	0
Ironfounder	259	28		11		62		47	3
Blacksmith	262	46		22		32		170	1
Cutlery/scissor maker	294	42		9		50		113	4
Builder	405	96		4		0		145	1
Carpenter	409	44		13		42		193	0
Bricklayer	412	20		25		55		76	1
Bricklayer's labourer	413	0		4		96		52	0
Mason	414	42		16		42		62	0
Sawyer	453	27		23		50		66	0
Woollen cloth (combined)	558	14		46		40		35	0
Silk worker	576	12	7	16	61	72	33	76	46
Draper	628	93	73	4	17	4	10	134	30
Tailor	653	41	8	8	63	50	29	111	24
Dressmaker	657		16		76		8	0	196
Seamstress	659		2		36		63	1	120
Boot/shoe maker	663	35	13	11	65	54	23	273	31
Butcher	682	73	65	15	30	12	5	156	20
Baker	691	64		10		26		99	15
Grocer	697	97	84	2	15	1	1	327	122
Innkeeper/publican	713	95	70	4	27	2	2	257	164
Hawker	760	5	0	8	13	88	87	40	38
General labourer	765	13	3	20	5	67	93	739	40
Retired (not Army/Navy)	772	99	93	0	7	1	0	385	315
Wife household duties	788		67		16		17	0	197
Wife assists husband	789		51		48		2	1	298
Widow	790		85		3		12	0	121
No occupation	797	8	1	16	8	75	92	73	224
Other		64	23	15	43	21	34	3585	1212
TOTAL		58	32	14	43	28	25	10966	5463

Notes: Table 3.12a examines column percentages, whereas Table 3.12b examines row percentages. Relevant percentages are calculated for occupations with 20 persons or more.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1881.

Table 3.12b, which examines the percentages of those in several occupations that were enumerated as 'retired', 'formerly' in work and as workhouse inmates, reveals some interesting differences by gender. The description 'formerly' was more likely to favour women, whereas there was a greater tendency to enumerate men as 'retired'. For example, 58 per cent of the 10,966 men were described as 'retired', compared with only 32 per cent of the 5,463 women. Contrastingly, 14 per cent of men were enumerated as 'formerly' in work, while 43 per cent of women were classed in that category. The proportions described as 'paupers' appear to be roughly the same for men and women, with a slight skew towards men. The manner in which men were enumerated as 'retired' and women 'formerly' in work is evident within the same occupation (for example, tailors and boot/shoe makers). This is consistent with the results in Table 3.5, showing how the percentages of older women enumerated as 'retired' were extremely small. Overall, the way in which enumerators had described old people as 'retired' was biased towards gender.

3.8 Conclusions

This chapter has reinforced previous conclusions from research and has also challenged past assumptions. First, there are similar findings with Woollard and Johnson in terms of employment patterns. Male and female LFPRs, unadjusted and adjusted, began to decline heavily in 1891 owing to the fall in agricultural work for men and domestic service for women. This was due mainly to changes in the fortunes arising from agriculture for older men and possibly the growth of urbanisation, which cancelled out the proportion of older women working as domestic servants. The fall by 1891 in the enumeration of household heads as 'housekeepers', which had been erroneously grouped into the category of women working in domestic service, partly explains the overall fall in female domestic service. Second, rather than older men being pushed out by changing technological patterns, they adapted to a more urbanised workforce. This is evident in the rise of old men participating in building, conveyance and professional occupations, especially in Southampton, Birkenhead and Cardiff SRDs. No rise in the 22 active occupational groups was found for older women. The numbers of older women in agriculture, domestic service, textiles and the dress trade (the latter including the cottage industry of the straw-plaiting and hat manufacturing trades) fell when society became increasingly urbanised. The rise in foreign imports, notably of straw from Asia and of silk from France, also resulted in a withdrawal of older women from the dress and textile trades.

Third, variations in the LFPR were evident regionally. The unadjusted and adjusted labour rate shows that northern England and Wales were more likely to have higher male LFPRs than in southern and eastern England, owing to the lack of economic diversification in the latter two regions. The highest male LFPRs belonged to Glamorgan, with its high proportion of old men working in the mining industry and the West Riding, with its command of metal/manufacturing workers. No regional disparity was evident in the female LFPRs. The highest concentrations of female labour were found in Cheshire and Hertfordshire, owing to the textile and dress trades respectively. There is also consistency across 1851-1911 in the proportions of men actively working aged 60-69 years, compared with men aged 60 years and over, particularly in the northern English counties of Cheshire and the Yorkshire West Riding. This would suggest that the male LFPR declined more severely in their seventies and eighties. Therefore, the general argument that the LFPR declined from 1891 does not account for regional variations, specific occupations and age structure. This would demonstrate how old people, especially in their sixties, acquired economic self-sufficiency that transcended time and space. This is a step closer to the autonomy model of old age, rather than a pathological model that often associates old people as living a life of deprivation and hardship.¹¹³

Fourth, the percentages of old men enumerated as 'retired' in the CEBs were more substantial than has been previously argued. Seventeen years before the introduction of old age pensions, over 10 per cent were enumerated as retired, with figures in Hampshire reaching over 13 per cent. At SRD level, up to 22 per cent of old men in 1891 were enumerated as 'retired'. Consequently, Johnson's argument that 'a very small minority' were able to retire outside the prospect of extreme poverty in the nineteenth century needs reassessing.¹¹⁴ An occupational analysis shows how one's occupation or former occupation determined whether one was enumerated as 'retired', 'formerly' in an occupation or a 'pauper'. Being a grocer, an innkeeper, a farmer or an army official meant that one was more likely to be enumerated as 'retired' than 'formerly' in an occupation or as 'paupers'. Contrastingly, agricultural and general labourers, domestic servants (from 1881 onwards), laundresses and charwomen were more likely to be enumerated as 'formerly' in an occupation or as 'paupers'. The data also show how the enumeration of older people as 'retired' was biased towards men compared with women, the latter more likely to be described as 'formerly' in work. It appears that, when one was in an occupation that conferred status, or when one was in a position to acquire land or capital, this

¹¹³ Ottaway, *Decline of Life*, p. 66.

¹¹⁴ Johnson, 'Parallel Histories of Retirement in Modern Britain', p. 220.

enabled a voluntary exit from the workforce. As a result, they were enumerated as ‘retired’ from their occupation in the CEBs. The concept of retirement, to nineteenth-century contemporaries, was understood to mean a voluntary exit from the workforce. Not always did it mean, in Quadagno’s words, ‘a choice between unemployment and pauperization.’¹¹⁵

Finally, there was also a highly significant negative relationship between the proportions of old men listed as retired in the CEBs and those receiving poor relief. This reinforces the argument that retirement in the nineteenth century was not another byword for pauperism. The two concepts were alternatives. In fact, the proportions of old men retired were higher than the percentages receiving poor relief in some SRDs, especially in Cheshire and the West Riding, where pauperism was relatively low. The ‘north-south’ divide in male pauperism may be explained by the occupational structure of old men in SRDs, as shown in Table 3.8. There was a highly significant positive association between the proportions of men working as agricultural labourers and the percentages of men on poor relief. The proportions of agricultural labourers were negatively correlated with the proportions described as ‘retired’. Conversely, the proportions of farmers were negatively correlated with the percentages on poor relief and positively associated with the proportions described as ‘retired’. Rather than attribute the low percentages of male pauperism to the ‘character of the [northern] people,’ as Charles Booth argued in 1894, old men were better able to voluntarily retire from their occupations and thus escape a life in extreme poverty.¹¹⁶ While we only have four English counties to work with, the differing characteristics of the agricultural economy in northern and southern England may also explain the ‘north-south’ divide in old age pauperism reported by Steve King and George Boyer for nineteenth-century England.¹¹⁷ It also provides more evidence that the delineation of north and south was increasing over time in Victorian English society.¹¹⁸ Although the analysis of the LFPR of men aged 60-69 years in Table 3.4a included those enumerated as retired, it is presumed that old men gradually withdrew from the workforce when they approached their seventies. This could have been due to either increasing infirmity or a voluntary exit from their activities. The greater likelihood of farmers or grocers being enumerated as ‘retired’ than as ‘formerly’ in their occupation or as ‘paupers’, suggests that old

¹¹⁵ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 150.

¹¹⁶ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 24.

¹¹⁷ King, *Poverty and Welfare in England*, pp. 141-2; Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, pp. 26-27.

¹¹⁸ Schürer and Day, ‘Migration to London’, p. 53.

people in these occupations mainly retired voluntarily than by circumstances beyond their control such as unemployment or bankruptcy.

This chapter has shown how a large-scale quantitative assessment using raw CEB data reveals an economically self-sufficient group of old people, either working continuously or pursuing a course of voluntary retirement. This goes against the extant literature's overemphasis on the subgroup of elderly paupers. However, a comparative study between older people receiving relief, and those not reliant upon welfare, has captured the wide variation of their prospects in a manner not realised in previous studies. Since the proportions of 'retired' men are found to be higher than the proportions receiving poor relief at SRD level, this reinforces the call to re-examine economically productive sectors of older people. In other words, we should examine the 'retired' as a subgroup in their own right.

4 Chapter Three

The Extent of Poverty in Old Age in England and Wales, 1851-1911

4.1 Introduction

The historical study of old age has been substantially documented in terms of older people living in poverty. The reasons why historians have a strong interest in the relationship between poverty and old age lie primarily in the research conducted by Victorian contemporaries. In the late nineteenth century, social commentators such as Charles Booth produced extensive data and analysis to demonstrate that the poor, far from being the architects of moral failure, were victims of socio-economic circumstance.¹ One of his key findings concerned the high incidence of poverty, or extreme poverty in the form of pauperism, at the final stages of the life cycle. Subsequently, contemporaries called for the introduction of a non-contributory pension scheme that would alleviate the hardship of those receiving less generous assistance under the New Poor Law. This culminated in the Old Age Pension Act of 1908, which guaranteed more generous weekly pensions to those aged 70 years and over, subject to certain criteria.²

While the historiography of pauperism has facilitated a wealth of information on the lives of older people below elite social groups, it reinforces a typology associated with what one scholar has described as ‘bad old age’. This concept centres on the greater vulnerability of older people, the failure to save for a comfortable retirement and an increasing dependence on the ‘state’ for assistance.³ Indeed, one recent study of old age in nineteenth-century Ireland has argued that in the early twentieth century, ‘agedness and pauperhood were united as never before.’⁴ While the likelihood of becoming a pauper was greater in old age than at other stages of the life cycle, very few scholars consider the percentage of the elderly population that were actually poor. If nearly 30 per cent of those aged 65 years and over received relief in 1891, what happened to the other 70 per cent? In other words, historians rarely argue that the aged poor constituted a minority of the elderly population.⁵ Furthermore, when focusing on the nineteenth century, some historians overemphasise the increasing neglect of older people by the state, most notably

¹ One of Charles Booth’s key texts is *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894).

² P. Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 173-7, 194-231.

³ L. Palmour, ‘Exploding the Hearth: Considering Victorian Aging’, *Age, Culture, Humanities*, 2 (2015), pp. 185-201.

⁴ C. Gilleard, *Old Age in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Ageing under the Union* (London, 2017), p. 99.

⁵ Thane writes in *Old Age in English History*, ‘...the history of the engagement of the aged poor with poor relief systems and pensions is not the whole history of old age, indeed in most times and places it was the experience of a minority even of the very poor’, at p. 15.

those in workhouses. By contrast, the twentieth century is viewed as a progressive period because older people were eligible for pensions under the Old Age Pension Act.⁶ In fact, the aged poor in mid-Victorian England and Wales were more likely to receive outdoor relief, or allowances in their homes.⁷ According to Steve King, historians know ‘almost nothing’ about those on outdoor relief.⁸ This is possibly because less attention has been paid to outdoor relief application and report books, compared with the greater availability of workhouse admissions and discharge registers.

This chapter will reassess the extent of poverty among the older-age population using a variety of sources to measure the degree of pauperism. First, the numbers on poor relief from parliamentary papers will be consulted for 63 Superintendent Registration Districts (SRDs) across five counties of England and Wales over the period 1861-1911. Although the extant literature has utilised these sources, this chapter breaks new ground by consulting the Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) datasets, which have digitised the original census enumerators’ books (CEBs) for England and Wales. This means that the numbers on poor relief can be calculated as a percentage of the elderly population recorded in the census at SRD level. The proportions on poor relief are compared with the several variables that can be computed through I-CeM. This includes the occupational structure of older men and women and the percentages reliant on additional sources of income, such as annuities. The changing demographic of workhouse populations will be analysed, along with the proportions of older people who were workhouse inmates. Second, I-CeM enables a calculation of the extent of the elderly population on outdoor relief over longer periods and at parish level, using evidence from rare outdoor relief application and report books. Using case studies of three Poor Law Unions in England, we consider the reasons why older people successfully or unsuccessfully applied for outdoor relief, the length of the relief given and the variations in their allowances. This will not only raise awareness of outdoor relief application and report books as a valuable source, but will challenge the argument that older people in the past experienced hardship

⁶ The tendency of scholars to overemphasise the experiences of older people in workhouses was scrutinised by Nigel Goose in his book review of Karen Chase’s *The Victorians and Old Age* (Oxford, 2009) in *Local Population Studies*, 84 (2010), pp. 97-9: ‘Nationally, however, it was outdoor relief, not institutional support, that remained at the heart of provision for the elderly poor through to the end of the nineteenth century, as data calculated for the years 1900–02 from the Annual Reports of the Local Government Board, using the category of “not able” as a surrogate for the elderly, shows that only 27.7 per cent of elderly paupers were relieved indoors, while the figure for elderly women stood at just 17.8 per cent’, at p. 97. Goose calculated this from Table 1 of his article ‘Poverty, Old Age and Gender in Nineteenth-Century England: The Case of Hertfordshire’, *Continuity and Change*, 20 (2005), pp. 351-84, at p. 355.

⁷ Goose, ‘Poverty, Old Age and Gender’, p. 355.

⁸ S. King, ‘Thinking and Rethinking the New Poor Law’, *Local Population Studies*, 99 (2017), pp. 5-19.

through meagre allowances and workhouse admissions. To challenge the characterisation of older people as victims of destructive social policy, we must first explore the literature.

4.2 Literature Review

As summarised in the Introduction, Victorian social commentators argued that extreme poverty was a likely outcome for a high proportion of the elderly population. One reason for this involves the age profile of relief applicants. For example, Charles Booth commented that, in a 12-month count of those on relief in 1891, 40 per cent of those aged 75 years and over received relief, compared with 10 per cent aged between 60 and 65 years.⁹ Based on a day-count provided by Booth, 28.6 per cent of those aged 65 years and over received relief in 1861, decreasing to 19.5 per cent in 1891. By 1906 however, percentages remained constant at 19.9 per cent.¹⁰ The general decline in aged pauperism between 1861 and 1891 is argued to have been attributed to a social policy designed to enforce the Poor Law more rigorously: the ‘crusade against outdoor relief’.¹¹ George Boyer and Timothy P. Schmidle attribute the failure in the decline of aged pauperism after 1891 to increasing unemployment rates and a slowdown in the growth of real wages, factors that resulted in the introduction of old age pensions in 1908.¹²

Another study by George Boyer utilises data from parliamentary papers on the number of non-able-bodied paupers in the registration divisions of England as a percentage of the population aged 65 years and over. Aged pauperism was more prominent in London, southern and eastern England than in the midlands and the north. The highest figure belonged to the 49.2 per cent of older women in the south midlands that were estimated to have received poor relief yearly in 1871.¹³ Boyer’s data show that women were more likely to rely on the Poor Law than men. This is because older women were less likely to be in employment than older men, so they required extra assistance. The association of older women with domestic activities meant that poor relief could be supplemented with familial assistance, a policy that the Board of Guardians favoured after the 1870s.¹⁴ In fact, Boyer also found that pauperism increased from 1861 to

⁹ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 420.

¹⁰ G. Boyer and T.P. Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly in Late Victorian England’, *Economic History Review*, 62 (2009), pp. 249-78, at pp. 253, 272.

¹¹ See M. MacKinnon, ‘English Poor Law Policy and the Crusade against Outrelief’, *The Journal of Economic History*, 47 (1987), pp. 603-25.

¹² Boyer and Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly’, p. 276.

¹³ G. Boyer, “‘Work for their prime, the workhouse for their age’: Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England”, *Social Science History*, 40 (2016), pp. 3-32, at p. 15.

¹⁴ Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, p. 18.

1871, which prompted the ‘crusade against out-relief’. Subsequently, there was a huge fall between 1871 and 1881.¹⁵ Despite this, by 1906, the regional differences in the numbers on poor relief still persisted, with the highest rates in London and eastern England.¹⁶

The operation of the Poor Law in the regional context has also been explored by David Thomson. His study primarily concentrated on the southern districts of England in the early years of the New Poor Law.¹⁷ There were wide fluctuations in the percentages of people aged 60 years and over receiving relief. For example, in Ampthill Union, Bedfordshire, in 1844, the percentages ranged from 55 per cent in one parish, to 18 per cent in another.¹⁸ Thomson identified some principles that determine the extent of older people under the New Poor Law, summarised here:

- Poor relief was more extensive in rural areas and small towns than in the conurbations and cities of industrial England.
- It was more extensive in southern and eastern England than in the north and the west.
- It was primarily based in agricultural rather than in industrial and mining communities.
- It was more prominent in wage earning ‘proletarian’ regions than property holding areas.
- It was more prominent in populations ‘burdened’ with large numbers of elderly people.¹⁹

Boyer and Schmidle also conclude that because seasonal unemployment rates arose more from an arable-based economy than one characterised by pasture farming in northern England, this effectively led to greater pauperisation of older people in southern England.²⁰ They also point to higher wages in northern than in southern England and argue that the workhouse test was applied more rigorously in northern England.²¹ However, Boyer and Schmidle admit that

¹⁵ Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, p. 16.

¹⁶ Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, p. 22.

¹⁷ The tendency to study outdoor relief in southern districts in relation to the later years of the Old Poor Law and the early period of the New Poor Law has continued unabated. For a study of Bedfordshire parishes, see S. Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle under the English Poor Law, 1760-1834* (Woodbridge, 2013); for south western England, see S.A. Shave, *Pauper Policies: Poor Law Practice in England, 1780-1850* (Manchester, 2017).

¹⁸ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 169.

¹⁹ D. Thomson, ‘The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past: A Family or Community Responsibility?’ in M. Pelling and R.M. Smith (eds.), *Life, Death and the Elderly: Historical Perspectives* (London, 1991), pp. 194-221, esp. 203-4. The fifth principle is examined in greater depth in Chapter One of this thesis, which focuses on the demography of the elderly population.

²⁰ Boyer and Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly’, fn. 88, p. 270.

²¹ Boyer and Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly’, p. 267.

determining the extent of pauperism in old age at SRD/Union level through employment and occupational patterns is too impractical an exercise, due to the lack of accessible data at the time of their research.²² Nonetheless, using data on 585 Unions from Charles Booth, they find that agricultural and small town areas were positively associated with elderly pauperism. Despite this, manufacturing and trade areas also produced a positive relationship.²³

Furthermore, the elderly population were disproportionately institutionalised in workhouses compared to their overall presence in the population. For example, in 1851, 29.9 per cent of workhouse inmates in Hertfordshire were aged 60 years and over, compared with 7.7 per cent of the overall population.²⁴ Interestingly, while older women were more likely to receive outdoor relief than indoor relief, the converse was true for older men. In Royston workhouse, a sex ratio of 400 males per 100 females was noted, compared with 236 in the overall workhouse population. The sex ratio in Hertfordshire increased by 1891 at 269.²⁵ This confirms Nigel Goose's argument that 'in the midst of [an] over-arching concern for poor elderly women, the plight of poor old men tends to be overlooked.'²⁶ The increase in elderly workhouse inmates over time, coupled with the accelerated rise in older male inmates, has been found in other regions, including workhouses in Birmingham and in Cheltenham and Belper, Gloucestershire.²⁷ However, scholars differ over the changing percentages of elderly workhouse inmates as a share of the elderly population. Goose found that older inmates proportionately fell between the periods 1851 and 1891 in Hertfordshire, whereas Clive Leivers identifies an increase in the inmate population of Derbyshire between the periods 1851 and 1901.²⁸ Nearly 6 per cent of the Derbyshire elderly male population were recorded in workhouses, a figure reflecting Michael Anderson's analysis of the numbers of older men and women in workhouses, hospitals and asylums in 1906.²⁹ According to Boyer, local Boards of

²² Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', p. 263.

²³ Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', Table 5, p. 265.

²⁴ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', p. 360.

²⁵ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', pp. 360, 362.

²⁶ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', p. 352.

²⁷ A. Ritch, 'English Poor Law Institutional Care for Older People: Identifying the "Aged and Infirm" and the "Sick" in Birmingham Workhouse, 1852-1912', *Social History of Medicine*, 27 (2014), pp. 64-85; C. Seal, 'Workhouse Populations of the Cheltenham and Belper Unions: A Study Based on the Census Enumerators' Books, 1851-1911', *Family and Community History*, 13 (2010), pp. 83-100.

²⁸ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', p. 361; C. Leivers, 'Housing the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Derbyshire: A Comparison of Almshouse and Workhouse Provision', *Local Population Studies*, 83 (2009), pp. 56-65.

²⁹ Calculated from Leivers, 'Housing the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Derbyshire', Table 2, p. 62; M. Anderson, 'The Impact on the Family Relationships of the Elderly of Changes since Victorian Times in Governmental Income-Maintenance Provision', in E. Shanas and M.B. Sussman (eds.), *Family, Bureaucracy and the Elderly* (North Carolina, 1987), pp. 36-59, figures on p. 44.

Guardians determined the receipts of indoor and outdoor relief through the 'good character' of the applicant. 'Good character' was more commonly attributed to women than to men.³⁰

While workhouse studies continue to proliferate, the study of outdoor relief through application and report books has been woefully ignored in recent times. The most detailed analysis of these materials comes from David Thomson, who showed that the majority of older people in Ampthill, Bedfordshire in the 1840s were maintained by the New Poor Law. In fact, two-thirds of older women and half of older men in Ampthill received outdoor relief as a weekly cash allowance, or a pension, usually around three shillings.³¹ Scholars such as Edith Hunt have severely critiqued Thomson's thesis, arguing that poor relief was not granted as a universal right of reaching old age and was subject to circumstances such as unemployment and disability.³² Pat Thane agrees with Hunt, stressing that 'a large minority of old people received poor relief, but they often received very little, very late in life and grudgingly.'³³ Lynn Hollen Lees has also found that allowances given to older people were relatively meagre, such as the two shillings per head issued in the more stringent Poor Law Union of St Marylebone, London in 1847. Married couples received a larger allowance of four shillings weekly.³⁴ Despite this, in the late 1870s and 1880s, relief of two shillings and sixpence or three shillings weekly was given to single older men, an allowance closer to Thomson's assessment.³⁵ In terms of poor relief as a proportion of income used for family subsistence, the percentages are relatively low. For example, if rural labourers in Bedfordshire and Norfolk received three shillings weekly, this was only 20 per cent of the recorded wages of a male unskilled labourer in 1835.³⁶ Poor relief was thus only designed to supplement family incomes, not replace them.

4.3 Questions

When examining the Literature Review, it is clear that pauperism, although strongly associated with older people, was not universally experienced by the elderly population. Variations are found based on the age profile of poor relief applicants, by region, by the context of the local economy and by gender. The likelihood of becoming a pauper changed over time, in

³⁰ Boyer, 'Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', p. 18.

³¹ Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', pp. 202-4.

³² E.H. Hunt, 'Paupers and Pensioners: Past and Present', *Ageing & Society*, 9 (1990), pp. 407-30.

³³ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 171.

³⁴ L.H. Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 187.

³⁵ Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, p. 187.

³⁶ Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, pp. 188-9. Whether the 15 shillings was received weekly by *rural* male unskilled labourers is unclear.

accordance with social policies such as the ‘crusade against out-relief’ and the introduction of old age pensions. Several questions are to be asked. First, if David Thomson noted wide variations in the distribution of poor relief by parish, were there differences at SRD level? The only study that has linked variations in poor relief with the local economy at SRD level has been Goose’s analysis of the 1851 and 1891 CEBs of Hertfordshire.³⁷ These CEBs were digitised before the advent of I-CeM.³⁸ Now that I-CeM datasets are accessible, the proportions of older people on poor relief can be examined by SRD, which goes beyond the analysis of regional registration divisions in Boyer’s research. By analysing the way in which relief was given to older people locally, can we confirm or challenge the argument that pauperism among the aged was greater in the south than in the north?

Second, very few studies, apart from Boyer’s recent assessment, have examined changing rates of pauperism over time. Therefore, there is a greater understanding of the proportions in pauperism in late-Victorian England than in earlier periods. Do the rates on poor relief by SRD confirm a steady rise in aged pauperism by 1871, followed by a significant decline towards 1891, when rates afterwards remained constant? Was there an accelerated fall in 1911 due to the numbers aged 70 years and over that would have received poor relief but became entitled to old age pensions? One of the limitations of Boyer and Schmidle’s research is that data on employment patterns and occupational structure, as contained in the CEBs, were not available at SRD level before I-CeM was released.³⁹ With I-CeM, the occupational structure of elderly men and women can finally be correlated with the percentages on poor relief. We can examine if changes in pauperism over time link with the changes in occupational structure. How far was aged pauperism negatively or positively linked with the proportions in a particular occupation, such as agriculture? Additional data from I-CeM also provide clues as to the extent of older people reliant on savings in old age, which Booth argued was negatively associated with aged pauperism, especially in the north.⁴⁰ The occupational column of the CEBs describes certain older men and women as ‘living on own means’, relying on annuities and dowries.⁴¹ How far

³⁷ In terms of the relationship between old age pauperism and the straw plait and hat trade manufacturing cottage industry that involved female workers in Hertfordshire, see Goose, ‘Poverty, Old Age and Gender’, pp. 367-8.

³⁸ On the origins of ‘Project 1851’, a collaborative effort between the University of Hertfordshire and the then Hertfordshire Central Record Office (now Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies) to transcribe the 1851 and 1891 CEBs of Hertfordshire, see N. Goose, *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851, Vol. 1: The Berkhamsted Region* (Hatfield, 1996), pp. 12-15, an updated account is in Goose’s subsequent *Vol 2: St Albans and its Region* (Hatfield, 2000), pp. 14-18.

³⁹ Boyer and Schmidle, ‘Poverty among the Elderly’, p. 263.

⁴⁰ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 425.

⁴¹ See E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census – Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901* (London, 2005), pp. 113-4. Also, see E. Garrett for changing definitions of those ‘living on own means’ across

did older men and women rely on additional incomes outside of employment and did these incomes have a negative effect on aged pauperism?

Third, I-CeM allows us to assess comparatively the workhouse populations recorded in counties across England and Wales. To what extent does the higher concentration of elderly people, particularly men, in the workhouses of late-Victorian Hertfordshire apply to the pattern in northern England and Wales? How far do the rates reflect Paul Johnson's argument regarding the 'increasing institutionalisation of the aged'?⁴² Are the rates of elderly people higher than that captured in the 'snapshot' analysis of the CEBs? Furthermore, what share do elderly inmates constitute of the overall elderly population? From this, could we argue that aged inmates were a minority?

Finally, a study of outdoor relief as recorded through application and report books recording the list of aged paupers deserves a detailed investigation. This is because the majority of aged paupers received outdoor relief throughout the mid to late-Victorian period, in contrast to 'able-bodied' men, who were more likely to receive indoor than outdoor relief by 1900.⁴³ Also, outdoor relief application and report books are less scrutinised than workhouse admissions and discharge registers, perhaps due to their rarity. When they do survive, the data are patchy and historians using them do not offer comparisons between different Poor Law Unions and regions.⁴⁴ Over a longer period, what percentage of the elderly population received outdoor relief and were there regional and parish-level variations? How far were the allowances meagre, as argued by Thane?⁴⁵ Did allowances vary based on the regional context, by the age profile, or gender? Is Thomson correct to propose that relief was issued weekly as a 'pension'?⁴⁶ We must also ask why Boards of Guardians issued outdoor relief to older people. Was it specifically on the grounds of old age, or other socio-economic circumstances? In order to reassess the idea that the nineteenth century was a period of relative neglect in terms of the treatment of elderly people, it is best to compare the allowances received in late-Victorian England with the maximum allowance under the old age pension (usually five shillings for single applicants and ten shillings for married couples). This will show that the Poor Law in

the 1891-1921 CEBs, 'The Dawning of a New Era? Women's Work in England and Wales at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', in N. Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England: Regional and Local Perspectives* (Hatfield, 2007), pp. 314-62, esp. p. 362.

⁴² P. Johnson, *The Economics of Old Age in Britain: A Long Run View 1881-1981*, CEPR Discussion Paper, 47 (London, 1985), p. 7.

⁴³ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', Table 1, p. 355.

⁴⁴ Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, pp. 186-9.

⁴⁵ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 171.

⁴⁶ Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', pp. 202-4.

the later years was a sophisticated welfare system for the aged, in spite of the increasing use of workhouses. Too much emphasis is placed on the Old Age Pension Act of 1908 as a ‘year zero’ in greater provisions by the state towards older people.⁴⁷

4.4 Methodology

The first half of this chapter is based on an aggregate study of the changing percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over receiving outdoor relief and indoor relief. Data from the parliamentary papers that outline all non-able-bodied and ‘lunatic’ men and women receiving poor relief on 1 January in a census year have been collated. They are divided by the total population recorded as aged 60 years and over in the corresponding census. This provides a day-count estimate of the rates of older people on poor relief. The total populations have been gathered through I-CeM, except for the period 1871, where populations were obtained from the published census abstracts. The earliest period of the data is 1861 and the latest is 1911, two years after the Old Age Pension Act of 1908 was implemented on 1 January 1909. Up to 63 SRDs (or Poor Law Unions as presented in the parliamentary papers, which were usually coterminous with SRDs) are examined across five counties of England and Wales, being Cheshire, Yorkshire West Riding, Hampshire, Hertfordshire and Glamorganshire. We also analyse the proportions of the population receiving relief that were granted relief indoors, as well as considering variations by rural and urban SRD.

The method of using parliamentary papers to analyse the extent of pauperism among the aged is by no means smooth. One problem concerns the definition of ‘non-able-bodied’. It is assumed that older people, who were classed by the Poor Law Boards of Guardians as ‘aged and infirm’, comprised the majority of the ‘non-able-bodied’.⁴⁸ Other historians have shown that the ratio of specified aged paupers to non-able-bodied paupers was constant throughout the mid-Victorian period.⁴⁹ Evidence for the strong association between old age and being ‘non-able-bodied’ is found in an Outdoor Relief List of all paupers recorded in the Alton Union in Hampshire between October 1880 and March 1881. This list summarises by parish all paupers recorded in the corresponding application and report books. Data for the parish of Alton uniquely contain the age of each applicant, accompanied by the categorisation of who was ‘able-bodied’ or ‘non-able-bodied’. In fact, nearly all recipients aged 60 years and over

⁴⁷ Gilleard, *Old Age in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, pp. 70-1.

⁴⁸ K. Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty* (London, 1981), pp. 202-3.

⁴⁹ M. MacKinnon, ‘The Use and Misuse of Poor Law Statistics, 1857 to 1912’, *Historical Methods*, 21 (1988), pp. 5-19, at p. 9; Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, pp. 8-10.

were classed as ‘non-able-bodied’. Those also ‘non-able-bodied’ include a 10-year-old orphan and several adults aged 36, 46, 48, 49, 52, 54, 55, 57 and 59 years old respectively. Together, 10 people of the 92 recorded as ‘non-able-bodied’ were under 60 years old, or 10.9 per cent. Nobody in the ‘able-bodied’ column was aged 60 years and over. Although results may have differed in the other parishes of Alton Union, the results presented here increase our confidence to use data from the ‘non-able-bodied’ as a proxy for older people.⁵⁰

Another problem may lie in the inclusion of ‘lunatic’ populations in the data. Since there was no clear idea of any age distinction deployed in defining ‘lunatics’, compared with the ‘non-able-bodied’, some older people may have been included in the former category. As a result, ‘lunatics’ were selected as a precautionary measure. Also, the categories of poor relief in the parliamentary papers are not consistent throughout the period 1861 to 1911. The most marked changes are found in later periods. For example, the 1911 data for ‘lunatics’ are not broken down by gender. There are also vague references for 1911 in the numbers of ‘wives’ of ‘non-able-bodied’ men receiving poor relief, with no clear indication about their condition.⁵¹ From 1901 onwards, data on the number of ‘lunatics’ in county asylums and hospitals are presented for the first time in the row marked ‘outdoor relief’. While this contains gender differences, those ‘lunatics’ receiving outdoor relief outside the institutions are not defined by sex.⁵² It is not clear whether the numbers in asylums and hospitals were previously recorded before 1901. It was decided to record the numbers of old age paupers belonging in the ‘non-able-bodied’ and ‘lunatic’ categories that had a gender breakdown, regardless of any changes made in the definitions of these categories. Based on this, we also provide data from 1861 to 1911 that exclude ‘lunatics’ and focuses on the ‘non-able-bodied’ only.

Boyer does not specifically report whether the Old Age Pension Act of 1908 significantly reduced the numbers reliant on the Poor Law in 1911.⁵³ In fact, accompanying the data on the numbers on poor relief recorded on 1 January 1911 is a report on the impact of the Old Age Pension Act on the changing numbers of relief claimants between 1 January 1910 and 1 January

⁵⁰ Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Lists for Alton District No1, October 1880-March 1881, PL3/2/81, Alton parish.

⁵¹ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1911, LXIX.627 (263), *Pauperism (England and Wales). (Half-yearly Statements). Return (in part) to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 17th May 1911; - for copy of statement of the number of paupers relieved on the 1st day of January 1911, and similar statement for the 1st day of July 1911 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, no 242, of session 1910)*, p. viii.

⁵² Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1901, LXIV.231 (73), *Pauperism (England and Wales). Half-yearly Statements*, p. 3.

⁵³ Boyer instead compares regional variations in the proportions aged 70 years and over receiving poor relief in 1906 with the percentages receiving old age pensions in 1912, see ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, pp. 27-9.

1911. It argues that the ‘large diminution’ of those on relief ‘must be ascribed to the operation of the Old Age Pension Act.’⁵⁴ Those aged 70 years and over that would have applied for poor relief, along with those that refrained from applying after 1 January 1908 based on the disqualification clause that applied to paupers, became pensioners instead. The government abolished the pauper disqualification clause on 1 January 1911; those originally excluded received their first pension payments on 6 January. Throughout January, there was a gradual removal of claimants from relief lists due to the abolition of the clause. However, 38.5 per cent of those that eventually transferred to old age pensions ceased to receive relief on 1 January.⁵⁵ The report concludes that the Old Age Pension Act ‘specially affected, as might be expected, the outdoor and not-able-bodied classes of paupers.’⁵⁶ This chapter will therefore empirically examine the change in old age pauperism after the Old Age Pension Act.

The percentages of those in several occupational categories provided by I-CeM in 1861, 1891 and 1911 are correlated in a series of regressions with the percentages relying on the New Poor Law (as the dependent variable) in the respective period. Data are broken down by aggregate SRD level. In this way, we examine not only the occupations that were likely to result in old age pauperism, but also those that safeguarded older people from the Poor Law. I-CeM also has a list of codes for those receiving additional incomes outside of employment in old age. From 1891 onwards, people receiving incomes in the form of annuities or dowries, but not poor relief, were described as ‘living on own means’.⁵⁷ We hypothesise that a negative relationship between those on ‘own means’ and those on the Poor Law would occur. Since the majority of those on ‘own means’ were women, this may indicate the group of women that did not rely on the Poor Law.

The percentages of older people in workhouses, as well as the numbers of older workhouse inmates as a share of the workhouse population, are then considered. Data are consulted from the populations recorded in workhouses in the 1851, 1891 and 1911 CEBs. However, similar to the parliamentary papers, they only provide a snapshot of workhouse inmates on census night. Therefore, admissions and discharge registers are used to count the numbers of older

⁵⁴ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1911, LXIX.627 (263), *Pauperism (England and Wales)*. (*Half-yearly Statements*), p. iii.

⁵⁵ Calculated from Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1911, LXIX.627 (263), *Pauperism (England and Wales)*. (*Half-yearly Statements*), p. iii.

⁵⁶ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1911, LXIX.627 (263), *Pauperism (England and Wales)*. (*Half-yearly Statements*), p. iii.

⁵⁷ Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census – Revisited*, pp. 113-4; Definitions of those ‘living on own means’ are in Garrett, ‘The Dawning of a New Era?’ p. 362.

people over a longer period of time and as a percentage of the elderly population in a corresponding census. Data are taken from the Ripon Union workhouse in the Yorkshire West Riding from 1881 to 1884, the Winchester Union workhouse, Hampshire, from 1880 to 1884 and Hertford Union workhouse in Hertfordshire from 1890 to 1892.⁵⁸ This allows consideration of north-south differences in workhouse admissions in nineteenth-century England. The demographic of the workhouse populations is indirectly referred to in the 'Class of Diet' scheme recorded in the registers.⁵⁹ Workhouse diets were ascribed to people in accordance with categories such as the adult 'able-bodied', children and the 'aged and infirm'. By examining the year of birth for each individual, older people can be inferred from the 'Class of Diet' information.⁶⁰

The second half of this chapter focuses on those that received outdoor relief in the application and report books, recorded in the early 1880s. Specifically, outdoor relief in Ripon Union is examined between September 1880 and September 1881; Hertford Union takes data from its sub-districts (Hertford and Watton RD) recorded from 1879 to 1881 and Alton Union, Hampshire, is collated in Alton and Binstead RD from 1880 to 1882.⁶¹ Again, this allows us to consider regional variations in the distribution of outdoor relief. The application and report books contain all those that applied for relief and subsequently received an outcome by the

⁵⁸ For Ripon Union: North Yorkshire Record Office, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of Ripon Union, April 1880-December 1884, BG/RI 5/3/1; for Winchester Union: Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of New Winchester Union, April 1879-September 1881, PL5/11/32, October 1881-September 1882, PL5/11/33 and September 1882-March 1885, PL5/11/34; for Hertford Union, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of Hertford Union, August 1890-March 1893, BG/HER/29.

⁵⁹ The three workhouse registers provide nine separate classifications, which are not specified on any of the records. By the 1900s, clearer instructions were given, with seven groups classified. There are three subgroups for men, women and children: (1) men and women individually are distinguished by having a 'Plain Diet' (possibly pertaining to able-bodied paupers); (2) having an 'Infirmit Diet' (possibly comprising those deemed elderly, or those aged 60 years and over that received a more generous diet denied to those 'less deserving' of poor relief, such as able-bodied adults) and (3) by 'Feeble' status. This form of classification is evident in the 1880s. As for children, there are three groups distinguished by age profile (aged 3-8 years, aged 8-16 years and those under 3 years), a classification differing from the materials recorded in the 1880s. Derived from Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of Hertford Union, April 1901-September 1902, BG/HER/33. While the objective of the Board of Guardians was to distinguish between those that needed either a more generous diet or otherwise, based on age differences, it advantageously allows us to measure the numbers of older people weekly that were in workhouses, although this is beyond the scope of this study.

⁶⁰ Across the three Union workhouse registers, older men were classed in Group 2, while older women were classed in Group 6.

⁶¹ For Ripon Union: North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4; for Alton Union: Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Alton No1 District, June-September 1881, PL3/2/89 and December 1881-March 1882, PL3/2/90, Binstead No2 District, June-September 1880, PL3/2/128 and December 1880-March 1881, PL3/2/129; for Hertford Union, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Hertford District, September 1880-March 1881, BG/HER/51, Hertford District, March 1881-September 1881, BG/HER/52 and Watton District, September 1879-March 1880, BG/HER/57.

Board of Guardians. This could be a cash allowance, relief provided in kind, relief that was refused and/or an offer of the workhouse given instead. We collate data on 504 single individuals and 174 married couples that received relief wholly or partly in cash.⁶² In the event that one individual received varying amounts over time, the highest amount was recorded. The 62 separate entries of single and married individuals that were offered the workhouse are also examined to see how far a ‘workhouse test’ was enforced.

We can also chart the extent of the elderly population receiving outdoor relief at parish level, allowing for urban and rural variations. The proportions of outdoor relief recipients by cash allowances are examined, broken down by marital status, gender and Poor Law Union. The age profiles of outdoor relief applicants are analysed to assess whether relief was granted to the ‘oldest-old’ of the elderly population (those aged 80 years and over), compared with the ‘youngest-old’ (those aged between 60-69 years). We also calculate the percentages of relief applicants that received their allowances as a weekly ‘pension’, by considering the length of the order of relief given. In some cases, the weekly wages of each Poor Law applicant are mentioned. This means that the amount of poor relief given to applicants can be divided by average weekly wages to demonstrate how far the Poor Law constituted a proportion of weekly family incomes.

Finally, it must be remembered that, when we assess the ‘extent of poverty’ in old age, we mean specifically the extent of state-funded old age pauperism. Poverty and pauperism are slightly different concepts. In 1911, when surveying the large numbers of older people claiming old age pensions, Lloyd George commented of the ‘mass of poverty and destitution which is too proud to wear the badge of pauperism.’⁶³ Also, we do not disregard other philanthropic measures used by the Victorians to alleviate the hardship of older people, such as almshouse accommodation and Friendly Society membership. However, as this chapter primarily focuses on state-funded pauperism, a brief summary of the additional methods of the Victorians in dealing with poverty in old age are presented here. It has been found that regions to the south of England were more likely to invest in almshouses as a proportion of endowed charity income. As such, Goose argues that a ‘distinct geography of social welfare’ occurred in mid-nineteenth-century England.⁶⁴ Other research shows that membership subscriptions to Friendly

⁶² Those in the marriage that were under the age of 60 years were excluded from the database recording all those aged 60 years and over that received outdoor relief.

⁶³ Quoted in D. Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State* (5th Edition, London, 2017), p. 71.

⁶⁴ N. Goose and M. Yates, ‘Charity and Commemoration: A Berkshire Family and their Almshouse, 1675-1763’, in C. Briggs, P.M. Kitson and S.J. Thompson (eds.), *Population, Welfare and Economic Change in*

Societies made in the 1810s were higher in northern English counties such as Lancashire, Cheshire and Yorkshire.⁶⁵ Since these counties commanded lower proportions of those on poor relief in the 1850s, subscriptions first made by an individual in the earlier stages of the life cycle may have resulted in an old age which did not entail state-supported pauperism.⁶⁶ A recent study shows that, as payments to the local Rigton Friendly Society in West Yorkshire increased, applications for poor relief made by the adult ‘able-bodied’ fell.⁶⁷ Goose’s hypothesis of a ‘distinct geography of social welfare’ in nineteenth-century England needs refining by instead referring to ‘alternative geographies’. While there was greater investment in poor relief expenditure and almshouse accommodation in the south, Friendly Societies were more influential to northern populations. Despite this, the number of subscriptions to Friendly Societies in Hampshire were substantial; a number of those in ‘unskilled’ occupations that might otherwise have relied on the New Poor Law also subscribed.⁶⁸

Based on methodological practicalities, it is harder to quantify the impact of Friendly Societies on the rate of old age pauperism at SRD level. This is considering the long-term effect of the provisions made by the Friendly Society on those that subscribed prior to their old age and the wide definitions of what constituted a Friendly Society. This not only included affiliated societies such as the Ancient Order of Foresters, but also local village and particular trade societies.⁶⁹ Also, the CEBs do not often acknowledge almshouse residents. Sometimes they are specified either through the occupational or the address column, which makes the investigation of almshouse populations a less smooth exercise than that of workhouse populations, which are evenly spread by SRD and clearly defined in the CEBs.⁷⁰ While it is important to consider Friendly Societies and endowed charities as factors governing the variations in old age pauperism, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to fully carry out such an enquiry.

Britain, 1290-1834 (Suffolk, 2014), pp. 227-48. Goose expands on his hypothesis in ‘Regions, 1700-1850’, in R. Floud, J. Humphries and P. Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Vol. 1, 1700-1870* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 149-177, at pp. 173-5.

⁶⁵ P.H.J.H Gosden, *The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875* (Manchester, 1961), pp. 22-3.

⁶⁶ Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, pp. 182-3, 197-9.

⁶⁷ G. Rawson, ‘Economies and Strategies of the Northern Rural Poor: the Mitigation of Poverty in a West Riding Township in the Nineteenth Century’, *Rural History*, 28 (2017), pp. 69-92, at p. 77.

⁶⁸ B. Harris, M. Gorsky, A.M. Guntupalli and A. Hinde, ‘Ageing, Sickness and Health in England and Wales during the Mortality Transition’, *Social History of Medicine*, 24 (2011), pp. 643-65, data on subscribers on Table 2, p. 657.

⁶⁹ Gosden, *Friendly Societies in England*, pp. 14-15; Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 195.

⁷⁰ In the 1851 census for Church House Alms Houses in the parish of Northchurch, Hertfordshire, the fact that residents are living in an almshouse is only specified through the address. In Great Berkhamsted, the six almshouse residents are all specified through their address and their occupation. Data gathered through printed transcripts of the 1851 census for the Berkhamsted region in Goose, *The Berkhamsted Region*, pp. 171, 188. Furthermore, the standardised anonymised I-CeM datasets exclude household addresses.

4.5 Analysis - The Changing Rates of Old Age Pauperism, 1861-1911

Tables 4.1a and 4.1b present the changing percentages of older men and women receiving poor relief from 1861 to 1911 for 63 SRDs in the five counties representing England and Wales. Data on the changing percentages by county and by a combination of the five counties are presented, along with the same combination excluding data from the ‘lunatics’ subcategory. This is accompanied for clarity in the final column by the overall absolute change in the percentages receiving relief in 1861 and 1911 (1871 and 1911 in districts where 1861 data are not available; 1881 and 1911 for the district of Pontardawre, Glamorgan). First, for both men and women, the change in the percentages of older people receiving relief is more marked between the periods 1871-1881 and 1901-1911. This reflects changes in the distribution of poor relief as a result of several social policies. The ‘crusade against outdoor relief’, implemented in the 1870s, resulted in a fall in aged pauperism in 1881 from 1871.⁷¹ The fall in 1911 from 1901 was characterised by the introduction of old age pensions given to those previously reliant on the Poor Law. We have seen that old age pensions dramatically reduced poor law applicants on 1 January 1911, the day when the disqualification clause for Poor Law recipients receiving old age pensions was abolished.⁷² Even when ‘lunatics’ are excluded from the analysis, it is seen that change in the rate of male and female pauperism is more pronounced between the periods 1871-1881 and 1901-1911. This conforms to the argument that the change in aged pauperism was a response to social policy.

⁷¹ Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, p. 16.

⁷² Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1911, LXIX.627 (263), *Pauperism (England and Wales)*. (*Half-yearly Statements*), p. iii.

Table 4.1a – Changing percentages of men aged 60 years and over estimated to have received poor relief on 1 January, with a percentage point change from 1861 to 1911, five counties, 1861-1911

SRD	County	% 1861	% 1871	% 1881	% 1891	% 1901	% 1911	% 61-11
Altrincham	Ches	16.9	13.1	8.4	8.6	8.1	3.8	13.1
Birkenhead	Ches	N/A	18.8	13.0	13.1	12.7	8.0	10.8
Chester	Ches	19.2	19.2	14.9	14.2	14.7	10.8	8.4
Congleton	Ches	17.8	14.2	11.4	10.7	14.2	15.1	2.7
Macclesfield	Ches	14.1	15.2	13.6	13.1	15.8	8.3	5.8
Nantwich	Ches	21.1	17.1	13.3	17.5	14.2	7.0	14.1
Northwich	Ches	21.4	20.4	18.0	16.9	14.8	11.9	9.5
Runcorn	Ches	17.0	17.5	12.9	11.1	16.3	6.9	10.1
Stockport	Ches	10.0	11.0	11.3	11.0	16.9	12.4	-2.3
Wirral	Ches	N/A	17.0	10.2	10.5	11.6	6.9	10.2
Bridgend	Glam	20.3	25.9	19.2	14.3	17.0	14.2	6.1
Cardiff	Glam	24.7	28.0	26.9	23.9	23.2	14.9	9.8
Gower	Glam	N/A	14.0	7.6	11.0	11.2	5.7	8.3
Merthyr Tydfil	Glam	14.0	20.7	13.2	14.7	17.3	16.8	-2.8
Neath	Glam	14.7	22.3	21.7	20.0	21.5	14.7	0.0
Pontardawre	Glam	N/A	N/A	12.2	15.4	15.6	10.4	1.8
Pontypridd	Glam	N/A	18.9	17.4	16.5	22.3	18.3	0.6
Swansea	Glam	26.6	29.9	22.0	20.1	20.0	9.6	17.0
Alresford	Hants	27.8	24.5	21.1	16.2	18.6	12.0	15.8
Alton	Hants	27.2	33.3	22.4	23.9	16.8	9.4	17.9
Alverstoke	Hants	15.2	14.7	16.0	16.7	13.3	6.6	8.6
Andover	Hants	24.3	31.6	22.7	20.0	21.8	16.4	7.9
Basingstoke	Hants	28.5	32.7	22.3	24.3	18.7	12.4	16.1
Catherington	Hants	28.7	28.2	23.7	17.9	18.1	6.0	22.7
Christchurch	Hants	22.7	20.1	11.3	8.7	11.5	4.5	18.2
Droxford	Hants	20.9	24.3	14.6	16.4	15.6	9.0	11.8
Fareham	Hants	28.8	31.4	22.5	23.7	28.9	8.8	20.0
Fordingbridge	Hants	27.2	24.3	18.5	20.1	18.6	8.8	18.4
Hartley Witney	Hants	26.0	25.5	18.7	23.0	15.7	8.7	17.4
Havant	Hants	25.5	32.3	24.0	20.5	17.3	11.3	14.2
Isle of Wight	Hants	20.2	21.1	14.5	16.5	14.6	9.6	10.6
Kingsclere	Hants	30.0	31.9	19.1	17.9	19.0	8.2	21.8
Lymington	Hants	28.8	28.0	18.8	17.2	14.3	12.9	16.0
New Forest	Hants	30.2	25.2	17.9	22.4	21.9	10.8	19.4
Petersfield	Hants	19.1	29.5	23.6	20.8	15.3	8.9	10.2
Portsea Island	Hants	20.9	21.7	15.7	18.3	15.5	8.3	12.6
Ringwood	Hants	25.9	29.3	19.0	17.3	14.9	9.0	16.9
Romsey	Hants	21.3	33.3	19.6	24.7	15.8	8.2	13.1
South Stoneman	Hants	20.8	24.0	14.7	15.0	14.7	10.1	10.6
Southampton	Hants	21.2	27.5	22.1	25.1	24.2	22.3	-1.0

Table 4.1a continued

SRD	County	% 1861	% 1871	% 1881	% 1891	% 1901	% 1911	% 61-11
Stockbridge	Hants	26.7	35.4	19.6	22.9	23.4	18.8	7.9
Whitchurch	Hants	30.5	43.3	13.7	20.9	20.9	8.5	21.9
Winchester	Hants	30.7	33.3	14.5	20.7	15.9	8.1	22.6
Berkhamsted	Herts	19.5	27.4	17.7	21.6	21.1	7.1	12.4
Bishop's Stort.	Herts	34.6	41.0	28.2	28.9	21.5	10.4	24.2
Hatfield	Herts	28.2	24.7	19.7	18.6	20.6	13.9	14.3
Hemel	Herts	24.7	30.4	20.8	22.4	16.5	14.0	10.7
Hertford	Herts	27.1	29.1	20.7	24.6	23.0	12.3	14.8
Hitchin	Herts	32.3	36.7	23.5	23.7	20.0	8.6	23.6
Royston	Herts	23.2	27.7	21.9	21.5	27.0	13.8	9.4
St Albans	Herts	25.3	27.3	20.3	19.9	19.0	12.7	12.6
Ware	Herts	34.1	32.5	30.4	24.1	22.2	17.9	16.2
Watford	Herts	34.4	26.8	19.6	17.7	14.7	13.0	21.5
Doncaster	Yorks	15.3	15.9	16.4	16.0	14.0	8.6	7.0
Ecclesall Bierlow	Yorks	11.9	10.6	8.6	8.9	10.2	6.6	5.4
Goole	Yorks	18.9	16.8	18.8	17.9	17.7	15.0	3.9
Keighley	Yorks	20.9	16.7	8.4	9.0	10.0	5.3	15.6
Pontefract	Yorks	N/A	16.4	14.7	18.8	30.2	16.2	0.2
Ripon	Yorks	17.3	17.2	13.9	13.6	14.9	12.0	5.3
Settle	Yorks	19.9	13.9	7.3	6.8	7.1	2.8	17.1
Sheffield	Yorks	20.2	24.1	19.5	18.1	17.9	11.7	8.5
Skipton	Yorks	25.7	20.1	13.2	8.3	12.5	5.5	20.3
Wetherby	Yorks	N/A	13.6	9.9	9.9	9.0	9.8	3.8
CHESHIRE		16.5	15.9	12.7	12.6	14.0	9.1	7.4
GLAMORGAN		19.5	23.8	19.1	18.3	20.1	14.6	4.9
HAMPSHIRE		24.1	26.6	17.7	18.9	16.8	10.5	13.6
HERTFORDSHIRE		28.9	30.9	22.6	22.3	20.3	12.3	16.6
YORKSHIRE		18.9	17.5	13.8	13.3	15.0	9.4	9.5
N		11782	15782	13541	14981	17342	14869	-3087
FIVE COUNTIES		21.3	22.3	16.5	16.5	16.8	11.0	10.3
EXC. LUNATICS		19.3	19.6	13.7	13.3	13.0	11.0	8.3

Table 4.1b – Changing percentages of women aged 60 years and over estimated to have received poor relief on 1 January, with a percentage point change from 1861 to 1911, five counties, 1861-1911

SRD	County	% 1861	% 1871	% 1881	% 1891	% 1901	% 1911	% 61-11
Altrincham	Ches	31.7	22.4	11.1	11.8	11.0	3.7	28.0
Birkenhead	Ches	N/A	28.1	19.9	18.1	17.5	12.0	16.1
Chester	Ches	33.2	27.2	16.9	19.1	20.3	14.7	18.5
Congleton	Ches	31.6	26.2	16.7	15.3	21.0	20.4	11.2
Macclesfield	Ches	29.6	31.4	17.8	19.6	19.7	8.9	20.8
Nantwich	Ches	34.5	30.3	22.5	29.2	24.3	9.6	24.9
Northwich	Ches	35.0	34.6	27.7	24.6	21.0	17.4	17.6
Runcorn	Ches	38.2	35.4	25.1	22.1	21.7	7.3	30.9
Stockport	Ches	16.5	16.1	17.5	15.5	22.0	13.7	2.8
Wirral	Ches	N/A	27.1	15.4	12.2	12.0	10.6	16.5
Bridgend	Glam	37.9	44.4	34.4	25.5	22.3	16.4	21.5
Cardiff	Glam	44.6	53.2	41.1	31.6	36.5	20.5	24.1
Gower	Glam	N/A	26.8	18.1	23.2	23.9	11.0	15.8
Merthyr Tydfil	Glam	30.2	35.9	23.4	28.4	28.1	19.5	10.7
Neath	Glam	37.8	46.2	40.7	36.3	38.2	26.1	11.8
Pontardawre	Glam	N/A	35.5	27.8	28.0	29.3	19.0	16.5
Pontypridd	Glam	N/A	N/A	31.3	30.3	33.3	27.4	3.9
Swansea	Glam	30.1	52.7	36.4	28.6	36.2	16.7	13.4
Alresford	Hants	45.2	43.0	22.0	19.1	25.4	13.4	31.8
Alton	Hants	48.3	45.5	32.9	33.0	25.2	14.6	33.7
Alverstoke	Hants	26.1	26.9	28.0	28.0	26.9	13.0	13.1
Andover	Hants	43.1	47.9	32.6	27.9	30.0	20.2	23.0
Basingstoke	Hants	46.7	50.3	28.7	27.9	20.5	13.6	33.2
Catherington	Hants	44.2	39.2	30.6	25.6	25.6	16.4	27.8
Christchurch	Hants	43.4	30.8	13.3	9.7	12.3	4.4	39.0
Droxford	Hants	36.4	35.0	20.3	20.2	10.2	10.4	26.0
Fareham	Hants	36.7	39.2	28.1	32.7	33.0	12.5	24.2
Fordingbridge	Hants	49.5	38.7	32.4	39.9	25.7	10.6	38.9
Hartley Witney	Hants	37.2	40.4	24.9	26.3	20.3	13.2	24.1
Havant	Hants	28.5	38.0	33.1	26.3	25.1	12.9	15.6
Isle of Wight	Hants	23.5	25.6	19.2	20.4	20.3	13.0	10.5
Kingsclere	Hants	48.1	47.5	29.1	20.8	22.7	6.1	42.0
Lymington	Hants	47.3	50.3	31.1	29.4	26.5	16.2	31.1
New Forest	Hants	41.8	44.5	28.4	31.8	36.3	16.7	25.1
Petersfield	Hants	43.7	51.2	33.1	25.7	22.0	16.2	27.5
Portsea Island	Hants	46.4	54.2	34.9	29.7	26.7	15.9	30.5
Ringwood	Hants	44.7	51.7	28.8	24.3	17.8	12.7	32.0
Romsey	Hants	37.7	45.1	34.4	33.5	22.4	7.9	29.9
South Stoneman	Hants	27.9	34.2	19.9	20.9	22.1	14.6	13.2
Southampton	Hants	36.8	37.0	25.7	30.6	31.3	26.4	10.4

Table 4.1b continued

SRD	County	% 1861	% 1871	% 1881	% 1891	% 1901	% 1911	% 61-11
Stockbridge	Hants	53.4	54.7	27.6	22.8	30.1	25.5	27.9
Whitchurch	Hants	64.1	72.3	27.5	22.2	23.7	9.7	54.4
Winchester	Hants	36.4	42.1	18.2	23.8	17.7	8.3	28.1
Berkhamsted	Herts	36.6	52.5	27.8	20.1	35.1	10.2	26.4
Bishop's Stort.	Herts	47.9	43.6	28.5	37.9	25.6	9.2	38.6
Hatfield	Herts	41.0	35.2	26.6	27.6	37.8	20.4	20.5
Hemel	Herts	33.6	44.4	27.2	34.0	25.7	22.2	11.5
Hertford	Herts	40.7	39.4	28.3	36.8	28.8	21.1	19.6
Hitchin	Herts	36.0	46.1	31.2	27.0	25.1	6.6	29.4
Royston	Herts	43.0	44.1	33.0	30.4	30.2	21.9	21.1
St Albans	Herts	39.8	38.0	26.3	28.0	27.2	15.1	24.7
Ware	Herts	52.6	33.2	43.2	37.2	31.1	25.7	26.9
Watford	Herts	51.8	32.9	26.0	20.3	18.6	14.8	37.0
Doncaster	Yorks	21.6	21.8	18.0	21.7	20.2	13.5	8.4
Ecclesall Bierlow	Yorks	19.6	18.7	12.1	10.3	11.9	6.8	12.7
Goole	Yorks	39.1	34.4	26.6	25.5	25.4	20.4	18.7
Keighley	Yorks	39.7	25.3	15.0	15.1	13.7	7.6	32.2
Pontefract	Yorks	N/A	30.2	24.0	24.4	39.9	19.6	10.5
Ripon	Yorks	27.2	22.4	19.9	17.3	20.0	15.2	12.1
Settle	Yorks	30.5	22.8	8.7	6.5	8.5	4.5	26.0
Sheffield	Yorks	44.7	39.8	31.8	20.4	19.7	11.1	33.6
Skipton	Yorks	36.4	30.3	16.8	14.3	15.7	5.2	31.2
Wetherby	Yorks	N/A	27.0	19.1	17.2	15.1	10.2	16.8
CHESHIRE		29.7	26.5	18.6	18.3	19.1	11.6	18.1
GLAMORGAN		35.5	43.9	33.1	29.7	32.8	20.9	14.6
HAMPSHIRE		39.0	41.8	26.6	25.5	23.3	15.6	23.4
HERTFORDSHIRE		42.8	40.8	30.0	29.2	26.7	14.2	28.6
YORKSHIRE		33.6	28.6	20.7	17.3	18.4	10.5	23.1
N		21766	28016	23077	25129	29533	23310	-1544
FIVE COUNTIES		35.8	35.6	24.9	23.3	23.4	14.3	21.5
EXC. LUNATICS		33.5	33.0	21.9	20.0	19.8	14.3	19.2

Notes: Includes all 'non-able-bodied' adult men and women and 'lunatic' men and women, 1861-1901 and all 'non-able-bodied' adult men and women, 1911. All data are recorded for 1 January, 1861-1911. 'Non-able-bodied' and 'lunatic' are used as surrogates for people aged 60 years and over. The last column represents the change in the percentages of older men and women estimated to have received relief in 1911 from 1861 (the rates in 1911 subtracted from 1861). 'N/A' means that data are not available for particular SRDs owing to lack of data or lack of existence as an SRD. 'Exc. Lunatics' incorporates data for 'non-able-bodied' adult men and women only, see text for discussion.

Sources: [for poor relief data] Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1860, LVIII.183 (383B.I), *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861*; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1871, LIX.163 (140B), *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January*

1871; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1881, LXXVI.515 (60B), *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1881*; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1890-1891, LXVIII.393 (130B), *Pauperism (England and Wales), Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1891*; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1901, LXIV.231 (73), *Pauperism (England and Wales). Half-yearly Statements*; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1911, LXIX.627 (263), *Pauperism (England and Wales). (Half-yearly Statements). Return (in part) to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 17th May 1911; - for copy of statement of the number of paupers relieved on the 1st day of January 1911, and similar statement for the 1st day of July 1911 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, no 242, of session 1910)*; [for census data] Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1861, 1881-1911. Since no Integrated Census Microdata datasets exist for 1871, the numbers of those aged 60 years and over were derived from the age profiles recorded for each SRD in Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, *Census of England and Wales 1871, Population Abstracts, Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations, and Birth-Places of the People, England and Wales, Vol. III, 1871* (London, 1873).

Second, Yorkshire and Cheshire actually experienced a decline in male and female pauperism between the periods 1861 and 1871, with a slight increase by 1901, before falling towards 1911. In some Cheshire, Yorkshire and Glamorgan districts, there was a slight increase or a slower fall in the proportions receiving relief from 1881 to 1911. For example, from 1881 to 1911, the proportion of men receiving relief in Congleton and Stockport SRDs increased by 3.7 and 1.1 percentage points respectively; an increase of 1.5 percentage points was found in Pontefract and 3.6 percentage points was noted in Merthyr Tydfil. Female paupers in Congleton also increased by 3.7 percentage points. Contrastingly, the largest fall in men receiving relief between 1881 and 1911 was near 18 percentage points in Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire and Catherington, Hampshire. When the 'lunatic' populations were excluded in 1881, a similar pattern was found. This is consistent with the abolition of the pauper disqualification clause of the Old Age Pension Act on 1 January 1911 that resulted in a substantial fall in the rates on the Poor Law.

Third, throughout 1861 to 1911, it is clear that the aged poor were less likely to receive poor relief in Yorkshire and Cheshire than in Hertfordshire, Hampshire and Glamorganshire. The disparities were largest in 1871 for both men and women. For women, 72.3 per cent in Whitchurch, Hampshire, received poor relief, compared with 16.1 per cent in Stockport, Cheshire. This shows that very substantial proportions of older men and women were recorded in extreme poverty in certain localities. In fact, 10 of the 62 SRDs saw a majority of its elderly women rely on the Poor Law in 1871, most of which were in Hampshire, followed by Hertfordshire and Glamorgan. Conversely, in 21 SRDs, less than a third of the elderly population relied on the Poor Law, the majority of which belonged to Yorkshire and Cheshire. Pauperism was thus greater among women than men. Quadagno identifies one key factor

explaining this gender bias: the departure of women from work in the middle stages of their life cycle.⁷³ However, a fair proportion of elderly women were working and this was to affect the rates of elderly female pauperism. Of 61 SRDs, Stockport, which has the lowest rate of female pauperism in 1871, contains the highest proportion of elderly women working in domestic service in 1861 at 23.5 per cent.⁷⁴ By contrast, Stockbridge in Hampshire contained the lowest proportions in domestic service but the second highest rates of female pauperism. Therefore, elderly women's work in Cheshire may explain why rates of female pauperism were lower there. Alternatively, the data support findings by Gosden on the geography of Friendly Societies. In Yorkshire and Cheshire, there may have been a greater propensity to subscribe to Friendly Societies during one's lifetime, contrasting with those in the south. These subscriptions would depress the demand for relief in old age and would explain why there were regional variations in old age pauperism.⁷⁵

Geographical disparities in the highest and lowest percentages of men and women on relief decline from the 1870s onwards. The Old Age Pension Act further lowered the disparity by 1911, when 22.3 per cent of men in Southampton SRD received relief compared with 2.8 per cent in Settle, Yorkshire West Riding. Interestingly, the 'north-south' divide in old age pauperism had been weakened by 1901. The highest rate of pauperism for men and women in that year was found in Pontefract, Yorkshire West Riding, which was predominantly a mining area. The SRDs of Glamorgan, the mining capital of Wales, also feature more prominently in the higher ranks of pauperism in 1901, compared with earlier periods. An increase in the numbers of older men in mining was noted in Pontefract from 1891 to 1911. It appears that, unlike the domestic service trade in Cheshire, areas with high proportions of certain other occupations experienced an increase in pauperism. Perhaps the reduction in miners' wages or the transition to part-time work for older men (for example, working at the pit-head of mines) would mean an increasing reliance on the Poor Law to compensate for the loss of income.⁷⁶ Another plausible factor for the high incidence of female pauperism in Glamorgan is that the high occupational-specific mortality rates of their spouses meant that they could rely on nothing

⁷³ J. Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society: Work, Family and Social Policy in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1982), pp. 143-5.

⁷⁴ Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1861.

⁷⁵ Gosden, *The Friendly Societies in England*, pp. 22-3.

⁷⁶ D. Friedlander, 'Demographic Patterns and Socio-economic Characteristics of the Coal-Mining Population in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 22 (1973), pp. 39-51; M. Woollard, 'The Employment and Retirement of Older Men, 1851-1881: Further Evidence from the Census', *Continuity and Change*, 17 (2002), pp. 437-63, at p. 448.

else other than their relatives or the Poor Law.⁷⁷ Therefore, belonging to an occupation in old age was not always a safeguard from the New Poor Law. By 1911, the Old Age Pension Act significantly reduced the higher rates of elderly men and women on relief in Hertfordshire and Hampshire. The SRDs of Cheshire, Yorkshire and Glamorganshire were increasingly in the twenty highest SRDs in terms of the proportions of elderly male and female pauperism. Overall, despite the limited sample of four English counties, a ‘north-south’ divide in aged pauperism existed during the mid-Victorian period, but was weakened by changing variations in occupational structure and the introduction of old age pensions.

In 1894, Charles Booth argued that old age pauperism was more marked in rural areas than urbanised cities and towns.⁷⁸ Table 4.2 shows the proportions of older men and women receiving poor relief through a classification system of grouping Poor Law Unions (usually coterminous with SRDs) into several economic and geographical categories. In *The Aged Poor in England and Wales*, Booth examines the proportions of older people on poor relief through 20 defined categories.⁷⁹ We have classed each SRD in accordance with their appearance in the 18 categories (the final two focus on London). Group 1 is the most agrarian; group 18 the most urban. Two periods of 1861 and 1901 are selected. Some groups have been combined because they share the same geographical characteristics (for example, Groups 17 and 18 belong to ‘provincial urban’ districts). For men in 1861, the highest male pauperism rates belonged to Group 9 (half rural: agriculture and town), although pauperism was most likely concentrated in the ‘rural or mostly rural’ areas forming Groups 1 to 7. Those SRDs in the ‘mostly urban or urban’ category contained the lowest rates of male pauperism, particularly in the ‘manufacture’ and ‘residential’ areas. ‘Rural or mostly rural’ areas also experienced the highest rates of female pauperism in 1861, but also ‘provincial urban’ areas such as Portsea Island SRD featured high incidences. This is possibly because the Board of Guardians in that SRD issued a higher proportion of its female applicants with indoor relief: 15.1 per cent of all female applicants were granted indoor relief, compared with the national average of 7.8 per cent. It appears that the Board of Guardians in urban areas rigorously applied a workhouse test for elderly women before the social policy of a ‘crusade against outdoor relief’ was implemented. Similar to men,

⁷⁷ B. Curtis and S. Thompson “‘This is the Country of Premature Old Men’”: Ageing and Aged Miners in the South Wales Coalfield, c. 1880-1947’, *Cultural and Social History*, 12 (2017), pp. 587-606, esp. pp. 591-4.

⁷⁸ This excludes the ‘Metropolitan’ Poor Law Unions described in Table IV of Booth’s study, the majority of which were based in London owing to the high proportions receiving relief indoors. In terms of outdoor relief, this clearly favoured the ‘mostly rural’ and ‘wholly rural’ Unions. Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 14.

⁷⁹ See Appendix 4A for a breakdown of the 20 economic categories, originally derived from Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, pp. 56-104.

women in ‘mostly urban or urban’ areas associated with manufacturing and residential areas were least likely to rely on the Poor Law.

Table 4.2 – Changing percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over estimated to have received poor relief, groups of economic characteristics by Charles Booth, five counties, 1861 and 1901

Booth	Booth's Economic Classification	1861 %		1901 %	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1/2	Rural / Mostly Rural: Agriculture	25.9	41.7	17.3	22.9
3/4	Rural / Mostly Rural: Agriculture and Town	23.7	43.4	22.5	28.1
5/6/7	Rural / Mostly Rural: Mining, Manufacturing, Shipping	24.7	47.6	16.6	26.1
9	Half Rural: Agriculture and Town	28.3	40.9	19.9	27.0
10	Half Rural: Mining	17.4	28.0	15.2	21.0
11	Half Rural: Manufacturing	20.9	34.8	15.3	21.7
12	Half Rural: Shipping	20.7	38.3	20.4	29.2
13	Half Rural: Residential	21.7	33.9	12.5	16.2
14	Mostly Urban / Semi-Urban: Mining	20.6	34.4	21.9	34.4
15	Mostly Urban / Semi-Urban: Manufacture and Trade	17.5	28.9	14.4	19.1
16	Mostly Urban / Semi-Urban: Residential	18.2	24.8	12.5	16.1
17/18	Provincial Urban: Manufacture/Trade and Residential	22.2	42.6	16.5	23.1
N		11782	21766	17342	29533
TOTAL		21.3	35.8	16.8	23.4

Notes: For more information on Booth’s economic classifications, see Appendix 4A. Group 8 is excluded as none of the SRDs are recorded in that group.

Sources: [for poor relief data] Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1860, LVIII.183 (383B.I), *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861*; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1901, LXIV.231 (73), *Pauperism (England and Wales). Half-yearly Statements*; [for census data] Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1861 and 1901; C. Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894), pp. 56-104.

By 1901, the highest rates of male pauperism were in ‘mostly urban’ mining and ‘half rural’ shipping and ‘rural and mostly rural’ agriculture and town districts. In fact, there was a constant rate for females in ‘mostly urban’ mining areas (Group 14) between the periods 1861 and 1901. This reinforces the findings in Tables 4.1a-b, where the increase in mining as an occupation in Glamorganshire and Pontefract, Yorkshire was associated with a higher incidence of pauperism. Similar to 1861, pauperism was lowest in the residential areas of Christchurch, Hampshire and Ecclesall Bierlow, Yorkshire. With some exceptions, older people were more likely to receive poor relief in districts that were most agrarian (Groups 1-7) and most urban (Groups 17-18). It is not entirely correct to propose that pauperism was mostly a rural phenomenon. Variations in poor relief were determined by sub-rural and sub-urban economic

and geographical characteristics, such as the higher incidences of pauperism in mining areas and the lower rates in suburbanised, residential districts.

Overall, when the five counties are generally assessed, a minority of older people relied on the Poor Law. In 1861, only 21.3 per cent of older men received poor relief, falling to 16.8 per cent in 1901. Over a third of older women were recorded as paupers in 1861 (35.8 per cent), falling to 23.4 per cent in 1901. A slight increase was found between 1891 and 1901 (Tables 4.1a-b). However, if we exclude the ‘lunatic’ claimants, some of whom might have been elderly, and focus only on the numbers classed as ‘non-able-bodied’, we actually find rates falling. The rate for men was roughly constant at between 13-14 per cent from 1881 to 1901, while near a fifth of elderly women received relief. In this case, it confirms Pat Thane’s argument that women predominated as poor relief applicants compared with men.⁸⁰ It also shows that the changes to the way that data on ‘lunatics’ were collated in 1901, where information from county asylums was given for the first time, can significantly affect the outcome in the changing rates of the elderly poor. Although old age pauperism generally declined between the periods 1861 and 1901, the percentages of claimants that received indoor relief, as opposed to outdoor relief, increased. While 22.9 per cent of the men that received relief were given indoor relief in 1861, this increased to 33.7 per cent in 1901; for female paupers, 7.8 per cent were given indoor relief in 1861 and 12.7 per cent in 1901. By 1911, the percentage of male paupers receiving indoor relief increased markedly to 48.9 per cent, compared with 15.4 per cent for women. In 32 of the 63 SRDs, over half of male paupers received indoor relief, reaching a high of 79 per cent in Altrincham, Cheshire. In spite of old age pensions, pauperism still existed and the proportion of older paupers receiving indoor relief increased after the Old Age Pension Act.

Perhaps those who were on outdoor relief before the implementation of the Old Age Pension Act transferred to old age pensions, thus lowering the percentages of older men on outdoor relief. Interestingly, the parliamentary report that accompanies the data on the numbers of paupers on 1 January 1911 comments that, compared with 1 January 1910, those that received relief and were under 70 years of age increased.⁸¹ The failure of the Old Age Pension Act to tackle the wider issue of pauperism was remarked upon by former Chair of the Bethnal Green Board of Guardians, William Amias Bailward. In 1920, he argued:

⁸⁰ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 192-3.

⁸¹ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1911, LXIX.627 (263), *Pauperism (England and Wales)*. (*Half-yearly Statements*), p. iii.

Truly in all this we see the irony of fate. We were told that old age pensions would empty our workhouses and save an enormous expenditure upon Poor Law relief [...] [Now] we find our workhouses nearly as full as ever, whilst the places of those transferred from outdoor relief to the pension list are being filled by those under seventy.⁸²

He also argued that one could apply for outdoor relief provisionally before becoming eligible for an old age pension: ‘So far from the pension being an inducement to self-maintenance in earlier years, the fact that a pension is due shortly is made a reason for asking for out-relief in the interim. And so relief is made to breed relief.’⁸³ However, as we have seen for elderly men in particular, there was a greater likelihood of going into the workhouse over time. For men who were not aged 70 years and over and thus ineligible for old age pensions, they may have received more workhouse offers after the Old Age Pension Act was implemented than before. While some sectors of older people benefitted from the Old Age Pension Act, others appear to have been excluded and continued to receive workhouse accommodation under the New Poor Law.

Table 4.3 shows bivariate aggregate-level regressions involving 7 occupational designations for women and 11 designations for men as independent variables, chosen because these occupations commanded substantial rates for women and men at the local level.⁸⁴ There are 56 observations, or SRDs, in 1861 and 63 observations in 1891 and 1911. They include all older people aged 60 years and over recorded in an occupation, which includes those also enumerated as ‘retired’ and those recorded in institutions. The dependent variable is the percentages of older men or women estimated to have received poor relief on 1 January of a given year. The years 1861, 1891 and 1911 have been selected, to see in different periods the nature of the aggregate level-association between the rate of old age pauperism and the occupational structure of elderly people. For elderly men, working in a specialist industry provided a safeguard from pauperism. Textiles was the only occupation where the area-level relationship between occupational structure and pauperism was significantly negative across all periods. In other words, areas with high proportions of men who worked in textiles had lower proportions relying on the Poor Law. There was also a significant negative relationship between male metal workers and the Poor Law, although it was only significant in 1861. The conveyance,

⁸² W.A. Bailward, *The Slippery Slope, and Other Papers on Social Subjects* (London, 1920), p. 219.

⁸³ Bailward, *Slippery Slope*, pp. 219-20.

⁸⁴ Specifically, for women, occupations were selected for analysis where, on average, 1 per cent or more of women worked in these occupations in at least one period; for men, 10 per cent or more in at least one period.

mining and commercial trades also show a significant negative relationship with the Poor Law in 1861. The ‘north-south’ divide is emphasised by the high concentration of male commercial and conveyance workers in Runcorn SRD, Cheshire, where 16.8 per cent were recorded in these occupations, compared with 6.2 of all the 56 SRDs observed. In both 1861 and 1891, there was a significantly positive aggregate relationship between agriculture and reliance on the Poor Law. The percentages of elderly men in agriculture were highest in the SRDs of Hertfordshire and Hampshire. Despite confining our sample to 63 SRDs at aggregate-level, another factor is provided as to why there was a ‘north-south’ divide in aged pauperism, as occupations that were likely to result in pauperism were primarily concentrated in southern England. Interestingly, there was a strong negative aggregate association between male miners and pauperism in 1861, but a strong positive relationship in 1911. This supports the results in Table 4.2 where Poor Law Unions predominated by mining industries experienced an increase in the numbers receiving relief by 1901.

Table 4.3 – Bivariate regressions of several independent variables (the percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over in several occupations) on the dependent variable (the percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over estimated to have received poor relief), aggregate data provided at SRD level, 56 observations in 1861 and 63 observations in 1891 and 1911

<i>Dep. Variable: Percentages on Poor Relief</i>			
MALE	Coefficients		
Ind. Variable	1861	1891	1911
Agriculture	0.18***	0.10**	-0.02
Building	0.40	0.62	-0.07
Chemicals	-0.83	-0.67	0.01
Commercial	-2.46**	-1.39***	-0.37
Conveyance	-0.70**	-0.08	0.17
Food and Drink	-0.10	0.31	0.26
General Work	-0.22	0.32*	-0.04
Metals	-0.38***	-0.18	-0.03
Mines	-0.65***	-0.10	0.14**
Not Occupied	0.04	0.22	-0.10
Textiles	-0.29**	-0.43***	-0.25**

Table 4.3 continued

<i>Dep. Variable: Percentages on Poor Relief</i>			
FEMALE	Coefficients		
Ind. Variable	1861	1891	1911
Agriculture	0.53	-1.15	-0.80
Dom. Service	-0.88**	-0.33	-0.41
Dress	-0.07	0.29	-0.81
Food and Drink	-2.38*	-2.04**	-0.90
Not Occupied	0.24	0.41*	0.57**
Professionals	1.74	1.30	-1.31
Textiles	-0.85*	-1.07**	-0.83*

Notes: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Sources: [for poor relief data] Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1860, LVIII.183 (383B.I), *Poor Rates and Pauperism, Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861*; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1890-1891, LXVIII.393 (130B), *Pauperism (England and Wales), Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1891*; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1911, LXIX.627 (263), *Pauperism (England and Wales). (Half-yearly Statements). Return (in part) to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 17th May 1911; - for copy of statement of the number of paupers relieved on the 1st day of January 1911, and similar statement for the 1st day of July 1911 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, no 242, of session 1910)*; [for census data] Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1861, 1891 and 1911.

As for elderly women, there were significant negative aggregate relationships between the proportion of elderly females who were textile workers and the rates of elderly women on poor relief in all three periods. SRDs with high proportions of female domestic service and food workers also contained lower rates of female pauperism. As outlined by Quadagno, domestic servants would receive generous annuities after their retirement from employers for their years in service.⁸⁵ It is found that SRDs with higher proportions of elderly women not recorded in an occupation were significantly associated with the higher rates of female pauperism in 1891 and 1911. The coefficients are also positive for men in 1861 and 1891 but insignificant. There were large differences in the rates of elderly men and women working, which may explain why greater numbers of elderly women received poor relief. Overall, the ‘north-south’ divide in aged pauperism cannot be explained by simply referring to the ‘character of the northern people.’⁸⁶ It was rooted in the occupational structure of older individuals and whether an

⁸⁵ Quadagno, *Aging in Early Industrial Society*, p. 147. Although this may seem inconsistent with the finding in Chapter Two that, by 1891, female domestic servants were more likely to enter the workhouse than be recorded in the CEBs as ‘retired’, those that were enumerated as ‘formerly’ in domestic service (as opposed to ‘retired’ or as ‘paupers’) may also have received the generous annuities that enabled them to avoid the Poor Law in their old age, which contributed to the significant negative relationship between those working in the domestic service category and reliance on the Poor Law (involving those on both outdoor and indoor relief).

⁸⁶ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 24.

occupation was actually held. If elderly men were working in industries that were specialist to the local economy, such as the metal trade in Sheffield and the textile industries in Cheshire, this provided a level of security. For women, withdrawing from employment in old age was likely to result in assistance under the New Poor Law.

Before the Old Age Pension Act, older people wanting to pursue a comfortable retirement were often described in the CEBs as 'living on own means'. This form of designation was introduced in the 1891 census and is supposed to cover those that were not specifically employed but relying on incomes that were not poor relief.⁸⁷ Figures 4.1a and 4.1b show the relationship between the proportion of older men and women recorded as 'living on own means' in 1891 and those estimated to have received poor relief on 1 January 1891. If an inverse relationship is found between those on 'own means' and pauperism, this indicates that SRDs with high proportions of those on 'own means' had lower rates of those on the Poor Law. The evidence presented here shows this to be the case. This is highly significant for older women ($-0.68, p < 0.01$). There was also a negative but insignificant relationship for men ($-0.55, p < 0.13$). In 13 of the 63 SRDs, the proportions of women 'on own means' was higher than the percentages on the Poor Law. Six of these came from Yorkshire West Riding, four from Cheshire and three from Hampshire. The highest percentages were found in Christchurch and Southampton, Hampshire. While Booth commented that thrift was an important factor in the lower rates of pauperism in the north, here we see no 'north-south' divide in the numbers of women on own means.⁸⁸ Despite this, 'living on own means' does not necessarily imply that women partook in a savings scheme or inherited land in their old age. Rudimentary forms of getting by could exist under the umbrella of 'own means'. For example, one 64-year-old woman from Ecclesall Bierlow SRD, Yorkshire, was described as 'dependent upon lodger & her means'. A 70-year-old woman from Christchurch was 'unable to work small means'. However, other designations suggest a position of high status. In Isle of Wight SRD, a 63-year-old woman was described as 'authoress living on her own means'. A 74-year-old household head and her 73-year-old sister in Fareham SRD were both termed as 'independent gentlewoman'. Only two women in Yorkshire and three in Hampshire in 1891 that were coded 'on own means' were recorded as relying on poor relief.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Garrett, 'The Dawning of a New Era?' p. 362.

⁸⁸ Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 425.

⁸⁹ All references derived from the Integrated Census Microdata datasets for 1891.

Figure 4.1a – Scatter graph of the percentages of men aged 60 years and over on poor relief on 1 January 1891 and the percentages of men recorded as ‘living on own means’ in the 1891 CEBs and the percentages of men on poor relief, 63 SRDs, 1891

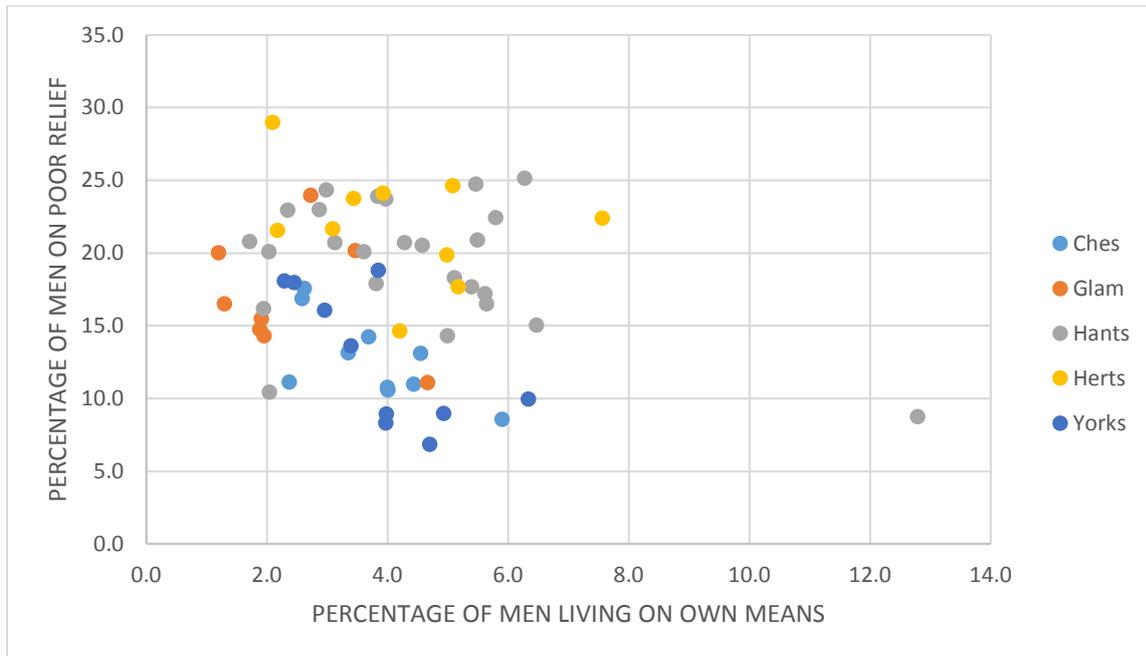
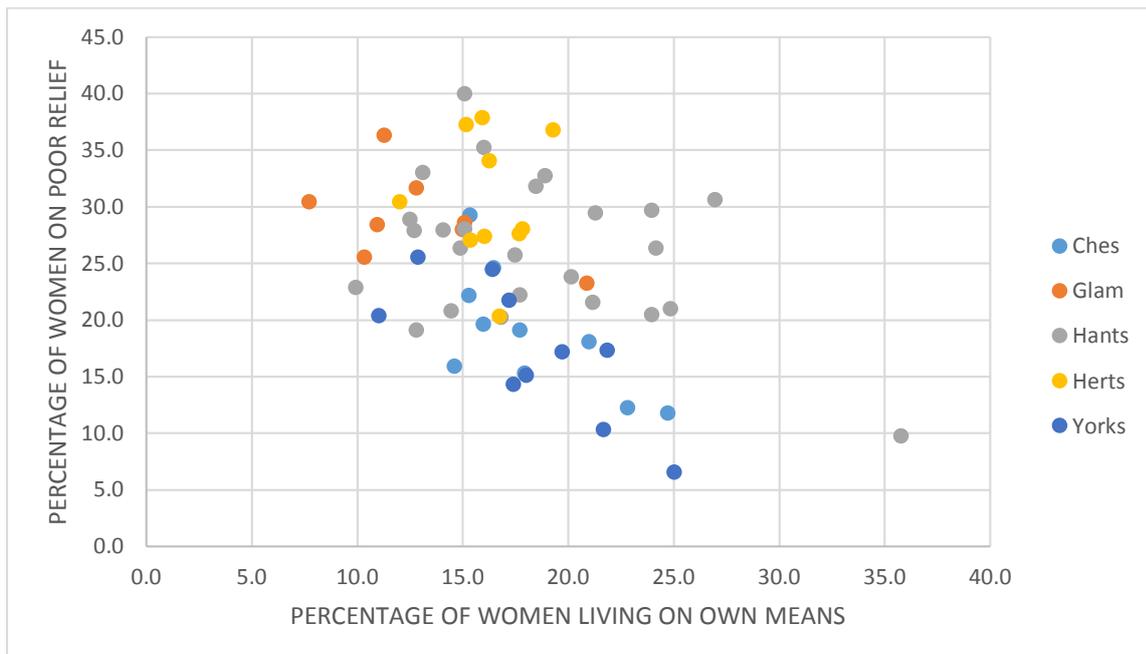


Figure 4.1b – Scatter graph of the percentages of women aged 60 years and over on poor relief on 1 January 1891 and the percentages of women recorded as ‘living on own means’ in the 1891 CEBs and the percentages of women on poor relief, 63 SRDs, 1891



Sources: Integrated Census Microdata dataset, 1891; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1890-1891, LXVIII.393 (130B), *Pauperism (England and Wales), Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1891.*

To further demonstrate that those elderly women 'living on own means' differed from those on the Poor Law, we consider the proportions described as on 'own means' in 1891 and compare them with the percentages of those aged 70 years and over receiving old age pensions in 1911.⁹⁰ It is hypothesised that those relying on the Poor Law would have taken a higher weekly allowance under the Old Age Pension Act, which was designed to assist those with lower annual incomes (for single individuals, five shillings weekly if annual incomes were below £21).⁹¹ Those that were more affluent (or on 'own means') would not have been eligible for old age pensions. The correlation between the proportions of women 'on own means' in 1891 and the percentages recorded as receiving old age pensions in the 1911 CEBs was identified as negative and significant ($-0.22, p < 0.10$). By contrast, when another relationship was produced between the proportions of women receiving poor relief in 1891 and old age pensions in 1911, this was positive and significant ($0.14, p < 0.10$). Although this was calculated at area-level, it does support the idea that some sectors of older women could withdraw from work at varying stages of the life cycle and accumulate enough savings to avoid pauperism. On the other hand, an additional group of older women were dependent on the Poor Law because they lacked an ability to save.

Furthermore, the 1911 CEBs still refer to elderly men and women that were not described as old age pensioners but relying on 'private' or 'own means'. Those on old age pensions were numerically coded differently by I-CeM to those on 'own means'.⁹² By comparing those on 'own means' in 1891 with that of 1911, there appears to be a fall in the percentages. For women, 17.7 per cent were recorded 'on own means' in 1891, falling to 9.3 per cent in 1911; in terms of men, 3.9 per cent were recorded 'on own means' in 1891, the figure for 1911 being 2.1 per cent. Perhaps some of those on own means, such as the 70-year-old woman from Christchurch in 1891 who relied on 'small means', became eligible for an old age pension in 1911 but would not have qualified for an allowance on the Poor Law beforehand. This would confirm Boyer's argument about the unreliability of Poor Law statistics to explain the extent of old age pauperism.⁹³ It also shows that historians overemphasise the extreme sectors of old age poverty

⁹⁰ It must be admitted that the coverage of old age pensioners in the CEBs is more limited than in the returns recently provided by George Boyer. Under 10 per cent of the population aged 70 years and over are recorded in the CEBs for England and Wales as receiving old age pensions, compared with Boyer's figures of 59 per cent recorded for England in March 1912. See Boyer, 'Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', Table 13, p. 28.

⁹¹ E. Midwinter, *The Development of Social Welfare in Britain* (Birmingham, 1994), p. 176.

⁹² Code 776 of the I-CeM Occupational Matrix scheme is titled 'Receiving Old Age Pension (Occupation or Former Occupation Not Stated)', whereas those on 'Private Means', representing the textual designation 'living on own means', were in code 778. E. Higgs, C. Jones, K. Schürer and A. Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide* (2nd Revised Edition, University of Essex, 2013), p. 182.

⁹³ Boyer, 'Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', p. 4.

through their examinations of the Poor Law, rather than those that were not wealthy nor destitute enough to receive parish relief. This is further emphasised when those recorded on 'own means' in 1911 are compared with the percentages on poor relief in the same year. There was a highly significant negative relationship for men ($-0.93, p < 0.05$) and for women ($-0.50, p < 0.01$). This shows that there was a tendency for SRDs with a high proportion of those on 'own means' to have lower proportions of pauperism. Overall, it can be argued that those on 'private' or 'own means' constituted a sector of the elderly population that avoided the Poor Law and were at least above the poverty line.

In Table 4.4, the age profiles of workhouse inmates are examined for 1851, 1891 and 1911, comprising of three age groups (0-14 years, 15-59 years and 60 years and over) and broken down by five counties. Generally, workhouse inmates were predominantly younger in 1851, before becoming increasingly older by 1891 and 1911. In 1911, men aged 60 years and over formed almost half of all workhouse inmates. Older men formed a majority in Hertfordshire's workhouses in 1891, as well as in Glamorgan, Hertfordshire and the Yorkshire West Riding in 1911. The higher presence of elderly men than elderly women in workhouses is seen across all five counties and reflects previous research at Poor Law Union level.⁹⁴ While elderly women were more likely to enter the workhouse than those aged 0-14 years, they did not constitute a majority of the female workhouse population. The male workhouse demographic in Glamorgan drastically changed, as 51 per cent of older men formed the workhouse population in 1911, compared with only 18.5 per cent in 1851. This is despite the long-standing resistance to workhouses expressed by Welsh Poor Law authorities since the Poor Law's inception, although Table 4.4 reflects Andy Croll's analysis that the Welsh Board of Guardians were 'reconciled gradually to the system of indoor relief.'⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', Tables 1 and 2, pp. 355-6; Ritch, 'English Poor Law Institutional Care for Older People', Table 2, p. 75.

⁹⁵ On the resistance to workhouses in Wales, see M. Evans and P. Jones, "'A Stubborn, Intractable Body": Resistance to the Workhouse in Wales, 1834-1877', *Family and Community History*, 17 (2014), pp. 101-121; on indoor relief in late-Victorian Wales, see A. Croll, "'Reconciled Gradually to the System of Indoor Relief": The Poor Law in Wales during the 'Crusade against Out-relief', c. 1870-1890', *Family and Community History*, 20 (2017), pp. 121-144.

Table 4.4 – Age profile of inmates in workhouses, five counties, 1851, 1891 and 1911

	% Aged 0-14 Years			% Aged 15-59 Years			% Aged 60+ Years		
MALE	1851	1891	1911	1851	1891	1911	1851	1891	1911
Ches	36.8	22.6	11.4	27.9	34.5	41.7	35.3	42.6	46.8
Glam	49.4	14.4	7.2	31.8	43.2	41.7	18.5	40.0	51.0
Hants	36.1	22.2	11.7	31.8	30.6	39.5	31.6	46.9	48.7
Herts	31.0	20.0	8.8	33.4	28.5	34.4	35.6	51.3	56.6
Yorks	33.1	13.7	7.6	31.5	42.2	41.7	34.9	44.0	50.3
N	1631	1255	1090	1451	2247	4639	1489	2918	5716
TOTAL	35.6	19.5	9.5	31.7	34.8	40.4	32.5	45.2	49.8

	% Aged 0-14 Years			% Aged 15-59 Years			% Aged 60+ Years		
FEMALE	1851	1891	1911	1851	1891	1911	1851	1891	1911
Ches	31.9	20.5	13.8	46.3	46.5	46.7	21.9	32.6	39.3
Glam	33.6	14.9	13.1	53.7	50.4	55.4	12.8	32.8	30.8
Hants	37.3	22.6	17.5	42.7	39.0	41.1	19.5	37.8	41.1
Herts	35.4	26.0	17.9	42.1	39.8	39.7	22.2	33.1	42.1
Yorks	31.3	18.5	11.5	49.5	47.1	50.1	19.2	33.1	37.6
N	1458	1045	1006	1842	2175	3258	819	1743	2653
TOTAL	35.3	20.9	14.5	44.6	43.5	46.9	19.8	34.8	38.2

Notes: When percentages do not round to 100, this is because those whose ages were not stated were excluded.

Sources: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851, 1891 and 1911.

Based on the 1911 data, the Old Age Pension Act did not stop the increase in elderly workhouse inmates. This may be because old age pensions were originally given to those over the age of 70 years, not 60 years and over. As a result, the proportion of workhouse inmates aged 60-69 years increased between 1891 and 1911. For women, 13.5 per cent of workhouse inmates were aged 60-69 years in 1891, rising to 16.9 per cent in 1911. For men, 20.7 per cent were aged 60-69 years in 1891, increasing to 29.1 per cent in 1911. By contrast, the proportion of female inmates aged 70 years and over was constant in 1891 and 1911, at 21.3 per cent. The proportion of male inmates of the same age actually fell from 24.5 per cent in 1891 to 20.7 per cent in 1911. These statistics reflect Gilleard's recent research into Irish workhouses.⁹⁶ This would call into question the idea that, by 1911, older people aged 70 years and over preferred the arrangements offered to them in the form of medical care in workhouses than in receiving old

⁹⁶ Gilleard, *Old Age in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, p. 71.

age pensions.⁹⁷ If there was a greater tendency for older people not to claim their old age pension and instead retain their workhouse arrangements, we would expect the proportion aged 70 years and over to increase. The ratio of those aged 60-69 years per 100 aged 70 years and over in workhouses in 1911 was 79 for women and 141 for men. Consequently, workhouses were becoming populated specifically by those aged 60-69 years. This age group was not eligible for old age pensions, suggesting that those who were avoided the workhouse and stayed in the sanctuary of their own homes.

Table 4.5 shows the changing rates of elderly male and female workhouse inmates as a percentage of the overall population aged 60 years and over. From this, we find that the association between older people and workhouses is overemphasised. The share of the elderly population that were inmates is very limited. In some cases, they do not reflect Paul Johnson's argument that older people became increasingly institutionalised at the turn of the twentieth century, as the figures for older women barely change.⁹⁸ Even where they do increase, the percentages are very small. While it is true that admissions made by older people to workhouses increased, the share of the elderly population in them fell for elderly women and men in Hampshire and Hertfordshire. This may be due again to the introduction of old age pensions in counties where the Poor Law was heavily relied upon. Those counties with limited proportions of older inmates in 1851, such as Yorkshire and Glamorgan, increased by 1911. In earlier periods, older people in southern England were more likely to enter workhouses, although this changed by 1911, when counties to the north of England caught up. This reinforces the idea that the 'north-south' divide collapsed in terms of workhouse populations by the early twentieth century, based on a consideration of four English counties. However, it is found that older men were more likely than women to be admitted to workhouses.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ K. Schürer, E.M. Garrett, H. Jaadla and A. Reid, 'Household and Family Structure in England and Wales (1851-1911): Continuities and Change', *Continuity and Change*, 33 (2018), pp. 365-411, esp. pp. 381-2.

⁹⁸ Johnson, *The Economics of Old Age in Britain*, p. 7.

⁹⁹ N. Goose, 'Workhouse Populations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Case of Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 62 (1999), pp. 52-69, esp. pp. 59-62; Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', pp. 358-61. This was accentuated elsewhere by 1911, see Ritch, 'English Poor Law Institutional Care for Older People', Table 2, p. 75.

Table 4.5 – Changing rates of male and female workhouse inmates aged 60 years and over as a percentage of the male and female population aged 60 years and over, five counties, 1851, 1891 and 1911

	% MALE			% FEMALE		
	1851	1891	1911	1851	1891	1911
Ches	1.7	2.6	3.8	0.9	1.3	1.7
Glam	1.0	1.5	3.9	0.5	1.0	1.2
Hants	4.1	4.4	4.0	2.4	2.4	1.6
Herts	6.4	4.5	4.8	2.4	1.5	1.6
Yorks	1.8	3.4	5.1	0.8	1.4	2.0
N	1489	2918	5716	819	1743	2653
TOTAL	3.0	3.2	4.2	1.5	1.6	1.6

Sources: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851, 1891 and 1911.

Workhouse admissions and discharge registers provide the basis for estimating the proportions of inmates over a longer period. This is assuming that the numbers of elderly men and women in the population of the SRDs do not change markedly over time. In fact, the populations aged 60 years and over in Winchester, Hertford and Ripon hardly change in number over a decade: there were 37 and 10 more men in 1891 than in 1881 in Ripon and Winchester respectively, with a decrease of 40 in Hertford. There were 50 and 91 more elderly women in Ripon and Winchester respectively, compared with 34 less in Hertford. In this case, workhouse populations recorded over longer periods can be calculated as a share of the snapshot populations recorded in the CEBs, as the numbers of people have hardly changed.

Table 4.6 – Numbers of male and female workhouse inmates aged 60 years and over recorded over a longer period as a percentage of men and women aged 60 years and over, along with a nineteen-month sample, Hertford, Ripon and Winchester workhouses, 1880-1884, 1890-1892

	HERTFORD AUG 1890-MAR 1892			RIPON APR 1880-DEC 1884			WINCHESTER JAN 1881-DEC 1884		
	Inmates	60+	% Inm	Inmates	60+	% Inm	Inmates	60+	% Inm
Male	30	708	4.2	93	787	11.8	118	1320	8.9
Female	14	824	1.7	31	874	3.5	48	1536	3.1
Total	44	1532	2.9	124	1661	7.5	166	2856	5.8

	HERTFORD AUG 1890-MAR 1892 (19 MONTHS)			RIPON AUG 1880-MAR 1882 (19 MONTHS)			WINCHESTER AUG 1881-MAR 1883 (19 MONTHS)		
	Inmates	60+	% Inm	Inmates	60+	% Inm	Inmates	60+	% Inm
Male	30	708	4.2	39	787	5.0	62	1320	4.7
Female	14	824	1.7	12	874	1.4	26	1536	1.7
Total	44	1532	2.9	51	1661	3.1	88	2856	3.1

Notes: The numbers aged 60 years and over in Hertford are recorded from the 1891 census; for Ripon and Winchester, they are derived from the 1881 census.

Sources: [for workhouse data] North Yorkshire Record Office, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of Ripon Union, April 1880-December 1884, BG/RI 5/3/1; Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of New Winchester Union, April 1879-September 1881, PL5/11/32, October 1881-September 1882, PL5/11/33 and September 1882-March 1885, PL5/11/34; Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of Hertford Union, August 1890-March 1893, BG/HER/29; [for census data] Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1881 and 1891.

The number of men and women aged 60 years and over that were admitted to workhouses has been recorded over a period of roughly five years in the Poor Law Unions of Ripon and Winchester (between 1880-1884), and nineteen months in Hertford (1890-1892). They are divided by the numbers of elderly men and women on census nights depending on when the admissions were recorded. Those readmitted or discharged are not counted. Table 4.6 shows that greater numbers of men were admitted to Ripon than Winchester workhouse. Nearly 12 per cent of elderly men in Ripon are estimated to have been admitted to workhouses, compared with 3.5 per cent of women. There were no differences in the proportions of women admitted to workhouses in Ripon and Winchester. The sex ratio (number of males per 100 females) of elderly workhouse inmates was 300 in Ripon and 246 in Winchester, reflecting the high sex ratios noted by Goose in the CEBs for Hertfordshire in 1891.¹⁰⁰ Although Hertford's rates are smaller because the time period of data collection is more limited (nineteen months), there is a sex ratio of 214. Table 4.6 also shows a nineteen-month sample of the workhouse populations of Ripon and Winchester adjusted along with the data for Hertford.¹⁰¹ This sample also shows that admissions for men were higher in Ripon than in Winchester and Hertford, but not by much, with no marked difference for women. This reflects Boyer and Schmidle's research that, in the later years of the Victorian period, northern districts were more likely to enforce a workhouse test to deter many applicants from relying on the Poor Law.¹⁰² Overall, when considering elderly workhouse populations over a longer period, admissions were defined by geographical variations and gender.

¹⁰⁰ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', p. 362.

¹⁰¹ By starting the nineteen-month sample in August and ending in March, we acknowledge seasonal variations in admissions. See A. Hinde and F. Turnbull, 'The Populations of Two Hampshire Workhouses, 1851-1861', *Local Population Studies*, 61 (1998), pp. 38-53, at pp. 44-6.

¹⁰² Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', pp. 263-9.

4.6 Analysis - Outdoor Relief and Older People, 1879-1881

Most of the research on the aged poor is based on workhouse admissions and discharge registers, although the numbers in workhouses were miniscule compared to those on outdoor relief.¹⁰³ However, outdoor relief application and report books are rich with information on relief claimants at parish level, beyond the Poor Law Union data in parliamentary papers. These materials also enable an assessment of outdoor relief claimants over longer periods of time and allow an examination by specific age profile. This is outside the ‘snapshot’ nature of the parliamentary papers. Data have been selected from the Poor Law Unions of Ripon, Yorkshire West Riding, Alton, Hampshire and Hertford, Hertfordshire, as recorded in the late 1870s and early 1880s. This allows us to assess the extent of poverty in old age after the period when the ‘crusade against outdoor relief’ was first implemented under the New Poor Law. While older people received outdoor relief through cash allowances or in kind, this section focuses on those that received cash allowances. This will contribute to the debate on how generous Poor Law allowances were to older people; the general agreement being that they were not very generous, according to Pat Thane and Lynn Hollen Lees.¹⁰⁴

Owing to the rarity of the application and report books, it is best to provide details on what is contained within them. They were specifically records of those that asked the Board of Guardians or the relieving officer of the Poor Law Union for outdoor relief. There are details on the name of the applicant, their families, their occupation, addresses, their age and the reasons for applying for poor relief, among other details. The applications were entered into the records and were signed off with a note of decision by the Board of Guardians inserted at quarterly meetings. In the interim, relieving officers could visit the residence of the applicant to help make an informed decision on whether relief was to be granted to the applicant. Usually, the decision was to pay the applicant a cash allowance, sometimes one in kind, or both. Occasionally, an application for outdoor relief could be rejected and a workhouse offer given instead. If outdoor relief was successfully granted, then the length of the relief given was published. Allowances were often paid weekly and the applicant could ask for it to be renewed, subject to approval from the Board of Guardians. Particularly for older-age applicants, relief was granted for 26 weeks of the year and renewed every six months, akin to a weekly

¹⁰³ As seen nationally and in the county of Hertfordshire between 1850-1902, see Goose, ‘Poverty, Old Age and Gender,’ Tables 1 and 2, pp. 355-6.

¹⁰⁴ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 168-9, 171; Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, pp. 186-9.

'pension'.¹⁰⁵ Figure 4.2 shows some sample pages of the application and report books and Table 4.7 outlines the contents of the pages, detailing the step-by-step process of how relief was granted (or rejected) to the poor.

¹⁰⁵ Contextual information on the application and report books is lacking online and in the literature, although a detailed summary of the contents of the books is located on the website dedicated to the record office at Surrey, the Surrey History Centre, where records for the Godstone Poor Law Union are kept for the period 1869-1915. Names of its applicants have been transcribed by Mike and Gill Couper, volunteers at Surrey History Centre, and are available online, <https://www.surreycc.gov.uk/culture-and-leisure/history-centre/researchers/guides/poor-law-records/godstone> (accessed 7 December 2018).

Figure 4.2 – Original transcript of pages from the Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books of the Ripon Poor Law Union, October 1880

Ripon Union. Parish of * *Aldfield* The Application and Report Book,

* This must be the Parish in which the Pauper is residing when the Application is made, or that in which the Application is made where there is no such Residence.

No. in Relief List Application.	Date of the Application.	NAMES OF APPLICANTS, their Wives and Children under 16 dependent on them.	Age.	RESIDENCE, Where, or with whom.	How long since last seen by the Relief Officer.		Calling or Occupation.	If Adult, Male or Female, or Pauper, or Soldier, or Marine, or Merchant Seaman, or Prisoner.	If ordinarily able-bodied.	If partially or wholly Disabled, and the Description of Disability.	IF RECEIVING		Present cause of seeking Relief, or Nature of Application.
					£	s					Medical Relief only.	Regular or Temporary Relief, and any other, and what Relief from Civil, Charitable Institutions, Friends and Private Donations, or Contributions to be received, and the Amount thereof.	
5 ¹⁰	7 th	<i>Thos Williams</i>	35	<i>Aldfield</i>			<i>None</i>	<i>Widow</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>Wholly from old Age</i>		<i>Has had 3 wks allowed for 28 wks. Has 3 wks from Lord Ripon</i>	<i>Old Age</i>

for the Quarter ending *December* 1880 *H Williams* Relieving Officer of the *Whole* District.

(G.L. 1-7-7) (G.L. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100)

Observations and Name of Relative in to be sent to receive the Applicant, attaching their respective number of assisting the Applicant.	Place Where Applicant is to be sent to receive the Applicant, and name of the Person to be sent to receive the Applicant.	Date of last Visit in the Residence of the Pauper.	Quantity and Description of Relief in Kind.				Money.	RELIEF ORDERED BY GUARDIANS.			Other Orders of the Board of Guardians.	Date when Order made.	Initials of Chairman or Clerk.	OBSERVATIONS.
			Reported as given by Overseer.	Given by Relieving Officer.	Value.	Date when given.		Quantity and Description.	Value.	For what Time allowed, or Nature of the Order made.				
<i>None</i>	<i>Nil</i>	<i>Oct 1st</i>											<i>Oct 15th 1880</i>	

Sources: North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4.

Table 4.7 – Contents of the Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books of the Poor Law Union

Number	Contents of the Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books
1	Number in the Outdoor Relief List
2	Date of application
3	Name of applicant
4	Age
5	Residence
6	Length of time in Poor Law Union
7	Calling or occupation
8	Marital status
9	Ability (i.e. whether disabled)
10	If in receipt of relief
11	Present cause of seeking relief
12	Observations and names of relatives liable to relieve the applicant
13	Weekly earnings
14	Date of last visit to the residence of applicant
15	Quantity and nature of relief
16	Relief ordered by Guardians
17	Other orders
18	Observations

Sources: Adapted from a guide to the Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, available at the Surrey History Centre, <https://www.surreycc.gov.uk/culture-and-leisure/history-centre/researchers/guides/poor-law-records/godstone> (accessed 7 December 2018).

Table 4.8 shows the percentages of elderly men and women that received outdoor relief as a percentage of the overall population aged 60 years and over on census night, 1881. Data are presented by parish and by the three Poor Law Unions. First, men and women in Ripon are less likely to receive outdoor relief, compared with Hertford and Alton, where percentages in the latter two are roughly similar. This reflects the data on the ‘non-able-bodied’ and ‘lunatic’ population (used as proxies for older people) originally compiled on 1 January 1881, where Alton contained the highest percentages of those on outdoor and indoor relief. Therefore, the ‘snapshot’ data from the parliamentary papers reflect wider trends of a ‘north-south’ divide in the distribution of outdoor relief. Differences between Ripon and the other Poor Law Unions may also be explained by a greater reliance on private charity, as reflected in a recent study of nearby Rigton, or in the Friendly Societies summarised earlier in this chapter.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps due to differing family structures, there may have been greater willingness by relatives to assist their family members in place of poor relief in Ripon compared with Alton and Hertford. Second, women are more likely to receive outdoor relief than men, conforming to previous research. Overall, 11.6 per cent of men and 22.7 per cent of women from 1879 to 1881 received outdoor relief. This is almost identical to the figure for the five selected counties on 1 January 1881, where 11.0 per cent of men and 22.1 per cent of women are estimated to have received outdoor relief. When the numbers of older men and women receiving outdoor relief were combined, 17.4 per cent of the elderly population received it. This almost matches Barry Reay’s findings for three Kentish parishes in the early 1860s, at 17.7 per cent.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Rawson, ‘Economies and Strategies of the Northern Rural Poor’, p. 77.

¹⁰⁷ B. Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 171.

Table 4.8 – Percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over receiving outdoor relief out of the male and female population aged 60 years and over on census night, 1881, Alton, Hertford and Ripon, 1879-1881

Parish	SRD	Male Relief	Male 60+	% M Relief	Fem Relief	Fem 60+	% F Relief
Aismunderby	Ripon	2	33	6.1	5	32	15.6
Aldfield	Ripon	1	5	20.0	0	3	0.0
All Saints	Hertford	5	37	13.5	26	55	47.3
Alton	Alton	20	183	10.9	48	228	21.1
Amwell	Hertford	4	34	11.8	7	43	16.3
Aston	Hertford	8	36	22.2	14	32	43.8
Azenby	Ripon	2	12	16.7	3	12	25.0
Azerley	Ripon	2	37	5.4	6	30	20.0
Baldersby	Ripon	0	9	0.0	4	12	33.3
Bayford	Hertford	0	9	0.0	0	9	0.0
Bengeo	Hertford	8	96	8.3	20	125	16.0
Bennington	Hertford	4	28	14.3	9	28	32.1
Bentley	Alton	7	30	23.3	11	46	23.9
Bentworth	Alton	3	32	9.4	8	28	28.6
Binstead	Alton	14	72	19.4	20	52	38.5
Bishop Monkton	Ripon	1	22	4.5	7	28	25.0
Bishopton	Ripon	0	5	0.0	2	7	28.6
Bramfield	Hertford	2	17	11.8	2	10	20.0
Bridge Hewick	Ripon	0	1	0.0	0	0	0.0
Brickendon	Hertford	7	38	18.4	12	44	27.3
Chawton	Alton	2	19	10.5	8	25	32.0
Copt Hewick	Ripon	0	9	0.0	1	13	7.7
Coldrey	Alton	0	1	0.0	0	1	0.0
Cundall	Ripon	1	9	11.1	4	11	36.4
Datchworth	Hertford	8	34	23.5	13	31	41.9
Dishforth	Ripon	1	19	5.3	3	21	14.3
East Tanfield	Ripon	0	0	0.0	0	1	0.0
East Tisted	Alton	2	12	16.7	1	11	9.1
East Worldham	Alton	1	18	5.6	2	13	15.4
Eavestone	Ripon	0	3	0.0	0	2	0.0
Farringdon	Alton	6	35	17.1	8	38	21.1
Froyle	Alton	14	35	40.0	22	36	61.1
Givendale	Ripon	0	1	0.0	0	1	0.0
Grantley	Ripon	0	11	0.0	1	14	7.1
Grewelthorpe	Ripon	3	44	6.8	4	38	10.5
Hartley Mauditt	Alton	0	6	0.0	0	4	0.0
Headley	Alton	8	83	9.6	20	73	27.4
Hertingfordbury	Hertford	4	40	10.0	8	48	16.7
Holsborn	Alton	1	26	3.8	9	33	27.3

Table 4.8 continued

Parish	SRD	Male Relief	Male 60+	% M Relief	Fem Relief	Fem 60+	% F Relief
Howgrave	Ripon	0	2	0.0	0	0	0.0
Howgrave Sut.	Ripon	1	5	20.0	1	5	20.0
Hutton Conyers	Ripon	2	6	33.3	3	7	42.9
Kingsley	Alton	2	26	7.7	3	18	16.7
Kirby Malzeard	Ripon	4	29	13.8	5	26	19.2
Lasham	Alton	2	12	16.7	1	8	12.5
Laverton	Ripon	0	20	0.0	3	19	15.8
Lindrick	Ripon	0	3	0.0	0	3	0.0
Little Berkham.	Hertford	10	30	33.3	13	33	39.4
Markington	Ripon	2	26	7.7	3	25	12.0
Marton	Ripon	0	11	0.0	2	11	18.2
Medstead	Alton	5	33	15.2	10	35	28.6
Melmerby	Ripon	0	19	0.0	3	13	23.1
Middleton	Ripon	0	1	0.0	1	0	0.0
Neatham	Alton	0	3	0.0	1	4	25.0
Newby	Ripon	0	1	0.0	0	3	0.0
Newton	Alton	2	11	18.2	6	13	46.2
North Stainley	Ripon	4	16	25.0	7	19	36.8
Norton	Ripon	0	4	0.0	0	3	0.0
Nunwick	Ripon	0	2	0.0	0	2	0.0
Rainton	Ripon	0	21	0.0	4	25	16.0
Ripon	Ripon	24	267	9.0	51	371	13.7
Sacombe	Hertford	1	20	5.0	3	15	20.0
Sawley	Ripon	1	26	3.8	3	23	13.0
Selborne	Alton	9	54	16.7	19	58	32.8
Shaldon	Alton	3	13	23.1	2	9	22.2
Sharow	Ripon	0	17	0.0	1	16	6.3
St Andrew	Hertford	8	87	9.2	30	121	24.8
St John	Hertford	12	122	9.8	26	133	19.5
Skeldon	Ripon	0	2	0.0	0	1	0.0
Stapleford	Hertford	1	6	16.7	4	13	30.8
Studley Roger	Ripon	1	13	7.7	2	13	15.4
Sutton	Ripon	1	3	33.3	1	2	50.0
Tanfield	Ripon	4	40	10.0	7	36	19.4
Tewin	Hertford	6	27	22.2	4	27	14.8
Walkern	Hertford	5	48	10.4	11	35	31.4
Wath	Ripon	0	8	0.0	1	9	11.1
Watton	Hertford	6	39	15.4	12	56	21.4
Weild	Alton	2	16	12.5	5	11	45.5
West Worldham	Alton	0	3	0.0	1	1	100.0

Table 4.8 continued

Parish	SRD	Male Relief	Male 60+	% M Relief	Fem Relief	Fem 60+	% F Relief
Whitcliffe	Ripon	0	11	0.0	1	7	14.3
Winksley	Ripon	4	14	28.6	4	9	44.4
RIPON		61	787	7.8	143	874	16.4
HERTFORD		99	748	13.2	214	858	24.9
ALTON		103	723	14.2	205	745	27.5
TOTAL		263	2258	11.6	562	2477	22.7

Notes: Data in this table exclude the parish of Inglethorpe, Ripon and its sole relief recipient, as it could not be located through the Integrated Census Microdata datasets for 1881.

Sources: [for outdoor relief data] For Ripon Union: North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4; for Alton Union: Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Alton No1 District, June-September 1881, PL3/2/89 and December 1881-March 1882, PL3/2/90, Binstead No2 District, June-September 1880, PL3/2/128 and December 1880-March 1881, PL3/2/129; for Hertford Union, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Hertford District, September 1880-March 1881, BG/HER/51, Hertford District, March 1881-September 1881, BG/HER/52 and Watton District, September 1879-March 1880, BG/HER/57; [for census data] Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1881.

The parish breakdown shows wide variations in the proportions receiving poor relief. However, some parishes contained very small elderly populations, which explains why 100 per cent of older women received poor relief in West Worldham parish, Alton Union. If we exclude parishes where under 10 men were aged 60 years and over, then the highest percentages for men were generally found in Alton and Hertford Unions rather than in Ripon Union, save for the parishes of Winksley and North Stainley in the latter. Applying the same method for women, we also find the highest percentages based in the parishes of Hertford and Alton Unions. For men, no older male was recorded as applying for relief in seven parishes, all of which were in Ripon Union; a further four Ripon parishes only contained one male relief applicant. In terms of women, three of the four parishes that contained one relief applicant were in Ripon. The highest percentage of men and women receiving outdoor relief was found in Froyle in Alton, at 40 per cent and 61.1 per cent respectively. By comparing Froyle parish with Alton SRD, some interesting differences emerge. For women, the percentage of domestic servants was lower in Froyle than in Alton, but the percentage of charwomen was higher in the parish. The percentage of male agricultural labourers was higher in Froyle, at 54.3 per cent, compared with Alton SRD, at 33.5 per cent. Furthermore, if we examine the seven Ripon Union parishes where no elderly men received outdoor relief, 36.4 per cent of men were occupied as

farmers. In Ripon SRD, 24.4 per cent were farmers. It is likely that the occupational structure of older men and women in the parish, which depended upon the structure of the agricultural labour force, partly caused the variations in the rates of outdoor relief. It was not simply the case that outdoor relief was distributed less in Ripon Union because its Board of Guardians was more stringent.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, rural parishes were more likely to experience older people on outdoor relief. When the five parishes that make up the towns of Alton, Hertford and Ripon are analysed for men, the percentages are slightly under the 11.6 per cent of men in the Poor Law Unions that received outdoor relief. Despite this, nearly half of women in All Saints, part of the town of Hertford, received outdoor relief. The additional parishes saw a slightly lower rate for elderly women than the 22.7 per cent noted in the three Poor Law Unions. Perhaps the fact that the Union workhouses were located in the towns meant that it was more practical to send those that lived nearby to the workhouses. Out of the 62 older people that were recorded as receiving a workhouse order rather than outdoor relief, those in the towns of Ripon (12) and Alton (10) were more likely to be offered the workhouse.

The highest cash allowance that was received by each successful outdoor relief applicant is taken and plotted in Table 4.9 for both single and married applicants, broken down generally and by the three Poor Law Unions. In terms of the standard allowance under the Old Age Pension Act, which was five shillings for single applicants, the standard Poor Law allowance was slightly less.¹⁰⁹ Over a third of elderly single applicants received three shillings, followed by the 25.8 per cent receiving two shillings sixpence, which conforms to previous research by David Thomson and Lynn Hollen Lees.¹¹⁰ That being said, nearly a quarter of single applicants received allowances that ranged from three shillings sixpence to eight shillings. Interestingly, despite the lower proportions on outdoor relief in Ripon Union, its payments were relatively generous compared with Alton and Hertford Unions. The majority of single relief claimants in Ripon received three shillings sixpence or four shillings. Only 10.7 per cent of Ripon's claimants received two shillings sixpence compared with 35.7 per cent in Hertford.

¹⁰⁸ Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', pp. 263-9.

¹⁰⁹ Gilleard, *Old Age in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, pp. 70-1.

¹¹⁰ Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', pp. 202-4; Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, p. 186.

Table 4.9 – Variations in cash allowances given to male and female outdoor relief recipients aged 60 years and over, single and married applicants, Alton, Hertford and Ripon, 1879-1881

SINGLE	TOTAL		ALTON		HERTFORD		RIPON	
	<i>N.</i>	%	<i>N.</i>	%	<i>N.</i>	%	<i>N.</i>	%
<i>Cash</i>								
1s	11	2.2	11	6.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
1s 6d	35	6.9	23	13.0	12	6.1	0	0.0
2s	27	5.4	16	9.0	9	4.6	2	1.5
2s 6d	130	25.8	46	26.0	70	35.7	14	10.7
3s	<u>176</u>	<u>34.9</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>38.4</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>39.8</u>	30	22.9
3s 6d	63	12.5	4	2.3	22	11.2	<u>37</u>	<u>28.2</u>
4s	43	8.5	4	2.3	2	1.0	<u>37</u>	<u>28.2</u>
4s 6d	3	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	2.3
5s	11	2.2	4	2.3	2	1.0	5	3.8
6s	3	0.6	1	0.6	1	0.5	1	0.8
7s	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8
8s	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8
TOTAL	504	100.0	177	100.0	196	100.0	131	100.0

MAR	TOTAL		ALTON		HERTFORD		RIPON	
	<i>N.</i>	%	<i>N.</i>	%	<i>N.</i>	%	<i>N.</i>	%
<i>Cash</i>								
1s 6d	1	0.6	0	0.0	1	1.6	0	0.0
2s	4	2.3	3	4.1	0	0.0	1	2.6
2s 3d	1	0.6	0	0.0	1	1.6	0	0.0
2s 6d	9	5.2	3	4.1	6	9.7	0	0.0
3s	17	9.8	7	9.6	9	14.5	1	2.6
3s 6d	5	2.9	4	5.5	1	1.6	0	0.0
4s	17	9.8	9	12.3	6	9.7	2	5.1
4s 6d	2	1.1	2	2.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
5s	<u>67</u>	<u>38.5</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>42.5</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>56.5</u>	1	2.6
5s 6d	3	1.7	2	2.7	1	1.6	0	0.0
6s	20	11.5	10	13.7	1	1.6	9	23.1
6s 6d	1	0.6	0	0.0	1	1.6	0	0.0
7s	13	7.5	1	1.4	0	0.0	<u>12</u>	<u>30.8</u>
7s 6d	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.6
8s	13	7.5	1	1.4	0	0.0	<u>12</u>	<u>30.8</u>
TOTAL	174	100.0	73	100.0	62	100.0	39	100.0

Notes: Underlined figures indicate the means for each column.

Sources: See Table 4.8 for detailed references to the outdoor relief data.

The two claimants with the highest allowances were Ann Waite, aged 69 years, who received seven shillings on 27 January 1881 and 84-year-old William Nicholson, who received eight shillings on 7 April 1881. Both were based in the town of Ripon. Ann Waite received seven

shillings for four weeks after the death of her husband, William, who originally received seven shillings as a married couple. She then received four shillings for four weeks until 7 April, when she was given four shillings weekly for half a year. It is identified that she had no present earnings. As for William Nicholson, he initially received three shillings before it was upgraded to four shillings on 7 October 1881, on account of his old age. By 7 April 1881, he was deemed 'wholly disabled' owing to 'bad legs and old age'. As a result of his 'bad legs', the Board of Guardians granted him eight shillings weekly for 26 weeks. These two cases show the generous provision of outdoor relief provided to older people. For Ann Waite, a transition period was granted to her when she became a widow, permitting her the weekly allowance given to her when she was married to William until she adjusted to the allowances given to single applicants.¹¹¹ For William Nicholson, the fact that 'bad legs' was later added to the reasons for applying for out-relief, and the subsequent upgrade of relief, demonstrates how relief could have been negotiated between applicant and Board.¹¹² Relief was not permanently fixed but could be adapted based on the applicant's circumstances.

Table 4.9 also shows that relief was granted to single applicants on a scale above the standard maximum allowance of five shillings provided by the old age pension two decades later. Although the percentage that received five shillings or above was 3.2 per cent, in Ripon it was 6.2 per cent. As the maximum given to old age pensioners was five shillings weekly, William Nicholson would have received a less generous allowance under the Old Age Pension Act than that granted under the New Poor Law. The relationship between older people and welfare cannot be measured progressively over time. It is true that many older people benefitted from the increased allowances granted under the Old Age Pension Act. However, to call Liberal welfare reforms, which include the Old Age Pension Act, a 'major watershed' in the welfare of older people ignores the surprisingly generous allowances issued in the later years of the New Poor Law.¹¹³ This was most evident in Ripon than in Alton Union. There seems to have been a different policy in Alton Union, as the little money given to its paupers was expended to many.

¹¹¹ North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4, Ripon parish.

¹¹² North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4, Ripon parish.

¹¹³ G. Boyer, *The Winding Road to the Welfare State: Economic Insecurity and Social Welfare Policy in Britain* (Woodstock, 2019), p. 25.

Married couples receiving relief allowances were also treated generously in Ripon Union. 64.1 per cent of married couples received seven or eight shillings weekly, contrasting with 2.7 per cent in Alton. Under the Old Age Pension Act, married couples received ten shillings weekly, only slightly above the maximum allowances given under the New Poor Law.¹¹⁴ Over half of all married couples received an allowance of five or six shillings, which is above the four shillings found in previous research. It is not clear why allowances for single and married couples were so much higher in Ripon Union than in Hertford and Alton Unions. If the old age pauperism rate in Ripon Union was lower than in Hertford and Alton Unions, there may have been more relief available to expend to the applicants that received poor relief. Since the late eighteenth century, wages in northern districts were higher than in the south.¹¹⁵ If the relief issued was adjusted as a proportion of the standard wages of a weekly labourer, higher wages in northern England may have resulted in higher relief incomes for elderly applicants that retired from work. The price of food and other necessities may have been more expensive in northern than in southern England, suggesting that the relief had to be higher to meet a greater cost of living.

Table 4.10 - Variations in cash allowances given to single male and female outdoor relief recipients aged 60 years and over by gender, Alton, Hertford and Ripon, 1879-1881

	% TOTAL		% ALTON		% HERTFORD		% RIPON	
Cash	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1s	1.1	2.4	3.3	6.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1s 6d	6.7	7.0	13.3	12.9	5.3	6.3	0.0	0.0
2s	6.7	5.1	6.7	9.5	10.5	3.2	0.0	1.8
2s 6d	24.4	26.1	<u>40.0</u>	23.1	23.7	38.6	4.5	11.9
3s	<u>32.2</u>	<u>35.5</u>	30.0	<u>40.1</u>	<u>39.5</u>	<u>39.9</u>	22.7	22.9
3s 6d	12.2	12.6	0.0	2.7	18.4	9.5	18.2	<u>30.3</u>
4s	10.0	8.2	0.0	2.7	0.0	1.3	<u>40.9</u>	25.7
4s 6d	1.1	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	1.8
5s	3.3	1.9	3.3	2.0	2.6	0.6	4.5	3.7
6s	1.1	0.5	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.9
7s	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
8s	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0
TOTAL	100.0							

Notes: Underlined figures indicate the means for each column.

Sources: See Table 4.8 for detailed references to the outdoor relief data.

¹¹⁴ J. Macnicol, *The Politics of Retirement in Britain, 1878-1948* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 156.

¹¹⁵ E.H. Hunt, 'Industrialization and Regional Inequality: Wages in Britain, 1760-1914', *Journal of Economic History*, 46 (1986), pp. 935-66.

Table 4.10 shows that men were more likely to receive higher cash allowances than women. Similarly, older men received higher allowances in eighteenth-century Terling, Essex and Puddletown, Dorset. Susannah Ottaway argues that the average weekly pension issued to men increased over time as the number of men receiving them fell.¹¹⁶ Although we only have two years' worth of data, there is evidence supporting Ottaway's findings. In Ripon, 40.9 per cent of men received four shillings compared with 25.7 per cent of women. Out of the 131 single relief applicants in Ripon, only 22 were male. This shows that the amount of relief given to men was higher but the number of male applicants was smaller than that of women. Other reasons may be possible, such as variations in the age profile of applicants by gender. If we follow Ottaway's findings that the average age of male applicants was higher than that of women and that the granting of outdoor relief increased as one aged, then the higher allowances given to men results from the greater mean age of male applicants.¹¹⁷ In Alton, Hertford and Ripon the mean age of single male applicants was 80.2, 74.6 and 74.5 years respectively; for women, it was 73.0, 71.3 and 74.0 years respectively.

Table 4.11 presents the variations in outdoor relief allowances by three age profiles (those aged 60-69 years, 70-79 years and 80 years and over), acknowledging both single and married applicants (the latter determined by the age of household head). There is a tendency for single applicants aged 60-69 years to receive lower allowances than those aged 80 years and over. This reflects Susannah Ottaway's research for the Old Poor Law, suggesting a continuity in policy.¹¹⁸ Nearly the majority of those aged 60-69 years received two shillings and sixpence, whereas a greater percentage of those aged 70-79 years and 80 years and over were given three shillings. Similarly, the Boards of Guardians were more likely to offer two shillings and sixpence to married couples where the age of the household head was between 60-69 years. Contrastingly, those aged 80 years and over were more likely to receive six shillings. This is based on how the Board of Guardians perceived the condition of the applicant recorded in the application and report books. If their infirmity resulted 'partially from age', compared with 'wholly from age', then the relief applicant would receive smaller allowances. In All Saints, Hertford (which commanded one of the highest rates of older people on outdoor relief), the mean age of single applicants whose infirmities are based 'partially from age' was 68.5 years,

¹¹⁶ S. Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 229.

¹¹⁷ Ottaway, *Decline of Life*, pp. 239-41.

¹¹⁸ Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', pp. 202-4; Ottaway, *Decline of Life*, pp. 239-40, 242.

contrasting with those recorded as receiving relief ‘wholly from age’ at 75.6 years.¹¹⁹ Those ‘wholly from age’ were also recorded with additional conditions such as bronchitis, paralysis and diarrhoea. Those that were infirm ‘wholly from age’ received higher allowances and were also more likely to receive relief in kind. For example, 91-year-old resident of All Saints parish Thomas Craft received three shillings throughout the year, along with meat, seven pints of milk and half a bottle of brandy. This arrangement was granted for two weeks, but was frequently renewed by the Board of Guardians until Thomas’ death on 23 May 1881, afterwards paying 35 shillings threepence for his funeral.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Hertford Union, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Hertford District, September 1880-March 1881, BG/HER/51 and Hertford District, March 1881-September 1881, BG/HER/52, All Saints parish.

¹²⁰ Hertford Union, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Hertford District, September 1880-March 1881, BG/HER/51 and Hertford District, March 1881-September 1881, BG/HER/52, All Saints parish.

Table 4.11 – Variations in cash allowances given to older male and female outdoor relief recipients by age profile, single and married applicants, Alton, Hertford and Ripon, 1879-1881

SINGLE	AGE PROFILES (YEARS)			% AGE PROFILES (YEARS)		
	Cash	60-69	70-79	80+	60-69 %	70-79 %
1s	6	5	0	3.6	2.2	0.0
1s 6d	15	15	5	9.0	6.7	4.3
2s	9	14	4	5.4	6.3	3.5
2s 6d	81	40	9	48.8	17.9	7.8
3s	33	99	44	19.9	44.4	38.3
3s 6d	9	23	31	5.4	10.3	27.0
4s	9	21	13	5.4	9.4	11.3
4s 6d	0	1	2	0.0	0.4	1.7
5s	3	3	5	1.8	1.3	4.3
6s	0	2	1	0.0	0.9	0.9
7s	1	0	0	0.6	0.0	0.0
8s	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.9
TOTAL	166	223	115	100.0	100.0	100.0

MAR	AGE PROFILES (YEARS)			% AGE PROFILES (YEARS)		
	Cash	60-69	70-79	80+	60-69 %	70-79 %
1s 6d	1	0	0	1.7	0.0	0.0
2s	2	1	1	3.4	1.1	4.3
2s 3d	1	0	0	1.7	0.0	0.0
2s 6d	7	2	0	12.1	2.2	0.0
3s	5	10	2	8.6	10.8	8.7
3s 6d	4	1	0	6.9	1.1	0.0
4s	7	10	0	12.1	10.8	0.0
4s 6d	1	1	0	1.7	1.1	0.0
5s	17	41	9	29.3	44.1	39.1
5s 6d	1	1	1	1.7	1.1	4.3
6s	4	10	6	6.9	10.8	26.1
6s 6d	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	4.3
7s	5	8	0	8.6	8.6	0.0
7s 6d	1	0	0	1.7	0.0	0.0
8s	2	8	3	3.4	8.6	13.0
TOTAL	58	93	23	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes: Data by age profile for married couples are based on the first recorded entrant, usually male and taken to be the household head.

Sources: See Table 4.8 for detailed references to the outdoor relief data.

Contrastingly, older people in their sixties were more likely to be given a workhouse order than those aged 70 years and over. This may be because they were more likely to be seen as ‘able-

bodied' than those in their seventies and beyond. Nearly half of the 62 people offered the workhouse were aged between 60-69 years (48.4 per cent). In terms of gender, the mean age of men granted workhouse orders was lower than that of women. As a percentage of single and married applicants receiving both outdoor relief and workhouse orders, 8.2 per cent of those across all three Unions received workhouse offers. Over 11 per cent of all grants in Ripon Union were workhouse offers, compared with 9.4 per cent in Hertford Union and 4.2 per cent in Alton Union. This supports Boyer and Schmidle's evidence which shows that workhouse offers were more rigorously enforced in northern districts.¹²¹

Table 4.12 – Percentage of the overall population that received outdoor relief by age composition, 1879-1881

SRD	60-69 Relief	60-69	70-79 Relief	70-79	80+ Relief	80+	% 60-69 Relief	% 70-79 Relief	% 80+ Relief
Alton	91	881	159	456	57	131	10.3	34.9	43.5
Hertford	131	951	138	536	44	119	13.8	25.7	37.0
Ripon	73	1027	87	491	44	143	7.1	17.7	30.8
TOTAL	295	2859	384	1483	145	393	10.3	25.9	36.9

Notes: Excludes two relief recipients whose age profiles were not recorded.

Sources: See Table 4.8 for detailed references to the outdoor relief data; Integrated Census Microdata dataset, 1881.

Table 4.12 shows the percentage of the overall population that received outdoor relief by age composition (60-69 years, 70-79 years and 80 years and over). While 43.5 per cent of those aged 80 years and over in Alton Union received outdoor relief, only 10.3 per cent of those aged 60-69 years received it. The percentages are lower for those aged 80 years and over in Ripon Union. The likelihood of receiving outdoor relief as one aged was also found in Charles Booth's contemporary research of the aged poor in the 1890s.¹²² For those in their sixties, only a minority were classed as poor. Richard Wall has commented on male workers and the decline

¹²¹ Boyer and Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly', pp. 263-9.

¹²² Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, p. 420. Interestingly, the nominal linkage of individuals in poor relief records with family reconstitution data for two Bedfordshire parishes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century shows that a higher proportion of elderly people in their sixties, compared with those in their seventies and beyond, received weekly pensions. This was due mainly to the onset of debility, rather than old age itself, experienced by older people in their sixties. The results for the New Poor Law presented here may indicate a change in policy in terms of the proportion of people receiving relief regardless of allowance since the later years of the Old Poor Law, see S. Williams, 'Support for the Elderly during the "Crisis" of the English Old Poor Law', in Briggs, Kitson and Thompson (eds.), *Population, Welfare and Economic Change*, pp. 129-152.

of their wages as they approached their seventies.¹²³ The self-reliance of older people in their sixties before the onset of infirmity in their seventies is one important factor explaining pauperism in old age.

In terms of the outdoor relief issued to older people, debate arises over the provision of relief as a ‘weekly pension’.¹²⁴ The outdoor relief application and report books of Hertford and Ripon Unions are very particular on the length of each order of relief, with lengths ranging from one week to six months. Alton Union’s data are somewhat more imprecise in recording the length of orders given. Based on this, variations in the lengths of order in Hertford and Ripon Unions are analysed in Table 4.13. It is possible that the length of the order was downgraded or upgraded over time depending on the applicant’s circumstances. However, we have only recorded the length of the order provided to each applicant when they received the highest relief allowance, assuming that the length of order was fixed over time.

Table 4.13 – Variations in the length of outdoor relief given to single and married applicants aged 60 years and over, by age profile and by gender, Hertford and Ripon, 1879-1881

<i>Length of Relief</i>	HERTFORD 60-69		HERTFORD 70-79		HERTFORD 80+	
	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F
One Week	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Two Weeks	12.5	7.1	8.3	3.3	10.5	4.0
Four Weeks	18.8	15.2	22.9	6.7	5.3	0.0
Twelve Weeks	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fourteen Weeks	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sixteen Weeks	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Twenty-four Weeks	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Twenty-eight Weeks	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Thirty Weeks	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Two Months	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Three Months	21.9	21.2	22.9	22.2	31.6	28.0
Four Months	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Six Months	43.8	54.5	45.8	67.8	52.6	68.0
Not Known	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

¹²³ R. Wall, ‘Some Implications of the Earnings, Income and Expenditure Patterns of Married Women in Populations of the Past’, in J. Henderson and R. Wall (eds.), *Poor Women and Children in the European Past* (London, 1994), pp. 312-35, esp. p. 321.

¹²⁴ Thomson, ‘The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past’, pp. 202-4; Hunt, ‘Paupers and Pensioners’, pp. 407-30; Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 168-9, 171.

Table 4.13 continued

<i>Length of Relief</i>	RIPON 60-69		RIPON 70-79		RIPON 80+	
	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F
One Week	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Two Weeks	13.6	3.9	3.7	0.0	0.0	3.1
Four Weeks	45.5	17.6	7.4	8.3	0.0	3.1
Twelve Weeks	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fourteen Weeks	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0
Sixteen Weeks	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Twenty-four Weeks	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Twenty-eight Weeks	0.0	2.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	6.3
Thirty Weeks	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Two Months	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0
Three Months	0.0	2.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Four Months	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Six Months	40.9	66.7	74.1	81.7	91.7	87.5
Not Known	0.0	2.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0

Notes: Includes all persons in a marriage aged 60 years and over, rather than acknowledging the first recorded entrant in the marriage, as seen in Table 4.11.

Sources: See Table 4.8 for detailed references to the outdoor relief data.

Table 4.13 shows the variations in the length of outdoor relief given to single and married applicants, broken down by three age groups, by gender and by the Poor Law Unions of Hertford and Ripon. For women in Hertford, a majority in each age profile received relief weekly for six months. Men in Hertford were also likely to receive poor relief for six months, although the six-monthly payments did not represent the majority of male claimants, save for those aged 80 years and over. However, in Ripon, the majority of men and women in nearly all the age profiles received outdoor relief for six months. A higher proportion of men aged 60-69 years in Ripon received relief for four weeks. There was also a greater likelihood of men aged 60-69 years receiving relief for an even more limited period of time, such as two weeks. This is because they were involved in circumstances other than applying for relief on grounds of old age. Michael Sexton was recorded as aged 60 years and first applied for outdoor relief on 30 December 1880 ‘partially for the sickness of child’. He lived with his 50-year-old wife and his 9-year-old daughter, Catherine. On 13 January 1881 they received one shilling sixpence in kind for their child. Later, on 24 February, the family received seven shillings for two weeks; it is possibly Michael that is being described as ‘not able to work’ and wanting relief ‘wholly from sickness’. The relief was downgraded to three shillings when the child was admitted to

the local Cottage Hospital on 24 March. The downgrading was described by the Board of Guardians as an ‘alteration in circumstance’. Asking for its continuation on 7 April, Michael and his wife were given a workhouse order. The admissions and discharges register for Ripon workhouse do not confirm an admission for Michael Sexton around this date. The order was scrapped two weeks later when Michael and his wife were given seven shillings and nine pence in kind and three shillings afterwards in May. Their relief was discontinued on 30 June and a workhouse order granted on 11 July, where Michael was admitted on the same day.¹²⁵ Unusually, he is described as a 71-year-old in the workhouse register and is also of that age in his entry in the 1881 census.¹²⁶ Despite the disparity in his recorded age, the fact that his application for relief resulted from a family sickness, first from his daughter, then later himself, shows that older people who did not apply based on old age were treated less generously by the Board of Guardians.

Table 4.13 shows that the gradual infirmity of older people throughout their sixties was to determine the issuing of outdoor relief based on old age. Despite this, the majority that received relief across most age profiles were granted weekly relief for a period of half a year. This period could be subsequently adjusted, as in the case of Winksley residents Thomas Halliday, aged 73 years, and his wife, Ann, who were to receive six shillings weekly for six months starting 7 October 1880. However, it was discontinued on 18 October due again to an ‘alteration in circumstance’, as Thomas was to be issued ten shillings weekly from his club. Starting on 16 December, they continued to rely on six shillings from the Poor Law for periods of eight weeks, which were renewed up to September 1881.¹²⁷ The fact that the Board of Guardians first established a weekly relief period of six months challenges the argument that relief to older people was not issued as an old age pension. The decision of the Board of Guardians was specifically based on old age as a cause of seeking relief. Although it was not a universal right among older people, the generosity of relief was subject to the person’s circumstances and issued, particularly in Ripon, in fairly substantial sums. In some cases, there was little difference in the distribution and receipt of outdoor relief in the later years of the New Poor Law and that of old age pensions provided after 1908.

¹²⁵ North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4, Ripon parish.

¹²⁶ The year of birth is marked as 1810 in the admissions and discharge registers, hence the computation of his age. North Yorkshire Record Office, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of Ripon Union, April 1880-December 1884, BG/RI 5/3/1.

¹²⁷ North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4, Winksley parish.

It has been argued that outdoor relief was insufficient to cover weekly wages or the weekly household budget.¹²⁸ The application and report books for Hertford and Alton are surprisingly detailed on the weekly wages of applicants prior to their application for relief. Unfortunately, Ripon's data are insufficient, which means that a calculation of poor relief as a proportion of wages issued in the north has to be artificially constructed. 24 applicants in the town of Alton (under and over the age of 60 years) had their weekly wages recorded to determine the allowance of poor relief that would be given. On average, a wage of 14 shillings was paid weekly to labourers, brewer's labourers, bricklayers and builders. In the rural parishes of Hertford, 13 shillings was paid on average to farm labourers, bricklayers, shepherds and general labourers.¹²⁹ Interestingly, this is higher than the seven to eight shillings issued to male workers from 1836 to 1840, as investigated by Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries.¹³⁰ Therefore, it was decided to calculate the proportion of poor relief as a percentage of 14 shillings (the standard urban wages) in Hertford and Alton. As northern wages were reportedly higher than in the south, we have boosted the average weekly wages in Ripon to 18 shillings.¹³¹ We can therefore chart the percentage of those whose outdoor relief allowances covered a particular proportion of weekly wages (for example, the proportions of those whose relief constituted 40 per cent of the household budget, 30 per cent, and so forth).

¹²⁸ Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, pp. 188-9.

¹²⁹ This excludes the urban parishes of All Saints, St Andrew and St John, which make up the urban parishes of Hertford town. Data derived from Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Hertford District, September 1880-March 1881, BG/HER/51, Hertford District, March 1881-September 1881, BG/HER/52 and Watton District, September 1879-March 1880, BG/HER/57.

¹³⁰ S. Horrell and J. Humphries, 'Old Questions, New Data and Alternative Perspectives: Families' Living Standards in the Industrial Revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 55 (1992), pp. 849-80.

¹³¹ This was based on the differences recorded in the 'high wage' districts generally found in northern England compared with those that were 'low wage' in Hunt, 'Industrialization and Regional Inequality', pp. 935-66.

Table 4.14 – Variations in the proportion of single and married applicants aged 60 years and over whose allowances constitute a proportion of weekly wages, Alton, Hertford and Ripon, 1879-1881

HERTFORD AND ALTON - SINGLE					HERTFORD AND ALTON - MARRIED				
Relief applicants	Cash (relief)	Wages	% of wage as relief	% People	Relief applicants	Cash (relief)	Wages	% of wage as relief	% People
11	1	14	7.1	2.9	1	1	14	7.1	0.7
35	1.6	14	11.4	9.4	0	1.6	14	11.4	0.0
25	2	14	14.3	6.7	3	2	14	14.3	2.2
0	2.3	14	16.4	0.0	1	2.3	14	16.4	0.7
116	2.6	14	18.6	31.1	9	2.6	14	18.6	6.7
146	3	14	21.4	39.1	16	3	14	21.4	11.9
26	3.6	14	25.7	7.0	5	3.6	14	25.7	3.7
6	4	14	28.6	1.6	15	4	14	28.6	11.1
0	4.6	14	32.9	0.0	2	4.6	14	32.9	1.5
6	5	14	35.7	1.6	66	5	14	35.7	48.9
0	5.6	14	40.0	0.0	3	5.6	14	40.0	2.2
2	6	14	42.9	0.5	11	6	14	42.9	8.1
0	6.6	14	47.1	0.0	1	6.6	14	47.1	0.7
0	7	14	50.0	0.0	1	7	14	50.0	0.7
0	7.6	14	54.3	0.0	0	7.6	14	54.3	0.0
0	8	14	57.1	0.0	1	8	14	57.1	0.7

RIPON - SINGLE					RIPON - MARRIED				
Relief applicants	Cash (relief)	Wages	% of wage as relief	% People	Relief applicants	Cash (relief)	Wages	% of wage as relief	% People
0	1	18	5.6	0.0	0	1	18	5.6	0.0
0	1.6	18	8.9	0.0	0	1.6	18	8.9	0.0
2	2	18	11.1	1.5	1	2	18	11.1	2.6
0	2.3	18	12.8	0.0	0	2.3	18	12.8	0.0
14	2.6	18	14.4	10.7	0	2.6	18	14.4	0.0
30	3	18	16.7	22.9	1	3	18	16.7	2.6
37	3.6	18	20.0	28.2	0	3.6	18	20.0	0.0
38	4	18	22.2	29.0	2	4	18	22.2	5.1
3	4.6	18	25.6	2.3	0	4.6	18	25.6	0.0
4	5	18	27.8	3.1	1	5	18	27.8	2.6
0	5.6	18	31.1	0.0	0	5.6	18	31.1	0.0
1	6	18	33.3	0.8	9	6	18	33.3	23.1
0	6.6	18	36.7	0.0	0	6.6	18	36.7	0.0
1	7	18	38.9	0.8	12	7	18	38.9	30.8
0	7.6	18	42.2	0.0	1	7.6	18	42.2	2.6
1	8	18	44.4	0.8	12	8	18	44.4	30.8

Notes: The column marked 'Wages' was calculated from the average weekly earnings recorded for all those listed in the Application and Report Books, irrespective of age. To provide greater clarity, the last column in each of the four categories refers to the percentage of people that received poor relief allowances proportionate to wage allowances. For example, 30.8 per cent of married couples in Ripon received poor relief allowances that represented 44.4 per cent of average weekly wages (assuming that 18 shillings formed an average weekly wage in Ripon SRD).

Sources: See Table 4.8 for detailed references to the outdoor relief data.

The proportions of those receiving various outdoor relief allowances as a percentage of weekly wages are presented in Table 4.14, with tables combining Hertford and Alton Unions together, Ripon Union separately, and looking at single and married applicants. In Hertford and Alton, 39.1 per cent of single applicants received outdoor relief which constituted 21.4 per cent of weekly wages. In Ripon, single applicants were more likely to receive an allowance that formed 22.2 per cent of wages. Even when artificially adjusting the average weekly wages for Ripon, at 18 shillings compared with Hertford and Alton's 14 shillings, outdoor relief in Ripon was more likely to constitute a higher share of weekly wages. Overall, most single applicants received outdoor relief that represented over a fifth of weekly wages, which reflects Hollen Lees' research on poor relief as a supplementary addition to regular incomes.¹³² If we compare the data of Horrell and Humphries from 1836 to 1840 with the data presented here in the early 1880s, Hollen Lees is correct to argue that single applicants received a smaller share of weekly incomes in the latter period than in the former.¹³³ If the relief allowances in 1880s Hertford and Alton averaged three shillings, these are the same allowances given to those in early 1830s southern England.¹³⁴ This suggests that there were rising wage levels but not rising allowances, conforming to Hollen Lees' argument.¹³⁵ A minority received relief that represented over 30 per cent of weekly wages, at 2.1 per cent in Hertford and Alton Unions combined compared with 2.4 per cent in Ripon Union. However, the lower wages in Hertford and Alton Unions show that a higher proportion of single applicants were more likely to receive relief that represented 25 per cent or more of weekly income.

Those that were married were more likely to receive allowances that formed a higher share of weekly wages. This was obviously because living costs had to be provided for two people, although the proportion of relief that covered those living costs is unprecedented; Ripon Union's married applicants received on average seven or eight shillings weekly, double that

¹³² Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, p. 190.

¹³³ Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, p. 189.

¹³⁴ Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, p. 186.

¹³⁵ Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, p. 189.

proposed by Hollen Lees.¹³⁶ In Ripon Union, 64.1 per cent received relief that covered over 38.9 per cent of the weekly budget. Contrastingly, a lowly 12.6 per cent in Hertford and Alton Unions received relief that reached over 40 per cent of wages. Despite this, two married couples in Hertford and Alton saw their relief reach over half of average weekly earnings. If we reduce the average weekly earnings of a Ripon worker to 16 shillings, then 30.8 per cent of married applicants received state-funded allowances that formed half of weekly wages. When measured against weekly wages, allowances for single applicants were somewhat meagre and conform to similar allowances issued decades before the 1880s. On the other hand, allowances for married couples, especially in northern Ripon, were more generous. They could perhaps cover a substantial proportion of the food, rent and clothing needed for a married couple to live on, if we assume that the budget of a married couple was lower than that of families. The New Poor Law did not entirely replace weekly wages but, in some cases, provided a significant contribution to the cost of living.

4.7 Conclusion

Generally, the proportions of older men and women relying on the Poor Law increased from 1861 to 1871, before declining heavily by 1881. Afterwards, there was a particular decrease by 1911 in the context of the Old Age Pension Act and the abolition of the pauper disqualification clause on 1 January 1911, where older people that previously relied on the Poor Law transferred to the more generous allowance of old age pensions. Throughout 1861-1911, elderly women were more likely to receive poor relief than men. Reflecting Nigel Goose's research, elderly men were increasingly admitted to workhouses and came to dominate the workhouse population.¹³⁷ The numbers of elderly male inmates as a share of the population also increased towards 1911. It must be remembered that a greater number of older men and women received outdoor than indoor relief, that is, they were given relief in their homes rather than in an institution. Caution is needed not to overemphasise workhouses and other institutional forms of assistance when assessing the welfare of older people. That being said, the percentages of older men receiving indoor relief increased by 1911 and nearly half of all relief granted to them in that period comprised of indoor relief. It is possible that the proportions of those on outdoor relief fell between 1901 and 1911 because those who would have relied on poor relief became entitled to an old age pension. As women were primarily recipients of outdoor relief, this may explain the disparity in the percentages of men and women receiving indoor relief in 1911 (48.9

¹³⁶ Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, p. 187.

¹³⁷ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', pp. 359-62.

per cent against 15.4 per cent). While many older people benefitted from old age pensions, a minority of older people were still paupers. As the age threshold for receiving old age pensions was 70 years and over, those aged 60-69 years may have no longer been recognised as requiring poor relief on the basis of their old age. This particularly affected older men. Therefore, an increase in the numbers receiving indoor relief, possibly among those aged 60-69 years, may have arisen based on the entitlement of those aged 70 years and over to receive pensions specifically related to old age.

For both older men and women in three periods, there was a significant area-level negative relationship between the proportion working in textiles and the proportion of the population relying on the Poor Law. SRDs containing a high number of women in domestic service and the food and drink trade were also negatively associated with the proportions receiving poor relief. The aggregate relationship between older men that worked in agriculture, which dominated the economies of rural southern England, and reliance on the Poor Law was significantly positive, along with the proportions of women recorded as not occupied. It can be said that the 'north-south' divide in the distribution of poor relief was rooted in the occupational composition of the SRDs situated in northern and southern England, although further research is needed to make these conclusions more robust. On a local level, SRDs did not conform to the general pattern on the changing variations of those on poor relief. This was especially evident in the changing proportions of men receiving relief between 1881 and 1911 in the Yorkshire SRD of Pontefract and the Glamorgan SRDs of Merthyr Tydfil and Pontypridd, which notably increased. This may have been caused by the expansion of the mining industry in these districts, in which changes to the wage patterns of miners as they aged may have resulted in a reliance on the Poor Law. The strenuous conditions of mining may have also brought forward an early exit from the workforce. It may also be that, as mining was expanding, the numbers of elderly miners that demanded poor relief increased. In these districts, the Old Age Pension Act failed to reduce the numbers on poor relief to levels before the 'crusade against outdoor relief' in the 1870s. By contrast, the percentages on relief fell to single digits in southern English districts in 1911.

Furthermore, there was a significant negative relationship at SRD level between the proportions of women 'living on own means' and those reliant on the Poor Law in 1891. This is consistent with the idea that women that pursued a course of saving for their old age, and thus subsisting on their means, avoided becoming paupers. However, SRDs with higher proportions of the population reliant on the Poor Law in 1891 were positively associated with the high proportions

of those aged 70 years and over that received old age pensions in 1911. From this, we see how different sectors of older men and women operated in late Victorian and Edwardian society. There was one group wholly dependent on the Poor Law, who were grateful to receive the more generous old age pension by 1911. Another group comprises men and women that saved for their old age and relied on additional incomes without the New Poor Law. Although the proportions of those on 'own means' fell by 1911, perhaps as a result of the Old Age Pension Act, the evidence presented here shows that older women on 'own means', in particular, were in a fairly comfortable position to avoid extreme poverty.

Through outdoor relief application and report books, it is found that outdoor relief was less likely in the northern district of Ripon Union than in the southern districts of Alton and Hertford Unions. Older people living in parishes that were characteristically rural were more likely than urban areas to receive outdoor relief. Also, relief was received subject to the age of the applicant in question, where higher allowances were given to the oldest age groups that comprised the elderly population (or, those in their seventies and eighties). Conversely, those in their sixties were more likely to be granted workhouse offers; the percentage of the population aged 60-69 years that received outdoor relief across Alton, Hertford and Ripon Unions was fairly low. Additionally, outdoor relief also depended upon the perceived condition of the applicant recorded in the report books. Those who were infirm 'wholly from old age' would receive higher allowances and for a longer period of time than those whose demand was based 'partially from old age'.

In terms of the cash received, allowances of three shillings for single applicants reflect Thane and Thomson's findings.¹³⁸ However, the allowances for married applicants are higher than that proposed by Hollen Lees, especially in Ripon Union where they averaged seven or eight shillings, only slightly below the standard allowance of ten shillings under the Old Age Pension Act. Relief for single applicants was also higher in Ripon than in Hertford and Alton, averaging three shillings sixpence and four shillings, the latter one shilling below the maximum old age pension allowance. A minority of single applicants received relief on par with or higher than the maximum allowance issued under the Old Age Pension Act. The Ripon Board of Guardians may have been in a position to expend higher allowances of outdoor relief to the limited number of relief applicants. This was more likely in a Poor Law Union where overall demand for poor relief was low, as opposed to the Unions of Alton and Hertford, where demand was higher. For

¹³⁸ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 168-9, 171; Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', pp. 202-4.

married couples in Ripon, relief incomes formed a substantial share of weekly wages, at between 38.9 and 44.4 per cent if we consider that weekly wages in Ripon were higher than that of Alton and Hertford and were estimated at 18 shillings. Furthermore, across Hertford and Ripon, outdoor relief was generally issued to applicants as a weekly pension, usually for half of a calendar year before the applicant was re-examined and relief often renewed.

By examining the later years of the New Poor Law, we find that the Board of Guardians shared the forward-looking attitudes of those that introduced the Old Age Pension Act. Outdoor relief was not fixed for each applicant but could be negotiated between the applicant and the Board and an outcome produced satisfactorily. The relief given to some single applicants was higher than the maximum allowance provided by the Old Age Pension Act. One example is Ann Waite from Ripon, who was provisionally given the standard allowance for married couples of seven shillings for four weeks after the death of her spouse.¹³⁹

This chapter calls for more attention to be paid to the self-reliant sectors of the elderly population, specifically those in occupations that were negatively associated with dependence on the Poor Law at the area-level. We have viewed the elderly poor as a share of the wider elderly population and examined those that were not poor. The operation of the New Poor Law in later years needs to be assessed in terms of the assistance of older people through outdoor relief and the nature of generosity by the Board of Guardians. This will refine the idea that the Old Age Pension Act was a progressive form of social policy for all sectors of the elderly population.¹⁴⁰ A greater emphasis on those receiving outdoor relief will further challenge the notion that, in the case of older people and welfare, preceding a socially progressive twentieth century was a neglectful nineteenth century.

¹³⁹ North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4, Ripon parish.

¹⁴⁰ It was not until 1926 when insurance based pensions were introduced to men and women aged between 65 to 70 years and not until 1940 when the pension age was reduced to 60 years for insured women and wives of insured male pensioners, Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 326-32.

Appendix 4A

Classification of the 20 economic groups of Poor Law Unions taken from C. Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894), pp. 56-104.

- Group I: Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)
- Group II: Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (2)
- Group III: Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture and Town (1)
- Group IV: Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture and Town (2)
- Group V: Rural and Mostly Rural. Mining
- Group VI: Rural and Mostly Rural. Manufacture
- Group VII: Rural and Mostly Rural. Shipping
- Group VIII: Rural and Mostly Rural. Residential and Pleasure Resorts
- Group IX: Half Rural. Agriculture and Town
- Group X: Half Rural. Mining
- Group XI: Half Rural. Manufacture
- Group XII: Half Rural. Shipping
- Group XIII: Half Rural. Residential
- Group XIV: Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Mining
- Group XV: Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Manufacture
- Group XVI: Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Residential
- Group XVII: Provincial Urban. Manufacture and Trade
- Group XVIII: Provincial Urban. Residential
- Group XIX: London. Manufacture and Trade
- Group XX: London. Residential

5 Chapter Four

Familial Ties and Living Arrangements in Old Age in England and Wales, 1851-1911

5.1 Introduction

No issue has attracted such a long, rich and controversial historiography as the relationship between older people and their families. On the one hand, it is assumed that the primary source of care for older people in the nineteenth century came from their relatives. The respect of elderly people by their relatives coincided with Victorian cultural norms that stressed the importance of family as a moral and social unit.¹ Indeed, twentieth-century commentators, concerned with the growing ageing population and the increasing lack of familial support, called for a return to a by-gone historical age. By this, they meant reembracing the values of nineteenth-century society where family, rather than the state, provided social care.² However, based on local studies by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP), partly using the census enumerators' books (CEBs), the state, or the New Poor Law, primarily assisted older people throughout the Victorian period. This was mostly through weekly allowances granted in their own homes, but occasionally workhouse accommodation was offered.³ Several studies since the research by CAMPOP have clarified that older people relied on a myriad of resources to help them get by, utilising poor relief *and* familial assistance simultaneously.⁴ The detailed scale of quantitative data on the distribution of poor relief means that the analysis of regional variations is straightforward.⁵ In contrast, the limitations and inaccessibility of large-scale systematic census data means that a

¹ K. Ittmann, *Work, Gender and the Family in Victorian England* (London, 1995), p. 142.

² D. Thomson, 'Welfare and the Historians', in L. Bonfield, R.M. Smith and K. Wrightson (eds.), *The World We Have Gained: Essays Presented to Peter Laslett* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 355-78.

³ D. Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past: A Family or Community Responsibility?', in M. Pelling and R.M. Smith (eds.), *Life, Death and the Elderly: Historical Perspectives* (London, 1991), pp. 194-221. He further argues that, in certain parishes, 'every aged person, except perhaps an elderly vicar or landowner, was a poor law pensioner', at p. 203.

⁴ See P. Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000), p. 146 and her article, 'Old Age and their Families in the English Past', in M. Daunton (ed.), *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare in the English Past* (London, 1996), pp. 113-138.

⁵ Scholars have taken advantage of the detailed biannual parliamentary papers from the House of Commons parliamentary papers archive on the numbers of able-bodied persons, non-able-bodied persons, children and 'lunatics' receiving poor relief on 1 January and 1 July. These materials are also deployed in this chapter. For the use of these sources elsewhere, see N. Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender in Nineteenth-Century England: The Case of Hertfordshire', *Continuity and Change*, 20 (2005), pp. 351-84. A more general perspective of changes across the period 1840-1939 is found in K. Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty* (London, 1981), pp. 156-233. A guide to the limitations and merits of such materials is found in M. MacKinnon, 'The Use and Misuse of Poor Law Statistics, 1857 to 1912', *Historical Methods*, 21 (1988), pp. 5-19.

comprehensive study of familial support is lacking.⁶ As a result, familial support from a regional perspective is underexplored; there is no way of knowing if, for example, an analysis of industrial Preston, Lancashire, is reflective of the nature of support in the overall county.⁷

Another issue that has received little attention in the historical context concerns the care of older people within their life courses. It would be interesting to see how far the living arrangements and family connections of people affected their position in the household as they became elderly. Theoretical propositions based on England of Wales and elsewhere have explained the developing ties between older people and their relatives.⁸ However, an empirical assessment that links each individual over time using the CEBs for England and Wales is limited. Based on the absence of a study covering wider regional variations in the changing familial ties of older people, as well as the lack of life course studies about the aged, this chapter will fill both of these gaps in the literature. Two source materials will be used. First, Integrated Census Microdata datasets (I-CeM) enable a regional assessment of the changing living arrangements of older people in England and Wales across 1851 to 1911 (excluding 1871). For the first time, I-CeM allows a coverage of 100 per cent of the elderly population to be examined. This is not only through the original textual transcription of the CEBs, which have now been digitised by I-CeM, but also through a coding scheme associating each individual to a housing arrangement.⁹ Second, since the rise of commercial-based genealogical websites

⁶ The literature on the living arrangements of older people in Victorian and Edwardian times is extensive and, thus, some seminal examples will be presented here. Other examples are referred to across this chapter. Michael Anderson, for example, used samples of the large industrial town of Preston to construct the living arrangements of persons aged 65 years and over, see *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971). He also created a national sample of the 1851 census of Great Britain which comprises a dataset of 400,000 people. For further details as to how it was collated see M. Anderson, 'Mis-specification of Servant Occupations in the 1851 Census: A Problem Revisited', originally published in *Local Population Studies*, 60 (1998), pp. 58-64, later revised in N. Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England: Regional and Local Perspectives* (Hatfield, 2007), pp. 260-8. Other scholars use entire parishes to survey living arrangements at the local level. For a study of three Nottinghamshire parishes, see S.O. Rose, 'The Varying Household Arrangements of the Elderly in Three English Villages: Nottinghamshire, 1851-1881', *Continuity and Change*, 1 (1988), pp. 101-122. A recent study of Hertfordshire that accounts for geographical and occupational variations in eight parishes is in T. Heritage, 'The Living Arrangements of Older People in the 1851 and 1891 Census Enumerators' Books for Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 98 (2017), pp. 30-53. This chapter is the outcome of the present author's objective to expand upon the previous study of Hertfordshire (and, also, the datasets that were originally produced by the University of Hertfordshire) by researching familial relationships with older people in a wider regional context using Integrated Census Microdata datasets (I-CeM); see Heritage, 'The Living Arrangements of Older People', p. 48.

⁷ In industrial Preston, 67 per cent of older people were noted as living with at least one offspring. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, Table 38, p. 139.

⁸ In terms of nineteenth-century America, see H.P. Chudacoff and T. Hareven, 'From the Empty Nest to Family Dissolution: Life Course Transitions into Old Age', *Journal of Family History*, 4 (1979), pp. 69-83.

⁹ The coding scheme is in accordance with the Hammel-Laslett Classification scheme noted in P. Laslett, 'Introduction: The History of the Family', in P. Laslett and R. Wall (eds.), *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 1-90. The coding scheme is located in a guidebook dedicated to using I-CeM data, see

such as Ancestry, individuals from the CEBs are now searchable across each period. As a result, the second half of this chapter will assess the life course of older people by taking data on individuals as they were recorded in old age at a given period and linking these data to past census data on these same individuals. An examination of their roles in previous censuses before they became elderly is important because this might also explain the varying social positions of people in their old age. This will include those that eventually relied on the New Poor Law. From this, we can appreciate the variation in the experiences of older people and provide a fuller picture than previous research on old age in the nineteenth century which has instead focused exclusively on the elderly *poor*.¹⁰ The importance of why this innovative approach is needed in studying the relationship between older people and their families is further explained in the literature review.

5.2 Literature Review

As explained above, the research conducted by CAMPOP challenged past assumptions made about the importance of the family in the lives of older people in the nineteenth century. First, David Thomson's doctoral work pointed to the community rather than the family as the main provider of welfare for the aged. For example, using an analysis of the CEBs covering several districts in southern England, he found that, in the early 1850s, only 40 per cent of older people aged 65 years and over were living with at least one child.¹¹ Second, Peter Laslett discovered that the household structure of early modern England and beyond was predominantly nuclear. Reliance on state welfare, or the New Poor Law, was thus governed by the nature of the nuclear household system. This comprises the 'nuclear hardship' hypothesis. Complex family forms, usually extended in structure and including, for example, a household head, offspring and grandchildren, safeguarded their members from pauperism. This was due to the greater number of family members available for assistance, going beyond the mean household size of four members for the period of 1574-1821 in England.¹² Extended households were most common in southern Europe. By contrast, in north-west Europe and England, the more dominant the

E. Higgs, C. Jones, K. Schürer and A. Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide* (2nd Revised Edition, University of Essex, 2013), pp. 234-7.

¹⁰ For example, A. Ritch, 'English Poor Law Institutional Care for Older People: Identifying the "Aged and Infirm" and the "Sick" in Birmingham Workhouse, 1852-1912', *Social History of Medicine*, 27 (2014) pp. 64-85; G. Boyer, "'Work for their prime, the workhouse for their age": Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', *Social Science History*, 40 (2016), pp. 3-32; N. Goose, 'Accommodating the Elderly Poor: Almshouses and the Mixed Economy of Welfare in the Second Millennium', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 62 (2014), pp. 35-57.

¹¹ Thomson, 'Welfare and the Historians', p. 364.

¹² P. Laslett, 'Mean Household Size in England since the Sixteenth Century', in Laslett and Wall (eds.), *Household and Family*, pp. 125-158, at Table 4.4, p. 138.

concentration of nuclear family households, the more likely that people relied on a 'collectivity' of resources. This included the Poor Law, almshouse residency, charity and neighbourly support. This was partly because offspring left the parental household to form their own households at the point when parents approached their old age. The use of wider kin 'as an insurance against misfortune [...] seems to have been of little or no significance.'¹³ However, Laslett did not entirely dismiss the family as a valuable resource, stressing that family and 'collectivity' had 'collaborated within the customary framework as the situation required.'¹⁴ To summarise, being in an extended family would suggest better economic security for older people. However, the nuclear family system means that it is hard for extended families to form. Consequently, older people would do less well under the nuclear family system than the extended family system.

Laslett's insistence on the collaborative nature of welfare resources is supported by Pat Thane. Family and the state were 'shifting and variable components in the "economy of makeshifts" in which poor old people had long struggled.'¹⁵ Evidence shows that families wanted to assist their elderly relatives but prioritised the main nuclear family unit. Residence was instead offered towards the end of an elderly parent's life. Outside of co-residence, relationships between older people and their offspring occurred, but 'at a distance'.¹⁶ Despite this, in certain areas, co-residence was stronger than that proposed by Thomson and the nature of welfare was less collaborative. Michael Anderson and Marguerite Dupree's studies of industrial Preston and Stoke-on-Trent in 1851 and 1861 respectively show a higher co-residence rate than in Thomson's data. In Preston alone, 67 per cent of those aged 65 years and over lived with at least one child.¹⁷ Interestingly, the high co-residence rates in Stoke (57 per cent) correlate with the lower proportions of older people relying on poor relief.¹⁸ Data on regional variations have been underexplored before the advent of I-CeM; the closest has been a study of anonymised census data of thirteen English and Welsh communities by Richard Wall covering the period 1891-1921. There is a marked tendency for co-residence to be higher towards the north of England, in particular Stoke, Bolton and Earsdon, where nearly 60 per cent of women aged 65

¹³ P. Laslett, 'Family, Kinship and Collectivity as Systems of Support in Pre-Industrial Europe: A Consideration of the "Nuclear-Hardship" Hypothesis', *Continuity and Change*, 3 (1988), pp. 153-175, quote at p. 166.

¹⁴ Laslett, 'Family, Kinship and Collectivity', pp. 166-8, quote at p. 168.

¹⁵ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 146.

¹⁶ Thane, 'Old People and Their Families', p. 134.

¹⁷ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, Table 38, p. 139.

¹⁸ See M.W. Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries, 1840-1880* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 329-30, where 10 per cent of the Poor Law applications granted to paupers in the Stoke-upon-Trent Poor Law Union in June 1861 were based on 'old age'.

years and over lived with at least one child.¹⁹ Contemporary evidence from the late Victorian and early Edwardian period also reveals a ‘north-south’ divide in the degree of familial assistance. In 1894, Charles Booth demonstrated that the proportion receiving assistance from relatives rather than from the parish was higher in the North than in the Midlands and in the South.²⁰ A. Wilson-Fox, who, in 1903, surveyed regional variations in agricultural wages, commented that male workers in northern England had a greater ability to prevent their elderly relatives relying on the New Poor Law:

The men in the North were not pauperised by the old Poor Law system, nor underfed. They have had the intelligence and the means to spend money on the education of their children, who, in their turn, endeavour to preserve their parents’ old age from the stigma of pauperism.²¹

Studies by Anderson and Dupree are somewhat inconsistent with recent studies of historical Europe, which suggest that older people in cities and densely populated regions were less likely to reside in complex family structures.²² However, evidence has shown that in some southern rural areas and market towns, the proportion of older people that resided with their offspring matched or eclipsed that of northern industrial areas.²³

When Wall compared his data with Anderson’s 2 per cent sample of the 1851 CEBs, he noted an increase in co-residence towards the early twentieth century. In fact, the percentages living with never-married and ever-married children became higher than the proportions living with spouses only by 1911.²⁴ Whether the introduction of old age pensions caused changes to the living arrangements of older people has been speculated by Anderson, but not commented upon by Wall.²⁵ Rather, Wall insists on the relatively high fertility rates of the mid-Victorian cohort

¹⁹ R. Wall, ‘Elderly Persons and Members of their Households in England and Wales from Preindustrial Times to the Present’, in D.I. Kertzer and P. Laslett (eds.), *Aging in the Past: Demography, Society and Old Age* (London, 1995), pp. 81-106, at Table 2.6, pp. 95-6.

²⁰ C. Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894), p. 344.

²¹ A. Wilson-Fox, ‘Agricultural Wages in England during the Last Fifty Years’, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 66 (Jun., 1903), pp. 273-359, quote at p. 318. I am indebted to Dr Andrew Hinde for directing me to this reference.

²² M. Szołtysek, B. Ogórek, R. Poniak and S. Gruber, ‘Making a Place for Space: A Demographic Spatial Perspective on Living Arrangements among the Elderly in Historical Europe’, *European Journal of Population*, published online first, 21 March 2019, pp. 1-33; S. Ruggles, ‘Reconsidering the Northwest European Family System: Living Arrangements of the Aged in Comparative Historical Perspective’, *Population and Development Review*, 35 (2009), pp. 249-73.

²³ As seen for the 1851 and 1891 CEBs for Hertfordshire in Heritage, ‘The Living Arrangements of Older People’, pp. 47-8.

²⁴ Wall, ‘Elderly Persons and Members of their Households’, Table 2.5, p. 93.

²⁵ M. Anderson, ‘Household Structure and the Industrial Revolution: Mid-Nineteenth Century Preston in Comparative Perspective’, in Laslett and Wall (eds.), *Household and Family*, pp. 215-35, at p. 231.

who became elderly in the early twentieth century, which augmented the available number of offspring that could co-reside. Wall also acknowledges variations by gender. Elderly women were more likely to live with ever-married children than men, who associated with the never-married.²⁶ Nigel Goose argues that, due to their domestic skills and economic contributions to the household, older women were more favoured for co-residence by their relatives than elderly men.²⁷ Again, this would depend upon the type of living arrangement: a closer scrutiny of census data for Hertfordshire shows that elderly men were as likely to receive familial support from offspring and kin as elderly women.²⁸

Finally, studies of the life course of older people are severely lacking for nineteenth-century England and Wales. There are some untested assumptions that the changing living arrangements of people towards their old age determined how they received state welfare. Keith Snell argues that elderly childless couples were more likely to be offered the workhouse over outdoor relief, whereas outdoor relief was granted when offspring or other relatives were available. The migration of young adult offspring out of rural areas was closely aligned with the higher proportions of older people that received relief on the Poor Law.²⁹ Some post-war evidence demonstrates how some older people eventually lived in an institution partly because familial resources were not available in close proximity.³⁰ Also, if 'working' (or middle-age) people (defined here as aged 30 to 59 years) were living in a household with their relatives, nuclear or otherwise, they could adapt to the economic demands of urban areas and escape pauperism in later life. In other words, the combined income of kin maximised family earnings.³¹ In Anderson's Preston, older women could provide for and expend resources on their grandchildren in the 17 per cent of cases where mothers worked in textile factories.³² Middle-age people and their families pursued reciprocal exchanges in the household (and beyond). Anderson terms this as 'short-run calculative instrumentality,' where 'both parties were obtaining some fairly immediate advantage over them.'³³ Richard Smith elaborates on

²⁶ Wall, 'Elderly Persons and Members of their Households', Table 2.5, p. 93.

²⁷ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', p. 368.

²⁸ Heritage, 'The Living Arrangements of Older People', p. 47.

²⁹ K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England in Wales, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 299. There is evidence elsewhere, although limited, demonstrating the strong links between parent and offspring over the life course in a Devonshire parish, where 56 per cent of those aged 50 years and over still lived with their offspring in their seventies; see J. Robin, 'Family Care of the Elderly in a Nineteenth-Century Devonshire Parish', *Ageing & Society*, 4 (1984), pp. 505-16.

³⁰ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 146; P. Townsend, *The Last Refuge* (London, 1962), p. 327.

³¹ C. Haber, 'Old Age Through the Lens of Family History', in R.H. Binstock and L.K. George (eds.), *Handbook of Ageing and the Social Sciences* (6th edition, London, 2006), pp. 59-73.

³² Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, pp. 139-141.

³³ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, p. 8.

this, arguing that reciprocity ‘is the essence of support between kin, making the family a group whose relationships are founded on material considerations.’³⁴ Although this may be true, there is little to suggest that reciprocal exchanges benefitted middle-age people over their life course. It would perhaps benefit them to the extent that, in their old age, there was a capacity to become thrifty and less dependent on state welfare, as resources could be expended by other contributory family members.

5.3 Questions

The literature review has shown how some aspects related to familial ties in old age are underexplored. First, the limitations of data collection prior to I-CeM resulted in only a small sample of communities across England and Wales, with little consideration of wider regional variations. This also applies to life-course studies, since it was previously impractical to link data for whole communities across censuses. It should be asked if there were regional variations in the different living arrangements of older people. Were patterns in ‘northern’ England different to those in the ‘south’? The study of familial ties in Wales is also badly neglected. Did the occupational and religious culture of Wales create living arrangements that differed in proportion to England?³⁵ Second, comparisons of data from the mid-Victorian period with the Edwardian era are also lacking. Specifically, was 1911 different from 1851? Third, the emphasis on local, parish-based data means that the impact of social policy and demographic change on changing living arrangements is not acknowledged in greater depth. Did the first recipients of old age pensions find themselves changing their household patterns? Were aggregate fertility patterns important for co-residence between elderly people and their offspring? Fourth, aside from the published census reports and minute local studies, tabulating large numbers of people in certain variables in the CEBs and dividing them against the total population of an area has been impractical. Other variables outside the CEBs, such as the biannual numbers of those on poor relief conducted by the House of Commons, also lack comparison with the percentages of older people recorded in varying household arrangements. If one could conduct such an assessment of the differing proportions of those on the Poor Law and those in extended households, one could assess whether hardship was a major fact of life

³⁴ R.M. Smith, ‘Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare: Reflections from Demographic and Family History’, in Dauntton (ed.), *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare*, pp. 23-49, at p. 44.

³⁵ Wales was culturally different to England in terms of attitudes to the Poor Law; see Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, pp. 260-1.

for older people and whether it was exacerbated by the nuclear family system. Did the extended and multiple household act as a safeguard from old age pauperism?

Furthermore, the life course of elderly individuals across the CEBs are needed. The CEBs are snapshots of society. By exclusively focusing on the living arrangements of an elderly individual in one period of their lives, one makes assumptions about their familial circumstances. For example, it might be implied that an inhabitant lived alone because their offspring may have migrated from the parental household and, consequently, neglected their parents.³⁶ However, there is the possibility that the inhabitant may have been childless, or that relatives were living close by. Also, there is little reference to the past social and economic development of people as they approached their old age. It gives the impression that older people suddenly emerge in the CEBs as a newly created category, without any stories that determine their familial ties or their social standing. What socio-economic circumstances resulted in particular living arrangements in old age? Throughout their lifespan, did their position in the household change? Is it possible to predict the living arrangement of an older person in 1901 based upon data from 1871? This may have further implications for the life stories of those that eventually relied on welfare. Do living arrangements in one's middle age play a part in becoming pauperised in their old age, either through transfer payments by the Poor Law, or through institutional accommodation? It is widely argued that circumstances in the period of old age, such as the loss of income, or greater frailty, explain the strong relationship between old age and extreme poverty.³⁷ However, we need to think of why some older age groups came to be dependent on welfare, particularly with regard to their changing household structure.

5.4 Methodology

The first half of the analysis will use I-CeM to chart the changing living arrangements of older people (defined here as 60 years and over) based on a series of codes.³⁸ These have been devised based on the Hammel-Laslett classification system of households, which include 22 types covering household arrangements as varied as solitary, non-conjugal, nuclear, extended

³⁶ Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, p. 299.

³⁷ L. Botelho and P. Thane, 'Introduction', in L. Botelho and P. Thane (eds.), *Women and Ageing in British Society Since 1500* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 1-12, esp. 7-8.

³⁸ The age of sixty years was chosen as a threshold for becoming elderly, in accordance with contemporary definitions of the time. This enables a more reliable comparison with the data based on the New Poor Law, where the threshold for becoming 'aged and infirm', part of the criteria for becoming non-able-bodied and therefore receiving favourable treatment, was sixty years. See Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 167.

and multiple household structures.³⁹ This enables the easy tabulation of various living arrangements covering 100 per cent of the elderly population, although imperfections remain. For 1851, solitary widowed residents were miscoded and conflated with those in multiple households that were disposed upwards. This was adjusted alongside the correct coding found for later periods. Also, for 1891 and 1911, those in institutions were given a code of 0, rather than 999, which means that the institutionalised and those in lodgings are in the same category. Five selected counties of England and Wales will be analysed, covering 63 Superintendent Registration Districts (SRDs). These are Hertfordshire in the East, Hampshire in the South, Cheshire in the Midlands and parts of the Yorkshire West Riding in the North. Glamorgan, a predominantly mining-based county, represents Wales. While it is possible to cover all periods, data will focus solely on 1851, 1891 and 1911. This is because the 1851 CEBs are the earliest detailed censuses to be scrutinised. Also, the periods 1891 and 1911 are relatively underexplored in the study of living arrangements and coincide with changing social policies such as the Old Age Pension Act of 1908. This chapter will also consider the impact of the Old Age Pension Act on the changing household patterns of those aged 70 years and over, when they became eligible for pensions. There will be considerations of how gender determined certain household arrangements. The proportions of older people that lived in extended and multiple households will be compared with those in households where they lived without offspring and relatives, to test the significance of complex households by locality and region. The changing percentages of elderly men and women that lived with at least one offspring are also analysed.

Additional sources will include the biannual rates of poor relief recipients out of the total elderly population, derived from the House of Commons parliamentary papers archive. Every year from 1858 to 1912, poor relief data were gathered for 1 January and 1 July, recording the numbers of able-bodied, non-able-bodied and 'lunatic' populations that received relief on those days. We have taken the numbers of non-able-bodied people (presumed to be those aged 60 years and over) and 'lunatics' receiving relief on 1 January of a census year and divided these against the total population aged 60 years and over on census night.⁴⁰ We then compare these

³⁹ Higgs, Jones, Schürer and Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, pp. 234-7.

⁴⁰ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1890-1891, LXVIII.393 (130B), *Pauperism (England and Wales), Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1891*. Several problems arise using data on the 'non-able-bodied' to examine old age pauperism, which historians have previously noticed. First, the data do not break down the numbers of 'non-able-bodied' claimants by age. Second, 'lunatic' populations may include a substantial number of those that otherwise would have belonged in the adult 'able-bodied' category. Contemporaries such as Charles Booth, using data from 1890 to 1892, assessed that up to 75 per cent of the 'non-able-bodied' were aged 65 years and over, see C. Booth, 'Poor Law Statistics as Used in Connection with the Old Age Pension

percentages by SRD with the proportions of older people in the CEBs that were listed as dependent to the household head. This will be conducted for the year 1891 when co-residence was reported to have increased.⁴¹ By comparing those that relied on state welfare with those that were accommodated in the household of their relatives, this provides a reassessment of the ‘nuclear hardship’ hypothesis. However, it is important to remember that one could have been dependent on the household head *and* received outdoor relief. Nonetheless, it would be interesting to test Dupree’s assumption of a regional binary divide in the provision of welfare: ‘[In] northern, urban, industrial areas [...] family and kin appear to have taken responsibility for the elderly, while the collectivity, particularly the Poor Law, which played such a central role in rural areas and small towns, was relatively less important.’⁴²

The second half of this chapter primarily examines the life course of old age individuals. Bivariate regressions will examine whether living arrangements in middle age are associated with old age pauperism, by using the percentages of old people relying on the New Poor Law in 1891 as a dependent variable. These regressions will be at the aggregate SRD level rather than at the individual level. The living arrangements of those aged 30-59 years in 1861 will be predictors, allowing for a time-lag between the middle-age population and those ending up on relief thirty years later. As such, the life course of named individuals is not provided. It leaves us with the possibility that any of the individuals aged 30-59 years examined in 1861 had migrated from the SRD or had died before they passed the age of 60 years in 1891. However, at the individual level, the life courses of older people will be analysed from the CEBs, by taking the names of those living in two parishes in 1901 and using these names to link to past census data on the same individuals. Samples of all the elderly population born within each parish were included, alongside half of older people that were born elsewhere, to ensure successful linkage. Names are used to link data on individuals identified in the 1901 census to

Question’, *Economic Journal*, 9 (1899), pp. 212-23. Other historians have shown that the ratio of those specified as elderly paupers was constant with that of the non-able-bodied; see Boyer, ‘Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England’, p. 12. Since the ‘aged and infirm’ constituted a subgroup of the ‘non-able-bodied’ under the New Poor Law, it is highly unlikely that older people would have been grouped as ‘able-bodied’. In fact, one example of the preparation of workhouse dietary lists provided distinctions between the ‘able-bodied’ and ‘old people, being all 60 years of age and upwards’, Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1836, 595, *Second Year Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales, Together With Appendices, A, B, C and D*, p. 56. With regard to the ‘lunatic’ populations, there is the possibility that the ‘non-able-bodied’ could have been incorporated into these populations alongside the ‘able-bodied’. The numbers of ‘lunatic’ men and women are relatively smaller than the ‘non-able-bodied’ populations; it was therefore agreed to incorporate their numbers with the ‘non-able-bodied’ as a precaution.

⁴¹ Noted in Wall, ‘Elderly Persons and Members of their Households’, pp. 90-7. The rise of extended households (for all ages) was also recorded in S. Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections: The Rise of the Extended Family in Nineteenth-Century England and America* (Wisconsin, 1987), pp. 127-135.

⁴² Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, p. 328.

data in past censuses dating back to 1851. Each living arrangement for the people included was coded and analysed for each census. Determining if an individual was the same person in 1871 as in 1881 was decided using several criteria. The main factor was the age of the individual, followed by the birthplace and their residence. If a person migrated from one parish to another between two census periods, or if birthplace designation differed over time, the age of the individual and their occupational designation were deemed to be sufficient criteria linking the person across the CEBs. The names, while not on the anonymised I-CeM datasets, were provided by genealogical website Ancestry Online. It is possible to consult the names on I-CeM through the UK Data Archive, although there are no 1871 data for England and Wales. This makes Ancestry, which does contain the 1871 transcripts, more practical. The parishes selected are small-sized and mainly rural. This raises problems of how representative changing living arrangements are in small rural communities. However, the successful linkage of individuals would be greater in populations characterised by low migration rates, compared with urbanised areas. As this method is innovative in the study of historical elderly populations, it is best to conduct a trial experiment using two parish-based communities.

The life course of poor relief claimants and workhouse residents are also considered in the SRDs of Ripon, West Riding, Alton, Hampshire and Winchester, Hampshire. These were chosen as surviving Poor Law application and relief books and workhouse admissions and discharge registers are available for these SRDs, recorded in the early 1880s.⁴³ Names were taken from the sources and linked with the household arrangements in the corresponding 1881 CEBs. They were then traced back to 1861 and then to 1851, when they were aged around 30 to 59 years. From this, the life course context of old age pauperism can be better understood. The overall age cohorts in Ripon, Alton and Winchester SRDs in each period are compared with the poor relief and workhouse cohorts to examine the association of living arrangements in middle age with reliance on the Poor Law in old age.

⁴³ For Ripon SRD and coterminous Poor Law Union: North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4 and Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers, April 1880-December 1884, BG/RI 5/3/1. For Alton SRD and coterminous Poor Law Union: Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Alton No1 District, June-September 1881, PL3/2/89 and December 1881-March 1882, PL3/2/90, Binstead No2 District, June-September 1880, PL3/2/128 and December 1880-March 1881, PL3/2/129. For Winchester SRD and coterminous Poor Law Union: Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of New Winchester Union, April 1879-September 1881, PL5/11/32, October 1881-September 1882, PL5/11/33 and September 1882-March 1885, PL5/11/34.

5.5 Analysis – Living Arrangements through I-CeM Data

Appendices 5A, 5B and 5C show the percentages of elderly men and women in five selected counties that were living in 22 household arrangements in 1851, 1891 and 1911. The underlining given for one of the five figures across each column denote the highest percentage of older people recorded in a living arrangement out of the five counties. Although only four English counties are examined, there are striking differences in the varying living arrangements, based on the English north-south divide. Generally, older people in Hertfordshire and Hampshire were more likely to live in nuclear, non-conjugal and solitary living arrangements. Conversely, in Yorkshire West Riding and Cheshire, their elderly populations were more likely to live in extended and multiple households. For example, in 1851, 34.2 per cent and 37.4 per cent of elderly women in Yorkshire West Riding and Cheshire respectively lived in extended and multiple households (codes 410-599). This is compared with 27.4 per cent and 28.2 per cent of elderly women in Hertfordshire and Hampshire respectively. Similar patterns are identified for elderly men, although these percentages are lower than that of elderly women. The data are consistent with a recent cluster analysis that points to a higher proportion of the population co-resident with residential kin in northern England.⁴⁴ In Yorkshire and Cheshire in 1851, elderly women were more likely to live in an extended household that was structured downwards from the household head; in other words, comprised of the household head, their offspring and their grandchildren. The experience in the southern counties was different, with elderly women more likely to reside in households where they were part of a married couple living alone, at 14.4 per cent in Hertfordshire and 15.6 per cent in Hampshire. The situation is more complicated for elderly men in 1851. More elderly men in Cheshire belonged to an extended household, although in Yorkshire, they were more likely to reside as a married couple living with never-married offspring. By 1891, similar household patterns are replicated, with the highest proportion of elderly women in extended households in Yorkshire and Cheshire and the highest proportions living alone in Hampshire and Hertfordshire. Again, there are contrasts with elderly men, in that they were more likely to live in nuclear family households with never-married offspring except in Hertfordshire and Hampshire. For elderly women in 1911, their situation differs from two decades previously, in that more in Yorkshire and Cheshire were classed in a simple household where widows lived with never-married children. Also, in Hampshire, more women spent their time in lodgings

⁴⁴ K. Schürer and T. Penkova, 'Creating a Typology of Parishes in England and Wales: Mining 1881 Census Data', *Historical Life Course Studies*, 2 (2015), pp. 38-57, at Figure 14, p. 53.

than previously. In all four English counties, elderly men increasingly lived in nuclear family households.

The data conform to Dupree's argument emphasising the importance of familial assistance in the lives of older people in northern England, compared with southern England, where the 'collectivity' was more greatly relied upon.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the data roughly reflect Wall's thirteen communities for England and Wales between 1891 and 1921. In Wall's study, the proportions aged 65 years and over that lived alone or with spouses only are higher in the southern communities of Saffron Walden, Essex and Axminster, Devon, than in Bolton, Lancashire and Earlsdon, Northumberland.⁴⁶ Overall, the general picture across England for the Victorian and Edwardian period is one where the majority of older people co-resided with other family members.

When it comes to Glamorganshire, its household structures are similar to the northern counties. In all periods, elderly women were more likely to live in an extended downward household, compared with elderly men, who were more likely to reside in a nuclear family household. Towards 1911, elderly men and women were more likely to be recorded in extended households in Glamorgan than in the remaining English counties. The occupational structure of Glamorgan was predominantly mining-based.⁴⁷ Recent research has shown how the overall percentages of households containing kin were higher in mining districts towards the late Victorian period.⁴⁸ Mining districts have been known for their high in-migration and fertility, which would increase the number of people available for co-residence.⁴⁹ By 1911, there was greater disparity between Glamorgan and the English counties of Hampshire and Hertfordshire in terms of extended downward households. While 14.5 per cent of elderly women in Glamorgan lived in these households, 8.5 per cent in Hampshire did so. The proportion of solitaries in Glamorgan was also far lower than in the English counties, although elderly men were far more likely to live in private households unrelated to the household head in both 1891

⁴⁵ Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, p. 328.

⁴⁶ Wall, 'Elderly Persons and Members of their Households', Tables 2.6 and 2.7, pp. 96-7.

⁴⁷ T. Brennan, E.W. Cooney and H. Pollins, *Social Change in South-West Wales* (Suffolk, 1954), p. 15.

⁴⁸ As evident in the graph, 'Households with kin by type of place', provided by PopulationsPast.org and produced by the 'Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline' project at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (PI: A.M. Reid, ES/L015463/1), using an enhanced version of K. Schürer and E. Higgs (2014), Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911 [data collection], Colchester, Essex, UK Data Archive [distributor]. Available at <https://www.populationspast.org/about/> (accessed 14 April 2019). By 1891, mining areas overtook textile districts in terms of the proportions of households with at least one extended kin.

⁴⁹ B. Thomas, 'The Migration of Labour into the Glamorganshire Coalfield (1861-1911)', in W.E. Minchinton (ed.), *Industrial South Wales, 1750-1914: Essays in Welsh Economic History* (London, 1969), pp. 37-56; A. Hinde, *England's Population: A History since the Domesday Survey* (London, 2003), pp. 237-8.

and 1911. Overall, Welsh patterns of co-residence were generally different to those in England, although it is not yet known if Glamorgan is representative of all of Wales. Nonetheless, Welsh patterns were closer to the northern English counties. Thomson's argument that the high degree of familial assistance to older people in Anderson's Preston 'belongs to a peculiar time or place located within [...] spatial and temporal variations' needs reassessing.⁵⁰ In fact, Anderson's findings are representative of the wider regional familial patterns presented here. Thomson's portrayal of elderly people lacking familial assistance, although more prominent in southern counties, is seen as too biased towards a southern perspective of English society.

Across time, there are consistent gender differences which suggest that familial support was mainly directed towards men. This does not reflect conclusions that the domestic nature of elderly women made them more appealing as co-residents.⁵¹ There is a strong disparity between the proportions of men and women recorded as married and living with offspring. For example, while 26 per cent of elderly men belonged in these households in Cheshire in 1911, this accounts for only 13.5 per cent of women. There is another contrast between solitary residents, as 9.9 per cent of elderly women in Hampshire in 1911 lived as solitary widowed residents, compared with only 5.7 per cent of elderly men. Despite this, elderly women were more favoured as co-residents in households where they resided in a non-conjugal family unit, usually comprised of a household head living with grandchildren. More elderly women lived with never-married offspring as widows than did men as widowers. Women were also more likely to live in an extended household disposed upwards, meaning that they were enumerated as dependent on the household head. In other words, widows were more likely to be co-residents than widowers. Therefore, the situation for married men and women differs from the widowed population.

The type of living arrangement changed over time, regardless of gender. There is a greater proportion in nuclear family households towards 1911, especially for elderly women in simple households, where widows co-resided with never-married children. In this period, this is met with a fall in the proportion of solitary widowed residents from 1891. This conforms to Wall's data, as the proportions of solitaries fell alongside an increase in the proportions living with offspring in 1911.⁵² The percentages that were living with spouses only also declined, again consistent with Wall. Extended and multiple households also fell by 1911. The proportions

⁵⁰ Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', fn. 29, p. 220.

⁵¹ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', p. 368.

⁵² Wall, 'Elderly Persons and Members of their Households', Table 2.4, p. 91.

recorded as unrelated to the household head increased by 1911. This may be due to a range of factors. The percentage of elderly men unrelated to the household head was highest in Glamorgan, a county characterised by high in-migration and population increase. If housing supply failed to keep up with demand, then elderly men would have to find accommodation in lodgings. The high mortality rate and lower life expectancy may have resulted in an early family breakup, as well as the early prospect of offspring departing the household to marry young, in accordance with the low marriage ages.⁵³ From 1891, the coding for those unrelated to the household head accounts for the institutionalised, which may suggest a rise in those admitted to workhouses and asylums. However, the data for 1911 in Appendix 5C show that familial care prevailed over the percentages that lacked contact with relatives. For example, if we combine the percentages of elderly women in codes 0, 110-120 and 310 (the household arrangements where they did not co-reside with offspring and relatives), those in Hampshire were less likely to co-reside with offspring and relatives than in the remaining counties, at 42.8 per cent.⁵⁴

Anderson regards the introduction of old age pensions as an important factor as to why household relations between elderly people and offspring changed. Older people 'could live near their children, not with them, and more and more could afford to pay rent for a home of their own.'⁵⁵ Appendices 5D and 5E present the differences between the proportions of old age pensioners and the percentages of those aged 70 years and over (the threshold for claiming an old age pension) by living arrangements and by gender across the five counties. The data on old age pensioners were gathered by searching for those with 'old age pension' or 'old age pensioner' as a textual-based occupation. The problem with this approach is that the CEBs may underrepresent the population that claimed old age pensions by 1911. Under 10 per cent of the population aged 70 years and over in Appendices 5D-5E are recorded as pensioners. This contrasts strongly with contemporary accounts of the extraordinary high rates of older people claiming pensions, because the pensions claimed were intended to be non-contributory and thus almost universal.⁵⁶ Therefore, the coverage of old age pensioners in the census data is limited and those that did receive pensions may not be recognised as recipients in the CEBs.

⁵³ D. Friedlander, 'Demographic Patterns and Socio-economic Characteristics of the Coal-Mining Population in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 22 (1973), pp. 39-51.

⁵⁴ Code 0: in 'private' households unrelated to head (e.g. servants, boarders, lodgers); code 110: solitary, widowed; code 120: solitary, single, or unknown marital status; code 310: simple – married couple alone.

⁵⁵ Anderson, 'Household Structure and the Industrial Revolution', p. 230.

⁵⁶ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 226-31; C. Gilleard, *Old Age in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Ageing under the Union* (London, 2017), pp. 70-1.

There is also concern regarding the lack of time that passed between the introduction of old age pensions in 1908 and the 1911 CEBs for changes to take effect. Nonetheless, there are interesting patterns that conform to Anderson's argument. Old age pensioners are generally more likely to be residing in households where they are unrelated to the household head and in households where they were based as solitaries. The greatest disparity is in the proportions living as solitary residents, particularly for elderly females. For example, over 30 per cent of females described as pensioners in Hertfordshire lived as solitary residents, compared with near 19 per cent of the overall female population aged 70 years and over. This may partly explain why a fall was experienced in the proportions of elderly women living in extended households, as seen in Appendices 5A-5C. Interestingly, there is evidence that, for elderly men, the old age pension may have reinforced co-residential patterns. The percentage of elderly men living in an extended upwards household arrangement is higher among old age pensioners than in the overall male population aged 70 years and over, across all five counties. This suggests that there might have been an incentive to take in relatives whose income was boosted by the pension's general allowance of five shillings weekly, although we cannot establish cause and effect. Perhaps the income from an occupation was combined with the old age pension in order to maximise earnings in the household. Evidence is found by Anderson when he references the contemporary case of a 90-year-old pensioner who, in 1912 to a journalist, commented: 'But now we wants to go on livin' for ever, 'cos we gives 'em the ten shillin' a week, and it pays 'em to 'ave us along with em...'⁵⁷ Among elderly men, however, the old age pension also asserted greater independence from the care of relatives, as evident in the percentages living as solitaries and in the proportions living with spouses only. Based on this, Anderson's argument that old age pensions may have affected how living arrangements were formed may be valid.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Anderson, 'Household Structure and the Industrial Revolution', p. 231. While single applicants received five shillings weekly, the old age pension allowance for married couples was ten shillings.

Table 5.1 – Percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over living in extended and multiple households (codes 410-599) and those living with no relatives (codes 0, 110-20, 310), including absolute difference between the two categories, 63 SRDs, 1891

SRD	COUNTY	FEMALE %			MALE %		
		Ext/Mul	NoFam	Diff.	Ext/Mul	NoFam	Diff.
Altrincham	Cheshire	29.4	34.8	-5.4	26.4	33.8	-7.4
Birkenhead	Cheshire	34.2	33.5	0.6	28.5	35.3	-6.9
Chester	Cheshire	28.8	38.0	-9.2	27.5	39.5	-12.1
Congleton	Cheshire	31.8	34.5	-2.7	27.7	39.4	-11.8
Macclesfield	Cheshire	30.3	36.5	-6.2	25.8	40.5	-14.7
Nantwich	Cheshire	34.2	32.6	1.6	30.1	36.3	-6.2
Northwich	Cheshire	36.9	31.3	5.6	32.8	34.8	-2.0
Runcorn	Cheshire	36.0	32.7	3.3	30.6	38.0	-7.4
Stockport	Cheshire	33.1	32.1	1.0	27.2	35.6	-8.5
Wirral	Cheshire	33.4	32.2	1.2	29.8	35.8	-6.0
Bridgend	Glamorgan	32.6	33.7	-1.1	28.4	37.3	-8.8
Cardiff	Glamorgan	34.3	35.9	-1.7	28.1	40.2	-12.1
Gower	Glamorgan	29.1	33.2	-4.1	27.0	34.8	-7.9
Merthyr Tydfil	Glamorgan	34.4	32.4	2.0	27.5	40.0	-12.5
Neath	Glamorgan	34.8	30.2	4.6	30.4	33.6	-3.3
Pontardawre	Glamorgan	37.3	28.1	9.2	30.1	32.6	-2.5
Pontypridd	Glamorgan	38.5	29.8	8.6	29.1	41.5	-12.4
Swansea	Glamorgan	34.6	32.2	2.4	28.5	36.3	-7.8
Alresford	Hampshire	24.8	44.1	-19.3	23.4	44.8	-21.4
Alton	Hampshire	22.3	44.2	-21.8	25.0	40.1	-15.1
Alverstoke	Hampshire	25.7	47.3	-21.6	23.4	45.0	-21.6
Andover	Hampshire	24.7	40.4	-15.7	23.7	42.2	-18.6
Basingstoke	Hampshire	24.6	40.6	-16.0	21.1	45.0	-23.9
Catherington	Hampshire	32.7	39.9	-7.1	30.0	39.3	-9.3
Christchurch	Hampshire	24.4	49.4	-25.1	22.1	47.2	-25.2
Droxford	Hampshire	28.4	38.1	-9.7	26.0	40.9	-15.0
Fareham	Hampshire	24.6	44.5	-19.9	24.1	44.3	-20.2
Fordingbridge	Hampshire	20.1	46.9	-26.8	21.5	44.5	-23.0
Hartley Witney	Hampshire	23.5	43.9	-20.4	22.1	43.3	-21.1
Havant	Hampshire	27.5	38.7	-11.2	22.2	45.1	-22.9
Isle of Wight	Hampshire	26.0	41.5	-15.5	23.8	42.3	-18.5
Kingsclere	Hampshire	27.1	49.3	-22.2	25.5	47.2	-21.7
Lymington	Hampshire	22.5	42.4	-19.9	22.2	43.7	-21.5
New Forest	Hampshire	28.0	41.4	-13.5	25.0	42.1	-17.1
Petersfield	Hampshire	24.5	47.9	-23.3	22.9	47.4	-24.6
Portsea Island	Hampshire	29.5	42.1	-12.5	24.1	44.1	-19.9
Ringwood	Hampshire	25.3	41.7	-16.3	20.5	45.3	-24.8
Romsey	Hampshire	23.9	42.1	-18.1	21.7	43.4	-21.7
South Stone.	Hampshire	27.4	41.7	-14.3	21.0	46.8	-25.9

Table 5.1 continued

SRD	COUNTY	FEMALE %			MALE %		
		Ext/Mul	No Fam	Diff.	Ext/Mul	No Fam	Diff.
Southampton	Hampshire	26.7	44.1	-17.4	23.0	44.9	-21.9
Stockbridge	Hampshire	25.0	49.7	-24.7	22.4	48.2	-25.8
Whitchurch	Hampshire	23.2	47.1	-23.9	16.8	48.7	-31.9
Winchester	Hampshire	24.2	43.2	-19.0	22.3	44.5	-22.3
Berkhamsted	Hertfordshire	28.6	43.3	-14.6	26.1	43.7	-17.6
Bishop's Stort.	Hertfordshire	21.6	45.5	-23.9	21.5	45.5	-24.0
Hatfield	Hertfordshire	27.4	41.9	-14.5	25.0	38.1	-13.1
Hemel Hemp.	Hertfordshire	26.4	38.2	-11.9	21.3	43.2	-21.9
Hertford	Hertfordshire	26.3	39.8	-13.5	21.5	43.9	-22.5
Hitchin	Hertfordshire	26.5	39.8	-13.2	26.8	40.3	-13.5
Royston	Hertfordshire	25.1	43.0	-17.9	24.8	42.8	-18.1
St Albans	Hertfordshire	25.5	40.7	-15.2	24.4	44.5	-20.1
Ware	Hertfordshire	22.8	43.5	-20.7	22.0	43.0	-21.0
Watford	Hertfordshire	20.2	52.4	-32.1	18.5	51.3	-32.8
Doncaster	Yorkshire	28.7	40.5	-11.8	25.8	40.7	-14.8
Ecclesall Bier.	Yorkshire	34.1	32.7	1.4	28.3	35.0	-6.7
Goole	Yorkshire	31.9	41.1	-9.2	29.2	42.3	-13.2
Keighley	Yorkshire	34.7	27.2	7.5	25.7	34.0	-8.4
Pontefract	Yorkshire	32.7	36.5	-3.8	28.7	40.0	-11.3
Ripon	Yorkshire	26.0	40.7	-14.7	24.4	43.1	-18.7
Settle	Yorkshire	32.0	35.0	-3.0	26.9	38.5	-11.7
Sheffield	Yorkshire	34.3	35.2	-0.9	26.8	43.3	-16.4
Skipton	Yorkshire	32.5	33.2	-0.7	27.4	35.6	-8.2
Wetherby	Yorkshire	28.1	39.7	-11.6	26.8	35.2	-8.3
CHESHIRE		32.4	34.1	-1.7	28.2	36.9	-8.7
GLAMORGAN		34.9	32.5	2.3	28.5	38.5	-9.9
HAMPSHIRE		26.3	43.3	-17.0	23.1	44.3	-21.2
HERTFORDSHIRE		24.5	43.6	-19.1	23.1	44.2	-21.2
YORKSHIRE		32.6	35.0	-2.4	27.0	38.9	-11.9
N		32731	40584		23652	36572	
TOTAL		30.3	37.6	-7.3	26.1	40.4	-14.3

Notes: The absolute differences in columns five and eight in this table were computed by subtracting the percentages of those living without relatives (codes 0, 110-120, 310) from the percentages of those living in extended and multiple households (codes 410-599).

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891.

The proportions noted in extended and multiple households can be compared with those that lacked any contact with offspring and relatives in the household. Those living in households unrelated to the household head (code 0), those living as solitary residents (110-120) and those

living with spouses only (310) are defined as those living without relatives and offspring. Table 5.1 shows the combined proportions of older men and women living in extended and multiple households (codes 410-599) and the overall proportions living without any familial contacts (codes 0, 110-120 and 310) in 1891. They are broken down by 63 SRDs. The disparity between the two groups is greater in Hampshire and Hertfordshire than in the remaining counties. Overall, 52.4 per cent of elderly women and 51.3 per cent of elderly men in Watford, Hertfordshire are recorded as living without any offspring or relatives. The lowest percentage of elderly women living in extended and multiple households combined is in Fordingbridge, Hampshire, at 20.1 per cent. For men, 16.8 per cent is found in Whitchurch, Hampshire. The disparity between the two categories declines in Yorkshire, Cheshire and Glamorgan, although there are differences by gender. Elderly women were generally more likely than older men to be based in extended and multiple households, while men were more likely to be living in households without familial contacts. Also, the percentages of women in extended and multiple households is higher than the percentages without familial ties in over half of the SRDs of Cheshire and Glamorgan. In no districts was this found for men. The largest disparities in favour of extended and multiple households were among women in Pontardawre and Pontypridd SRDs, where 37.3 per cent and 38.5 per cent of elderly women lived in extended and multiple households. This further demonstrates the differences between familial patterns in Wales and the English southern counties. For elderly men, the proportions in the two categories, although narrowly skewed towards those without familial contacts, are roughly similar in Northwich, Neath and Pontardawre SRDs. Therefore, there are strong regional variations in the numbers of older people resident in extended and multiple households, two household structure types regarded as relatively rare in the overall household structure of England and Wales across three centuries.⁵⁸ Most importantly, the wide variations in the numbers recorded in extended and multiple households demonstrate how some counties conformed more than others to the Victorian ideal of the extended family unit and close familial ties.⁵⁹ Although elderly women and men were more likely to find themselves in households without offspring and relatives than to be living in an extended or multiple family household, the proportions in the extended and multiple family unit were by no means limited.

⁵⁸ Laslett, 'Introduction', p. 61. His figures are specifically based on the percentages of household structure types rather than the proportion of the population resident in them.

⁵⁹ Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections*, pp. 129-135.

Table 5.2 – Percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over recorded as living with at least one offspring in nuclear and extended households (codes 320-440), 63 SRDs, 1851, 1891 and 1911

SRD	COUNTY	FEMALE %			MALE %		
		1851	1891	1911	1851	1891	1911
Altrincham	Cheshire	52.2	50.5	54.8	58.4	57.1	59.6
Birkenhead	Cheshire	N/A	54.6	53.0	N/A	57.8	56.0
Chester	Cheshire	47.6	48.6	50.0	50.5	52.5	54.0
Congleton	Cheshire	56.1	51.4	54.1	56.2	52.2	50.9
Macclesfield	Cheshire	58.4	49.1	47.1	57.8	51.4	50.5
Nantwich	Cheshire	52.7	54.8	58.2	55.9	54.7	57.5
Northwich	Cheshire	51.9	56.2	58.2	52.2	57.1	57.9
Runcorn	Cheshire	54.6	54.1	61.4	57.8	53.2	58.7
Stockport	Cheshire	59.1	54.9	54.4	59.4	55.8	57.3
Wirral	Cheshire	53.5	53.1	54.7	63.0	56.2	61.0
Bridgend	Glamorgan	54.7	54.6	55.2	55.7	53.7	50.3
Cardiff	Glamorgan	51.4	54.1	55.2	54.5	54.0	51.7
Gower	Glamorgan	N/A	51.3	55.4	N/A	53.7	57.7
Merthyr Tydfil	Glamorgan	53.2	56.9	59.8	51.4	53.3	53.0
Neath	Glamorgan	55.4	58.7	60.0	57.6	58.7	56.6
Pontardawre	Glamorgan	N/A	62.1	64.1	N/A	58.9	60.2
Pontypridd	Glamorgan	N/A	59.7	63.6	N/A	51.5	54.1
Swansea	Glamorgan	49.4	56.1	58.6	54.3	56.1	57.8
Alresford	Hampshire	50.3	44.4	49.1	51.2	46.8	55.0
Alton	Hampshire	48.2	44.3	47.7	49.0	53.1	48.7
Alverstoke	Hampshire	45.0	41.8	47.1	49.7	47.4	51.5
Andover	Hampshire	45.7	48.9	44.3	49.6	52.1	47.0
Basingstoke	Hampshire	44.9	47.1	49.5	48.6	46.6	52.1
Catherington	Hampshire	39.6	47.6	46.4	47.4	52.9	50.2
Christchurch	Hampshire	49.8	39.5	37.2	50.3	47.7	45.5
Droxford	Hampshire	47.4	49.1	49.4	50.8	52.0	52.2
Fareham	Hampshire	46.8	43.1	40.5	52.2	49.1	44.5
Fordingbridge	Hampshire	52.6	42.2	45.7	55.9	50.6	45.9
Hartley Witney	Hampshire	44.0	44.9	44.9	52.4	49.9	51.3
Havant	Hampshire	40.2	46.8	44.2	45.8	47.7	49.5
Isle of Wight	Hampshire	48.3	45.2	43.7	53.2	51.4	50.9
Kingsclere	Hampshire	44.9	41.4	49.2	46.4	47.4	43.6
Lymington	Hampshire	41.7	45.4	46.3	48.9	50.7	52.2
New Forest	Hampshire	53.0	46.9	47.2	51.0	50.2	52.2
Petersfield	Hampshire	47.7	42.5	46.8	52.4	48.2	49.1
Portsea Island	Hampshire	42.5	46.7	46.0	48.7	49.6	48.5
Ringwood	Hampshire	48.8	48.6	46.4	46.4	50.7	50.1
Romsey	Hampshire	50.6	46.3	51.2	52.7	50.9	52.1
South Stone.	Hampshire	44.3	46.8	51.7	50.2	47.4	52.6

Table 5.2 continued

SRD	COUNTY	FEMALE %			MALE %		
		1851	1891	1911	1851	1891	1911
Southampton	Hampshire	39.4	44.0	44.1	50.3	48.7	47.1
Stockbridge	Hampshire	60.5	43.3	43.6	55.5	46.6	46.0
Whitchurch	Hampshire	47.1	40.6	51.1	52.0	41.0	51.6
Winchester	Hampshire	42.8	44.3	44.5	47.7	48.5	50.1
Berkhamsted	Hertfordshire	49.7	45.3	48.0	51.4	51.2	52.4
Bishop's Stort.	Hertfordshire	43.8	43.0	44.8	48.8	49.0	49.1
Hatfield	Hertfordshire	45.3	47.9	52.6	50.3	52.5	49.3
Hemel Hemp.	Hertfordshire	42.2	45.9	44.7	47.8	50.0	51.7
Hertford	Hertfordshire	43.3	46.5	48.3	49.6	49.7	54.0
Hitchin	Hertfordshire	48.8	45.5	49.1	55.7	52.2	53.6
Royston	Hertfordshire	45.8	45.5	48.7	48.9	49.1	52.6
St Albans	Hertfordshire	44.3	45.8	42.2	48.6	49.6	48.9
Ware	Hertfordshire	41.2	47.0	45.3	50.0	50.2	53.5
Watford	Hertfordshire	40.2	37.6	44.6	42.5	42.8	48.2
Doncaster	Yorkshire	45.6	47.1	51.6	51.1	52.5	51.1
Ecclesall Bier.	Yorkshire	50.0	54.8	54.1	52.7	57.1	56.0
Goole	Yorkshire	47.7	49.9	49.7	52.4	51.2	48.8
Keighley	Yorkshire	62.6	60.5	56.4	60.5	58.3	57.0
Pontefract	Yorkshire	52.9	51.5	53.2	55.7	51.4	51.3
Ripon	Yorkshire	48.4	47.1	43.5	51.1	49.4	50.6
Settle	Yorkshire	47.4	50.9	52.2	53.4	52.7	50.7
Sheffield	Yorkshire	52.6	51.4	53.5	54.5	50.0	50.3
Skipton	Yorkshire	49.4	53.8	55.2	49.7	55.9	53.8
Wetherby	Yorkshire	57.0	46.6	49.2	60.1	55.9	50.8
CHESHIRE		54.2	52.6	54.0	56.6	54.9	56.4
GLAMORGAN		52.5	56.6	58.7	54.4	54.3	54.0
HAMPSHIRE		45.6	45.0	44.6	50.3	49.3	49.0
HERTFORDSHIRE		44.4	44.2	46.1	49.4	49.1	51.0
YORKSHIRE		51.0	52.4	53.2	53.6	53.5	52.6
N		27841	54235	83743	26499	47470	71093
TOTAL		49.6	50.2	51.3	52.9	52.2	52.6

Note: 'N/A' denotes that these SRDs did not exist in 1851.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851, 1891 and 1911.

An understanding of the Hammel-Laslett classification system means that the co-residence rates of elderly people with offspring can be constructed for several periods. Co-residence with offspring is found in nuclear family households (codes 320-350), extended households (410-440) and multiple households (510-599). However, because of the errors with code 510 in the

1851 datasets, it is safer to analyse the proportions of older people in nuclear family and extended households only. Table 5.2 presents results for men and women aged 60 years and over by 63 SRDs for the periods 1851, 1891 and 1911. Generally, the percentages gradually declined by 1891, then increased towards 1911. Although the data presented here focus on those aged 60 years and over, Table 5.2 corresponds to Wall's data which focus on those aged 65 years and over. The proportion that lived with offspring was roughly consistent across the Victorian period and increased by 1911.⁶⁰ Most SRDs also exhibit a co-residence pattern higher than the 40 per cent proposed by Thomson.⁶¹ By county, in 1851, over half of elderly men and women in Yorkshire, Cheshire and Glamorgan, and elderly men in Hampshire, lived in the same household as their offspring. Similar to Table 5.1, there is a regional divide as co-residence was generally higher in Cheshire and lowest in Hertfordshire and Hampshire. These variations hardly change across the three periods. When breaking down the results by SRD, Hampshire figures little in the ten SRDs with the highest co-residential rates, save for the percentages of elderly women in Stockbridge in 1851. By 1911, Glamorgan and Cheshire contained the highest co-residential rates. Some SRDs feature consistently in the ten highest percentages for all three periods: Altrincham, Wirral, Neath and Keighley. The worsted textile industry predominated the economy of the latter district, causing a delay in the family formation of young women who worked in the factories.⁶² The data for Keighley appear inconsistent with the findings by Szoltysek *et al.* that a negative relationship existed between the proportion of older people living with two ever-married descendants or ever-married lateral kin and the female mean age at marriage.⁶³ Despite this, the rates for Neath, characterised by the low female mean age at marriage associated with the county of Glamorgan, conform more closely to Szoltysek *et al.*⁶⁴

As for Glamorgan, it was known for its substantial increases in population and high fertility rates.⁶⁵ If a list of variables is analysed in relation to the percentages of elderly men and women

⁶⁰ Wall compares his 1891 data with Anderson's national sample of the 1851 census, where 48 per cent of older men and 47 per cent of women aged 65 years and over co-resided with offspring in 1891, up from 45 per cent of men and 46 per cent of women in 1851, in 'Elderly Persons and Members of their Households', pp. 91-3; see also M. Anderson, 'Households, Families and Individuals: Some Preliminary Results from the National Sample from the 1851 Census of Great Britain', *Continuity and Change*, 3 (1988), pp. 421-38, at p. 436.

⁶¹ Thomson, 'Welfare and the Historians', p. 364.

⁶² E. Garrett, 'The Trials of Labour: Motherhood vs Employment in a Nineteenth-Century Textile Centre', *Continuity and Change*, 5 (1990), pp. 121-154.

⁶³ Szoltysek, Ogórek, Poniat and Gruber, 'Making a Place for Space', Table 3, p. 20.

⁶⁴ Data on the female mean age at marriage provided by PopulationsPast.org, available in online map format at https://www.populationspast.org/f_smam/1911/#7/53.035/-2.895 (accessed 12 April 2019). Szoltysek, Ogórek, Poniat and Gruber, 'Making a Place for Space', Table 3, p. 20.

⁶⁵ Thomas, 'The Migration of Labour into the Glamorganshire Coalfield', p. 38.

co-residing with offspring, then it will be found that demographic patterns are associated with the high rates of co-residence. To test the association between aggregate fertility rates and rates of co-residence at SRD level, legitimate birth rates in 1891 were collated for the 63 SRDs and correlated with the combined co-residence rates of men and women in the same period (or, those in codes 320-599).⁶⁶ Fertility rates were declining from the 1870s, which would demonstrate greater disparity by SRD if our associations are tested for 1891. This is presuming that wide variations in the fall of fertility existed by SRD in this period, possibly owing to a greater reduction in rural areas compared with mining districts.⁶⁷ Fertility rates are also coterminous with a relatively youthful population which, in turn, may increase the availability of those co-residing with their elderly relatives. A highly significant positive relationship was found where the higher the legitimate birth rates, the higher the co-residence rates ($p < 0.01$). There was also another significant and positive relationship between the increase in the population of a SRD between 1881 and 1891 and co-residence rates ($p < 0.05$). However, the percentages aged 60 years and over out of the population of an SRD were negatively correlated with the proportions co-resident with offspring. The result is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).⁶⁸ In other words, the higher the proportion of older people out of the population, the less likely that older people would be living with offspring. How the household was formed we cannot say. The mining industries of Glamorgan, which facilitated high in-migration, low marital ages and high birth rates, helped to contribute to the high degree of familial support by offspring. The tendency for miners to be sick due to occupational disease at a young age, and then retiring on grounds of ill-health, may have fostered a culture whereby offspring were expected to look after their parents.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Data on legitimate birth rates in 1891 by SRD were gathered in online map format and provided by PopulationsPast.org, available at https://www.populationspast.org/legit_rate/1891/#7/52.756/-2.807 (accessed 14 April 2019). The two other demographic variables, population increase between the periods 1881-1891 by SRD and the percentages of the population aged 60 years and over by SRD in 1891, were calculated through I-CeM datasets. The dependent variable was the combined percentage of men and women aged 60 years and over recorded as living with at least one offspring, or in living arrangement codes 320-599 (including those in multiple households).

⁶⁷ A general overview of the changing demography of mid-Victorian England alongside the changing composition of the elderly population in that period is in P. Johnson and J. Falkingham, *Ageing and Economic Welfare* (London, 1992), pp. 21-2.

⁶⁸ In a recent study that amalgamates Europe-wide historical datasets, a significant negative relationship was noted between older people's co-residence with lateral kin and the availability ratio (the numbers aged 15-64 years to the population aged 65 years and over), suggesting that older people were more likely to co-reside in areas where younger populations were low in proportion. Szołtysek, Ogórek, Poniat and Gruber, 'Making a Place for Space', Table 3, p. 20.

⁶⁹ For more information on the association between mining, ill health and the cultural effects of both factors on the perception of old age in mid-Victorian Wales, see B. Curtis and S. Thompson "This is the Country of Premature Old Men": Ageing and Aged Miners in the South Wales Coalfield, c. 1880-1947', *Cultural and Social History*, 12 (2017), pp. 587-606.

If one included the percentages of elderly men and women in multiple households in 1891, then, by SRD, up to 64.2 per cent of women and 63.5 per cent of men are recorded as living with offspring, as is noted for Pontardawre, Glamorgan. The lowest percentages were noted for Watford, Hertfordshire for elderly women and Whitchurch, Hampshire for elderly men. By 1911, 69.1 per cent of elderly women in Pontardawre co-resided with offspring in nuclear, extended and multiple households, compared with the lowest percentage, 38.7, in Christchurch, Hampshire.⁷⁰ Overall, by 1891, 53 per cent of women and 55 per cent of men co-resided. This increased to 55 per cent and 56 per cent respectively in 1911. It is safe to argue that, by 1911, co-residence was a significant source of support for the elderly population, particularly among areas that have previously been underexplored, such as Glamorgan.

⁷⁰ These figures differ from Table 5.2 since those in multiple households (codes 510-599) are included.

Table 5.3 – Percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over recorded as dependent kin to the household head and those estimated to have received poor relief on 1 January 1891, including absolute difference, 63 SRDs, 1891

		FEMALE %			MALE %		
		Kin	Poor	Diff.	Kin	Poor	Diff.
Altrincham	Cheshire	18.5	11.8	6.8	8.5	8.6	0.0
Birkenhead	Cheshire	24.1	18.1	6.1	10.6	13.1	-2.5
Chester	Cheshire	14.5	19.1	-4.6	7.4	14.2	-6.8
Congleton	Cheshire	15.7	15.3	0.5	7.7	10.7	-3.0
Macclesfield	Cheshire	15.7	19.6	-3.8	7.8	13.1	-5.3
Nantwich	Cheshire	17.5	29.2	-11.7	8.6	17.5	-8.9
Northwich	Cheshire	17.1	24.6	-7.5	9.8	16.9	-7.1
Runcorn	Cheshire	18.0	22.1	-4.2	9.6	11.1	-1.5
Stockport	Cheshire	21.3	15.9	5.4	9.4	11.0	-1.5
Wirral	Cheshire	17.0	12.2	4.8	7.5	10.5	-3.0
Bridgend	Glamorgan	16.5	25.5	-9.0	9.8	14.3	-4.4
Cardiff	Glamorgan	22.6	31.6	-9.0	10.5	23.9	-13.4
Gower	Glamorgan	15.9	23.2	-7.3	7.4	11.0	-3.6
Merthyr Tydfil	Glamorgan	18.7	28.4	-9.7	8.4	14.7	-6.3
Neath	Glamorgan	17.1	36.3	-19.1	9.0	20.0	-11.0
Pontardawre	Glamorgan	16.3	28.0	-11.7	8.9	15.4	-6.5
Pontypridd	Glamorgan	22.0	30.4	-8.4	10.5	16.5	-6.0
Swansea	Glamorgan	19.3	28.6	-9.3	9.1	20.1	-11.0
Alresford	Hampshire	15.5	19.1	-3.5	6.1	16.2	-10.0
Alton	Hampshire	14.2	33.0	-18.8	8.6	23.9	-15.2
Alverstoke	Hampshire	14.9	28.0	-13.1	8.3	20.7	-12.4
Andover	Hampshire	14.3	27.9	-13.6	6.5	20.0	-13.6
Basingstoke	Hampshire	14.3	27.9	-13.5	5.3	24.3	-19.0
Catherington	Hampshire	19.5	28.9	-9.4	7.1	14.3	-7.1
Christchurch	Hampshire	18.6	9.7	8.9	6.8	8.7	-1.9
Droxford	Hampshire	16.5	20.2	-3.7	6.3	10.4	-4.1
Fareham	Hampshire	15.2	32.7	-17.5	5.7	23.7	-18.0
Fordingbridge	Hampshire	11.5	39.9	-28.5	6.4	20.1	-13.7
Hartley Witney	Hampshire	14.2	26.3	-12.1	6.0	23.0	-17.0
Havant	Hampshire	20.4	26.3	-5.9	6.1	20.5	-14.4
Isle of Wight	Hampshire	16.6	20.4	-3.9	7.9	16.5	-8.6
Kingsclere	Hampshire	11.1	20.8	-9.7	4.6	17.9	-13.3
Lymington	Hampshire	14.9	29.4	-14.5	5.3	17.2	-11.9
New Forest	Hampshire	16.0	31.8	-15.8	7.5	22.4	-14.9
Petersfield	Hampshire	12.9	25.7	-12.9	5.3	20.8	-15.4
Portsea Island	Hampshire	21.1	29.7	-8.6	7.7	18.3	-10.6
Ringwood	Hampshire	14.2	21.5	-7.3	6.8	17.6	-10.8
Romsey	Hampshire	14.4	35.2	-20.8	6.0	24.7	-18.7
South Stone.	Hampshire	19.1	20.9	-1.9	6.8	15.0	-8.2

Table 5.3 continued

		FEMALE %			MALE %		
		Kin	Poor	Diff.	Kin	Poor	Diff.
Southampton	Hampshire	19.9	30.6	-10.7	7.6	25.1	-17.5
Stockbridge	Hampshire	11.8	22.8	-11.0	6.3	22.9	-16.7
Whitchurch	Hampshire	12.6	22.2	-9.6	5.1	20.9	-15.8
Winchester	Hampshire	17.3	23.8	-6.5	6.2	20.7	-14.5
Berkhamsted	Hertfordshire	14.6	27.4	-12.7	6.5	21.6	-15.1
Bishop's Stort.	Hertfordshire	12.9	37.9	-24.9	5.5	28.9	-23.4
Hatfield	Hertfordshire	12.8	27.6	-14.8	7.7	14.6	-6.9
Hemel Hemp.	Hertfordshire	15.4	34.0	-18.7	4.8	22.4	-17.6
Hertford	Hertfordshire	14.2	36.8	-22.6	5.2	24.6	-19.4
Hitchin	Hertfordshire	14.3	27.0	-12.8	6.9	23.7	-16.9
Royston	Hertfordshire	11.4	30.4	-19.0	6.0	21.5	-15.5
St Albans	Hertfordshire	16.0	28.0	-12.0	6.9	19.9	-12.9
Ware	Hertfordshire	11.9	37.2	-25.3	7.9	24.1	-16.2
Watford	Hertfordshire	12.8	20.3	-7.4	5.6	17.7	-12.0
Doncaster	Yorkshire	16.4	21.7	-5.4	6.5	16.0	-9.5
Ecclesall Bier.	Yorkshire	21.9	10.3	11.6	9.2	8.9	0.3
Goole	Yorkshire	19.3	25.5	-6.3	8.3	17.9	-9.7
Keighley	Yorkshire	18.3	15.1	3.2	7.0	9.0	-2.0
Ponte	Yorkshire	17.1	24.4	-7.3	8.7	18.8	-10.1
Ripon	Yorkshire	14.1	17.3	-3.2	5.5	13.6	-8.1
Settle	Yorkshire	19.0	6.5	12.4	7.7	6.8	0.9
Sheffield	Yorkshire	20.3	20.4	-0.1	9.2	18.1	-8.8
Skipton	Yorkshire	17.5	14.3	3.3	7.3	8.3	-1.0
Wetherby	Yorkshire	13.8	17.2	-3.3	5.0	9.9	-5.0
N		19417	25212		7240	14955	
Total		18.0	23.4	-5.4	8.0	16.5	-8.5

Notes: The differences in columns five and eight in this table were computed by subtracting from the percentages of those accommodated in the household as extended kin (noted in column 'Kin') the percentages estimated to have received poor relief on 1 January 1891 (noted in column 'Poor').

Source: Integrated Census Microdata dataset, 1891; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1890-1891, LXVIII.393 (130B), *Pauperism (England and Wales), Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1891.*

A substantial number of older people may have received accommodation in the household of a relative and been enumerated as dependent kin (for example, as mothers, in-laws, aunts etc.). Table 5.3 shows the percentages of those described as dependent kin in 1891 (relationship codes 30-190) and those estimated to have received poor relief on 1 January 1891, out of the overall elderly male and female population by SRD. If Laslett's 'nuclear hardship' hypothesis is correct, then we expect the proportions accommodated into the household of an elderly

relative to be rare. Again, we are not in a position to know if the dependent kin recorded in the census received the poor relief recorded in the parliamentary papers. This means that caution is needed in assuming that the two groups of dependent kin and relief recipients are alternative states. Nonetheless, in Cheshire and the West Riding, elderly women are more likely to be accommodated in the household of their relatives than receive poor relief. This applies to nine SRDs, most notably in Ecclesall Bierlow and Settle, which contained the highest proportions of women enumerated as dependent kin. Despite the higher rates of dependent kin in Glamorgan, reliance on the Poor Law was relatively high, reflecting the generous distribution of poor relief in Wales compared with England.⁷¹ For elderly women, the idea that familial assistance was weakened by the ‘collectivity’ of the Poor Law does not reflect the picture in certain northern English districts. In fact, accommodation in the household of a relative could have safeguarded older people from state welfare. As for elderly men in the majority of SRDs, a greater proportion of them relied on the collective relief through the Poor Law than received accommodation as extended kin. The higher life expectancy of widows rather than widowers would suggest that, as households broke up following the death of a male spouse, relatives offered elderly women accommodation into their households. Although the proportions relying on poor relief were skewed towards elderly women, this was offset by the higher proportions of elderly women described as dependent kin. An increase in the proportions of those in extended upward households constituting dependent kin was also identified in 1891 from 1851 in Appendices 5A and 5B. Therefore, the accommodation of dependent kin may have been a response to the expenditure cuts of the Poor Law operating since the 1870s, known as the ‘crusade against out-relief’.⁷² At least in terms of selected counties, a ‘north-south’ divide in the greater proportions receiving accommodation as extended kin in the north and the higher percentages receiving poor relief in the south reflect Dupree’s findings in the 1861 CEBs for Stoke.⁷³

5.6 Analysis – Life Course Analysis and Nominal Record Linkage

It has been found that regional variations existed in the proportions of older people living in particular household types. However, an underexplored issue has been the influence of life course events in the fortunes of older people in England and Wales. Do the living arrangements of those aged 30-59 years affect the risk of old age pauperism later in life? I-CeM enables a

⁷¹ Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, pp. 256-61.

⁷² Thomson, ‘Welfare and the Historians’, p. 374.

⁷³ Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, p. 328.

comparative study across different time periods: an analysis which links at the aggregate (area) level the proportions aged 30-59 years in their living arrangements in 1861 with the percentages of older people (aged 60 years and over) estimated to have received poor relief three decades later. We hypothesise that the household arrangements of 'working' or middle-age individuals is a significant predictor of old age pauperisation in late Victorian England and Wales. A regression model is used, with the independent variables being the proportions of those aged 30-59 years in 1861 in particular living arrangements, such as extended and nuclear households, at the SRD level. The dependent variable is the proportions of older people estimated to have received poor relief on 1 January 1891. 61 observations, or SRDs, are used.⁷⁴ Patterns for men and women are examined separately.

While an aggregate life course analysis may provide insights to the determinants of old age pauperism over the long term, it is essentially problematic. There is no indication if older people in the later census period are those of middle age in the earlier period. Those in the earlier period may have migrated from the SRD or died before the later period, making it difficult to compare like with like. These problems could be alleviated through tests of age-specific net migration, or narrowly defined birth cohorts. However, assessing an individual's living arrangements from birth at the earliest period of time (1851) causes more problems as the birth cohort would only reach old age (past the age of 60 years) by 1911. The period of our study, 1851-1911, is limited in its potential to examine an individual's journey from birth to old age. Old age pauperism rates significantly decline in 1911 owing to the introduction of old age pensions for those aged 70 years and over (data on old age pauperism combining, rather than categorising, all age groups).⁷⁵ The range in pauperism rates by 1911 is too limited to allow a reliable comparison of living arrangements over the long term with old age pauperism. Therefore, the aggregate-level data, while imperfect, should complement the later discussion of longitudinal record-linkage data by three Poor Law Unions by providing a wider context on our life course analysis. Further testing of the limitations of aggregate life course analysis is beyond the scope of this study. The main objective is to find out how consistent our initial findings are in relation to Laslett's 'nuclear hardship' hypothesis. Hypothetically, residence in households outside of 'nuclear hardship' in one's middle age (for example, extended household residence) is argued to be negatively associated with reliance on the Poor Law in old age. This is because the 'collectivity' of state resources is maximised alongside the nuclear household

⁷⁴ Pontypridd and Pontardawre SRDs, Glamorgan, were not created until after 1861, hence the 61 observations.

⁷⁵ As evident in Table 4.1a and 4.1b of Chapter Three of this thesis.

and nuclear family structure, due to the absence of additional earning family members, such as siblings or adult offspring.

The aggregate-level findings are presented in Table 5.4. For women, there is a negative relationship between old age pauperisation and the proportions of middle-age individuals living in households unrelated to the household head, solitary households, non-conjugal households, extended and multiple households. The negative relationship between middle-age women in extended households and female old age pauperisation is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). The only positive relationship, which is also statistically significant, is for the proportion of middle-age women that lived in nuclear households in 1861. There is a strong relationship between living in a nuclear household during one's middle age and pauperism in later life. The constraints brought on by 'nuclear hardship' (for example, adult offspring leaving the parental home) reinforced the degree to which resources associated with the 'collectivity' were relied upon in old age.

As for men, there are slight differences. The negative associations between older age pauperism and those in middle age living in non-conjugal households, extended and multiple households are statistically significant. Similar to elderly women, the concentration of men in nuclear households was positively and significantly associated with old age pauperism. Therefore, if a man ran a nuclear household without any external familial resources in his middle age, there was a greater likelihood of his relying on the Poor Law in his old age.

Table 5.4 – Bivariate regressions of several independent variables (the percentages of men and women aged 30-59 years in various household types, 1861) on the dependent variable (the percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over estimated to have received poor relief on 1 January 1891), aggregate data provided at SRD level, 61 observations

Code	Household Type	FEMALE		MALE	
		Coefficient	<i>p</i> Value	Coefficient	<i>p</i> Value
0	Unrelated to head	-0.53	0.19	0.05	0.85
110-120	Solitary	-1.20	0.50	0.37	0.55
210-220	No CFU	-3.41**	0.01	-3.27***	0.00
310-350	Simple (or Nuclear)	0.62**	0.01	0.41**	0.03
310	Married couple alone	0.89	0.23	0.98*	0.05
320	Married with offspring	0.49**	0.03	0.30	0.15
410-440	Extended	-1.72***	0.00	-1.35***	0.00
420	Extended downwards	-2.83***	0.00	-2.12***	0.00
510-599	Multiple	-1.01	0.16	-1.60***	0.00

Notes: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Source: Integrated Census Microdata dataset, 1861; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1890-1891, LXVIII.393 (130B), *Pauperism (England and Wales), Return (B.), Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1891.*

The data presented in Table 5.4 are at the area level. This means that caution should be applied when considering the implications of the results of Table 5.4 on the life course of individuals. However, the significant positive relationship between old age pauperisation and the proportion of middle-age men and women in simple households reflects Laslett's 'nuclear hardship' hypothesis. This is based on several reasons. First, offspring departed from the parental household at the stage when their parents entered old age. Offspring may have departed based on marriage or occupational factors. In any case, this would produce a population that lived as 'solitaries' or in 'no-family households' when they became elderly. As Laslett argues, older people in these categories 'can perhaps be thought of as the victims of nuclear hardship, in whose favour no exception to family-formation rules had been made.'⁷⁶

Second, a middle-age person in a nuclear household would most likely look after their usually young and dependent offspring. Relationships in this way would be asymmetrical, meaning that most material resources would be expended by parent onto offspring. Unless offspring contributed to the household budget, reciprocation of resources would be impossible until the latter were old enough to viably contribute. For example, in the 1861 CEBs for Settle SRD, Yorkshire, only 14.4 per cent of girls and 15.1 per cent of boys aged 0-14 years were recorded in an occupation. This would mean that much is expended onto offspring and little of what goes into the household budget is put aside. In an extended household, an individual aged 30-59 years was likely to have another middle-age individual that contributed to the household budget, for example siblings. Settle reveals some differences in the proportions of women aged 30-59 years in nuclear and extended households recorded in an occupation. For women, the percentages in nuclear (N = 1,112) and extended households (N = 360) that worked were 15.9 per cent and 23.6 per cent respectively. Regarding men, 94.8 per cent and 92.4 per cent respectively worked, although the differences are narrow. If we consider all women living in nuclear (N = 3,500) and extended households (N = 1,217), irrespective of age and encompassing all family members in the household, 20.9 per cent and 23.8 per cent respectively were occupied. For men, 57.2 per cent in nuclear households (N = 3,388) and 61.6 per cent in extended households (N = 1,166) were working. This suggests that the greater the income provided by contributors to the household, the larger the budget. In other words, there is more income, or resources, to be distributed among the household members. This has been explored

⁷⁶ Laslett, 'Family, Kinship and Collectivity', p. 154.

in depth by Haber, who has discussed how living with adult offspring or as adult offspring meant reciprocal exchanges.⁷⁷ However, this does not explain whether adult offspring living with their parents in a 'mature' nuclear family household were more likely to escape the Poor Law in the future. Nor does it inform us about intergenerational exchanges beyond the household.

Third, there may be occupational differences in the proportion of middle-age adults living in nuclear and extended households. Again, if we take Settle in 1861, the proportions of men aged 30-59 years in extended households that worked as farmers is higher than the percentages in nuclear households working in the same occupation, at 34.4 per cent compared with 28.5 per cent. Also, the percentages of farmers aged 30-59 years in extended households is higher than the proportions of agricultural labourers in the same arrangement, at 22.2 per cent compared with 13 per cent. Settle is particularly interesting because, out of all 61 SRDs, it not only contained the highest proportion of men aged 30-59 years that were coded in extended households in 1861, but also the lowest proportions of older men and women receiving poor relief in 1891.⁷⁸ Fourth, it may have been possible that adult offspring may have left the parental home and, in their later life, were unavailable to contribute to the parental household. When acknowledging this based on Table 5.4 (by examining code 310: married couples living alone), this was not a significant factor in old age female pauperism, but for male pauperism, it was.

However, the correlations at the aggregate level presented in Table 5.4 do not imply causation. We need the actual life histories of elderly people at the individual level, particularly their names so that their appearance in the CEBs can successfully be linked across censuses. As a result, we can gauge how older people came to live in particular living arrangements. This will be conducted through two sets of data: first, a microstudy of older people as they were enumerated in 1901 from the rural parishes of Bishop Monkton, near Ripon and Bentworth, in Alton SRD. Second, older people that are recorded in surviving outdoor relief application and report books and workhouse admissions and discharge registers recorded between 1880 and 1884 are also identified in the CEBs. The data are based in Ripon and Alton, with workhouse data from the Winchester Poor Law Union. From their role in the 1881 CEBs, they are linked back to the census in 1851, when the majority were aged between 30-59 years. The living

⁷⁷ Haber, 'Old Age through the Lens of Family History', p. 63. See also A. Offer, 'Between the Gift and the Market: The Economy of Regard', *Economic History Review*, 50 (1997), pp. 450-76.

⁷⁸ See Table 5.3 for the proportions of older men on poor relief on 1 January 1891.

arrangements in 1851, 1861 and 1881 of the group experiencing pauperism (the ‘paupers’ comprised of outdoor relief claimants and workhouse recipients in 1880 to 1884) are compared with the corresponding living arrangements for the overall cohort in Ripon, Alton and Winchester SRDs from the 1851, 1861 and 1881 CEBs. This method is not without its limitations. Not all names will be successfully traced across 1851, 1861 and 1881; a name may have been untraceable in 1861, but identified in 1851 and 1881. This may be because different enumerators transcribed the name over time, or transcription errors were made by Ancestry Online. Particularly for Irish-born individuals who may have migrated to England between 1851 and 1881, only their living arrangements in 1881 could be identified. Despite this, an advantage of this method is that, as the names in 1881 were traced back to 1851, rather than the aggregate-based forward tracing from 1861 to 1891 in Table 5.4, this avoids the issue that named individuals may have died before becoming elderly. By examining how representative in terms of household types the ‘paupers’ group was to the overall SRD, this will provide complementary evidence to the aggregate-level data in Table 5.4.

Table 5.5 – Percentages of men and women recorded in various living arrangements in the first census after becoming sixty years old, Bentworth and Bishop Monkton combined, 1881-1901.

Code	Household Type	FEMALE		MALE	
		N	%	N	%
0	Unrelated to head	1	2.3	0	0.0
110	Solitary, widowed	5	11.6	4	11.8
120	Solitary, single	1	2.3	0	0.0
210	No CFU, siblings	2	4.7	2	5.9
220	No CFU, others	3	7.0	2	5.9
310	Simple, mar. alone	5	11.6	2	5.9
320	Simple, mar w/off	14	32.6	18	52.9
330	Sim. widower w/off	0	0.0	1	2.9
340	Sim. widow w/off	6	14.0	0	0.0
350	Sim. other w/off	0	0.0	0	0.0
410	Extended upward	0	0.0	0	0.0
420	Extend. downward	5	11.6	2	5.9
430	Extend. laterally	0	0.0	2	5.9
440	Extend. comb.	0	0.0	0	0.0
510	Multiple, upward	0	0.0	0	0.0
520	Multi. downward	1	2.3	1	2.9
530	Multi. on one level	0	0.0	0	0.0
540	Multi. frèrèche	0	0.0	0	0.0
550	Multi. comb.	0	0.0	0	0.0
N		43	100.0	34	100.0

Notes: A more detailed version of 'Household Types' is located in Appendices 5A-5C.

Sources: Data collated from the following census enumerators' books (CEBs): The National Archives (TNA), Bishop Monkton, 1911, RG14/25859; Bentworth, 1901, RG13/1099; Bishop Monkton, 1901, RG12/3511; Bentworth, 1891, RG12/951; Bishop Monkton, 1891, RG12/3511; Lasham, 1891, RG12/951; Aismunderby with Bondgate, 1891, RG12/3511; Bentworth, 1881, RG11/1245; Bishop Monkton, 1881: RG11/4318; Leeds, 1881, RG11/4315; Westwick, 1881, RG11/4321.

A total of 43 women and 34 men were gathered for the parishes of Bishop Monkton and Bentworth. Twenty married couples were assessed alongside 37 individuals. Table 5.5 presents the living arrangements of males and females as they passed the age of 60 years, which was not always between 1891 and 1901. A total of 21 individuals became elderly in 1891, with 9 in 1881 and 2 in 1911. Elderly men and women are more likely to live in the classic nuclear family household structure (code 320). In fact, half of all elderly men surveyed lived with their offspring past 60 years. There were no significant differences by gender in the proportions that lived in extended households (code 410-440) or non-conjugal households (code 210-220). However, widows rather than widowers are more likely to reside with offspring in simple

households. Also, elderly women are more likely to live as solitaries than men. Revealingly, the co-residence rate of older people living with offspring is much higher than Thomson's barrier of 40 per cent.⁷⁹ A life course study shows how 60.5 per cent of women and 70.6 per cent of men lived with at least one child as they turned 60 years. This may be viewed as a series of snapshots in the different periods when those surveyed became 60 years, but it is important to consider how offspring maintained their intra-household relationships with their parents when the latter became elderly. It suggests that the departure of offspring from the parental household occurred in the later stages of one's old age. Although the case examples are two rural parishes and do not account for what may occur in urban parishes, Table 5.5 illustrates the problems with using snapshot census data for one period only. If the living arrangements of all who turned 60 years is considered for any given period of time, then familial support for the aged is more substantial than that contained in the snapshot data.

Table 5.6 shows the percentages of all the living arrangements that were recorded for elderly men and women in all of their subsequent appearances in censuses after the ones in which they appeared in Table 5.5. Each person can be counted more than once depending on the number of periods that they appear in the data. They chart the living arrangements taken by the individuals that were enumerated in censuses in the period after they became 60 years old apart from the first. For example, the two periods of Bentworth resident Joseph Hickman's life when he was 74 and 85 years old in 1891 and 1901 respectively, or the one period of Bishop Monkton's Henry Kirk, aged 72 years in 1891, are included.⁸⁰ Differences in Table 5.6 are noticeable compared with Table 5.5. The percentage of female living arrangements in Table 5.6 coded as solitary increases to 25 per cent from near 14 per cent of individuals in Table 5.5. This is not identified for men, as a fall in the percentage of solitary living arrangements in Table 5.6 is found. The proportions living in nuclear households fall, although men and women in Table 5.6 are more likely to live in a nuclear family household (code 320). Furthermore, the percentage of elderly men in extended downward households (code 420) increases compared with Table 5.5, while the converse is found in women. In other words, elderly men, as they reached their seventies or eighties, were more likely to find themselves in extended household arrangements.

⁷⁹ Thomson, 'Welfare and the Historians', p. 364.

⁸⁰ The National Archives (hereafter TNA), Bentworth, 1891: RG12/951/10/13; Bentworth 1901: RG13/1099/10/11; Bishop Monkton, 1891: RG12/3511/43/6.

Table 5.6 – Percentages of instances of men and women aged 60 years and over being recorded in various living arrangements in the subsequent periods after the period of becoming sixty years old, Bentworth and Bishop Monkton, 1891-1911

Code	Household Type	FEMALE		MALE	
		N	%	N	%
0	Unrelated to head	1	3.1	1	4.2
110	Solitary, widowed	8	25.0	2	8.3
120	Solitary, single	0	0.0	0	0.0
210	No CFU, siblings	1	3.1	1	4.2
220	No CFU, others	3	9.4	0	0.0
310	Simple, mar. alone	3	9.4	3	12.5
320	Simple, mar w/off	9	28.1	9	37.5
330	Sim. widower w/off	0	0.0	0	0.0
340	Sim. widow w/off	4	12.5	0	0.0
350	Sim. other w/off	0	0.0	0	0.0
410	Extended upward	1	3.1	1	4.2
420	Extend. downward	1	3.1	6	25.0
430	Extend. laterally	0	0.0	0	0.0
440	Extend. comb.	0	0.0	0	0.0
510	Multiple, upward	0	0.0	0	0.0
520	Multi. downward	1	3.1	1	4.2
530	Multi. on one level	0	0.0	0	0.0
540	Multi. frèrèche	0	0.0	0	0.0
550	Multi. comb.	0	0.0	0	0.0
N		32	100.0	24	100.0

Notes: A more detailed version of 'Household Types' is located in Appendices 5A-5C.

Sources: Data collated from the following census enumerators' books (CEBs): The National Archives (TNA), Bentworth, 1911, RG14/6211; Bishop Monkton, 1911, RG14/25859; Alton, 1911, RG14/6210; Hoyland Nether, 1911, RG14/27622; Ripon, 1911, RG14/25850; Bentworth, 1901, RG13/1099; Bishop Monkton, 1901, RG12/3511; Bentworth, 1891, RG12/951; Bishop Monkton, 1891, RG12/3511; Leeds, 1891, RG12/3705.

Two of the six instances where male living arrangements were coded as extended downwards belong to Joseph Hickman, who, in 1891 and 1901, lived with his daughter Mary. They lived with 5-year-old grandson Walter in 1891 and 19-year-old granddaughter Ada in 1901.⁸¹ The overall percentage of instances of living arrangements in Table 5.6 which contain one offspring or more was 50 per cent for women and 70.8 per cent for men. Together, nearly 60 per cent of the instances of living arrangements examined for individuals after the period in which they turned sixty years were those where offspring co-resided. Overall, familial support was an

⁸¹ TNA, Bentworth, 1891: RG12/951/10/13; Bentworth 1901: RG13/1099/10/11.

important resource for the aged in the rural community, which is underestimated in the snapshot census data.

If an elderly individual is enumerated as living alone or with a spouse only, this reflects Thomson's argument that old age 'meant a declining rather than mounting tendency to live with children' and that 'families were not positioning themselves so as to support the elderly.'⁸² However, this fails to account for several life stories of older people, who may never have had offspring in the first place. Over 15 per cent of those surveyed were recorded in living arrangements where they do not reside in a nuclear family household. The majority of these were women, such as Ann Eastwood in Bishop Monkton, aged 85 years in 1901 and living with her servant. Her birthplace was Leeds, where she stayed throughout her life between the 1851 and 1891 CEBs. She is described as a sister to the household head, David, who owned a 'brush maker and tobacco manufacturer' shop. Assisting in the shop in 1851, she was upgraded as 'bristle maker [employing] 17 men and 5 boys'. By 1871, aged 55 years, she became an annuitant, staying with her brother until she was aged 74 years in 1891. Perhaps owing to the death of her brother, she migrated to Bishop Monkton, living with her Leeds companion and servant, Louisa E Sansome in 1901.⁸³ William Murrell, born in Bentworth, lived in Medstead with his wife, Elizabeth, and newly-born daughter, Eliza, in 1861, along with his sister-in-law and cousin. By 1871, he is described as a widower returning to the parental household that he left in 1851. He lived in Medstead until 1901, possibly after his mother's death, when he migrated to Bentworth. By 1911, aged 77 years old, he lived with a housekeeper and a lodger.⁸⁴ Although he had a daughter, Eliza, it is not clear what happened to her. The Civil Registration Death Index confirms the deaths of Elizabeth Coombs Murrell and Elizabeth Murrell in Alton SRD between the months of April and June 1861.⁸⁵ Therefore, William's wife and daughter most likely died shortly after the 1861 census. Rather than assuming that William's circumstances in old age were the result of 'nuclear hardship', or neglect by relatives, William's solitary existence in old age resulted from an absence of remarriage, based on a life blighted by tragedy. From Bishop Monkton, Sarah Slater's early life was highly mobile, growing up in Bearsted, Kent, before marrying her spouse, William, a carpenter, and living in

⁸² Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', p. 210.

⁸³ TNA, Leeds, 1851: HO107/2321/194/2; Leeds, 1871: RG10/4565/67/19; Leeds, 1891: RG12/3705/136/31; Bishop Monkton, 1901: RG13/3511/29/1.

⁸⁴ TNA, Medstead, 1851: HO107/1679/17/1; Medstead, 1861: RG9/704/17/6; Medstead, 1871: RG10/1225/24/19; Bentworth, 1901: RG13/1099/8/7; Bentworth, 1911: RG14/6211.

⁸⁵ TNA, England and Wales, Civil Registration Death Index, 1837-1915, Registration Year: 1861, Registration Quarter: Apr-May-Jun, Volume 2c, p. 76, available on ancestry.co.uk, under search for Elizabeth Murrell (accessed 18 May 2018).

Islington, London in 1851. William, who was born in Ripon, migrated with his wife to Bishop Monkton in 1871, where he worked as a grocer and, in 1881, as a farmer. Besides 1851, when William's brother, Charles, joined the household, William and Sarah remained a married couple living alone without offspring. By 1901, Sarah was aged 79 years, designated in the occupational column as '[receiving] parish relief', which was crossed out.⁸⁶

Laslett argued that 'the disjuncture between the life-cycles of the parental and offspring generations' made older people 'peculiarly difficult to support from familial resources' in north-west Europe. This is because the two generations began 'to lose each other in widowhood at the very point in their children's life-course where these children in turn may have been particularly hard-pressed because of the arrival of their own offspring.'⁸⁷ However, when the case examples from Bentworth and Bishop Monkton are discussed, those recorded as living without offspring in fact never had any offspring to rely upon. In the case of William Murrell, his daughter may have died young. The 'disjuncture' between the life-cycles had not occurred in the lives of William Murrell or Sarah Slater. Having available offspring made co-residence with family more likely during one's old age. This can be demonstrated if the 67 individuals enumerated in 1901 as elderly are compared with 55 of the 67 that had some contact with offspring during their lives, as Table 5.7 shows. Those with no offspring were either solitary, were not in a conjugal family unit, or in a simple household where the married couple lived alone. Few of those with offspring during their lives were solitary or in a conjugal family unit. In both groups the majority lived as a married couple with their offspring.

⁸⁶ TNA, Islington, 1851: HO107/1501/90/49; St Mary Aldermanbury, 1861: RG9/223/65/18; Bishop Monkton, 1871: RG10/4277/21; Bishop Monkton, 1881: RG11/4318/70/11; Bishop Monkton, 1901: RG13/4041/2/15.

⁸⁷ Laslett, 'Family, Kinship and Collectivity', p. 169.

Table 5.7 – Percentages of all aged 60 years and over in various living arrangements, along with the percentages of all aged 60 years and over excluding those never recorded with any offspring in their lifetime, Bentworth and Bishop Monkton, 1901

Code	Household Type	All Aged 60+		Those with Offspring	
		N	%	N	%
0	Unrelated to head	0	0.0	0	0.0
110	Solitary, widowed	11	16.4	5	9.1
120	Solitary, single	0	0.0	0	0.0
210	No CFU, siblings	5	7.5	1	1.8
220	No CFU, others	3	4.5	3	5.5
310	Simple, mar. alone	7	10.4	5	9.1
320	Simple, mar w/off	23	34.3	23	41.8
330	Sim. widower w/off	1	1.5	1	1.8
340	Sim. widow w/off	8	11.9	8	14.5
350	Sim. other w/off	0	0.0	0	0.0
410	Extended upward	0	0.0	0	0.0
420	Extend. downward	6	9.0	6	10.9
430	Extend. laterally	2	3.0	2	3.6
440	Extend. comb.	0	0.0	0	0.0
510	Multiple, upward	0	0.0	0	0.0
520	Multi. downward	1	1.5	1	1.8
530	Multi. on one level	0	0.0	0	0.0
540	Multi. frèrèche	0	0.0	0	0.0
550	Multi. comb.	0	0.0	0	0.0
N		67	100.0	55	100.0

Notes: A more detailed version of 'Household Types' is located in Appendices 5A-5C.

Sources: The National Archives (TNA), Bentworth, 1901, RG13/1099; Bishop Monkton, 1901, RG12/3511.

Not always was it the case that the nuclear family household collapsed when parents approached their old age and adult offspring departed from the parental household. In Bishop Monkton in 1911, Francis Anderson was 89 years old and living with his three offspring and a granddaughter. Two daughters were returning to the parental household despite being married, Hannah Wells Taylor, née Anderson, who was last seen in the parental household in 1881 and Sarah Elizabeth Johnson, née Anderson, last recorded in 1891. Sarah was joined by her young daughter, Emma, born in Hunslet, near Leeds. By linking Francis' wife, Emma, through the CEBs, it is found that she was an 83-year-old patient in Ripon Hospital in 1911.⁸⁸ Whether her

⁸⁸ TNA, Aismunderby cum Bondgate, 1881: RG11/4318/132/26; Aismunderby with Bondgate, 1891: RG12/3511/89/1; Bishop Monkton, 1911: RG14/25859; Ripon, 1911: RG14/25850.

time at hospital was a temporary arrangement is unknown. Hannah and Sarah may have temporarily stayed with their father, looking after him while his wife was receiving treatment. Their obligation to assist their father in the parental household overcame any constraints arising from 'nuclear hardship'.

Furthermore, there are households that confirm Barry Reay's research in three Kentish parishes, in which he argues that the nuclear household was not isolated from other households by way of kinship.⁸⁹ Resources could be exchanged between households, forming a 'virtual' extended household. The Ward family in Bentworth in 1901 comprised of James Ward, his wife and two adult offspring at No. 56, with what is possibly his son William heading the household at No. 57, with his wife, three children and his mother-in-law. Between the households in the census manuscript is written by the enumerator: 'N.B. House shared between 56 and 57'.⁹⁰ This arrangement persisted into 1911.⁹¹ The Wards also lived in three consecutive households in 1891, with 72-year-old Elizabeth Ward, James' mother, living in her own household with a lodger.⁹² Elizabeth's situation is evidence of intimacy from next door, rather than 'at a distance', as Pat Thane has argued for the extent of intergenerational contacts in the past.⁹³ Thane also argues that accommodation of an elderly individual into the household was 'most likely to occur at the very end of the older person's life and might extend for a brief period just before death.'⁹⁴ This is true for the 26 elderly individuals surveyed in 1901 that lived on towards 1911. Only two of them were described as dependent kin receiving accommodation into the household of their offspring. However, during their lives, some of the 77 older people spent a substantial period looking after their own elderly relatives. John Laney of Bentworth, aged 64 years in 1901, spent his periods in the parish of Lasham in 1881 and 1891 looking after his father, Thomas, aged 73 and 82 years respectively.⁹⁵ The same applied to George Henwood, aged 61 years in 1901, who also spent 1881 and 1891 in Bentworth caring for his mother, Eliza.⁹⁶ Generally, the accommodation of elderly parents into the household,

⁸⁹ B. Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 165.

⁹⁰ TNA, Bentworth, 1901: RG13/1099/8/8.

⁹¹ TNA, Bentworth, 1911: RG14/6211.

⁹² TNA, Bentworth, 1891: RG12/951/8/9.

⁹³ Thane, 'Old People and Their Families', p. 134. Thane's quote is derived from L. Rosenmayr and E. Kockeis, 'Propositions for a Sociological Theory of Aging and the Family', *International Science Journal*, 15 (1963), pp. 410-26, esp. pp. 418-9. A detailed study drawing from Rosenmayr and Kockeis' idea in an American context is in B. Gratton and C. Haber, 'In Search of "Intimacy at a Distance": Family History from the Perspective of Elderly Women', *Journal of Ageing Studies*, 7 (1993), pp. 183-194.

⁹⁴ Thane, 'Old People and Their Families', p. 134.

⁹⁵ TNA, Lasham, 1881: RG11/1235/48/7; Lasham, 1891: RG12/951/48/1.

⁹⁶ TNA, Bentworth, 1881: RG11/1245/32/8; Bentworth 1891: RG12/951/5/4.

whether the parents represented the 77 surveyed or were the parents of those surveyed, lasted for one census period. The extension into two periods, however, again suggests the importance of familial support to the aged. John Laney and George Henwood clearly did not display any 'unwillingness' to take in extended kin into the household, as has been argued by Laslett.⁹⁷

Based on the data from Bentworth and Bishop Monkton, it is possible to predict the living arrangements of older people based on their prior household arrangements during their lives. This is done by comparing the living arrangement at the period when the 77 surveyed reached 60 years and over with their arrangements three decades previously. For some, past living arrangements were only traced two periods previously. However, 69 individuals were successfully linked across two or more census periods. Generally, 39.1 per cent of the 69 individuals were recorded as living in a nuclear family household when they both reached their old age and two or more decades before reaching it. When considering the 59 individuals that were recorded as elderly in 1901 and whose arrangements in 1871 were known, 37.2 per cent lived in a nuclear family household in 1901 and in 1871. A further 11.9 per cent of the individuals in 1901 were recorded as widowed and living with offspring in 1871. Among those that lived without offspring in 1901, only 64.7 per cent were recorded as living with offspring in 1871. Interestingly, this means that over a third of all recorded without offspring had none to rely upon, at least in 1871. This may suggest that Laslett's 'nuclear hardship' hypothesis applies to at least two-thirds of older people surveyed, but with some exceptions. If research on 'nuclear hardship' is to be conducted in the future, we must account for those that may never have experienced life in a conventional nuclear family household.

⁹⁷ Laslett, 'Family, Community and Collectivity', p. 160.

Table 5.8a – Percentages of the male and female SRD cohort (aged 55-92 years), the outdoor relief cohort (aged 55-92 years) and the workhouse cohort (aged 57-93 years) recorded in various living arrangements, Alton, Ripon and Winchester, 1881

1881 Code	Household Type	FEMALE %			MALE %		
		SRD	Out Rel	House	SRD	Out Rel	House
0	Unrelated to head	10.8	5.5	11.1	7.8	6.1	26.1
110	Solitary, widowed	9.4	24.0	33.3	5.3	9.9	23.9
120	Solitary, single	2.7	1.8	5.6	1.8	0.0	2.2
210	No CFU, with siblings	3.8	2.6	5.6	1.8	3.1	2.2
220	No CFU, other relatives	5.6	9.2	11.1	2.5	8.4	0.0
310	Simple, married alone	16.6	16.6	11.1	21.8	36.6	10.9
320	Simple, mar. w/offspring	13.7	5.9	0.0	25.1	17.6	8.7
330	Simple, widowers w/off	0.1	0.0	0.0	5.0	3.8	2.2
340	Simple, widows w/off	8.9	10.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
350	Simple, others w/off	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.8	2.2
410	Extended, upwards	7.2	15.1	16.7	4.5	4.6	13.0
420	Extended, downwards	11.3	4.8	0.0	12.6	6.1	6.5
430	Extended, laterally	2.4	0.7	0.0	2.2	0.8	0.0
440	Extended, comb. above	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0
510	Multiple, upwards	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0
520	Multiple, downwards	1.9	3.0	5.6	2.2	2.3	2.2
530	Multiple, on one level	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
540	Multiple, frèreche	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
550	Multiple, combinations	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
599	Multiple, unclassifiable	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
699	Unclassifiable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
999	Institutional Resident	3.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	0.0	0.0
N		3759	271	18	3365	131	46

Notes: The SRD cohort comprises the age ranges of 60-92 years in Ripon, 55-92 years in Alton and 57-89 years in Winchester in 1881. The outdoor relief cohort comprises the same age ranges as the SRD cohort in 1881. The workhouse cohort comprises the age ranges of 57-93 years in Ripon and 57-89 years in Winchester in 1881.

Sources: SRD cohort data from the Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1881. Names comprising the outdoor relief and workhouse cohort of Ripon derived from North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4 and Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers, April 1880-December 1884, BG/RI 5/3/1. Alton derived from Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Alton No1 District, June-September 1881, PL3/2/89 and December 1881-March 1882, PL3/2/90, Binstead No2 District, June-September 1880, PL3/2/128 and December 1880-March 1881, PL3/2/129. Winchester derived from Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of New Winchester Union, April 1879-September 1881, PL5/11/32, October 1881-September 1882, PL5/11/33 and September 1882-March 1885, PL5/11/34. The names were then searched on ancestry.co.uk and living arrangements transcribed from their appearance in the corresponding 1881 census enumerators' books (CEBs).

Table 5.8b – Percentages of the male and female SRD cohort (aged 37-73 years), the outdoor relief cohort (aged 37-73 years) and the workhouse cohort (aged 36-78 years) recorded in various living arrangements, Alton, Ripon and Winchester, 1861

1861 Code	Household Type	FEMALE %			MALE %		
		SRD	Out Rel	House	SRD	Out Rel	House
0	Unrelated to head	11.0	1.4	12.5	9.3	4.7	12.5
110	Solitary, widowed	3.0	0.5	0.0	2.6	1.9	0.0
120	Solitary, single	1.6	1.8	4.2	1.9	0.0	5.4
210	No CFU, with siblings	2.1	0.9	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
220	No CFU, other relatives	2.5	6.4	4.2	1.4	6.6	1.8
310	Simple, married alone	11.2	12.3	20.8	11.9	13.2	19.6
320	Simple, mar. w/offspring	37.7	51.1	29.2	43.9	58.5	35.7
330	Simple, widowers w/off	0.4	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.9	7.1
340	Simple, widows w/off	6.7	9.1	8.3	0.7	1.9	5.4
350	Simple, others w/off	0.5	0.0	4.2	0.2	0.9	0.0
410	Extended, upwards	3.1	2.7	4.2	2.8	1.9	0.0
420	Extended, downwards	9.1	9.1	12.5	8.4	7.5	8.9
430	Extended, laterally	4.4	1.8	0.0	3.7	1.9	1.8
440	Extended, comb. above	1.4	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0
510	Multiple, upwards	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
520	Multiple, downwards	1.4	2.7	0.0	1.3	0.0	1.8
530	Multiple, on one level	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
540	Multiple, frèreche	1.2	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0
550	Multiple, combinations	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
599	Multiple, unclassifiable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
699	Unclassifiable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
999	Institutional Resident	2.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.0	0.0
N		7852	219	24	7533	106	56

Notes: The SRD cohort comprises the age ranges of 37-73 years in Ripon, 36-71 years in Alton and 36-67 years in Winchester. The outdoor relief cohort comprises the same age ranges as the SRD cohort in 1861. The workhouse cohort comprises the age ranges of 37-78 years in Ripon and 36-67 years in Winchester in 1861.

Sources: SRD cohort data from the Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1861. Names comprising the outdoor relief and workhouse cohort of Ripon derived from North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4 and Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers, April 1880-December 1884, BG/RI 5/3/1. Alton derived from Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Alton No1 District, June-September 1881, PL3/2/89 and December 1881-March 1882, PL3/2/90, Binstead No2 District, June-September 1880, PL3/2/128 and December 1880-March 1881, PL3/2/129. Winchester derived from Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of New Winchester Union, April 1879-September 1881, PL5/11/32, October 1881-September 1882, PL5/11/33 and September 1882-March 1885, PL5/11/34. The names were then searched on ancestry.co.uk and living arrangements transcribed from their appearance in the corresponding 1861 census enumerators' books (CEBs).

Table 5.8c – Percentages of the male and female SRD cohort (aged 28-61 years), the outdoor relief cohort (aged 28-61 years) and the workhouse cohort (aged 26-58 years) recorded in various living arrangements, Alton, Ripon and Winchester, 1851

1851 Code	Household Type	FEMALE %			MALE %		
		SRD	Out Rel	House	SRD	Out Rel	House
0	Unrelated to head	11.9	0.9	8.0	12.3	1.8	12.5
110	Solitary, widowed	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
120	Solitary, single	1.2	0.5	0.0	1.2	0.9	0.0
210	No CFU, with siblings	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9	6.3
220	No CFU, other relatives	4.0	1.4	4.0	1.7	0.9	0.0
310	Simple, married alone	8.1	5.2	16.0	8.1	6.3	4.2
320	Simple, mar. w/offspring	45.9	74.9	52.0	47.7	73.9	54.2
330	Simple, widowers w/off	0.6	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.0
340	Simple, widows w/off	6.0	1.9	4.0	1.6	2.7	2.1
350	Simple, others w/off	0.3	0.5	4.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
410	Extended, upwards	2.9	2.8	4.0	2.9	3.6	2.1
420	Extended, downwards	8.1	6.2	8.0	7.3	4.5	12.5
430	Extended, laterally	3.2	2.4	0.0	3.3	1.8	6.3
440	Extended, comb. above	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0
510	Multiple, upwards	1.3	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0
520	Multiple, downwards	1.3	2.8	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
530	Multiple, on one level	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
540	Multiple, frèrèche	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
550	Multiple, combinations	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
599	Multiple, unclassifiable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
699	Unclassifiable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
999	Institutional Resident	2.3	0.5	0.0	7.0	0.0	0.0
N		8756	211	25	8664	111	48

Notes: The SRD cohort comprises the age ranges of 28-61 years in Ripon, 28-60 years in Alton and 28-53 years in Winchester. The outdoor relief cohort comprises the age ranges of 28-61 years in Ripon and 28-61 years in Alton. The workhouse cohort comprises the age ranges of 26-58 years in Ripon and 28-53 years in Winchester.

Sources: SRD cohort data from the Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851. Names comprising the outdoor relief and workhouse cohort of Ripon derived from North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4 and Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers, April 1880-December 1884, BG/RI 5/3/1. Alton derived from Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Alton No1 District, June-September 1881, PL3/2/89 and December 1881-March 1882, PL3/2/90, Binstead No2 District, June-September 1880, PL3/2/128 and December 1880-March 1881, PL3/2/129. Winchester derived from Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of New Winchester Union, April 1879-September 1881, PL5/11/32, October 1881-September 1882, PL5/11/33 and September 1882-March 1885, PL5/11/34. The names were then searched on ancestry.co.uk and living arrangements transcribed from their appearance in the corresponding 1851 census enumerators' books (CEBs).

How far did the familial obligation of offspring and relatives extend to the elderly poor? This is assessed through a life course study of elderly poor relief claimants and workhouse residents in Ripon, Alton and Winchester SRDs. We can chart how living arrangements changed across the periods 1851, 1861 and 1881 for the cohort that eventually relied on the Poor Law in the early 1880s. They received help from the Poor Law based on the receipt of outdoor relief, as evident through names recorded in several outdoor relief application and report books. Others instead were offered institutional accommodation in workhouses, as seen through workhouse admissions and discharge registers. If the names in the report books and registers are also located in the 1881 census and their living arrangements were transcribed, this can be compared with the arrangements of the overall population in the three SRDs that were approximately the age of the pauper cohort in a period. For example, the age range of the cohort in 1851 that received outdoor relief in early 1880s Ripon was between 28 to 61 years; those that eventually went to the workhouse 26 to 58 years. It was then decided to chart the living arrangements of the population aged 28 to 61 years in Ripon SRD in 1851. The age range of the outdoor relief cohort in 1861 Ripon was between 37 to 73 years; the workhouse cohort aged 37 to 78 years and the SRD cohort aged 37 to 73 years. By 1881, the outdoor relief cohort in Ripon was aged between 60 to 92 years; the workhouse cohort was aged 57-93 years and the SRD cohort aged 60-92 years. The same method was applied to Alton and Winchester based on their specific varying age ranges of the outdoor relief and the workhouse cohort. The living arrangements of Alton and Winchester SRDs for each age range was calculated accordingly with the specific age ranges of the outdoor relief and workhouse residents in Alton and Winchester respectively.

Similar to the aggregate life course analysis in Table 5.4, longitudinal studies are also restricted. The only cohorts that are nominally linked at the individual level are those receiving outdoor relief and workhouse accommodation. Together they make a smaller sample size than the anonymised SRD cohort that are not linked by name. Therefore, the SRD cohort are similar to populations surveyed in the aggregate-level data. Despite tracing the individually linked names that represent the pauper cohort back in time, there is a possibility that the 1851 SRD cohort may have migrated or died after that period. Furthermore, not all individuals are linked across all census periods. Gaps for an individual may occur in 1861 as opposed to their presence in 1851 and 1881. Particularly concerning are Irish-born poor relief claimants who may have migrated from Ireland to England after 1861 and thus do not appear in the 1851 and 1861 CEBs. Not all individuals recorded as receiving poor relief or workhouse accommodation were traced in at least one census period, owing perhaps to conflict between the Poor Law registers

and the CEBs in terms of the transcriptions of their names. Conducting a longitudinal study of poor relief claimants is further limited by data accessibility. A comparison of rural-urban differences is impeded by exclusively focusing on Alton, Ripon and Winchester, where the most detailed data exist. Surviving Poor Law registers are rare, especially those recording outdoor relief claimants.⁹⁸ Even if we could gather more recorded individuals receiving relief, their numbers may still not match the populations comprising the SRD cohort. If a life course comparison of living arrangements between the pauper and the SRD cohort is required, this would have to be taken irrespective of the small sample size of the pauper cohort.

The results for 1881 are presented in Table 5.8a. They are broken down by gender and present the percentages of poor relief claimants and workhouse residents in their living arrangements in the 1881 CEBs, alongside the corresponding population of the SRDs. For both men and women, the proportion of those living alone is higher among the poor relief and workhouse cohort than among the overall SRD population. Conversely, those in the SRDs are more likely to live in nuclear family households than the poor relief and workhouse cohort. However, 52.1 per cent of the female outdoor relief cohort co-resided with offspring and relatives (codes 210-220, 320-599) in 1881, confirming Thane's argument that the family and the 'collectivity' were complementary resources for people in their old age.⁹⁹ That being said, co-residence was lower in the female workhouse cohort at 39 per cent. There are further differences between the outdoor relief and workhouse cohort. In the outdoor relief cohort, 47.9 per cent and 52.7 per cent of women and men respectively were recorded as unrelated to the household head (code 0), solitaries (code 110-120) and married alone (code 310). For the workhouse cohort, 61.1 per cent of women and 63.1 per cent of men were recorded in these four household types. This supports Dupree's idea of a binary divide between poor relief and familial support as welfare resources for the aged.¹⁰⁰

Despite the small numbers of workhouse residents that were found in their households in 1881 (18 women and 46 men), they were more likely than poor relief recipients to be enumerated in households where they were unrelated to the household head (code 0). This meant they were either domestic servants or lodgers. In this case, being a household head determined if the pauper cohort was to receive outdoor relief or workhouse accommodation. Men living with spouses only were also more likely to be offered outdoor relief than the SRD cohort. The

⁹⁸ See the abstract in S. King, 'Thinking and Rethinking the New Poor Law', *Local Population Studies*, 99 (2017), pp. 5-19, where we know 'almost nothing' about those on outdoor relief.

⁹⁹ Thane, 'Old People and their Families', p. 113.

¹⁰⁰ Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries*, p. 328.

opposite was true for elderly people that lived with their offspring. Despite this, the pauper cohort in 1881 are much more likely to live alone or unrelated to the household head, compared with all those surveyed in Bentworth and Bishop Monkton.

The 1861 results comprise Table 5.8b, when those analysed were roughly 36 to 78 years old in the 1861 census, depending on the age range of the outdoor relief, workhouse and SRD cohorts in each SRD. Outdoor relief claimants were more likely to live in nuclear family households than the workhouse residents and the SRDs overall. Again, differences between the pauper cohort and the overall SRD are seen in the proportions living with spouses only. This is higher for the workhouse cohort, as well as the proportions unrelated to the household head. Living with offspring was crucial to the future life chances of escaping the workhouses and receiving outdoor relief instead. Table 5.8c presents data from 1851, in which a large majority of future outdoor relief claimants lived in a nuclear family household roughly between the ages of 28 and 61 years. This is consistent with the regression model analysed for Table 5.4, in which the percentages of middle-age people that lived in a nuclear family household was significantly positively associated with the proportions of older people receiving poor relief at the aggregate (area) level. As has been argued, this may be based on the asymmetrical degree of care provided by parents to young offspring. This prevented a safeguard from old age pauperism as the savings accrued towards a comfortable retirement were instead expended into care. The results in Table 5.8a, where the pauper cohort in 1881 were more likely to live alone without their relatives, is consistent with the idea that the rural migration of offspring led to household structures that made some older people particularly vulnerable to pauperism. In Alton and Winchester SRDs, there was a greater representation of men in the pauper cohort that worked as agricultural and general labourers in 1851 than in the corresponding age cohort of all that lived in the two SRDs, at 59.4 per cent compared with 50.1 per cent. Alton and Winchester, like other southern English districts, were characterised by the arable-intensive nature of farming.¹⁰¹ The relatively lower wages for agricultural labourers may have induced adult offspring to seek better fortunes elsewhere, coupled with the expectation that the Poor Law would provide for their parents, resulting in their parents living as solitaries or without relatives in their old age. There was a greater likelihood of the male cohort in the overall SRDs living with offspring in 1881 than in the pauper cohort (54.2 per cent, compared with 35.9 per cent

¹⁰¹ The origins of a north-south divide in pasture/arable farming and smallholdings/large farms are documented in L. Shaw-Taylor, 'The Rise of Agrarian Capitalism and the Decline of Family Farming in England', *Economic History Review*, 65 (2012), pp. 26-60. For a contemporary perspective from 1903, see the appendices in Wilson-Fox, 'Agricultural Wages in England', pp. 323-59.

of outdoor relief claimants and 34.8 per cent of workhouse inmates).¹⁰² The departure of adult offspring from the parental household was experienced more by the male pauper cohort.

Table 5.9 – Percentages of the male and female SRD cohort, the outdoor relief cohort and the workhouse cohort recorded in relationships to the household head, Alton, Ripon and Winchester, 1881 and 1851

1881	FEMALE %			MALE %		
Relationship	SRD	Out Rel	House	SRD	Out Rel	House
Head	30.1	49.4	38.9	81.1	87.0	56.5
Wife	41.5	26.6	22.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Offspring	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Parent	8.5	14.8	16.7	4.0	4.6	10.9
Board/Lodger	5.0	4.1	5.6	6.9	6.9	23.9
Other	14.4	5.2	16.7	7.8	1.5	13.0
N	3759	271	18	3365	131	46

1851	FEMALE %			MALE %		
Relationship	SRD	Out Rel	House	SRD	Out Rel	House
Head	8.7	4.7	8.0	71.2	87.4	60.4
Wife	66.0	84.4	84.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Offspring	7.7	8.5	4.0	7.2	9.9	18.8
Parent	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Board/Lodger	1.1	0.0	0.0	5.0	1.8	8.3
Other	16.4	2.4	4.0	16.4	0.9	12.5
N	8756	211	25	8664	111	48

Sources: SRD cohort data from the Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1881 and 1851. Names comprising the outdoor relief and workhouse cohort of Ripon derived from North Yorkshire Record Office, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, October 7 1880 to September 22 1881, BG/RI 4/1/4 and Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers, April 1880-December 1884, BG/RI 5/3/1. Alton derived from Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Application and Report Books, Alton No1 District, June-September 1881, PL3/2/89 and December 1881-March 1882, PL3/2/90, Binstead No2 District, June-September 1880, PL3/2/128 and December 1880-March 1881, PL3/2/129. Winchester derived from Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers of New Winchester Union, April 1879-September 1881, PL5/11/32, October 1881-September 1882, PL5/11/33 and September 1882-March 1885, PL5/11/34. The names were then searched on ancestry.co.uk and living arrangements transcribed from their appearance in the corresponding 1881 and 1851 census enumerators' books (CEBs).

There are variations in the proportions of those in the SRDs and the pauper cohort recorded in relationships to the household head, such as the proportions listed as 'sons' and 'daughters', 'mothers,' 'fathers' and 'boarders' or 'lodgers'. This is evident in Table 5.9 for 1881 and 1851. For men in 1881, future workhouse inmates are less likely to be enumerated as a household

¹⁰² Calculated by combining codes 320-599.

head, with a greater proportion living as lodgers. Revealingly, male workhouse inmates are more likely to have been enumerated as parents. In other words, being cared for in the household of a relative did not necessarily enable one to avoid the workhouse in old age, reflecting familial tensions in the household. Being a household head resulted in receiving outdoor relief from the Board of Guardians. Contemporaries were aware how various living arrangements determined the receipt of outdoor relief or workhouse accommodation. One of the Cardiff Board of Guardians reported to the *Royal Commission of the Aged Poor* in 1895, commenting that they would not be offered the workhouse ‘unless he or she be entirely without friends,’ or close relatives.¹⁰³ Widows in particular had to take over the household after the death of a spouse. With the loss of the male breadwinner and the departure of offspring, there was little to turn to other than the Poor Law for outdoor relief.¹⁰⁴

In 1851, the relationship patterns are remarkably similar. The male workhouse cohort was more likely to live in lodgings and less likely to live as the household head. Again, being the household head in middle age was associated with the receipt of outdoor relief in old age. Those that were still ‘sons’ were more likely to face the workhouse in the future. This is because marriage and offspring were key factors of the aged receiving outdoor relief. The story of John Brown from Markington in Ripon is one example. Aged 32 years, he was the oldest of 10 siblings, living with his father, a farmer owning 164 acres and employing 5 men and 2 boys in 1851. By 1871, he was still living in Markington, but enumerated as a farm servant in an unrelated household. It is unclear what happened to his father’s land at this date. In 1881, he was described as a boarder, and a farm labourer to Hannah King, who owned 5 acres.¹⁰⁵ George Lee’s journey to Winchester workhouse was similar. He was described as a 45-year-old son to his 80-year-old father, a carrier in 1861 in Owslebury parish. A decade later, in 1871, he migrated to Upham where he lived with the Cooper family as a 56-year-old lodger.¹⁰⁶ It is ironic how those that cared for their parents during their old age eventually lacked any familial support of their own. As for elderly women, there are not many differences. The percentage of daughters was higher in the SRDs than in the workhouse cohort. The more noticeable differences for men may reveal why a disproportionate number of men went into the workhouse

¹⁰³ Quoted in Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, p. 299. In the discourse of the Victorian period, ‘friends’ meant close relatives.

¹⁰⁴ L.H. Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 143-4; Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, p. 299.

¹⁰⁵ TNA, Markington, 1851: HO107/2281/56/7; Markington and Wallerthwaite, 1871: RG10/4276/7; Markington cum Wallerthwaite, 1881: RG11/4318/56/2.

¹⁰⁶ TNA, Owslebury, 1861: RG9/694/77/21; Upham, 1871: RG10/1215/19/13.

in their old age than women.¹⁰⁷ Although the majority of future workhouse inmates were household heads in one's middle age, others had familial circumstances, such as the care of elderly parents, which curtailed the normal transition from the parental household to independently-run households. The argument that elderly men were more likely to enter the workhouse as relatives favoured the domestic skills of women does not reflect their several life stories.¹⁰⁸

Through the differences between the pauper cohort and older people surveyed in Bishop Monkton, Bentworth and the three SRDs, the collapse of the parental household associated with 'nuclear hardship' was confined mainly to the poorest sectors of society. Laslett's hypothesis is thus associated with the elderly *poor* and their families as a social class. Furthermore, being a married household head and raising offspring was the conventional household pattern in one's middle age. This would determine if one was to receive outdoor relief or the workhouse. Circumstances prior as opposed to during old age sealed the fate of certain sectors of the elderly population.

5.7 Conclusion

A comprehensive analysis of the living arrangements of older people through I-CeM has confirmed several findings from the previous literature. First, the degree of co-residence by offspring and relatives towards older people was higher in the northern English counties of Yorkshire and Cheshire. The greater numbers of older people that lived in extended and multiple households in Yorkshire and Cheshire, compared with Hampshire and Hertfordshire, which favoured nuclear and solitary arrangements, support the argument of a north-south divide in England. This divide extended throughout the periods of 1851, 1891 and 1911. Second, the living arrangements in Glamorgan, Wales, were similar to the patterns found in Yorkshire and Cheshire. This is possibly because of the demographic circumstances associated with Glamorgan's mining industry. It is consistent with the idea that the higher fertility in

¹⁰⁷ See A. Hinde and F. Turnbull, 'The Populations of Two Hampshire Workhouses', 1851-1861,' *Local Population Studies*, 61 (1998), pp. 38-53 and N. Goose, 'Workhouse Populations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Case of Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 62 (1999), pp. 52-69. For the later periods of Hertfordshire, Lancashire, Gloucestershire and Birmingham, see Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', Tables 3 and 4, pp. 360, 362; A. Gritt and P. Park, 'The Workhouse Populations of Lancashire in 1881', *Local Population Studies*, 86 (2011), pp. 37-65; C. Seal, 'Workhouse populations in the Cheltenham and Belper Unions, 1851-1911', *Family and Community History*, 13 (2010), pp. 83-100; Ritch, 'English Poor Law Institutional Care for Older People', Table 2, p. 75.

¹⁰⁸ Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender', p. 368.

mining areas meant that young offspring, as they became adult, were more readily available to assist their elderly relatives.

Third, co-residence between older people and offspring varied widely across the five counties. It was less concentrated in the southern districts where Thomson based much of his data.¹⁰⁹ This results in an underestimation of the percentages of older people co-resident with offspring. On average, between 44.4 per cent and 58.7 per cent of elderly women and men in the five counties lived with at least one offspring from 1851 to 1911. When all counties are combined, over half of elderly men and women were recorded with one offspring or more. If we include those in multiple households in 1891, co-residence for women increases from 50.2 per cent to 53 per cent; for men, 52.2 per cent to 55 per cent. Particularly among elderly women in several SRDs, the proportion in complex households, extended and multiple in structure, eclipsed those living in households unrelated to the household head and those living without offspring or relatives. This was significantly associated with, at the aggregate level, the low population size of those aged 60 years and over in the SRD. The proportion of young adults, who would make up offspring and relatives, would be readily available for co-residence. As a result, 'nuclear hardship' was weakened in some districts by the nature of the extended family system. This particularly benefitted elderly women. In some Yorkshire and Cheshire districts in 1891, women were more likely to receive accommodation in the household of their relatives than to receive poor relief. The situation may have been different before the 'crusade against out-relief' of the 1870s. However, it shows that the people in northern districts responded more than those in southern districts to the changes in the poor relief system by taking their relatives into the household. As seen with the 1851 data, perhaps the regional differences in the degree of familial support always existed irrespective of the New Poor Law.

Finally, changes in the living arrangements of older people are evident across time and by gender. The decline in extended households was compensated by the rise in the nuclear family household. A fall in the proportion noted as solitaries was found, while the rates of widows and widowers living with offspring increased by 1911. Whether this was caused by the introduction of the Old Age Pension Act is complicated because the time between the introduction and the 1911 CEBs is too limited for any changes to take effect. Despite this, it was noted that there was greater co-residence for the overall number of men aged 70 years and over in 1911, compared with men specifically recorded as pensioners. For female pensioners, the proportion

¹⁰⁹ Thomson, 'Welfare and the Historians', p. 364.

listed as solitaries is higher than in the overall population aged 70 years and over. Perhaps elderly women were granted a sense of independence through the affordability to run their households, although families realised that the accommodation of male pensioners could help assist the household budget. It was not always the case that familial ties with elderly women were stronger than that of men. While men were favoured in nuclear households with offspring, women were far more likely to live alone. Despite this, a higher number of women lived in non-conjugal and extended households, since there were more widows than widowers available for co-residence.

In terms of life course studies, we have found statistically significant relationships at the area level between the proportions in their middle age living in several household types in 1861 and the proportions of older people receiving poor relief in 1891. This method has shown that, if the rates of those in middle age that lived in nuclear households is high, it was significantly associated with reliance on the Poor Law in their old age. The asymmetrical nature of care and expense towards young offspring may have meant that little was put aside for savings. This is consistent with the idea that the rural out-migration of adult offspring growing up in a nuclear household placed parents entering old age in a vulnerable position. Conversely, at the area level, living in extended and multiple households at middle age was negatively associated with consulting the Board of Guardians for welfare assistance decades later. Members of an extended household, comprising of two or more adult members, are more likely to contribute to the household budget than those in a nuclear family household with young offspring. The extended household system offered some sectors of the elderly population greater economic security. The rates of those in extended households working as farmers is higher than those in nuclear households. This suggests that the farming economy in northern England was conducive to the extended family unit and to less reliance on the Poor Law.

Although it is assumed that offspring left their parents at the point when the latter became elderly, the life histories of 77 elderly individuals in Bentworth and Bishop Monkton present a more complex reality. Nearly two-thirds of those that turned 60 years and over lived with their offspring. Of all the instances of living arrangements recorded after an individual became sixty years, nearly 60 per cent were still living with their offspring. For women, there was a greater likelihood of living alone after the period of becoming 60 years, while men were more likely to belong to an extended family structure. However, a life course study clarifies certain issues regarding the apparent neglect of elderly relatives. We need caution in assuming that solitary

evidence equates with loneliness or neglect.¹¹⁰ In fact, some that were recorded without offspring in the 1901 CEBs never actually had any to rely upon. This was explored through the story of Ann Eastwood spending her adult life assisting her brother in his shop, or William Murrell's lack of remarriage after the deaths of his wife and daughter. When offspring were available to co-reside, many stayed with their elderly parents and the chances of older people living alone fell. Towards the end of one's life, households could extend, even if the individual spent most of their lives in a nuclear family household. If parent and offspring did 'lose each other' at the end of the parent's life cycle, to quote Laslett, offspring returned to the parental household to assist in certain circumstances, such as Francis Anderson's, whose wife was in hospital on census night.¹¹¹ It is easy to make assumptions about 'nuclear hardship' and neglect of older people through the snapshot analysis of census data. Failing to account for the life histories of the elderly population results in underestimating the extent of familial support in late Victorian and early Edwardian society.

Despite the strength of familial ties in Bentworth and Bishop Monkton, the 'nuclear hardship' hypothesis is confirmed when the life histories of outdoor relief claimants and workhouse residents are considered. Living in a nuclear family in middle age and as a solitary resident in old age was likely to lead to pauperism at the end of the life cycle. This circumstance was associated with the poorest of families, particularly those in Alton and Winchester, which were based in the low-wage, arable districts of southern England. If men were household heads and living with offspring, they were most likely to receive outdoor relief, while those unrelated to the household, or described as 'sons', were mostly offered the workhouse. Ironically, due to the care provided for their parents by offspring in their forties and fifties, there was no familial support for those same offspring when they were elderly. As a result, they eventually went into the workhouse in their old age. This pattern was not identified for women. Provision for a family in Victorian society was viewed as deserving of poor relief.¹¹² Anybody outside that norm, through no fault of their own, could be treated less desirably by the Board of Guardians. Whatever happened in old age was determined by events preceding it.

¹¹⁰ There is a tendency to equate the term 'living alone' with 'loneliness' in the analysis of solitaries in the past, and to use these terms interchangeably. K.D.M. Snell rightly questions these assumptions in his article, 'The Rise of Living Alone and Loneliness in History', *Social History*, 42 (2017), pp. 2-28.

¹¹¹ Laslett, 'Family, Kinship and Collectivity', p. 169.

¹¹² Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, pp. 143-4; Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, p. 304, comments how the Board of Guardians chose to give outdoor relief to older people based on the moral standing of their offspring.

Overall, familial ties between older people and offspring were strong across time and place. This was predicated on the demographic and economic patterns associated with the five selected counties discussed here. An emphasis on the northern counties and Wales shows that the Victorian idealisation of strong familial ties towards older people was realistic based on a local and regional context. As has been examined, lack of co-residence in old age was more likely to occur in southern England than in the north. The rather weak familial ties between older people and their relatives, as described by CAMPOP scholars Laslett and Thomson, are viewed through the prism of what occurred in southern England. If a regional perspective is adopted, there can be some middle ground between the romanticised view that older people were predominantly cared for by their families and the CAMPOP perspective that argues otherwise.¹¹³ Furthermore, the data presented here have implications for the relationship between welfare and household structure since the inception of the Poor Law in the sixteenth century. Since the proportion of older people that both received poor relief and lived in nuclear households was higher in southern England, this suggests that the nuclear household was coterminous with the functioning of the Poor Law as a welfare system. Hypothetically, if the household system in England and Wales was predominantly extended rather than nuclear, would there be any need for the Poor Law to function? The nature of the nuclear household structure facilitated old age pauperism, which may explain why the Poor Law was heavily relied upon in the south. The alternative household structures associated with northern England, extended and multiple, helped some sectors of the elderly population to disassociate from pauperism. Based on this, our four English counties show that the 'north-south' divide of old age pauperism has its roots in household structure; further research that examines all English and Welsh counties is required to strengthen these conclusions. Despite the relationship between households and pauperisation, older people in general were cared for to a great extent in Victorian and Edwardian society. The fact that this level of support is shown to have declined from the mid-twentieth century shows that the Victorian cultural norm of extended familial ties was more widely practised than has been credited. The stronger the familial bonds, the more likely that older people spent their final years uncharacterised by abject poverty.

¹¹³ Over time, however, CAMPOP scholars such as Richard Wall demonstrate that familial ties in the Victorian and Edwardian periods were stronger than expected, especially compared with the post-war period. Wall, 'Elderly Persons and Members of their Households', pp. 99-104.

Appendix 5A – Percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over coded as living under various household arrangements, five counties, 1851

1851		FEMALE %						MALE %					
Code	Household Type	Yorks	Ches	Herts	Hants	Glam	Total	Yorks	Ches	Herts	Hants	Glam	Total
0	In households unrelated to head	9.3	9.7	12.0	<u>12.5</u>	11.0	10.9	9.6	9.7	11.6	10.4	<u>15.0</u>	10.8
110*	Solitary, widowed	9.0	7.3	<u>10.3</u>	9.5	10.1	9.0	5.2	4.7	5.0	<u>5.6</u>	4.6	5.1
120	Solitary, single	2.3	1.8	<u>2.8</u>	2.4	2.5	2.3	<u>1.6</u>	1.5	1.1	<u>1.6</u>	1.2	1.5
210	No CFU, with siblings	<u>2.4</u>	2.0	2.3	<u>2.4</u>	1.8	2.2	1.2	<u>1.3</u>	1.1	0.9	1.0	1.1
220	No CFU, other relatives	7.2	7.1	<u>7.6</u>	5.7	5.4	6.5	<u>4.6</u>	4.3	3.7	3.0	3.3	3.8
310	Simple, married alone	13.4	12.4	14.4	<u>15.6</u>	12.7	13.8	17.7	15.4	18.0	<u>20.3</u>	16.1	17.8
320	Simple, married with offspring	11.0	10.8	11.4	11.5	<u>12.7</u>	11.4	20.2	19.7	21.9	21.6	<u>24.0</u>	21.2
330	Simple, widowers with offspring	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>6.1</u>	5.9	5.2	5.9	<u>6.1</u>	5.9
340	Simple, widows with offspring	9.6	9.6	8.7	8.8	<u>11.9</u>	9.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
350	Simple, others with offspring	0.3	<u>0.4</u>	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.1
410	Extended, upwards	9.2	<u>9.5</u>	7.3	7.7	8.6	8.5	5.1	<u>6.3</u>	5.0	4.3	5.0	5.1
420	Extended, downwards	17.3	<u>19.4</u>	14.0	13.5	15.5	16.1	18.2	<u>20.1</u>	14.7	15.1	15.6	17.0
430	Extended, laterally	1.9	2.2	1.5	<u>2.4</u>	1.9	2.1	2.2	<u>2.3</u>	1.3	2.0	1.9	2.0
440	Extended, combinations of above	1.8	<u>2.3</u>	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.6	<u>2.2</u>	1.2	1.3	1.5	1.6
510	Multiple, second. disp. upwards	1.0	0.8	<u>1.1</u>	<u>1.1</u>	<u>1.1</u>	1.0	<u>0.6</u>	0.5	<u>0.6</u>	<u>0.6</u>	0.5	0.6
520	Multiple, second. disp. downwards	2.9	<u>3.0</u>	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.5	3.2	<u>3.4</u>	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.8
530	Multiple, on one level	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0
540	Multiple, frèrèche	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.1
550	Multiple, combinations	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
599	Multiple, unclassifiable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
999	Institutional Resident	1.4	1.4	2.9	<u>3.0</u>	0.8	2.0	2.6	2.3	<u>7.0</u>	4.8	<u>1.4</u>	3.6
N		10764	14264	6991	16635	7494	56148	9499	12663	6269	15504	6156	50091

Note: Since, in the 1851 dataset, code 110 is absent and conflated with code 510, the figures presented for both these columns have been artificially adjusted. Underlining in each code row denote the highest percentage by county.

Appendix 5B – Percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over coded as living under various household arrangements, five counties, 1891

1891		FEMALE %						MALE %					
Code	Household Type	Yorks	Ches	Herts	Hants	Glam	Total	Yorks	Ches	Herts	Hants	Glam	Total
0	In households unrelated to head	9.1	10.0	12.0	<u>13.6</u>	9.2	10.9	12.4	12.6	13.2	13.3	<u>16.7</u>	13.5
110	Solitary, widowed	10.1	9.2	<u>11.4</u>	11.0	9.2	10.1	5.4	5.1	<u>6.2</u>	5.8	3.8	5.2
120	Solitary, single	2.0	2.5	<u>3.1</u>	2.7	1.1	2.2	<u>1.5</u>	1.2	1.3	<u>1.5</u>	0.9	1.3
210	No CFU, with siblings	2.4	2.9	3.2	<u>3.4</u>	1.1	2.6	1.3	1.4	<u>1.6</u>	1.3	0.7	1.2
220	No CFU, other relatives	7.2	<u>7.4</u>	7.1	6.1	6.3	6.8	3.5	<u>3.9</u>	3.0	2.8	3.0	3.3
310	Simple, married alone	13.9	12.4	<u>17.1</u>	16.0	13.0	14.3	19.5	18.1	23.6	<u>23.8</u>	17.2	20.3
320	Simple, married with offspring	11.2	11.4	11.8	11.1	<u>12.5</u>	11.5	23.0	23.5	22.8	23.4	<u>23.8</u>	23.4
330	Simple, widowers with offspring	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>6.2</u>	6.1	5.1	5.1	5.4	5.6
340	Simple, widows with offspring	11.3	11.7	9.8	9.7	<u>12.6</u>	11.0	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.1
350	Simple, others with offspring	<u>0.2</u>	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0
410	Extended, upwards	12.0	11.0	7.5	9.8	<u>13.1</u>	10.9	5.6	5.9	4.5	4.9	<u>6.6</u>	5.6
420	Extended, downwards	14.1	14.3	12.2	10.6	<u>14.8</u>	13.1	15.8	<u>15.9</u>	14.1	12.7	15.2	14.7
430	Extended, laterally	2.2	<u>2.7</u>	2.2	2.6	2.0	2.4	2.0	<u>2.3</u>	1.9	2.2	2.0	2.1
440	Extended, combinations of above	1.3	<u>1.4</u>	0.6	1.0	1.5	1.2	0.9	1.1	0.7	0.9	<u>1.3</u>	1.0
510	Multiple, second. disp. upwards	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.6	<u>0.9</u>	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	<u>0.7</u>	0.4
520	Multiple, second. disp. downwards	2.1	2.1	1.5	1.5	<u>2.3</u>	1.9	2.2	2.4	1.7	1.9	<u>2.6</u>	2.2
530	Multiple, on one level	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
540	Multiple, frèrèche	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.1	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.1
550	Multiple, combinations	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
599	Multiple, unclassifiable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
699	Unclassifiable households	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N		21011	26181	10983	30875	18920	107970	17864	21966	9167	24998	16606	90601

Note: Underlining in each code row denotes the highest percentage by county. Institutional residents (code 999 in 1851) have been incorporated into code 0 for 1891.

Appendix 5C – Percentages of men and women aged 60 years and over coded as living under various household arrangements, five counties, 1911

1911		FEMALE %						MALE %					
Code	Household Type	Yorks	Ches	Herts	Hants	Glam	Total	Yorks	Ches	Herts	Hants	Glam	Total
0	In households unrelated to head	11.2	12.5	14.1	<u>15.5</u>	10.0	12.8	16.9	14.8	14.4	15.4	<u>20.4</u>	16.5
110	Solitary, widowed	8.7	7.9	9.6	<u>9.9</u>	7.5	8.7	4.9	4.3	5.4	<u>5.7</u>	3.4	4.7
120	Solitary, single	2.2	2.8	<u>4.1</u>	3.8	1.1	2.8	1.3	1.2	1.4	<u>1.5</u>	0.9	1.3
210	No CFU, with siblings	2.5	3.3	<u>4.3</u>	4.2	1.4	3.1	1.1	<u>1.4</u>	<u>1.4</u>	1.3	0.8	1.2
220	No CFU, other relatives	6.1	<u>6.4</u>	5.7	5.8	6.2	6.1	3.2	<u>3.4</u>	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2
310	Simple, married alone	12.4	9.7	<u>14.4</u>	13.6	10.7	12.0	16.8	15.0	<u>21.3</u>	21.2	13.2	17.2
320	Simple, married with offspring	12.8	13.5	<u>14.3</u>	12.1	14.0	13.1	23.9	<u>26.0</u>	24.7	23.6	23.5	24.3
330	Simple, widowers with offspring	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.4	<u>7.8</u>	6.9	6.1	6.0	6.6
340	Simple, widows with offspring	13.0	<u>14.0</u>	11.3	10.8	12.8	12.4	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.1
350	Simple, others with offspring	<u>0.2</u>	<u>0.2</u>	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
410	Extended, upwards	11.2	10.6	7.3	8.8	<u>12.2</u>	10.2	6.3	6.3	4.7	5.2	<u>6.9</u>	6.0
420	Extended, downwards	11.8	10.9	9.0	8.5	<u>14.5</u>	10.9	12.3	12.0	10.6	10.1	<u>13.4</u>	11.7
430	Extended, laterally	2.8	<u>3.4</u>	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.2	2.5	<u>3.0</u>	<u>3.0</u>	2.9	2.7	2.8
440	Extended, combinations of above	<u>1.4</u>	<u>1.4</u>	0.9	1.1	1.9	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.0	0.9	<u>1.6</u>	1.2
510	Multiple, second. disp. upwards	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.8	<u>1.3</u>	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	<u>0.8</u>	0.6
520	Multiple, second. disp. downwards	2.3	2.2	1.1	1.5	<u>2.7</u>	2.0	2.5	2.5	1.3	2.0	<u>2.9</u>	2.3
530	Multiple, on one level	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.1	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0
540	Multiple, frèrèche	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.1	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.1
550	Multiple, combinations	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.1	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	0.0
599	Multiple, unclassifiable	0.0	<u>0.2</u>	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0
699	Unclassifiable households	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	<u>0.1</u>	0.0
N		31695	37840	15799	46861	31082	163277	26989	29779	12324	36876	29109	135077

Note: Underlining in each code row denotes the highest percentage by county. Institutional residents (code 999) are incorporated into code 0 for 1911.
Sources: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1851, 1891 and 1911.

Appendix 5D – Percentages of female old age pensioners and the overall female population aged 70 years and over coded as living under various household arrangements, by five counties, 1911

F %		Yorks		Ches		Hants		Herts		Glam	
Code	Household Type	Pen	Tot	Pen	Tot	Pen	Tot	Pen	Tot	Pen	Tot
0	In households unrelated to head	13.8	13.0	16.4	14.4	13.0	16.6	9.8	15.6	16.3	12.4
110	Solitary, widowed	27.6	13.0	27.2	10.8	30.6	13.5	30.0	14.1	22.0	10.4
120	Solitary, single	4.4	2.5	3.4	2.9	3.9	4.2	4.3	4.6	2.7	1.3
210	No CFU, with siblings	2.1	2.3	2.2	2.8	2.6	4.0	4.0	4.2	0.5	1.3
220	No CFU, other relatives	8.0	8.5	7.9	8.3	7.2	7.4	7.8	7.4	6.6	8.3
310	Simple, married alone	8.0	9.7	7.5	7.4	10.0	10.5	9.3	11.5	8.1	7.8
320	Simple, married with offspring	2.3	5.0	1.9	5.3	2.1	5.4	2.3	6.1	2.3	5.3
330	Simple, widowers with offspring	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
340	Simple, widows with offspring	6.3	12.6	6.0	13.8	7.9	11.4	11.6	12.5	7.7	11.9
350	Simple, others with offspring	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1
410	Extended, upwards	17.9	17.1	15.8	16.5	13.5	13.4	11.0	11.3	18.6	19.9
420	Extended, downwards	4.9	9.6	6.4	9.7	4.1	7.3	4.4	7.1	7.5	12.2
430	Extended, laterally	1.8	2.3	1.6	2.9	2.0	2.8	3.2	2.9	3.9	3.1
440	Extended, combinations of above	1.1	1.4	0.9	1.5	1.0	1.2	0.8	1.0	1.3	1.9
510	Multiple, secondary disposed upwards	0.6	1.1	0.6	1.2	0.4	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.5	1.5
520	Multiple, secondary disp. downwards	0.6	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.8	1.6	2.2
530	Multiple, on one level	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
540	Multiple, frèrèche	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
550	Multiple, combinations	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
599	Multiple, unclassifiable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1
699	Unclassifiable households	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N		616	11002	684	14051	1110	19075	653	6403	558	11060

Appendix 5E – Percentages of male old age pensioners and the overall male population aged 70 years and over coded as living under various household arrangements, by five counties, 1911

M %		Yorks		Ches		Hants		Herts		Glam	
Code	Household Type	Pen	Tot	Pen	Tot	Pen	Tot	Pen	Tot	Pen	Tot
0	In households unrelated to head	16.1	18.1	14.7	16.3	12.6	17.0	10.5	16.6	18.9	21.6
110	Solitary, widowed	7.2	7.5	7.9	6.0	10.1	7.7	10.1	7.7	6.9	5.4
120	Solitary, single	1.0	1.3	0.7	1.0	1.8	1.4	0.9	1.3	0.5	0.8
210	No CFU, with siblings	1.3	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.4	0.5	0.7
220	No CFU, other relatives	2.9	5.0	3.8	5.2	3.3	4.3	3.7	4.3	4.5	4.9
310	Simple, married alone	19.1	17.4	14.8	15.0	22.5	21.2	23.9	21.4	12.2	13.5
320	Simple, married with offspring	9.4	13.8	10.1	15.3	8.8	15.2	9.7	15.0	10.2	13.1
330	Simple, widowers with offspring	6.1	7.3	4.9	9.5	5.3	7.5	5.4	8.7	3.7	6.2
340	Simple, widows with offspring	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
350	Simple, others with offspring	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
410	Extended, upwards	19.3	10.5	23.7	11.1	18.0	8.7	16.8	8.0	20.5	13.1
420	Extended, downwards	10.2	11.4	11.3	11.8	10.8	9.7	11.0	9.7	12.4	12.6
430	Extended, laterally	2.2	2.0	2.8	2.8	2.5	2.6	3.9	3.0	3.8	2.5
440	Extended, combinations of above	2.1	1.2	1.0	1.3	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.5	1.6
510	Multiple, secondary disposed upwards	1.4	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.5	2.2	1.1
520	Multiple, secondary disp. downwards	1.4	2.4	1.2	2.4	1.1	1.8	1.1	1.2	3.0	2.7
530	Multiple, on one level	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
540	Multiple, frèrèche	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
550	Multiple, combinations	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
599	Multiple, unclassifiable	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
699	Unclassifiable households	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N		627	8110	573	10139	929	13907	465	4566	736	8623

Sources: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1911.

6 Conclusion

The Importance of a Quantitative Study on Elderly Populations in the Past

6.1 Introduction

Throughout this thesis, a new approach has been taken in our examinations of historical elderly populations. We have emphasised the autonomy of older people, particularly regarding their retirement patterns, their occupational composition and their involvement in community life. There is also a clearer understanding about the pathological circumstances of older people, especially those reliant upon the New Poor Law and familial care. It has been found that pauperism varied widely by Superintendent Registration District (SRD) and was contingent upon several factors. The occupational structure of older people, the variations in those that were described as ‘retired’ in the census enumerators’ books (CEBs) and their household arrangements throughout their life course and in their old age were all significant factors that helped shape old age pauperism. The relationship between older people and their families was stronger than expected, with half of older men and women co-residing with their offspring in 1851, 1891 and 1911. The use of Integrated Census Microdata datasets (I-CeM) has allowed a general assessment of elderly populations, as opposed to exclusively focusing on elderly paupers. By doing this, we have identified the several occupational structures and household patterns that were not conducive to pauperism. As such, pauperism in old age was not a universal experience, but just one of the many experiences of older people in the past.

This concluding chapter does not merely repeat the main findings of the previous four chapters, but will outline their wider significance in relation to the Introduction. Specifically, we address the importance of linking historical demography with the social policy of the period. We then discuss how this research may inform us about the relationship between old age, pauperism and familial ties since the early modern period. We then argue that it is not entirely accurate to stress that life for older people after the Old Age Pension Act of 1908 was wholly characterised by improvement.¹ We then address the simplicity of using binary notions of ‘security’ and ‘vulnerability’, or ‘autonomy’ and ‘dependency’, especially regarding the life course. Subsequently, we emphasise the importance of the regional and local context in shaping our understanding of old age in history, before ending this thesis by stressing the importance of a quantitative study of historical ageing populations.

¹ C. Gilleard, *Old Age in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Ageing under the Union* (London, 2017), pp. 97-8.

6.2 Historical Demography and Social Policy

First, nineteenth-century census data demonstrate the interplay of demography with social policy. In the early years of the New Poor Law, Boards of Guardians clearly responded to the extreme poverty of some sectors of older people, due to the large numbers of older paupers in the district. In counties and registration districts that contained a lower proportion of older people, provision of welfare on account of one's old age was not a main priority. Old age pauperism in 1860s south-west England was not based on the growth of ageing populations seen in the present day, but was predicated on the collapse of the local weaving industry. This affected workers of all ages that had traditionally worked with hand looms, and who had lost out to technological advances in the north of England. As a result, there was the high out-migration of younger populations, resulting in an increase in the proportion of older people that were in need of assistance from the state. The proportion of elderly people who had offspring and younger relatives living nearby was reduced. Collective provision (in the form of the New Poor Law) was obliged to step in to fill the gap. Even in counties that were not reported to be contracting economically, there was a positive relationship between the proportion of the elderly population and the percentages of those on poor relief in the same district, reflecting David Thomson's argument.²

Although a positive relationship between the proportion of older people in the population and relief under the New Poor Law was found in the early 1860s, the implementation of a 'crusade against outdoor relief' in the 1870s severely reduced the numbers of older people on relief.³ This was irrespective of their proportionate increase in the population. Scholars have argued that demand for poor relief by older people in fact began to rise by the 1900s, owing to the fall in wages and increasing unemployment.⁴ It is interesting that, from 1891 to 1901, over half of the 63 SRDs that experienced an increase in the proportion of older people also experienced a rise in the percentages receiving relief. This would suggest that a growing awareness of older people and their needs came not only from studies by Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree of urbanised districts, but also from the growth of older people in rural SRDs.⁵ This may have

² D. Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past: A Family or Community Responsibility?' in M. Pelling and R.M. Smith (eds.), *Life, Death and the Elderly: Historical Perspectives* (London, 1991), pp. 194-221, esp. pp. 203-4.

³ M. MacKinnon, 'English Poor Law Policy and the Crusade against Outrelief', *The Journal of Economic History*, 47 (1987), pp. 603-25.

⁴ G. Boyer and T.P. Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly in Late Victorian England', *Economic History Review*, 62 (2009), pp. 249-78.

⁵ C. Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894); S. Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London, 1901).

resulted from the greater urbanisation of the population of England and Wales over time, which may have created a disparity between the very low proportions of older people in urban districts and larger numbers in rural SRDs.⁶ The *Royal Commission of the Aged Poor* (1895) and the introduction of old age pensions in 1908 could have been a by-product of this demographic disparity.⁷ This would call into question Andrew Blaikie's idea that old age as an important social issue was associated with the imbued agency of older people following the Old Age Pension Act of 1908.⁸ Although the proportion of older people nationally was consistent between 1851 and 1901, the need to better provide for elderly people may have originated from SRDs that experienced profound demographic change, where younger populations out-migrated and older people were left behind.⁹ In other words, local authorities changed their policies not only because they became aware of Charles Booth's studies of aged pauperism or the parliamentary inquiries of the 1890s, but also because they observed practical developments in their local communities.

When assessing social policies towards older people in the past, there are echoes of the present day. Recently, there are media reports that fewer people are prioritising the care of their elderly relatives, despite the rise in welfare expenditure.¹⁰ Parallels from history reinforce the idea that the responsibility to assist older people beyond the help provided by the state is greatly needed, as was the case in the cloth towns of mid-Victorian south-west England. The data in Chapter One show that familial support was lacking in the high pauperism SRDs of Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset, compared with England and Wales nationally. This is despite the relatively high fertility that characterised early nineteenth-century England and Wales, which would have increased the likelihood of familial assistance in the 1860s.¹¹ Indeed, in the context of lower birth rates in the present day United Kingdom (UK), falls in social care spending and possible changes to its immigration system post-Brexit (where migrant workers provide social care in

⁶ R. Woods, *The Population of Britain in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 22-3.

⁷ A brief summary of the *Royal Commission of the Aged Poor* is in P. Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 177-182.

⁸ A. Blaikie, 'The Emerging Political Power of the Elderly in Britain 1908-1948', *Ageing & Society*, 10 (1990), pp. 17-39.

⁹ P. Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1977), Table 3.6, p. 193.

¹⁰ C. Bennett, 'Why Should Older People Rely on their Families for Care?' *The Guardian*, 5 February 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/feb/05/why-should-older-people-rely-on-families-for-care> (accessed 17 June 2019); P. Butler, '£1bn Needed to Stave Off Crisis, Say Social Care Bosses', *The Guardian*, 16 June 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/jun/16/1bn-needed-to-stave-off-crisis-say-social-care-bosses> (accessed 17 June 2019).

¹¹ E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 527-8.

lieu of relatives), persuading families to provide greater help for their elderly relatives is more strongly encouraged than ever.¹² Overall, the relationship between demography and social policy in the past demonstrates one key idea associated with the political economy literature first discussed in the Introduction, namely that along with the biological decline of older people, the economic and social construction of dependence is highlighted.¹³ Hypothetically, without technological innovation in the north and the resulting out-migration of the young, fewer older people in south-west England would have been enumerated with the designation ‘pauper’ in the occupational column of the CEBs. Instead, a greater number of people would have been available to look after their elderly relatives, with the Poor Law assuming a minor role.

6.3 Examining Familial and State Support for Older People since the Sixteenth Century

Second, the results from analysing the large-scale data provided by I-CeM for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have implications for the lives of older people since the sixteenth century. This reflects Peter Laslett’s idea that the study of older people in the past constitutes ‘necessary knowledge’, given that older people were a key demographic in the provision of relief by the Poor Laws.¹⁴ This thesis has shown that the idea that familial support was highest when demand for state-funded relief was lowest, and vice versa, is plausible. We have demonstrated this by showing that the welfare system of the New Poor Law was structured around the nuclear household. In Chapter Four, where the life course of outdoor relief claimants and workhouse residents was surveyed, there was a greater propensity for those on the Poor Law to live *without* their relatives, compared with the overall cohort living in the SRDs. By 1851, when the pauper cohort was middle aged, they were more likely to live in nuclear households with offspring than those in the overall SRD cohort. Pauperism in old age mainly resulted from a nuclear family household structure run by those in their middle age looking after their offspring. The exit of said offspring occurred as parents approached their old age, which consequently meant that a vital resource of assistance was lacking. Interestingly, those in extended and multiple households, either in their middle age or old age, were less likely to

¹² J. Gallagher, ‘“Remarkable” Decline in Fertility Rates’, *BBC News*, 9 November 2018 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-46118103> (accessed 11 February 2019); I. Shutes, ‘Social Care for Older People and Demand for Migrant Workers’, https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/PolicyPrimer-Social_Care.pdf (accessed 11 February 2019).

¹³ A good summary of the political economy literature is in A. Clarke, *The Sociology of Healthcare* (2nd edition, Oxford, 2013), pp. 204-6.

¹⁴ P. Laslett, ‘Necessary Knowledge: Age and Aging in Societies of the Past’, in D.I. Kertzer and P. Laslett (eds.), *Aging in the Past: Demography, Society and Old Age* (London, 1995), pp. 3-77.

experience old age pauperism. If the size of the elderly population was positively associated with older people's reliance on the Poor Law, then the same can be argued for the negative correlation between the size of the elderly population and familial care. This is because familial care is maximised when the proportion of older people in the period is relatively low. The greater presence of older people would correspond to the declining proportion of younger people that would have assisted their relatives in place of the Poor Laws. We know that familial ties between older people and their relatives fell in the mid-twentieth century, but they may have fallen also in the early eighteenth century when the population was increasingly ageing.¹⁵ Generally, if Laslett is right to express that the elderly population was 'scarce' in nineteenth-century England and Wales, this means that the rate of co-residence between elderly people and their offspring could have been higher than at any given period of early modern and modern times.¹⁶ The ideas proposed here provide possible avenues for future research into long-term trends in the relationship between familial and state-funded welfare based on the concepts derived from detailed research of nineteenth-century sources.¹⁷

Further research beyond the thesis would consider additional means of support other than poor relief and familial support. There would be a greater emphasis on 'community' based on charity, pensions, almshouse residence and neighbourly assistance. Access to secure I-CeM data with transcribed names and addresses would allow a clearer assessment between almshouse residence and old age pauperism. More material would be consulted outside I-CeM, such as the Charity Commissioners' Digests of Endowed Charities, 1861-1875, comparing by county endowed charity per capita with the proportions of older people recorded as paupers.¹⁸ A study of the extent of building societies and charity by SRD in Charles Booth's *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* could further clarify the geography of old age pauperism.¹⁹ The

¹⁵ R. Wall, 'Elderly Persons and Members of their Households in England and Wales from Preindustrial Times to the Present', in Kertzer and Laslett (eds.), *Aging in the Past*, pp. 81-106, at pp. 97-9.

¹⁶ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, Table 3.6, p. 193.

¹⁷ Of 100 communities used by Peter Laslett to construct the mean household size of England between the periods 1574 to 1821, 85 were recorded before 1800, see P. Laslett, 'Mean Household Size of England since the Sixteenth Century', in P. Laslett and R. Wall (eds.), *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 125-158. Of these 85 communities, only 21 contain references to age profiles; see Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, Table 3.3, p. 188.

¹⁸ Information on this source is provided in N. Goose, 'The Social Geography of Philanthropy in England and Wales or, the Cultural Roots of Industrialisation?' (unpublished paper presented at the Local Population Studies Society Conference in April 2012, summarised by G. Butler, N. Goose and S. Williams, 'LPSS Spring Conference Report 2012: Regional Development in Industrialising Britain, c.1670-1860', *Local Population Studies*, 89 (2012), pp. 4-5).

¹⁹ Located by Poor Law Union under the columns 'Thrift Agencies, Insurance, &c.' and 'Church, Chapel and Organised Charity' in Booth, *Aged Poor in England and Wales*, pp. 108-141 (northern), 150-177 (eastern), 186-217 (midland), 232-51 (western and Wales), 262-309 (southern).

absence of additional forms of assistance in this thesis is explained by the lack of comprehensive data on charity and Friendly Societies. Contrastingly, parliamentary papers that recorded poor relief and the CEBs are extensively detailed by SRD and coterminous Poor Law Union across six decades, permitting sub-regional, regional and national comparisons. We can elaborate on the finding of an inverse relationship between state-funded welfare and familial assistance in future research, which will enable us to consider how far this relationship was governed by charity, or familial contacts outside the household.

6.4 Did Life Improve for Older People After 1908?

Third, we should call into question the idea that older people necessarily lived better lives after the Old Age Pension Act of 1908. In no circumstances does this mean that we should characterise the nineteenth century as a ‘golden age’ for older people. Some of the facets associated with the ‘golden age’ narrative, such as a high degree of familial support and respect for older people, were repurposed in the context of the nineteenth century. This is because familial assistance, which was highly present in nineteenth-century society, is indicative of the ‘golden age’ narrative that characterised early interpretations of old age in pre-industrial England. This is summarised by Pat Thane, where ‘families took for granted that they cared for older relatives and so they imposed little or no charge on public welfare.’²⁰ Although Anderson argues that familial co-residence could create tensions and that independence among older people and adult offspring is desired, he also stressed that strong familial bonds could alleviate the conditions associated with extreme poverty.²¹ Marguerite Dupree noted a dichotomy between familial assistance and state welfare in industrial Stoke-on-Trent.²² Similarly, we find that co-residence was also high in industrial Keighley, Stockport and Birkenhead, where pauperism rates over time were relatively lower than in the remaining SRDs. These SRDs were hardly the pre-industrial rural societies that form part of the ‘golden age’ narrative, since they were generally associated with higher mortality and what a recent study has described as the ‘economic insecurity’ of the working-classes.²³ Some of the highest

²⁰ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 1.

²¹ On the view that co-residence between older people and their relatives could develop tensions, see M. Anderson, ‘The Impact on the Family Relationships of the Elderly of Changes since Victorian Times in Governmental Income-Maintenance Provision’, in E. Shanahan and M.B. Sussman (eds.), *Family, Bureaucracy and the Elderly* (North Carolina, 1987), pp. 36-59. On the argument that the use of familial contacts helped to defend oneself from extreme poverty, see M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 165.

²² M.W. Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries, 1840-1880* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 328-30.

²³ See G. Boyer, *The Winding Road to the Welfare State: Economic Security and Social Welfare Policy in Britain* (New Jersey, 2019), p. 3.

infant mortality rates in all of England and Wales were noted in the sub-districts of SRDs in Glamorganshire, where pauperism and co-residence rates were equally high. Perhaps the specific high mortality of male mining workers meant that, as there was no longer a vital source of income for those widowed, familial support and the Poor Law were equally relied upon.²⁴ Pat Thane's argument regarding the complementary nature of familial support and the Poor Law formed part of the economy of makeshifts in Welsh mining areas, whereas in English SRDs there was mainly a dichotomy between the family and the state.²⁵

Furthermore, older people and their families had the ability to defy the 'nuclear hardship' hypothesis.²⁶ In 10 of the 63 SRDs surveyed in 1891, a higher proportion of older women received accommodation in the household of a relative than received poor relief. The majority of the ten SRDs were based once again in industrial districts. We expect instances where older people received accommodation in the household of a relative to be rare, since this would lead to household systems which are incompatible with nuclear households. However, for both elderly men and women, there was a highly significant negative relationship between those accommodated in the household of a relative and those on poor relief. We are aware that some older people could have belonged in both categories, particularly in the period after the 'crusade against outdoor relief' was first implemented in the 1870s. Families were encouraged to look after their elderly relatives in return for outdoor relief issued by the Board of Guardians.²⁷ In the face of rapid socioeconomic change and a parsimonious attitude to state welfare in the northern SRDs where the 'nuclear hardship' hypothesis was defied, families broke with socially acceptable conventions.

Based on these examples, the 'linear progress' narrative of old age does not take into account the strengthening of familial welfare provision in the nineteenth century. Academics that support the 'linear progress' narrative assume that familial provision is less beneficial than state provision, although an absence of state welfare support is in fact positive if alternative

²⁴ D. Friedlander, 'Demographic Patterns and Socio-economic Characteristics of the Coal-Mining Population in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 22 (1973), pp. 39-51. See also B. Curtis and S. Thompson, 'Disability and the Family in the South Wales Coalfield Society, c.1920-1939', *Family and Community History*, 20 (2017), pp. 25-44, where 'one in sixteen of all occupational mortality in all industries across Britain between the late nineteenth-century and the mid-twentieth century occurred in the south Wales coal industry', p. 27.

²⁵ P. Thane, 'Old Age and their Families in the English Past', in M. Daunton (ed.), *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare in the English Past* (London, 1996), pp. 113-138.

²⁶ P. Laslett, 'Family, Kinship and Collectivity as Systems of Support in Pre-Industrial Europe: A Consideration of the "Nuclear-Hardship" Hypothesis', *Continuity and Change*, 3 (1988), pp. 153-175.

²⁷ For a summary of the 'crusade against outdoor relief', see K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England in Wales, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 262-9.

resources, such as familial provision, are more readily available. The reason why familial support was widely available is partly explained by the demographic regime of the Victorian period. The finding that co-residence peaked by 1911 may be indicated by the Victorian demographic regime of high fertility and high mortality. The relationship between legitimate birth rates and co-residence patterns in 1891 was tested and found to be positive and significant. SRDs where the proportion of older people co-residing with offspring was highest were found generally to contain a lower proportion of the population living in old age. Regardless of the migration of younger populations, there may have been a smaller young population available for co-residence. It is particularly interesting that, again irrespective of migration, the proportions of older people in families with offspring are lower in the post-war period. The regime of the post-war period is characterised by lower fertility rates which minimise the numbers of offspring that would potentially co-reside, suggesting the change from a regime emphasised by strong familial provision to that of state provision.²⁸ Alternatively, the greater presence of older people in the nineteenth century may have facilitated awareness of their autonomy. This is consistent with the idea that, in the historical past, some sectors of the elderly population were venerated by the local community for their wisdom and knowledge.²⁹ This is despite Christopher Phillipson and David Thomson's arguments that the larger numbers of older people in the population had reinforced their role as dependents under the Old Age Pension Act and the Poor Laws respectively.³⁰ As explored in Chapter One, the role of 'Grannie' Elizabeth Reid in 1860s and 1870s Harpenden, Hertfordshire, provides a case in point, at a time when the population of the parish itself was increasingly ageing. The author recalling Reid and others in his biographical account remembered older people not for their pauperism, to which he devotes only one paragraph, but for their medical knowledge and wisdom.³¹ Also, the straw plaiting school arranged by 67-year-old Elizabeth Crane in Harpenden, which taught children that participated in the local industry, constitutes the 'wisdom' of older people that is redolent of the 'golden age' narrative. In Chapter One, the proportion of older people in mid-Victorian England and Wales was more substantial at the

²⁸ Wall, 'Elderly Persons and Members of their Households', pp. 101-3.

²⁹ K. Boehm, A. Farkas and A. Zwierlen, 'Introduction', in K. Boehm, A. Farkas and A. Zwierlen (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Aging in Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 1-20.

³⁰ C. Phillipson, *Capitalism and the Construction of Old Age* (London, 1982); Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past'.

³¹ E. Grey, *Cottage Life in a Hertfordshire Village* (Harpenden, 1977), pp. 52, 67. For a contrasting (although semi-autobiographical) account that emphasises old age pauperism and the coming of old age pensions in the context of a local rural community in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century England; see F. Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford: A Trilogy* (Jaffrey, 2009, originally published as three novels in 1939, 1941 and 1943 respectively), pp. 85-6.

local community level than that given by the national figures. Therefore, it is likely there were other older people like Grannie Reid who were respected, based on their larger numbers, rather than marginalised by the community.

As was discussed in the Introduction, popular and academic discourse associates the treatment of the elderly poor in the nineteenth century as insufficient. For example, scholars argue that workhouse accommodation was often offered instead of outdoor relief.³² In fact, ‘Dickensian’ comes to mind as often-used terminology that discusses poverty in the Victorian era and today.³³ Allowances granted to older people were mostly in the form of outdoor relief and given to those in their own homes. The majority of claimants received outdoor relief weekly as a form of pension, although the age profile of these applicants varied and favoured those in their seventies and eighties. Although relief for single individuals and married couples was relatively meagre in the Poor Law Unions of Alton, Hampshire and Hertford, Hertfordshire, allowances in Ripon Union in the north were on par with or could even exceed the standard allowances prescribed by the Old Age Pension Act of 1908. By focusing on outdoor relief in the underexplored area of northern England, we notice a policy that breaks the boundaries between a less generous nineteenth century and a socially progressive twentieth century. We are presented with a paradox: a Poor Law Union with a lower proportion of aged paupers that granted them high allowances of outdoor relief. For married couples in Ripon Union, who received on average seven or eight shillings in cash, their allowances may have matched half of a labourer’s weekly wage. Perhaps expenditure in Ripon Union sufficiently covered the minority of older paupers, based on the more selective nature of the Board of Guardians. More data from outdoor relief application and report books, especially in northern England, are needed to assess the view that there was a more paternalist attitude towards outdoor relief claimants.

By assessing the treatment of older people by the state in the mid-Victorian period, we find that the Victorian welfare system is far from associated with the cruel and neglectful regime described by Charles Dickens in his portrayal of *Oliver Twist* in the workhouse.³⁴ In fact, an analysis of workhouse populations reinforces the idea that it is inaccurate to characterise the

³² K. Chase, *The Victorians and Old Age* (London, 2009), p. 19; Ancestry Online, ‘Down the Mine at 89: Working Life of Elderly Victorians Revealed’, <https://blogs.ancestry.co.uk/cm/down-the-mine-at-89-working-life-of-elderly-victorians-revealed/> (accessed 28 January 2019).

³³ H. Richardson, ‘One Million Children Face “Dickensian Poverty”’, *BBC News*, 6 December 2018 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-46457454> (accessed 19 February 2019).

³⁴ R. Richardson, *Dickens and the Workhouse: Oliver Twist and the London Poor* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 1-5.

nineteenth century as a ‘pattern of decline’.³⁵ Although our data reflect the extant literature in that the proportions of older people in workhouses increased by 1911, the share of the population in them was small and in fact fell in some counties over time.³⁶ The percentage of indoor relief given to older people actually started to climb at the end of the Victorian period, becoming somewhat a reserve of those ineligible for old age pensions by 1911. The workhouse data actually show that the proportion of male and female inmates aged 60-69 years increased dramatically between 1891 and 1911, while the proportion of men aged 70 years and over fell and the proportion of women in the same age group remained constant. This is another factor that describes how flawed the progressive linear model of old age over time can be: the Old Age Pension Act, by excluding those in their sixties, led to a proportionate rise in workhouse admissions. Some older inmates aged 70 years and over may have stayed in workhouses after 1908 to receive the medical care that was not provided by old age pensions. However, the data in Chapter Three show that those eligible for old age pensions soon left the workhouse to receive them in their own homes.³⁷ The government’s abolition of the policy that disqualified poor relief claimants from receiving an old age pension on 1 January 1911 may have resulted in the fall in those aged 70 years and over. Also, it is important to argue that, throughout its history, the New Poor Law typically provided for older people that were aged 60 years and over, whereas the Old Age Pension Act brought in state support to those aged 70 years and over. Despite the residual nature of the New Poor Law, scholars that characterise the Old Age Pension Act as progress for older people have ignored the continuity in the provision of the Poor Law for those in their sixties.³⁸

³⁵ Gilleard, *Old Age in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, p. 97.

³⁶ A. Ritch, ‘English Poor Law Institutional Care for Older People: Identifying the “Aged and Infirm” and the “Sick” in Birmingham Workhouse, 1852-1912’, *Social History of Medicine*, 27 (2014), pp. 64-85; C. Seal, ‘Workhouse Populations of the Cheltenham and Belper Unions: A Study Based on the Census Enumerators’ Books, 1851-1911’, *Family and Community History*, 13 (2010), pp. 83-100.

³⁷ Kevin Schürer and others have written that ‘local evidence suggests that many elderly workhouse inmates decided not to claim the new pension as they perceived themselves to be better off retaining their current arrangement, due to their medical care needs or to the lack of alternative appropriate arrangements’, arguing that the rates in the proportions of older people that lived alone are not explained by the Old Age Pension Act of 1908. Therefore, independent household arrangements outside of institutional care were not desired. See K. Schürer, E.M. Garrett, H. Jaadla and A. Reid, ‘Household and Family Structure in England and Wales (1851-1911): Continuities and Change’, *Continuity and Change*, 33 (2018), pp. 365-411, quote at p. 382.

³⁸ The age threshold for claiming old age pensions at 70 years was a compromise between those that campaigned for pensions to be given to older people in their sixties and those arguing that old age pensions were an unnecessary expense and would discourage those that needed to save for their retirement; see Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 217-20. Thane also speculates that old age pensions may have been granted to those in their sixties based on the assumption that they were aged 70 years and over, particularly in Ireland where poverty was greater there than in England and Wales; see *Old Age in English History*, pp. 227-31.

Furthermore, higher numbers of older men and women were recorded in the CEBs as retired than were admitted to workhouses. The idea that ‘retirement’ in the nineteenth century was mainly characterised by the ‘infirmity retirement’ of agricultural labourers does not reflect the voluntary retirement of those in higher-skilled occupations, such as farmers or grocers.³⁹ These were the sectors that were less likely to be recorded in workhouses. The proportions of ‘retired’ men reached a peak of 22 per cent in Porstea Island, Hampshire in 1891, while the rates of older women ‘living on own means’ reached 35.8 per cent in Christchurch, Hampshire in the same period. We have found that the proportions of men described as ‘retired’ and the percentages of women ‘living on own means’ were negatively correlated with their respective percentages on poor relief. This suggests that more research is needed into these two subgroups of older people that were independent from old age pauperism. This would reassess the idea that the nineteenth century was a period of ‘decline’ for older people.⁴⁰ Rather, they experienced varying degrees of comfort. Overall, narratives of a ‘golden age’ or ‘linear progress’ ignore the variety of the experiences of older people in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Life may have improved generally on the basis that a greater number of older people received old age pensions from 1908 than did poor relief beforehand, although this does not reflect those in their sixties that increasingly received workhouse admissions by 1911, or those that voluntarily retired before 1908.⁴¹ To advance the study of old age in history, we need to discard grand narratives that stress that life was better in pre-industrial times, or after 1908.

6.5 Readdressing ‘Security’ and ‘Vulnerability’ Among Older People

Fourth, in the Introduction, we discussed the themes surrounding old age in history through their ‘security’ and ‘vulnerability’. We have argued that residence in complex household structures, in middle age or old age, significantly influenced the proportions of older people receiving poor relief. However, it was not always the case that complex households were a shield against extreme poverty. The data for Glamorganshire in Chapter Four show that, while old age female pauperism was higher there than in the remaining counties, a higher proportion of older women lived in extended and multiple households combined. Older women were thus caught in positions of ‘security’ and ‘vulnerability’ at the same time; complex household residence did not always guarantee safety from extreme poverty. Also, when surveying the

³⁹ J. Macnicol, *Neoliberalising Old Age* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 87.

⁴⁰ Gilleard, *Old Age in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, p. 97.

⁴¹ G. Boyer, “‘Work for their prime, the workhouse for their age’: Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England”, *Social Science History*, 40 (2016), pp. 3-32, at p. 28.

pauper cohort of outdoor relief recipients and workhouse inmates throughout their lives, a higher percentage of those that went into workhouses were more likely to have received accommodation in the household of a head (an 'extended upwards' household structure). At the same time, those heading a household ('extended downwards') in their old age were less likely to receive outdoor relief or workhouse accommodation. Additionally, while pauperism is associated with 'vulnerability', the Board of Guardians in the Ripon Poor Law Union, Yorkshire West Riding, were more generous in granting higher allowances to older people than in Hertford Union, Hertfordshire and in Alton Union, Hampshire. Therefore, paupers in Ripon Union may have felt more 'secure' than they would have in Alton Union and Hertford Union, where the policy of the latter two Unions was to grant little money to many old age paupers. Levels of comfort among older paupers, perceived by Victorian society as the most vulnerable, varied across England.⁴²

Ideas of 'security' and 'vulnerability' also depend upon various stages of the life course of older people. Older solitaries, taken to belong in one of the final stages of 'nuclear hardship', are not always associated with being its 'victims'.⁴³ For example, Ann Eastwood from Bishop Monkton, although living alone with a housekeeper, spent her adult life running a brush maker and tobacconist's shop with her siblings. In fact, over 15 per cent of older people whose living arrangements were surveyed through their life course had never lived in a nuclear family household. We also find that decisions associated with the agency of individuals lead to pathological circumstances in old age, contributing to a blurring of the 'autonomy' and 'pathology' distinctions. The independent choices one made could lead to dependence in the future. At the age of 45 years, George Lee continued to look after his 80-year-old father. He moved out of the parental home in his fifties, perhaps after his father's death. Lacking any familial support of his own, he went into the Winchester Union workhouse in his old age. Here we see that the history of old age is not only based on biological decline or changing socio-economic status, but is also determined by the histories of older people.

6.6 The Importance of the Local and Regional Context of Old Age

Fifth, a quantitative study of old age in history means that we can appreciate the local and regional context behind the experiences of older people in the past. Despite the recent challenge to the idea of regional differences in Poor Law administration, there is nonetheless evidence of

⁴² For perceptions of pauperism in Victorian society and community life, see the epigraphs at the start of Chapter Five in Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, p. 207.

⁴³ Laslett, 'Family, Kinship and Collectivity', p. 154.

a 'north-south' divide that applies to older people more generally in England.⁴⁴ Steve King's findings for the poor, while they apply to the mid-Victorian period, also extend to the labour force participation rate (LFPR) of older people, the proportion of older people in the population and their household arrangements.⁴⁵ For example, the autonomy and pathology models of historical elderly populations are writ large through demographic patterns, as explored in Chapter One. The proportion of older people by SRD was higher in Hampshire and Hertfordshire, which corresponds with the relatively higher pauperism rates in these counties. In Chapter Two, the LFPR of older men, but not of older women, was higher in Cheshire and the Yorkshire West Riding than in Hampshire and Hertfordshire. This was also the case when excluding those 'retired', those 'formerly' in work and the institutionalised. While the proportions of older men described as 'retired' were higher in Hampshire in 1891, owing to the substantial rates in Christchurch and Portsea Island SRDs, they were more concentrated in Cheshire and the Yorkshire West Riding than in Hertfordshire. Evidence also shows that the higher the proportions of men described as 'retired' in the census, the lower the percentage of male paupers. Similar instances were noted for women that 'lived on own means' in Chapter Three, where Hertfordshire was less likely to contain this demographic than in Yorkshire and in Cheshire. In Chapter Four, the percentages of older people in households outside the conventional nuclear household system were higher in the north than in the south in all periods examined. The ratio between those in complex households and those in households with no relatives in 1891 was narrower in Cheshire and the Yorkshire West Riding than in Hampshire and Hertfordshire. The likelihood of offspring exiting from the parental home, which resulted in older people living in solitary and 'no-family' households, was greater in southern than in northern counties. Those northern SRDs, which were more industrialised than in the south, contained the household structures associated with these types of industry, in line with Anderson's research of Preston.⁴⁶ In these SRDs, younger populations that worked nearby did not have to exit the parental household to find work, marry, or go into domestic service.⁴⁷ A study of household living arrangements in northern and southern England questions the idea that there was a divide in European household arrangements, where mainly nuclear households of north-west Europe contrast with the mainly extended formations in the south-east.⁴⁸ Our

⁴⁴ S.A. Shave, *Pauper Policies: Poor Law Practice in England 1780-1850* (Manchester, 2017), p. 250.

⁴⁵ S. King, *Poverty and Welfare in England 1700-1850: A Regional Perspective* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 141-2.

⁴⁶ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, pp. 139-144.

⁴⁷ J. Day, 'Leaving Home in 19th Century England and Wales: A Spatial Analysis', *Demographic Research*, 39 (2018), pp. 95-135, at p. 112.

⁴⁸ Laslett, 'Family, Kinship and Collectivity', pp. 156-7. The idea of a regional European divide in household structure was argued by J. Hajnal in his article, 'Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household System', in R. Wall and

results confirm that populations in northern England, including Glamorganshire, Wales, had a greater tendency for older people to live in extended and multiple households.

Generally, one could argue that, for older people, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were characterised by an autonomous north and a dependent south. The higher employment and voluntary retirement patterns in the north contrast with the high pauperism and low employment patterns of the south. This is despite the nuances within the counties of the Yorkshire West Riding, where Pontefract SRD widely differed in its pauperism rates in 1901 to that of nearby Settle, or in Hampshire, where Christchurch's male retirement rates contrast with that of Romsey SRD. We could even argue that an exploration of the mainly southern counties of England may have informed the research into historical elderly populations. For example, this would include Thomson's studies of outdoor relief in Bedfordshire and Goose, Hinde and Turnbull's studies of workhouse populations in Hampshire and Hertfordshire.⁴⁹ Very little research, with the exception of recent small-scale studies, has considered adequately the role of older people in the north.⁵⁰ Our primary focus on workhouse populations and outdoor relief recipients in the south means that the autonomy of older people in the past, particularly in northern England, is obscured. To provide a more general description of SRDs mainly characterised by agriculture: where there was pauperism in the south, there was retirement in the north. More specifically, there was a 'farmer-labourer' divide rather than a 'north-south' divide. In four northern SRDs, male farmers constituted a greater proportion of the elderly male population than did agricultural/general labourers combined. This is interesting because farmers were less likely to fall into pauperism than if they were agricultural or general labourers. Despite the severity of pauperism in the mining districts, our data show

J. Robin (eds.), *Family Forms in Historic Europe* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 65-104. For a recent study of Eastern Europe which challenges the European household dichotomy, see M. Szołtysek, 'Spatial Construction of European Family and Household Systems: A Promising Path or a Blind Alley? An Eastern European Perspective', *Continuity and Change*, 27 (2012), pp. 11-52. Also, for a study that confirms regional divides within the same country, see P.R.A. Hinde, 'Household Structure, Marriage and the Institution of Service in Nineteenth-Century Rural England', *Local Population Studies*, 35 (1985), pp. 43-51 (later revised in K. Schürer and D. Mills (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Colchester, 1996), pp. 317-25).

⁴⁹ Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past', pp. 202-3; N. Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender in Nineteenth-Century England: The Case of Hertfordshire', *Continuity and Change*, 20 (2005), pp. 351-84; A. Hinde and F. Turnbull, 'The Populations of Two Hampshire Workhouses, 1851-1861', *Local Population Studies*, 61 (1998), pp. 38-53.

⁵⁰ In terms of the role of older people as workhouse inmates, see A. Gritt and P. Park, 'The Workhouse Populations of Lancashire in 1881', *Local Population Studies*, 86 (2011), pp. 37-65; L. Darwen, 'Workhouse Populations of the Preston Union, 1841-61', *Local Population Studies*, 94 (2014), pp. 33-42; for almshouse residents, see C. Seal, 'Social Care in Northern England: The Almshouses of County Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Family and Community History*, 16 (2013), pp. 45-65.

that pauperism in old age was generally an agrarian phenomenon, exacerbated by a predominantly nuclear family structure that interacted with the labour-intensive economy. The exit of offspring from the parental household and the old age pauperism of the parents which ensued was contingent upon the life course of those involved in the labour-intensive economy, which characterised southern England. This may account for the degree of relative autonomy among older people in the north, particularly those based in the smallholding economies where extended family members could be maintained in the parental household to participate in running a smallholding. Contrastingly, the experiences of many agricultural labourers in the south were pauper-based, since their low wages meant that they lacked the capacity to save for their old age, and also the potential to receive assistance from their relatives that out-migrated. This may explain the finding in Chapter Two that a high proportion of elderly male agricultural labourers were admitted to the workhouse, whereas the proportion of male farmers was low.

Despite our findings, a limited sample of five selected counties suggests that this research is merely consistent with the idea of a ‘north-south’ divide. Further research expanding on the five selected counties is needed to understand if a regional divide clearly existed along the lines of familial support and welfare cultures. There is evidence that corroborates Steven King and John Stewart’s ‘welfare peripheries’ model, where priorities differed between the policies of the local Board of Guardians and the objectives of the centralised Local Government Board.⁵¹ In Chapter Three, Glamorgan in the west contained districts with a high pauperism rate, akin to Hertfordshire in the east. This also confirms recent doctoral research exploring similarities in relief distribution in Montgomeryshire, Wales and Lincolnshire in the early twentieth century, challenging the notion of a strictly enforced ‘west-east’ divide.⁵² In this case, more research is needed into the intra-county variation of old age pauperism. This was evident in the Yorkshire West Riding SRDs of Pontefract and Settle in the early 1900s. Pressures of the mining industry in Pontefract betrayed any notion of northern England as a ‘low pauperism regime’.

Nonetheless, the argument of strong regional welfare cultures must not entirely be discredited. While they may not be found in close study of Poor Law Unions, they are predicated on what is contained in the CEBs, namely the occupational structure and the residential arrangements

⁵¹ S. King and J. Stewart, ‘Welfare Peripheries in Modern Europe’, in S. King and J. Stewart (eds.), *Welfare Peripheries: The Development of Welfare States in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Europe* (Bern, 2007), pp. 9-38, esp. pp. 24-31.

⁵² N. Blacklaws, ‘The Twentieth-Century Poor Law in the Midlands and Wales, c.1900-1930’ (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Leicester, 2019), pp. 309-12.

of older people. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the percentage of older males recorded in pauperism reach single digits more frequently in the Yorkshire West Riding. This is argued to have been based on the pasture-based smallholding economy that was characteristic of northern England. The consistency of these figures over time suggests a neat categorisation of the regional welfare cultures model.⁵³ For the future, a national approach must be taken to test the initial findings found in the five selected counties, while also paying attention to any intra-county variations at SRD level.

Based on these findings, what is greatly needed to further study the history of old age is to redefine our current methodological approaches. Rather than considering countrywide themes such as biological decline, familial care and welfare, we need to examine older people through a local and regional perspective. This will further develop the concepts surrounding autonomy and pathology in old age. The ‘regionalism’ of old age, inspired by recent studies of women’s work and child labour, would allow for the diversity of older people’s experiences, in relation to local booms or declines in industry, regional household patterns and migratory habits.⁵⁴ If scholars were to adapt their concepts of old age with greater attention to place, region and locality, this would permit a consideration of ageing through multiple perspectives. Such perspectives would emphasise their productivity and their role in the ‘higher-skilled’ economy, as opposed to simplistic ‘welfare-dependent’ attitudes about old age.

Although local and regional variations in the experiences of older people are pronounced, there were many changes on the macro scale that differentiated the mid-Victorian era from the post-1908 period. For example, old age pauperism began to decline from the 1870s following the ‘crusade against outdoor relief’, before falling dramatically owing to the Old Age Pension Act of 1908. Also, in line with Paul Johnson’s research, the labour force rates of older men declined by 1911 as the proportions of those recorded as ‘retired’ increased.⁵⁵ This suggests that the late Victorian and Edwardian period marked the early origins of an ‘emergence of mass retirement’.⁵⁶ However, a detailed quantitative study of the elderly population shows many nuances that add to the general perspective. While male LFPR generally declined, those that

⁵³ For a more detailed discussion of this model, see S. King, ‘Welfare Regimes and Welfare Regions in Britain and Europe, c.1750s to 1860s’, *Journal of Modern European History*, 9 (2011), pp. 42-66.

⁵⁴ For example, N. Goose (ed.), *Women’s Work in Industrial England: Regional and Local Perspectives* (Hatfield, 2007) and N. Goose and K. Honeyman (eds.) *Childhood and Child Labour in Industrial England: Diversity and Agency* (Farnham, 2013).

⁵⁵ P. Johnson, ‘The Employment and Retirement of Older Men in England and Wales, 1881-1981’, *Economic History Review*, 47 (1994), pp. 106-128.

⁵⁶ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 385-406.

were aged 60-69 years and recorded in employment, which includes those 'retired', formerly in work and the institutionalised, actually experienced a rise in LFPR from 91.9 per cent in 1901 to 92.3 per cent in 1911. We have seen how a greater proportion of non-institutionalised and non-retired older men increasingly integrated with the urbanised workforce in commercial, conveyance, mining and the metal trades. The rise of older men in several occupational categories was not reflected for elderly women, as there was a fall in their LFPR owing to a fall in domestic service. Old age pauperism was still skewed towards older women despite the Old Age Pension Act. Furthermore, 32.7 per cent of male relief applicants received it indoors in 1881, rising to 48.9 per cent in 1911, suggesting how the Old Age Pension Act reinforced male pauperisation in the institutional context. Therefore, a chronological overview of changing LFPR and of changing pauperism rates masks not only local and regional variations, but also changes specific to gender and to age profile.

6.7 Conclusions

Overall, this thesis has illustrated the value of newly available quantitative data to explore important themes relating to the welfare, employment, retirement and living arrangements of older people in 1851-1911. Despite the criticisms of using census data to measure the LFPR of older people, or to accurately measure 'retirement', quantitative data are well placed to capture the array of the experiences of older people.⁵⁷ In particular, the newly available data provide new opportunities to explore the diversity of older people's experiences through an appreciation of the local and regional context. If older people in the past are seen in a different way, then we can use this knowledge to apply an understanding of older people in the present, such as in their capacity to contribute economically in their sixties, or on the changing relationship between familial and state support. Appreciating this diversity will help inform public discourse where discussion of older people often particularly focuses on their welfare needs.⁵⁸ I-CeM datasets have been successfully linked with other sources to explore the root causes of underlying old age pauperism and to illustrate the various occupations and household arrangements that reduced the risk of falling into pauperism. While supporting Thane in that we have explored older people 'as a resource, not as a burden,' we have further clarified the relationship between the elderly poor and the state in Victorian times.⁵⁹ To continue this agenda, there is a need to assess the typicality of our five selected counties by undertaking

⁵⁷ J. Macnicol, *The Politics of Retirement in Britain, 1878-1948* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 24; E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census – Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901* (London, 2005), pp. 113-4.

⁵⁸ S. Harper, *Ageing Societies* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁹ Thane, *Old Age in English History*, p. 493.

research into other counties. More research is needed into qualitative testimonies of the local population with regards to pauperism and to the autonomous nature of older people, as well as the distribution of outdoor relief as the core of welfare provision to the aged. Further research should, as in this thesis, consider themes disaggregated by gender and age profiles to challenge generalisations about the experiences of older people in the past. A life course approach is important in helping to illustrate *why* people came to be autonomous or dependent towards the end of their lives. The life course perspective, facilitated by use of the transcribed census datasets, therefore humanises older people in the past by placing their experiences at old age within a wider temporal context. Those that were old were young once, having to contend with circumstances and events which formed how they lived their old age. In other words, this thesis has given a face to the many older people that lived in Victorian and Edwardian England and Wales: a period of profound social, economic and demographic change.

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