

# Old Age, Regionalism and the 'North-South' Divide in Late Victorian and Edwardian England

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ABSTRACT: In late Victorian and Edwardian England, contemporaries argued that older people (or, those aged sixty years and over) in particular had greater employment opportunities, stronger familial ties and were less reliant on welfare in northern than in southern England. This paper discusses whether opportunities were indeed better for older people living in northern England. Using nineteenth-century census datasets for two English 'southern' and 'northern' counties, it will examine the labour force participation rates of older people, the rates on welfare and the extent of familial support. Overall, prospects were generally greater for older people living in the 'northern' counties. However, their fortunes varied within the counties based on particular districts. Also, women were more disadvantaged in terms of poverty and the labour market than men, irrespective of region. As will be shown, more research is needed into the history of older people through a regional perspective, especially for northern England.

KEYWORDS: Old age, Regionalism, 'North-South' Divide, Poverty, Employment, Family.



## INTRODUCTION

THE IDEA OF a 'North-South' divide, often used by today's social commentators to denote the growing prosperity of southern England compared with the economic decline of the north, is rooted in history.<sup>1</sup> The 'North-South' divide is multi-faceted: a concept which has been used to explain the changing development of local government,

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farming techniques, literature and industry.<sup>2</sup> The definition of a 'North-South' divide is also ever-changing: in the late Victorian and Edwardian period, it was northern England that was considered the most prosperous region. The association of the north with industrial towns and the relatively higher wages of miners and textile workers, compared with agricultural workers in the South, resulted in many migrating to the mining and textile districts in order to improve their lives.<sup>3</sup> Based on its historical significance, this paper will discuss the 'North-South' divide with reference to older people (those aged sixty years and over) and their varying fortunes in terms of state-funded welfare provision, support from their extended family and employment patterns in late Victorian and Edwardian England. When historians examine older people in the long-nineteenth century, most studies have focused on southern England, especially on the elderly living in poverty (or, to quote nineteenth-century parlance, 'pauperism') under the old welfare system of the New Poor Law.<sup>4</sup> As a result, we often view older people in history through the prism of the experiences of the poor in southern England. It would be interesting to see how far the situation for older people differed in northern England. However, a historiographical reassessment of old age through the 'North-South' divide in Victorian England is lacking, although there is an awareness of a 'North-South' divide in terms of the proportions generally that lived in poverty.<sup>5</sup> This article aims to address this lacuna by investigating the 'North-South' divide in late Victorian and Edwardian England in the context of older people. First, the origins of a 'North-

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<sup>2</sup> John England, *In My Life* (Rothersthorpe: Paragon Publishing, 2006), p. 159; Helen M. Jewell, *The North-South Divide: The Origins of Northern Consciousness in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 1-10.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Woods, *The Population of Britain in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 22-3.

<sup>4</sup> For a study of workhouses in Hampshire, see Andrew Hinde and Fiona Turnbull, 'The Populations of Two Hampshire Workhouses, 1851-1861', *Local Population Studies*, 61 (1998), 38-53. For Kent, see David 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), 11-32. However, for studies of workhouse populations in northern England, see Lewis Darwen, 'Workhouse Populations of the Preston Union, 1841-61', *Local Population Studies*, 94 (2014), 33-42 and Alistair 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), 64-85.

<sup>5</sup> Steve King, *Poverty and Welfare in England 1700-1850: A Regional Perspective* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 141-2.

South' divide, as expressed by contemporaries in the long-nineteenth century, are outlined. Second, a discussion of the dimensions of the 'North-South' divide, especially with regards to old age, is re-examined. Third, questions are proposed that form the objectives of this article, before discussing the use of transcribed population census datasets that allow us to answer our questions. Fourth, data on fifty-five districts in four counties across regions in England are presented on the changing proportions of older people recorded as paupers, the rates of those recorded in employment and the percentages receiving familial support through co-residence with their offspring. In the process, it will be shown that while pauperism was higher in southern districts, familial support and employment patterns were generally more prominent in northern England.

### Definitions of the 'North-South' Divide in the Long-Nineteenth Century

Victorian contemporaries held different definitions of the 'North-South' divide. As exemplified by Elizabeth Gaskell in her 1855 novel *North and South*, her perception of the North was of prosperity brought on by the Industrial Revolution, comprised of capitalist manufacturers and their poverty-stricken workers. This was compared with the blissful and communal rural idyll of the South, based on paternalism from the ruler to the ruled.<sup>6</sup> Politician James Caird went beyond the excesses of industry and its consequences to focus on regional wage differences, arguing in 1852 that agricultural workers in the North received higher wages than in the South. This was because labourers in the North worked in close proximity to districts where the mining and manufacturing industries predominated. Competition between agriculture and industry over the demand for labour meant that the manufacturing industry in particular added 37 per cent to the wages of agricultural labourers.<sup>7</sup>

Old age is indirectly mentioned in a survey of agricultural wages in mid-Victorian England, first written by Arthur Wilson Fox for the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* in 1903. He argued that northern men 'were not pauperised by the old Poor Law system, nor underfed'.<sup>8</sup> He further adds that Northerners had the intellectual and economic

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<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South*, ed. by Patricia Ingham (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1995) pp. xii-xxviii.

<sup>7</sup> James Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1852), p. 511-3.

<sup>8</sup> Arthur Wilson Fox, 'Agricultural Wages in England during the Last Fifty Years', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 66, 2 (Jun., 1903), 273-359 (p. 318).

capacity to invest in their children's education. In return, they 'endeavour to preserve their parents in old age from the stigma of pauperism'.<sup>9</sup> Wilson Fox does not explain how the old age of parents was preserved. Instead, he describes the self-reliance of Northerners, using rhetoric that was redolent of the eugenics movement that permeated some sectors of Victorian intellectual enquiry:

Their wages have been sufficient to enable many of them to save money and start on small farms. Scores of farmers in the North, or their fathers before them, have been farm servants. They have been right away through from the beginning of last century a finer race, physically and intellectually, than the Southerner, as every report and book bears testimony, and to-day they are still a splendid race [...] Which is the better race to breed from now, the Northerner, or the Southerner?<sup>10</sup>

Social commentator Charles Booth had written in his 1894 publication *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* that a 'North-South' divide in the distribution of poor relief existed in late Victorian England. While 28.6 per cent of those aged sixty-five years and over in eastern England received outdoor relief (or relief in people's own homes), this applied to only 13.4 per cent in northern England.<sup>11</sup> He concluded that thrift, or the greater proportion of those saving for their old age, was a reason why northern England was less likely to rely on the Poor Law. Rather vaguely, he also ascribed 'the character of the people' in the North as an explanation for the lower proportions of older people on relief there.<sup>12</sup>

#### Historiographical Perspectives on Old Age in Northern and Southern England

Historians have also agreed with contemporaries of the Victorian period that the fortunes of older people differed among regional lines. However, most historiographical commentary on this issue has been limited and has focused mainly

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 318.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 318-9. See also Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth-Century Britain* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995), pp. 18-37.

<sup>11</sup> Charles Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1894), p. 344; George Boyer and Timothy P. Schmidle, 'Poverty among the Elderly in Late Victorian England', *The Economic History Review*, 62 (2009), 249-78.

<sup>12</sup> Booth, pp. 24, 425.

on the elderly poor. George Boyer and Timothy P. Schmidle, using Charles Booth's data, have found that the workhouse test, or the proportions on relief inside workhouses, was negatively associated with the rate of old age pauperism in northern districts. As a result, the poor were deterred from applying for outdoor relief due to the prospect that they would have been institutionalized.<sup>13</sup> This may explain why poor relief was distributed less in northern England than in the South.

The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP) have also discussed the importance of the New Poor Law in the treatment of elderly people. David Thomson points to the high proportions of older people that received weekly allowances of outdoor relief in the southern county of Bedfordshire.<sup>14</sup> Conversely, familial support for older people was fairly limited; about 40 per cent of older people aged sixty-five years and over in selected southern counties lived with at least one child, a figure that has not been established elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> Through samples of population census data, Marguerite Dupree reveals that familial assistance to older people aged sixty-five years and over was greater in the North than in the South through an examination of the 57-58 per cent of older people throughout mid-Victorian Stoke-on-Trent that co-resided with at least one of their offspring.<sup>16</sup> Coupled with Michael Anderson's seminal study of the family in nineteenth-century Preston, where over two-thirds of older people co-resided in 1851, it is clear that familial support was a defining feature of the welfare of older people in the North.<sup>17</sup> By contrast, reliance on the Poor Law was more prominent in southern districts. Overall, there was a binary divide in welfare provisions, drawn across lines of North and South.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Boyer and Schmidle, pp. 265-6.

<sup>14</sup> David Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly in the Past: A Family or Community Responsibility?', in *Life, Death and the Elderly: Historical Perspectives*, ed. by Margaret Pelling and Richard M. Smith (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 194-221 (pp. 203-5).

<sup>15</sup> David Thomson, 'Welfare and the Historians', in *The World We Have Gained: Essays Presented to Peter Laslett*, ed. by Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M. Smith and Keith Wrightson (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1986), pp. 355-78 (p. 364)

<sup>16</sup> Marguerite W. Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries, 1840-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 328.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 139.

<sup>18</sup> Dupree, p. 328.

### Questions and Source Materials

It remains to be seen how far the 'North-South' divide extends to the labour force participation rate of older people, or those that were recorded as living with their offspring in simple, extended and multiple household arrangements.<sup>19</sup> Most of the scholarship that goes into depth on the social history of older people, such as Nigel Goose's research on Hertfordshire, tends to examine the plight of older people in southern England, with northern England somewhat excluded apart from Dupree and Anderson's research.<sup>20</sup> From this, how far is our understanding of the history of older people in the long-nineteenth century governed by our knowledge of southern trends? Using large-scale data sources, can we conduct a quantitative assessment of the 'North-South' divide? Answers to these questions have been limited by the inaccessibility of 'big data' on various nineteenth-century resources. One is the census enumerators' books (CEBs) that survey the entire population of Victorian England and Wales. When it comes to our understanding of older people in the long-nineteenth century, conclusions from the CEBs by Anderson and Dupree have been based on sampling techniques. However, the recently released Integrated Census Microdata datasets (I-CeM) have successfully transcribed the original CEBs into digital formats which enable larger-scale research into the populations of the past. It contains 210 million individual entries and 45 million households disseminated from the original CEBs recorded between 1851 and 1911. As a result, the 100 per cent coverage of older people in an

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<sup>19</sup> 'Simple' households consist of a married couple, a married couple with their offspring, or a widowed person with their offspring. 'Extended family' households are identical to the 'simple' family system (which excludes 'simple' households where married couples lived by themselves) but with the addition of one or more relatives. 'Multiple family' households contain two or more family units connected by kinship and by marriage. For more information, see Peter Laslett, 'Introduction', in *Household and Family in Past Time* ed. by Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 1-90 (pp. 28-30). Additional household arrangements (for example, 'solitary' and 'no conjugal family unit' households) are outlined in Appendix 2.

<sup>20</sup> Nigel Goose, 'Workhouse Populations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Case of Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 62 (1999), 52-69; Nigel Goose, 'Poverty, Old Age and Gender in Nineteenth-Century England: The Case of Hertfordshire', *Continuity and Change*, 20 (2005), 351-84. For Bedfordshire, see Samantha Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-Cycle under the English Poor Law, 1760-1834* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013); for south-west England, see Samantha A. Shave, *Pauper Policies: Poor Law Practice in England, 1780-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

occupation or in various household arrangements can be examined across northern and southern England.<sup>21</sup>

While it is possible to survey the elderly population nationally, we examine all the men and women aged sixty years and over in four counties, in order to assess the 'North-South' divide through an appropriate regional context. As a result, this paper selects two 'northern' counties, Cheshire and the Yorkshire West Riding, and compares them with two counties to the south of England, Hertfordshire and Hampshire. They were chosen due to the diverse nature of industry and agriculture that exists within the counties, such as the silk trade located in Stockport, Cheshire, the steel industries in Sheffield, Yorkshire and the coastal areas that make up Birkenhead in Cheshire and Christchurch and Portsmouth in Hampshire.<sup>22</sup> Data from the periods of 1891 to 1911 are analysed via fifty-five Superintendent Registration Districts (SRDs), thirty-five of which are in southern England. Appendix 1 provides some contextual information on the economic characteristics of each SRD, as defined by Charles Booth in his analysis of Poor Law Unions in *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (1894).<sup>23</sup> The counties and SRDs selected have a good command of rural and urban SRDs, as well as manufacturing and trading districts, 'half-rural' market towns and residential/coastal characteristics.

The numbers of elderly men and women that form the population of SRDs provide a springboard into analysing the percentages receiving poor relief as recorded in another important nineteenth-century resource. The House of Commons published biannual reports on the numbers of men and women receiving indoor and outdoor relief, which are available in the Parliamentary Papers archive. They only record data from 1 January and 1 July from 1858 to 1912.<sup>24</sup> Older people are defined by their

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<sup>21</sup> As outlined in Edward Higgs et al, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Essex: University of Essex, 2013), pp. 1-3.

<sup>22</sup> For more information on Victorian Stockport, see R. Burr-Litchfield, 'The Family and the Mill: Cotton Mill Work, Family Work Patterns and Fertility in Mid-Victorian Stockport', in *The Victorian Family: Structure and Stresses* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1978), ed. by Anthony S. Wohl, pp. 180-96; on nineteenth-century Sheffield, see Melvyn Jones, *The Making of Sheffield* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books Ltd, 2013), p. 106.

<sup>23</sup> Poor Law Unions and Registration Districts (SRDs) were usually coterminous in the period we are examining.

<sup>24</sup> Mary MacKinnon, 'The Use and Misuse of Poor Law Statistics, 1857 to 1912', *Historical Methods*, 21 (1988), 5-19.

subcategorization in the 'non-able-bodied' and 'lunatics' category, as opposed to the adult 'able-bodied' population, the latter generally defined as those aged fifteen to fifty-nine years.<sup>25</sup> The numbers that received indoor and outdoor relief on 1 January in a census year can be tallied against the numbers of elderly men and women as recorded usually around three to four months later on census night. For example, in the Southampton Poor Law Union on 1 January 1891, there were 424 men and 750 women recorded as receiving indoor and outdoor relief under the 'non-able-bodied' and 'lunatic' categories. As there were 1,690 men and 2,449 women aged sixty years and over, living in Southampton SRD on census night 5 April 1891, it can therefore be estimated that 25.1 per cent of men aged sixty years and over, and 30.6 per cent of women in the same age range, received poor relief on 1 January 1891.<sup>26</sup> This method can be repeated for 1 January 1901 and 1911.

### Analysis

A rank order of the percentages of men and women aged sixty years and over estimated to have received indoor and outdoor relief on 1 January 1891 comprises Table 1a. The five highest and five lowest percentages by SRD are presented. For both men and women, the five highest all belong to Hertfordshire and Hampshire SRDs, whereas the four lowest are situated in Cheshire and the Yorkshire West Riding. However, only 8.7 per cent of elderly men and 9.7 per cent of elderly women in Christchurch, Hampshire, were estimated to have received poor relief. Christchurch is interesting in that it was a residential coastal district which, in 1891, commanded one of the highest proportions of elderly men described in the occupational column as 'retired' in the

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<sup>25</sup> The ratio of specified older paupers to 'non-able-bodied' paupers was constant throughout the mid-Victorian period; Mackinnon concludes that 'not-able-bodied and old-age pauperism can be used as interchangeable terms', p. 9. Evidence from surviving outdoor relief lists that record all recipients with specified ages in the parish of Alton, Hampshire from 1880 to 1881 shows how only ten of the ninety-two paupers receiving outdoor relief and categorized as 'non-able-bodied' were under the age of sixty years. Nobody categorized as 'able-bodied' was aged sixty years and over. Data available at Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Outdoor Relief Lists for Alton District No. 1, October 1880-March 1881, PL3/2/81, Alton parish. The inclusion of 'lunatics' was a precautionary measure, since there was no clear idea of any age distinction in the definition of 'lunatics', as there was in the 'able-bodied', suggesting that some older people were present in the 'lunatics' category.

<sup>26</sup> Parliamentary Papers, 1890-1891, LXVIII.393, *Pauperism (England and Wales). Return (B.) Paupers Relieved on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1891*, pp. 14-18.



census. Overall, 18.3 per cent of elderly men in Christchurch were enumerated as 'retired', compared with 13.3 per cent in Hampshire.<sup>27</sup> Retirement in the nineteenth-century meant something quite different to today's definitions, in that retirement in the census meant somebody that voluntarily exited the workforce through their savings, not always at a fixed age.<sup>28</sup> Most of the retired men there were army officials, perhaps originally based in Aldershot Garrison, established in 1854 as a permanent training camp for the British Army.<sup>29</sup> Royal Artillery units were stationed in Christchurch.<sup>30</sup> For elderly women, Christchurch was home to the highest proportions described as 'living on own means', at 35.8 per cent.<sup>31</sup> This meant that income was being received outside of employment and of poor relief, perhaps through dowries, savings and charity.<sup>32</sup> In fact, the percentages of men in Christchurch described as 'retired', at 18.3 per cent, and the proportions of women that relied on additional means other than poor relief, at 35.8 per cent, eclipse the percentages of men and women receiving poor relief, at 8.7 per cent and 9.7 per cent respectively.

Even when allowing for those that may have received relief outside 1 January 1891, the rates of male relief recipients are still lower than that of the male 'retired', and the rates of female paupers lower than that of women 'living on own means'.<sup>33</sup> This is

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<sup>27</sup> Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891.

<sup>28</sup> This argument contrasts with Paul Johnson's view that '[at] 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'. See Paul Johnson, 'Parallel Histories of Retirement in Modern Britain,' in *Old Age from Antiquity to Post-Modernity* ed. by Paul Johnson and Pat Thane (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 211-25.

<sup>29</sup> Murray Rowlands, *Aldershot in the Great War: The Home of the British Army* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books Ltd, 2015), p. 18.

<sup>30</sup> As located in <[http://www.historychristchurch.org.uk/content/catalogue\\_item/royal-artillery-men](http://www.historychristchurch.org.uk/content/catalogue_item/royal-artillery-men)> (accessed 10 February 2019).

<sup>31</sup> Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891.

<sup>32</sup> See Eilidh Garrett for changing definitions of those 'living on own means' across the 1891-1921 CEBs: E. Garret, 'The Dawning of a New Era? Women's Work in England and Wales at the Turn of the Twentieth-Century', *Women's Work in Industrial England: Regional and Local Perspectives* ed. by Nigel Goose (Hatfield: Local Population Studies, 2007), pp. 314-62, (p. 362).

<sup>33</sup> The numbers of men and women receiving indoor and outdoor relief on 1 January 1891 were multiplied by 1.12 to provide an estimate of the relief received all year. This means that 9.8 per cent of men and 10.9 per cent of women in Christchurch are estimated to have received poor relief all year. The figure used for multiplying is half of 2.24, used to convert the day-count numbers recorded in the Parliamentary

**Table 1a** - Rank order of the five highest and lowest estimated percentages of men and women aged sixty years and over on indoor and outdoor relief, four English counties, 1 January 1891

			Male	Male	% M
RANK	SRD	County	Poor	60+	Poor
1	Bishop's Stor.	Herts	303	1047	28.9
2	Southampton	Hants	424	1690	25.1
3	Romsey	Hants	131	530	24.7
4	Hertford	Herts	174	708	24.6
5	Basingstoke	Hants	220	905	24.3
51	Ecclesall Bier.	Yorks	288	3239	8.9
52	Christchurch	Hants	131	1501	8.7
53	Altrincham	Ches	187	2187	8.6
54	Skipton	Yorks	125	1509	8.3
55	Settle	Yorks	45	659	6.8
<b>ENGLAND</b>			<b>11949</b>	<b>73995</b>	<b>16.1</b>

  

			Female	Female	% F
RANK	SRD	County	Poor	60+	Poor
1	Fordingbridge	Hants	143	358	39.9
2	Bishop's Stor.	Herts	454	1199	37.9
3	Ware	Herts	351	943	37.2
4	Hertford	Herts	303	824	36.8
5	Hemel Hemp.	Herts	270	793	34.0
51	Wirral	Ches	160	1310	12.2
52	Altrincham	Ches	319	2710	11.8
53	Ecclesall Bier.	Yorks	442	4302	10.3
54	Christchurch	Hants	217	2231	9.7
55	Settle	Yorks	42	643	6.5
<b>ENGLAND</b>			<b>19501</b>	<b>89050</b>	<b>21.9</b>

*Notes.* Includes men and women aged sixty years and over. The 'poor' are based on the 'non-able-bodied' and 'lunatic' populations contained in the parliamentary papers. Numbers in 'England' include all SRDs in 1891 (n = 55).

*Sources.* Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891; Parliamentary Papers, 1890-1891, LXVIII.393, *Pauperism (England and Wales). Return (B.) Paupers Relieved on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1891.*

Papers to estimated year-counts. For more information, see George Boyer, "Work for their prime, the workhouse for their age": Old Age Pauperism in Victorian England', *Social Science History*, 40 (2016), 3-32 (fn. 9, p. 12).

far from the national perspective that pauperism was strongly associated with the elderly population in the late Victorian period.<sup>34</sup> It also shows that not all southern SRDs contained high proportions of elderly male and female paupers; their rates clearly reflect what was seen in some northern districts.

There is in fact a neat association in 1891 between the old age dependency ratio (OADR), which is the numbers of persons aged sixty-five years and over per one-hundred people aged fifteen to sixty-four years, and the proportions of those aged sixty years and over receiving indoor and outdoor relief. In the ten SRDs with the lowest OADRs, all based in Yorkshire and Cheshire, bar Christchurch SRD in Hampshire, the pauperism rates of men and women combined ranged from 9.7 per cent to 20.7 per cent. In twelve SRDs with the highest OADRs, mostly concentrated in Hampshire and Hertfordshire, the proportions in pauperism ranged from 15.6 per cent to 33.7 per cent.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, the northern counties had relatively few elderly people to support, whereas in districts where older people were relatively numerous, greater proportions of older people received relief. It appears that the Board of Guardians treated the elderly poor more generously than would have been the case if the percentages of elderly people in the district were small.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, the willingness by the Board of Guardians to issue poor relief to older people was predicated on local and regional demographic patterns.

Table 1b presents the situation for the elderly male and female poor in 1901. There is a general 'North-South' divide presented as Settle in Yorkshire still contained the lowest proportions of men and women on relief. Despite this, Pontefract nearby housed the highest proportions. Out of fifty-five SRDs, it was the district with the largest increase in the proportions of older people receiving relief between 1891 and 1901. It was also the district with the highest percentage of elderly men that were working in

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<sup>34</sup> Booth, pp. 419-20, although Booth defines the elderly population as sixty-five years and over, rather than sixty years, which would inflate the percentages of older people recorded as paupers.

<sup>35</sup> Data on the old age dependency ratios for 1891 is produced by the 'Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline Project', led by Alice M. Reid, with funding from the Economic and Social Research Council (ES/L015463/1), using an enhanced version of data from Kevin Schürer and Edward Higgs, Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911 [data collection], UK Data Archive, Colchester, Essex (2014). Available on the Populations Past website in online map format at [https://www.populationspast.org/eld\\_work\\_a/1891/#6/53.035/-7.124](https://www.populationspast.org/eld_work_a/1891/#6/53.035/-7.124) [Accessed 31 January 2019].

<sup>36</sup> Thomson, 'The Welfare of the Elderly', pp. 203-4.

the mining industry in 1901, at around 17 per cent.<sup>37</sup> The situation in Pontefract may reflect what went occurred in South Wales, as argued by Ben Curtis and Steven Thompson. They comment that contemporaries described the strenuous conditions of mining as causing a premature ageing of the working population. Miners left face-work and were relegated to a role at the pit head.<sup>38</sup> This downward occupational mobility may have resulted in a reduction in wages, hence dependence on poor relief. The occupation-specific mortality of elderly men would have left many of their spouses widowed and reliant on little other than familial support and the Poor Law, hence the 39.9 per cent of elderly women on relief.<sup>39</sup>

By 1911, we find that the percentages of elderly men and women on indoor and outdoor relief had fallen dramatically to 10 per cent for men and 12.7 per cent for women (Table 1c). We can see that the 'North-South' divide was retained even after the introduction of an influential social policy. The Old Age Pension Act of 1908 was a significant factor in the reduction of old age pauperism. Older men and women received a higher allowance from the old age pension than from outdoor relief: the maximum amount of pension for single applicants being five shillings weekly.<sup>40</sup> This caused a reduction in the disparity of the percentages receiving poor relief between the four counties. For example, Kingsclere in Hampshire joins nearby Christchurch by ranking number fifty-one in the percentages of elderly women that received poor relief. In general, the range in the rates of pauperism across the four counties converged by 1911. For elderly men in 1891, the lowest rate of 12.8 per cent in Cheshire and the highest rate of 22.3 per cent in Hertfordshire were recorded as paupers; in 1911, only 9.1 per cent in Cheshire and 12.3 per cent in Hertfordshire belonged to that category. For women in 1891, the Yorkshire West Riding had the lowest proportion of elderly paupers, at 17.3 per cent, compared with 29.2 per cent in Hertfordshire. By 1911, 10.5 per cent of the Yorkshire West Riding's elderly women were paupers, alongside the 15.6 per cent

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<sup>37</sup> Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1901.

<sup>38</sup> Ben Curtis and Steven 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), 587-606.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 596.

<sup>40</sup> Pat Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 226-7; Chris Gilleard, *Old Age in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Ageing under the Union* (London: Springer Nature, 2017), pp. 70-1.

**Table 1b** - Rank order of the five highest and lowest estimated percentages of men and women aged sixty years and over on indoor and outdoor relief, four English counties, 1 January 1901

			Male	Male	% M
RANK	SRD	County	Poor	60+	Poor
1	Pontefract	Yorks	552	1827	30.2
2	Fareham	Hants	247	856	28.9
3	Royston	Herts	358	1327	27.0
4	Southampton	Hants	494	2038	24.2
5	Stockbridge	Hants	80	342	23.4
51	Ecclesall Bier.	Yorks	426	4162	10.2
52	Keighley	Yorks	232	2318	10.0
53	Wetherby	Yorks	64	708	9.0
54	Altrincham	Ches	203	2505	8.1
55	Settle	Yorks	41	579	7.1
<b>ENGLAND</b>			<b>13287</b>	<b>83407</b>	<b>15.9</b>
			Female	Female	% F
RANK	SRD	County	Poor	60+	Poor
1	Pontefract	Yorks	776	1946	39.9
2	Hatfield	Herts	151	399	37.8
3	New Forest	Hants	253	697	36.3
4	Berkhamsted	Herts	288	820	35.1
5	Fareham	Hants	323	979	33.0
51	Wirral	Ches	190	1589	12.0
52	Ecclesall Bier.	Yorks	668	5637	11.9
53	Altrincham	Ches	359	3256	11.0
54	Droxford	Hants	67	660	10.2
55	Settle	Yorks	55	647	8.5
<b>ENGLAND</b>			<b>22117</b>	<b>103823</b>	<b>21.3</b>

*Notes:* Includes men and women aged sixty years and over. The 'poor' are based on the 'non-able-bodied' and 'lunatic' populations contained in the parliamentary papers. Numbers in 'England' include all SRDs in 1901 (n = 55).

*Sources:* Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1901; Parliamentary Papers, 1901, LXIV.231, *Pauperism (England and Wales). Half-yearly Statements.*

**Table 1c** - Rank order of the five highest and lowest estimated percentages of men and women aged sixty years and over on indoor and outdoor relief, four English counties, 1 January 1911

			Male	Male	% M
RANK	SRD	County	Poor	60+	Poor
1	Southampton	Hants	951	4269	22.3
2	Stockbridge	Hants	64	341	18.8
3	Ware	Herts	181	1012	17.9
4	Andover	Hants	142	864	16.4
5	Pontefract	Yorks	394	2435	16.2
51	Skipton	Yorks	104	1905	5.5
52	Keighley	Yorks	143	2704	5.3
53	Christchurch	Hants	175	3864	4.5
54	Altrincham	Ches	119	3163	3.8
55	Settle	Yorks	19	681	2.8
<b>ENGLAND</b>			<b>10606</b>	<b>105968</b>	<b>10.0</b>

  

			Female	Female	% F
RANK	SRD	County	Poor	60+	Poor
1	Southampton	Hants	1473	5583	26.4
2	Ware	Herts	334	1301	25.7
3	Stockbridge	Hants	99	388	25.5
4	Hemel Hemp.	Herts	233	1051	22.2
5	Royston	Herts	349	1594	21.9
51	Kingsclere	Hants	33	539	6.1
52	Skipton	Yorks	113	2183	5.2
53	Settle	Yorks	33	728	4.5
54	Christchurch	Hants	276	6318	4.4
55	Altrincham	Ches	152	4060	3.7
<b>ENGLAND</b>			<b>16827</b>	<b>132195</b>	<b>12.7</b>

*Notes:* Includes men and women aged sixty years and over. The 'poor' are based on the 'non-able-bodied' populations contained in the parliamentary papers. Data on 'lunatics' are not available for 1911. Numbers in 'England' include all SRDs in 1911 (n = 55).

*Sources:* Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1911; Parliamentary Papers, 1911, LXIX.627, *Pauperism (England and Wales). (Half-yearly Statements). Return (in part) to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 17<sup>th</sup> May 1911; - for copy of statement of the number of paupers relieved on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of January 1911, and similar statement for the 1<sup>st</sup> day of July 1911 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, no 242 of session 1910).*

Hertfordshire.<sup>41</sup> This indicates that the 'North-South' divide in the proportions of older people on poor relief was slowly collapsing by 1911, although old age pauperism was still more prominent in southern districts.

It is interesting how the same SRDs appear in the five highest and the five lowest rates of old age pauperism in 1891, 1901 and 1911. For example, Southampton SRD is in the top five throughout Tables 1a-c, while Settle and Altrincham (the latter renamed as Bucklow from 1901) consistently had very low pauperism rates. This may be based on the occupational composition of working men aged fifteen to sixty-four years. The Populations Past website, which also uses I-CeM data, has recorded the proportions of working men in eight social class variables as defined by the Registrar General in the 1911 census reports.<sup>42</sup> The proportions were examined for all the 'five highest' and 'five lowest' pauperism districts for the periods in which they appear for both elderly men and women in Tables 1a-c. Districts that had the five lowest pauperism rates out of the fifty-five SRDs were more likely to contain working men in 'professional', 'non-manual skilled', 'manual skilled' and 'textiles' work. Contrastingly, districts having the five highest pauperism rates contained a higher proportion of working men in 'manual semi-skilled' and 'manual unskilled' work, as well as working as 'miners' and as 'agricultural labourers.' Although not all 'high pauperism' SRDs contained a high proportion of agricultural labourers, Southampton SRD commanded the second highest rates of 'manual unskilled' workers out of all the SRDs in 1891, and the highest rates for 1901 and 1911. A lower proportion of agricultural labourers, while integral to the economy in the 'five highest' pauperism districts, were found in the 'five lowest' pauperism SRDs. This was also the case for SRDs that Charles Booth considered agricultural in character, such

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<sup>41</sup> The poor relief data for 1 January 1891 contain a breakdown of 'lunatics' receiving relief by gender, but this is lacking in the data recorded in the Parliamentary Papers for 1 January 1911, suggesting that the decline in elderly pauperism rates is partially down to the lack of gender-specific data on 'lunatics' in 1911. As a result, the 'lunatic' categories were excluded in 1891 in order to enable a more reliable comparison of the 1891 data with 1911. A convergence was still identified in the changing rates of elderly pauperism for both men and women in the counties specified between 1891 and 1911.

<sup>42</sup> A detailed guide to the eight social class variables originally defined by the Registrar General in 1911 and the results of the proportions of working men recorded in these variables by SRD is located at <<https://www.populationspast.org/sc1/1861/#7/53.035/-2.895>> [Accessed 8 February 2019]. Data on the eight social class variables for 1891-1911 is produced by the 'Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline Project'.

as Skipton and Settle SRDs.<sup>43</sup> It is interesting that in 1891, a greater proportion of male workers aged sixty years and over in Skipton and Settle were farmers than agricultural labourers, which is reflected in other Yorkshire and Cheshire districts not present in Tables 1a-c.<sup>44</sup> This may reflect regional agricultural patterns in that northern districts were mainly characterized by smallholdings, run by farmers without relying on the rural 'proletariat' more commonly seen in southern England.<sup>45</sup> In other words, the high degree of pauperism in the southern English districts is partly explained by the higher presence of agricultural labourers and other lower-skilled workers in southern SRDs, compared with the relatively higher-skilled workers in the North. The regional variations in the agrarian economy is one important factor as to why there was a 'North-South' divide in old age pauperism.

The labour force participation rate of elderly men and women can be assessed through the raw CEB data for the first time. Table 2 presents the results for the four English counties of our sample in 1891 and 1911. The rates for men are very high, as they include those that were recorded in an occupation but described as retired and also account for those resident in institutions. However, for men in both periods, there is evidence of a 'North-South' divide in favour of the northern counties. In both periods, the Yorkshire West Riding had the highest proportion of male labour force rates. The participation of older men in the mining industry of Pontefract SRD and the steel-based metal industries of Ecclesall Bierlow and Sheffield SRDs also account for the relatively high labour force high rate. Most elderly male workers in the steel trade participated in file cutting and as spring-knife, or penknife, cutlers.<sup>46</sup>

In terms of women, there is no evidence of a 'North-South' divide in labour force rates, with Cheshire and Hertfordshire containing the highest labour force rates. Female workers in Cheshire benefitted from the silk weaving textile industry and domestic service.<sup>47</sup> Hertfordshire in general had relatively high female labour force rates compared with the rest of England, in that women of all ages participated in the proto-

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<sup>43</sup> See Appendix 1 for a guide to Charles Booth's economic classifications for Skipton and Settle SRDs.

<sup>44</sup> Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891.

<sup>45</sup> See Leigh Shaw-Taylor, 'The Rise of Agrarian Capitalism and the Decline of Family Farming in England', *Economic History Review*, 65 (2012), 26-60.

<sup>46</sup> Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891.

<sup>47</sup> Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891.



Table 2 - Labour force participation rate of men and women aged sixty years and over, four English counties, 1891 and 1911

MEN %	1891			1911		
COUNTY	Lab	60+	% Lab	Lab	60+	% Lab
Cheshire	19983	21966	91.0	26127	29779	87.7
Hampshire	20886	24998	83.6	29261	36876	79.3
Hertfordshire	8022	9167	87.5	10580	12324	85.8
Yorkshire	16343	17864	91.5	24151	26989	89.5
<b>ENGLAND</b>	<b>65234</b>	<b>73995</b>	<b>88.2</b>	<b>90119</b>	<b>105968</b>	<b>85.0</b>

  

WOMEN %	1891			1911		
COUNTY	Lab	60+	% Lab	Lab	60+	% Lab
Cheshire	6016	26181	23.0	7242	37840	19.1
Hampshire	6112	30875	19.8	7486	46861	16.0
Hertfordshire	2554	10983	23.3	2627	15799	16.6
Yorkshire	3698	21011	17.6	4954	31695	15.6
<b>ENGLAND</b>	<b>18380</b>	<b>89050</b>	<b>20.6</b>	<b>22309</b>	<b>132195</b>	<b>16.9</b>

Notes: Includes men and women retired, 'formerly' in an occupation and recorded in institutions such as workhouses and asylums. Numbers in 'England' include the combined rate of all four counties in 1891 and 1911.

Sources: Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891 and 1911.

industrial cottage trade of straw plait manufacturing and hat making. This industry declined by 1911 owing to foreign imports, explaining the decrease in Hertfordshire's labour rates between 1891 and 1911.<sup>48</sup> Likewise, the silk trade also collapsed in Cheshire owing to imports from France.<sup>49</sup> Sometimes the 'North-South' divide in the fortunes of older people fail to acknowledge the situation of women, particularly as their dependence on the Poor Law was higher than for men across all English counties. As

<sup>48</sup> Nigel Goose, 'The Straw Plait and Hat Trades in Nineteenth-Century Hertfordshire', *Women's Work in Industrial England: Regional and Local Perspectives* ed. by Nigel Goose (Hatfield: Local Population Studies, 2007), pp. 97-137.

<sup>49</sup> François Crouzet, *The Victorian Economy*, trans. by Anthony Forster (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1982), pp. 220-1.

the data indicate, dependence on poor relief was partly down to the limited proportions of elderly women recorded as having an occupation.

There were also regional variations in the proportion of older people by household structure. Based on a Household Structure Classification devised by CAMPOP in the 1970s, and subsequently applied into twenty-two separate codes by I-CeM (and outlined in Appendix 2), we can combine the numbers of older people who belonged to the majority of the codes to construct the percentage of those who lived with at least one of their offspring.<sup>50</sup> Inhabitants of a household where their offspring were present belong to codes 320-599. Table 3 confirms the argument by Marguerite Dupree that familial support was a more important resource for the elderly in northern than in southern England.<sup>51</sup> Keighley appears along with Nantwich and Northwich in Cheshire as three of the districts with the highest proportions of co-residence between elderly women and their offspring. For women, there was a relatively higher mean age at first marriage in Keighley SRD than in the rest of England, since there was a high proportion of women in employment, mainly in the worsted trades.<sup>52</sup> Data for 1891 show that there was a higher female mean age at marriage in Keighley SRD's three sub-districts than in England and Wales overall.<sup>53</sup> It was not only the textile towns where women may also have not left home and rushed into marriage. According to Joseph Day, girls in southern districts were also expected to leave home to become domestic servants. However daughters in the manufacturing districts of England were more likely to be employed in the textile mills while still living with and looking after their parents in their old age.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, there was no need for female textile workers to prioritize

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<sup>50</sup> Higgs et al., p. 235.

<sup>51</sup> Dupree, p. 328.

<sup>52</sup> Eilidh Garrett, 'Before Their Time: Employment and Family Formation in a Northern Textile Town, Keighley, 1851-81' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 1986), p. 122.

<sup>53</sup> The female mean age at marriage in Keighley SRD's three sub-districts in 1891 was 27.9 years in Bingley, 27.3 years in Haworth and 26.5 years in Keighley, compared with between 25.5 years and 26.0 years in England and Wales. Data produced by the 'Atlas of Victorian Fertility Decline Project,' available in online map format at <[https://www.populationspast.org/f\\_smam/1861/#6/53.035/-7.124](https://www.populationspast.org/f_smam/1861/#6/53.035/-7.124)> [Accessed 29 January 2019].

<sup>54</sup> Joseph Day, 'Leaving Home in 19<sup>th</sup> Century England and Wales: A Spatial Analysis', *Demographic Research*, 39 (2018), 95-135, (p. 112).

**Table 3** - Rank order of the five highest and lowest percentages of men and women aged sixty years and over living with at least one of their offspring, four English counties, 1891

			Male	Male	% Male
RANK	SRD	County	w/off.	60+	w/off.
1	Birkenhead	Ches	1802	2943	61.2
2	Keighley	Yorks	1262	2066	61.1
3	Ecclesall Bier.	Yorks	1944	3239	60.0
4	Northwich	Ches	970	1626	59.7
5	Altrincham	Ches	1302	2187	59.5
51	Christchurch	Hants	741	1501	49.4
52	Kingsclere	Hants	244	498	48.5
53	Stockbridge	Hants	185	384	48.2
54	Watford	Herts	598	1354	44.2
55	Whitchurch	Hants	118	273	43.2
<b>ENGLAND</b>			<b>40369</b>	<b>73995</b>	<b>54.6</b>
			Female	Female	% Fem.
RANK	SRD	County	w/off.	60+	w/off.
1	Keighley	Yorks	1501	2360	63.6
2	Northwich	Ches	974	1647	59.1
3	Nantwich	Ches	1309	2230	58.7
4	Birkenhead	Ches	2365	4064	58.2
5	Stockport	Ches	2746	4739	57.9
51	Kingsclere	Hants	221	505	43.8
52	Fordingbridge	Hants	156	358	43.6
53	Whitchurch	Hants	125	293	42.7
54	Christchurch	Hants	921	2231	41.3
55	Watford	Herts	724	1868	38.8
<b>ENGLAND</b>			<b>45873</b>	<b>89050</b>	<b>51.5</b>

*Notes:* Includes men and women aged sixty years and over. Based on those in codes 320-599 of the I-CeM Household Classification system, comprising those in simple households with their offspring, extended households and multiple households. Numbers in 'England' include all SRDs in 1891 (n = 55).

*Source:* Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891.

marriage from an early age, resulting in retention in the parental household as their parents aged.

Birkenhead, Keighley and Northwich SRDs are also found in the five highest rates of co-residence between elderly men and their offspring. Conversely, for both men and women, Kingsclere, Christchurch, Whitchurch and Watford SRDs have four of the five lowest co-residence rates. Elderly men in SRDs with low co-residence rates were more likely to reside as lodgers, particularly in Christchurch and Watford SRDs, which may have been havens for retirement in the suburbs. Also, elderly men in low co-residence SRDs were more likely to live with their spouses alone than in households with spouses and their offspring combined.<sup>55</sup> This is especially the case in the predominantly rural Kingsclere and Whitchurch SRDs. It may reflect the migration of young adult offspring out of rural areas for better prospects in towns and cities. Furthermore, the exit of adult offspring from the parental household had occurred at a crucial stage when individuals approached their old age.<sup>56</sup> Overall, while older people in southern England were more likely to rely on the Poor Law, those in northern England were more likely to maintain contact with their offspring. From this, Arthur Wilson Fox is generally right to argue that northern populations 'preserved their parents' old age from the stigma of pauperism'.<sup>57</sup>

### Conclusions

This article has shown how the use of 'big data' to reassess evidence derived from the sampling techniques of previous research has managed to uncover regional variations in the prospects of older people towards the end of the long-nineteenth century. Between late Victorian and Edwardian England, older people in southern England were more likely to rely on poor relief, whereas a greater proportion of those in northern England co-resided with their offspring. Also, the labour force rates of elderly men were greater in the northern counties, although no 'North-South' divide was found for elderly women. It seems that proposing a 'North-South' divide based on the behaviour and prospects of people is too rudimentary an idea, in the past or in the present day. Elderly women were more disadvantaged than men in terms of their limited role in the labour market, which, in turn, led to extreme poverty. The 'North-

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<sup>55</sup> Integrated Census Microdata datasets, 1891.

<sup>56</sup> Peter 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), 153-75, (p. 160).

<sup>57</sup> Wilson Fox, p. 318.

South' divide was perceived by the Victorians through a male bias. Also, there were wide variations in the proportions on poor relief within the counties. For example, unlike many southern SRDs, Christchurch in Hampshire contained a low proportion of men and women on poor relief. In this district, there was a substantial rate of elderly men and women that voluntarily retired from the workforce and relied on additional means of income other than poor relief. Also, the mining district of Pontefract had a high pauperism rate which differed widely from nearby agricultural Settle in Yorkshire.

Although there are exceptions to the idea that there was a 'North-South' divide in late Victorian and Edwardian England, it is generally true that employment patterns, poor relief entitlement and familial support differed through a regional context. It was not the case that the rate of pauperism was lower in northern SRDs simply because they were northern. Variations in the proportions of working men recorded by social class is one important factor, particularly in the higher proportions in southern districts that were recorded as agricultural labourers, and the greater rates of higher-skilled farmers in northern districts. Also, the higher percentages of older people recorded as paupers in southern districts are explained by their greater presence in proportion to the population, compared with the lower ratios of people aged sixty-five years and over per one-hundred aged fifteen to sixty-four years in the North. Despite our initial findings, further investigation is required as to the conclusion that older people in northern England tended to have different outcomes to those in the South. Further data is required for northern counties, in order to develop a more nuanced understanding of the 'regionalism' of old age. This will then go beyond a reliance on national-based perceptions of life in old age, where ideas about 'the North' and 'the South' are reduced to crude generalisations.

Overall, it is clear that we need a local and regional history of old age, in the vein of recent studies about women's work and child labour.<sup>58</sup> The 'regionalism' of old age is severely limited and such assessments on why poverty among older people was low in northern counties allows us to see old age in a different way. This will allow us to refine the concept of old age in English history.



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<sup>58</sup> *Women's Work in Industrial England*, ed. by Goose; *Childhood and Child Labour in Industrial England: Diversity and Agency*, ed. by Nigel Goose and Katrina Honeyman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

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Appendix 1

Profile of Fifty-five SRDs Examined in this Article, their Representative Counties and their Economic Classifications Defined by Charles Booth.

SRD	County	Charles Booth Economic Classification Group of Poor Law Unions (1894)
Altrincham	Cheshire	Half Rural. Residential
Birkenhead	Cheshire	Provincial Urban. Manufacture and Trade
Chester	Cheshire	Half Rural. Residential
Congleton	Cheshire	Half Rural. Manufacture
Macclesfield	Cheshire	Half Rural. Manufacture
Nantwich	Cheshire	Half Rural. Manufacture
Northwich	Cheshire	Half Rural. Manufacture
Runcorn	Cheshire	Half Rural. Shipping
Stockport	Cheshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Manufacture
Wirral	Cheshire	Half Rural. Residential
Alresford	Hampshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture/Town (1)
Alton	Hampshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town
Alverstoke	Hampshire	Provincial Urban. Residential
Andover	Hampshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture/Town (2)
Basingstoke	Hampshire	Half Rural. Manufacture
Catherington	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (2)
Christchurch	Hampshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Residential
Droxford	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (2)
Fareham	Hampshire	Half Rural. Shipping
Fordingbridge	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)
Hartley Witney	Hampshire	Half Rural. Residential
Havant	Hampshire	Half Rural. Shipping
Isle of Wight	Hampshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Residential
Kingsclere	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)
Lymington	Hampshire	Half Rural. Shipping

SRD	County	Charles Booth Economic Classification Group of Poor Law Unions (1894)
New Forest	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)
Petersfield	Hampshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture and Town
Portsea Island	Hampshire	Provincial Urban. Residential
Ringwood	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)
Romsey	Hampshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Shipping
South Stoneham	Hampshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Residential
Southampton	Hampshire	Provincial Urban. Residential
Stockbridge	Hampshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)
Whitchurch	Hampshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Manufacture
Winchester	Hampshire	Half Rural. Residential
Berkhampstead	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town
Bishop's Stortford	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town
Hatfield	Hertfordshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (2)
Hemel Hemp.	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Manufacture
Hertford	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town
Hitchin	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town
Royston	Hertfordshire	Rural and Mostly Rural. Agriculture/Town (2)
St Albans	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Manufacture
Ware	Hertfordshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town
Watford	Hertfordshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Manufacture
Doncaster	Yorkshire	Half Rural. Mining
Ecclesall Bierlow	Yorkshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Residential
Goole	Yorkshire	Half Rural. Shipping
Keighley	Yorkshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Manufacture
Pontefract	Yorkshire	Mostly Urban or Semi-Urban. Mining
Ripon	Yorkshire	Half Rural. Agriculture and Town
Settle	Yorkshire	Rural or Mostly Rural. Agriculture (1)



SRD	County	Charles Booth Economic Classification Group of Poor Law Unions (1894)
Sheffield	Yorkshire	Provincial Urban. Manufacture and Trade
Skipton	Yorkshire	Half Rural. Manufacture
Wetherby	Yorkshire	Half Rural. Residential

*Note:* Altrincham SRD was later renamed Bucklow SRD in 1901, although, when discussing 1901 and 1911, 'Altrincham' is retained for reasons of continuity.

*Source:* Charles Booth, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London, 1894), pp. 56-104.

Appendix 2

I-CeM Household Structure Classification System

Code	Household Type
0	Those in 'private' households In households unrelated to the head (e.g. servants, lodgers, boarders, visitors)
110	Solitary, widowed
120	Solitary, single
210	No conjugal family unit, with siblings
220	No conjugal family unit, other relatives
310	Simple, married alone
320	Simple, married with offspring
330	Simple, widowers with offspring
340	Simple, widows with offspring
350	Simple, others with offspring
410	Extended, upwards
420	Extended, downwards
430	Extended, laterally
440	Extended, combinations of above
510	Multiple, secondary disposed upwards
520	Multiple, secondary disposed downwards
530	Multiple, on one level
540	Multiple, frèrèche
550	Multiple, combinations of above
599	Unclassifiable multiple households
699	Other unclassifiable households
999	Institutional Resident

Notes: Inhabitants of a household where their offspring are present are grouped in codes that are underlined in the column marked 'Code'.

Source: Edward Higgs and others, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (University of Essex, 2013), p. 235.