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**Huntingdonshire 1851-1901:
changes in population and poor relief
with particular reference to the St. Ives Poor Law Union**

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**A dissertation submitted to The Open University
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Abstract

The second half of the nineteenth century was a time of economic and social upheaval in England. The standard historical narrative posits that rapid industrialisation in the towns and cities was driving a population boom, not only in those areas but also in smaller towns and urban areas as increasing opportunities for trade opened up new markets and commercial centres. At the same time, rural England was in decline and migration from the economically ailing countryside intensified population growth in the industrialised areas.

This was the national backdrop to the introduction in 1834 of the New Poor Law, one of the most significant social measures in British history. The New Poor Law sought to end the previous regime of paternalistic locally determined welfare support by imposing a harshly punitive central regime based on the ‘morality’ of paid employment above welfare assistance, thereby reducing numbers of paupers and the cost of poor relief. This study examines the interaction of all these factors in the area of the St. Ives Poor Law Union in the former county of Huntingdonshire (now Cambridgeshire) during the period 1851 to 1901. This was an intensely rural area that experienced significant population decline yet, despite the intentions of the New Poor Law, its relative incidence of poor relief increased from below to above the national average over the course of the study period.

This study concludes that this result, characterised as the ‘St. Ives anomaly’, owed little to the local administration of the New Poor Law which was a model for its time and largely reflected the punitive intent of its authors. Instead, it reflected the almost unique circumstances of St. Ives specifically and Huntingdonshire generally as prime exemplars of the Great Agricultural Depression and rural depopulation of the late nineteenth century. This study highlights the important truth that standard national narratives can hide multiple, varying local histories.

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Glossary and abbreviations

Great Agricultural Depression	The economic depression that affected agriculture in England and Wales in the late nineteenth century
New Poor Law	The Poor Law (Amendment) Act of 1834 and all related orders and regulations
Old Poor Law	The system of poor relief dating from Elizabethan times that preceded the New Poor Law
Pauper	Used generically as a descriptor for people who applied for poor relief during the period covered by this study
PLU	Poor Law Union

Personal statement

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work and that I have not submitted it, or any part of it, for a degree at The Open University or at any other university or institution. Parts of this dissertation are developed from work I previously submitted for assessment as part of module A825.

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I am grateful for the help and encouragement I have always received from all my tutors at the Open University while studying for my BA in History, my introduction to academic life. I would especially like to thank Dr. Jenny Zmroczek for her invaluable help as my tutor for modules A825 and A826 and my supervisor for this dissertation.

I am most grateful to the staff at Huntingdonshire Archives for their kind attention to all my research requests.

Introduction

The research question —the ‘St. Ives anomaly’

The period for this study is 1851 to 1901. During this time, the population of England and Wales nearly doubled. During the same time the population of the study area — the St. Ives Poor Law Union (PLU) in the former county of Huntingdonshire (now Cambridgeshire) — declined by some twenty-eight percent. This was the era of the New Poor Law, the main objective of which was to reduce the incidence of poor relief. Over the same period the number of people on poor relief reduced significantly, both nationally and in St. Ives. However, these reductions were not uniform. In 1851, the number of people receiving poor relief in the St. Ives PLU was lower per head of population than the average for England and Wales yet by 1901 it had risen above this average. For convenience, this study characterises these opposite trends as the ‘St. Ives anomaly’.

The research aim of this study is to explain the ‘St. Ives anomaly’. The study period has been chosen for two reasons: first, the start and end dates are years in which a national population census was undertaken, thus providing easily accessible demographic data. Second, in sharp contrast to the national picture the population of St. Ives peaked in 1851 before going into significant decline, suggesting the start of a period of social change inviting close study. This period followed the introduction of the New Poor Law with its overarching aim of reducing the cost of poor relief by stigmatising pauperism and eliminating local paternalism. Given this, some pro-rata reduction in the incidence of poor relief would be expected but the ‘St. Ives anomaly’ suggests specific local factors.

Identifying and unravelling these is the aim of this study, which implicitly recognises the argument that the value of local history is limited unless viewed in a national context.¹

Problems encountered in this research

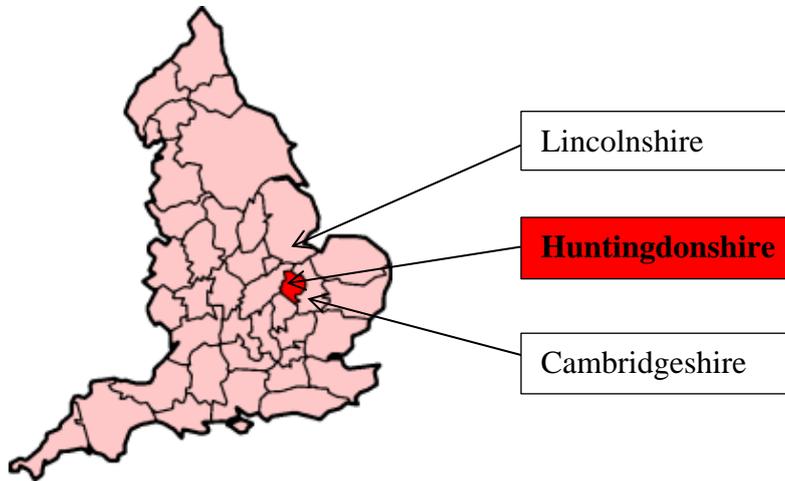
Three main problems have constrained this study. First, not all relevant sources give information about St. Ives specifically. Some relate to Huntingdonshire generally. However, it will be demonstrated (in Chapter 2) that Huntingdonshire was homogeneously intensely rural and that arguments applicable to one are applicable to both. Second, there was no single consistent basis during the study period for the official reporting of poor law data, especially numbers of recipients. For most of the period, reports were made of numbers receiving relief at specific reporting dates, which is not the same as numbers of recipients for a given period. Where these issues have affected the production of evidence there will be explanations in the relevant chapters together with details of any compromises that have been made. Finally, although there are quite good runs of primary archive material in respect of the St. Ives PLU in Huntingdonshire Archives they are not complete and sometimes similar compromises have been necessary.

Location of Huntingdonshire

The map at Figure 1 shows the location of Huntingdonshire with the area of the former county highlighted in red.

¹ Kate Tiller, 'Local histories: old and new' in A825 Block 3, *Historiography of local and regional history* (Milton Keynes, The Open University, 2009), p. 24.

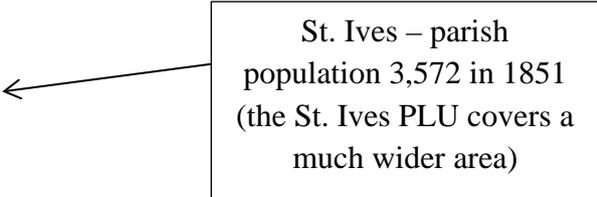
Figure 1 — location of the former county of Huntingdonshire



As Figure 1 shows, Huntingdonshire lay contiguous with the rural counties of Cambridgeshire, and Lincolnshire. St. Ives is to the east of the county and situated in the Fens, the low lying, coastal marshland plain of eastern England.

The rural county of Huntingdonshire

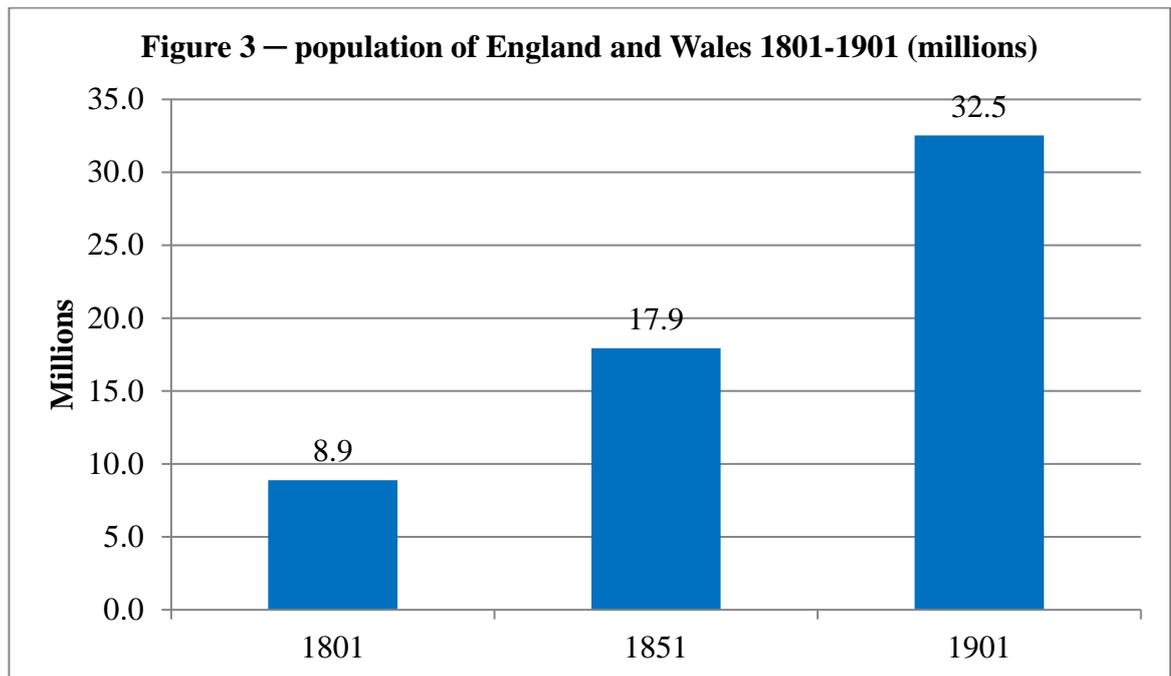
The 1860 map at Figure 2 shows the intensely rural character of the whole county, with no large conurbations.

Figure 2 — Huntingdonshire in 1860**IMAGE REDACTED**

St. Ives – parish
population 3,572 in 1851
(the St. Ives PLU covers a
much wider area)

The national picture: population and poor relief

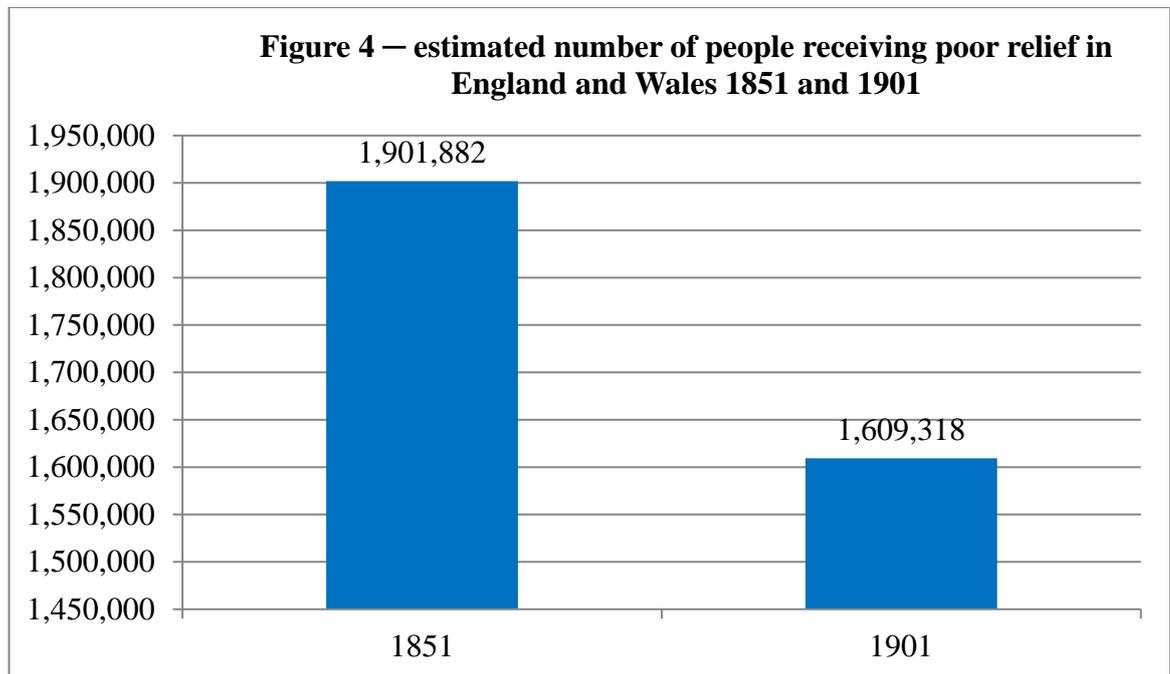
Figures 3 to 5 below present data to establish the relationship between the number of people receiving poor relief pro-rata to the population of England and Wales over the study period. Figure 3 shows that the total population more than trebled over the nineteenth century with an increase over the second half of the century, corresponding with this study period, of some eighty-two percent.



Source ²

Figure 4 below shows the estimated number of people in England and Wales receiving poor relief at the beginning and end of the study period. The data used here are necessarily estimated for reasons that are explained in Chapter 1. With this qualification in mind, Figure 4 shows that the number of people receiving poor relief fell by more than fifteen percent over the study period.

² Online at *A Vision of Britain Through Time* at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10001043/cube/TOT_POP [Accessed 28 June 2018].



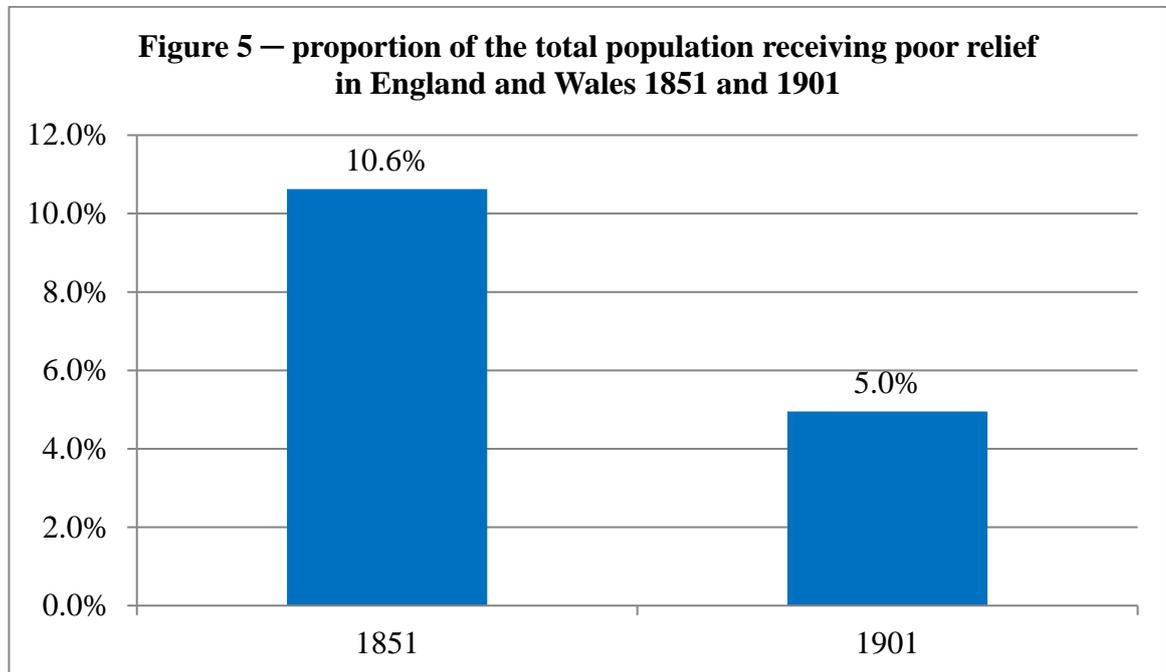
Source ³

A brief explanation of these numbers is necessary. The data for 1851 is the best available, based on the mean average of the numbers receiving poor relief on 1 January 1851 and 1852 respectively. Similarly, the data for 1901 is taken from the monthly statement submitted by the Local Government Board for January 1902 showing numbers as at January 1901 and 1902 and averaged. Because both resultant numbers are snapshots of one day in each year they are then subject to a correction factor which is explained and critiqued in Chapter 1.

Because of the rapidly increasing population, this change in the numbers receiving poor relief is meaningless unless expressed proportionately. Figure 5 below does this and shows

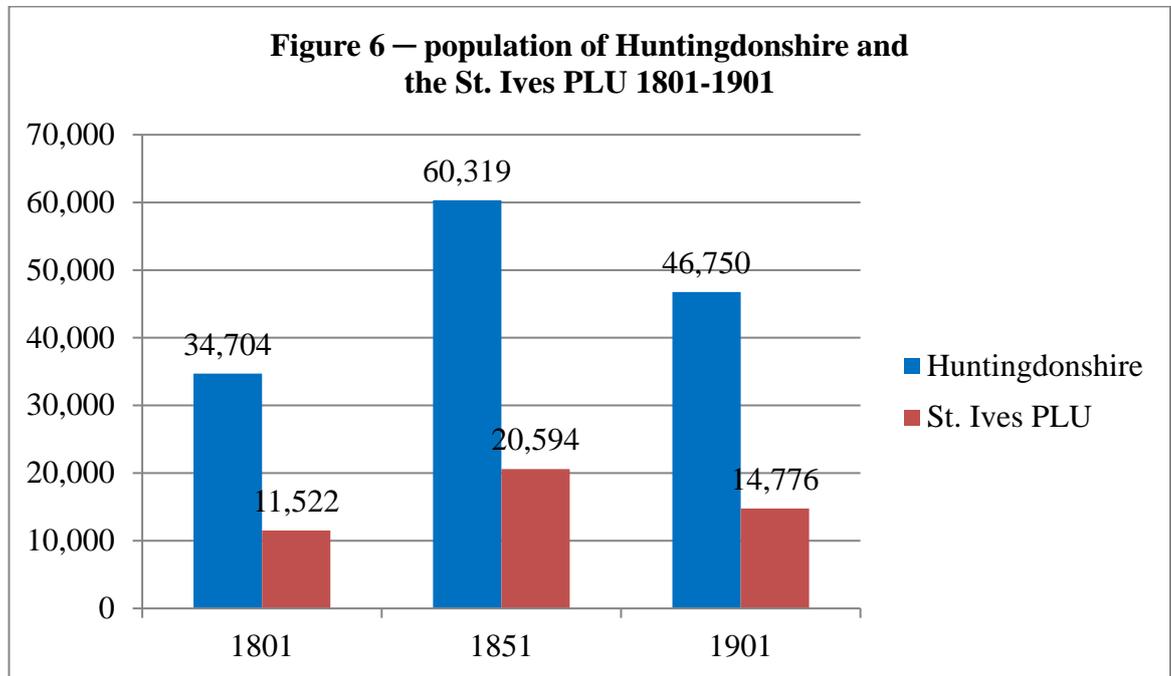
³ House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. 1851: *Fifth Annual Report of The Poor Law Board*. 1852. [No reference appears], p. 4. 1901: *Pauperism (England and Wales), monthly statement for January 1902*, ref. 121., p. 2.

that over the study period the incidence of poor relief in England and Wales broadly halved in real terms.



The local picture: population and poor relief

A similar sequence of charts is now presented for the administrative unit of the St. Ives PLU. Figure 6 below shows that in sharp contrast to the national picture (Figure 3), the population of the St. Ives PLU peaked in 1851 and then declined by some twenty-eight percent over the period to 1901. As also shown, this trend mirrors that of the whole county, confirming the homogenously rural character of Huntingdonshire. Because this is a very important point in this study, a full breakdown by parish of the population data for the St. Ives PLU used in Figure 6 appears at Appendix 1.

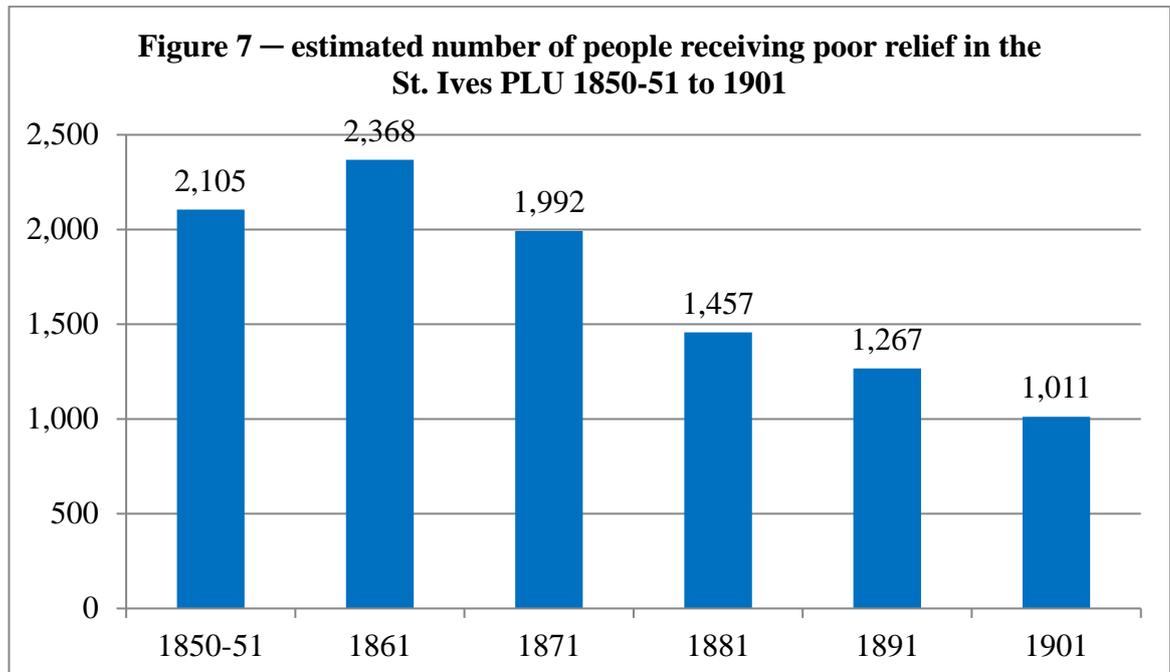


Sources ⁴ ⁵

Figure 7 below shows the change in the estimated number of people receiving poor relief in the St. Ives PLU over the study period.

⁴ Huntingdonshire: Online at *A Vision of Britain Through Time* at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10054758/theme/cube/TOT_POP [Accessed 28 June 2018].

⁵ St. Ives PLU: Online at *A Vision of Britain Through Time* at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10111572/cube/TOT_POP [Accessed 28 November 2018].



Sources ^{6 7}

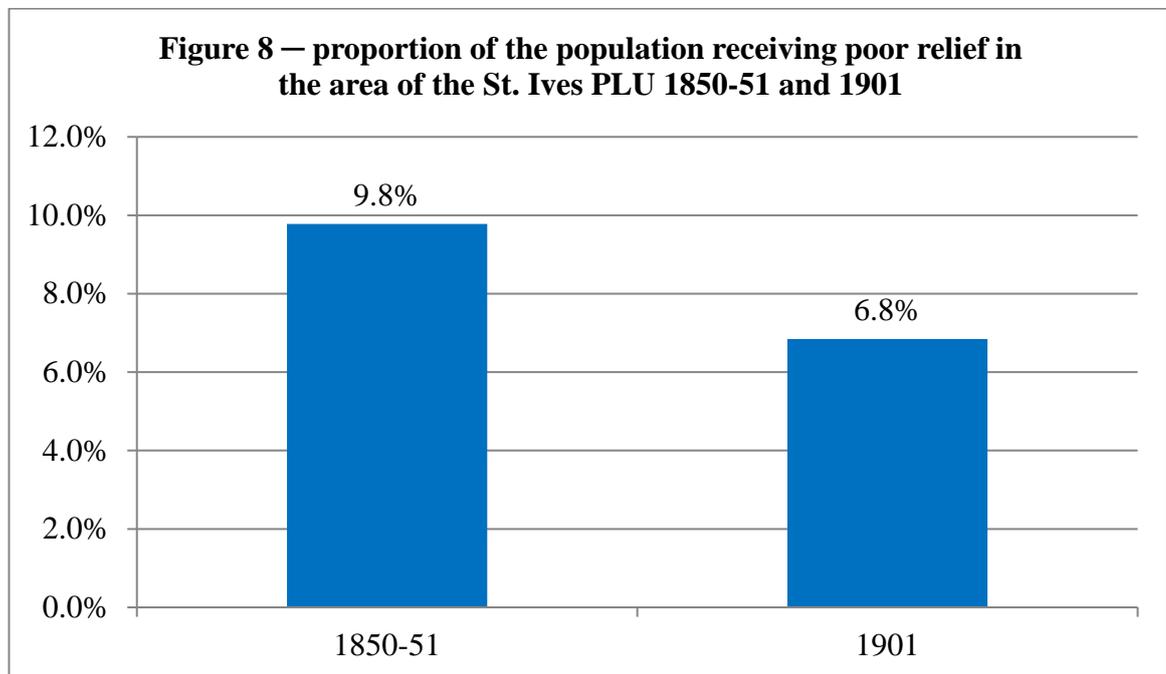
Some explanation of the data used for Figure 7 is necessary. Data for 1851 at PLU level cannot be found (either in national or local archives) so the best available has been used instead — an average of the numbers receiving relief during the half-years ending Lady

⁶ 1850-51: House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. *Poor Relief. A Return of the Number of Paupers receiving In and Out-Door Relief in 607 Unions and Single Parishes in England and Wales during the Half-Years ended at Lady-day 1850 and 1851 respectively...* (Ref. 583), pp. 8-9.

⁷ All other years: House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. *Poor Rates and Pauperism. Return (B.)*. 1861: *Paupers Relieved on 1st January 1861* (ref. 383-(B.I.), pp. 30-31; *1st January 1862* (ref. 324-(B. I.), p.30-31. 1871: *1st January 1871* (ref. 140-(B.), pp. 24-25; *1st January 1872* (ref. 126-(B.), pp. 20-21. 1881: *1st January 1881* (ref. 60-(B.), pp. 18-19; *1st January 1882* (ref. 100-(B.) pp. 18-19. 1891: *Paupers (England and Wales). Return showing the Number of Paupers in receipt of relief on the 1st day of January 1891* (ref. 266), p. 7; *Pauperism (England and Wales). Return (B.). Paupers relieved on 1st January 1892* (ref. 78-(B.), pp. 18-19. 1901: *Pauperism (England and Wales) (Half-Yearly Statements). Statement for the 1st January 1901* (ref. 73), pp. 22-23; *Pauperism (England and Wales) (Monthly Statements). Statement for January 1902*, (Ref. 121.), pp. 22-23.

Day in 1850 and 1851 respectively. Because this data relates to defined periods it is unadjusted. In contrast, the data for remaining years is based on the mean average of reported numbers as at 1 January in the year shown and the following year and then ‘corrected’ to take account of recipients on all other days. The correction factor used is explained and critiqued in Chapter 1.

As with the national data at Figure 4 above, the results in Figure 7 are meaningless unless expressed as a proportion of the declining population. Figure 8 below does this.



The national and local data can now be combined for easy comparison. Figure 9 below (a composite of Figures 5 and 8) shows that in 1850-51 the proportion of the local population relieved in St. Ives was below the national average whereas by 1901 it had risen above it.

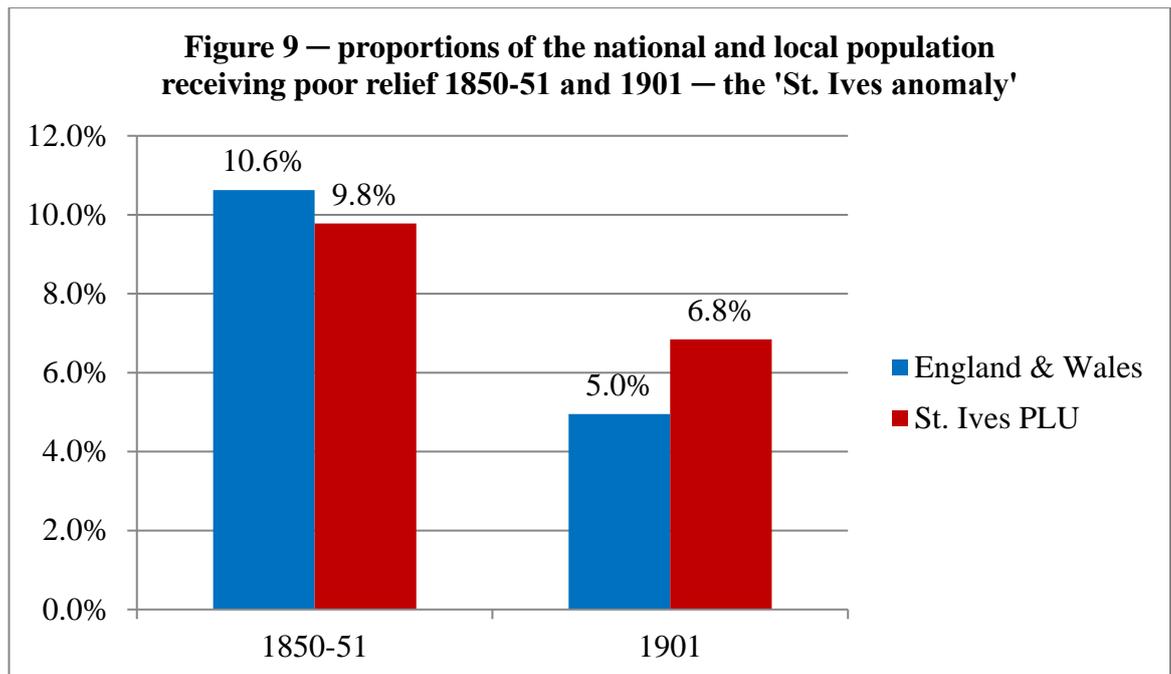


Figure 9 is therefore a graphical representation of the 'St. Ives anomaly'. The contrasting population trends can be ignored because Figure 9 expresses poor relief numbers pro-rata to population. This result therefore suggests specific local factors in St. Ives and Chapters 1 to 3 will explore a range of national and local perspectives to identify them.

Sources

Primary sources have been used wherever possible in order to establish basic data in respect of population and poor relief. They fall into two broad categories: official reports (such as reports by the Poor Law Board to Parliament) and local archives where they have

survived at Huntingdonshire Archives. Local archives have also been used to investigate the St. Ives Board of Guardians and how they approached their statutory responsibilities.

A range of secondary sources has been consulted to evaluate opposing arguments in respect of the main relevant historical narratives, principally: the objectives of the New Poor Law and its success or failure; population change in the nineteenth century coupled

with rural emigration and depopulation and possible contributory causes such as the Great Agricultural Depression. All sources are listed in the bibliography.

Chapter 1

Rural England in the nineteenth century: economic and social upheaval

Overview

To begin the inquiry into the ‘St. Ives anomaly’ this chapter will explore two important national narratives. First, it will examine Britain’s soaring population in the nineteenth century — in such marked contrast to the declining population in St. Ives — and the extent to which and reasons why this was driven by rural emigration. Second, it will examine the background and objectives of the New Poor Law and briefly review its historiography. This chapter therefore has a predominantly national perspective, identifying issues to be localised in subsequent chapters.

Population change: the urban and rural divide

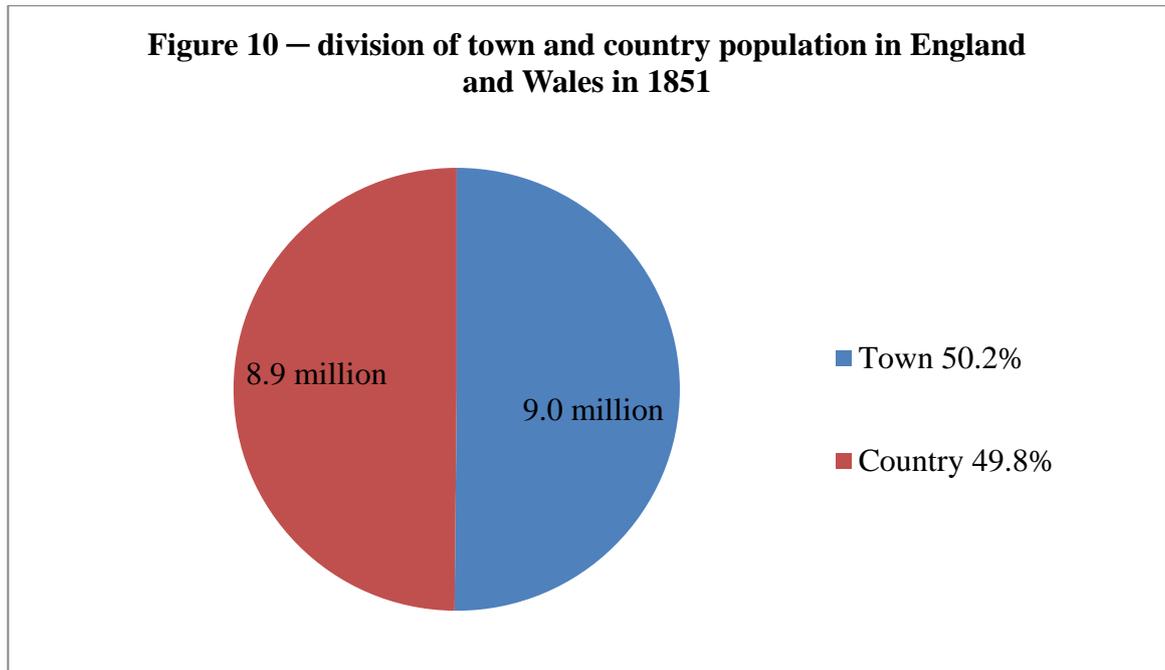
As shown at Figure 3 (page 5), the population of England and Wales broadly doubled during the first half of the nineteenth century; during the second half, corresponding with this study period, it rose by a further eighty-two percent. Clearly then, major forces were at work to bring about the contrasting demographic change in St. Ives on the scale shown at Figure 6 (page 8). Nationally, the main driver of population increase was the rapid urbanisation of Britain, as towns and cities developed alongside the new manufacturing industries that had grown from the Industrial Revolution. These industries relied on raw materials, particularly coal, which in turn generated the growth of communications and transportation systems, especially railways. There was a corresponding need for capital finance, generating growth in commercial activity which, along with increasing consumer

demand for manufactured goods and the growth of national markets also spurred growth in non-industrial towns. All these factors contributed to the rapid growth of the national population in the nineteenth century.¹ This total net growth had three components. The first was the combination of a high birth rate and a falling death rate, a spiralling net demographic increase that challenged the idea that the country could only support a given number of people.² The second was population outflow by way of overseas emigration, mainly to the British Empire and the United States of America. The third component, central to this study, was a net transfer of population from rural to urban areas as people migrated to the rapidly expanding towns and cities which needed a steady source of reliable labour and where there were therefore jobs as well as a supply of cheap imported food.³ Thus, while the headline narrative of national population growth is urban focused it has a converse of rural decline. This is shown by Figures 10 and 11 below. Figure 10 shows an almost equal split between town and country populations in England and Wales in 1851.

¹ Jeremy Black, *A Brief History of Britain 1851-2010: A Nation Transformed* (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd., 2010), pp. 5-11.

² Black, p. 5.

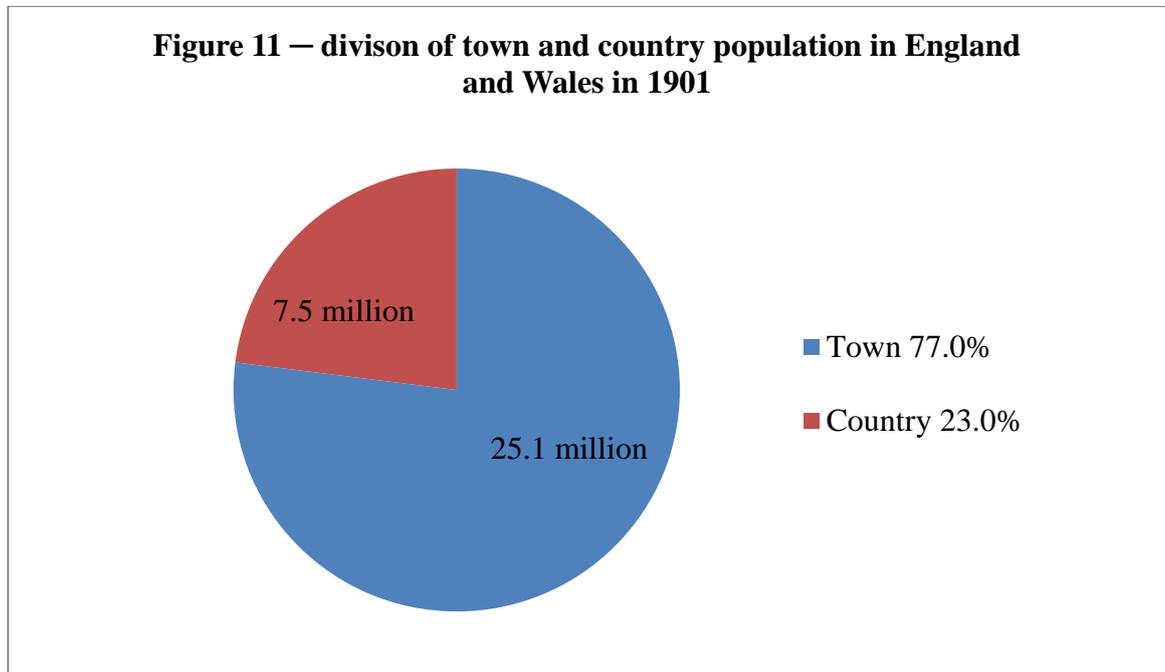
³ Black, p. 25-26.



Source ⁴

Figure 11 shows that by 1901 the town population had grown to 77% of the (much increased) total:

⁴ House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables. I. Numbers of the inhabitants in the years 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841 & 1851.* Vol. I. [No reference number is stated] p. xlvi.



Source ⁵

The pull factor of jobs in the industrialised areas was not the only driver of this demographic change. There was at least one major push factor — the Great Agricultural Depression of the late nineteenth century.

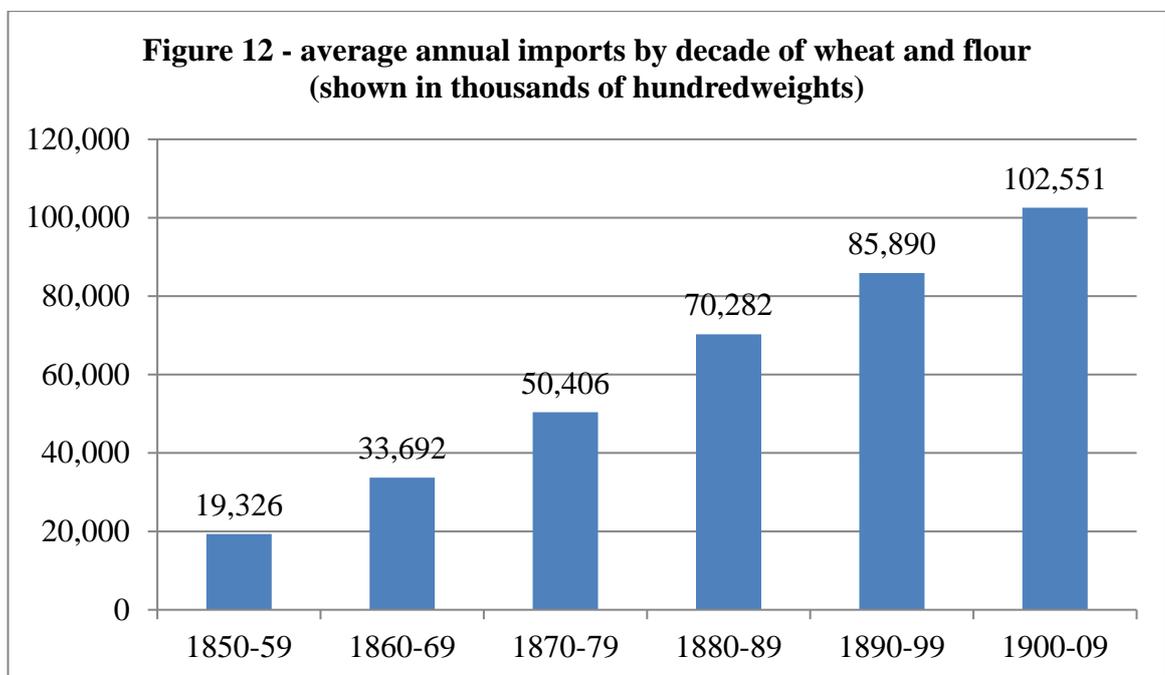
The Great Agricultural Depression

According to the agricultural historian Rowland Prothero, prosperity had ceased to flow in rural Britain by 1862 and was starting to rapidly ebb by 1874, continuing into the twentieth

⁵ House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. *Census of England and Wales. 1901. (63 Vict. C.4.). Preliminary report and tables of the population and houses enumerated in England and Wales and in the islands in the British seas, on 1st April 1901*, p. xii.

century.⁶ There were two principal causes, the first being a run of bad harvests in the 1870s.⁷ The second was the gradual impact of the repeal of the Corn Laws from 1846.⁸

As a major food staple, the price of corn (a term which embraced other cereal crops such as rye and maize) was very important to the British economy and the Corn Laws had imposed import tariffs to keep prices high to protect domestic producers. The result of their gradual repeal was a large increase in the quantity of cheap imports from new wheat lands, particularly Russia and the United States of America. This is shown at Figure 12.



Source ⁹

This five-fold increase had a negative effect on the average price of wheat which fell from thirty-eight shillings and sixpence per imperial quarter in 1851 to twenty-six shillings and

⁶ Rowland E. Prothero, *English Farming Past and Present*, paperback edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 374.

⁷ Prothero, p. 376.

⁸ Black, p. 24.

⁹ Chris Cook, *The Routledge Companion to Britain in the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), p. 199.

nine pence in 1901, a reduction of some thirty percent.¹⁰ It is self-evident that this would have had major economic consequences. However, the impact was regionalised according to whether land was farmed for grazing or arable crops. The landscape historian Tom Williamson has divided England vertically, roughly east-west, to show the distinction between corn growing and grazing counties; Huntingdonshire falls firmly in the former category. Williamson has also identified a north-south divide of England, with northern counties having average wage levels at this time some thirty-seven per cent higher than those to the south, which included Huntingdonshire.¹¹ Geography was therefore very important. Historians generally do not dispute the depression but P. J. Perry argued that its impact was highly regionalised, initially broadly mirroring Williamson's landscape based geographical division.¹² Using official sources such as notices of bankruptcies and liquidations, Perry analysed agricultural failures in order to plot their regional impact across successive decades in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. His detailed findings highlight Huntingdonshire as 'the heartland of the early depression' where in 1881/83, on average, one farm in one hundred and fifty failed each year. This may not at first seem too significant numerically but Perry also found that the ratio may have approached one in twenty or thirty locally. The relevance of this is starkly illustrated by Perry's accompanying map in which Huntingdonshire stands out prominently as the only county in England and Wales to experience such a level of farming failure in 1881/83.¹³ Perry also notes that the three most affected counties, Huntingdonshire, with neighbouring Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, included much high-rent intensive arable land that was

¹⁰ Cook, p. 205.

¹¹ Tom Williamson, *The Transformation of Rural England: Farming and the Landscape 1700-1871*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2003), p. 160.

¹² P. J. Perry, 'Where was the 'Great Agricultural Depression'? A Geography of Agricultural Bankruptcy in late Victorian England and Wales' in *Agricultural History Review*, 20, 1 (1972), 30-45 (p. 36).

¹³ Perry, p. 37.

particularly difficult to work and prone to flooding in wet seasons (presumably a reference to The Fens).¹⁴

To summarise thus far: the impact of the Great Agricultural Depression was not uniform across England and Wales. Huntingdonshire, virtually untouched by industrialisation and urbanisation and dominated by arable farming, had a local economy characterised by high rents, low wages and plummeting corn prices leading to agricultural business failures. By the early 1880s it stood as the prime exemplar of agricultural depression. This would be confirmed beyond doubt thanks to the nineteenth century growth industry of collecting and analysing statistics and the localisation of the Great Agricultural Depression will be analysed in Chapter 2. For now, it can be noted that in some parts of rural England, including Huntingdonshire, severe agricultural decline was the backdrop to possibly the most significant social development of the nineteenth century, the New Poor Law.

The New Poor Law: overarching aims

David Englander has described the Poor Law (Amendment) Act of 1834 as the single most important piece of social legislation ever enacted.¹⁵ It was known as the New Poor Law to distinguish it from predecessor legislation dating from Elizabethan times and known as the Old Poor Law. Englander justifies his claim by reference to the many aspects of life affected: employment and wages, housing and rents, migration and settlement, medicine, marriage, charity and education.¹⁶ Such a measure could therefore be expected to have a significant impact in rural areas with ailing agriculture economies, for if the labouring

¹⁴ Perry, p. 42.

¹⁵ David Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in 19th Century Britain, 1834-1914: From Chadwick to Booth* (Harlow: Pearson, 1998), p. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

class, already poor, was made poorer, then would they not have needed disproportionately more help through poor relief? Therein lies a conundrum at the heart of the 'St. Ives anomaly': if increasing numbers of agricultural labourers needed welfare support how would this have interacted with the overarching aim of the New Poor Law which was to reduce costs that under the Old Poor Law had become prohibitively high? This aim was fundamental to the new regime. The Old Poor Law had been based on a loose system of parochial administration that allowed for local variation. It had recognised poverty as the normal condition of most people and the combination of this paternalistic approach and lack of central control led to consequential cost pressures so that by the beginning of the nineteenth century poor relief had become prohibitively expensive and a major cause of concern.¹⁷ National expenditure on poor relief had more than doubled from £4.25 million in 1800 to £8.8 million in 1825.¹⁸ By 1830 poor relief accounted for one fifth of national expenditure.¹⁹ Previously seen as a 'rational and humane response in a backward, agricultural sector of the economy', the Old Poor Law was by now being viewed as a disincentive to industrial growth and self-improvement, perpetuating the poverty it was meant to alleviate.²⁰

It was against such a background that the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws reported in 1834 with its principle recommendations enshrined in the Act of that year.²¹ In order to get a grip on costs the Act had two principal features. The first was the creation of a central, 'top down' bureaucracy which sought to impose a uniform welfare system on some

¹⁷ Paul Lawrence, 'Changing welfare legislation' in A825 Block 6, *Poverty and welfare* (Milton Keynes: The Open University, 2009), p. 12.

¹⁸ Cook, p. 116.

¹⁹ Englander, p. 3.

²⁰ Englander, p. 10.

²¹ House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. *Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws, 1834 (44)*.

fifteen thousand civic parishes in England and Wales.²² Such centralised control would supposedly eliminate the local discretions and variations that had so contributed to the unsustainable costs of the old system. The new administrative model established to deliver this major step change was the supra-parochial Poor Law Union (PLU). Unions covered an area of several civic parishes, each of which contributed elected representatives to a Board of Guardians which was responsible for implementing centrally determined measures. The second key feature was a fundamental shift from a paternalistic approach to one based on the moral judgement that relief for the able-bodied labouring class was undeserving however poor they were. Lynn Hollen Lees characterises the new ethos thus: ‘the moral man would rather starve than apply for parish help, relying on thrift and self-denial to see him through difficult periods’.²³ The highly visible symbol of this idea was the workhouse, the principal instrument by which the New Poor Law sought to make pauperism so unpleasant and stigmatic that employment on any terms would be viewed as preferable.²⁴ It provided for two forms of relief: the first, known as indoor relief, was centred on the workhouse, the threat of which was intended as a deterrent to able bodied paupers who could work. An able bodied man entering the workhouse would have to be accompanied by his whole family. Basic accommodation in dormitories and bare subsistence were provided in exchange for soulless, menial work such as stone breaking. The second component of the new arrangements, known as outdoor relief, provided payments to people living in their own houses to recognise a range of specific conditions such as infirmity, sickness and care of orphans. Beyond these exceptions outdoor relief was considered uncondusive to the high minded aims of the new regime.

²² Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948*, paperback edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 121.

²³ Lees, p. 140.

²⁴ Lawrence, p. 13.

Thus, the spirit of the New Poor Law was that the labouring class were no longer seen as a homogenous mass but were now distinguished between the indigent — those who could sustain themselves — and a pauper class which was further divided between genuine exceptions such as infants, the aged and infirm and the unemployed able-bodied with the latter, in particular, being viewed as *non grata* in society. The New Poor Law, with its aim of stigmatising paupers and cutting costs became embedded in post-1834 society, providing the social context in which labourers in Huntingdonshire's ailing agricultural economy would find themselves. The newly formed St. Ives PLU embraced the new regime with vigour and soon constructed a new workhouse along recommended guidelines. These local developments are reviewed in Chapter 3 which also considers whether the St. Ives Board of Guardians was a prisoner of central control or whether it was capable of independent humanitarianism.

The importance of data in the history of the New Poor Law

Before briefly reviewing the historiography of the New Poor Law it is relevant to make reference to some problems of capturing and interpreting the data that is so important for understanding trends in poor relief. Reference was made in the Introduction to the reporting levels used by bodies such as the Poor Law Board (later the Local Government Board). The usual practice was to report numbers of paupers receiving relief as at specific dates, usually 1 January and 1 July each year. However, this took no account of those receiving relief on the other 363 days each year; many would have been receiving relief regularly but intermittently but not necessarily on the two reporting dates. A better unit of comparison for historians would be the number of person relief days but while this may have been compiled at individual PLU level it was not reported. In this study, allowance for this is made by applying a correction factor to reported date specific data. The factor

used is 2.24, the same factor used by Lynn Hollen Lees in her calculations of the estimated population on relief at five yearly intervals; Lees cites her source and a better ratio has not been found.²⁵ Lees has also realised the importance of calculating the mean average of two consecutive reporting dates. However, her selection of pre-correction base data is flawed; the source (which has been examined) is an official table based on the period 1 July to 1 January for successive years. Thus, the mean numbers in that report relate to half-years and not, as Lees implies, years. It is much sounder to use data for complete years in order

to cover seasonal factors, especially in agricultural areas. For this reason, this study uses data from official sources based on reporting dates twelve months apart and not from secondary sources. Notwithstanding this flaw in her work, Lees is correct to state that official figures can be highly misleading and should be treated merely as a rough guide; as she says, an accurate number could only be calculated by examining the primary records of each poor law union from which statistical returns were made to central authorities, which would be a mammoth undertaking even if they were all available.²⁶ It is very frustrating for historians that such a wealth of data was compiled at local level (production of pre-printed registers and ledgers appears to have been a substantial growth industry) whereas that reported nationally was inadequate and not always well understood.

Historiography of the New Poor Law

As Steven King says in his review of the historical debate about the New Poor Law, there are two broadly opposing arguments — that it ‘succeeded’ and that it ‘failed’, with most

²⁵ Lees, p. 180.

²⁶ Lees, pp. 179/180.

of the recent historiography arguing the case for failure.²⁷ Historians have approached the subject from a range of perspectives, some arguing that its objectives were flawed from the outset. Underpinning this argument is the charge that the report of the Royal Commission in 1834 selectively drew on evidence supporting the pre-existing beliefs of its authors; the poor were categorised according to fixed principles and classified according to predetermined categories.²⁸ The eminent social reformers Beatrice and Sydney Webb were forthright: ‘...the act...contained nothing that can be called a scheme for the relief of destitution, or any explicit plan of reform’.²⁹ The Marxist historian E. C. Thompson went further, calling the 1834 Act ‘perhaps the most sustained attempt to impose an ideological dogma, in defiance of human need, in English history’.³⁰ Thus, according to these arguments the New Poor Law was more concerned with the centralisation of administration and the stigmatisation of claimants rather than with understanding and eradicating the root causes of poverty. For an understanding of nineteenth century poverty it is important to try to find out what actually happened and as Lynn Hollen Lees says, this means looking beyond official pronouncements and selective lurid exposures of workhouse scandals to the myriad routine relationships between applicants and relief officers which actually negotiated amounts of relief in each individual case.³¹ This argument prevails when faced, for example, with a paper such as that given by David Roberts who set out to debunk the myth of institutionalised cruelty. Roberts recorded that thirty-four of seventy-two historians considered the New Poor Law to be cruel while twenty-six found it

²⁷ Steven King, *The Welfare Debate* in ‘Readings for Block 6’ in A825, Block 6, *Poverty and welfare* (Milton Keynes: The Open University, 2009), p. 21.

²⁸ Lawrence, pp. 14-15.

²⁹ Quoted in King, p. 19.

³⁰ E. C. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1968), p. 295.

³¹ Lees, p. 177.

‘salutary’ and eleven remained neutral.³² Roberts himself steers a middle course, suggesting that notwithstanding extreme examples from either side the truth lay somewhere between them.³³ This does not get us very far and there is a gulf between official records heavily based on questionable data and individual experience. On the one hand, as Roberts says, annual reports by the Poor Law Board painted a picture of personal improvement, less pauperism, higher wages, better treatment of the aged and improved schooling for the young.³⁴ On the other hand, Lees points to multiple surviving individual case records that show recurring patterns of irregular use of relief by low income workers.³⁵ It was no doubt with this gulf in mind that David Englander asked whether it was possible to write a satisfactory poor law history at all if restricted to high level narratives of institutions and policy that exclude actual pauper experiences.³⁶ As Lees points out, more detailed and accurate information about pauper experiences would rely on examining multiple records from the six hundred or so poor law unions in England and Wales, a mammoth task which would in any case provide only limited information given that so much was undocumented. Thus, while there may have been one central view of how the New Poor Law was intended to operate there are many versions of how it was actually applied in practice, maybe as many as there were poor law unions.

One way through this historical logjam is to approach a history of the New Poor Law from the perspective of the rapidly changing urban and rural population divide. Intuitively, the different nature and character of rural areas like St. Ives and cities with populations of tens of thousands would have meant that the operation of the New Poor Law would have

³² David Roberts, ‘How Cruel Was the Victorian Poor Law’ in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 6, 1, (1963), p. 101.

³³ Roberts, pp. 101-102.

³⁴ Roberts, pp. 100-101.

³⁵ Lees, p. 181.

³⁶ Englander, p. 1.

looked very different in such contrasting areas. The pull factor of higher wages in the industrialised areas combined with the negative impact of the Great Agricultural Depression in the corn growing areas of the east suggests an interaction relevant to St. Ives. Lynn Hollen Lees argues that the impact of the New Poor Law was not uniform across the country but heavily regionalised as regards urban and rural areas. Her analysis by county purports to have found that heavily urbanised areas usually saw far lower proportions of their populations receiving poor relief than did agricultural areas such as the east of England.³⁷ Based on this, Lees has placed Huntingdonshire in a band where the incidence of poor relief in 1850 could be greater than four times that of the industrial north.³⁸ However, there is a major fallacy here: Lees has taken geographical counties as her base unit of comparison so, for example, the West Riding of Yorkshire, which she places in the lowest band for incidence of poor relief, not only has major industrial towns and cities but also large rural hinterlands. To define such a county homogeneously as either urban or rural is highly questionable and better definitions of these terms are required. This becomes especially important when considering external factors with a specifically rural impact, such as the Great Agricultural Depression with its impact on rural depopulation. On that theme, David Englander has argued that another aim of the New Poor Law was to correct a growing imbalance between rural labourers and rural employment by transferring surplus population from the 'glutted countryside' to new industrialised areas where labour was needed.³⁹

³⁷ Lees, p. 182.

³⁸ Lees, p. 183.

³⁹ Englander, p. 14.

Another perspective from which to view the operation of the New Poor Law in the countryside is that of community relationships. Peter Mandler presents the New Poor Law as a modernising force for the countryside and landed gentry.⁴⁰ Mandler has argued that the New Poor Law did not see the end of the paternalism of its predecessor; rather, that while the majority of landlords proved eager to implement the workhouse system they were reluctant to do so at the mere behest of the Commissioners. Instead, they saw an opportunity for change on their own terms by the consolidation of their natural rights of property ownership and the natural order, as they saw it, of the relationship between land ownership and labour. All this, according to Mandler, provided a foundation for social change and a new rural 'ideology' rather than the mere implementation of laws.⁴¹ Mandler seems to reject an interpretation of the New Poor Law based on nineteenth century morality in favour of the idea of a new social contract which implicitly would have relied on the election of landowners (or their proxies) to Boards of Guardians from which position they could influence local variations to centrally dictated policy. Another who has approached the subject from this perspective is Peter Dunkley who generally downplays the idea that the New Poor Law enhanced the influence of the landed gentry on rural poor relief.⁴²

Conclusion

The New Poor Law was introduced contemporaneously with great social change in England and Wales when industrialisation was driving a rapid national population increase while economic depression in agricultural areas was driving rural depopulation. These

⁴⁰ Peter Mandler, 'The Making of the new Poor Law Redivivus' in *Past and Present*, 117 (1987), 131-157.

⁴¹ Mandler, p. 133.

⁴² Peter Dunkley, 'The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law: A Critical Note' in *The English Historical Review*, 88, 349 (1973), p. 841.

national factors are bound to have had a varying impact on the local incidence of poor relief. Moreover, historians broadly agree that there was a gulf between the deterrent intentions of the new poor law regime and what actually happened in practice. These factors seem to militate against a standard narrative for the New Poor Law, rather there are potentially some six hundred local histories waiting to be written, one for each union. Subsequent chapters will now explore what actually happened in Huntingdonshire and St. Ives.

Chapter 2

The depopulation of Huntingdonshire and St. Ives

Overview

This chapter takes the national narratives reviewed in Chapter 1 and examines their impact in Huntingdonshire generally and St. Ives specifically. It discusses how the growth of statistical analysis as an academic pursuit in the late nineteenth century made an important contribution to the understanding of population migration and how such analysis has helped to identify Huntingdonshire as an extreme example of rural depopulation. Finally, it explores the interaction between these factors and local trends in poor relief. By localising key national narratives this study therefore continues to acknowledge the reality of Kate Tiller's argument for local and national history always being in constant interaction.¹

Ravenstein's laws of migration

The national decennial population census began in 1801, gradually collecting more and more data and encouraging the growth of statistical analysis as a scholarly pursuit. In a landmark paper in 1885 to the Statistical Society of London (later the Royal Statistical Society), still considered important by modern scholars, E.G. Ravenstein used census data to formulate his laws of migration.² Ravenstein's paper (one of three he submitted on

¹ Kate Tiller, 'Local histories: old and new' in A825 Block 3, *Historiography of local and regional history* (Milton Keynes, The Open University, 2009), p. 24.

² E. G. Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration' in *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (1885), pp. 167-235.

this subject) triggered a lively debate and further analysis that confirmed Huntingdonshire as the county in England which was the most extremely affected by depopulation.

Ravenstein's paper and the responses thereto are very important to this study and will be considered in some detail. Rural populations in England and Wales were beginning to peak by the 1840s by which time they were becoming larger than could be sustained by some declining local agricultural economies. The descendants of families who had lived in the countryside for many generations were leaving in large numbers to find employment elsewhere, sometimes in neighbouring agricultural counties, sometimes in the steel works and coal fields of the industrialised areas in the midlands and the north and sometimes to the booming metropolis of London.³ Some skills were transferable, for example horse drawn transport always needed drivers and the middle classes always needed domestic servants. As shown by Figure 6 (page 8), St. Ives fits this pattern with its population peaking in 1851 and then falling into significant decline. Ravenstein's paper of 1885 was based on a detailed nationwide analysis of census information for 1871 and 1881 from which he produced statistical tables showing population loss and gain for every county in Britain. This work also enabled Ravenstein to state the numbers of people now living outside the county of their birth. From these results, Ravenstein formulated his laws of migration, still held in high esteem by researchers and historians: for example, D. B. Grigg, in a paper from 1977, argued that Ravenstein's contribution to the study of migration was 'considerable' and that many of his conclusions form the basis of more modern research.⁴ W.T.R. Pryce in his compilation of studies on community history gives a high profile to Ravenstein's theories and classifies his laws under eleven headings (an approach also

³ W. T. R. Pryce (Ed.), *From Family History to Community History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 10.

⁴ D. B. Grigg, 'E. G. Ravenstein and the laws of migration' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 3. 1 (1977), pp. 41-54.

followed by Grigg).⁵ Migration is a specialist area of study and not all of Ravenstein's laws can be considered here but some are particularly relevant. For convenience, laws 1, 2, 9, 10 and 11 can be briefly merged and summarised thus: most migrants go only a short distance, migration then proceeds step by step, it increases as industries develop and transport improves, its major direction is from rural areas to towns and its major causes are economic.⁶ This is entirely consistent with standard narratives already discussed here. Another factor — the improvement of transport — is also highly relevant. The railway had come to St. Ives in 1847, linking with Huntingdon to the west, thus giving easy access to the Great Northern Railway running from London to the north-east and linking with the expanding national network serving the industrialised north and midlands.⁷

Ravenstein used his data to classify geographical counties as either counties of population dispersal or absorption. His findings clearly established Huntingdonshire as a county of dispersal that was significantly affected by rural emigration: the census for 1881 recorded a resident population of 59,491 whereas the total number of Huntingdonshire natives recorded nationally was 79,305.⁸ However, the relevance of this to the 'St. Ives anomaly' depends on whether the rate of migration from Huntingdonshire was normal for England and Wales compared with other counties of dispersal. A few years after Ravenstein's paper, his contemporary, William Ogle, gave a paper to the (by now renamed) Royal Statistical Society. Ogle's paper — *The Alleged Depopulation of the Rural Districts of England* — is important for this study because it builds on Ravenstein's work to use

⁵ Pryce, pp. 11-12.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Peter Paye, *The Ely and St. Ives Railway* (The Oakwood Press, revised 2014), p. 4.

⁸ Ravenstein, pp. 220-221.

population census data to establish Huntingdonshire as the English exemplar *in extremis* of rural depopulation.⁹

William Ogle's findings on Huntingdonshire

Ogle's paper was given four years after Ravenstein's and was impressively based on an examination of the 1881 census enumeration books for the entire registration county of Huntingdonshire.¹⁰ The 1881 results were then compared with those of 1851, when the local population was at its peak. Despite his paper's provocative title, Ogle did not deny that towns were growing at the expense of rural areas; indeed he confirmed this. However, he (possibly unwittingly) established two key truths which are highly significant to this study and while they may seem obvious today it is fair to remember that statistics was then in its infancy as a science. These two key points are as follows: first, any total or average of constituent parts is exactly that — a total or average — and the characteristics of the components are likely to cover a wide range, none of which might actually correspond with the average. Although this point may seem obvious it is useful to bear it in mind as confirmation that there is unlikely to be a uniform history of the New Poor Law based only on national data. Second, data can be sliced and diced in multiple ways to produce different results. These were not Ogle's own words but that is the effect of what he argued to challenge the concept of a standard narrative for rural depopulation. He pointed out the ambiguous use of the term 'depopulation': sometimes to mean that the population of towns

⁹ William Ogle, 'The Alleged Depopulation of the Rural Districts of England' in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (1889), pp. 205-240.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

was increasing more rapidly than that of rural areas and at their expense; at other times to mean that the population of rural areas was decreasing absolutely and not merely in

comparison with the same rate as the towns.¹¹ This argument is pertinent to the changing urban/rural ratio shown at Figures 10 and 11 (pages 15 and 16) and Ogle made the further point that towns always grow more rapidly than rural areas and at their expense for the obvious reason that land is limited whereas manufacturing materials and markets are virtually unlimited.¹² Ogle then addressed the crucial question of how a rural area should be defined and he identified a pitfall: a geographic county might be predominantly rural yet also include large towns with populations of tens of thousands or more. How to classify such a county? As shown in Chapter 1 (pages 25 to 26), Lynn Hollen Lees has fallen into this trap with her flawed classification of urban and rural counties. Ogle's solution to this was to recognise the key characteristic of a rural area as agriculture and so defined those counties in which the proportion of people engaged in agriculture exceeded ten per cent; he then excluded from this list two counties (Cornwall and Shropshire) having volatile mining industries likely to be a distorting factor. Using 1881 census data Ogle then identified fifteen counties in England matching these criteria and he further 'ruralised' his results by excluding any towns having a population of ten thousand or more. By this methodology he defined a 'rural England par excellence' and the results are striking in terms of their significance for this study. Between 1851 and 1881 the total population of Ogle's version of rural England declined by only one percent, not much of a 'depopulation' and an apparent vindication of the title of his paper. However, this net total hides population increases in six of the fifteen counties (with one them, Berkshire, having an increase as large as sixteen percent). The biggest percentage population decrease in the remaining

¹¹ Ogle, p. 205.

¹² Ibid.

nine counties was that experienced by Huntingdonshire at some twelve percent; only one other county (Norfolk at ten percent) comes close to this as a rate of reduction.¹³ Ogle is

open to the accusation that he has cherry picked data to produce a desired result, possibly to engage in debate with Ravenstein. In the debate on Ogle's paper, Ravenstein made the first response, his main point being the obvious one that there were other ways to define 'rural' which would have given different results.¹⁴ However, Ogle had no particular interest in positing Huntingdonshire as the most rural of counties and his painstaking work has unwittingly produced a wealth of data very pertinent to this study which can now be considered in greater depth for its relevance to the 'St. Ives anomaly'.

Depopulation of Huntingdonshire 1851-1881

Having identified Huntingdonshire as the English county with the greatest relative depopulation Ogle then examined its population changes in greater detail, testing his conclusions against the data of other counties. First, he found that in his sample of fifteen rural counties, all but two experienced a continuous increase in population until 1851 to 1861 and a decline thereafter (the two exceptions were Herefordshire and Wiltshire and Ogle attributes this to unusually high activity in railway construction).¹⁵ To make further sense of this, information is needed on the destination of emigrants from Huntingdonshire. The table at Figure 13 below summarises Ogle's findings taken from his detailed examination of 1881 enumeration forms.

¹³ Ogle, pp. 209-210.

¹⁴ Ogle, p. 232.

¹⁵ Ogle, p. 213.

Figure 13 – distribution of natives of Huntingdonshire in 1881

Where enumerated	Number	
	enumerated	%
Huntingdonshire	44,050	55.5
London and surrounding area	9,561	12.1
Neighbouring counties (Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire)	13,752	17.3
Yorkshire and Lancashire	4,186	5.3
Other counties	7,756	9.8
Total	79,305	100.0

Source ¹⁶

Ogle justifiably saw this as support for Ravenstein's migration theories.¹⁷ He particularly instanced the large number of migrants who merely crossed the boundary into neighbouring counties, vindication of Ravenstein's first law that the majority of migrants go only a short distance.¹⁸ Ogle then noted that when this number is excluded 'the bulk of the remainder' migrated not to 'the other agricultural counties' but to London and the 'industrial counties' of Lancashire and Yorkshire.¹⁹ It must be assumed at this stage that

¹⁶ Ogle, p. 214.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Pryce, p. 11.

¹⁹ Ogle, p. 214.

Ogle is referring to 'counties' as reclassified by him using his methodology described above. These findings are consistent with the existence of a pull factor of better paid jobs in industrialised areas.

Ogle's analysis included a breakdown of the depopulation of Huntingdonshire by gender and age. As to gender, for the period he has analysed, 1851 to 1881, Ogle would have expected a greater reduction in females given the increasing demand in urban areas for domestic servants. In fact, Ogle discovered that the loss of males was greater than that of females — reductions of thirteen and ten percent respectively. A similar trend was observed in Ogle's other fifteen rural counties (redefined according to his methodology) leading to his conclusion that the cause of the depopulation was something that affected males more than females.²⁰ As to age, Ogle discovered that for the same period the reduction of the population in Huntingdonshire was limited to people aged under fifty-five and predominantly aged between fifteen and twenty-five in 1851; the population of all categories over this age increased. A moment's thought will show that people enumerated in 1881 were thirty years older than in 1851 but Ogle has allowed for the gradual effect of migration from 1851 of younger, procreative adults. He has also made a comparison with the only other county lacking towns with a population of ten thousand or more — Rutland — and he found a similar pattern. Ogle concluded that when rural populations went into decline post-1851 it was generally younger people who migrated, causing a relative increase in older members of the community left behind.²¹ To evaluate the impact of depopulation in St. Ives and its likely interaction with poor relief it is first necessary to accept the argument that Huntingdonshire was homogeneously rural and that trends for the

²⁰ Ogle, pp. 214-215.

²¹ Ogle, pp. 215-216.

whole county correspond with those of St. Ives. Given this, Ogle has helpfully analysed the trades, professions and occupations of people enumerated in Huntingdonshire as shown in the successive censuses between 1851 and 1881. The table at Figure 14 below summarises these findings.

Figure 14 - numbers engaged in various trades, professions and occupations in Huntingdonshire 1851 to 1881

Occupation	1851	1861	1871	1881
Professions (clerical, medical, legal, teaching etc.)	578	624	651	655
Connected with agriculture	12,256	12,173	11,819	10,161
Engaged in transport of goods	875	855	923	1,000
Engaged in handicrafts	4,932	4,611	4,307	3,704
Engaged in shop keeping	1,338	1,370	1,512	1,444
Engaged in personal service (domestic service, charwomen and similar)	2,308	3,165	3,638	3,293

Source ²²

Bearing in mind the potential impact of the Great Agricultural Depression, the most interesting element of the table at Figure 14 is the reduction of some seventeen per cent in the number of people engaged in agriculture over this period. Ogle has extracted that data under sub-headings, as now shown in the table at Figure 15 below.

²² Ogle, pp. 219-230.

Figure 15 - numbers of persons in occupations connected with agriculture in Huntingdonshire 1851 to 1881

Occupation	1851	1861	1871	1881
Farmers, graziers	1,066	1,120	1,090	967
Farm bailiffs	55	70	67	129
Agricultural and general labourers	10,627	10,404	10,054	8,395
Agricultural machinists	0	0	14	55
Gardeners	328	366	401	453
Corn millers	180	213	193	162
Total	12,256	12,173	11,819	10,161

Source ²³

The relevance of Ogle's findings

It is important to note that neither Ravenstein nor Ogle showed much interest in attributing causes to their different interpretations of rural depopulation. Indeed, Ogle explicitly eschewed 'touching on matters suitable only for agricultural experts'.²⁴ However, it is not the purpose of this study to prove that rural depopulation occurred generally; Ogle's

²³ Ogle, p. 219.

²⁴ Ogle, p. 223.

findings in respect of Huntingdonshire stand on their own and may be used to draw a number of conclusions pertinent this study.

First, it is beyond doubt that Huntingdonshire was the most intensely rural county in England (with the possible exception of the very small county of Rutland) with a local

economy heavily based on agriculture. As Ogle has shown, not only did it lack towns with a population exceeding ten thousand it also lacked towns with a population exceeding five thousand.²⁵ It therefore follows from this, as posited in Chapter 1 (pages 18 to 19), that the corn growing county of Huntingdonshire must have been exposed to the impact of the Great Agricultural Depression to a greater extent than other counties. The table at Figure 15 (page 38) is noteworthy for showing a decline of some twenty-four percent in the number of corn millers from 1861 to 1881, the agriculture in Huntingdonshire being predominantly arable. This resonates with the evidence at Figure 12 (page 17) charting the increase in cereal imports following the repeal of the Corn Laws. Ogle has asserted that those who migrated from rural areas to better themselves were ‘the more energetic and the more vigorous in body and mind’; he characterises this as ‘the skimming of the cream from the rural population to the obvious weakening and deterioration of the residue’.²⁶ While he cannot have explicit evidence for this it seems a very reasonable argument and a factor that is bound to have had an impact on the demand for poor relief in counties of dispersal such as Huntingdonshire. It could certainly be a factor that helped to account for the ‘St. Ives anomaly’ — a greater proportion of the remaining population needing relief even though that population was in decline. Ogle supports his theory by findings included in the

²⁵ Ogle, p. 212.

²⁶ Ogle, pp. 207-208.

official report of the 1881 census that idiocy and deaf-mutism were much more common among natives of agricultural areas than towns and he sees no other plausible reason for this than his general theory that the combination of higher death rates in towns and cities and the flight of the fittest from rural areas leads to 'the survival of the unfittest'.²⁷

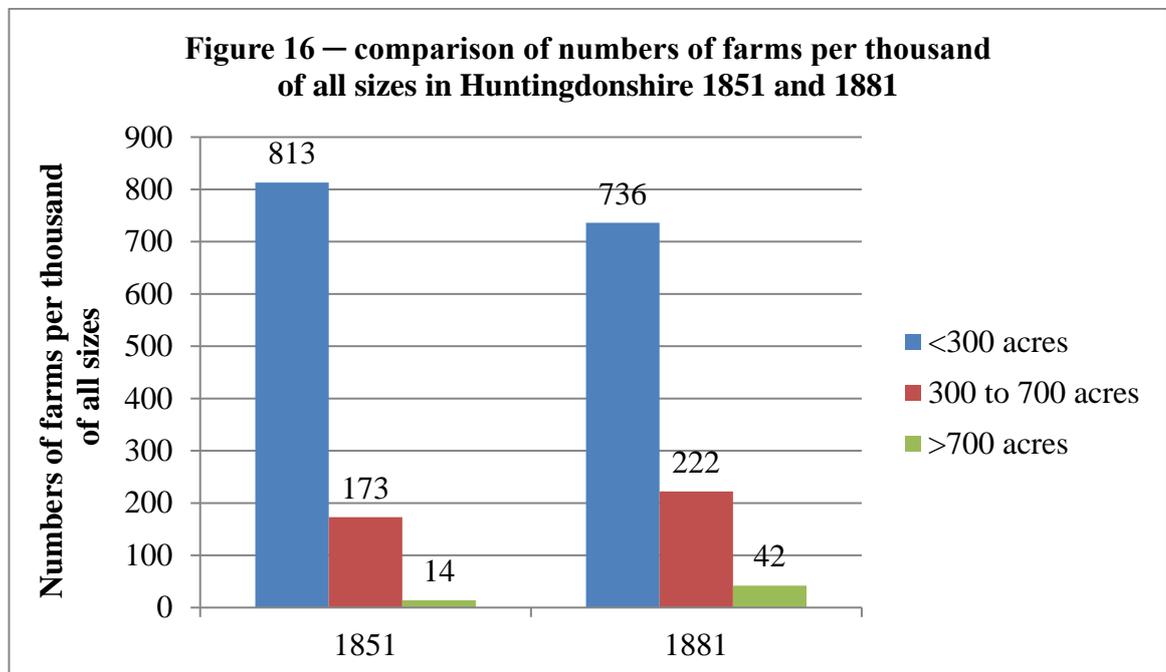
Although Ogle did not consider his argument in the context of poor relief his findings would appear to point to the likelihood that rural areas deprived of fit, younger workers

while also needing to sustain disproportionate numbers of older people with congenital defects were likely to have experienced a higher than average demand for poor relief.

Ogle's findings on changes in numbers of people engaged in various trades and occupations are extremely pertinent to this study. The table at figure 15 (page 37) shows a decline in farmers and graziers in Huntingdonshire of over thirteen per cent from 1861 to 1881 — much greater, according to Ogle, than in the rest of the country. Ogle's conclusions here are questionable for he had to contend with classification changes involving retired farmers. However, he associated his conclusion with the steep increase in the number of farm bailiffs, a category which more than doubled between 1851 and 1881.²⁸ Ogle also extracted data for the number of farms of different sizes in Huntingdonshire between 1851 and 1881, noting not only that the total number reduced by some twenty-three per cent but also that there were significant changes in farm sizes, notably a proportionate decline in the number of farms under three hundred acres in area and an increase in farms over seven hundred acres. Ogle's results are summarised at Figure 16 below.

²⁷ Ogle, p. 208.

²⁸ Ogle, p. 220.



Source ²⁹

Ogle speculated that this change was caused at least in part by the amalgamation of smaller sized farms into larger units, possible as a result of bankruptcies. This argument resonates with P. J. Perry's more focused findings on agricultural failures already cited (page 18), further evidence of a period of upheaval and disruption in the local farming sector.³⁰ On a

²⁹ Ogle, p. 221.

³⁰ Ibid.

similar theme, the table at Figure 15 (page 38) also shows a decline of some twenty-one percent in the number of people engaged in agricultural labour from 1851 to 1881. Ogle analysed this by gender to find a decline in women of sixty percent, with eighteen percent for males.³¹ Mechanisation played a part in this for the same table shows a quadrupling of the number of people engaged with agricultural machinery between 1871 and 1881. More generally, the overall reduction in this category reflects a significantly reduced need for hired labour at a time coinciding with the Great Agricultural Depression.³² The table at

Figure 14 (page 37) shows a small increase in the number of shopkeepers over the study period, even though the population had decreased by nearly twelve percent. This would have included diverse trades such as grocers, drapers, ironmongers, fishmongers, greengrocers and coal dealers. Ogle concludes from this that despite a slight falling off in the final decade, a significantly smaller population had as much money to spend in 1881 as in 1851; in other words, local prosperity was largely unaffected by the drain of the young labouring class. This appears counter-intuitive but is explicable: it is not inconsistent with the proportionate increase in the number of people on poor relief because those people, whether resident in the workhouse or qualifying for outdoor relief would need to be fed, clothed and otherwise maintained, some in a large institutional building requiring constant maintenance and serving as the employment base for a significant number of staff. As Chapter 3 will suggest, the procurement policies and decisions of the Board of Guardians would have made an important contribution to the micro-economy of St. Ives.

All data must be organised and arranged in some way in order to make sense of it. It can fairly be said that Ogle appears to have been ahead of his time in understanding that

³¹ Ogle, p. 222.

³² Ogle, pp. 221-223.

boundaries of administrative areas do not always provide a satisfactory basis for analysing demographic change for they may contain major urban concentrations experiencing different population trends than their rural hinterland. Ogle was not the only historian to single out Huntingdonshire as an extreme exemplar of late nineteenth century agricultural depression. For example, in his analysis of the influence of demography on the position of agricultural labourers, W. A. Armstrong found that Huntingdonshire was one of only three

English counties (the other two were Cornwall and Rutland) to show an absolute population decrease between 1841 and 1911.³³ Moreover, as already cited (page 18) P. J. Perry reached similar conclusions about Huntingdonshire as ‘the heartland of the early depression’. However, neither of these methodologies shared Ogle’s understanding of the fallacy of county boundaries or his painstaking examination of enumeration forms.

St. Ives as a microcosm of Huntingdonshire

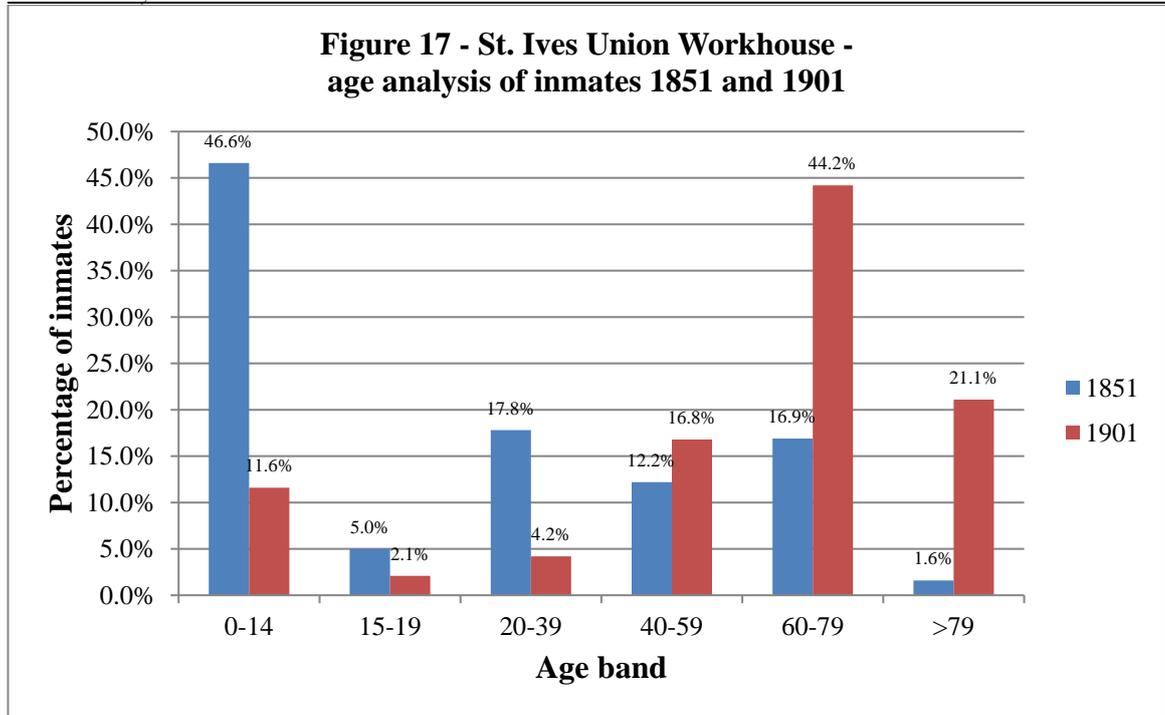
It is important to show that the intensely rural nature of the St. Ives PLU mirrored that of Huntingdonshire generally, especially in terms of Ogle’s findings. An analysis of the area population by civil parish and decade therefore appears at Appendix 1. This shows that at its peak in 1851, the population was a mere 862 per constituent parish. The population of individual parishes ranged from 136 (Lolworth) to 3,572 (St. Ives). Only eight parishes had a population exceeding a thousand and between them these accounted for two thirds of

³³ W. A. Armstrong, ‘The Influence of Demographic Factors on the Position of the Agricultural Labourer in England and Wales, c1750-1914’ in *Agricultural History Review*, 29, 2 (1981), 71-82 (p. 74).

the total population of the union. The remaining sixteen parishes had a mean population of 434. There were therefore no major urban centres in the area of the St. Ives PLU. Moreover, the fact that six of the twenty-four constituent parishes were in neighbouring Cambridgeshire can be seen to be irrelevant, the average population of those parishes being a mere 641 in 1851. The population change between 1851 and 1901 is noteworthy not only for its rate of decline but also for the fact that it occurred in all but one of the constituent parishes, the negligible exception being the smallest parish of Lolworth which saw an increase of nineteen people. The rate of population decline was not the decade of greatest decline — 1871 to 1881 — broadly corresponds with the timings of the Great Agricultural Depression that were reviewed in Chapter 1. All this data is further evidence that the area of the St. Ives PLU saw a decline in its farming economy and a rate of depopulation on an exceptional scale.

The changing age profile of St. Ives workhouse inmates

Ogle's findings on the depopulation of Huntingdonshire included his idea that the residual population represented the 'survival of the unfittest' (page 39). By using census enumeration records this can be explored by comparing the age bands of St. Ives workhouse inmates at the start and end of the study period. Figure 17 below shows that the proportion of the reduced number of inmates aged forty and over increased from some thirty percent to eighty-two percent over the study period.



Source ³⁴

Conclusion

This chapter has localised the national narratives explored in Chapter 1 to examine their impact on Huntingdonshire and St. Ives. It has established that Huntingdonshire was ‘more rural’ than any other county in England, with the largest dispersal of natives to other counties and a significant loss of population working in the agricultural sector. The people who migrated were predominantly younger, fitter people looking for work. The timing of this broadly coincided with the Great Agricultural Depression which had a regionalised impact felt chiefly in the corn growing areas of eastern England and Huntingdonshire in particular. The area covered by the St. Ives PLU has been shown to be a microcosm of the county in terms of its ‘rurality’. It was against such a social and economic backdrop that the New Poor Law had arrived, with its cost-cutting objectives and culture of blame and

³⁴ *Ancestry* website at <www.ancestry.co.uk> (Subscription only but see details at Appendix 3.)

shame for poverty, symbolised by the deterrent of the workhouse. By the end of the study period, the proportion of inmates in the workhouse aged forty and over had increased from thirty to over eighty per cent. All these interacting factors must have contributed to the ‘St. Ives anomaly’. Using archive primary sources, Chapter 3 will explore their relative importance.

Chapter 3

The New Poor Law in St. Ives

Overview

This chapter now investigates the application of the New Poor Law in the St. Ives PLU. Making use of primary records from local archives, it will consider this from the perspective of the local depopulation which, as established in Chapter 2, largely comprised younger, fitter members of the working community leaving behind an older residual population more likely to need poor relief. This chapter will examine how closely local practice followed the punitive ethos of the 1834 legislation and the extent to which this may have contributed to the ‘St. Ives anomaly’.

The workhouse

The workhouse was central to the punitive spirit of the New Poor Law. Giving relief to able bodied paupers and their families within the workhouse served to emphasise the moral difference between them and the independent poor.¹ Accordingly, the legislation empowered the local provision of workhouses by the newly established poor law unions. However, this was not made mandatory and by 1839 only about forty-four percent of unions had built or started construction of workhouses and twenty years later this had risen to only about sixty percent.² However, there was no procrastination at St. Ives where a

¹ David Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in 19th Century Britain, 1834-1914: From Chadwick to Booth* (Harlow: Pearson, 1998), p. 12.

² Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948*, paperback edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 148.

new workhouse was constructed in 1838/39 to replace three that had existed since the early eighteenth century as part of the arrangements for the Old Poor Law. These obsolete workhouses had a combined capacity of 131 inmates. By contrast, the new workhouse was originally built to accommodate four hundred inmates; it was enlarged (new capacity unknown) in 1839 by which time the total capital cost of construction had amounted to £4,000.³ This suggests that the Board of Guardians took its new responsibilities seriously and was perhaps overzealous because, as will be shown, over the period of this study the capacity was scarcely threatened by the total number of inmates.

The design of workhouses symbolised their punitive intent and model plans were issued for the guidance of Boards of Guardians.⁴ The most preferred of these followed a cruciform design, characterised by a square or quadrangle divided up by two-storey blocks of buildings with an additional wing at the front to house the porter's lodge and the waiting hall. This concept was readily adaptable to local needs and budgets. A plan of the St. Ives workhouse dated 1924 and shown at Figure 18 below shows that save for a somewhat truncated additional wing the St. Ives PLU largely followed these design recommendations.⁵

³ *The Workhouse* website at <<http://www.workhouses.org.uk/StIves/>> [Accessed 22 August 2018].

⁴ Englander, p. 31.

⁵ *The Workhouse* website at <<http://www.workhouses.org.uk/StIves/>> [Accessed 22 August 2018].

Figure 18 — plan of the St. Ives Workhouse

IMAGE REDACTED

Source ⁶

Figure 18 shows that the central courtyard was divided into four triangular exercise yards by three walls fanning out from the rear of the central block. These physical boundaries would have enabled the strict separation of men and women, including married couples, a basic requirement of workhouse discipline. This did not allow the full separation laid down by The Workhouse Rules Order of 1842 under which men and women were separately arranged into seven categories: infirm through age or other cause; able bodied aged over fifteen; aged between seven and fifteen. Children aged under seven formed the seventh category.⁷ Nevertheless, some spatial outdoor separation was possible in order to prevent ‘moral contagion’ arising from the mixing of men and women, adults and

⁶ *The Workhouse* website at <<http://www.workhouses.org.uk/StIves/>> [Accessed 22 August 2018].

⁷ Englander, p. 32.

children.⁸ The St. Ives PLU therefore went a long way towards compliance with the model guidance. Unfortunately, no photographs of the St. Ives workhouse survive in Huntingdonshire Archives but both the plan at Figure 18 and legacy adaptation of the building confirm adherence to another concept identified by Lees — the resemblance of workhouses to prisons.⁹ The St. Ives workhouse has now been rebuilt and converted to private housing but the essential character of its appearance and design has been retained thanks to the protection of Grade II listed building status with Historic England.¹⁰ The photograph at Figure 19 below was taken in 2001 and shows not only the area of the courtyard but also retained elements of the exterior design, such as the central block and the arched windows. The photograph strongly conveys the sense of the institutionalised, prison like appearance of the workhouse.

Figure 19 — Limes Park housing development at Hemingford Grey showing retained features of the former St. Ives Workhouse

IMAGE REDACTED

Source ¹¹

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Lees, p. 349.

¹⁰ *Historic England* website at <<https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1128480>> [Accessed 25 August 2018].

¹¹ *The Workhouse* website at <<http://www.workhouses.org.uk/StIves/>> [Accessed 22 August 2018].

Lynn Hollen Lees describes how the stigma of pauperism pushed the dependent poor to the margins of society both literally and figuratively as the new unions symbolically built their workhouses on the outskirts of towns or, as Lees puts it, outside the boundaries of respectability.¹² This was exactly the case at St. Ives, with the new workhouse situated just across the River Great Ouse that separates the market town of St. Ives from the neighbouring parish of Hemingford Grey. The half mile distance from the river bridge, passing non-residential sites such as a wharf and a large water mill would have given the impression of people banished to the outer fringes of society.

Because poor law unions were larger than their single parish predecessors they had greater financial resources and could take advantage of economies of scale to provide facilities unheard of in the era of the Old Poor Law. Notable examples were infirmaries and schools provided internally within workhouses. Thus, as David Englander describes, the post-1834 workhouse became far more than a means test for destitution and it fulfilled multiple roles under one roof – alms house, general hospital complete with maternity wing, schoolhouse and lunatic asylum, to name its main functions.¹³ The St. Ives workhouse was no exception and minutes of the Board of Guardians make regular references to the school and infirmary as well as to the recruitment of teachers and nurses and the appointment of medical officers.

All this evidence for the establishment of the new workhouse at St. Ives shows a strong commitment by the Union to comply with the command and control ethos of the New Poor Law and its stigmatisation of pauperism.

¹² Lees, p. 349.

¹³ Englander, p. 35.

The St. Ives Board of Guardians

Following the passage of the 1834 Act the St. Ives Poor Law Union was formed in January 1836 to cover an area of twenty-four civic parishes. As provided by the Act, the administration of the Union including the oversight of the workhouse was the duty of an elected Board of Guardians, thirty in number. St. Ives, the largest parish, provided three guardians, the next four largest parishes provided two each and the remainder one each.¹⁴ Guardians had to be ratepayers owning or occupying property worth at least £25 a year and they were elected annually by their fellow ratepayers. These criteria coupled with the small populations of many constituent parishes would have restricted potential guardians to a relatively small number of people. These arrangements lasted until 1894 when newly formed local authorities became responsible for the appointment of guardians. Good runs of Board of Guardians minute books have survived at Huntingdonshire Archives but there is no information about the occupation, trade, profession or vocation of guardians other than when ministers of religion are identifiable by the title of Reverend. This is a pity because such information could have provided clues of possible conflicts of interests, for example in the case of agricultural landowners who could have had a direct influence on wage levels and hence the demand for poor relief. It is thus not possible to form a view of the argument advanced by Peter Mandler for the perpetuation of influence by the landed gentry (see pages 26 and 27). Guardians were served by salaried officials of whom the most important were the Clerk, Treasurer and Relieving Officers. The latter had the key task of assessing all applications for relief and it is apparent from the minutes of the St.

¹⁴ *The Workhouse* website at <<http://www.workhouses.org.uk/StIves/>> [Accessed 22 August 2018].

Ives Board of Guardians that this applied to both indoor and outdoor relief. Much

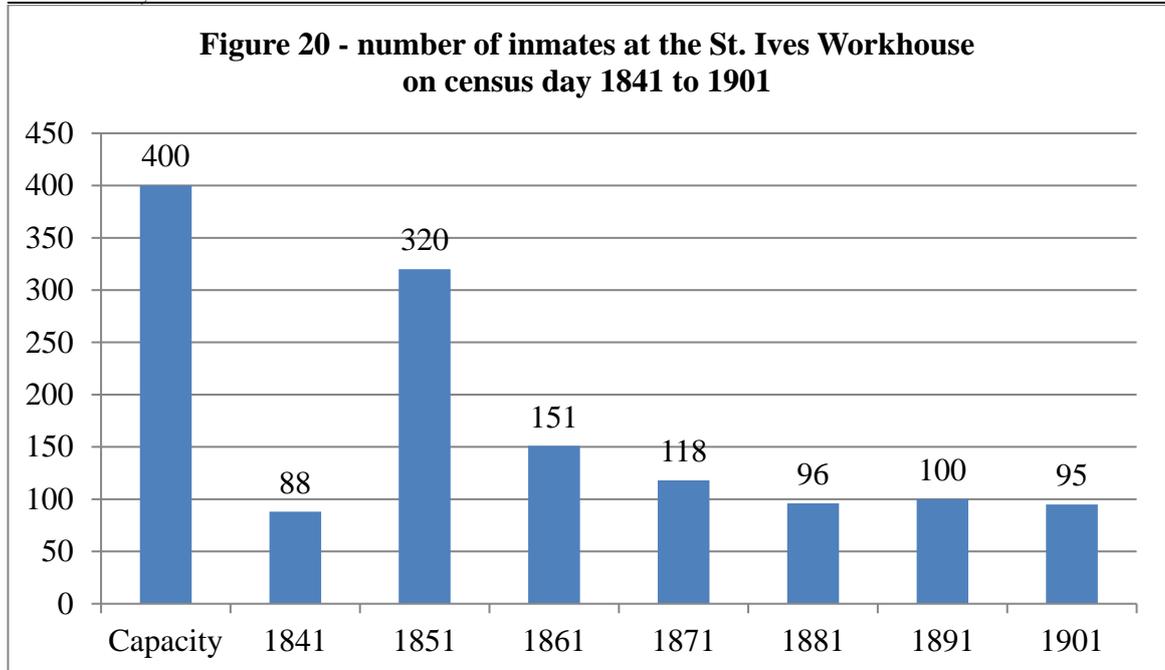
therefore depended on the Relieving Officers and their approach to granting relief and

David Englander has noted the significance of differing priorities in relief practices due to external changes such as the impact of agricultural depression in East Anglia.¹⁵

Use of the workhouse

As shown above, the St. Ives workhouse was constructed for a maximum residency of inmates and staff in excess of 400. Decennial population census returns showing numbers of staff and inmates resident suggest that this capacity was never threatened. Figure 20 below shows the number of inmates in the workhouse on each census day from 1841 to 1901.

¹⁵ Englander, p. 85.



Source ¹⁶

These figures are decennial snapshots and therefore do not tell the whole story of residency numbers which would have fluctuated throughout the year. The choice of census day

could be significant: in 1841 it was 6 June and in all other years shown in Figure 20 it ranged from 30 March to 7 April. In a predominantly agricultural area such as St. Ives, labourers would be more likely to need support during the winter months. However, with the exception of 1851 the numbers are sufficiently at variance from the total capacity to suggest that this was not a significant factor. There is no information in Huntingdonshire Archives to shed light on a decision that resulted in a workhouse with so much spare capacity. However, Englander suggests that locality may have been an important factor and he instances the ‘Captain Swing’ riots of 1830 when agricultural labourers rioted across a swathe of southern and eastern England to protest against high unemployment and rising grain costs.¹⁷ In this context, it had been only in 1816 that serious rioting had

¹⁶ *St. Ives 100 Years Ago* website at <<http://stives100yearsago.blogspot.com/2016/02/st-ives-workhouse.html>> [Accessed 27 November 2018].

¹⁷ Englander, p. 3.

broken out in nearby Littleport and Ely which magistrates had attempted to quell by awarding relief and fixing a minimum wage. Despite this, serious disorder continued and twenty-four rioters (including one woman) were tried and five were hanged at Ely, less than twenty miles away from St. Ives.¹⁸ These events gained national prominence and are sure to have been in the consciousness of those who made decisions some twenty years later. Although just outside the period and geographical range of this study, collective memory of the Ely and Littleport riots arguably influenced a strict approach to the operation of the New Poor Law in neighbouring St. Ives.

The growth of Poor Law bureaucracy

Although a complete set of minutes of the Board of Guardians has not survived, enough are available to give a good insight into the administration of the New Poor Law in St. Ives and how it developed and progressed over the study period. Meetings were held weekly (later fortnightly) in the board room at the workhouse; despite a nominal membership of thirty, attendance was variable and in the early years there were rarely more than half that number of guardians present although as time progressed and with a proliferation of Committees much better attendance levels became the norm. Minutes in earlier years were brief and succinct but over the period they increasingly revealed more information. Minutes from 1851 refer only to the Board of Guardians. However, by 1881 there is reference to the following sub-committees: Vaccination and Lunacy; Finance; General Purposes; Farm; Visiting; School. By 1901 a Dietary Sub-Committee had also appeared. This therefore amounted to a very considerable local bureaucracy. Unfortunately there are

¹⁸ Philip Warren (Ed.), *Report of The Trials for Rioting at Ely and Littleport 1816* (Wilburton, Cambridgeshire: Philip Warren, 1997), pp. 77-80.

no minutes of these various sub-committees but it is evident that the main Board kept a very tight rein on finances; in particular, tenders from tradesmen were regularly sought and approved. For example, a minute from the board meeting held on 11 June 1851 refers to the approval of tenders for a wide range of food and household items including bread, coal, beef, candles, soup, cheese, rice, peas, tea, brooms, butter, oatmeal, sugar, salt, pepper, scrubbing brushes, mops, milk, clothing, blankets and, intriguingly, beer.¹⁹ There is also regular reference to the appointment of approved tradesmen to carry out works to the workhouse buildings and grounds; the minutes of the same board meeting approve the appointment of carpenter, stone mason, bricklayer, painter and glazier and sweep. These procurement processes were renewed regularly, suggesting that the workhouse was an important player in the local business economy. This resonates with the findings of William Ogle (page 42) that a reducing local population appeared to be maintaining its spending power. The expanding bureaucracy revealed by the minutes suggests a diligent approach by the Board of Guardians to their responsibilities and willingness to generally conform to central guidelines.

Life in the St. Ives workhouse

There is a stereotypical narrative of life in the Victorian workhouse as enshrined in the popular literature of the day — the harshness of the eligibility test, the institutionalised cruelty, the separation of families and the monotony of meagre, unappetising diets. However, as David Roberts found, the truth probably lies somewhere between the self-congratulatory view of the founding fathers of the New Poor Law and the more severe judgments of subsequent historians.²⁰ It is impossible to tell from the minutes of the Board

¹⁹ Huntingdonshire Archives, ref. 2178/1/4.

²⁰ David Roberts, 'How Cruel Was the Victorian Poor Law' in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 6, 1, (1963), p. 101.

of Guardians exactly where the St. Ives workhouse sat between these two extremes.

However, while there is an overriding ethos of conformity with official punitive intentions there are also regular examples of what appear to be genuine humanitarian concerns leading to local interventions that went against the grain of official policy and guidance. For example, on 5 February 1851 the guardians voted ten to seven in favour of using 'seconds' grade flour instead of 'thirds', a triviality perhaps but one that suggests some guardians were concerned about the quality of workhouse food.²¹

The minutes of the meeting held on 19 January 1881 record a decision that seems quite remarkable given the strength of official direction about the separation of the sexes:

'Application was made by an inmate of the workhouse named Raby to be allowed to sleep with his wife they being both above 60 years of age, whereupon it was moved by Read Adams Esq. seconded by William Mason Esq. and resolved on a division that the application be granted and the Master was directed to provide a suitable apartment for them accordingly.'

This blatant departure from clear central guidelines on the separation of the sexes suggests a strong humanitarian streak from the majority of guardians.²² Another example occurs in 1901 when the minutes record disagreement with central instructions on a new dietary table. The report of the Dietary Committee reads as follows:

'The officers did not consider that any alteration from the Old Dietary was required in which opinion the Committee agrees. The accompanying return made with great care and labour by the Master shows what would be the extra cost of food in the

²¹ Huntingdonshire Archives, ref. 2178/1/4.

²² Huntingdonshire Archives, ref. 2178/1/10.

various different classes and the aggregate cost which is about £120 a year. The worst defect (leaving cost out of the equation) of the proposed Dietary is that no man unless infirm is allowed tea either at breakfast or in the evening except Sundays. We see no reason whatever why the men should be deprived of a drink which is universally used by the labouring classes in the neighbourhood and we advise the Board to refuse to take the responsibility of adopting any tables which deprive the inmates of tea both morning and evening.’

Having put down this marker for the universal right to a cup of tea the Dietary Committee went further:

‘We think also that the 1 lb of suet pudding which constitutes the dinner on one day should have currants or sultanas in it for which purpose it will be necessary to obtain the consent of the Local Government Board. In a small workhouse like ours, it seems unnecessary to have dietary table for the infirm, it is better to leave the doctor in the one or two cases that arise to order what he thinks best in each case’.

In this case, the guardians appear to display basic humanity at the expense of additional costs while also expressing their irritation at the extent of central control.²³

However, examples like this are rare. The minutes generally show a strong core commitment to enforcing rules when paupers defaulted on their obligations. For example, the minutes of the meeting of the Board held on 2 March 1881 record that:²⁴

²³ Huntingdonshire Archives, ref. 2178/1/13.

²⁴ Huntingdonshire Archives, ref. 2178/1/10.

‘The Clerk reported that he had proceeded against Timothy Norman for neglecting to support his child and that the man (who absconded after service of the summons) had been sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for 14 days and a Warrant for his apprehension had been issued.’

Outdoor relief in St. Ives

As Chapter 2 has outlined, outdoor relief was one of three major features to be enshrined in the New Poor Law and the arguments about it went to the heart of the matter: people who could work should work, however low their wages; the alternative was admission into the workhouse with all the shame and stigma that this carried. The Royal Commission had set out their agenda by dubbing outdoor relief ‘the master evil’ of the Old Poor Law and a prime objective of the 1834 Act had been to abolish it for those working but unable to make ends meet.²⁵ Statutory enforcement followed by way of the Order Prohibiting Outdoor Relief of 1844 which required qualifying able-bodied paupers to be relieved wholly in the workhouse together with any dependants. However, Article 1 of the Order exempted this requirement from eight closely defined situations for which outdoor relief was permitted; examples of these are cases of ‘sudden and urgent necessity’ and of sickness, accident and infirmity.²⁶ In his recent study of the origins of the modern welfare state, Chris Renwick asserts that despite official intentions outdoor relief continued ‘on a massive scale’ and that by 1871 more than 880,000 paupers of all classes including

²⁵ Chris Renwick, *Bread For All: The Origins of the Welfare State* (UK: Penguin Books, 2018), p. 24.

²⁶ *The Outdoor Relief Prohibitory Order December 1844* in *Englander*, pp. 97-98.

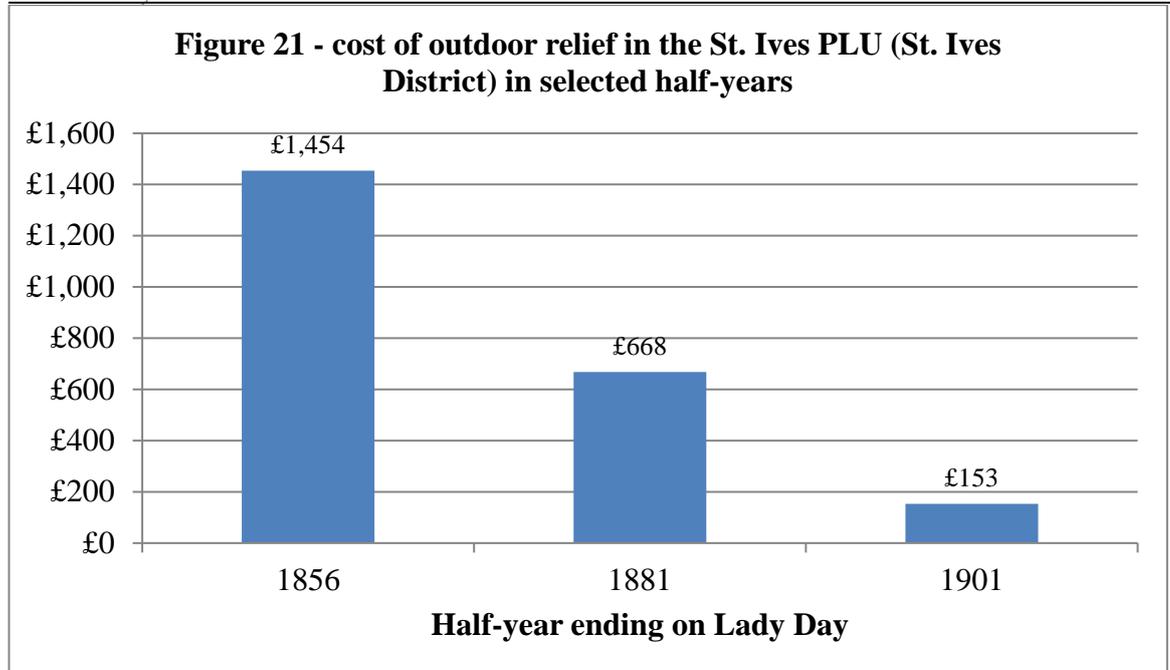
148,000 who were able bodied were still receiving outdoor relief.²⁷ However, as David Englander has said, abolition was dependent on having workhouses of sufficient capacity to accommodate genuine able bodied applicants requiring assistance.²⁸ This particularly applied in the cities of the industrial areas: for example, Renwick cites the city of Bradford with a workhouse capacity of about 260 people and in 1848 more than thirteen thousand claims for relief.²⁹ By 1869, the Poor Law Board was sufficiently concerned about the continuing cost implications of outdoor relief to issue a minute under the signature of its president in which he reaffirmed that ‘relief should be given only to the actual destitute, and not in aid of wages’ an objective on which he then expanded in some detail.³⁰ It appears that this concern related mainly to ‘Metropolitan pauperism’ and was connected with workhouse capacity. It is clear from Figure 20 (page 53) that there was no capacity issue at the St. Ives workhouse. The workhouse outdoor relief lists have been studied at three different points in time (limited by availability) over the study period — the beginning, in mid-period and at the end; they show a clear downward trend in the awarding of outdoor relief to the able bodied, to the extent that this had almost disappeared by 1901. Figure 21 shows the resultant reduction in cost in the St. Ives District of the Union.

²⁷ Renwick, p. 24.

²⁸ Englander, p. 14.

²⁹ Renwick, p. 25.

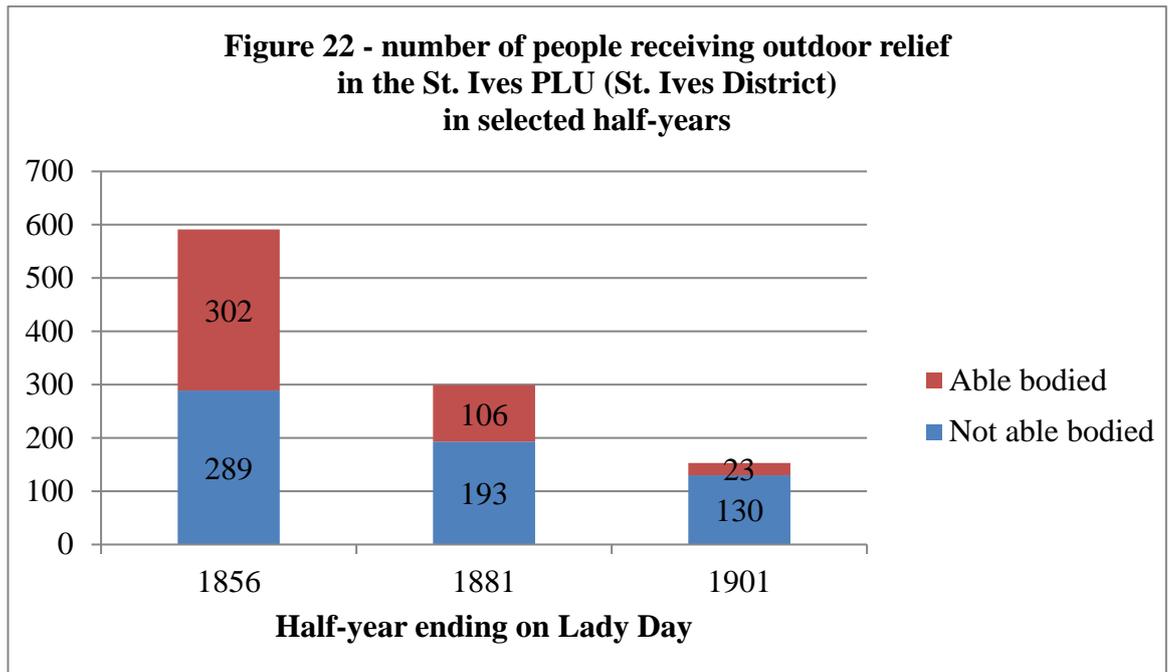
³⁰ *The Goschen Minute, 1869* in Englander, pp. 104-105.



Source ³¹

This dramatic reduction in the cost of outdoor relief is mirrored by an equally significant reduction in the number of people relieved and more significantly by an almost complete disappearance of the able bodied relieved. This is clearly shown in Figure 22 below.

³¹ Huntingdonshire Archives, Outdoor relief lists, ref. 2178/6/83, 2178/6/91, 2178/6/111.



Source ³²

However, there is an example in the minutes from 1872 of a notice of motion suggesting that decisions on outdoor relief were not wholly inhumane:

‘To consider the propriety of making some addition to the present allowance of outdoor relief in consequence of the present high price of fuel.’

An extra six pence per household until Lady Day 1872 was approved by ‘a large majority’.³³

As Figure 22 shows, the numbers receiving outdoor relief at St. Ives reduced from 591 in 1856 to 153 in 1901; more significantly, the numbers of able bodied included in these totals fell from 302 to twenty-three over the same period. All this is strong evidence that the St. Ives PLU was committed to compliance with central edicts on the abolition of outdoor relief for the able bodied. This is supported intermittently by references in the

³² Huntingdonshire Archives, Outdoor relief lists, ref. 2178/6/83, 2178/6/91, 2178/6/111.

³³ Huntingdonshire Archives, ref. 2178/1/7.

minutes of the Board of Guardians. For example, it is recorded in the minutes of the meeting on 23 September 1896 that:³⁴

‘It appearing that Daniel Pring who had been admitted to the workhouse from the St. Ives Parish was settled at Holbeach the Clerk was directed to apply to that Union to accept him without an Order of Removal. The Guardians being subsequently informed that this man had subsequently become an inmate through a dispute with his employer as to his work and Mr Freeman having offered to find him employment he was called before the board and informed that in the event of the Medical Officer certifying him as able and his refusing to accept the employment offered he would be prosecuted.’

Another good example appears in the minutes of the meeting on 2 January 1895:³⁵

‘Mr Hary the Relieving Officer reported that he had made every enquiry in his District but could not ascertain that there was any truth in the statement that there were any men or women in his District under 70 years of age receiving out relief and also earning wages.’

Clearly, the St. Ives PLU took a strong line on outdoor relief for the able bodied.

Local costs

It cannot be assumed that a reduction in numbers receiving poor relief was necessarily commensurate with a reduction in costs. This does not appear to be a matter which has received much attention in the historiography of the New Poor Law. The minutes of the

³⁴ Huntingdonshire Archives, ref. 2178/1/12.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

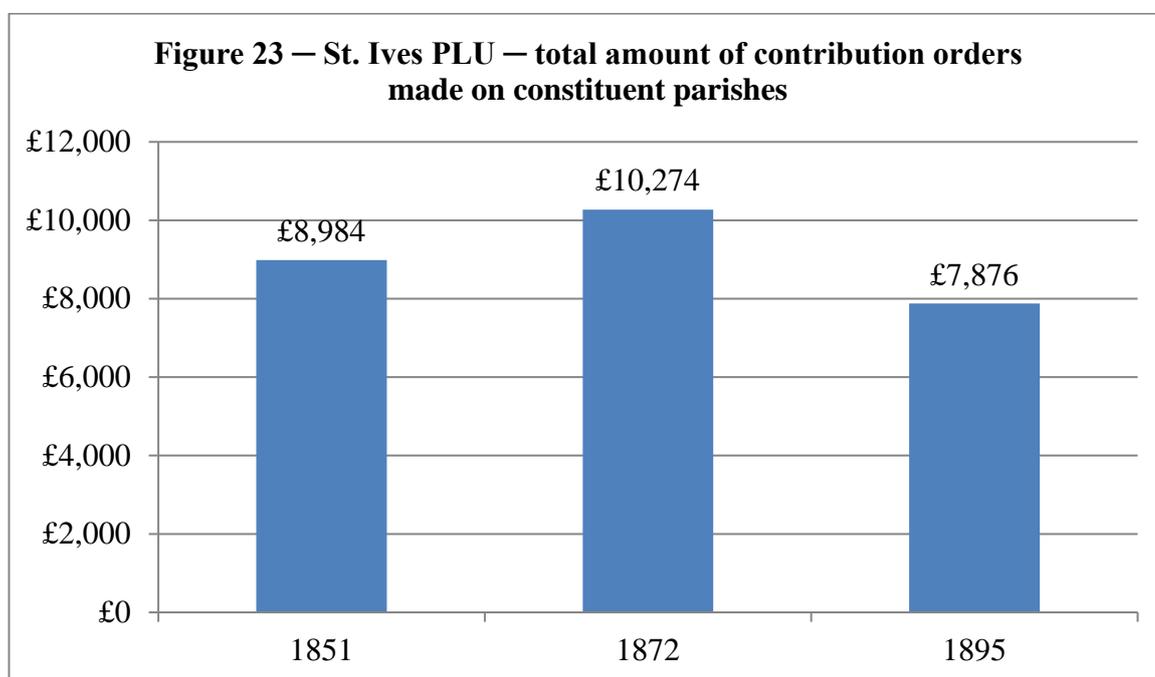
St. Ives Board of Guardians include regular statements of the amounts of contribution

orders made to each constituent parish. The purpose of these orders was to obtain financial reimbursement of the costs not only of direct relief but also of the direct and indirect

expenses arising from the provision and management of the workhouse, for example: loan repayment costs on buildings; salaries of officials; provisions and other running

expenses.³⁶ Figure 23 below shows the total amount of these orders in three selected

(limited by availability) years:



Source ³⁷

The estimated number of poor relief recipients in the St. Ives PLU broadly halved over the study period (Figure 7, page 9). In contrast, the amount of annual contribution orders (a rough proxy for costs) reduced by only twelve percent over a broadly similar period.

Although the periods do not match exactly and there is a degree of approximation in the

³⁶ Poor Law (Amendment) Act 1834, section 29.

³⁷ Huntingdonshire Archives. 1851: Ref. 2178/1/4, pp. 101 and 129-130. 1872: Ref. 2178/1/7, pp. 223-224, 291-292. 1895: 2178/1/12, pp. 121-122, 217-218.

figures this result is nevertheless credible. It would be a major exercise to analyse the components of the costs shown at Figure 23 between direct relief and management costs. However, some costs would have been fixed in relation to the number of relief recipients; the expanding facilities of the workhouse such as the school and infirmary and the staff to run them would all increase costs; the cost of processing unsuccessful applications would not translate into increased numbers on poor relief. The historiography is largely silent on the question of administration costs as opposed to the cost of direct relief and this is another gap waiting to be filled by further research.

Summary

The primary sources cited in the chapter provide strong evidence of a firm commitment by the St. Ives PLU to the punitive intentions of the New Poor Law. Although this is tinged with occasional glimpses of paternalism there is no doubting the strict overarching ethos. A new workhouse was soon constructed in accordance with central guidance. The Board of Guardians took its duties seriously and discharged them with due diligence. In particular, a strict line was taken on outdoor relief for the able bodied to the extent that by 1901 it had virtually disappeared. On balance the St. Ives PLU appears to have been a good exemplar for the punitive ethos of the New Poor Law. Based on this evidence it seems unlikely that either a generous local approach or a disregard of central guidelines made a significant contribution to the 'St. Ives anomaly'.

Conclusion

The 'St. Ives anomaly' revisited

This study has set out to resolve the 'St. Ives anomaly' — why did the number of people on poor relief in the area of the St. Ives PLU increase pro-rata to a declining population over the period 1851-1901 when the comparable figure for the whole of England and Wales decreased against a rapidly rising population? Two linked national narratives have been considered: net population growth and rural depopulation, the latter also being inextricably linked to the impact of the Great Agricultural Depression. These narratives have been explored from various perspectives against a wide ranging historiography and then localised to Huntingdonshire generally and St. Ives specifically. This final section of the study will now set out conclusions to explain the 'St. Ives anomaly'.

Impeccable primary source census data has been presented to show national and local population change. The sharply contrasting directions of change are a reminder of the pitfalls of national averages. It is possible that there is no single census registration area corresponding with this national average change; each has its own story demanding an interaction between national and local history. In contrast, evaluating reasons for these changes requires arguments based on evidence. The argument made here is that although rural depopulation occurred, it occurred very unevenly and that meaningful quantification of this depends on definitions of 'urban' and 'rural' respectively. Administrative counties have been shown to be inappropriate for measuring rural depopulation because they may have major industrialised urban centres with large rural hinterlands. To avoid this pitfall, a more precise zoning of urban and rural areas is required and when this is corrected it can be shown that Huntingdonshire was the most intensely rural county in England, so homogeneously rural that it is valid to take any part of it, such as the area of the St. Ives

PLU, as a microcosm of the whole. Having made this correction, when depopulation is considered in the context of the Great Agricultural Depression the story of Huntingdonshire (and therefore St. Ives) becomes clearer. Agricultural historians have established that the impact of farming failures in the 1880s was greater in Huntingdonshire than anywhere else. It is therefore unsurprising to then discover that the main cause of the local population decline was the emigration of people engaged in farming and of agricultural labourers in particular. Cross referencing to this argument is corollary evidence that the depression was a major consequence of the repeal of the corn laws and therefore had a greater impact in areas such as Huntingdonshire that were farmed for arable crops rather than livestock or dairy farming. This is therefore strong evidence that the combined effect of all these factors was an extreme outcome in Huntingdonshire in terms of rural depopulation.

In contrast to the reliability of census data it is much more difficult to find reliable and meaningful data relating to the incidence of poor relief. Despite the almost obsessively ritual collection of multiple classes of data at PLU level, the main level of reporting to central authorities was the number of paupers getting relief at specific dates. This study has shown the limitations of that method and sought to ‘correct’ the data accordingly. However, whether or not the official numbers are meaningful makes no difference to their trend which shows that the numbers of people on relief fell over the study period. This is exactly what would be expected given that the main objective of the New Poor Law was to substantially reduce costs by a much more punitive regime than the Old Poor Law. This also puts the ‘St. Ives anomaly’ in sharp relief: why did the numbers on poor relief increase in real terms (that is, proportionally to population) thereby bucking the national trend?

There appears to be a gap in a historiography that has tended to focus on high level policy pronouncements and low level case study evidence. This has two drawbacks: first, there is no guarantee that central policy was put into practice locally; second, case studies are selective and may not be typical. This historiographical gap waits to be filled by an informed study of regionalised national data, plotted against a time line of key milestones in the operation of the New Poor Law and key external social and economic narratives. However, so far as this study is concerned, it seems very clear from local archive evidence that the St. Ives PLU was an exemplar for how the New Poor Law was intended to operate. The Union took prompt action to provide a new workhouse in accordance with recommended guidelines and to a capacity that was rarely, if ever, challenged. The main reason that suggests itself for this over-provision is the local depopulation. Nothing has been found in the minutes of the Board of Guardians to suggest, despite occasional examples of compassion and humanity, that the Union had anything other than a committed and diligent approach to its duties and responsibilities, from the siting and design of the workhouse to the strict enforcement of liabilities incurred by defaulting paupers. This included the enforcement of the national crusade against outdoor relief, for which there is direct evidence. There are limitations to what can be investigated in a study of this length and a comparative study with other unions would be useful. However, based on the evidence that has been cited here, the incidence of poor relief in St. Ives cannot be attributed to generous local decision making beyond the parameters of central guidance.

Weighing the significance of all these factors, this study concludes that the people who emigrated from Huntingdonshire and St. Ives were younger, fitter people who needed work and in order to get it were prepared to relocate to neighbouring agricultural counties not so badly affected by the depression or to the industrialised areas where jobs were plentiful.

To this extent the New Poor Law can be said to have succeeded. However, the residual poor law case load comprised an ageing population proportionally more dependent on poor relief. The 'St. Ives anomaly' was the result of the interaction of these major external forces and not a reflection of any different operation of the New Poor Law from what had been intended by its proponents. The overarching lesson of this study is the importance of localising national historical narratives.

Appendix 1 - St. Ives Poor Law Union - decennial population by parish from 1801 to 1901 - this data underpins Figure 6 (page 8)

	=Huntingdonshire					= Cambridgeshire					
Parish	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Bluntisham-cum-Earith	822	991	1,309	1,381	1,457	1,550	1,351	1,206	1,085	1,065	965
Broughton	319	354	351	411	363	416	376	361	293	301	264
Bury	224	250	337	358	359	414	362	332	349	377	370
Colne	335	375	480	476	544	439	385	376	328	305	260
Fenstanton	704	724	776	968	1,032	1,070	1,120	1,074	1,067	975	863
Hemingford Abbots	306	372	400	484	564	544	518	488	389	354	345
Hemingford Grey	354	403	475	556	910	1,258	1,103	991	881	883	852
Hilton	223	253	303	365	344	384	387	369	353	300	275
Holywell-cum-Needingworth	623	685	782	951	959	915	826	746	726	672	653
Houghton	306	363	427	372	424	519	494	506	510	417	324
Old Hurst	118	137	156	150	182	166	174	154	124	107	103
Pidley-cum-Fenton	264	320	374	406	516	583	569	587	448	388	363
Somersham	833	1,032	1,166	1,402	1,517	1,653	1,621	1,562	1,409	1,381	1,255
St. Ives	2,099	2,426	2,777	3,314	3,514	3,572	3,395	3,248	3,002	3,005	2,910
Warboys	943	1,100	1,353	1,550	1,800	1,996	1,911	1,880	1,676	1,661	1,758
Wistow	315	349	352	404	490	553	532	485	392	401	352
Witton (Wyton)	213	220	261	277	257	267	311	310	238	136	143
Woodhurst	245	273	335	408	449	533	554	495	331	295	253
Boxworth	220	219	317	283	326	358	347	331	251	274	222
Conington	154	209	215	204	224	319	233	202	292	286	268
Fen Drayton	256	272	325	319	381	392	445	458	344	297	215
Lolworth	98	85	111	129	122	136	133	171	170	139	155
Over	689	699	802	989	1,119	1,256	1,146	1,155	1,073	1,005	860
Swavesey	831	828	1,029	1,115	1,273	1,385	1,371	1,335	1,171	1,069	899
Total	11,494	12,939	15,213	17,272	19,126	20,678	19,664	18,822	16,902	16,093	14,927
Average per parish	479	539	634	720	797	862	819	784	704	671	622
Source	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1

Source 1: A Vision of Britain Through Time website at <www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/NNNNNNNN/TOT_POP> where NNNNNNNN = the respective unique identifier for each parish. [Accessed 28 June 2018]

Source 2: House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, Census of England and Wales, 1871. ref. [C.676-1], p. 144. [accessed 21 June 2018]

Appendix 2

Details of calculations underlying displayed values in charts

This appendix shows the calculations that have produced numbers displayed in charts that have not been taken directly from the sources cited.

Figure/page

5/7 1851

Population	17,900,000		
Receiving poor relief	1,901,882		
Proportion	$1,901,882 \times 100/17,900,001$		10.6%

5/7 1901

Population	32,500,000		
Receiving poor relief	1,609,318		
Proportion	$1,609,318 \times 100/32,500,000$		5.0%

8/10 1850-51

Population	21,522		
Receiving poor relief	2,105		
Proportion	$2,105 \times 100/21,522$		9.8%

8/10 1901

Population	14,766		
Receiving poor relief	1,011		
Proportion	$1,011 \times 100/14,766$		6.8%

10/15

Town population	8,990,809	$8,990,809 \times 100/17,927,610$	50.2%
Country population	8,936,800	$8,936,800 \times 100/17,927,609$	49.8%
Total population	17,927,609		

11/16

Town population	25,054,268	$25,054,268 \times 100/32,525,510$	77.0%
Country population	7,471,242	$7,471,242 \times 100/32,525,510$	23.0%
Total population	32,525,510		

Appendix 3 part 1

Data supporting the values displayed in Figure 17, page 44

St. Ives Union Workhouse

Summary of age bands of inmates from the censuses of 1851 and 1901

These totals are brought forward from parts 2 and 3 of this appendix.

Age band	Totals from part 2 (pp. 75-83) 1851				Totals from part 3 1901			
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%
0-14	74	75	149	46.6%	4	7	11	11.6%
15-19	9	7	16	5.0%	0	2	2	2.1%
20-39	23	34	57	17.8%	1	3	4	4.2%
40-59	25	14	39	12.2%	9	7	16	16.8%
60-79	45	9	54	16.9%	34	8	42	44.2%
>79	2	3	5	1.6%	10	10	20	21.1%
	178	142	320	100.0%	58	37	95	100.0%
Calculation check			320				95	

The above totals agree with data for 1851 and 1901 shown at Figure 20 (page 53).

Appendix 3 part 2

St. Ives Poor Law Union Workhouse - ages of inmates from the 1851 census

Page no. from enumeration book		0-14		15-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		>79	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Page 2													
William	Minson											1	
William	Gee											1	
James	Johnson											1	
William	Seekins											1	
Elizabeth	Gee		1										
William	Wiseman											1	
John	Graves											1	
Sam	Harrison							1					
John	Wright											1	
William	Wright							1					
Elizabeth	Brown												1
Thomas	Jeffrey	1											
Louisa	Jeffrey		1										
William	Jeffrey	1											
John	Aubrey										1		
Elizabeth	Aubrey										1		
William	Aubrey					1							
Susan	Mitchell		1										
William	Mitchell	1											
John	Leeds										1		
Page 3													
John	Westmoreland										1		
Ann	Westmoreland											1	
Thomas	Bissell										1		
Sarah	Mason							1					
Ann	Mason		1										
John	Smith										1		
Pheobe	Hall												1
John	Ross					1							
Ann	Ross						1						
John	Ross			1									
Tom	Ross	1											
William	Ross	1											
Esther	Pedley						1						
Alex	Pedley	1											
William	Pedley	1											
Jane	Pedley		1										
Mary													
Ann	Pedley		1										
Robert	Mansfield										1		
Ruth	Rayner						1						

Page no. from enumeration book		0-14		15-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		>79	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Martha	Rayner		1										
Page 4													
Emma	Leeds		1										
George	Leeds	1											
Margaret	Leeds		1										
Mary													
Ann	Leeds		1										
Elizabeth	Leeds			1									
Mary													
Ann	Lee							1					
Elizabeth	Lee		1										
James	Fryer										1		
William	Papworth										1		
Jeremiah	Perkins										1		
Sarah	Longstaff							1					
Richard	Baines				1								
William	Thain				1								
John	Cooper										1		
James	Pidley										1		
William	Maile	1											
Thomas	Maile	1											
Richard	??thorp										1		
John	Gillings	1											
Joseph	Mansfield			1									
Page 5													
John	Mansfield							1					
Mary	Mansfield								1				
Rebecca	Mansfield		1										
Mary	Mansfield		1										
Lawrence	Mansfield	1											
?	Mansfield		1										
Abraham	Mansfield	1											
?	Mansfield		1										
Mark	Eason				1								
Louisa	Eason						1						
Mark	Eason	1											
John	Eason	1											
Mary	Eason		1										
Edward	Lenton										1		
Emma	Maile		1										
?	Mansfield						1						
Liza	Mansfield		1										
Samuel	Mansfield	1											
Emma	Mansfield		1										
Harriet	Mansfield		1										

Page no. from enumeration book		0-14		15-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		>79	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Page 6													
Edward	Mansfield	1											
Mary	Hall											1	
James	Hall	1											
Thomas	Rolls							1					
William	Baldwin	1											
Benjamin	Unwin					1							
Thomas	?										1		
Sophie	Book						1						
George	Book	1											
James	Walter										1		
John	Payne					1							
William	Richardson					1							
Elizabeth	Richardson						1						
Sarah	Richardson		1										
Daniel	Haden					1							
Joseph	Austin					1							
Thomas	Brown							1					
Samuel	Turner			1									
Thomas	Kuling							1					
Page 7													
Samuel	Pippaday										1		
Elizabeth	Pippaday											1	
Joseph	Peacock										1		
William	Allen										1		
Rebecca	Whitehouse								1				
Sarah	Merry						1						
Bridget	Briggs		1										
Jane	Briggs		1										
John	Tuff	1											
Samuel	Lee	1											
?	Lee	1											
Norma	Lee		1										
Rachel	Stocken						1						
Rebecca	Hopkins		1										
Joseph	Clayton										1		
Ruth	Thurley		1										
Eliza	Thurley		1										
John	Rarston										1		
Martha	Lardner											1	
Jane	Barnell								1				
Page 8													
Elizabeth	Dean											1	
William	Sutton										1		
Samuel	Biswick							1					
Mary	Dart											1	
Sarah	Mason			1									
Harry	Chambers							1					

Page no. from enumeration book		0-14		15-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		>79	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Mary	Cesplin						1						
Thomas	Bell									1			
Charles	Lee					1							
Hannah	Lee						1						
Jane	Lee		1										
Emma	Lee		1										
Esther	Lee		1										
Charles	Lee	1											
Betsy	Lee		1										
James	Sutton					1							
George	Formby					1							
John	Walker	1											
Thomas	Walker	1											
Robert	Walker	1											

Page 9

William	Sutton							1					
Elizabeth	Sutton					1							
Elizabeth	Sutton		1										
Mary	Sutton		1										
Sophie	Sutton		1										
Jane	Sutton		1										
Emma	Sutton		1										
Susan	Sutton		1										
Elizabeth	Metcalf		1										
Mary	Metcalf		1										
Thomas	Vigars											1	
John	Taylor									1			
Mary	Nabman							1					
Letitia	Lee		1										
Sarah	Lee		1										
Emma	Lee		1										
Henry	Lee	1											
Samuel	Thorp									1			
Isabel	Weston		1										
John	Ellingham							1					

Page 10

Robert	Barlow	1											
Edward	Thorp							1					
Joseph	Johnson									1			
William	Caulson									1			
John	Brooks									1			
Stephen	Middleton				1								
Esther	Middleton						1						
Samuel	Middleton	1											
Richard	Carrier				1								
Ann	Carrier						1						
Rebecca	Carrier		1										
Joseph	Carrier	1											

Page no. from enumeration book		0-14		15-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		>79	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Carrie	Carrier		1										
John	Bath							1					
Elizabeth	Bath					1							
Joseph	Bath	1											
William	Bath	1											
Sarah													
Ann	Bath		1										
Mary	Bath		1										
John	Payne									1			
Page 11													
Charles	Clark	1											
Ann	Bussell			1									
Charles	Bussell	1											
Ann	Taylor					1							
Marylin	Heath		1										
Levi	Taylor	1											
Jane	Taylor		1										
Martha	Taylor		1										
Martin	Ashworth									1			
John	Tibbett							1					
William	Brigstock							1					
Mary	Brigstock		1										
John	Wilkinson									1			
Elizabeth	Bates					1							
Thomas	Bates	1											
Mary	Richardson												1
Benjamin	Taylor	1											
Henry	Shunmann									1			
Charles	Papwoth			1									
Charles	Ginn												1
Page 12													
Elizabeth	Taylor								1				
Charles	Taylor	1											
George	Taylor	1											
Mary	Cook					1							
George	Cook	1											
Elizabeth	Pettit					1							
William	Pettit	1											
Elizabeth	Stokes								1				
Mary	Stokes		1										
Edward	Garner	1											
Elizabeth	Garner		1										
Thomas	Aupreys									1			
Richard	Richardson									1			
Richard	Heason									1			
Ann	Brown					1							
Ann	Brown		1										
Emma	Brown		1										

Page no. from enumeration book		0-14		15-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		>79	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Susan	Middleton				1								
Eliza	Hedge				1								
Edward	Hedge				1								
Page 13													
Michael	Hedge										1		
Mary	Hedge								1				
Hannah	Hedge				1								
Elizabeth	Hedge		1										
Mary	Hedge		1										
James	Abbott							1					
Rebecca	Wheaton						1						
Charles	Wheaton	1											
Emily	Wheaton		1										
Arthur	Wheaton	1											
Philip	Bedford							1					
Ann	Bedford								1				
Eliza	Bedford		1										
Philip	Bedford	1											
?	Bedford		1										
Betsy	Bedford		1										
James	Bedford	1											
Jane	Wright						1						
Emma	Wright		1										
Page 14													
John	Bedford							1					
Sarah	Bedford		1										
?	Thomas									1			
Elizabeth	Lamb										1		
William	Sitchell							1					
Mary	Cawden		1										
John	Cawden	1											
Thomas	Cawden	1											
Willam	Cawden	1											
Robert	Kingons					1							
James	Wright					1							
Susan	Wright							1					
William	Wright	1											
James	Wright	1											
Jonas	Wright	1											
Joseph	Wright	1											
James	Coblett				1								
Page 15													
Joseph	Masritt							1					
Ann	Masritt									1			

Page no. from enumeration book		0-14		15-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		>79	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Allan	Masritt	1											
John	Masritt	1											
Robert	Masritt	1											
Ellen	Masritt		1										
George	Trundle							1					
Susan	Trundle						1						
William	Trundle	1											
George	Trundle	1											
James	Trundle	1											
Hannah	Trundle		1										
James	Eason							1					
Ann	Eason						1						
William	Eason			1									
John	Eason	1											
John	Thomson							1					
Eunice	Thomson								1				
Lois	Thomson						1						
Judith	Thomson			1									

Page 16

Eunice	Thomson							1					
John	Thomson	1											
Charles	Harrop				1								
Sarah	Harrop						1						
William	Harrop	1											
Sarah	Harrop		1										
Charles	Harrop	1											
John	Harrop	1											
Joseph	Harrop	1											
William	Asplin				1								
Ann	Asplin						1						
Elizabeth	Asplin		1										
Ann	Asplin		1										
John	Unwin				1								
Rebecca	Unwin						1						
?	Unwin	1											
William	Unwin	1											
John	Unwin	1											
George	Cooper			1									
James	Glover			1									

Page 17

Joseph	Cooper							1					
Hannah	Cooper								1				
Rebecca	Cooper		1										
Joseph	Cooper	1											
Edward	Cooper	1											
Susanna	Cooper		1										
Stephen	Cooper	1											
William	Warley				1								

Page no. from enumeration book		0-14		15-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		>79	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
William	Burgess							1					
Robert	Jones				1								
Elizabeth	Jones						1						
John	Jones	1											
Rebecca	Alprays						1						
Sophie	Alprays		1										
Patrick	Obrien				1								
William	?									1			
William	Parrish									1			
Elizabeth	Parrish										1		
Page 18													
William	West							1					
Susan	Reed						1						
Elizabeth	Lawrence						1						
George	Lawrence	1											
Sarah	Lawrence		1										
Emma	Lawrence		1										
Eliza	Lawrence		1										
		74	75	9	7	23	34	25	14	45	9	2	3
Total		320	149	16	57	39	54	5					
		100.0%	46.6%	5.0%	17.8%	12.2%	16.9%	1.6%					

These totals are carried forward to the Summary at part 1 of this Appendix.

Appendix 3 part 3

St. Ives Poor Law Union Workhouse - ages of inmates from the 1901 census

Page no. from enumeration book		0-14		15-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		>79	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Page 2													
Joseph	Aubuck									1			
Thomas	Archdeacon						1						
Charles	Adlard						1						
William	Bedford									1			
George	Bunnage	1											
William	?									1			
William	Bedford						1						
John	Bailey									1			
Robert	Creek											1	
James	Coulson											1	
James	Criens									1			
George	Elwood									1			
Daniel	Evans									1			
?	Eason						1						
John	Flood									1			
Daniel	Freeman									1			
Robert	Gooch									1			
Willaim	Harrup									1			
Frederick	Bailey									1			
Page 3													
George	Higgins									1			
William	Hodson									1			
Henry	Hall									1			
Henry	Hitchcock											1	
John	Holloway						1						
James	Ivatt						1						
John	Johnson									1			
John	Johnson									1			
Walter	James						1						
Ernest	Kitchener	1											
George	Luff											1	
George	Leach									1			
Thomas	Lewis									1			
William	Lawrence	1											
William	Witham											1	
James	Matthews									1			
Charles	Mason									1			
Thomas	Page											1	
Henry	Payne									1			
Christopher	?									1			
William	Pickard									1			
George	Potts									1			
John	Payne											1	

Page no. from enumeration book		0-14		15-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		>79	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
John	Roughton									1			
William	Skinner											1	
Page 4													
William	Spencer									1			
James	Sargent									1			
John	Simpson							1					
James	Stubbings									1			
Zachariah	Smith									1			
John	Savage									1			
Samuel	Turner									1			
Benjamin	West									1			
Charles	Woods											1	
Richard	Welham											1	
George	Wilson	1											
William	Webb							1					
Frederick	Howe					1							
Eliza	Askew								1				
Charlotte	Brent										1		
Matilda	Bunnage					1							
Sara Ann	Brunnage								1				
Ada	Bentley		1										
Dinah	Bailey					1							
Emily	Batty									1			
Elizabeth	Burbage												1
Alice	Bailey		1										
Mary	Bullen												1
Harriet	Cook												1
Elizabeth	Dorks									1			
Page 5													
Ann	Favell									1			
Sarah	Feary												1
Sarah	Feskins												1
Annie	Green				1								
Edith	Green		1										
Elizabeth	Grey												1
Jane	Garrett												1
Susanna	Hull												1
Jackson	Hepher								1				
Sarah	Ilett										1		
Sarh	Kester								1				
Lizzie	Kitchener		1										
Priscilla	Lovell										1		
Alice	Lawrence				1								
Nellie	Pheasant		1										
Susanna	Pink								1				
Emma	Smith								1				
May	Saddington										1		
Adelaide	Sickings										1		
May	Thorborn												1
May Ann	White								1				

Page no. from enumeration book	0-14		15-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		>79		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Page 5 (cont.)													
Harriet	Wilson						1						
Rose	Wilson		1										
May	Wilson		1										
Elizabeth	Watts										1		
Page 6													
George	Newham								1				
	95	4	7	0	2	1	3	9	7	34	8	10	10
Total	95	11	2	4	16	42	20						
	100.0%	11.6%	2.1%	4.2%	16.8%	44.2%	21.1%						

These totals are carried forward to the Summary at part 1 of this Appendix.

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