Pauperism and the Leicester Workhouse in 1881
by Stephen Page

INTRODUCTION

The industrial development of Leicester and the expansion of its population in the nineteenth century resulted in the social and geographical polarisation of the rich and poor. Poverty was a constant theme which affected the town at different stages of its development from its pre-capitalist state through to its emergence as a city-region in 1914. At any one time in the nineteenth century at least 30%[1] of the population lived in conditions of abject misery and deprivation which were perpetuated from one generation to another, thus, reinforcing the structural causes of the problem. Although urban poverty in Victorian towns has attracted a great deal of research[2], the emphasis has largely been on London[3] and major industrial towns like Birmingham[4], Glasgow[5], Manchester[6] and Rochdale.[7] In contrast little attention has been paid to industrial towns like Leicester which experienced a relatively short phase of growth concentrated into the years between 1870 and 1914.
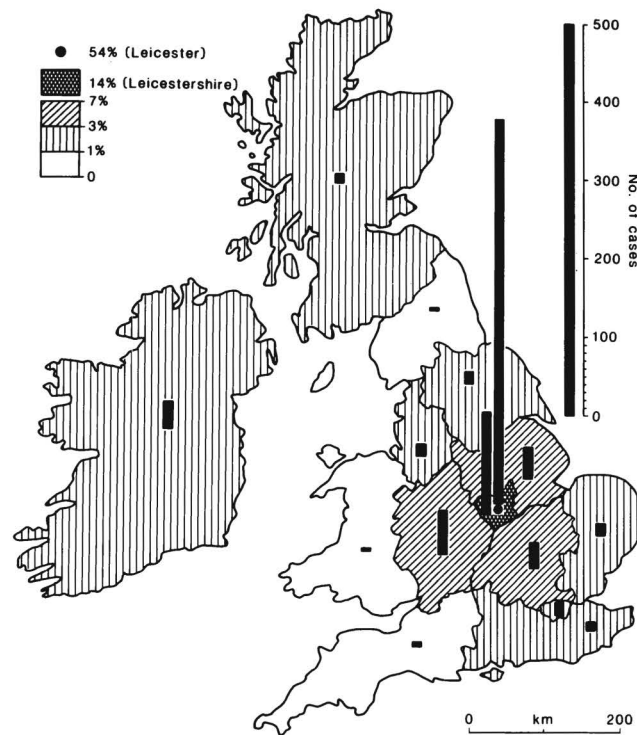

Fig.1 Birthplace of Paupers enumerated in Leicester in Workhouse in 1881

In this paper, the problem of poverty in Victorian Leicester is examined using evidence from the Poor Law which was the main agency responsible for the social well-being of the poor. The Poor Law dealt with the extreme cases of poverty and destitute poor and forms a useful medium for understanding who cared for the poor's welfare. As Rose[8] has confirmed 'urban poverty was a wide phenomena which embraced, at some stage in their lives, many nineteenth century town dwellers. Thus the potential urban clientele of the Poor Law system was an enormous one'. Therefore, using the transcripts of the 1881 census of Leicester Workhouse,[10] it is possible to assess 'who the poor were', 'their social and economic characteristics' and, 'their geographical origins'. However, to understand the significance of the Poor Law in assisting the poor it is necessary to explain how it operated and its rationale for relieving hardship and distress.

THE POOR LAW AND THE RELIEF OF POVERTY

The Poor Law was the main agency for the relief of poverty and distress in Victorian and Edwardian cities. It was a state controlled agency with managerial powers for its day-to-day running being delegated to the local Poor Law Union. The decision-making process and management of its activities was the responsibility of a Board of Guardians, which was an elected body with powers to levy an annual rate and to investigate and grant relief to deserving cases. The poor had free access to this body provided that they were born in the area[10] or could prove the legality of their case in times of hardship and distress. The social policy of the Victorian and Edwardian Poor Law was designed to discourage applications from all but the most extreme cases of want or destitution. This was based on the principles of 'less eligibility'[11] where a strict policy of social discrimination based on an applicant's perceived character sought to determine who were worthy of assistance and what kind of relief was appropriate. The Poor Law Union was divided into a series of districts, headed by a Relieving Officer (hereafter referred to as RO) who was the person that was first approached when relief was sought and it was his recommendation that went forward to the Board of Guardians. The Board assessed the merits of each case, and the outcome was either 'out-of-relief', in the form of a dole or 'in-door' relief which necessitated entry into the Union Workhouse. In fact, the principles of Poor Law policy were designed to deter rather than encourage applications for relief because of the stigma attached to being 'pauperised'. Furthermore, the denial of personal freedom which resulted from entry into the Workhouse made the Poor Law a last resort for most working families.

Unfortunately no records survive of 'out-door relief' for the Leicester Union, which means that it is impossible to assess the extent of the degrees of poverty within the town during late Victorian and Edwardian times from Poor Law evidence alone. This weakness is of some significance since according to Williams,[12] there was a particularly intensive campaign against out-door relief in Leicester during the 1870s. However, this difficulty is partly compensated by the fact that in 1905 a clerk employed by the Union did provide a brief glimpse of its relief practices.[13] The clerk estimated, for example, that for every one person receiving 'in-door relief' another four were receiving 'out-door relief', and this would appear to be quite representative of relief practices of the period. The absence of detailed evidence on out-door relief in Leicester means that the Poor Law records can only provide a partial picture of poverty in the town. However, this weakness can, in part, be overcome by the inclusion of evidence on Workhouse populations contained in the 1881 census.

Therefore, despite the absence of records on out-door relief in Leicester there are, according to Katz,[14] certain benefits in considering poverty through the Workhouse:

> One key question about poor houses, is who used them?, what kinds of people entered

them and how did they (enter)? Did the population of poor houses come from a lumpen proletariat, or are they better thought of as part of the working class? Were poor house inmates demoralised and helpless or casualties of social inequality and economic development? Did most people who entered poor houses remain in there for the rest of their lives?[15]

Although Katz's[16] work was primarily concerned with poverty in nineteenth century North America it, however, has an important bearing on this research in that it seeks to understand structural changes in pauperism. The comparative value of such research lies in the similarity of the Poor Law structure in Britain and North America, though social and cultural differences in Workhouse experiences restrict the application of similar research methodologies. Nonetheless, Katz's[17] attempt to reconstruct Workhouse demography marks a significant departure from the administrative-institutional focus of much of the research on the Poor Law. In other words, it seeks to understand the experiences and complexities of the 'real' people who were affected by the Poor Law. However, in order to gain a better understanding of the socio-demographic dimension of pauperism in Leicester in 1881, it is necessary at this stage to consider briefly some of the changes in the town during this period.

LATE VICTORIAN LEICESTER

For the purpose of this paper Leicester is taken as a case study since the changes which affected the late Victorian town were economically and socially traumatic as it emerged as an industrial centre of national repute.[18] This has been illustrated by Patterson[19] who argued that 'at the middle of the century Leicester was still in the process of transition from a county town to a modern industrial city'. According to Simmons[20] the years 1850 to 1880 were among the most significant in the town's development although this did not necessarily mean that 'by 1880 the town had achieved a peculiar brand of assured prosperity that has given it its character ever since'.[21] The industrial expansion of the late Victorian years was based on footwear and hosiery production which may well have assured prosperity for the middle class factory owners who controlled the means of production, but for the working classes it was by no means so. Therefore, this paper considers those people who did not benefit from economic growth at a time when the town's population was increasing at an almost exponential rate.

The growth of Leicester's population has been documented quite extensively by Pritchard[22] and Millward.[23] It would seem as if the growth was overwhelmingly dependent upon the in-migration of workers and their families from surrounding villages and adjacent counties. The effects of such developments were several fold, including the physical expansion of the built environment which led to the extension of the administrative area by means of the Leicester Extension Act in 1890. As Table I shows, the largest parish in 1881 was St Margaret's and, it is surprising that it contained an even greater proportion of the town's residents than it did in 1851. For example, in 1881 St Margaret's parish contained 64% of the town's population followed by St Mary's with 35%. This suggests an increase in population density within St Margaret's parish which resulted from large-scale migration and a youthful population resulting in a high rate of natural increase. In contrast, the outlying parishes were at much lower population densities and their growth could be attributed to an outward movement of householders from parts of St Margaret's and St Mary's parishes and much less to the movement in of people from outside the town. That is to say, there appears to have been an inward migration from beyond the city to the two main parishes. These changes raise important questions related to poverty. For example, were migrants more likely to fall into the poverty-trap and seek assistance from

the Poor Law than the local-born population? In the scope of this paper, it is impossible to identify every factor which contributed to changing levels of poverty in the town. Nevertheless, in order to fully identify the main features and trends in pauperism it is necessary to consider long term changes. Due to the constraints of space it is impossible to undertake a comparative study of pauperism in the 1880s and 1890s although it must be emphasised that the evidence for 1881 is really a starting point for a more detailed understanding of pauperism in late Victorian Leicester which has been dealt with more fully by Page[24] and need not be reiterated here. For this reason, attention now turns to the transcripts of the Census Enumerator's Handbooks for the Leicester Workhouse in 1881.[25]

TABLE 1: Population Distribution in Leicester 1881

East Leicester	88,001
Belgrave	7,207
West Humberstone	2,305
North Evington	200
St Margaret	18,289
West Leicester	48,592
St Leonard	3,046
All Saint	6,887
Black Friars	2,108
St Martin	2,171
St Nicholas	1,830
Augustine Friar	94
Castle View	153
The Newarke	1,688
St Mary	26,144
Aylestone	2,519
Leicester Abbey	83
Knighton	1,813
New Found Pool	56
Leicester	136,593

Source: 1881 Published Census for Leicester

PAUPERISM AND LEICESTER WORKHOUSE IN 1881

Like the research on the administrative and financial statistics collated annually on Lady Day,[26] the 1881 census only provides a cross-section of Workhouse inmates at one point in time. This is rather unfortunate since the 1890s were also significant in the move from a domestic to industrial mode of production in Leicester. However, due to the 100-year rule only the 1881 Census Enumerator Books are available which precludes any discussion of the 1890s.

According to the 1881 census the Leicester Workhouse housed 847 inmates, 26 vagrants, and 36 staff, their families and visitors (Table II). Some idea as to whether the Workhouse was a repository of the outcasts and self-confessed failures of Victorian society is evident from the age structure of the residents (Table III). Overwhelmingly the Workhouse was dominated by the young (6-10 years) and the elderly (60+ years) whilst even within the 21-60 age group there was a slight bias towards the older age ranges. The smallness in the numbers aged below 6 years suggests that majority of these children were orphaned or had been abandoned by their parents. However, in the case of those children aged 6-10 years

not all were orphans since it was estimated that over 40% were the victims of their own parents' pauperism. The limited number of inmates aged between 15 and 22 years would suggest that the various forms of industrial training and rudimentary education were encouraging youngsters to enter the labour market *via* the apprentice system.

TABLE II: Sex Structure of Leicester Workhouse in 1881

Category	Male	Female	Total
Staff (with families)	16	20	36
Inmate	500	347	847
Vagrant	25	1	26
Visitor	0	2	2
	541	370	911

TABLE III: Age structure of Inmates in 1881

Age Group	No. of Cases	%
0-5	38	4.2
6-10	220	24.1
15-20	38	4.2
21-30	75	8.3
31-45	82	9.0
46-60	108	11.9
61 +	350	38.3
	911	100%

TABLE IV: Marital Status of Inmates in 1881

	No. of Cases	Male	Female	Total
Married	140	86	54	15.3
Widowed	275	162	113	30.3
Unmarried	492	289	203	54.2
Missing	4	4	0	0.2
	911	541	370	100%

Despite the inclusion of staff in the statistics contained in Table IV the idea that whole families were forced to enter the Workhouse through pauperism was not really evident in Leicester in 1881 since widows and the unmarried were predominant. Significantly, Table IV shows that married couples with children were not the main inmates as it was the unmarried, the elderly and the infirm who entered the Workhouse most frequently.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Table V gives a detailed breakdown of the occupational structure of inmates. It shows the proportion of male: female inmates together with the specific occupations they had worked in. According to Table V, the majority of the paupers had been involved in hosiery and textile related occupations whilst only a small proportion had continued to depend upon textile industries during the 1880s which was evident by the high percentage of framework knitters in the Workhouse. The onset of the factory system led to the displacement of large numbers in the textile industry, in particular the elderly because it was they who found it

most difficult to adapt to new modes of production. On the other hand, according to Osterud.[27]

> the transition from out-work to factory production (in hosiery) in Leicester did not involve the displacement of women from wage labour. Even married women continued in employment as household and workplace diverge.

In addition, the various trades within the textile industry were affected differentially by the advent of the factory system. For example, those working in 'dress-related' trades formed 10.67% of inmates even though they only formed 6.75% of the total workforce in Leicester. The predominance of machinists and hosiery outworkers in the Workhouse also highlighted the susceptibility of such occupations.

TABLE V: Occupational Structure of Inmates (1881)

	Male	Female	Total Group %
Skilled — Hosiery and Textiles			
Framework knitter	79	11	10.6
Wool worker/weaver	25	14	4.6
Winder	1	22	2.7
Needlemaker	3	0	0.35
Lace worker	1	0	0.12
Glove maker	0	3	0.35
— Shoes	28	3	3.65
— Engineering	13	0	1.53
— OTHERS (cabinet maker, clerk, hatter, tailor, baker, pipemaker, brickmaker, basket maker, actress)			
Dressmaker, saddler	0	16	1.88
Bricklayer	74	0	8.73
	223	69	34.51
Semi-skilled — Hosiery	4	5	1.06
— Shoes	5	0	0.59
— Other	3	3	0.71
Unskilled	27	117	17.0
Domestic	42	32	8.73
Scholars and Infants	147	116	31.0
Missing Cases	49	5	6.3
TOTAL	500*	347*	100%

*Excludes 64 Workhouse Staff/Visitors resident on Census Day 1881

The elderly character of the residents of the Leicester Workhouse conformed quite closely to the situation elsewhere in England and Wales and abroad; for example, it has been estimated by Katz[28] that in the United States 60% of Workhouse inmates were over 40 years of age. Many have argued that this trend towards an aged pauper population was the result of the growing welfare function of the Workhouse. But others have argued that the:

> chances of an elderly person being resident in a Workhouse, with the exception of a very aged woman...(is)...very little different from those of an aged person being resident in a home, hospital or psychiatric institution.[29]

Poor wages and temporary work meant that any slight change in their health or work

quota would result in a visit to the RO. Lace making was a marginally better occupation in terms of pauper admissons while woolmaking and weaving formed a minor group, contributing only 4.68% of all cases. In addition, over 6% of the paupers have been involved in a series of miscellaneous skilled occupations which included bricklaying and associated trades. No doubt the growth in the number of paupers involved in these trades reflected the downturn in house building during the trade recession of the early 1880s.[30]

Although Table V shows the types of occupations inmates had been employed in, the Workhouse also housed a number of administrative officers and their families. For this reason, Table VI was constructed to show how this small proportion of Poor Law officials affected the occupational structure of the Workhouse as a whole. As Table VI shows, the large proportion of officers were classified as 'intermediate' workers. However, a comparison with Table V also finds that officers' wives were employed in semi-skilled occupations, and their children account for the increased percentage of 'scholars and infants'. Despite the modifications incurred by officers and their families, Table VI highlights the bias towards those who had worked in the hosiery and textile trade which explains why the skilled category was the dominant socio-economic group. Yet the combination of the 'unskilled' and 'economic' classes was also a significant proportion of the total.

TABLE VI: Socio-Economic Groups Within Union Workhouse (1881)

	%
Intermediate (employed by Union in Adminstrative Work & care of inmates)	2.9
Intermediate — missing	1.3
Skilled — Hosiery and Textile	9.9
— Framework Knitters	7.6
— Shoes	3.6
— Engineering	1.7
— Others	10.14
Total skilled	32.94
Semi-skilled	5.8
Unskilled	15.6
Domestic	8.9
Scholars and infants	32.2
	100%

CASUALS AND IMBECILES

A further group enumerated in the 1881 census as resident in the Workhouse were those classified as 'casuals, vagrants or tramps'. This group commonly formed a series of individuals who passed through the town in search of work and required temporary accommodation. On census night in 1881, 25 casuals were enumerated in separate wards in the Leicester Workhouse, and they were predominantly male, unemployed, and from all walks of life. However, these vagrants were not outcast workers as middle class commentators would have us believe. According to Roberts,[31] 'there were vagrants who, to the last avoided the Workhouse at all cost' and preferred to sleep rough. In fact, an increasing number of the vagrants sought prison in preference to the Workhouse because of the latter's exercise of authority and enforced working regime.

An additional occupation group present in the Workhouse were those classified as 'imbeciles'.[32] Approximately 50 imbeciles were recorded in the Leicester Workhouse in 1881, being almost 5.4% of the total inmate population. The majority were female, aged

between 20 and 50 years, which was as indicative of the Victorian belief that females had a domestic role. A recent study by Orme and Brock[33] has questioned the continued residence of the mentally ill in the Workhouse after establishment of specialised homes such as asylums during the 1870s and they concluded that

> The simple answer is that the upkeep of pauper lunatics remained a charge upon a lunatics poor rate and that it was frequently cheaper to keep a patient within the Workhouse.[34]

But, surprisingly, what Orme and Brock[35] overlooked was that in many Workhouses including that of Leicester, imbeciles were exploited as a form of cheap labour by performing menial tasks. This has been substantiated by Rose[36] although it must be emphasised that the occurrence varied from one Board to another. The abuse of imbecile labour was disapproved of at the national level by those officials responsible for the mentally ill but the local acceptance of these practices led to an attendant being appointed to Leicester's imbecile ward in 1880.[37] But a year later, the undesirability of housing imbeciles was once again voiced by the Commissioners[38] who argued that 'those of unsound mind' were not given sufficient warmth and their labour was being abused in return for inadequate care. By 1886 the Commissioners reported that the treatment of 39 male and 49 female imbeciles had 'improved in the last four years, but still...it was not cheerful[39] as a number of male cases were referred to the Medical Officer for treatment in the infirmary. As this practice was difficult to regulate, the central organisation of the poor by the Local Government Board, seemed content to regulate the use of imbecile labour by visitations and Annual Reports.

TABLE VII:

Birthplace of Inmates and Residents Enumerated in Leicester Workhouse 1881

Birthplace	No. of Cases	%
Leicester	491	53.89
Leicestershire	129	14.16
N Midlands	40	4.39
S Midlands	31	3.40
W Midlands	57	6.25
		82.09
North	5	0.54
Northwest	17	1.9
Yorkshire	15	1.7
Scotland	13	1.42
East	16	1.85
South East	13	1.42
South West	6	0.65
London	16	1.85
Wales	5	0.54
Ireland	34	3.73
Overseas	8	0.98
Within	8	0.98
Missing	7	0.88
	911	100%*

*0.53 rounding error

Source: 1881 Census Enumerator Handbooks

ORIGIN OF INMATES

From the 1881 census of Leicester's Workhouse it is also possible to determine the place of origin of the inmates. Admittedly this is based on birthplace evidence and so intervening moves prior to arrival in Leicester cannot be ascertained. Such evidence, however, permits some assessment of the effect of their migration into the town upon the surrounding hinterland and the wider region. From Table VII and Figure 1 it is clear that over a half of the inmates had been born in Leicester itself and another 30% within the wider Midlands region. Similarly, the majority of 'scholars' were Leicester-born which suggests that couples preferred to move to the town before having their families. This was directly related to poverty in that people preferred to find accommodation and work before starting a family because at that stage in the life cycle pauperism and destitution were a constant threat.

The occupations of the inmates also varied with their place of origin. For example, over 50% of the framework knitters originated from Leicester itself and another 40% had migrated from outlying districts in the county. Similar proportions of footwear workers were born in Leicester while semi-skilled workers tended to have migrated from farther afield. The origins of unskilled workers were more varied than skilled employees because they recorded place of birth farther afield than Leicestershire. For example, the Irish population in the Workhouse was often seen as a major migrant group in many English towns. In Leicester they formed 12.76% of unskilled labourers which was a lower proportion than in the port towns of Manchester and Liverpool.[40] Among the 'domestics', the Midlands formed the main catchment area, especially the rural backwaters of Leicestershire and Rutland where farm workers migrated to urban domestic positions. To a lesser degree, Northamptonshire was also a source area for domestic labour. Even so, grooms and housekeepers who ended up in the Leicester Workhouse were more likely to be of Leicestershire stock. For unskilled female workers, a distinct regional pattern of birthplaces emerged with the 'North Midlands' as the dominant area. One pattern which was unexpected was the large number of unskilled female migrants from northern textile towns who may well have moved to Leicester's expanding economy in the 1870s due to the poor state of trade in areas like Rochdale. A similar explanation might also be advanced to account for the substantial proportion of female migrants from the Yorkshire textile and woollen towns.

Indirectly, this suggests that those who eventually entered the Workhouse were drawn from diverse backgrounds and from diverse regions. Fluctuations in the local and regional economies resulted in differential migration into the growing town of the late nineteenth century and for some the eventual necessity to enter the Workhouse. Surprisingly, they were not all drawn from the local region and so underlined the diversity of the social and economic experiences for the paupers.

CONCLUSION

It has been shown that the 'poor' in Leicester were not a separate group isolated from the working classes. Their recourse to the Poor Law was not due to 'moral' or 'individual character failings' because the cause of poverty was ultimately controlled by factors beyond their control. In many cases, household fortunes were increasingly tied to changes and fluctuations in the local economy. This reflects Leicester's emergence as a specialised centre of production for footwear and hosiery and its dependence on national and international markets.

Pauperism was not a static, unchanging quantity in late Victorian Leicester as after 1881 the occupational structure of Workhouse inmates changed from predominantly hosiery to footwear-related paupers.[41] This reflects the development of a town specialising in

footwear and the impact of restructuring on craft workers. That is to say, the move from workshops into factories displaced many craft workers who ended life as aged paupers in the Workhouse.

After 1881 the industrial growth of the town also increased the problems of economic uncertainty. This meant that the Poor Law changed from merely a provider of relief to extreme cases of destitution to include greater social welfare functions. For example, in times of economic crises, the Poor Law was overwhelmed by applicatons from an unemployed industrial workforce. Nevertheless in normal times pauperism was an effective measure of the destitute end of the poverty-continuum which probably affected between 10 and 20% of Leicester's population. Though poverty was endemic among a section of the working class, it did not affect consistently these families and individuals who moved into and out of poverty. Nonetheless poverty was a daunting prospect which many working class households had to live with.

The analysis of pauperism undertaken here has focused primarily on the welfare function of the main institution associated with the Poor Law — the Workhouse, and its inmates. It has emphasised the problems faced by the aged, children, the infirm, casual workers and labourers as well as the difficulties encountered by certain groups within a changing local labour market. The stigma attached to the Poor Law was a clear deterrent to many of the poor from applying for relief despite living in conditions of abject poverty and deprivation. Yet for the aged poor who were single, widowed, or disabled (ie partially sighted, arthritic) or seriously ill the Workhouse was often the only alternative to destitution.

This paper has highlighted 'who the very poor were and where they came from' and some of their social and economic characteristics. It only represents a partial analysis of the poor (ie those who sought relief from the Poor Law). Therefore, it must be emphasised that pauperism was only one indicator of urban poverty and so other forms of relief should also be considered. Yet the survival of suitable data sources is a constant problem which continues to confront the historian of urban poverty. Consequently, the Poor Law attracts a great deal of attention even though charitable bodies and self-help agencies played a considerable role in the relief of poverty.[42] Even so, the Poor Law was the main mechanism of Victorian social policy for the treatment of poverty, and it ultimately determined the fate of most paupers. To understand what it meant to be poor, and, the stigma of applying to the Poor Law we also need to consider the moral and philosophical basis of their treatment. The less fortunate elements of late Victorian society knew all too well of the relationship of the Capitalist system and poverty, many of whom lived in constant threat of hardship and distress and becoming a charge of the Poor Law. In fact poverty was an unavoidable problem which affected most working class families at some stage in their life cycle, either as children or as young adults rearing children and in old age. Thus, the indisputable fact for Victorian Leicester was that poverty continued to exist and in some cases was made more severe by the emergence of industrial capitalism.

Notes

1. E. Hennock, 'The Measurement of Urban Poverty from the Metropolis to the Nation 1880-1920', *Economic History Review*, XL (2), pp.208-227

2. M. Rose (ed), *The Poor and the City: the English Poor Law in its Urban Context 1834-1914* (1985, Leicester University Press)

3. G. Stedman-Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between the Classes in Victorian Society* (1971, Oxford); D. Green, 'People of the Rookery: A Pauper Community in Victorian London', (1986) *Occasional Paper 16*, Dept of Geography, Kings College London

4. A. Parton & M. Matthews, *Geography of Poverty in Mid-nineteenth Century Birmingham: A Pilot Study*, Final Report to SSRC, November 1981 (Coventry)

5. R. Cage (ed), *The Working Class in Glasgow 1750-1914* (1987); R. Rodger, 'Employment, Wages and Poverty in the Scottish Cities 1841-1914', in G. Gordon (ed) *Perspectives of the Scottish Cities*, pp.25-64 (1985, Aberdeen University Press)

6. A. Kidd, 'Outcast Manchester: Voluntary Charity, Poor Relief and the Casual Poor 1860-1905', in A. Kidd & K. Roberts (eds) *City, Class and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester*, pp.99-124 (1985, Manchester University Press)

7. M. Rose, 'Rochdale Man and Staleybridge Riot: the Relief and Control of the Unemployed During the Lancashire Cotton Famine', in A. Donajgrodzki (ed) *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*, pp.185-206 (1978)

8. M. Rose, *The Poor and the City* (1985), p.3

9. The 1881 Transcripts of the 1881 Census are Stored at Leicestershire County Record Office, New Walk, Leicester

10. M. Rose, 'The Allowance System Under the New Poor Law', *Economic History Review*, 19, pp.607-20

11. This is explained in detail by K. Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty* (1981)

12. K. Williams, *op.cit.*

13. G.M. Moore, 'Relief by the Community', *Transactions of the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society*, vol.XII (1905), pp.49-59

14. M. Katz, *Poverty and Policy in American History* (1983, New York)

15. M. Katz, *op. cit.* p.59

16. M. Katz, *op. cit.*

17. *Ibid.*

18 The social and economic development of Leicester is dealt with in N. Pye (ed), *Leicester and its Region* (1972, Leicester University Press)

19. A. Patterson, *Radical Leicester: A History of Leicester 1750-1850* (1954, Leicester University Press), p.364

20. J. Simmons, *Life in Victorian Leicester* (1976, Leicestershire Museums Service)

21. *Ibid*, p.42

22. R.M. Pritchard, *Housing and the Spatial Structure of the City* (1976, Cambridge University Press)

23. R. Millward, *A History of Leicestershire* (1985, Phillimore)

24. A more detailed comparative Study of Pauperism in Leicester between 1881 and 1895 can be found in S.J. Page, 'Poverty in Leicester 1881-1911: a Geographical Perspective', PhD thesis (1987), University of Leicester.

25. *Op. cit.*

26. I. Levitt, 'Poor Law and Pauperism', in J. Langton & R.J. Morris (eds) *Atlas of Industrializing Britain 1780-1914* (1986, Methuen)

27. N. Osterud, 'Gender Divisions and the Organisation of Work in the Hosiery Industry' in A. John (ed) *Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England 1800-1918*, (1986, Oxford), p.46

28. M. Katz, *op. cit.*

29. D. Thomson, 'The Decline of Social Welfare: Falling State Provision for the Elderly Since Early Victorian Times', *Ageing & Society*, 4, p.53.

30. R.M. Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p.118

31. R. Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (1971, Penguin), p.72

32. According to H. Orme & W. Brock, *Leicestershire Lunatics: Institutional Care of Leicestershire Lunatics During the Nineteenth Century*, (1987), Leicestershire Museums, Publication No.87, (Leicester), an imbecile was an 'obsolete term referring to low-to-moderate mental deficiency and mental age of two to seven, severely retarded'. The Lunacy Act of 1845 stated the official place for lunatics was in Borough and County Asylums

33. H. Orme and W. Brock, *op. cit.*

34. *Ibid.*, p.5

35. *Ibid.*

36. Personal communications on the question of imbeciles in late Victorian Workhouses, 12 August 1985

37. PRO MH12 6491, 41274/86, Leicester Board of Guardians to Local Government Board, 22 December 1880

38. PRO MH12 6492, 3629/81, Dr Williams, Commissioner in Lunacy, Annual Report on Leicester Workhouse to Local Government Board

39. PRO MH12, 6495, 93561/86, Commissioner in Lunacy, Annual Report on Leicester Workhouse to Local Government Board

40. R. Lawton & C. Pooley, *The Social Geography of Merseyside in the Nineteenth Century: Final Report to SSRC* (1976, Liverpool)

41. S.J. Page, *op. cit.*

42. For example, see S.J. Page, 'Voluntary Societies, Pawnbrokers and Prostitutes: A Geographical Perspective of Individual Modes of Relief from Poverty in Victorian and Edwardian Times' (forthcoming), *Ealing Research Papers in Geography*, Ealing College of Higher Education, London