

Between 1861 and 1881 the population of Appleby declined, but was noticeably static otherwise. From the 85 or so households identifiable in the main settlement in 1861, at least 53 heads, or their widows or other close relatives, recur as heads of households ten years later; the equivalent figure for the next decadal interval – the number of houses falling from about 79 to 69 – is 55. Of those staying over the first decade, 29 were recorded at some time as agricultural labourers, with 9 labourers and families moving away. Between 1871 and 1881 some 32 labourers stayed as heads of households, only 5 going. 22 of the labourers appearing as heads of households in 1861 (or their close relatives) were still domiciled in the main settlement twenty years later, a few changing occupation. Whilst census returns made at the considerable interval of ten years cannot give more than a suggestive picture of population movement, and allowing that there is little published material with which to make comparison, the degree of movement seems low. The school logbook suggests that families from the outlying parts of the parish changed more often than those in the main settlement; division between the village children and those the headmaster called 'outsiders' extended to a marked difference in academic attainment.³⁰ The remarkably good standards sustained by the school in the 1870s and 1880s are likely to reflect the relative immobility of the population.

The influence of the new housing upon living standards is difficult to establish. Sanitary improvement and greater convenience must have resulted; here the labourers themselves, as usual, remain mute, and no significant records survive of the rural sanitary authority. Ironically typhoid struck the village badly in 1875; in November the schoolmaster wrote of how

the fever still keeps our attendance low. Many are away for fear of taking it, others because it is in their houses, and some have it themselves.

There were deaths, and the school refused to take children from infected households. The local press criticised sanitary conditions in the village; this was countered by reminders that

the attention of the landlord has long been directed to its improvement. Many old thatched houses have been pulled down, and sixteen substantial and well-appointed new ones have been erected ... and since the passing of the Sanitary Acts the Sanitary Authority and its officers have always met with the ready co-operation of Mr Winn.

To cope with the epidemic he hired a trained

nurse who worked at a hospital set up in the Hall grounds; meanwhile attention was given to the few cases of overcrowding known in the village.³¹ In 1877 the Medical Officer for the Glanford Brigg Union Rural Sanitary Authority reported that 'the sewerage of Appleby has been completed'.³²

It is to be expected that a closed village would have had few paupers, and few appear as such in the enumerators' returns for Appleby. None were recorded in the main settlement in 1861, six in 1871 and seven in 1881. All were elderly. Loss of the Glanford Brigg Union records makes further investigation difficult; a surviving printed return for 1876–77 lists nine Appleby paupers given outdoor relief, and one indoor relief, the figures covering the whole of the parish. Of those on outdoor relief, one was 63 years of age, the rest over 70. All were relieved because of 'decay'. The Brigg Guardians had issued a draconian statement on outdoor relief in November 1876, decreeing that amongst other restrictions,

Applicants ... will be expected to satisfy the Guardians that they are of good character.³³

Rowland Winn had slight reservations about the Poor Law Unions, because of their size and the 'prison-like appearance' of the workhouses, but their main principle he managed to commend by this slight criticism:

In the case of old people, he thought it extremely hard that they should separate man and wife in the workhouse, and if they could construct workhouses so as to arrange for old couples to live together they [the Guardians] would often hesitate more than they did about giving out-relief, and they would find less disinclination on the part of the poor people to go there.³⁴

Of Appleby's paupers on out-door relief in 1871, five were widows over 70 years old; the only male was a widower of 86. Men are likely to have found it unwise to apply for relief even at an advanced age, as the case of John Harrison, a labourer still at 78, suggests. In 1881 the paupers included four widows, one widower, and a married couple. None was under 70, and four were over 80.

The connection between pauperism and cottage building, whilst comprehensible in general terms, poses difficult questions. Did landlords pick tenants of model cottages themselves, or otherwise interfere in the letting? What was the relationship between the tenants whose farms were worked by the labourers, the landlord, and the labourers themselves? How was the possibility of jealousy between farmers in need of land and the cottagers avoided? How far did