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# Tenement Size and Social Difference: Reflections on Chepstow in 1901\*

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## Abstract

*This interdisciplinary study focuses on tenement (bouse) size, as recorded in the census in 1901, to explore demographic and social contrasts in Chepstow, an historic market town and river port in south-east Monmouthshire. For three contrasting enumeration districts, it contextualises this measure of housing status against the characteristics of the built environment, and applies the technique of house repopulation to derive spatial patterns of social difference and inequality from residents' age, household formation, net lifetime migration, and employment circumstances in the stagnating local economy. The study re-scales the investigative methods used by urban historians in city-wide studies of urban ecology and demonstrates how tenement size, a crude but under-utilised measure of housing stock, can support micro-scale studies of social differentiation in small but regionally significant towns. Equally as important, it provides an insight into the case-specific processes and particular outcomes of urbanisation during the nineteenth century in rural Monmouthshire.*

## Introduction

Within the developing field of applied historical studies, interdisciplinary investigations of urban social structure in Victorian and Edwardian Britain have cross-fertilised the interpretive skills of the community historian with the wider theoretical and statistical perspectives of the social scientist.<sup>2</sup> In that context, the field of population geography has connected locally important demographic themes to the concepts of space, place and environment.<sup>3</sup> Issues of social difference and inequality have been widely examined within the framework of human ecology and the pointed critique of economic competition as the over-riding determinant of residential patterns.<sup>4</sup> Historical demographers have engaged in these debates and applied geo-spatial techniques to census data to explore the socio-spatial organisation of rapidly growing British cities in the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Throughout the

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2 Representative examples of this *genre* include M. Drake (ed.) *Applied Historical Studies: an Introductory Reader* (London, 1973); and R. Floud, *An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians* (London, 1973), pp. 1–6.

3 A. Bailey, *Making Population Geography* (London, 2005), p. 10.

4 For a concise critique of these issues see P. Knox and S. Pinch, *Urban Social Geography* (Harlow, 2010), pp. 156–60.

5 The following texts include extensive bibliographies on the internal spatial structure of nineteenth-century cities in Britain: R. Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1984); H. Carter and C.R. Lewis, *An Urban Geography of England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1990); and R. Lawton and C. Pooley, *Britain 1740–1950: an Historical Geography* (London, 1992). Geo-coding methods for histor-

1970s, census-based interpretations of the internal structure of Victorian cities have involved the statistical reduction and visual representation of large data sets.<sup>6</sup> Some inductive studies have been framed within the theoretical setting of ‘modernisation’; others have tested empirical findings against variants of the land-use models developed by human ecologists from the ‘Chicago School’.<sup>7</sup> There is wide agreement that the census alone cannot fully answer research questions connected to the outcomes of human perception, behaviour, decision-making and social relations.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, the ‘bunching’ of empirical studies around solitary censuses in the mid nineteenth century has constrained the measurement of longer term processes and patterns of spatial change in the built environment.<sup>9</sup> In addition, few city-wide studies have identified geographical scale of analysis as an important determinant in the recognition and spatial representation of social patterns.<sup>10</sup>

In that wider context, and differentiated by geographical scale of analysis, this case study of Chepstow is distinctive in four respects. First, it is place-specific to a small market town situated in south-east Wales.<sup>11</sup> Second, the focus is 1901, a census year that is under-represented in studies of this *genre*. Third, within each enumeration district, the study reconciles census-based measures of demography and local economic performance with the built environment as featured in historical source materials and fieldwork practice. Fourth, it demonstrates the potential of tenement (house) size, a discriminating census variable first

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ical census data are examined in N.S. Walford ‘Bringing historical British population census records into the 21st century: a method for geo-coding households and individuals at their early-20th-century addresses’, *Population, Space and Place*, 25 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2227>. See, too, N.S. Walford ‘Demographic and social context of deaths during the 1854 cholera outbreak in Soho London: a reappraisal of Dr John Snow’s investigation’, *Health and Place*, 65 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.health-place.2020.102402>, for a micro-analytical study of disease diffusion correlated with tenement-level census variables.

- 6 Lawton and Pooley, *Britain 1740–1950*, pp. 202–9, 214–8.
- 7 Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, p. 288; H. Carter *The Study of Urban Geography* (London, 1995), pp. 125–36. See also R.J. Johnston, D. Gregory and D.M. Smith, *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (London, 1991), pp. 61–4.
- 8 J.H. Johnson and C.G. Pooley (eds) *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London, 1982); R. Dennis ‘The social geography of towns and cities 1730–1914’, in R.A. Dodgshon and R.A. Butlin (eds) *An Historical Geography of England and Wales*, 2nd edn (London, 1990), pp. 433–9.
- 9 For example, J.H. Johnson and C.G. Pooley, ‘Internal structure of 19th-century British cities: an overview’, in Johnson and Pooley, *Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities*, p. 13, write: ‘Inevitably, ... source availability has encouraged researchers to concentrate on the middle years of the nineteenth century to the relative neglect of earlier and later decades’. In a similar vein, R. Dennis ‘Stability and change in urban communities: a geographical perspective’, in Johnson and Pooley, *Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities*, p. 259, argues for urban historians to ‘concentrate more effort on the late Victorian and Edwardian years’.
- 10 H. Carter and C.R. Lewis, *Processes and Patterns in Nineteenth Century Cities*, (Milton Keynes, 1983), pp. 45–95, examine the range of analytical techniques suited to the spatial interpretation of Victorian census and related materials in Welsh towns.
- 11 This study forms part of a wider investigation into nineteenth century market towns in south-east Wales. Publications, to date, include: R. Gant, ‘Crickhowell 1851–1901: continuity and change in the small Welsh market town’, *Brycheiniog*, 40 (2009), pp. 37–58; R. Gant ‘Domestic service in the small market town: Crickhowell, 1851–1901’, *Local Population Studies*, 84 (2010), pp. 11–30; R. Gant, ‘Brecon in 1901: a census perspective on the county town’, *Brycheiniog*, 42 (2011), pp. 43–70; and R. Gant, ‘Market town and railway centre: Abergavenny in 1901’, *Gwent Local History*, 113 (2013), pp. 34–42.

introduced to the Victorian census in 1891, to extend the social profile of housing areas. It remains true that, while dedicated family historians and genealogists have blended the variable of tenement (house) size into the life circumstances of their forebears, this surrogate metric of daily living conditions and population density has not been fully integrated into (enumeration district level) studies of spatial segregation and social difference in the late Victorian city; nor has it featured as a discriminating variable in studies of small Welsh towns in the latter part of the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Grounded in the demographic technique of house repopulation, this analysis from Chepstow addresses that situation.<sup>13</sup> It focuses on three issues: first, the administration of the census and profile of housing stock; second, the demographic characteristics of the urban population and contrasting residential environments; and, third, a census-based interpretation of local society and its engagement in the urban economy.

### Census administration and the profile of enumeration districts

Each decade since 1801, the Registrar General's Census of Population has provided central government with statistical evidence to inform policy and administrative practice. Subject to minor adjustments in content, from 1851 census enumerations contained personal entries for: relationship to the head of household, age last birthday, sex, marital condition, profession or occupation, employment status ('employer, worker or own account'), parish and county of birth, specified disabilities, and language spoken.<sup>14</sup> The inclusion, in 1891 and

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12 Census-based studies of small settlements in Wales that address this issue include: W.T.R. Pryce and J.A. Edwards, 'The social structure of the embryonic towns in rural Wales: Llanfair Caereinion in the mid-nineteenth century', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 67 (1979), pp. 45–90; H. Carter and S.E. Wheatley, 'Fixation lines and fringe-belts, land uses and social areas: nineteenth century change in the small town', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 4 (1979), pp. 214–38, <https://doi.org/10.2307/622036>; and H. Carter, 'Transformation in the spatial structure of Welsh towns in the nineteenth century', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, (1980), pp. 175–200. The few studies that focus on the rapid industrialisation of small towns include: H. Carter and S.E. Wheatley, 'Some aspects of the spatial structure of two Glamorgan towns in the nineteenth century', *Welsh History Review*, 9 (1978), pp. 32–51; C.R. Lewis 'Housing areas in the industrial town: a case study of Newport, Gwent, 1850–1880', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 24 (1985), pp. 118–46; and P.E. Jones, 'The urban morphology and social structure of a working class district in the nineteenth century: a case study of Hirael, Bangor, Gwynedd', *Welsh History Review*, 15 (1991), pp. 562–91.

13 The technique of house repopulation is explained in A. Henstock, 'House repopulation', in D. Mills and K. Schürer (eds) *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 363–82; and R.J. Kain and H.C. Prince, *Tithe Surveys for Historians* (Chichester, 2000), pp. 123–5.

14 Changes that occurred, serially, in the content of census enumerations throughout the Victorian and Edwardian periods are examined in: W.A. Armstrong, 'Social structure from the early census returns', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.) *An Introduction to English Historical Demography* (London, 1966); M. Anderson, 'Standard tabulation procedures for the census enumerators' books, 1851–1891', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.) *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 136–7; D.R. Mills and K. Schürer, 'Communities in the Victorian censuses: an introduction', in Mills and Schürer, *Local Communities*, pp. 5–12; M. Woollard, 'The 1901 census: an introduction', *Local Population Studies*, 67 (2001), pp. 26–43; and E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales 1801–1901* (London, 2005).

1901, of further questions on housing and rooms occupied (if less than five) was justified by its causative connection to overcrowding and public health.<sup>15</sup> *Guidance Notes*, illustrated with replica pages, were bound into each census book. In 1901 these instructed enumerators to follow ten rules for entering personal information in the 18 ruled columns of the census book. Included was an important procedure for delimiting a tenement (the space occupied by a separate household) ‘with a strong double line’ and the demarcation of two or more tenements in the same house with a single line.<sup>16</sup> Enumerators noted the characteristics of each house as one of the following: inhabited (placing a ‘1’ in column 3); uninhabited - in occupation (column 4); uninhabited - not in occupation (column 5); building (column 6); and, in compliance with Note 4 in the *Guidance Notes*, entered the number of rooms occupied, if less than five (column 7). This information on housing stock was totalled at the foot of each page and aggregated for the enumeration district.

The census taken in Chepstow at midnight on Sunday 31 March 1901 covered three enumeration districts (EDs) (Figure 1).<sup>17</sup> For convenience, these are called the Lower District (ED 1); the Middle District (ED 2); and the Upper District (ED 3) (Table 1). A total of 638 separate houses sheltered 645 households: two separate households were found in each of seven houses in the Lower District. In addition, 53 houses in the town were categorised as ‘uninhabited *in* occupation’ and a further 59 as ‘uninhabited *not* in occupation’. The total enumerated population was 2,933 (1,349 males and 1,584 females) (Table 2).<sup>18</sup> Separate enumerations covered two seamen on board coastal vessels at the quayside and the institutional census count of 132 staff and inmates (89 males, 43 females) at the Union Workhouse.<sup>19</sup> The census count represents a decline of one third in total from the peak of 4,332 (2,132 males and 2,200 females) recorded on 31 March 1851 at the height of construction work on the tubular railway bridge across the river Wye.<sup>20</sup> The few recording

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15 This issue is addressed in *III Habitations. 1. Houses and Tenements* [www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1901GEN/5](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1901GEN/5) [accessed 6 August 2020]; and Carter and Lewis, *Urban Geography of England and Wales*, pp. 200–7.

16 The *Guidance Notes* used both ‘house’ and ‘tenement’ as descriptive terms for an inhabited building. This proved problematic for enumerators working in high density inner-city areas, but was finally addressed in the 1911 census where a tenement was defined as ‘the space occupied by a household’ (Census of England and Wales, 1911, *Vol. VIII. Tenements in Administrative Counties and Urban and Rural Districts*, British Parliamentary Papers (hereafter BPP) 1913 LXXVII [C. 6910], p. iii).

17 Records for the three enumeration districts at Chepstow are included in The National Archive RG13/4917. Henry Jenkins was appointed enumerator for the Lower District; Henry Lewis was responsible for both the Middle District and the Upper District.

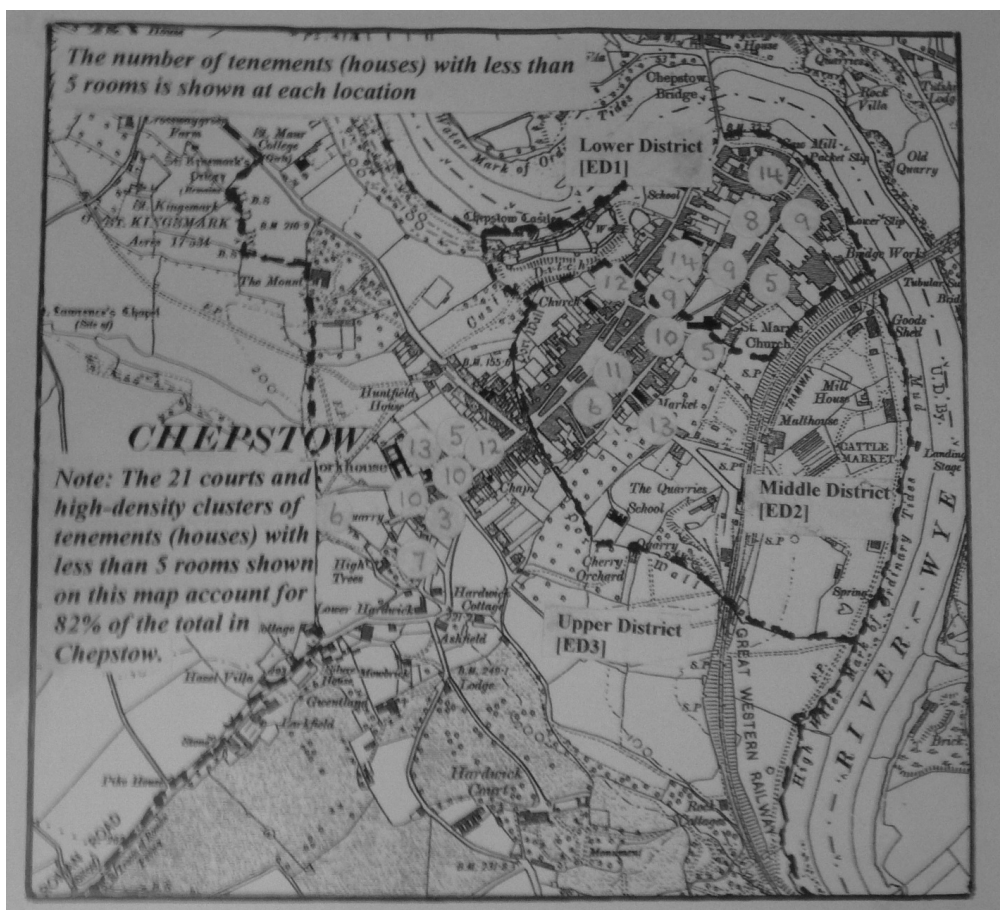
18 This total included seven persons (4 males, 3 females) with life-restricting physical or sensory disabilities: four deaf/dumb, one blind, and two described, respectively as ‘cripple from birth’ and ‘invalid’.

19 The Master of Chepstow Union Workhouse, Mr Clement Baker, compiled the institutional schedule which is analysed in R. Gant, ‘The workhouses of rural Monmouthshire: census profiles of inmates in 1851 and 1901’, *Gwent Local History*, 117 (2015), pp. 8–28.

20 The demographic impact of this project is discussed in R. Gant ‘The construction of Chepstow railway bridge: a profile of the workforce in 1851’, *Gwent Local History*, 114 (2013), pp. 30–41. Footnotes to the census volumes explain further changes in population attributable to business decisions taken by the South Wales Railway. It is reported, in 1861, that ‘[t]he decrease in population in Chepstow and Tidenham parishes is attributed to the removal of labourers and workmen employed in 1851 on a tubular bridge across the Wye and on railway works’, see Census of England and Wales, 1861, *Tables of the Area, Houses and Population in*

## Reflections on Chepstow in 1901

Figure 1 Chepstow 1901: enumeration districts and clusters of tenements with less than five rooms



Source: Ordnance Survey Map 1:10560. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland.

errors detected in personal and place name information and entered incorrectly in adjacent columns were readily corrected. However, the occasional absence of entries for adult occupations and the educational status of some school-aged children proved to be more critical.<sup>21</sup>

*Superintendent Registrar's Districts and Poor Law Unions* (London, 1862), p. 765. At the next census in 1871, *Census of England and Wales, 1871, Tables of the Area, Houses and Population in Superintendent Registrar's Districts and Poor Law Unions* (London, 1872), p. 705, explained the intercensal decrease in population in Chepstow parish by the transfer of the South Wales Railway's locomotive works from Chepstow to Newport.

21 'Whichever way the schedules were completed, the historian has to rely essentially on information given by the householder, although enumerators were instructed to correct any manifestly false particulars' (D.R. Mills and K. Schürer, 'The enumeration process' in Mills and Schürer, *Local Communities*, pp. 16–26, here at p. 17). Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited*, pp. 63–69, reviews a number of more problematic issues connected with both the enumerators' and householders' interpretations of the definition and counting of rooms in tenements. In 1901 the enumerator became solely responsible for providing this information.

**Table 1 Profile of Chepstow census enumeration districts (EDs), 1901**

Characteristics	Lower District (ED 1)	Middle District (ED 2)	Upper District (ED 3)
Physical site	Situated on the narrow Wye floodplain between the GWR track and tubular bridge, and the Norman castle (Figure 1). Extends upslope within the medieval town walls. Altitude: 32–55 feet above mean sea level	Adjoins the intra-mural area of ED 1 to the south and east; crosses the Great Western Railway track to re-join the industrialized floodplain. Altitude: 32 feet above mean sea level along the River Wye to 155 feet above mean sea level at the West Gate.	Uphill from the town wall at West Gate, ED 3 extends westwards to the eastern edge of the dissected south Monmouthshire plateau. Altitude: 155 feet above mean sea level at West Gate to 230 feet above mean sea level at St Maur's (north) and Hardwick Court (south).
Dominant land use in 1901	Industrial land uses including shipbuilding and nautical engineering, commercial and bonded warehousing, storage facilities and timber yards. Road (1816) and rail (1852) bridges over the river Wye form nodes in the transport network. High density terraced housing interspersed with 'courts'. Irregularly-shaped building blocks in town plan. Graticule of interlinked lanes and alleyways. Low-order retailing with numerous riverside pubs.	Concentration of higher-order retail, professional and financial services. High buildings along the axis between the West Gate and Wye road bridge. Squares for market and public gatherings surrounded by tallest buildings. Heritage public buildings; high density of public houses and inns. Residential use of floorspace above retail premises and craft workshops. Network of alleyways and lanes service adjacent residential areas, including 'courts'.	Extension of retail and business axis upslope from West Gate via a well-defined urban fringe belt. Cluster of churches and non-conformist chapels. Prominent hotels and distinctive town houses. Terraced 'courts' accessed from main street. Poor Law Union Workhouse built 1838. Steep gradients at edge of plateau afford attractive sites for prominent town houses benefiting from views across the river Severn. Further west lies a parkland landscape studded with significant mansions, ornamental gardens, gate-lodges and estate farms.
Momentum of change during the nineteenth century	A thriving river port serving the middle Wye valley and western edge of the Forest of Dean since medieval times. Exports of timber, oak bark, quarried stone, metal products from Wye Valley forges and foundries, and agricultural products. Ship building and repairing, sawmill and foundry. Active coastal	Long-established commercial and business heart of the town. Trade directory and photographic evidence confirms continued variety and status of market town functions. Demand for housing inside town walls generated 'court' development; evidence of housing redevelopment by 1901.	Throughout the nineteenth century residential infilling of open spaces between the main thoroughfares evidenced from historical texts and maps. Demand by non-conformist denominations for church premises on congested sites west of the town

trade with Bristol and links with Ireland and mainland Europe. Since 1850 evidence of decline. Palimpsest of land-use relicts connected with river port economy. Sectoral rejuvenation after 1850 in marine engineering. Agricultural service economy sustained throughout century.

Investment in public buildings and utilities under public health legislation during the Victorian period enhanced the residential environment. Improvements, as for ED 1 and ED 3, to drainage, road surfaces and introduction of public utilities (sewage, gas lighting and street drainage) following public health legislation in 1870s.

walls. Urban fringe belt characteristics in constant state of modification. Town houses on prominent sites retained social status. Two prestigious hotels. Market functions reflected declining state of agricultural economy after 1875. Street-based cattle market re-located from the area in 1893 to a site in ED2. Pressure of demand by less-skilled segments in the urban workforce and 'socially disadvantaged' groups in urban society for high density, but readily accessible, 'court' housing.

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**Source:** The National Archive: census enumerators' books for Chepstow, TNA RG 13/4917.

**Table 2 Profile of enumeration districts: key domains and census indicators**

Domain	Indicator	Lower District [ED1]	Middle District [ED2]	Upper District [ED3]	Chepstow town <sup>a</sup>
Housing stock	Total number of tenements	212	196	230	638
	Percentage of tenements with < 5 rooms	45.3	34.7	42.3	40.9
	Percentage of population living in tenements with < 5 rooms	30.3	27.6	31.4	29.9
Demography	Total population	997	894	1,042	2,933
	Number of males	492	406	448	1,346
	Number of females	505	488	594	1,587
	Percentage aged under 15 years	28.6	27.7	30.3	28.5
	Percentage aged 60 years or over	11.1	10.3	9.8	10.3
	Percentage born in Chepstow	65.2	57.5	51.3	57.7
Household type	Total number of households	219	196	230	645
	Mean household size	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.4
	Standard deviation of household size	2.2	2.5	2.3	2.3
	Modal household size	5	5	4	4
	Range (persons)	1–12	1–13	1–12	1–13
	Percentage of single-person households	9.9	11.7	8.2	9.9
	Percentage of households with lodger(s)/boarder(s)	5.9	19.4	19.1	14.7
	Percentage of households with domestic servant(s)	18.2	14.8	11.3	14.7
	Percentage of households with relative(s)	16.9	16.8	10.9	14.7
	Percentage of households with visitor(s)	2.7	2.0	3.9	2.9
	Employment sector for males	Total number of economically active men	306	286	304
Percentage in primary sector		2.9	3.1	7.9	4.7
Percentage in secondary sector		53.6	44.4	25.7	41.2
Percentage in tertiary sector		29.1	45.5	53.2	42.5
Percentage unskilled		14.4	7.0	13.2	11.6

**Note:** a. Excludes people residing in the Union Workhouse.

**Sources:** Census enumerators' books, Chepstow, 1901, available from the Integrated Census Microdata project at the United Kingdom Data Archive: see <http://icem.data-archive.ac.uk/> [accessed 24 September 2020].



## Reflections on Chepstow in 1901

**Table 3** Size distribution of occupied tenements: Chepstow, 1901

Number of rooms	Lower District (ED1)		Middle District (ED2)		Upper District (ED3)		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
1	9	4.2	9	4.6	0	0.0	18	2.8
2	18	8.5	7	3.6	23	10.0	48	7.5
3	27	12.7	28	14.3	45	19.6	100	15.7
4	42	19.8	24	12.2	29	12.6	95	14.9
5 or more	116	54.7	128	65.3	133	57.8	377	59.1
Total occupied stock	212	100.0	196	100.0	230	100.0	638	100.0

**Notes:** This table includes houses occupied at the time of the census. It excludes houses described as 'uninhabited in occupation' and 'uninhabited and not in occupation'. A total of 645 households lived in 638 separate tenements: the seven houses each with two households were located in the Lower district (ED1). There is a highly significant statistical difference between the size distribution of the tenements across the three enumeration districts (chi-squared statistic 27.3 with 8 degrees of freedom).

**Sources:** Census enumerators' books, Chepstow, 1901, available from the Integrated Census Microdata project at the United Kingdom Data Archive: see <http://icem.data-archive.ac.uk/> [accessed 24 September 2020].

In Chepstow, the three EDs were different in several respects: Table 1 highlights contrasts in physical characteristics, dominant land use associations and the momentum for recent change. Table 2 quantifies elements from this qualitative description in a matrix of census indicators for critical domains in social difference: housing; demography; household formation; and employment profile. It reveals that tenements with less than five rooms constituted 41 per cent of the town's housing stock. These accommodated 30 per cent of the resident population. They were unevenly distributed: the Lower District (45 per cent) had the highest concentration of small tenements; the Middle District (35 per cent), the lowest. Table 3 shows differences, too, in the size distribution of smaller tenements in the three EDs; these relate to building style, plan form and site constriction. The Lower District, for instance, is represented by proportionately more four-room tenements (20 per cent); whilst three-room tenements are marginally more important in the Middle District (14 per cent) and Upper District (20 per cent). There are no single-room tenements in the Upper District and relatively fewer two-room dwellings (4 per cent) in the Middle District. These local differences correspond to features in the historical growth of the town.

### The built environment: street plan, land-use and courts

Chepstow had a distinctive town plan: for centuries the River Wye (with its tidal range of 48 feet) and prominent Port Wall had protected the Norman castle and town. The townscape in 1901 was characterised by high density housing and a sinuous network of narrow streets (Figure 1). Gradients were steep: typically elevations increased from 32 feet above

mean sea level at the Wye bridge to over 250 feet on the urban fringe in the west. The principal shopping and trading axis identified from trade directories and Victorian photographs—Moor Street-High Street-Bridge Street—maintained the alignment, downhill, of the turnpike road entering from the west and towards the Wye bridge.<sup>22</sup> Albion Square, Bank Square and Beaufort Square acted as focal points for periodic markets, fairs and gatherings of townspeople. A lattice of narrow streets allowed for pedestrian and carriage movement parallel to, and across, this main thoroughfare.

Burgage plots were still visible in property boundaries and building alignments inside the walls.<sup>23</sup> The area to the east of Upper Nelson Street and between the railway line and River Wye, however, retained a more open aspect with schools, the ruins of the Priory, disused quarries, a market garden and orchard cultivation. Outside the wall, to the west, the dense assemblage of land uses along Welsh Street and Moor Street formed an ‘urban fringe belt’ (Figure 1).<sup>24</sup> This land use concept, widely used in urban historical studies, visualises an accumulation, over time, of disparate activities excluded from the zone inside the walls by virtue of character or demand for space. It includes, in Chepstow, the Poor Law Union Workhouse (1838), several non-conformist chapels built in the second half of the nineteenth century, high density courts of small tenements close to Albion Square and Thomas Street and, on peripheral (and more elevated) sites, imposing country houses set in ornamental gardens (some with gate-lodges) such as Gwentlands, Hardwick Court and High Trees.<sup>25</sup>

Public health legislation in the Victorian period had already wrought improvements in the built environment. These included the introduction of gas lighting in 1857; household water supply from reservoirs (capacity 2.9 million gallons) at Chepstow Park and St Arvans Grange to the north; and, progressively, road drainage and paved streets.<sup>26</sup> In November 1893 (at a cost of £8,000) the open cattle market was re-located from Moor Street to a purpose-built facility on The Meads. Under the provisions of the Local Government Act 1894, Chepstow Urban District Council became responsible for managing the urban environment.

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22 I. McFarlane, *Chepstow Then and Now: Photographic Memories* (Salisbury, 2004) includes clear images of businesses located in the High Street and Beaufort Square in the first decades of the twentieth century.

23 A burgage plot is defined as: ‘[t]he property owned by a burgess in a medieval town. As burgesses congregated around the market place and main streets, space at the front was at a premium. Burgage plots are therefore characteristically long and narrow with a row of outbuildings stretching to the rear of the house and shops’ (D. Hey (ed.) *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History* (Oxford, 2008)), available at <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095536572#:~:text=Burgage%20plots%20are%20therefore%20characteristically%20long%20and%20narrow%2C,sometimes%20can%20still%20be%20discerned%20on%20the%20ground> [accessed 25 November 2020].

24 The processes of fringe belt formation are fully discussed in H. Carter, *An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography* (London, 1983), pp. 146–8; and in Carter and Lewis, *Urban Geography of England and Wales*, pp. 118–9.

25 Social and institutional factors in site selection for country houses are illustrated in T.R. Slater, ‘Family, society and the ornamental villa on the fringes of English country towns’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 4 (1978), pp. 129–44, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-7488\(78\)90184-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-7488(78)90184-6).

26 *Kelly’s Directory of South Wales and Monmouthshire 1895* (London, 1895), p. 39, <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/337156> [accessed 14 October 2020].

## Reflections on Chepstow in 1901

**Table 4** Chepstow 1901: principal courts and streets showing number of tenements with fewer than five rooms

Locality and enumeration district (ED)	Total tenements in street/court	Tenements with fewer than 5 rooms in street/court
<i>Lower district (ED1)</i>		
Builder's Court	10	9
Davis Court	9	9
Horse Lane/Orchard Street	14	14
Howells Row	9	9
Old Alms Houses	10	10
St Anne's Street	18	14
Welby Place	9	5
<i>Middle district (ED2)</i>		
Clarence Court (off Upper Nelson Street)	6	6
Nelson/Upper Nelson Street	33	11
Orchard Place	16	8
Powis Alms Houses	12	12
Richmond Parade	6	5
Station Road	15	13
<i>Upper district (ED3)</i>		
Bellevue Place	6	6
Easter Court	5	5
Mostyn Place	6	3
Mounton Road	12	10
Owner's Yard/Watkins Court	14	12
Smith's Buildings	10	10
Steep Street	9	7
Thomas Street/Whitsun Court	13	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>191</b>

**Note:** In total 37 of the tenements with fewer than five rooms were described as 'not in occupation'.

**Sources:** Census enumerators' books, Chepstow, 1901, available from the Integrated Census Microdata project at the United Kingdom Data Archive: see <http://icem.data-archive.ac.uk/> [accessed 24 September 2020].

In several places in the town, the density of building cover had been raised by the construction of named *courts* (comprising rows of small tenements, the majority of which had less than five habitable rooms) wedged behind building frontages along the main thoroughfares.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Across Britain 'working class housing' was created in three basic ways: subdivision of existing properties, infilling and new building. All three processes were guided by the profit motive in the free market': see R.J. Morris, 'Urbanisation', in J. Langton and R.J. Morris (eds) *Atlas of Industrializing Britain 1780–1914* (London, 1986), p. 170, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203472545>. High-density housing development by

Purpose-built (normally short) terraces of small houses had also been constructed in the vicinity of Albion Square and close to the new railway station. These constituted a distinctive element in the townscape. The 21 courts and streets listed as Table 4 accounted for 191 (73 per cent) of the town's 261 tenements with fewer than five recorded rooms. The remaining 70 small tenements were scattered (unevenly) in streets and alleyways throughout the built-up area. Several courts had been abandoned or contained vacant dwellings in 1901. Scribbled notes on the census schedule refer to dereliction in Mitre Court ('Mitre Court closed'). Vacancy rates were high in several courts: Builder's Court, for example, had five of its ten listed tenements 'not in occupation'; likewise, 8 of the 14 tenements in Owner's Yard/Watkins Court and three of the nine tenements in Davis Court had a similar designation.

### Transformation of the river-port economy: economic decline since 1850

Trends in population reflect changing levels of economic activity in the town.<sup>28</sup> Since medieval times, Chepstow had been a gateway to the regional economies of the middle Wye valley including agriculture, boatbuilding and salmon fishing, together with the diverse forest, metal working and quarrying industries found on the western margins of the Forest of Dean. Tourism flourished. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the river quays at Chepstow were lined with locally-owned timber yards and (bonded) warehouses for oak bark, corn, and wine.<sup>29</sup> In the final quarter of the nineteenth century, however, the river-port economy was in a state of slow decline.<sup>30</sup> Timber imports from Russia ceased in 1885 and the export of oak bark to Irish ports dwindled.<sup>31</sup> The closure of the Custom House in 1882 signalled the death knell of coastal traffic. The nationwide depression in agriculture also impacted the marketing functions of the town.

Close to the 1901 census, two contemporary reports characterise the scene. *Kelly's Directory 1895* presents a strictly factual account of local trade, agricultural connections and business activity which:

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speculative builders and the related problems of poor drainage and inadequate sanitation had inevitable consequences for public health.

- 28 The rank-ordered functional importance of Welsh towns in the nineteenth century is examined in H. Carter, *The Towns of Wales: a Study in Urban Geography* (Cowbridge, 1966). Notwithstanding its comparatively small population total, Chepstow was assigned to the second urban rank on the basis of its port functions and service role in the lower Wye valley.
- 29 I. Waters, *The Town of Chepstow, Part I Riverside* (Chepstow, 1984), pp. 40–1, includes an informative map and explanation of land-use in The Meads, a locality situated on the floodplain downstream from the railway bridge.
- 30 J.H. Andrews, 'Chepstow: a defunct seaport of the Severn Estuary', *Geography*, 40 (1955), pp. 97–107. This study includes an analysis of the impact of the emerging regional network of railways on river traffic and local trading relationships and tabulates shipping statistics that chart the decline in timber and oak bark exports. Furthermore, G.E. Farr, *Chepstow Ships* (Chepstow, 1954), Appendix B, confirms the discontinuation in 1882 of new registrations for ships. Statistics presented for 1851 and 1901 indicate that the number of vessels on register had fallen from 48 (2,088 tons) to 4 (162 tons).
- 31 I. Waters, *Leather and Oak Bark at Chepstow* (Chepstow, 1970), p.13.

... consists chiefly in grain, timber, bark, coal and building stone. The shipbuilding and engineering establishment carried on by Messrs E. Finch and Co. had a large number of hands, there is also a quarry, a corn mill, malting establishments, brick fields, several wharves and boat building yards... The market day is Saturday, and there is a market held fortnightly when farming stock is offered for sale. The fairs are held on the market day nearest March 1<sup>st</sup> and the market day nearest the Friday in Whitsun week. The principal fairs are the wool and pleasure fair on 22<sup>nd</sup> June and those on Tuesday nearest to August 1<sup>st</sup> (for horses) and the Friday before October 29<sup>th</sup>.<sup>32</sup>

The near contemporary report by Morris is more reflective: 'Chepstow was at one time extensively engaged in shipbuilding, but during recent years there has been a great falling off in this class of work. There is still a small trade in timber, bark, coal and other commodities, also an engineering and iron ship-building establishment, a carbon filter factory, steam flour mills, a boat building yard and several wharves.'<sup>33</sup>

Notwithstanding business diversification into building iron bridges, dock gates, caissons, boilers and gasometers, the performance of Finch & Co. (a by-product of constructing the tubular railway bridge across the Wye gorge, completed in 1852) did little to offset population decline in the final quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>34</sup> The firm was beset by short-term cycles of boom and depression. In 1878 the wages of the workforce were cut by 7.5 per cent. The following year the order book was full. 'By 1883 nearly 500 men and boys were employed in the Yard and the Company had £60,000 worth of contracts. ... Then, in April 1885 came a slump and half the workmen were discharged. ... In the early months of 1886 there was a great distress in Chepstow ...'.<sup>35</sup> Thereafter, and until the outbreak of World War I, the firm depended on sporadic (and repeat) orders from overseas clients for small tugs, dredgers, mud hoppers and 'dumb barges'.<sup>36</sup>

### Population and household characteristics

#### *Age structure, household formation and lifetime migration*

In 1901 children aged under 15 years accounted for 33 per cent of males and 25 per cent of females in the town; in contrast, only 9 per cent of males and 11 per cent of females exceeded 60 years of age. There were but minimal and proportionate differences in the age-sex structure by enumeration district (Table 2) and size of tenement. This remained true for household size. In the Middle District, for example, the larger size of household associated with family-run retail and craft businesses was masked by the inclusion of single-person almshouses.

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32 *Kelly's Directory of South Wales and Monmouthshire* 1895, p. 37.

33 A. Morris, *Geography and History of Monmouthshire* (Newport, 1901), p. 24.

34 H.L. Warren, *From Finch to Fairfield Mabey: History of Chepstow Works from 1849–1979*, (Chepstow, 1979).

35 Warren, *From Finch to Fairfield Mabey*, p. 83.

36 Farr, *Chepstow Ships*, p. 23.

**Table 5** Chepstow 1901: household composition and size of tenement

Household form	Lower District (ED1)		Middle District (ED2)		Upper District (ED3)		Chepstow total			
	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	n	%
							n	%	n	%
<i>Solitary individuals</i>										
Widow alone	6	0	7	2	8	1	21	8.0	3	0.8
Widow plus others	6	4	1	4	2	5	9	3.4	13	3.4
Widower alone	4	0	5	2	2	9	11	4.2	1	2.9
Widower plus others	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	0.4	3	0.8
Unmarried female alone	5	1	0	3	1	0	6	2.3	4	1
Unmarried female plus others	0	3	0	9	2	8	2	0.8	20	5.3
Unmarried male alone	3	0	3	0	0	0	6	2.3	0	0.0
Unmarried male plus others	1	2	0	8	0	2	1	0.4	12	3.2
<i>Non-conjugal family</i>										
Co-resident siblings plus others	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	3	0.8
<i>Single family households</i>										
Married couple alone	9	7	3	6	10	0	22	8.4	13	3.4
Married couple plus others	5	5	3	11	0	11	8	3.1	27	7.2
Married couple with never-married child(ren)	31	40	26	35	45	38	102	39.1	113	30.0
Married couple with never-married child(ren) plus others	9	32	7	26	8	41	24	9.2	99	26.3
Widower with never-married children	2	3	1	2	4	3	7	2.7	8	2.1
Widower with never-married children plus others	0	3	0	2	0	4	0	0.0	9	2.4
Widow with never-married children	9	2	4	6	11	2	24	9.2	10	2.7
Widow with never-married children plus others	5	6	3	5	4	5	12	4.6	16	4.2
<i>Multiple family households</i>										
Multiple family units of various kinds	1	5	3	2	0	3	4	1.5	10	2.7

continued

## Reflections on Chepstow in 1901

Household form	Lower District (ED1)		Middle District (ED2)		Upper District (ED3)		Chepstow total			
	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Multiple family units of various kinds plus others	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	0.4	3	0.8
Total	96	116	68	128	97	133	261	100.0	377	100.0

**Notes:** Statistical analysis based on 9 categories for Chepstow (in each case the 'plus others' are merged with the primary category) confirms, overall, a highly significant difference by tenement size (chi-squared statistic = 28.71; degrees of freedom 8;  $p < 0.001$ ). Given small numbers and the stringent requirements of the chi-squared test, multiple family households and non-conjugal families are merged into a separate category entitled 'other households'.

**Sources:** Classification based on P. Laslett, 'Introduction: the history of the family', in P. Laslett and R. Wall (eds) *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 1–89, here at pp. 28–34. For a summary, see K. Schürer and D. Mills, 'Family and household structure', in D. Mills and K. Schürer (eds) *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 280–97. Census enumerators' books, Chepstow, 1901, available from the Integrated Census Microdata project at the United Kingdom Data Archive: see <http://icem.data-archive.ac.uk/> [accessed 24 September 2020].

Household formation was complex (Table 5). Statistical analysis confirms a highly significant difference in household type by size of tenement. In common with market towns elsewhere in Wales, Chepstow was dominated by households comprising a biological core of family members; many, in addition, had co-residents including servants, lodgers and boarders, visitors, work apprentices and individuals claiming family connections.<sup>37</sup> The dominant household form 'parents with never-married children' accounted for 39 per cent of households in smaller tenements (fewer than five rooms) and 30 per cent in the larger tenements (five or more rooms). When non-family members are added, these proportions are raised to 48 per cent and 56 per cent, respectively. From the perspective of the life cycle, it is significant that single-person households (including the tenants of the two rows of alms houses) occupied 17 per cent of smaller tenements, but only 5 per cent of larger dwellings.

The limitations of birthplace records as a full measure of migration behaviour and life course trajectory are well-documented.<sup>38</sup> Birthplace records, however, can illuminate the fabric of community when connected to age characteristics and housing conditions. Table 6

<sup>37</sup> See the sources cited in footnote 11 for further evidence on household structures in representative market towns in south-east Wales.

<sup>38</sup> The need to relate migration processes for individuals more closely to life-course studies based on pattern and process is argued by: W.T.R. Pryce, 'A migration typology and some topics for the research agenda', *Family and Community History*, 3 (2000), pp. 65–80, <https://doi.org/10.1179/fch.2000.3.1.006>.

**Table 6** Chepstow 1901: birthplace and size of tenement

Birthplace	Fewer than 5 rooms		5 or more rooms		Overall	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
Monmouthshire						
Chepstow	481	54.4	1,212	59.2	1,693	57.7
SE Monmouthshire	74	8.4	110	5.4	184	6.3
Elsewhere in county	32	3.6	38	1.9	70	2.4
Brecknockshire	2	0.2	18	0.9	20	0.7
Glamorgan	28	3.2	52	2.5	80	2.7
Gloucestershire	105	11.9	221	10.8	326	11.1
Herefordshire	8	0.9	39	1.9	47	1.6
Cornwall	3	0.3	9	0.4	12	0.4
Devon	10	1.1	20	1.0	30	1.0
Somerset	19	2.1	57	2.8	76	2.6
Wales: other counties	9	1.0	37	1.8	46	1.6
England: other counties	87	9.8	196	9.6	283	9.7
Ireland	13	1.5	1	0.0	14	0.5
Scotland	5	0.6	12	0.6	17	0.6
Elsewhere/overseas	3	0.3	26	1.3	29	1.0
No information	5	0.6	1	0.0	6	0.2
Total	884	100.0	2,049	100.0	2,933	100.0

**Notes:** Totals include the staff and inmates of Chepstow Poor Law Union Workhouse (89 males and 43 females) and two mariners on board the Gloucester-registered coasting vessels, *The Success* and *Bretina*.

**Sources:** Census enumerators' books, Chepstow, 1901, available from the Integrated Census Microdata project at the United Kingdom Data Archive: see <http://icem.data-archive.ac.uk/> [accessed 24 September 2020].

shows that 58 per cent of residents were born in Chepstow.<sup>39</sup> A further 6 per cent came from parishes in south-east Monmouthshire, and 2 per cent from places elsewhere in the administrative county. Neighbouring counties added 16 per cent to the total, the majority from the Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire. Somerset (including Bristol) across the Severn estuary contributed the largest single group of migrants originating elsewhere in England and Wales. These included a disproportionate number of females in the Upper District

<sup>39</sup> This proportion of locally-born people is higher than that recorded for market towns elsewhere in south-east Wales in 1901: Crickhowell 46 per cent (Gant, 'Crickhowell 1851–1901', p. 47); Brecon 47 per cent (Gant, 'Brecon in 1901', p. 49); and Monmouth 50 per cent. It is, however, identical to that recorded in 1851 in Tring and St Albans in Hertfordshire: see N. Goose, *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851: Volume 1, the Berkhamsted Region* (Hatfield, 1996), p. 57; and N. Goose, *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851: Volume 2, St. Albans and its Region* (Hatfield, 2000), p. 128.



recruited as (senior) domestic servants by wealthy families with nationwide connections. Few residents came from Scotland or Ireland and those from overseas included pupil-scholars at St Maur's College.<sup>40</sup>

### *Residential characteristics of socio-economic groups*

In 1901 Chepstow residents would have recognised differences in the social status of localities throughout the town.<sup>41</sup> Perceptions and images would have been shaped by the quality of the local housing environment, the occupational profiles of working people and images of residents' life-style. Townsfolk would have differentiated the inhabitants of smaller (terraced) tenements in high-density courts across the town from those occupying larger properties in more attractive environments.<sup>42</sup> In Table 7, evidence from the Smith's Buildings confirms, typically, the extent of physical overcrowding, the status of widows and unmarried female heads in low-skilled domestic work; the prominence of unskilled male labourers; and the domestic situation of permanently sick individuals; together with a leavening of tradesmen, craft workers and public servants.

P.M. Tillott's 13-fold schema of socio-economic groups (SEGs) provides a helpful framework to explore more fully the evident contrasts between tenement size and household composition. Aptly described as 'basically an industrial scheme, but with undertones of a social status approach', the scheme links the social status of gainfully-occupied household heads (male or, by default, female) to sectors of the local economy and labour market.<sup>43</sup> Categories 1, 2 and 6 define the primary economic sector covering agriculture and extractive industries; categories 4 and 5 apply to manufacturing and the secondary sector; whilst the remaining categories cover various service activities in the tertiary sector. Aggregate analysis in Chepstow confirms a significant statistical difference between the pattern of employment in these broad economic sectors (and with the addition of a category for 'no information') and tenement size (chi-squared statistic = 11.49; d.f. 3;  $p < 0.01$ ).

In more detail, Table 8 categorises by SEG the 510 male heads and 128 female heads of household against enumeration district and size of tenement. Four SEGs are dominant for male heads: skilled craftsmen, non-industrial (SEG 4) 21 per cent; shopkeepers, traders and petty entrepreneurs (SEG 3) 17 per cent; labourers and unskilled workers (SEG 12) 16 per

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40 St. Maur's College was purpose-built as a ladies' school on Welsh Street in 1898. See A. Rainsbury, *Chepstow and the River Wye in Old Photographs* (Chepstow, 1989), p. 72.

41 The theme of social perception, popular image and class-based segregation is explored by R. Cowland, 'The identification of social class areas and their place in 19<sup>th</sup> century urban development', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 4 (1979), pp. 239–57, <https://doi.org/10.2307/622037>; D. Cannadine, 'Residential differences in nineteenth century towns: from shapes on the ground to shapes in society', in Johnson and Pooley, *Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities*, pp. 235–51; and C.G. Pooley, 'Choice and constraint in the nineteenth century city: a basis for residential differentiation', in Johnson and Pooley, *Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities*, pp. 199–234.

42 S. Ryan, *Thomas Street Courts and Characters* (Chepstow, 2007), includes a map of the courts (cleared in 1935) entered from Thomas Street.

43 D.R. Mills and K. Schürer, 'Employment and occupations', in Mills and Schürer, *Local Communities*, pp. 136–60, here at p. 142.

Table 7 Chepstow 1901: social profile of Smith's Buildings (Upper district (ED3))

Property number	Rooms	Name	Relationship to head of household	Age	Occupation	Birthplace
1	3	Ellen Agnes John Mary	Murphy Murphy Murphy Murphy	Head (single) Daughter Son Daughter	27 9 5 2	Charwoman Middx. Mon. Mon. Mon.
2	3	Thomas Jane Jane Temperance	Gibson Gibson Gibson Gibson	Head Wife Daughter Daughter	40 27 3 1	Wheelwright Mon. Mon. Mon. Mon.
3	3	Solina	Jones	Head (married)	41	Charwoman Mon.
4	3	George Frances	Harris Harris	Head Wife	90 67	Bedridden On parish pay Glos. Glos.
5	3	Charles Emily James Charles	Whitchurch Whitchurch Whitchurch Whitchurch	Head Wife Son Son	50 40 16 13	AB seaman Charwoman Seaman deckboy Mon. Mon. Mon.
6	<i>Not in occupation</i>					
7	3	Sarah John Georgina Mathilda Sylvia	Williams Williams Williams Williams Williams	Head (single) Son Daughter Daughter Daughter	46 18 13 10 7	General labourer Glos. Glos. Glos. Glos. Mon.
8	<i>Not in occupation</i>					

9	3	Job	Wyatt	Head	63	Plumber	Mon.	Chepstow
		Emily	Wyatt	Wife	67		Glos.	Longhope
		Frederick	Wyatt	Son	25	Coalminer underground	Mon.	Chepstow
		Ellen	Wyatt	Niece	8		Mon.	Chepstow
		May	Wyatt	Niece	5		Mon.	Newport
		Thomas	Wyatt	Nephew	4		Glamorgan	Ferndale
10	3	Mary	Masters	Widow	69	Farmhouse domestic	Somerset	Bristol

**Notes:** 'Glos.' – Gloucestershire, 'Middx' – Middlesex, 'Mon.' – Monmouthshire.

**Sources:** Census enumerators' books, Chepstow, 1901, available from the Integrated Census Microdata project at the United Kingdom Data Archive: see <http://icem.data-archive.ac.uk/> [accessed 24 September 2020].

**Table 8** Chepstow 1901: Tillott's occupational categories of heads of household by enumeration district (ED) and size of tenement

SEG	Title and description	Lower District (ED1)		Middle District (ED2)		Upper District (ED3)		Whole of Chepstow town			All heads	
		< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	n	%	n	%	N
<i>Male heads</i>												
1	Agricultural. self-employed and managers		1	1		3	1	0.6	4	1.1	5	1.0
2a	Skilled agricultural workers		1			2	2	1.3	3	0.9	2	0.4
2b	Agricultural labourers	1		3	43	2	6	3.8	78	22.2	3	0.6
3	Shopkeepers, traders, petty entrepreneurs	1	16	3		19	6	3.8			84	16.5
4	Skilled craftsmen, non-industrial	15	17	12	18	15	42	26.6	64	18.2	106	20.8
5a	Manufacturers, industrialists, wholesalers					1	1	0.6			1	0.2
5b	Skilled industrial craftsmen	8	25	1		1	5	6.3	30	8.5	40	7.8
6	Extractive industries	2	1		1	2	4	2.5	3	0.9	7	1.4
7a	Upper professional		2		1	4	7	2.0	7	2.0	7	1.4
7b	Lower professional		3	1	5	20	1	0.6	28	8.0	29	5.7
8	Clerical	5	5	1	6	9	7	4.4	20	5.7	27	5.3
9a	Upper servants											
9b	General domestic servants			1		9	10	6.3	6	1.7	16	3.1
9c	Lower servants					3	3	0.9	3	0.9	3	0.6
10a	Private income recipients	1			2		1	0.6	2	0.6	3	0.6
10b	Rentiers											
10c	Annuitants			3	1	10	3	1.9	11	3.1	14	2.7
11	Semi-skilled and service workers	3	10	9	11	4	16	10.1	42	11.9	58	11.4
12	Labourers and unskilled workers	25	18	7	13	17	49	31.0	32	9.1	81	15.9

Table 8 Continued

SEG	Title and description	Lower District (ED1)		Middle District (ED2)		Upper District (ED3)		Whole of Chepstow town				All heads	
		< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	< 5 rooms	5+ rooms	n	%	n	%	n	%
13	Supervisory workers	1	5	7	7			1	0.6	12	3.4	13	2.5
	No information		1	2	1	2	1	4	2.5	3	0.9	7	1.4
	Retired/infirm		2	1	1	1	1	1	0.6	4	1.1	5	1.0
	Total	61	106	43	111	54	135	158	100.0	352	100.0	510	100.0
<i>Female heads</i>													
3	Shopkeepers, traders, petty entrepreneurs		3	1	2	2	1	3	3.6	6	13.3	9	7.0
4	Skilled craftsmen, non-industrial	3	3	2	2	4		9	10.8	5	11.1	14	10.9
9b	General domestic servants					1		1	1.2			1	1.0
10c	Annuitants	1	1	6	2	2	5	9	10.8	8	17.8	17	13.3
12	Labourers and unskilled workers	10		3	3	10		23	27.7	3	6.7	26	20.3
	No information	14	11	8	8	14	2	36	43.4	22	48.9	58	45.3
	Retired/infirm				1	2		2	2.4	1	2.2	3	2.3
	Total	28	18	20	18	35	8	83	100.0	45	100.0	128	100.0

**Sources:** Census enumerators' books, Chepstow, 1901, available from the Integrated Census Microdata project at the United Kingdom Data Archive: see <http://icem.data-archive.ac.uk/> [accessed 24 September 2020]. Based on P.M. Tillott's classification of occupations and social groupings as described in D.R. Mills and K. Schürer, 'Employment and occupations', in D. Mills and K. Schürer (eds) *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Oxford, 1996) pp. 136–60, here at p. 143.

cent; and semi-skilled and service workers (SEG 11) 11 per cent. Together, the lower professional (SEG 7b) and clerical (SEG 8) grades accounted for a further 11 per cent of heads. There are significant differences between the two size categories of tenement in the SEG distribution. Smaller tenements with less than five rooms housed proportionately more skilled craftsmen (SEG 4) and labourers and unskilled workers (SEG 12); in contrast, larger tenements were occupied, disproportionately, by shopkeepers, traders and petty entrepreneurs (SEG 3) and professional persons (SEGs 7a and 7b). Not unexpectedly, given the characteristics of residential environments and distribution of retail outlets, there are higher concentrations of shopkeepers, professional persons and annuitants in the Middle and Upper Districts; likewise, skilled industrial craftsmen, closely associated with metal working and engineering, are more strongly represented in the Lower District fronting the River Wye.

Households headed by the 128 females occupied small, as opposed to larger, tenements in the ratio of 2:1. Detail on occupation was absent for 57 (45 per cent) of these cases. Despite this deficiency, Table 8 confirms that economically active females were concentrated in four SEGs: labourers and unskilled workers (SEG 12); annuitants SEG 10c); skilled craftsmen, non-industrial (SEG 4); and shopkeepers, traders and petty entrepreneurs (SEG 3). It confirms, moreover, that proportionately more females who worked in unskilled occupations (SEG 12) as domestics and charwomen lived in smaller tenements. The opposite was true for shopkeepers and traders (SEG 3). In contrast, tenement size was proportionately balanced for annuitants (including tenants in alms houses) (SEG 10c) and the skilled craft workers (SEG 4), the majority of whom were engaged in tailoring, dress-making and millinery trades conducted at home and at specialist premises.

## Society at work

### *Headline employment statistics*

Employment is a robust indicator of diversity in the Chepstow economy. In 1901, the economic activity rate for resident males aged at least 15 years was 76 per cent; that for females was 23 per cent. Appendix 1, based on the International Standard Industrial Classification of Economic Activities, categorises within ten primary divisions the occupations of 896 males (8 per cent classed as employers; 12 per cent 'own account workers'; and 80 per cent 'workers') and 327 females (4 per cent employers; 48 per cent 'own account workers'; 48 per cent 'workers').<sup>44</sup> Based on census evidence, economically active males were further assigned to a second tier of 40 sub-groups; females to a more limited set of 16.<sup>45</sup>

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44 For guidance, see International Labour Organization, *International Standard Industrial Classification of all Economic Activities* (ISIC) <https://ilostat.ilo.org/resources/concepts-and-definitions/classification-economic-activities/> [accessed 14 October 2020].

45 Individuals without recorded job status include: elderly (retired) persons, 'incapacitated' individuals, people accorded the description 'nil' or 'no occupation', those benefiting from 'independent means', and cases where the column for occupation remains blank.

The labour market for males in Chepstow was broadly based. Four groups were dominant: retailing (13 per cent), general labouring (12 per cent), manufacturing fabricated metal products (11 per cent), and construction and building (10 per cent). Domestic service (5 per cent), land transport (5 per cent) and other forms of manufacturing (5 per cent) were less prominent. Reflecting changes in the fortunes of the river-port economy, the maritime (water transport) and fishing industries employed only 2 per cent of the total. Two disabled males were at work: one Chepstow-born man aged 28 years, born deaf and dumb, was a quarry labourer; the second man, aged 47 years, from Bodmin and described as ‘cripple from child’ worked as a tailor.

Non-parametric statistical analysis identifies a highly significant difference in occupations between the economically-active residents of tenements with less than five rooms and those from larger tenements.<sup>46</sup> Throughout the town, male workers in agriculture, construction and building, domestic service and unskilled labouring are ‘over-represented’ in the tenements with fewer than five rooms. In contrast, domestic service (52 per cent) dominated female employment. Smaller groups were involved in the manufacture of wearing apparel (16 per cent), education services (10 per cent), laundry work (6 per cent), the hotel and accommodation sector (6 per cent), and retailing (5 per cent). Segmentation confirms the strength of personal services in the local labour market; it also highlights, as a special feature, home-based sewing trades, including dressmaking and millinery, performed by women in the smaller tenements.

### *The metal-working sector and the Great Western Railway*

By 1901 iron shipbuilding, foundry work and specialist engineering and the Great Western Railway (GWR) had diversified the river-port economy and role of Chepstow as a market town. However, conclusions regarding the numerical status and impact of these sectors on the economic base of the town must be tempered with caution, since householders’ descriptions cannot always be matched (confidently) to a specific industry, workplace and employer.

Fifty different occupation titles are reported for the 155 men connected in some way to metal working. Suffixes such as ‘in shipyard’ (32 cases); ‘in iron foundry’ (eight cases); and ‘in iron works’ (five cases) are helpful. However, it must be presumed that incomplete descriptions including ‘at works’ or ‘at bridgeworks’ refer to Finch & Co’s riverside engineering facility which employed the 36 boilermakers and men in associated plating trades, 12 blacksmiths (as distinct from the town’s two ‘shoeing smiths’ who dealt with draft horses), seven fitters, two strikers, and solitary workers in a host of supporting trades. Finch & Co, moreover, offered training apprenticeships (as blacksmith, plater and riveter) and scope for unskilled labourers.

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46 For males and females combined, and based on frequencies of employment in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors (and an added category for labourers) the chi-squared statistic is 100.6 (3 d.f.,  $p < 0.001$ ).

Metal workers occupied 121 tenements that were heavily concentrated in the Lower District (67 per cent), with relatively fewer in the Middle District (21 per cent) and Upper District (12 per cent). In total, 29 per cent of the tenements occupied by metal workers had fewer than five rooms, and 16 per cent of these were situated in courts in the Lower District. In 53 (58 per cent) of tenements the head of household alone was employed as a metalworker; an additional 12 (10 per cent) of households included at least one additional family member working in that sector. The household membership of lodgers and boarders employed in this sector is discussed below.

Industrial workers were a youthful group: 15 per cent were aged under 19 years; a further 37 per cent 20-29 years; and only 17 per cent exceeded 50 years of age. Just over two-thirds of the metal workers were Chepstow-born. A further 12 per cent of the workforce originated in nearby Gloucestershire parishes. From the perspective of community integration, it is important to note that 13 per cent (comprising a high proportion of younger and skilled workers) had originated in traditional metal-working and shipbuilding districts in Yorkshire (for example boiler maker, Sheffield), the North East (rivetter's labourer, Stockton-on-Tees), West Midlands (foreman at bridgeworks, Wednesbury), Merseyside (labourer at shipyard, Liverpool) and Medway towns (ship's draughtsman, Chatham).<sup>47</sup> Moreover, shipyard workers were staunch trade unionists. They formed a place-based community. The local branch of the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders based at the Three Salmons Inn in Lower Church Street had increased its membership from 25 in 1877 to 97 ten years later. The Amalgamated Labourers' Union founded in 1890 had a membership of 350.<sup>48</sup>

The GWR offered its 29 male employees based at Chepstow station job security, career prospects and training. Nineteen were heads of household living in the lower town, several in roads close to the railway station. Six co-residing, unmarried, sons of heads in non-railway employment and four unmarried lodgers completed the workforce. The workforce covered the age spectrum from less than 20 years (five men) to over 60 years (one man); the modal age group was 30-39 years (eight men). The 13 occupation grades covered administration, supervision, track maintenance and goods distribution: porters (nine men) and signalmen (five men) were prominent. The birthplace distribution was wide: seven employees (mainly aged under 30 years) were born in Chepstow; others originated from the Forest of Dean, the Severn-shore parishes of Gloucestershire, mining settlements across the South Wales coalfield, and villages in the rural east of Monmouthshire.

### **Non-family household members: economic status and employment**

Consideration of market town society would be incomplete without an assessment of the personal circumstances, living conditions and economic contributions of two sets of people: lodgers, boarders and visitors; and co-residing domestic servants.

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47 Langton and Morris, *Atlas of Industrializing Britain*, pp. 132-8.

48 Warren, *From Finch to Fairfield Mabey*, pp. 6-9.



### *Lodgers, boarders and visitors*

Although the distinction between a lodger, boarder and visitor is not always clear from the household context, there is sufficient evidence to show that 99 domestic tenements (16 per cent of the total for the town) sheltered 128 lodgers, boarders or visitors. In addition, St Maur's College and Ashbourne House School listed 23 and 13 female pupil-boarders, respectively, and four lodging houses (two self-categorised as 'common') housed 34 people, including two families with children and one married couple. Table 9 shows typical household arrangements and nomenclature for working members. Overall, 25 per cent of the domestic tenements with lodgers, boarders or visitors had fewer than five rooms; the highest proportion (34 per cent) occurred in the lower part of the town. Meanwhile, in four of the larger tenements employers accommodated 'assistants' or 'workers'.<sup>49</sup> Characteristically, 40 per cent of these extra-familial males and 24 per cent of females were aged 20-29 years. Younger male boarders predominated in the small tenements.

Two issues invite further consideration: the occupations of the 'temporary residents'; and the socio-economic status of household heads providing accommodation. The local iron foundry and shipyard employed 28 per cent of the 128 lodgers and boarders. General labourers (19 per cent), employees in retailing/wholesaling (15 per cent), and finance and professional services (11 per cent) followed. Females were important in teaching, the sewing trades and domestic service outside the family home. Landlords, meanwhile, were representative of the wider community. Single (widowed) females headed 23 of the domestic tenements (five of which had fewer than five rooms) with lodgers and boarders. General labourers headed a further 13 tenements (three of which had fewer than five rooms). Overall, 18 landlords sheltered paying guests with an identical occupation, if not the same employer or workplace. This suggests the importance to in-migrants of a local information network in the quest for suitable lodgings.

### *Co-residing domestic servants*

Urban historians are acutely aware of imperfections in census records for domestic service. Two factors may explain such ambivalence: the household head's understanding of a co-resident's role and status when completing the original schedule; and the enumerator's beliefs when collecting and transcribing details into the enumeration books.<sup>50</sup> It is also known that census records under-represent the volume of unpaid domestic work performed by co-resident family members and kin.<sup>51</sup> Notwithstanding these shortcomings,

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49 These included Ellen Griffiths, stationer and bookseller at 4 Beaufort Square, who housed two female assistants; and George Howes, foreman at a coal yard in Station Road who accommodated two co-workers, described as carters.

50 Issues regarding the definition and role of domestic service are considered in M.G. Ebury and B.T. Preston, *Domestic Service in Late Victorian and Edwardian England, 1871-1914*, University of Reading Geographical Papers (Reading, 1976).

51 The categorisation of servants' employment is discussed by M. Drake, 'Aspects of domestic service in Great Britain and Ireland, 1841-1911', *Family and Community History*, 2 (1999), pp. 119-28, <https://doi.org/10.1179/fch.1999.2.2.004>.

Table 9 Chepstow 1901: representative households with co-residing lodgers and boarders

Name	Relationship to head of household	Marital condition	Age	Occupation	County	Birthplace Parish
<i>9 St Anne's Street (Lower Division)</i>						
Isaac	Head	Married	56	General labourer	Westmoreland	Stavely
Mary	Wife	Married	53		Monmouthshire	Chepstow
Raymond	Nephew	Single	12		Gloucestershire	Stroud
Alfred	Boarder	Single	30	General labourer	Devon	Plymouth
<i>6 Exmouth Place (Middle Division)</i>						
Thomas	Head	Married	26	Iron bridge plater	Derbyshire	Derby
Amelia	Wife	Married	25		Warwickshire	Birmingham
Claire	Daughter	Single	3		Gloucestershire	Tidenham
Percival	Son	Single	1		Gloucestershire	Tidenham
Henry	Boarder	Single	21	Iron bridge plater	Yorkshire	Holbeck Lee
<i>2 Swan Row (Upper Division)</i>						
Roger	Head	Married	51	GWR foreman porter	Brecknockshire	Erwood
Amelia	Wife	Married	38		Monmouthshire	Newport
Elizabeth	Niece	Single	18		Monmouthshire	Newport
Arthur	Boarder	Single	20	GWR shunter	Gloucestershire	Redbrook
Albert	Boarder	Single	21	Brewer's agent	Gloucestershire	Gloucester
<i>9 Mounton Road (Upper Division)</i>						
Amelia	Head	Widow	70	On parish relief	Monmouthshire	Chepstow
Edwin	Lodger	Married	69	Farm labour hand	Gloucestershire	Berkeley

**Note:** See also Table 10 for 23 St Mary's Street, where three female boarders lived with two female domestic servants.

**Sources:** Census enumerators' books, Chepstow, 1901, available from the Integrated Census Microdata project at the United Kingdom Data Archive: see <http://icem.data-archive.ac.uk/> [accessed 24 September 2020].

Table 10 Chepstow 1901: representative households employing domestic staff

Name	Relationship to head of household	Marital condition	Age	Occupation	County	Birthplace	Parish
<i>Stuart House, The Back (Lower District)</i>							
James Miller	Head	Single	33	Lessee of salmon fisheries	Monmouth	Monmouth	Chepstow
Helen Miller	Sister	Single	36		Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Eva Thomas	Servant	Single	19	General domestic	Monmouth	Monmouth	Chepstow
<i>23 St Mary's Street (Middle District)</i>							
Edward Williams	Head	Married	45	Draper	Brecknockshire	Brecknockshire	Llanfagen
Bessie Williams	Wife	Married	67		Monmouthshire	Monmouthshire	Chepstow
Mary Morgan	Boarder	Single	29	Milliner	Gloucestershire	Gloucestershire	Westbury-on-Severn
Maud Williams	Boarder	Single	21	Draper's assistant	Monmouthshire	Monmouthshire	Chepstow
Ena Woods	Boarder	Single	25	Draper's assistant	Monmouthshire	Monmouthshire	Chepstow
Annie Phillips	Servant	Single	24	Cook domestic	Brecknockshire	Brecknockshire	Brecon
Lily Pratton	Servant	Single	16	General servant domestic	Monmouthshire	Monmouthshire	Mounton
<i>Gwentlands House (Upper District)</i>							
Francis Bircham	Head	Married	59	Inspector Local Govt Board	London	London	London
Edith Bircham	Wife	Married	53		Dorset	Dorset	Turnock
Cicely Bircham	Daughter	Single	17		Brecknockshire	Brecknockshire	Brecon
Catherine Swetenham	G/Daughter	Single	3		Flint	Flint	Hawarden
Evelyn Swetenham	G/Daughter	Single	9m		Flint	Flint	Hawarden
Edward Howells	Servant	Single	26	Butler domestic	Carmarthenshire	Carmarthenshire	Llangenock
Sidney Anderson	Servant	Single	24	Coach man	Norfolk	Norfolk	Swaffham
Emma Undell	Servant	Single	51	Cook	Somerset	Somerset	Wellington
Charlotte Jenkins	Servant	Single	21	Housemaid	Monmouthshire	Monmouthshire	Mitchel Troy
Mathilda Halling	Servant	Single	17	Housemaid	Gloucestershire	Gloucestershire	Frampton-on-Severn
Alice Philippotts	Servant	Single	26	Nurse	Worcestershire	Worcestershire	Bromsgrove
Alice Budding	Servant	Single	19	Kitchenmaid	Gloucestershire	Gloucestershire	Gloucester

**Sources:** Census enumerators' books, Chepstow, 1901, available from the Integrated Census Microdata project at the United Kingdom Data Archive: see <http://icem.data-archive.ac.uk/> [accessed 24 September 2020].

two themes are addressed: first, the demographic characteristics of paid domestic servants, including birthplaces; and, second, the roles that servants performed in local households and businesses.

In 1901, 95 (15 per cent) of the 638 inhabited tenements in Chepstow had at least one co-residing domestic employee; 26 (4 per cent), including large mansions such as Gwentlands, Hardwick Court and High Trees, the town's principal hotels, and important main street businesses had two or more domestic servants.<sup>52</sup> Table 10 illustrates variety in household settings and occupations of domestic servants. Only three domestic servants co-resided in tenements with fewer than five rooms. Work details exist for 140 co-residing female servants (136 unmarried, 1 married and 3 widowed) and 10 (unmarried) male servants. Female servants, characteristically, added a youthful dimension to the town: 41 per cent were aged 15-19 years, and a further 27 per cent aged 20-24 years. Unmarried women retained in senior positions in the larger urban fringe mansions and town houses accounted for the majority of domestic staff aged over 40 years.<sup>53</sup> The age distribution was similar for the smaller domestic workforce of males.

Birthplace distributions add significantly to this social profile. Almost one third of female servants were Chepstow-born. A further 14 per cent originated in neighbouring parishes and rural areas in the east of the county. The network of commercial contacts across Severn and along its northern shore account for the 21 per cent of women born in Gloucestershire, with smaller numbers from Somerset and Devon. Domestic service evidently provided a vital source of local employment prior to marriage. In total, 15 job titles are recorded for female domestic staff: 'domestic' or 'general domestic' (51 per cent of the total) women worked in a variety of household settings; likewise, the housemaids/parlourmaids (16 per cent) and cooks (14 per cent). Mothers' helps and nurses of various descriptions (6 per cent), however, were mainly employed in the larger households of professional men. Male domestic staff, in contrast, worked mainly in the principal town centre hotels; a few, however, held positions such as resident coachman, gardener or butler in country seats on the urban fringe.

## Review and prospect

Urban historians dependent on aggregated ED data to identify socio-spatial differences in Victorian cities are confronted by the problem of the ecological fallacy.<sup>54</sup> This situation arises where, of necessity, the characteristics of individuals have been inferred from aggregated data for the wider population, leading to unjustifiable conclusions about relationships

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52 The proportions of households with at least one domestic servant in 1901 were higher elsewhere in south east Wales: Crickhowell, 22 per cent (Gant, 'Crickhowell 1851-1901', p. 51); Brecon, 22 per cent (Gant, 'Brecon in 1901', p. 54); and Monmouth, 17 per cent. However, the statistic of 15 per cent is identical to that found in St Albans in 1851 (Goose, *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire: Volume 2, St. Albans and its Region*, p. 164).

53 Drake, 'Aspects of domestic service', p. 122, cites empirical evidence on the wider catchment areas of 'career servants' working for the upper social classes.

54 The concept of 'ecological fallacy' is examined in Johnston *et al.*, *Dictionary of Human Geography*, p. 145.

between Victorian society and space. In Chepstow, this problem has been overcome by re-tabulating place-specific distributions of tenement size within each of the three EDs in 1901 against local demographic characteristics, gender-informed occupations and household composition to create a different vista of house size and residential status. This exercise also supports the re-interpretation, in urban form, of significant priming decisions in land use allocation connected with the earlier construction of road and railway bridges across the Wye, and alignment of the GWR track through the medieval walls.<sup>55</sup> It demonstrates, moreover, how unique site characteristics in small historical towns can distort the model-based annular zonation of land uses postulated by the Chicago School and evident, at a macro-scale, in the rapidly growing cities of industrialising Britain. Notwithstanding, historical towns like Chepstow can still display elements in the land use characteristics of larger Victorian cities. These features, in Chepstow, included the apron of industrial land along the river frontage, the linear commercial core of taller buildings, and an urban fringe belt characterised towards its countryside margin by higher status housing. From the perspective of the community historian, too, high-density courts and small blocks of terraced housing were evident, but not as a contiguous and extensive zone typified by 'working class housing'. Rather, they were reproduced as smaller pockets of modest housing squeezed into parcels of accommodation land set behind the principal streets. Tracts of housing surrounding the high-density commercial core, too, had been impacted by market-driven forces of land conversion and site clearance connected with improvements in public health legislation and the site demands of new public buildings.

This study of Chepstow confirms that the detection of spatial inequality and patterns of social difference in Victorian settlements depends not only on the selection of discriminating census variables, but the geographical scale of analysis and representation.<sup>56</sup> It successfully uses the technique of house repopulation to identify groupings of smaller dwellings in courts, and similar high-density developments, each with distinctive social profiles. These were scattered throughout all three EDs: the industrialised area fronting the River Wye in the Lower District, the commercial and retail axis embraced by the Middle District, and the Upper District sandwiched between the Port Wall and rural-urban fringe. Based on census evidence (and especially the variable of tenement size first introduced in 1891), the exercise

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55 F.S. Chapin, *Land Use Planning* (Illinois, 1965), p. 73, differentiates two levels of decision-making in land use planning: priming decisions (related to major events such as bridge construction, estate sales, and Acts of Parliament), and secondary decisions (concerned with detailed matters such as house style and design). Predicated on the interpretive framework of 'values, behaviour patterns and consequences, as constrained by regulation and planning control', this model addresses power relationships and impacts in society. See, for illustration, H. Carter, 'A decision-making approach to town plan analysis: a case study of Llandudno', in H. Carter and W.K.D. Davies (eds), *Urban Essays* (London, 1970), pp. 66–78.

56 Colin Pooley likewise argues that '[w]hile analysis of enumeration districts may adequately reveal spatial patterns in a large, well developed city, such a scale of analysis may obscure the smaller scale zones found in a medium sized town. In such towns analysis must be undertaken at the level of the street, the block or even the individual house, and it is essential that the most appropriate scale of analysis is chosen' (C.G. Pooley, 'Choice and constraint in the nineteenth century city: a basis for residential differentiation', in Johnson and Pooley, *Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities*, pp. 199–235, here at p. 203).

identified a mosaic of different social worlds within the built environment with respect to residents' age, birthplace distributions, household formation and employment profiles immediately prior to the transformative period of physical growth driven by national ship-building initiatives during World War I.<sup>57</sup> This analytical approach, predicated on the size distribution of housing stock, meets the aims set for this local investigation. It re-scales the investigative methods used by urban historians in city-wide Victorian studies of urban ecology and is well suited to intensive and micro-scale studies of social differentiation in small, but well-established, market towns. Equally as important, it provides an informative insight into the case-specific processes and particular outcomes of urbanisation during the nineteenth century in rural Monmouthshire.

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57 N. Firth, 'Chepstow ships of World War I', *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 28 (2012), pp. 83–116 traces the development of the national shipyard in Chepstow from 1915 and its impact on urban growth and diversification of the local economy.

## Appendix

**Chepstow 1901: Standard Industrial Classification of economically active persons by size of tenement**

SIC division	Description	Males		Females		Total			
		< 5 rooms n	%	< 5 rooms n	%	Males N	%	Females N	%
100	<i>Agriculture, hunting, forestry, fishing</i>								
111	Agriculture and livestock production	1	0.4	6	1.0	7	0.8		
112	Agricultural services	10	3.6	6	1.0	16	1.8		
130	Fishing			6	1.0	6	0.7		
200	<i>Mining and quarrying</i>								
290	Quarrying	6	2.2	5	0.8	11	1.2		
291	Mining	1	0.4			1	0.1		
300	<i>Manufacturing</i>								
311	Food manufacturing	11	4.0	26	4.2	37	4.1	8	2.4
313	Beverage industries			2	0.3	2	0.2		
322	Manufacture of wearing apparel excl. footwear	2	0.7	30	4.8	22	22.7	29	12.6
323	Manufacture of leather products excl. footwear	1	0.4	8	1.3	9	1.0		
324	Manufacture of footwear	2	0.7	13	2.1	15	1.7	1	0.3
331	Manufacture of wood products excl. furniture	9	3.3	10	1.6	19	2.1		
342	Printing, publishing and allied industries			6	1.0	6	0.7		
371	Iron and steel basic industries	7	2.5	13	2.1	20	2.2		
381	Manufacture of fabricated metal products	32	11.6	68	11.0	100	11.2		

Appendix Continued

SIC division	Description	Males			Females			Total					
		< 5 rooms n	%	5+ rooms n	%	< 5 rooms n	%	5+ rooms n	%	Males N	Females N	%	
382	Manufacture of machinery excl. electrical	2	0.7					2	0.2				
390	Other manufacturing industries	8	2.9	33	5.3			41	4.6				
400	<i>Electricity, gas and water</i>												
410	Electricity, gas and steam	1	0.4	6	1.0			7	0.8				
420	Water works and supply			1	0.2			1	0.1				
500	<i>Construction and building</i>	36	13.0	51	8.2			87	9.7				
600	<i>Wholesale and retail trades, restaurants and hotels</i>												
610	Wholesale trade	6	2.2	29	4.7			2	0.9	35	3.9	2	0.6
620	Retail trade	17	6.2	99	6.0	2	2.1	15	6.5	116	12.9	17	5.2
631	Restaurants, cafes and other eating places			2	0.3					2	0.2		
632	Hotels, rooming houses, lodging houses			13	2.1	1	1.0	17	7.4	13	1.5	18	5.5
700	<i>Transport, storage and communications</i>												
711	Land transport	13	4.7	29	4.7					42	4.7		
712	Water transport	2	0.7	8	1.3					10	1.1		
720	Communication	7	2.5	13	2.1					20	2.2		
800	<i>Finance, insurance, real estate and business services</i>												
810	Financial institutions	2	0.7	12	1.9			2	0.9	14	1.6	2	0.6
820	Insurance	2	0.7							2	0.2		
831	Real estate			3	0.5					3	0.3		



## Reflections on Chepstow in 1901

832	Business services (incl. clerical)					5	0.8	1	0.4	5	0.6	1	0.3
900	<i>Community, social and personal services</i>												
910	Public administration and defence (incl. army)	6	2.2	12	1.9			1	0.4	18	2.0	1	0.3
920	Sanitary and similar services			2	0.3			2		2	0.2		
931	Education services			5	0.8	6	6.2	25	10.9	5	0.6	31	9.5
933	Medical, dental, other health and veterinary services			6	1.0	1	1.0	1	0.4	6	0.7	2	0.6
935	Business, professional and labour associations	3	1.1	11	1.8			14		14	1.6		
939	Other social and related community services	2	0.7	3	0.5			5		5	0.6		
951	Repair services	3	1.1	3	0.5	1	1.0	1	0.4	6	0.7	2	0.6
952	Laundry services and cleaning and dyeing plants	2	0.7	1	0.2	14	14.4	6	2.6	3	0.3	20	6.1
953	Domestic services	20	7.2	24	3.9	48	49.5	121	52.6	44	4.9	169	51.7
959	Miscellaneous personal services			8	1.3	1	1.0			8	0.9	1	0.3
1000	General labourers	62	22.5	42	6.8	1	1.0	104		104	11.6	1	0.3
Total		276	100.0	620	100.0	97	100.0	230	100.0	896	100.0	327	100.0

**Source:** The National Archive: census enumerators' books for Chepstow, TNA RG 13/4917.