

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

23 JANUARY—13 MARCH 1911.

WITH

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY

LENT TERM 1911.

No. LIX.

BEING No. 2 OF THE FIFTEENTH VOLUME.

(NINTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES.)



Cambridge:

DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; BOWES & BOWES.

LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS, LTD.

1911

Price 7s. 6d. net.

Monday, 30 January, 1911.

Mr R. BOWES, Member of the Council, in the Chair.

The Rev. Dr STOKES, President of the Society, read a paper, illustrated with lantern slides, on

CAMBRIDGE PARISH WORKHOUSES.

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The writer desires to express his thanks for permission to inspect many parish documents and private deeds, and for much information. Among those to whom he is indebted are the Incumbents and Officers of all the Parishes, the Town Clerk, Mr Congreve the Clerk to the Board of Guardians, Mr Campbell the Assistant Overseer, Mr Hosegood the Master of the Union Workhouse, and other courteous officials; various owners of buildings now in private hands; together with many aged citizens, whose memories go back to olden times—including some who are spending the evening time of their lives in certain Benevolent Homes, and some whose address is "81a Mill Road."

CHAPTER I.

ENGLISH POOR LAWS.

The title of this Communication is *The Old Parochial Workhouses of Cambridge*. If there are any who may think that this subject can hardly claim to be of so antiquarian a character as to be dealt with before this Society, the writer might threaten to justify his selection by dealing at considerable length with the origin and growth of English Poor Laws.

He will not, however, adopt this line; although the record would not only be of singular interest, but ought to prove deeply suggestive in the present crisis.

It is fitting, though, that a short summary should be given of the national treatment of the problem of the poor, that our local action from time to time may be the better understood.

For while it is true that there has, until comparatively lately, been much independent dealing with the question in different parts of the land, various municipalities adopting their own methods and separate experiments being worked out; and while in particular it is true (as we shall see) that Cambridge was to the front on certain occasions owing to the importance of its position and to the generosity of its citizens—as well, of course, as to the presence in its midst of the University with its “poor scholars”—yet legislation and administration often adopted the guidance of municipal leading, and the Poor Laws have on the whole been issued from head-quarters.

The development of the English nation in the sixteenth century was very remarkable. The break-up of the feudal system, the passing away of many of the old noble families, the dissolution of the monasteries, the development of “enclosures,” the increase of manufactures and of commerce, the outlook towards the New World, the rise of Parliamentary power; these and other influences introduced a new state of things.

Amidst these changes, the condition of the poor obtrudes itself—both as regards the vagrant class, “the rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars,” and as regards “the impotent, feeble and lame, who are poor in very deed.”

In the times of the Tudors vagrants multiplied greatly, and vigorous measures were taken by the authorities, municipal and governmental, for the punishment and suppression of able-bodied beggars. In particular a series of Vagrant Acts was passed, several being enacted in each reign of this period. For instance, a well-known statute (22 Henry VIII, c. 12), passed in the year 1531, ordered severe penalties for able-bodied vagabonds (including, as we shall see, unauthorised University scholars who went about soliciting help), while it licensed the impotent poor to beg. Each parish was directed to set the former to work, and to provide for the latter, by having a regular collection on Sundays in the Churches and a distribution of alms for the poor.

Other Vagrant Acts, in the reigns of Edward VI, of Philip and Mary, and of Elizabeth, might be mentioned, with orders as to whippings and as to the erection of houses of correction;

while, in the opening year of James I, these "rogues; vagabonds and sturdy beggars" were condemned to be branded on the left shoulder with a capital R. These enactments were renewed down to quite modern times, especially in the reigns of Anne and of George II. Branding was, however, abandoned by the statute of the queen just named (13 Anne, c. 26), and the whipping of females was forbidden in the year 1792 (32 George III, c. 45). There are various classifications of vagrants in these Acts; the division in 17 George II, c. 5, being into "disorderly, rogue and vagabonds, and incorrigible rogues," with proportionate punishments.

Turning to the treatment of "the impotent poor," it was found that the voluntary efforts, suggested by the Act of 1536, proved insufficient; and further "exhortations," directed by 5 and 6 Edward VI, c. 2, failed; so that, soon after the accession of Elizabeth, the justices were commanded to compel all to contribute the assessment for the poor.

Successive statutes in the reign of the great Tudor queen dealt with the indigent and the unemployed; "overseers" were appointed, with increasing duties and powers for the collecting of contributions, for the relieving of the impotent poor, for the apprenticing of children, for the provision of houses of correction, for the raising of stocks of materials for work for the able-bodied, and for the superintendence of such employment. At length, after deliberations in which the ablest statesmen of the age took part, an elaborate Poor Law was passed in the year 1597, and ratified and supplemented in the first year of the seventeenth century (43 Elizabeth, c. 2), fully organising and settling the duties of overseers of the poor, both as to those "who were poor in very deed" and as to the able-bodied and the idle.

This system was continued under the Stuart dynasty, was invigorated by Privy Council "Orders and Directions" to the justices and other local authorities under Charles the First's personal *régime*, and remained in operation for about two centuries and a quarter, from 1601 to 1834, without material modification or alteration.

But, in spite of this general continuity of Poor Law policy,

certain aspects of this anxious problem frequently occupied the attention of Parliament, and various statutes from time to time passed into law.

Thus, soon after the Restoration, an important Settlement Act (14 Charles II, c. 12) was enrolled, which sent back to their original domicile not only any who had become burdensome to the parish in which they were found, but even any who *might* become chargeable. This mischievous fetter upon freedom of service remained in force for more than a century and was not repealed till, under Edmund Burke's influence, an Act (35 George III, c. 101) was passed forbidding such removal until the poor person had actually come upon the rates; and even then orders of removal were to be suspended in cases of sickness.

There were various other Acts upon the settlements of paupers which cannot be mentioned in this brief summary; but attention must be called to a section in one such statute passed in the year 1691 (3 William and Mary, c. 11, s. 11), which—in consequence of complaints that “churchwardens and overseers had, upon frivolous pretences, and for private ends, given relief to undeserving cases; whereby the rates were daily increased”—ordered a register to be kept of persons relieved, and an examination thereof to be made at the yearly vestry, when a new list was to be made and entered of such persons “as should be thought fit to receive collection.” It was added that no other person should be relieved “but by authority of one Justice of the Peace.” This unfortunate addendum opened up opportunities, whereby in subsequent years large increase of the poor rates was made in many parts of the land through the mistaken action of the justices.

Another Settlement Act (8 and 9 William III, c. 30), passed five or six years later, incidentally decreed that

“any person receiving relief of any parish shall, together with his wife and children, openly wear upon the shoulder of his right sleeve a badge¹

¹ On the subject of such, and similar, badges, see Sir W. Scott's *Antiquary* and I. Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, and the Index Volumes of *Notes and Queries*. It may be added, as a local reference, that “the 20 Paupers or Bedesmen” of Trinity College, Cambridge, were required “all to be cloathed

or mark with a large Roman P, and the first letter of the parish whereof such poor person is an inhabitant, cut thereon either in red or blue cloth"; neglect to wear the badge entailing loss of relief, or a whipping with hard labour in the house of correction.

The continued increase of the poor rates caused much alarm; a Commission, appointed to consider the matter, issued a report, drawn up by the celebrated John Locke, recommending the erection of workhouses in every parish. Accordingly in Bristol and other towns such institutions were established and vigorously managed. As the output of these workhouses was remunerative, the immediate result was a considerable reduction in the rates; but the need of some central supervision and the effect of competition with public labour after a while caused the effort to die away.

A generation later, however, in 1723, another enactment (9 George I, c. 7) introduced a renewed extension of the workhouse test; the provision for setting the able-bodied to work being rendered the more effectual by a clause, which enabled parishes to combine in providing a workhouse.

Passing rapidly on, and omitting various legislative and voluntary efforts, attention should be drawn to the Act, introduced by Mr Gilbert in the year 1782, whereby these public institutions were treated rather as poorhouses, and homes¹ for the old, sick, and infirm; while out-door-relief was allowed to the able-bodied in aid of wages, the guardians, some of whom were paid, finding these recipients work near their homes.

Later on, even freer concessions were made to able-bodied paupers, and the management of the poorhouses became more lax and indulgent; until the paupers increased enormously in numbers and the rates became alarmingly oppressive.

with Violet Gowns, made after the same fashion, with a *Badge* of a Rose upon them, which they are always to wear, as well in the College as Town" (44th Statute, Miller, *Account of University of Cambridge*, p. 133).

¹ It was urged by some that "Workhouses" should be called by a softer and more inoffensive name. "It was probably for this reason that many of the workhouses erected in the reign of George II were called *Houses of Maintenance*. So the poor house at Empingham is called the *House of Protection*. In Philadelphia, the workhouse, which is also a house of correction, and one of the best I ever heard of, whilst it was chiefly under the steady control of the Quakers, was called the *Bettering House*" (Sir F. M. Eden, *State of the Poor*, i, p. 285).

The nation, during the closing years of George III's reign, was overburdened with rates and taxes, and the subject of the Poor Laws was much discussed. After a public inquiry, a statute (59 George III, c. 12), known as Sturges Bourne's Act, was passed calling upon Select Vestries to act in parishes, and a few years later, in 1831, by Hobhouse's Act, all the inhabitants in any parish were allowed to join in the appointment of these Select Vestries; it being hoped that public opinion would support the enforcement of stricter measures.

But the system had taken such a hold, and had become so deeply rooted, that nothing but a radical change in the Poor Laws and their administration could save the situation.

At length, in February, 1832, a strong Commission was appointed to make a thorough investigation of the evils and to suggest remedies for the same. A most able Report was issued.

To illustrate the condition which affairs had reached, the following quotations may be instanced; referring in the first case to out-door relief, and the second to in-door treatment:

"Applicants for relief were pretty certain of a favourable reception by the Bench of Magistrates, and the opposers were almost as certain of rebuke. Matters went on thus, until the circle of pauperism embraced nearly the whole labouring population. Self-reliance and provident habits were destroyed, the call for these qualities being superseded by a ready access to the parish purse. A stripling married a girl as ignorant and youthful as himself. They immediately apply to the overseers to provide them with a house, and for something also towards getting them a bed and a little furniture. The birth of a child approaches, and the overseer is again applied to for a midwife, and for the money to help them in the wife's 'down-lying.' Perhaps the child dies, and the parish then of course has to bury it; and if it lives the parish must surely help to maintain it. And so it was throughout the whole range of their existence—in youth and in age, in sickness and in health, in seasons favourable and unfavourable, with low prices and with high prices—the parish was still looked to and relied upon as an unfailing resource, to which every one clung, and from which every man considered he had a right to obtain the supply of every want, even although it were caused by his own indolence, vice and improvidence."

Turning to workhouses, and limiting ourselves to a description of smaller ones:

"Here classification was found impossible; all that is effected is to put

the males of all ages into one room, and all the females into another. In those cases the old are teased by the children, who are growled at when they talk, and scolded when they play, until they become cowed into silence. The able-bodied men are the noisy orators of the room; the children listen to their oaths, and, what is often much worse, to the substance of their conversation; while a poor idiot or two, hideously twisted, stands grinning at the scene, or, in spite of remonstrances, incessantly chattering to himself. In the women's hall, which is generally separated only by a passage from the men's, females of all characters and of all shapes live with infants, children and young girls of all ages....A large attic used as a dormitory for married couples,"

completes the description.

The outcome of this celebrated Commission for inquiring into the state and administration of the laws relating to the poor, and of the able reports issued by the Commissioners was the passing of the Act 4 and 5 William IV, c. 76, commonly called the "Poor Law Amendment Act." This was really not a change of law, but of administration. It "disciplined the workhouses"; it placed the management of the poor throughout the country, and the administration of the parochial funds, under the superintendence and control of a central board, called the Poor Law Commissioners, who had power to make such regulations as they thought proper for the guidance and direction of the parochial authorities; they had also the power of uniting several parishes for the purpose of a more effective and economical administration of relief. The vigorous action of the Commissioners, the opposition they encountered, the establishment of their policy need not here be entered into in detail. Illustrations thereof will be noted when we deal with the proceedings in our own town.

Nor need the subsequent history of the Poor Law since 1834 be here recorded, except very briefly. The powers and duties of the Board were, by 10 and 11 Victoria, c. 109, transferred to a new Board, under the title of "Commissioners for administering the Laws for the Relief of the Poor in England," consisting of several ministers of state and of certain nominated members. They were directed to appoint a number of inspectors, for the purpose of exercising a visitatorial power over workhouses, and of being present at meetings of guardians,

or other local meetings held for the relief of the poor; and once a year they were required to submit to both Houses of Parliament a general report of their proceedings.

The Poor Law Board was abolished in 1871, and the "Local Government Board" took its place.

The design of the Royal Commission of 1834 was to make the workhouse a test of destitution, to deter the idle and slothful from following a life of easy dependence at the public cost. It was recommended it should not be used as an asylum for age and sickness, or as a place of education for children; separate institutions were to be created for these classes.

Unfortunately, however—during these seventy and more years—children, the aged, sick and mentally defective persons have swelled the number of workhouse inmates.

The further intention of the 1834 reform—that out-door relief should gradually cease—has not been realised; for more than two-thirds of our paupers are receiving out-relief.

Consequently another Poor Law Commission was appointed in 1905; which though united in making certain recommendations—such as the abolition of the workhouse and the substitution of separate institutions for different classes of needy persons—has issued two Reports, that of the Majority and that of the Minority. These cannot be here dealt with; but it will be seen that a consideration of old Cambridge Parish Workhouses throws much light upon this important and difficult question.

CHAPTER II.

CAMBRIDGE AND THE POOR LAWS.

In the preceding chapter a short sketch has been given of the *national* dealing in the matter of Poor Laws. In this section a brief description is offered of the *local* application of the same, together with references to certain special efforts made by the Town and University of Cambridge.

In the above sketch no allusion was made to the fourteenth century Statutes about labourers; but it may here be remarked

that the celebrated Act of 12 Richard II (which is often spoken of as the origin of our English Poor Law) was passed by a Parliament which sat at Cambridge. And members of our Society, who possess its earliest publications, will remember the interesting papers¹, illustrated with engravings of the King's Seals for Passes given to Labourers and Servants, for various Hundreds of our County, which remind us of the extraordinary restrictions placed upon the wages and the movements of our agricultural workers and others from 1388 onwards.

"Vagabonds" and "beggars" are words that loom large in the Statutes of the fifteenth and following centuries. And such Acts frequently contain clauses referring to University students, or men feigning to be such, who wandered from place to place, seeking support from the charitable. A section of 13 Edward IV (1473), for instance, threatens with imprisonment "sturdy mendicants," pretending to come from Oxford or Cambridge, if they could not produce "letters testimonial from their Chancellors." Similarly, under the Statute 22 Henry VIII, c. 12, such wandering unlicensed begging scholars were liable to be punished by whipping or by imprisonment for three days and three nights. Among the Parker MSS.² in the Library of Corpus Christi College is preserved a copy of a licence, dated 16 Sept. 1540, to Henry Wood, a poor scholar, to gather alms: this is given in Appendix I.

Other vagabonds and beggars were, of course, treated with at least equal severity. Indeed the civic authorities of Cambridge jealously maintained their right to treat such cases. In one of the many disputes between the Town and the University, it was (in 1548)³ particularly claimed that "the ordering of vacaboundes by special statutes ys assygned to the mayre, baylyffs and constables." In the Borough Treasurers' Reports, during the reign of Elizabeth, we find payments made to certain officials, e.g. (1572): "Item, for a visar bought at the

¹ C. A. S. *Communications*, no. vii, pp. 280—286; by Albert Way, M.A., F.S.A.

² C. C. C. *MSS.*, cvi, 286 (Nasmith, p. 101; James, ii, p. 219). The writer thanks Mr C. Moule, the Librarian, for courtesy and kindness.

³ Most of these references are taken from Cooper's *Annals*, under the respective dates.

comandement of M^r Maior and y^e counsell, to serve for him that whipped vacabounds...ij^s."; while in 1583, we read: "Item to ye Bedell of the beggers...xxvj^s. iiij^d." Later on, in 1611, persons are named to whom payments were made "for whipinge vagrants and idle persons."

The authorities were also keen to keep vagrants on the move, and to prevent their settlement in the borough. Note, for instance, such entries in the Treasurers' accounts as the following made in the year 1588: "For ye carrynge of a blinde woman out of the towne, by the comaundement of M^r Maior, and monye given to hir...xij^d." "For carynge of a creple at M^r Maiores command out of the towne...xij^d."

To turn to the dealing of the municipal authorities with local poverty, it may be noted¹ that "the poor of the town had been accustomed to receive several rents and sums of money issuing out of booths in Sturbridge fair, and other lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Cambridge, given for the maintenance of obiits." By the Statute of Chantries these moneys had passed to the royal exchequer; Edward VI, however, by a decree of the Court of Augmentations, had restored these payments to the Corporation for distribution amongst the poor; and Mary had confirmed this grant.

During the reign of the queen just named, there was for a while considerable dearth in Cambridge, and the distress was increased by outbreaks of the plague. The interesting Diaries² of Mr Mere give us an insight into the methods adopted to meet this poverty. The Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor "had before them the churchwardens of all the parysshes who browght in the bylls what any parryshoner was cessed towards the relyeffe of the poore." Four superintendents and four "watchers for straunge beggeres" were appointed, and collections were made on the Sundays. And during the week, the superintendents "wente bowte the parysshes to vysette the state of the poore and to apoynte what everyone shoulde have."

During the reign of Elizabeth, various local ordinances were made concerning the relief of the poor; proposals were offered

¹ See Cooper's *Annals*, ii, 62, 132, etc.

² See Lamb's *Original Documents from MS. Library of C. C. C.*, pp. 188 etc.

for enclosing some of the commons for the raising of funds; and several efforts were started for erecting "Hospitals" or Workhouses. In 1578, for instance, it was suggested that such a building should be made on the site of the monastery of the Grey Friars (where Sidney College now stands). In 1582 the Mayor and Aldermen were empowered "to build upon the backe side of the ground belonging to Clement Ostle, a house to set pore men on works in and of reformation for Iddle persons, according to the statut." The former of these proposals, and probably also the latter, came to nought; but in 1594 one Richard Wilkinson¹, a fustian weaver in Stamford, was procured to come to Cambridge

"to sett the poore on worcke in that trade,"

he was to have a house rent free for his dwelling, 20s. a week stipend, and a house provided for the poor to work in. This arrangement, however, only lasted for about three years; whereupon Wilkinson's house, which had been purchased by the University and the Town, was

"soulde for the provideinge of stocke and store to be employed in a house of correction boughte and erected by bothe the bodies above a yere paste."

We must not linger on the various details which the records of the reigns of Elizabeth and James reveal to us as to the agreements or the disputes of the Town and University²; as to the dealings with the poor, as to the amounts to be contributed by the latter body; as to the erection, or removals, of certain small tenements; as to the help ordered to be contributed towards some of the poorer parishes by the rest of the town; etc.

We may pass on to the date of the erection of a building

¹ MS. Lansdowne, lxxxiv, art. 89; Cooper, *Annals*, pp. 579, 580.

² Much might be said as to the contributions from the University towards the poor of the town; a subject upon which there are several pages in Bowtell's *MSS.* (e.g. vii, 2572, etc.). Certain voluntary contributions to the rates are recorded in 1601, in 1620 and in 1650 (in which year £120 was paid over), in 1791, 1793, etc. Separate payments were made to the different parishes, as may be seen from the overseers' quarterly and yearly accounts (cf. Bowtell vii, 2577). In 1788, the overseer of St Clement's parish mournfully made the following entry: "Lorst in two Light guinea from Vice Chancellor...2s."

which for some centuries was a feature in Cambridge history. In the year 1628 Thomas Hobson, the celebrated carrier, conveyed to twelve persons, six of them members of the University and six of them townsmen, an estate in the parish of St Andrew without Barnwell-gate for the purpose of founding a workhouse and house of correction. As a separate section will be devoted to the consideration of this charity¹; it need only be here stated, therefore, that the deed required the building of

“one or more convenient house or houses upon the premises, as well for setting the poor people of the said University and Town to work, as for an house of correction for unruly and stubborn rogues beggars and other poor persons who should refuse to work; and also, in convenient time, should provide a sufficient stock of wool and flax, and other materials, for setting of the said poor people of the said University and Town to work.”

Shortly after this date, a dreadful plague broke out in Cambridge, and great distress prevailed. Beside the stricken patients some 2800 of the poorer inhabitants applied for relief, and only seven score of the citizens were able to contribute. A royal brief was issued authorising collections from other parts, and generous contributions were received from London and from the Eastern Counties; the Metropolitan city sending several thousand pounds. It may be added that such sums of money as remained in the hands of the Corporation after the cessation of the plague were given towards the completion of the Hobson Workhouse.

We have now arrived at the period of Charles I's personal *régime*, when for instance *the Orders and Diréctions* as to the carrying out of certain Poor Law regulations were issued by the Privy Council. One of the most detailed answers to these instructions preserved among *the Domestic State Papers* came from the municipal authorities at Cambridge. This report, signed by Mr Spalding the Mayor and other magistrates, is of such interest that it is here reprinted:

To the right Ho^{le}: the Lords and others of his Ma^{ties}
most Ho^{le} privy Councill.

The certificate of the Maior, Aldermen and Justice of the peace w^{thin}
the Towne of Cambridge and the lib(er)ties thereof concerning his Ma^{ties}

¹ See Chapter III.

orders and direcons sent unto us in printed bookes together wth letters from yo^r Hono^{rs} for the due puttinge in execucon such Lawes as tend to the releivinge of impotent poore people, settinge to worke those that be able, and punishinge those that be idle, and reformeingé of divers abuses and disorders therein menconed.

Humbly sheweth,

1. That accordinge to the said orders and letters, we presentlie uppon receipt thereof did assemble o^rselues together and cald before us the High Constables, petty Constables, Churchwardens, and overseers of the poore of o^r said Towne and gave them strictlie in charge for the performance of the service therein required accordinge to the said orders and direcons.

2. That we have ever since kept and continewed o^r weekely meetings and there caused the said Constables dulie to make their presentm^{ts} and from tyme to tyme have strictly called them to particular accompt concerninge the apprehendinge and punishinge of rogues and vagabonds for disorderly tiplinge, useinge unlawfull games and other misdemeanours in alehouses.

3. That we have caused the said Constables to see the watches and wardes duly kept accordinge to lawe and to restrayne wandringe and goinge aboute of beggers and alsoe for safety and good order.

4. That we have taken divers presentments of the said officers and inflicted punishment accordinge to lawe of the offenders both for drunknes for inordinate hauntinge of alehouses, for profanacon of the Saboth by Carriers travellinge with packhorses and carts, with butchers sellinge of meate, for profane swearinge and other misdemeanors and have caused the penalties to be duly taken and distributed accordinge to the lawe.

5. That we beinge exceedingly oppresed wth poore since o^r last heavy visitacon have taken order at o^r weekely meetings for the competent reliefe of the impotent, by raisinge and increasinge the monthly rates in all o^r parishes to a treble and quadruple proportion through o^r towne for to keepe them from begginge and wandringe aboute.

6. That we have caused the churchwardens and overseers of o^r severall parishes to sett to worke all such poore as are able to worke beinge of seaven yeares of age and upwards or to bynde them forth apprentices. And for the better performance of their duties therein and whatt ells belongs to their office we doe take of them a iust and exact accompt the ffirst weeke in every month howe they dispose of there monthly collecon and other monies comeinge to there hands and alsoe howe the impotent poore are provided for and releived and the rest employed and sett to worke and for punishment of such as are idle or refuse to worke.

7. And as touchinge the Assize of bread and beare, as alsoe for punishinge of bakers, bruers, ingrosers, forestallers and the like (w^{ch} the governo^{rs} of the universitie clayme to belonge to them) we leave to the

vicechancellor and governors thereof accordinge to there Charter of priviledge w^{ch} they challenge.

May 2^o 1631.

SAMUEL SPALDYNG, Maior.
 MARTIN PERSE.
 RICHARD FOXTON.
 EDWARD COPLEY.
 JOHN WICKSTED.
 ROBT. LUKYN.
 THOMAS ATKINSON.
 THO. PURCHAS.
 JOHN SCHIREWOODE.
 JOHN BADCOCKE¹.

This detailed return shews the vigour with which the Privy Council orders were enforced. And it may be remarked generally that, under the arbitrary proceedings of the remainder of Charles I's reign, it was not unnatural that the prevailing artificial conditions of the treatment of the poor should be severe and even effective.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the law of settlement caused great disputings everywhere during the seventeenth and the following century. The Act of 1662 (14 Charles II, c. 12), it has been noted, declared that even those who *might* become chargeable were removable², and could be sent back, unless they could give security to the new parish against becoming burdensome to it. Numerous illustrations of those disputes might be quoted from the old parochial *Certificate Books* of Cambridge. Large sums of money were spent in transferring paupers to their own parishes—especially in the cases of expectant mothers. The old "Removal or Satisficate Book" of Great St Mary's records under the year 1694 (a somewhat gross expression being omitted), "Paid for feching a woman out of y^e Jaile...and sending her out of the town...5s. 6d." Under a later date, the St Clement's churchwardens gave "a Marriage Present and Fees to widow Arnold, by which we got rid of her in the

¹ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. 190, no. 13 (quoted by Miss Leonard, *Early History of the English Poor Relief*, pp. 174—176).

² The town authorities were as keen as the parochial officials to rid the borough of paupers; as may be seen from the Treasurers' Accounts, 1588 (see p. 80).

family way...4l. 14s. 6d." So in the treatment of lunatics, we are reminded of Shakespeare's description of "Poor Tom" in *King Lear*, who was "whipped from tything to tything, and stocked, punished and imprisoned," and found no settlement at last. Thus the Cambridge Borough Treasurers¹ more than once tell us of a "Mad Tom" who was whipped and sent to the workhouse. We shall see, under the separate parishes, how these poor creatures were dealt with when their location was evident. To turn, however, to the cases of those seeking work away from their native place, the jealous restrictions as to removal may be illustrated by another quotation from the Great St Mary's *Certificate Book*:

"Memorandum. Whereas John Cole of the Parish of Billericay in the County of Essex at present resides in and may perhaps become chargeable to the Parish of St Maries the Great in the Town of Cambridge, He working at present with Mr Thomas Glover Basket maker in the said Parish, I do hereby promise to bear the said Parish harmless and indemnify them from any charge which may befall them by means of his stay in this said Parish, and that I will take such care that he may be dismissed by the first of October next. Witness my hand this 18th day of Aprill anno Domini 1716...Thomas Glover."

Under certain of the Settlement Acts rogues and vagabonds were branded, and paupers were ordered to wear badges. Thus at the beginning of the seventeenth century, 7 James I, c. 4, orders "rogues and sturdy beggars" to be branded with the letter R in the left shoulder; and towards the end of the same century 8 and 9 William III, c. 30, directs that those in the receipt of public relief should wear a badge, with the letter P, on the shoulder of the right sleeve.

These degrading regulations may be illustrated from the Parish Books of Cambridge. By an order in vestry made 21 July 1682, we note in the Churchwardens' Accounts preserved in the Chest at St Mary's the Great, it was determined that "all the Paupers of this Parish should wear a Badge on the right arm—S.M.G.—and also all those that the parish pay rent for, if the parishioners so require it"; and a subsequent entry, two years later, chronicles the payment of "mending the

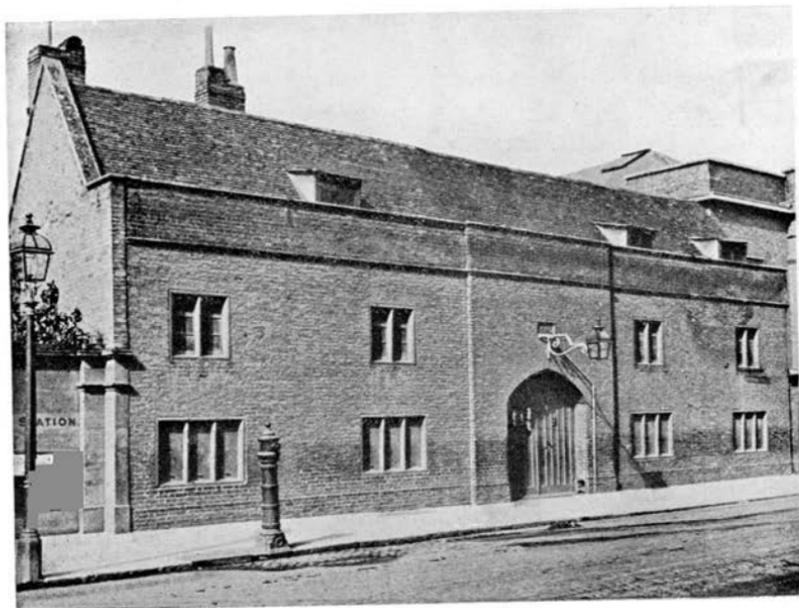
¹ Cooper, *Annals*, iv, 235, 236.

badges, &c., 9l. 18s. 6d." So, at the neighbouring Parish of St Edward, the Overseers in the year 1718 pay "3s. for 12 bages." At a later date—18 April, 1786—the Minister, the Churchwardens, the Overseers, and many of the parishioners of the same Parish solemnly signed their names to a vestry order, quoting at length c. 10 of the Statute 8 and 9 William III, which requires all paupers to wear a Badge.

Towards the close of the 17th century and in the early years of the 18th, workhouses were multiplied throughout England, and the number of them was augmented by the Statute of 9 Geo. I, c. 7, which enabled a parish, or combined parishes, to establish such institutions. Accordingly we find certain parochial workhouses erected in Cambridge at about this period. In March, 1733, for instance, St Edward's and St Mary's-the-Less, for economy's sake, joined in a common workhouse.

On various occasions, also, it was proposed to build a Public Workhouse. Thus in November, 1727, a municipal order was issued that the Mayor and Aldermen should meet to consider the question of "obtaining an Act of Parliament for the erecting and establishing a public Workhouse in this Town." Again, at the end of the year 1750, Alderman Yorke proposed the building of a public Workhouse; and the scheme was urged in the Chevin Sermon at Great St Andrew's Church on 27th January following. The preacher was the vicar of that Church, the Rev. John Mickleborough, a Fellow of Corpus Christi College and Professor of Chemistry. Some of the reverend gentleman's language was so vigorous as to be unquotable now-a-days. The sermon¹, however, was published by request; and the scheme (or rather a revised edition by the Vice-Chancellor) was soon afterwards discussed at a meeting of the Town

¹ "The Great Duty of Labour and Work, and the Necessity there is at present for agreeing and fixing upon some Plan for A General Workhouse, for the Poor of this Place; urged and illustrated in a Sermon preached before the Corporation of Cambridge, in the Parish Church of St Andrew the Great, Jan^y. 27, A.D. 1750, 1, and published at the request of the Audience, by John Mickleborough, B.D., Minister of the Parish. Cambridge: Printed by J. Bentham, Printer to the University, M.DCC.LI." 8vo. Cooper, *Annals*, iv, 283; Bowes, *Catalogue of Cambridge Books*, p. 129.



Hobson's Workhouse, or The Spinning House, in St Andrew's Street,
now replaced by the Borough Police Station



St Andrew's-the-Great Workhouse (St Andrew's Hill, St Tibb's Row)

Council. The different parishes considered the question at Vestry Gatherings. Great St Mary's was against the plan "for the present"; St Edward's passed a resolution that its parishioners were

"willing to promote a Public Workhouse If the persons to be deputed by each Parish have an equal power to hold Courts and transact other Business in common with the Governors and other Guardians appointed and the plan or sketch of an Act of Parliament when laid before them are in other respects approved off."

Again, however, the scheme fell through.

And the several Parish Workhouses went on (as will be seen) with their differing methods and with their increasing cost. Efforts were again and again made to lessen the expenses and to remedy defects. Later on select vestries were adopted, and various methods tried. But no real reforms were introduced until the national movement after the Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners of 1834.

CHAPTER III.

HOBSON'S WORKHOUSE, OR THE SPINNING HOUSE.

The Workhouse, or Spinning House, founded by the celebrated Thomas Hobson, has already been referred to in the preceding chapter; but it has loomed so large in the history of our town and University that a separate section must be devoted to the consideration thereof.

"By indenture of feoffment¹, dated 30th July, 1628, under livery of seisin indorsed, inrolled in Chancery, made between Thomas Hobson of the one part, and five persons, described as privileged of the University of Cambridge, and named by the then vice-chancellor, and six other persons, described as of the Town of Cambridge, and named by the then mayor, of the other part, in acknowledgment of God's mercies and blessings upon his labours, and in testimony of his earnest and fervent wish to do good to the poor of the University and town, and to the intent that the poor part of the said University and town, wanting means to live upon and settle themselves in some honest calling, might thereafter be employed

¹ See *The Report of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities*, 1838, p. 24.

and set to work, and brought up and instructed in some trade or occupation; and thereby not only be enabled to live of themselves, but, by their labours, become profitable members of the commonwealth, and helpful to others among whom they should live; and in consideration that there were then at the only care, costs and charges of the chancellor, masters and scholars of the University, and the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses, in a great part, erected and builded upon the property included in the said indenture, divers buildings and houses, intended only for the benefit and employment of the poorer sort of people of the said university and town; the said Thomas Hobson conveyed unto the parties of the second part, and their heirs, a messuage and tenement, dove-house, and site of a dove-house, a barn, and all houses and edifices then built upon the farms, gardens, curtilages, courts and grounds thereunto belonging, with all their appurtenances, in the parish of St Andrew, without Barnwell-gate, in Cambridge, upon trust, that they, their heirs and assigns, with the assistance of the chancellor, masters and scholars of the university, and the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses of the town and their successors, respectively, should, within the space of four years, build, erect and finish, one or more convenient house or houses upon the premises, as well for setting the poor people of the said university and town to work, as for a house of correction for unruly and stubborn rogues, beggars and other poor persons, who should refuse to work; and also, in convenient time, should provide a sufficient stock of wool and flax and other materials, for setting of the said poor people of the said university and town to work; and should, from time to time thereafter, well and sufficiently maintain and repair the said houses, to be by them erected, and all other the premises, and so of the same and every part thereof; and all rents and profits arising from the same, for and towards the uses aforesaid. With a clause of re-entry to the grantor and his heirs, in case of misemployment of the premises, and a provision, that so often as it should happen that any eight of the trustees should die, that then, within the space of five months, the survivors should, upon request of the university and corporation, or either of them, or of the vice-chancellor or mayor for the time being, or of either of them, and at the costs and charges of the corporation, convey the premises to twelve other persons, and their heirs, six whereof to be named by the university, or vice-chancellor for the time being, and the other six by the corporation, or mayor for the time being, only upon the same trusts."

Before the details of this grant are dwelt upon, it may be convenient to refer to the augmentations¹ made to the charity. Thomas Hobson, himself, by a codicil made to his will, dated

¹ *Charity Commissioners' Report, u.s.*, pp. 24 and 25; *Cooper's Annals*, iii, p. 235, and under various dates.

1st January, 1630, gave the sum of £100 to purchase lands or tenements, the rents whereof should increase the value of the workhouse.

The residue (amounting to about £500) of the contributions for the relief of the poor during the dreadful pestilence of the year 1631 was, as already stated, by royal permit, devoted to the workhouse, and a stock for the same.

These moneys were invested in estates situated in Cottenham, Over and Willingham.

Roger Thompson, by will dated 2nd December, 1642, bequeathed £200 in augmentation of this charity. The dispute which occurred as to the payment of this bequest must not here be referred to; it needs only be stated that the money was, in 1646, invested in an estate at Westwick.

Further augmentations were received: £100 by the will of George Griffith, M.A., dated 5th December, 1686, and £50 from Dr James, president of Queens', early in the eighteenth century.

Mr John Bowtell, among his benefactions, left (under his will, 22nd September, 1813) £500 to the trustees of this workhouse, for the purpose of apprenticing poor boys, natives of Cambridge.

We turn back to remark upon Hobson's foundation. It will have been noticed that the indenture refers to "divers buildings and houses, intended only for the benefit and employment of the poor" *already* "in a great part erected and built upon the property thereafter conveyed." The trustees are required "to erect and finish one or more convenient house or houses upon the premises, as well for setting the poor people to work, as for an house of correction" for rogues and idlers. We learn from the town records that the corporation shortly afterwards allotted certain small local sums "to the use of the House of Correction *then building*." Thus the scheme was soon put into operation. The working thereof may be noted from such extracts as the following from the Workhouse Minute Books¹:

"Sept. 22, 1675. It is this day ordered and agreed by Edmond Baldero, D.D., vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge and James

¹ The writer thanks the Town Clerk and Mr Musgrave Francis for courtesy in connexion with the books of Hobson's Trust; but volumes A, B, and C are

Robson, gent., maior of the town of Cambridge, with the advise of their assistants, whose names are hereunder subscribed, being then and there presente, that John Tomasin of Cambridge aforesaid, worstead-weaver, shall be master and governor of the workhouse and house of correction belonging to the saide towne of Cambridge, for the space of seaven yeares, from the five and twentieth day of March last past, and have thirty pounds yearly to be paid him by the treasurer of the rents and profitts of the workhouse at equall quarterly payments; and be freed from all rates taxes and harth money, dureing the said terme.

Provided allwayes that the said John Tomasin, or his deputy, doe constantly, dureing all the said terme, provide wooll for the combers of the said towne not exceeding the number of five, and spinning and weaving worke for all the weavers of this towne and all the poore people of this towne, and the liberties of the same, that come and desire weaving and spinning worke of him or his deputie dureing all the said terme and duly and honestly pay them for their worke at the usuall rates and prices as usually are paid by others: And provide a sufficiente deputie to keepe the house of correction and hempe to beate and doe and performe all such things as shall be required by any justice of the peace of this towne for setting poore people on worke and punishing of idle and lewd persons that shall be sent thither and mainteyne and keepe all the houses belonging to the workehouse and house of correction in good and sufficient repaire with all manner of reparacions dureing all the said terme: and in the end thereof, leave them in good and sufficient repaire and deliver up all such goods and utensells as belong to the workehouse and house of correction, otherwise his salary to be withdrawne, and this order to be void and of none effect.

EDM. BALDERO, Procan.
RO. KING,
EDW. STOYTE,
RO. MURIELL,

JAMES ROBSON, maior.
NATHANIEL CRABBE,
EDW. LAW,
SAM^L NEWTON."

The first three Minute Books of the Workhouse are unfortunately missing; but the above extract is preserved in Bowtell's *MSS.*¹; where also may be seen a "List of the Governours or Keepers of the Workhouse" from 1670 to 1809, as well as the names of the Treasurers for the same period. The latter includes the names of some well-known citizens of the borough. Several of the keepers are described as "woolcombers" now missing. Bowtell and Cooper, however, have fortunately made certain quotations from them.

¹ See Bowtell's *MSS.*, vol. vii, pp. 2591 etc. (The writer desires to thank Dr Green, the Librarian of Downing College, for his courtesy.) See also Cooper, *Annals*, iii, 569.

and "worstedweavers." These governors were generally allowed a certain sum of stock, at first paying interest thereon; but in 1676, the keeper was granted £100 stock *gratis*, and the sum was increased later on. Another extract from the Workhouse Books¹ may further illustrate these arrangements:

"Town of Cambridge. At the workhouse in the said town the 30th January, 1732. It is this day agreed and ordered by Charles Morgan D.D. Vice Chancellor of the University of Cambridge and Samuel Belcher Mayor of the said Town of Cambridge, with the advice of their Assistants whose names are hereunto set, that Joseph Halstead of Cambridge Apothecary shall be Governor of the Workhouse and House of Correction belonging to the said Town of Cambridge for the space of 3 years from the date hereof, and to have a salary of £30 yearly during the said term, to be paid by the treasurer of the rents and profits of the said workhouse at equal quarterly payments, and to be freed of all manner of rates during the said term. Provided always that the said Joseph Halstead or his deputy do constantly during all the said term provide wool for the combers of the said town not-exceeding the number of five, and spinning and weaving work for all the spinners and weavers, and all the poor of the said town and liberties thereof that shall come and desire work of him or his deputy during all the said term, and duly and honestly pay them for their work at the rates and prices that are usually paid by others, and provide a sufficient deputy to keep the House of Correction, and hemp to beat, and do and perform all things as shall be required by any Justice of the Peace of the said town, for setting the poor to work and punishing of lewd and idle persons, and maintain and keep all the windows usually glazed with sufficient glass and glazing, and in the end of the said term deliver up all such goods and utensils as do properly belong to the said Workhouse and House of Correction, otherwise his said salary to be withdrawn and this order to be void and of none effect. And moreover it is ordered that the said Joseph Halstead shall continue the £200 of the workhouse money for a year, paying £4 for £100 thereof, he giving bonds for the same with John Halstead his security, and likewise to give the same security to the Mayor and Aldermen of this Town for the twenty pounds given by Dr James.

C. MORGAN, Vice Chancellor,
SAM^l. BELCHER, Mayor,
JO. KETTLE,

CHESTER PERN,
JOHN CARRINGTON,
JAMES WHISKIN."

It may be added that as late as the year 1808², wool and flax and other materials for setting the poor to work were actually kept in the Spinning House.

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, iv, 212, 213.

² *Charity Commissioners' Report*, 1838, p. 27.

There has at times been disputing as to whom the management of the institution belonged. Cole, in one of his MSS.¹, writes :

"The Justices of the Peace for the Town and County have taken upon themselves the direction of the premises ; founding this claim upon the Statute which gives them the care of Workhouses erected by order of the Quarter Sessions. Whereas, this is a special charity, the management of which is in the Vice-Chancellor and Mayor by the original settlement."

As to the buildings themselves, Carter, in the *History of the County*², which he commenced in the middle of the eighteenth century, wrote :

"The Bridewell (called by the inhabitants the Spinning-House) is pleasantly situated near the fields at the south end of the parish of Great St Andrew's, and is chiefly used for the confinement of such lewd women as the Proctors apprehend in houses of ill fame ; though sometimes the Corporation send small offenders thither, and the crier of the town is often there to discipline³ the ladies of pleasure with his whip."

The *Gentleman's Magazine*⁴, under date 1802, has the following detailed account :

"Cambridge Town Bridewell, Samuel Barker Keeper, is a square building surrounded by a boundary-wall of 15 feet high and about 5 feet from the prison ; was originally bought and endowed for the encouragement of wool-combers and spinners of this town. The basis of the institution was a legacy of the famous carrier Thomas Hobson, who died in 1630. To answer the intention, the keeper is a wool-comber. He employs not only several hands upon the foundation of the charity, but many others : among them his prisoners. His salary is paid out of the charity, 30*l.* and from the University 5*l.* No fees. Allowance, town prisoners, 6*d.* a day. The vice-chancellor's prisoners have 4*d.* a day and 6*d.* on Sunday ; they are likewise allowed firing in the winter. Each cell has a mattress, two blankets, and a rug. For men there are three cells at the entrance, each 9 feet by 7½, and near 8 feet high, with straw on the

¹ *Addl. MSS.* (British Museum), 5813, p. 329 b.

² Carter, *History of the County of Cambridge*, p. 19 ; Cooper, *Annals*, iv, 274.

³ Cooper quotes from the disbursements of the Treasurer of Hobson's Workhouse (28 Sept. 1748 to 27 Sept. 1749) the following charges by Horner Johnson the Town Crier : "Paid Horner Johnson by order of Mr Vice-Chancellor for whipping ten women, 10*s.*" (*Annals*, iv, 274 n.) It is to be hoped that the punishments were given somewhat after the fashion so amusingly described by Cowper, in one of his letters from Olney dated Nov. 17th, 1783.

⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxiv, 897 ; Cooper, *Annals*, v, 527.

floor. A tub serves the purpose of a necessary in these cells. They are ventilated by an iron grating over each door, which has an aperture about 6 inches square. For women there are ten cells, the same size as the men's, and four court-yards with a privy in each. There is only one pump in the prison. Many of the cells are out of repair, and the whole prison very dirty. Surgeon, for the University prisoners, Mr Tinney, and for the Town prisoners, Mr Bond; salary none, make a bill. Employment, spinning. Prisoners have the whole of their earnings. Neither the act for the preservation of health, nor clauses against spirituous liquors hung up. Prisoner, August 7, 1802, one."

The Charity Commissioners, in their Report¹ of 1838, say that

"the Workhouse, which is commonly called by the name of the Spinning-house, is a large building in good repair, fit for the reception of about 60 persons."

The Report goes on to state (as quoted above) that, as late as the year 1808, wool, flax, etc., for setting the poor to work, were actually kept in the Spinning House.

"Previous, however, to this year, (the Commissioners continue) the principal use to which the building had been applied was a receptacle for profligate and disorderly women, &c., committed by the vice-chancellor, their maintenance being paid by the University. It is also used for the reception of persons sent by the Mendicity Society of Cambridge so long as it existed; and vagrants not belonging to the town or university were sent there, relieved and discharged. Those committed by the mayor and magistrates were kept there for one night, and forwarded to their parishes in the morning, the expense of their maintenance being paid out of the town rates. Since 1807, the house has been wholly used for these purposes, and the inmates are allowed to remain there in a state of complete idleness."

Large sums of money were expended in 1812 and in 1821 in repairing and enlarging the buildings.

The Commissioners commented somewhat severely upon the salaries paid to some of the officials, and upon the management of certain parts of the charity.

Similar complaints had been previously made by some prominent citizens, and information, at their relation, had been laid by the Attorney-General against the University, the Corporation and others, relative to the above charges and use

¹ Report, u.s., p. 27.

of the money bequeathed by Mr Bowtell for apprenticeships. The Master of the Rolls¹ in 1837 made a decree greatly in favour of the views put forth by the complainants.

Some years later, in 1852, a successor² of this judge

“made an order for winding up the long pending suit in Chancery, respecting Hobson’s Workhouse Charity, and sanctioning a scheme for the future application of the Spinning House, and of the rents and income of the estates, and for the general management of the affairs of that charity.”

The premises were thereby divided between the authorities of the University and of the Town; but it is not necessary here to enter into details of the separation, nor to refer to the future history of the Spinning House, nor to the curious academic jurisdiction and to the lapse thereof.

CHAPTER IV.

CAMBRIDGE PARISH WORKHOUSES.

In this chapter, the old Parish Workhouses of Cambridge are dealt with separately, taking them in alphabetical order. By the courtesy of the Incumbents and Churchwardens almost all the existing Churchwardens’ and Overseers’ Books have been gone through, and extracts relating to the poor and to the Workhouses have been made. To these have been added notices culled from many different sources.

1. *All Saints’ Parish.*

The older Vestry Books of this parish are unfortunately lost; and the first entry, which the present writer has found, bearing upon the question of the poor and the workhouse, is a payment in the year 1773 of £1. 11s. 6d. for Window Lights. The annual sum for this Tax was increased to £2. 13s. 0d. in 1776.

Sometimes in the Burial Registers, after the name of a deceased person the word “Pauper” is written. One such

¹ Lord Langdale; Cooper, *Annals*, iv, 609.

² Sir John Romilly; *Annals*, v, 70.

pathetic entry may be instanced—that of “Judith Lyons.” This unfortunate lady was the daughter of Israel Lyons, a Polish Jew, who had a silversmith’s shop in Regent’s Walk, until the houses in that important street were pulled down to open up the Senate House Yard. Mr Lyons was also a teacher of Hebrew, and the author of several books on that language. A son of his of the same name acquired considerable distinction by his learning and attainments; but his daughter Judith (we are told) “although a sensible and ingenious woman, took to the mean practice of fortune-telling, and died a pauper in All Saints’ Parish,” where she was buried on April 21st, 1795.

We shall see afterwards that the Workhouse stood in a yard behind what are now Messrs Eaden Lilley’s premises, 38 Sidney Street, and there is reason to think that this had been the site of the Poorhouse for a long period; but there had been also a rope-walk, in a close (apparently) in Jesus Lane, for the employment of the able-bodied paupers. This business, however, was given up in April, 1807, and the stock in trade was advertised for sale. At the same date, a Mr John Walker “proposed to the Parish to take the poor that may come into the Workhouse at 4s. per head per week, finding board, washing, mending, fire and candles; the said John Walker to have the labour of the persons that may be in Workhouse.” This proposition was agreed to. In August of the same year, the same tradesman “hired of the Parish officers two rooms over the Workhouse kitchen, with the yard and shed at the rent of £5, keeping it in repair. Mrs Gordon to have the smaller tenement in the Poor’s Yard...£3.” Two years later, Mr Walker is offered the services not only of the men, but also of the women paupers. “In case he cannot employ them, the overseer for the time being is to get spinning wheels and set them to work.”

We find the names of several of the Workhouse Masters and Mistresses (or Governors and Governesses) recorded, together with the amount of their allowances. Thus, in 1809, a governor (bearing a name still well-known in All Saints’ parish) “is to have the care of the Poor and the Poor House and shall be allowed as follows, viz.—3s. 6d. per week for each person in the

said house and $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ each per week for beer, and the Parish expect that the Poor shall be supplied with good and wholesome food under the superintendence of the officers. The Parish allows in addition to the above the following extras for the Mistress, $3s. 6d.$ per week and $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ for beer—also 4 bushels of coals per week from Oct. 1st to June 1st, and then to Oct. 1st. 2 bushels per week; also 1 lb. candles per week and soap at the discretion of the officers."

Various rules and regulations are recorded in the Vestry Books, of which the following may be quoted:

"Ordered that the Poor in the Workhouse be directed to attend Church every Sunday except one who is left at home to take care of the House";

"No Parish wedding to be made up without consent of a vestry publickly called";

A certain parishioner is to "be allowed to lodge in the Workhouse, but he is to find himself with board out of his earnings."

In our first chapter, attention has been drawn to excessive increase in the Poor Rates towards the end of the eighteenth, and the early part of the nineteenth century. This may be illustrated from the Vestry Books of the Parish with which we are now dealing. "It was unanimously agreed" (at a parochial gathering on January 2nd, 1811)

"that some alteration is needfull at the Workhouse in order to take some of those that have their rents paid out in the town, it is therefore agreed that the officers for the time being may have full power to make the needful alterations."

The parish books of the overseers and other parish officers shew the extent to which the rates were drawn upon. This may be illustrated by quoting details under date 1831—the census year before the reforms:

In the parish of All Saints, the Government returns inform us that there were 200 inhabited houses, with 226 families including 1422 individuals. The parish books speak of 214 being rated, while 41 were excused through poverty, etc. The rental is reckoned at £2291. 5s. 0d. The disbursements are given as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Out Poor (about 50)	238	19	3
In the House (about 14)	83	14	2½
Illegitimate children (about 16) ...	88	17	9
Extra payments (to about 30 persons)	300	4	8½
High Constable's rate... ..	119	13	1
[Church rate	85	18	9¾]
Making a total of	£917	7	9¾

In some other years the rates were even heavier than this.

We turn to the Workhouse itself. This building had in 1824 become very ruinous; and a series of proposals was made in this and subsequent years to build a New Poorhouse, or to reconstruct the old building. It is difficult from the parish books to make out what plan was actually adopted; but apparently the house was repaired and enlarged. At the formation of the central Union, and before the erection of the Mill Road Workhouse, the All Saints' Poorhouse was for two or three years used as a residence for able-bodied men and women with infants. In 1839 at a Vestry Meeting it was resolved to let the building to the highest bidder (Mr Elijah Watts) for seven years; and in 1846, the house was again let at £20 per annum for 14 years; the lease being renewed in 1860. Five years later, it was resolved to sell the building, which was purchased by Mr Bulstrode for £700. At the auction in 1839 (or rather Sept. 24, 1838), it is described in the *Cambridge Chronicle* as

"a Brick and Slate Dwelling House, with 8 Rooms, and a Kitchen under; with a yard and shed; situated in Sidney Street."

When it was sold in 1865, the notice speaks of

"a messuage, with the yard and premises thereunto belonging, situated behind a Public House heretofore known by the name of *the Little Black Bull* and now called *the Vine* in Sidney Street."

There was a right of way through the passage adjoining the public house and the dwelling formerly occupied by Mr Page, a carrier.

2. *St Andrew's-the-Great Parish.*

The first allusion to a Workhouse in the parish books of St Andrew-the-Great is, as far as the present writer is aware, under date May 5th, 1756; where "several Tenements (late in the occupation of Cowley and other persons) are to be hired from Mr William Cotton for a Parish Workhouse," and certain repairs are ordered.

In the year 1791, a piece of ground was secured from Corpus Christi College on a long lease for the purpose of erecting a Poorhouse thereon; but, though this site was retained for nearly 20 years, the proposal was not carried out. Nor was another proposition in 1794 to build upon some waste ground adjoining Parker's Piece.

There are various other suggestions made in subsequent years; but nothing seems to have been carried out until 1829 when we have a record of £200 borrowed for a *new* Poorhouse. This was apparently the building which will be described later on and which still stands on St Andrew's Hill; and this may have been on the site of the old Workhouse.

Meantime there are various allusions in the Vestry Books to the parish conduct of pauper affairs; such as the appointment of the governor of the Workhouse. For instance in 1815 Mrs Rice was removed from the post of governess, and Mr and Mrs James Radford were substituted,

"at 3s. 6d. a week for every person in the House, except infants sucking at the breast, and 1s. a week for children."

At a Vestry Meeting held on June 29th, three years later,

"it was agreed that the said James Radford should give in a Proposal to Farm the Poor in St Andrew's Workhouse by this day week upon such Terms as no other Bills for Provision or Firing to be paid by the Parish... it is understood that the Poor be well kept."

We find a similar entry in "the Select Vestry Book" under date March 5th, 1824, when,

"on the resignation of Philip Watson, Charles Haycock and his wife were elected Governor and Governess of the Parish Workhouse."

It was noted that

"the said Charles Haycock has accepted the office, and to Farm the Poor in the House, and to provide wholesome and sufficient Food and every article of Consumption at 3s. 6d. per head per week."

It will be noticed that the title of the book from which this last quotation is taken shews that the parish had availed itself of an Act recently carried through Parliament by Mr Sturges Bourne—59 Geo. III, c. 12—commonly known as "the Select Vestry Act"; under which the Vicar, the two churchwardens, the four overseers, and 20 other parishioners were chosen as "a select vestry."

We may quote as illustrations of the management of the Workhouse the following resolutions:

"It appearing to the Parishioners this day assembled (April 23rd, 1815) that the Consumption of Small Beer in the Poor House exceeded all discretion. Ordered that no Small Beer be in future supplied except by a written order from Mr Rooke (the Vestry Clerk) and that the Quantity so supplied do not exceed 1 Quart per diem for each pauper. Ordered also that Mr Mason be requested to explain why a greater sum per Barrell has been by him charged to the Parish for Small Beer than has been usually charged for the same article heretofore."

Again, on January 2nd, 1827, the Select Vestry ordered that a certain

"drunken workhouse pauper be confined to the House for a month."

The state of the rates, etc. in this parish may be seen from the following details as to the year 1821: when the Census shews that there were 272 inhabited houses, one uninhabited and one building; there were 321 families, with 1267 individuals. The workhouse contained 23 inmates and 58 parishioners were "out-paupers." The disbursements for the year (ending Lady-day term, 1821) amounted to over £1115, which were met by a Poor Rate of about 3s. in the £, by a contribution of £27 from the University, by certain other out-parish payments, and by a small income from the paupers' work. In addition to the Poor Rate, there were somewhat heavy rates for the Church, the High Constable and the Surveyor.

At the amalgamation in 1836, the workhouse of St Andrew-the-Great was used for the reception of (about 30) married

couples and aged women. The building was put up by the guardians of the Cambridge Union, for sale by auction, on October 3rd, 1838, when it was bought by Mr Geo. Waters, a shoeing smith, whose son a veterinary surgeon, then a young man of 20, still survives with memories of the neighbourhood. The building is described, in the advertisement, as standing on St Andrew's Hill, abutting on the Cattle Market, with a large frontage in the Red Lion Yard. In the Workhouse Book, it is said to consist of Brick and Slate Premises, containing a Sitting Room, a large Hall, a back Kitchen, a good Cellar, a Yard, a Pump of good water, and 12 good Bedrooms. It is stated to have a frontage of 89 feet and to have been built within a few years.

Though Mr Waters made certain alterations, the general character of the old institution may still be noted. The building has passed into the hands of Jesus and Emmanuel Colleges, who have adjacent property fronting on St Andrew's Street. The Corporation has made efforts to purchase the premises; but the negotiations have hitherto fallen through.

3. *St Andrew's-the-Less Parish.*

The old parochial books of this parish are unfortunately lost¹ or mislaid; consequently the writer cannot fall back upon written records. On the other hand it is interesting to know that the Workhouse² still stands, with its large rooms inside, and with its curious figures and gargoyles on the exterior walls. Its site appears on Baker's *Map of Cambridge* (1830), where it is marked at the end of the north part of what is now called Norfolk Street, but was then known as Workhouse Lane. The building is now described as "8 and 9 Staffordshire Gardens."

¹ With the exception of a few Certificates and Magistrates' Orders.

² The Workhouse, which formerly stood at the other end of Staffordshire Place, and belonged to the Parishes of Holy Sepulchre and Little St Mary (see p. 121), although it was situated in Barnwell, must not be confused with the Workhouse for St Andrew's-the-Less parish, which is dealt with in this section.



St Andrew's-the-Less Workhouse (now 8 and 9 Staffordshire Gardens)



St Clement's Workhouse (back view, in St Peter's Street)

It will be seen in the next section that St Bene't's parish hired part of this Workhouse from the year 1823 to 1836.

When the central Union was formed in 1836, this Workhouse was altered to a certain extent, and used for the reception of girls and boys (to the number of about 46). After their removal to the new building in Mill Road, the St Andrew's-the-Less Poorhouse was offered for sale "by the Surveyors of the Parish" on Oct. 9th, 1838; when it is described as "erected but a few years since." The advertisement also announces the sale of the "adjacent Piece of Ground, formerly used as the Parish Gravel Pit, presenting frontages towards Norfolk Street of 330 feet."

The interesting house in Staffordshire Gardens is now inhabited by a venerable and intelligent old lady, who carries her 94 years with much vivacity. She knew the place well in her childhood, and she laughingly remarks that she has come to die in "the Workhouse." She remembers Mr and Mrs Arnold, the former master and mistress of the institution, who used to allow her and a few children living in Covent Garden¹ to play with the pauper boys and girls after they had finished "their work." As she says there were only about five of them, she must of course be referring to the Workhouse before 1836. She asserts that the building was erected "for the purpose," and that it was larger than other workhouses² (some of which were only altered cottages). She thinks that it was used "for several parishes"; and we have seen that St Benedict's hired rooms therein.

An old inmate of the Albert Almshouses remembers that services were at one time held in this Workhouse by various clergy; he himself often attended these gatherings.

¹ The old lady, going from Covent Garden to Staffordshire Gardens, "used to cross the Cricket Ground where the Cemetery now is, passing the Chapel of Ease," which formerly stood on the St Paul's Burying Ground.

² She also remembers "the St. Clement's Workhouse [still standing, see p. 106] opposite the Castle—where she used to see people hanged." She also recalls a Workhouse in Shelly Row [St Peter's, see p. 120], and another in Slaughterhouse Lane [now Corn Exchange Street]; either St Edward's or Great St Mary's (see pp. 107 and 114), she does not know which; nor does she remember that there were two Poorhouses in that Lane.

It should be added, that there were formerly four cottages near the Newmarket Road end of Coldham Lane, which were the property of the parish of St Andrew-the-Less; the rents thereof being paid over to the Cambridge Union authorities, until the ruinous state of the buildings compelled their demolition. There was formerly a tablet on the front of one of these cottages, the inscription on which is said to have finished with the names of certain overseers. When the materials were sold in 1895, an order of the Local Government Board was issued for the letting of the site of "the St Andrew's Parish *Workhouse*" (*sic*); and in the correspondence¹ in connexion with the transactions the buildings are once or twice called "the Poorhouse" or "Workhouse." But these expressions seem to have been used inadvertently, and perhaps to have arisen from the fact that this property—parish property—was dealt with under the Act for facilitation of the sale of Workhouses (5 and 6 William IV).

4. *St Benedict's Parish.*

From the year 1823 till the Union of 1836, this parish hired a part of the Workhouse of St Andrew-the-Less, which, as we have seen, was situated in Staffordshire Gardens. Previously to 1823, for at least a century St Bene't's had a Poorhouse, which according to tradition stood in a *cul-de-sac*, called Prime's Court, running out of Trumpington Street, a little to the south of Addenbrooke's Hospital.

Parish books, preserved in the Vestry, dating from 1721, give details of the Poor Rates year by year, and of disbursements², and contain allusions to the Workhouse. From the year 1736 onwards the expenditure is omitted, and reference is made to *the Workhouse Book*; but this volume is apparently lost. In the books of "Vestry Orders," there are, however, occasionally various details as to pauper affairs. For instance, in

¹ The writer thanks Mr Congreve, the clerk to the Board of Guardians, for much courteous help in connexion with this and other matters relating to the records of the Cambridge Union.

² Among the payments recorded in the year 1731 is one for "Badges," evidently to be worn by paupers.

1805, there is the record of a dispute as to pauper patients at Addenbrooke's being counted as parishioners of St Bene't's; and in the same year a plan was proposed for employing the children of the poor. In these books, as so frequently in those of other parishes, there are many disputes as to the settlements of paupers; thus, in 1810, a widow and her family removed on an order from St Edward's to St Bene't's; whereupon this parish appealed, and gained its point. "St Edward's then granted a *certificate* to Benet Parish, to enable the family to continue to reside in the latter parish."

An entry, dated 30 Dec. 1816, records the rate of wages to be paid to the labouring poor when at work for the parish; and on the same day it was thought

"advisable to purchase a piece of Gravell Land by Subscription for the purpose of employing the poor men of this parish as occasion may require";

but the subject was adjourned to "a futcher (*sic*) Vestry Meeting."

In Sept. 1823, it was almost decided to convert six tenements in the parish of St Andrew-the-Less into a Workhouse; but later in that month,

"after conference with the officers of that parish, the latter agreed to take in¹ not more than 25 paupers for the annual payments of not less than £25—to be treated as their own poor; Benet parish to find their own utensils, bedding, &c.; with six months' notice on either side."

This arrangement was agreed to by the two parishes.

Mr Gilbert Ives, a generous benefactor of the parish, soon afterwards gave a piece of land on East Road for the erection of a Poorhouse; but the building was never erected; for the officers of St Andrew-the-Less agreed (though it was not till the year 1831)

"to take £5 a year less out of the rent now paid them, upon the ground that nothing like the accommodation for paupers had been required which was contemplated when the contract was originally made."

¹ It is not certain that these paupers were welcomed in the St Andrew-the-Less Workhouse; for we find soon afterwards that one of the St Bene't's inmates was sent to jail for striking Mr Arnold the Governor.

At the Census of 1831, the parish of St Bene't contained 146 houses, with 172 families and a total of 964 individuals.

5. *St Botolph's Parish.*

The old Parish Books of St Botolph's contain frequent and curious allusions to the expenses in connexion with the maintenance of the poor, both those in the Workhouse and those "out-paid." We are not told where the Poorhouse was situated; but, under the years 1739 and 1747, there are very elaborate and detailed *Inventories*¹ of the goods in that building, which contained 16 inmates in 1741, and 9 in 1750. How paupers were differently located is illustrated by three entries in the year 1758; when we are told that a lunatic pauper named Benjamin Fisher had formerly been kept on behalf of the parish by his brother; how later on 3s. was paid for *straw* for him in the Workhouse; and how again subsequently an order was obtained for his "going to Bethlehem." There are other payments recorded for parishioners attending to relatives, even for children waiting on parents. Another aspect of parish affairs may be noted from the following disbursement in January 1756: "paied for beer att Mr Smith's att a meeting of ye offesers on acount of Mary tucks basterd...4s." The officers got rid of their responsibility for this poor woman later on by securing her marriage, at an expense of £4. 7s. 1½*d.* More quotable records—occurring at an earlier date—are "one pare of patins for Rebecca Reynolds...00.00.10*d.*"; and "to Mr Walton for curing my Lord Toms Legg, 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*"; "my Lord Tom" was a pauper, named Thomas Whybrow, who figures on various occasions.

It may be added that the total Poor Rate in 1771 amounted to nearly £136, and in the following year to £163.

As remarked above, the earlier site of the Workhouse is not known; in 1806 a building was hired of Mr Beales in Black Lion Yard; while a little later a house², then standing in the

¹ The former of these is printed in Appendix II. It may be noted that the goods of paupers were sometimes taken into the Workhouse; on the other hand, the overseers sometimes furnished rooms for an "out-pauper."

² This Workhouse is marked on a plan, dated 1823, hanging on the staircase

N.E. corner of St Botolph Churchyard, was used, the rent for which was paid to Corpus Christi College. This building must have been pulled down when the New Court of that College was erected.

From 1824 to 1836, as we learn from the books of the two parishes, an agreement was made between St Botolph's and St Giles's for the reception in the Workhouse of the latter of not more than 10 persons at £20 per annum (not including lunatics or infectious persons). Later on the yearly contribution was reduced to £16. Certain special payments were also made; such as the salary to the barber for shaving at the Workhouse...6s. 6d. per quarter.

St Botolph's parish, which gave up its share in St Giles's Workhouse on July 7th, 1836, welcomed the Union reforms of that year.

6. *St Clement's Parish.*

The Rate Books of St Clement's seem to imply that, up to the end of the eighteenth century, there was more than one "Parish House" or "Poor House" in this parish. Thus an entry in 1790 runs as follows: "pd. the Constable for takeing up a Person who was in one of our Parishes Houses and haveing her to the Spinning House...9d."; and there are several records of small sums paid for "quit rents for Poor Houses," etc. In the year 1799, however, we read of "the workhouse," which is apparently identical with "the Castle End Estate," the insurance money for which is regularly paid from the beginning of the nineteenth century. This refers to a house, still standing opposite the Castle, which was used as the Poorhouse for St Clement's parish until the reforms of 1836. This building, though altered on the Castle Street front for business purposes, has curious and large rooms, attics and cellars, and a quaint and interesting yard and back premises¹ towards St Peter's Street.

of the Library of Corpus Christi College. (See Willis and Clark's *Architectural History*, vol. i, p. 250, and the plan in vol. v.)

¹ There were formerly two small houses in this yard—where, by the by, gipsies formerly used to put up their caravans.

Some of the entries in the old Rate Books are remarkable: "Pd. for a Comb for the Poor...3d." only occurs in one place, in the year 1809, but it may be hoped that similar expenditure is hidden in larger items. "Pd. for Rat Poison...1l. 1s. 0d." is a suggestively large payment in 1811. An often recurring and sad question is alluded to in the following expenditure, in 1826, with regard to a troublesome family, several members of which were at times sent to prison: "Pd. Hanah Molyneux her marriage fees by which we got rid of her...5s." The same lamentable state of affairs is thus expressed in another entry, three years later: "Marriage Present and Fees to Widow Arnold by which we got rid of her being in the family way... 4l. 14s. 6d."

Naturally the rates were heavy in this parish. In the year 1831, for instance, the Poor Rate alone amounted to 11s. in the £, not to mention the High Constable's Rate and other levies. The disbursements in connexion with the poor totalled over £733, including the expenses of about 10 in-door and 40 out-door paupers, relief being also on many occasions doled out to about 60 others of the parishioners, who altogether only comprised 183 families. Complaint was also made that the assessments were not fairly made; one of the overseers in 1833 made the following comment in the Rate Book—

"Compare," he said, the houses of some of the better-to-do parishioners and their valuation, "with the Wretched Miserable Places for they can't scarcely be called Houses or Tenements and see that they (the latter) are Rated past the Skin they are Rated up to the Back Bone. If it does not cause an Equality it ought to do. It will have my best wishes," he concludes.

At the constitution of the Cambridge Poor Law Union, the St Clement's Workhouse property "situated in the parish of St Giles's" was not disposed of for some few years. Eventually, however, it was sold to St John's College, who are still the owners of the interesting old house on Castle Hill.

7. *St Edward's Parish.*

Early entries in the Overseers' Accounts of St Edward's suggest that there was a Poorhouse in that parish at the

beginning of the eighteenth century; and various details are given of disbursements on behalf of the poor; later on, indeed—from 1777, for many years—there was a *Memorandum Book*, containing lists of articles bought for them. In June, 1718, there is the record of a payment of three shillings “for 12 Bages”; and it may here be added that, long afterwards, on April 18th, 1786, at a special Vestry Meeting, the Minister, the Churchwardens, the overseers and an array of parishioners solemnly signed their names to a resolution agreeing

“that so much of the 8th and 9th Statute of William III be immediately put in force which saith: ‘That every Person receiving Alms of the Parish shall on the Shoulder of the Right Sleeve of the Upper Garment in an open and visible manner wear a Badge, viz., a large Roman P with the 1st letter of the Parish whereof such person is an Inhabitant cut in red or blue cloth.’”

To return to an earlier date. In March of the year 1733 it was arranged that the parishes of St Edward and Little St Mary should join in a common Workhouse for economy's sake. Whether the plan was carried out is not certain, though common payments are recorded. There seems to have been some difficulty in obtaining a suitable building; later on in the same year a house in Slaughterhouse Lane belonging to Mr Edward Holladay was negotiated for; but, in the following year, this property is found in use as a Workhouse by Great St Mary's.

Later on, payments for rent made to the Rev. Dr Walker and afterwards to Prof. Martin suggest that the Poorhouse for St Edward's was attached to the Physic, or Botanic, Garden; and, in 1746, the sum of 1s. paid “for nailing the Vine at the Workhouse” reads pleasantly. About the middle of the eighteenth century there were 12 paupers in the House and the same number “out.” At this date, the parishioners, “in Vestry,” expressed their willingness, under certain conditions, to join in promoting a Public Workhouse. The project, however, fell through.

In 1786, Mr Mortlock gave the parish notice to quit the building then used as the St Edward's Workhouse, although an offer had been made to purchase the property; which seems to be the vine-clad house above mentioned. Money was thereupon

raised by gift and loan; and in the following year, two tenements in Slaughterhouse Lane were purchased for £180 from Dr Ewin, and repaired. These buildings (which paid a quit rent to the Corporation), were probably the same which were used as the St Edward's Workhouse until the Poor Law alterations in 1836.

In the Parish books are many references to the inhabitants and to the furniture of this Institution; the names of various governors and governesses are recorded. Two inventories describe the rooms of the buildings—in which in 1787 were to be found three spinning wheels, one reel, one small wheel, etc. In 1795, £5 was granted to Mrs Hemmington,

“who had been a considerable loser in maintaining the poor, at the present allowance [apparently then, and long before, 2s. a week], in consequence of the high price of provisions. In future, she is to have 2s. 4d. per head for each person in the Workhouse.”

On May 27th, 1799, complaints having been made of the dangerous conduct of Isaac Smith, a pauper of this parish, and three medical men having signed stating that he was “deranged in his Intellects,” it was agreed to build a room in the Workhouse Yard, for the purpose of confining the said Isaac Smith, and that it should be made strong and secure, and every way proper for such a purpose.

We may pass to the Union arrangements¹ of 1836, when this building was retained for the use of *able-bodied men*, of whom about a dozen were employed in working a mill², and other labours.

In 1838, the building was advertised for sale, and was described as St Edward's Poor House, at the upper end of Slaughter House Lane (now called Corn Exchange Street), with the land or garden behind—48 feet long by 18 feet deep—to be let by tender. Mr J. G. Bell hired the premises for 14 years at £25 per annum; but they passed to Mr William Elliston in 1839.

¹ At first the Workhouse of St Giles's parish was chosen for this purpose; but St Edward's was selected instead.

² This mill was afterwards removed to the new central Workhouse on Mill Road, but has long since been done away with; though there is still a low room there called “the Mill Hall.”

In 1860, Mr Charles Wisbey was commissioned by order of the Guardians of the Poor of the Cambridge Union to let by auction

“All those roomy Premises situate in Corn Exchange Street, comprising the White Bull Public House, Yard and Sheds, occupied by Mr Doggett; also the adjoining House and premises occupied by Mr Alfred Johnson, turner. The above (the notice stated) will be let upon an Annual Rental for 21 years from June 24th, 1860, subject to the payment of £2 2s. 0d. per annum to the Corporation of Cambridge, an acquittance of 1s., &c.”

The buildings above-mentioned were pulled down on the erection of the University Buildings (Medical Schools) erected on the west side of Corn Exchange Street; the sum of £27 being annually paid to the Guardians—as representing the old contribution of the Parish of St Edward's.

7 (note). *Jemmy Gordon.*

The name of a very eccentric and curious character is associated with the Workhouse of St Edward's Parish. Jemmy Gordon's father was Chapel Clerk of Trinity College and a man of some property; he gave his son a good classical education, and afterwards articulated him to an attorney. At the expiration of articles (says Gunning¹) he

“commenced practice in Freeschool Lane; here he led an expensive and profligate life. ‘He sang a good song, told a good story, had Horace at his fingers' ends, and was in the habit of quoting him with considerable effect.’ Though Gordon realised but little by his profession, yet as his father made him a handsome allowance, he used to give some very jovial entertainments at his own house; but his extravagance knew no bounds, and he was, after a time, under the necessity of going into cheap and obscure lodgings; for his means would not allow him to gratify his extraordinary fondness for wine and liquor.”

“He was indeed a singular character, that Jemmy Gordon, as many a generation of Cantabs can attest”—the witness in this case being Lord Lytton, in a footnote to *Pelham*², in which novel our hero figures. “His long stick and his cocked hat—and his tattered Lucretius, and his mighty eye-glass, how

¹ *Reminiscences*, by H. Gunning, M.A., p. 173.

² *Pelham*, by Lord Lytton, chap. I.

familiarly do they intermingle with our recollections of Trinity and Trumpington Streets." Dressed in this huge cocked-hat, and the tarnished uniform of a general or an admiral (for Jemmy was *not too proud* to accept any article of apparel that was occasionally given to him from an old-clothes shop)—to quote again from Gunning—he was to be heard about the streets, frequently until day-light, roaring out scraps of songs, or quoting fragments of poetry. At length the nuisance became intolerable, and Jemmy usually passed several weeks of every quarter in the Town Gaol. He occasionally earned money by "writing *themes* and *declamations* for non-reading Cantabs¹; and it is even said that some of his productions had college prizes awarded to them."

"He, to save from rustication
Crammed the dunce with declamation."

Latterly he became troublesome to his best friends, not only levying contributions at will, but by saying hard things to them, sparing neither heads of colleges, tutors, fellows, students or others whose names were familiar to him.

"The fact was, that the characters of the magistrates at that time were not invulnerable: they possessed, at least, a proportionate share of the failings of their fellow-citizens, and were afraid that Jemmy (who was no respecter of persons) should proclaim, from the Huntingdon turnpike to Addenbrooke's Hospital, their frailties in his loudest tones."

A mild instance of this freedom of speech may be quoted:

He one day met Sir John Mortlock in the streets of Granta, soon after he had been knighted; making a dead pause, and looking Sir John full in the face, Jemmy *improvised*—

The King, by merely laying sword on,
Could make a Knight of Jemmy Gordon.

During the last few years of his life, he passed part of his time in the Workhouse of St Edward's, the cost, however, of his maintenance in this public institution being provided by a cousin of his—a Mr Goode, who had resided for a few terms at Trinity Hall, and who had shared with Gordon some of the escapades of his earlier days. This friend allowed him ten

¹ *Oxford and Cambridge Nuts to Crack*, pp. 123, 124.

shillings a week; the sum being paid over to the overseers of the parish, whenever Jemmy was an inmate of the Workhouse. The accounts of those parochial officers shew that from the end of the year 1821 to Midsummer, 1824, Gordon was continually in and out of the Workhouse; in the year 1822 he was there for 22 weeks, in 1823, 40 weeks; in the first half of 1824, 20 weeks. During the summer months of 1822 he was not "in residence" at all, nor for a short time at Midsummer in the following year; while after June 25th, 1824, his name does not occur "on the books." The money was paid in sums of £2 every four weeks, and the overseers claimed 4s. a week of it for the recipient's lodging; certain amounts were spent for such articles as blankets, shoes, and clothes. On one occasion 11s. 6d. was spent in "redeeming Gordon's clothes." The residue of the grant was (perhaps unwisely) handed to him in money.

His name does not occur in the Workhouse book after Midsummer, 1824; but, in the accounts of his death in the autumn of the following year, it is stated that, in a drunken state, he slipped off a ladder in an outhouse of the Hoop Hotel. "He was taken," says Gunning, "to the Workhouse at Barnwell¹, where he died after several weeks of suffering." This is perhaps a mistake for St Edward's Workhouse; for the Church register of that parish records his burial on September 21st, 1825, describing him as of "Slaughterhouse Lane," in which street; it will be remembered, the Poorhouse was situated. There is, however, no reference to him in the Workhouse books at that date.

8. *St Giles's Parish.*

Few of the old Vestry Books of St Giles's remain; but from one of these, under date June 21st, 1833, we may extract an account of the duties of the Assistant Overseer (a paid officer, receiving £30 per annum). He was to collect the rates, etc., to attend the Vestry not less than three times a

¹ Hone, *Every Day Book*, pp. 697 and 1294, gives accounts of Gordon, and asserts that he died "in St Leonard's Workhouse"; which is, of course, a mistake. See Cooper, *Annals*, iv, p. 550.



St Giles's Workhouse (at the back of "The Borough Boy,"
Northampton Street)



St Michael's Workhouse (Gifford Place, Green Street)

week, as to persons applying for relief (a use of the Vestry, by the by, to which the Vicar objected); to discover all cases of bastardy that proper indemnity might be procured; to see after removals, etc.; to attend the Gravel Pits once a day to see the men do their duty, and receive the reports of the Foreman of the Pits; and so on.

In this parish, as in others, the burden of the rates was loudly complained of—St Giles's "being suburban, and containing a large proportion of small tenements."

The Workhouse¹ stood in Bell Lane [now called Northampton Street], and consisted of six cottages, three in the front, since altered into a Public House, known as "the Borough Boy," and three in a Court, now standing. The large room, where the paupers formerly dined together, may still be noted.

At the changes² in 1836, the Chesterton Union (who had paupers in certain of the Cambridge workhouses) endeavoured to buy the premises; but the parish authorities refused to let them for that purpose. In the following year,

"the workhouse and the cottage in the yard with the outbuildings and yard situated in Northampton Street were let to Mr Benjamin Clark for £20 a year; the tenants of the three cottages in the Street being allowed the use of the Pump and Privy."

The property, by the by, was copyhold held under the Merton estate. Other arrangements as to the premises followed, which need not here be detailed. Eventually they passed to what was known as "Bridgman's Charity³"; and "Parish Dividends," to the extent of about £55, are still paid to the funds of the Union, under an order of the Charity Commissioners. The

¹ The Charity Commissioners in their *Report*, 1837, say: "In this parish there is a house in Bell Lane, which has been used as a parish Workhouse for more than 30 years, and there are three small cottages adjoining, two of which are let by the parish officers for £5 each, the other being inhabited rent free by parish paupers. Part of the Workhouse is used by the parish of St Botolph, which pays a rent of £16."

² At first, the guardians intended to use the St Giles's Workhouse as one of the classified temporary Houses and certain alterations were proposed; but St Edward's Workhouse was shortly afterwards selected in its stead.

³ The Charity Commissioners (1839) say that Bridgman's will is lost.

yard is sometimes called "Gentle's Yard," from the name of the chief tenant for some years—a tradesman, who was coffin-maker to the Mill Road Workhouse. When the property passed to Mr Gentle, it is thus described:

"Now or late copyhold of the Manor of Merton Hall; a message formerly used as a workhouse, now used as a beer-house, and known as the *Borough Boy*; the message now divided into six tenements, with a piece of ground at the rear thereof."

There is an old lady living near, who well remembers the old St Giles's Workhouse, and has vividly described to the writer the condition of affairs just before the reforms; the men, women and children huddled together, and loafing about in the court and streets; there was one man, mad and raving, "like a wild beast," who lay on straw in a barred room; there was a poor "silly" woman, Polly Sudbury by name, who roamed about in the neighbourhood. Two open privies were not a pleasant feature of the situation. The Workhouse Master, a Mr Bradbury, lived a little way off. There was considerable commotion when the paupers were removed to their new home on Mill Road (or rather to the temporary and classified Workhouses which were used until the erection of the central house).

9. *St Mary's-the-Great Parish.*

Most of the old Parish Books of Great St Mary's remain and are well kept; so that, although certain volumes are missing, such as some of the *Certificate Books* ("Ye Removal or Satificate Books"), the *Bastardy Book*, etc., yet much information may be gleaned as to the treatment of the poor in the old Almshouses, in the Workhouse (when such a building was acquired) and in out-relief. The Almshouses were sometimes spoken of as "Poorhouses," but, of course, they were of a higher grade than "the parish workhouse" and their inmates were superior to the actual pauper; we read, for instance, of an old lady, "a Mrs Clark of the Almshouse," as being compelled to "go into the House."

There are frequent and formal complaints from an early

date of the heavy burdens thrown upon this parish by the cost of maintaining their poor and of "the unequal Rates"; besides their being ordered at certain times to "releeve the poore of other parishes." The pulling down of various houses—in Senate House Yard, for the benefit of the University, and near the Guildhall, for the advantage of the Town—also lessened the income of the overseers.

Before we locate the Workhouse¹, it may be well to quote a number of extracts from the Vestry Books which throw light upon the treatment of the poor of Great St Mary's. Such references allude to individuals and to general methods. Poor old "Goody Bridges"—an insane widow—was, for the last thirty years of the 17th century, a great trouble to the parish. Generally she lived in the workhouse; but sometimes she was so tiresome, that she was removed to the Spinning-house. "Dumb Betty" was another anxiety to the authorities. These officers had an easier task, when in 1654 they succeeded in "sending a poore woman out of the parish" at the cost of 6*d.*! Somewhat more expensive was the work of an overseer, forty years later, who paid 5*s.* 6*d.* "for feching a woman out of y^e Jaile, and sending her out of the town."

The question of removals and certificates was, of course, continually to the front. An interesting example of this has been quoted on p. 85.

The parish of Great St Mary, as we have already seen, enforced the wearing of Badges:

"By an order in Vestry, made July 21st, 1682, it was determined that all the paupers of this parish should wear a badge on the right arm—S.M.G.—and also all those that the parish pay rent for, if the parishioners so require it."

Two years later, the sum of nearly £10 was paid for mending the Badges and other expenses; but the latter were doubtless the chief item, for another entry declares the price of one Badge to be *fourpence*.

¹ In the *Churchwardens' Accounts of Great St Mary's, C.A.S. xxxv*, p. 472 (ed. by J. E. Foster, M.A.), there is an entry under date 1634, 5, "payd for the order from the workhows for Charles Dawson ... 0.1.0"; but this probably refers to Hobson's new Workhouse.

More to the credit of the overseers are payments which provide "Spinning-weels for the workhouse...4s. 3d." (in 1756); "Schooling for 7 children in the workhouse...3s. 6d.," though as the amount was for the whole of one term (1796), the sum was not large; "A Bible and Prayer Book for the use of the Poor...17s." (in 1808), when they were more generous. "Rods for Basket Work" was a good investment (1829); but "A Wig for a pauper...1s.," might be thought a luxury. Beer was allowed to the paupers, at any rate to the old people; with extra allowances on the great Church festivals!

The overseers frequently in these records speak of the difficulty in getting in certain rates and payments. One rate-payer is credited with "0l. 0s. 0d., because he is broke!" Certain disbursements are disputed; the money must be "rebusted," says the overseer, who triumphantly adds: "It is gott!"

As to the situation of the Workhouse, it is stated in 1734 that the parish had secured the house of Mr Edward Holladay in Slaughterhouse Lane, which we have seen St Edward's parish had sought for. In 1756 a new lease of the same house from the same owner was effected at £10 a year. In 1777 an agreement was made with Mr Alderman Whitred & Son "for the present Parish Workhouse and the tenement adjoining, at £12 per annum." This seems to have been in the same street, and may have been the same messuage. We have no further information of the site of the Workhouse (except that it was "purchased" in 1793), till the date of the Poor Law Reforms. In May, 1836, the Chesterton Union¹ endeavoured to hire the building, but they were not more successful here than (as we have seen) they were at St Giles's a month later. A year or two afterwards the Workhouse was put up to auction, and sold to Mr Benjamin Bridges for £703. 10s. 0d.; part of this money was claimed by the parish, as having been expended "at the purchase of the workhouse in 1793"; the rest of the sum was paid to the Treasurer of the Union and credited to the liquidation of the parish

¹ Most of the "indoor paupers" of this Union seem to have been received at different Cambridge Parish Workhouses until the year 1836.

quota towards the expenses of the New Union Workhouse. The site of this Poorhouse, which Mr Bridges bought, is in Corn Exchange Street, on the eastern side, near the present Masonic Hall, and it may be the same premises are alluded to all along.

The Vestry Books contain various references to the Governors of the Workhouse and to their duties. William Endersby, for instance, in the year 1761, undertook to "farm" the Workhouse paupers at 1s. 8d. per week per head; eight years later, however, his charge was increased to 3s. per head ("except physic and 4 chaldron of coal"). In 1821, a Mrs Smith was "Mistress of the House," and her terms which had hitherto been six guineas a year were advanced two guineas. In the following year, however, it was found "expedient that there be Man and Woman to manage the Workhouse," and Mrs Smith had to leave. Soon afterwards a Mr Burrows was in charge, but he had notice to quit in 1827, and William Freeman was elected Governor. During his tenure of office, in the August of 1834, "in consequence of the reduction in the prices of Provisions, his salary was reduced to £10 per annum, and the allowance for each Pauper to be 3s. per week for adults, and 2s. 6d. for each under 14." At the beginning of the year 1836, in consequence of a fatal *fracas* in the Workhouse, "Mr Freeman was dismissed, and Charles Bleet was ordered to be indicted for the murder or manslaughter of Thomas Chickley lately an inmate." George and Lydia James were appointed to be Governor and Governess of the House; but in the following May (1836) they had notice to quit, as the New Poor Law Act was coming into operation.

The state of the parish in the year 1831 (the census year preceding this reform) may be gathered from the following figures. There were 146 inhabited houses, with 148 families, containing 944 individuals—14 of whom were in the Workhouse, and 61 "out-paupers." The gross amount in the £ of the Poor Rate was about 10s. 9d., the total expenditure being over £1140.

10. *St Mary's-the-Less Parish.*

All the old Vestry Books of this Parish are apparently lost, and consequently such details as are recorded in the other sections cannot be here given. We have, however, seen that the parochial books of St Edward's tell us that in March 1733 "that parish and Little St Mary's joined in a common Workhouse for economy's sake." A little later on, a payment in this connexion occurs; but there is no other evidence that the amalgamation was actually carried out.

In the absence, therefore, of all documentary evidence, and neglecting a tradition that a Workhouse formerly stood up Little St Mary's Lane in a court called "Banks's Alley" and next a Public House named "All Round My Hat," we pass on to the year 1816, when the parish authorities of St Mary-the-Less joined with those of Holy Sepulchre, who had in the preceding year purchased from the Rev. Mr Geldart a piece of land with a frontage of 40 feet on Staffordshire Place (now called Staffordshire Street), reaching back 276 feet towards what is now known as Albert Street. The Round Church officers had given £60 for this property, and the overseers of St Mary-the-Less agreed to pay half of this sum. For the next twenty years a Workhouse on this site was jointly run by the two parishes. At the Union arrangements, this building was retained for some time as a home for Sick and Infirm Paupers, of whom about a dozen were placed there under the care of Mr and Mrs Moyes, who had been the Governor and Governess under the united parishes.

The subsequent history of the message will be dealt with under the section on the Holy Sepulchre Parish, to which the site was originally sold.

11. *St Michael's Parish.*

Most of the Vestry Books of this parish are unfortunately lost or mislaid; so that we must fall back upon a few quotations given in Bowtell's MSS.; where, for instance, we are reminded that away back in 1566 "Collectors for the Poor" were appointed to superintend the parish relief.

We have, however, the advantage of knowing that the authorities of St Michael's availed themselves of a local charity for the purpose of forming a Workhouse; and the origin of this charity is recorded by Bowtell, while most of the deeds thereof are still in the keeping of the Vicar and the Churchwardens, whom the writer thanks for their courtesy in allowing him to inspect them.

Mrs Ann Carrow, who died in 1744, left the residue of her personal estate (valued at about £40) in trust to her executor Thomas York, the interest thereof to be expended on annual gifts of coal to the poor of St Michael's parish. Mr York, who died in 1756, seems to have invested the money in two tenements in Green Street, and to have given the parish the option of converting these tenements into Almshouses¹ and a small annual gift of coal. His brother and executor Edward York conveyed the estate to the parishioners, by whom the tenements were "rebuilt as an Almshouse in 1794, for the use of the most distressed paupers belonging to the parish."

This building is still standing (being used as a warehouse for books); and is thus described in the last lease thereof:

"All that messuage or tenement formerly two messuages or tenements being in Gifford's Place near Green Street in the parish of St Michael and formerly used as a Workhouse for the said parish."

The remains of a tablet may be observed over the entrance; the inscription has disappeared; but a gentleman (who formerly resided in the building, when it was used as a dwelling place after the Poor Law changes in 1836) states that it formerly bore the letters "S.M.P.," shewing that it was the property of St Michael's Parish. The same friend writes:

"I had permission to look over the house the other day, and found very little alteration; the rooms being in the same position as when 50 years ago I used (at intervals) to live there. All I noticed was that a space had been cut in the floor of one of the rooms, and a ladder erected from below for the purpose of more conveniently getting thereto; and the old lattice-windows of the garrets had been modernized."

¹ The *Report* (1837) of the Charity Commissioners gives a somewhat different account of this charity. It adds: "it is stated that as far back as the 17th century there was in this place a piece of land, the property of the parish, on which a Workhouse is believed to have been erected."

St Michael's was much the smallest of the old Parishes, only containing 68 inhabited houses¹ at the census of 1831; so that the number of Workhouse inmates was doubtless very small. The furniture in the house in 1836 was only valued at £2. 15s. 0d. As the building was connected with a charity, the income is still received by the authorities of St Michael's.

12. *St Peter's Parish.*

The Vestry Books are not forthcoming; but the Workhouse seems to have stood in Shelly Row, opposite Allgon Row. The old buildings, which were held on lease from the Corporation, have been pulled down, and replaced by houses erected by the Cambridge Improved Industrial Dwellings Company.

After the Poor Law changes in 1836, the inmates were moved to the other classified Workhouses until the new building was erected in the Mill Road. There is a patriarchal old inhabitant of the neighbourhood still living, who well remembers the paupers going away in a cart—among them being "blind old Dick" and a curious old married couple.

The building, or rather the lease thereof, was sold in 1838 by order of the Poor Law Commissioners; and the advertisement reads as follows:

"Extensive Leasehold Estate, in Castle Street. Lot 1. House on the Pound Hill, with large yard at back, and gardens; bounded on the east by a passage leading to Castle Street, and on the west by Pound Hill, &c. Lot 2. Two gardens with an entrance from Castle End. Held by Lease from the Corporation for 40 years from Michaelmas 1823 at £2. 2s. 0d., and land tax 8s."

13. *Holy Sepulchre Parish.*

A certain amount of information as to the pauper maintenance may be obtained from the vestry books of the Round Church. This Parish had the advantage of an annual sum of money derived from a bequest made in 1710 by Mr James Lowry, a merchant of Peterborough, for the poor of St Sepulchre's

¹ The figures quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, iv, 571, are evidently wrong, as regards the number of the inhabitants.

at the discretion of the minister, churchwardens and overseers; still the rates were not inconsiderable, and some of the larger houses paid somewhat heavily.

At the end of the 18th century we find¹ that the income from this charity had been for some years used in part for the hiring of five cottages at the back of the Round Church to form a Workhouse. In the year 1813, however, the parish gave up these tenements, and two years later proceeded to purchase part of the Geldart estate in Barnwell and erected a Workhouse thereon. The cost of the site was £60, and in the following year the parish of St Mary-the-Less joined Holy Sepulchre's, paying a moiety of this sum.

The title-deeds² describe the estate as

"containing in breadth 40 feet and in length 276 feet being part of Bradmore Close situate in a field then called Gravel Pit field."

After the Poor Law changes in 1836 this building³ was for a few years used by the Union authorities for the reception of Sick and Infirm Paupers, and in the year 1839 the lease thereof was renewed "for extra accommodation of paupers." In 1841, the property was sold⁴ for £207. 18s. 0d., which sum was paid over to the Treasurer of the Union to be placed to "the Holy Sepulchre and St Mary-the-Less Parish Property Account." The Round Church share of this amount was claimed for parish purposes "according to the charitable bequest of Mr James Lowry," and the advice of the Charity Commissioners was sought as to its disposal.

To return to the management of the Workhouse, when it was under the care of the two parishes, we find from entries

¹ *Report of the Charity Commissioners, 1838, pp. 75 and 76.*

² The writer thanks Dr Bond for kind permission to inspect these title-deeds.

³ This Workhouse is shown on Baker's *Map of Cambridge*, dated 1830.

⁴ It may be added the Barnwell site of the Workhouse, which is described at the 1841 sale as having a frontage of 40 feet towards Staffordshire Place and a depth of 276 feet, afterwards passed to the Rev. Henry Battiscombe, who used it as a burial ground in connexion with the Chapel, at which he was ministering. In 1846, the building was being used as an Infant School. Later on, the property passed into private hands; and, at the present time, the site of it forms part of the estate of the "Castle Soap Company."

in the Vestry Books of Holy Sepulchre's, that the Governor for many years was a member of a well-known family in that parish, and that this official acted as schoolmaster to the children in the house, of whom in 1824 there were seven. At the same date we read of four men and seven women as pauper inmates, for whom 3s. each was allowed. "Out-paupers," numbering 25, were granted half-a-crown each.

A record, dated Midsummer, 1829, tells us that Mr Lesturgeon, the surgeon, professionally attended the poor of this parish for the annual sum of ten guineas, in addition to half-a-guinea for attendance on poor mothers. Special cases were sent to the Hospital (conveyed there in a sedan chair or in a "fly"), an annual subscription being paid by the parish.

14. *Holy Trinity Parish.*

This parish possesses a long series of churchwardens' accounts and registers; but the records of the treatment of the poor are not so much in evidence. In the early part of the 19th century there was a Poorhouse rented from Corpus Christi College, but its situation is not stated. At a Vestry Meeting held on April 30th, 1826, "Mr Alderman Coe referred to a poor lunatic confined in an outhouse without shoes or stockings. Upon Mr Farish seeing the lunatic he expressed his opinion that his legs and feet would mortify." The Governor Allum was thereupon dismissed, and John White appointed in his place.

In 1828, a new Workhouse was erected, doubtless in White Hart Yard [now Trinity Place]. Two years later, half an acre of ground was acquired by the parish, whence gravel might be dug by the paupers; some of whom were also employed in the Churchyard. For a while the Governor of the Workhouse was allowed to have all the earnings of the inmates; but this system was afterwards altered. The rules of this institution were somewhat stringent; the paupers were not permitted to be visited without written orders; but they were allowed for health's sake (though only by medical written consent) to go for exercise on Christ's College Pieces for an hour before noon;

and from 5 o'clock till 6 p.m. They had to walk to Church under the leadership of Mr White; who was allowed¹ 3s. 6d. a week for the adults, and 2s. 6d. for the children. For some offence, one of the paupers was confined to the house and kept upon bread allowance. The overseers were as anxious as other officers to get rid of those who were burdensome to the parish; and on one occasion they paid £40 to enable a family to emigrate to New York. In 1834, doubtless for a consideration, they allowed a man to have a bedroom in the house on conforming to the rules.

At the date of the reforms, 1836, the rent of the Poor-house was fixed at £60. The building was used, during the changes, as a residence for aged males, of whom there were about 30. In 1838, the Workhouse, with the small yard at the back, was advertised; and let to Mr Michael Headly at £30 a year; "the building to be kept *in statu quo*." It has since been rebuilt.

There are still traditions in the parish of a riot which occurred at the end of the year 1834. An out-pauper named Porter had died in the Barnwell part of the parish, and his body was supposed to have been conveyed to the Workhouse in White Hart Yard by the orders of Mr Knowles, the overseer; really, however, it was taken to the Rotunda (Medical School) in Downing Street. When this became known, there was great excitement, and a crowd besieged "the Round House." Mr Knowles, or Mr White the Governor (whose son Davie was somewhat of a character), was said to have "sold Porter without a Licence." Several of the rioters were arrested, but were leniently treated; the body being recovered and decently buried.

¹ An old lady still living speaks well of the suet-pudding supplied to the inmates in the early thirties.

CHAPTER V.

THE CAMBRIDGE UNION.

On March 19th, 1836, the Poor Law Commissioners made an Order, declaring that from the 2nd day of April following, the Fourteen Parishes of the Borough should be united for the administration of the Laws for the Relief of the Poor, by the name of the Cambridge Union. The number of Guardians was fixed at 30, of which number four were to be elected by the parish of St Andrew-the-Less, and two by each of the other parishes. The annual election of Guardians was appointed to take place on the first Thursday after Lady Day in each year, and the qualification of a Guardian was declared to be assessment to the Poor Rates in some parish in the Union, in respect of hereditaments of the annual value or rental of not less than £20.

Opposition to the Poor Law Amendment Act had not yet subsided; and an extraordinary cartoon was issued, entitled "Barn-ill Workhouse," with curious remarks aimed at the Whig members for the Borough, Messrs Spring Rice and Pryme; such as "I voted for Rice, and got nothing but gruel!" "Prime Times!" etc. On the 11th of June, a large meeting of the labouring classes, chiefly from the adjacent villages, was held on Parker's Piece, when, after the Rev. F. H. Maberley, a clergyman from Suffolk, had addressed them at great length and in strong terms on the subject of the Poor Law Amendment Act, petitions to both Houses of Parliament for the repeal of that measure were adopted. Such, however, was the uproar and excitement, that Mr Maberley (who compared the new Workhouses to Bastilles) was, for his own safety, rushed into the neighbouring gaol.

The newly appointed Guardians meanwhile were quietly proceeding with their work. At first, it was to retain only six of the parochial Workhouses, and to distribute the paupers among them according to the following classification:

CAMBRIDGE PARISH WORKHOUSES

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Workhouse	Kind of Paupers	No. of Paupers	Masters and Mistresses	Salary
St Andrew the Less	Girls and Boys	46	Mr & Mrs Robinson	£20
St Mary the Less & Holy Sepulchre	Sick and Infirm	12	Mr & Mrs Moyes	£12
Holy Trinity	Aged Males	30	Mr & Mrs Legge	£12
St Andrew the Great	Married Couples and Aged Women	30	Mr & Mrs Stonebridge	£12
All Saints	Able-bodied Men and Women, with Infants	14	Mr & Mrs White	£12
St Edward's	Able-bodied Men	12	Mr & Mrs Burson	£12

All these paupers were removed from their old Workhouses, according to this classification, by 12 o'clock on Friday, June 3rd, a week before the meeting on Parker's Piece.

Different methods of employment were adopted for the inmates. At St Edward's, where, it will be noticed, the able-bodied, single men were gathered, a Flour Mill was erected, at which the men were required to work eight hours a day each. Arrangements were made for grinding malt, barley and beans. Other paupers had to pick oakum. Others again and certain out-paupers worked in digging gravel from the Pits—the latter being paid wages. Some of the women went out as nurses.

The Guardians were careful in framing and enforcing rules for these establishments. The Master of the St Sepulchre Workhouse, where the Sick and Infirm were located, was complained of for not reading Prayers to the inmates, according to the regulations. The children from the St Andrew the Less Workhouse were regularly marched to Church.

A Committee was appointed to arrange for a Central Union Poorhouse to accommodate some 250 inmates. Various plans were considered; and finally a site was selected on the east side of Mill Road and purchased at an expense of £480 from Mr John Green of Birmingham; the cost of conveyance, etc., amounting to over £36. Upon this site a new Union Workhouse was erected, the architect of which was Mr John Smith. The building was ready to receive its inmates in the autumn

of 1838. The able-bodied males from St Edward's Workhouse and the old men from Holy Trinity were the first to be transferred on September 26th; about a week later there followed the able-bodied men and women with infants from All Saints and the children from St Andrew-the-Less. There was a delay for two or three months, and it was not till just before Christmas 1838 that the married couples and the aged women arrived from the Workhouse of St Andrew the Great, and the sick and infirm were brought "in Flys" from the Poorhouse of St Sepulchre and St Mary the Less.

The Workhouse of St Mary the Less and St Sepulchre was, however, again hired early in the next year "for extra accommodation for paupers" and Mr and Mrs Moyes were appointed Governor and Governess. The arrangement cannot have lasted for long, as we have seen that the building was sold within less than a couple of years.

With regard to the proceeds of these sales, we have already remarked that if the premises were connected with some private parochial charity (like the Carrow-York bequest of St Michael's or the Lowry legacy of the Holy Sepulchre) the sum realised was retained by the parochial authorities; and that, if the Poorhouse had been built to a certain extent by private contributions, the money was similarly reclaimed; but, if the erection of the Workhouse was due to parochial rates, then the auction proceeds were handed over to the Treasurer of the Union and credited to the parish concerned. Thus there are still annual dividends linked with the names of certain parishes; e.g. All Saints', £20. 10s. 4d.; St Edward's, £50. 19s. 0d.; St Giles's, 12s.; St Andrew's-the-Less, 2s. 4d.; and "Gentle's Rent," £55. This last sum is, doubtless, connected with the sale of the Workhouse of St Giles's.

It may be added that, when the separate Poorhouses were taken over by the Cambridge Union, the furniture thereof was duly priced on behalf of the different parishes; the following being a list of the different valuations:

	£	s.	d.
St Andrew the Great	71	0	6
St Sepulchre, with St Mary the Less	33	5	6

	£	s.	d.
Holy Trinity	63	3	6
St Andrew the Less	56	11	0
St Benedict	17	18	0
St Michael	2	15	0
All Saints'	56	2	6
St Edward	21	5	6

While certain of these Workhouses were temporarily retained to be used according to the classification mentioned above, rents were allowed to the different parishes at the following rates: St Andrew the Great £40, St Sepulchre and St Mary the Less £30 (altered to £25), Holy Trinity £60 (afterwards £45), St Andrew the Less £45, All Saints' £40, and St Edward £40.

From the adoption of the Act 4 and 5 William IV, c. 76, s. 26, in 1834 the rates were charged parochially; and an elaborate *Summary of Accounts* was published quarterly, the Overseers of each parish in the Union being requested to deposit a copy of the Account in the Parish Chest, to be preserved for future reference.

In 1856, however, under the Cambridge Award Act, a common fund was established, and union rating adopted. This Act also contained provisions for ascertaining, at certain intervals, the annual rateable value of the property occupied by the University and the Colleges.

It does not fall within the scope of this essay to dwell upon the subsequent history of the Cambridge Union, nor to speculate upon the probable outcome of the Majority or Minority Reports.

CHAPTER VI.

LIFE IN A PARISH WORKHOUSE.

In the preceding chapters, brief accounts have been given of the National Poor Laws and of the local administration of them; and details have been recorded of the several Parochial and other Workhouses in this town. Even at the risk of some repetition of these details, it may be well to focus these general

remarks, and to attempt a short sketch of Life in a Cambridge Parish Workhouse.

It must be remembered that our University town was a "city of churches," that at the end of the thirteenth century there were nearly 20 parishes, which altogether contained only a little over 500 houses. At the census of the first year of the nineteenth century, the official returns tell us of 14 parishes, with some 2000 families; though it is true that the number of inhabitants had doubled in 1831, shortly before the Poor Law Reforms.

Consequently the several Poorhouses of these 14 parishes were small buildings with few inmates; with from a dozen to a score in each of these institutions. In the Workhouse of Great St Mary's in 1826, for instance, there were besides the governor and his wife, 15 indoor paupers, viz. 5 men, 5 women and 5 children.

And these small numbers aggravated the evils of the system; for there was a strange variety of characters in these little gatherings. Of course, what is about to be described does not refer to any particular Workhouse; it generalises, it takes points from this quarter and from that.

There were the men, some of them feeble and broken down, some of them lazy and disorderly; there were the women, of whom the same may be said; there were their children in certain cases and a few orphans; there were at least two or three "unfortunate" young women; there was here and there a madman, and more often a poor half-witted creature; and there were wayfarers and tramps, not counted in the totals mentioned above.

A word or two may be said of each of these classes.

As a general rule these institutions were intended to be Workhouses rather than merely Poorhouses; and consequently an endeavour, not always successful, was made to furnish employment for the adults and even for the young folk. The men in the Holy Trinity Workhouse were occasionally engaged in or around the Churchyard of that parish; paupers from most of the Houses, particularly from those of and in Barnwell, worked in the Gravel Pits, especially in those near where St Matthew's

Church now stands; rods were bought for basket-making by the Overseers of Great St Mary's; spinning wheels and reels figure in the parish accounts and in the Workhouse inventories¹; and so on. Sometimes the Governor "farmed the poor," sometimes the men were paid part of the profits, sometimes the proceeds are included in the parish income. But there was occasionally very little to hand over; for, as has been remarked, the men were not robust and industrious. At times, indeed, they were quite the reverse, and we read of quarrels (even of cases of manslaughter) and of somewhat frequent committals to the House of Correction. Similarly, sometimes women were transferred for a period to the Spinning-house. Cases of drunkenness are reported. We have seen, in the books of the Overseers of Great St Andrew's, how a certain "drunken Workhouse pauper was to be confined to the House for a month"; perhaps this is not to be wondered at, when we note that some time previously the same officials recorded that "the consumption of Small Beer in the Poorhouse exceeded all discretion, and ordered that the quantity supplied in future should not exceed 1 Quart per diem for each pauper." It may be noted that Easter and other great Church Festivals were marked by an extra allowance of liquor to the inmates!

These allowances were apparently not included in the ordinary expenses of the management; with regard to which it may be remarked that the Workhouse Governor was generally allowed about 3s. 6d. a week for each adult and about 2s. 6d. for each child.

As to the children, little seems to have been done for their education; now and then a sixpence was expended for that purpose; this is the largest sum that the Overseers' books on any occasion record. Once, an official in St Clement's parish tells us that in the year 1769, the sum of sixpence was expended in the purchase of "a righten book²." Considerable amounts

¹ In these inventories also occur the words "a Hemp Block and Beetle," where a beetle is a ramming implement, or mall. (See Appendix II, p. 135.)

² The accounts of the Overseers of St Edward's parish, for the year 1701, shew that the sum of 9d. was expended for "A Hornbook for walker's gearle and a pare of stockns."

were, however, paid to various tradesmen in connexion with the apprenticing of youths.

As to the poor girls mentioned above, the story is all too sad. Most of the Parish "Bastardy Books" and many of the Justices' Certificates have been destroyed, and it is perhaps fortunate that this is so, for the records are not pleasant reading. When a young woman was supposed to be in a certain condition and likely to become chargeable to the parish, she was "interrogated"; and such was the state of the law formerly that, on her bare word, an accused man could be arrested and imprisoned until he had paid down a sum, often a large sum of money. When there was uncertainty as to the person responsible, the parish authorities did all they could to get rid of the woman. The books of St Botolph's, under date 1756, have the following record: "Paied for beer at Mr Smith's att a meeting of ye offesers on account of Mary tuck's basterd...4s." Awhile after, they had married her off and we read of "expences at Mary Tuck's marriage...£4. 7s. 1½d." In St Clement's Parish, in 1829, a woman of somewhat different standing is shifted in a similar way: "Marriage Present and Fees to Widow Arnold, by which we got rid of her in the family way...£4. 14s. 6d." In another case in the same parish, the girl in question was one of a family most of the members of which figure in the records of the Workhouse, the House of Correction or the Spinning-house; illustrating what sometimes occurs—the recurrence of names in such connexions.

A word as to the deaths in the Poorhouse; for, as Shakespeare says:

"Men must endure
Their going hence, even as their coming hither."

The kind of persons named as seeing-after the sick and dying; the beer paid for at the watchings and the funerals; the curious details of the expenses; all suggest a grim officiousness at the ending of some of the short and simple annals of the poor.

Turning to another class of Workhouse inmates, it may be noticed that there are fairly frequent allusions to madmen and half-witted creatures. Sometimes they are mentioned by name;

sometimes the provision of "straw" for so-and-so suggests the lunatic. In the St Edward's books, under date 1799, complaints having been made of the dangerous conduct of Isaac Smith, a pauper of the parish, and three medical men having signed stating that he was "deranged in his Intellects," it was agreed to build a room in the Workhouse Yard, for the purpose of confining the said Isaac Smith, and that it should be made strong and secure, and every way proper for such a purpose¹. At Holy Trinity at a Vestry Meeting in 1826, "Mr Alderman Coe referred to a poor lunatic confined in an outhouse without shoes or stockings. Upon Mr Farish seeing the lunatic he expressed his opinion that his legs and feet would mortify." An old lady still living in Castle Street well remembers, how, in the St Giles's Workhouse, a man, "mad and raving, like a wild beast" lay on straw in a barred room. She tells also of a poor "silly" woman, Polly Sudbury by name, who roamed about the neighbourhood of the same poorhouse, of which she was for years an inmate. Sometimes the expenses of removing such poor creatures "to Bethlehem" are recorded.

Other afflicted persons are mentioned, take for instance, "old blind² Dick," still remembered in St Peter's parish; poor "Dumb Betty" of Great St Mary's; old "Goody Bridges"—away back in the seventeenth century—was for 30 years a source of anxiety to the authorities of the same parish, and at times, though the poor old soul was not really sane, they sent her on a visit to the Spinning-house.

It has been said that the Overseers were always on the alert to pass on any persons who were paupers or who were likely to become chargeable, if they could shew that the unfortunate individual had no claim on the parish. Sometimes

¹ In a parish, in the Black Country, where the writer was formerly incumbent, in the old Workhouse (now converted into part of Chubbs' Lock Works), an upper room, where lunatics were formerly confined, still has remains (or lately had) of shackles and irons used to secure poor creatures, who had lost their reason.

² "Whither are they (those old blind Tobits) fled? or into what corners, blind as themselves, have they been driven, out of the wholesome air and sun-warmth? Immersed between four walls, in what withering poorhouse do they endure the penalty of double darkness?" C. Lamb, *A Complaint of the Decay of Beggars*, 1822.

large sums were spent at law to disclaim liability; sometimes money was given to the pauper to move on. Great St Mary's once made a good bargain: "for sending a poore woman out of the parish...6*d.*" triumphantly wrote the Overseer in 1654; on the other hand this same parish had a law suit to keep out a black man, and again to exclude a Jew.

The town authorities¹ helped to get rid of vagrants and vagabonds. In the accounts of the Treasurers of the Borough may be read such entries as the following: "1572: Visar for him that whipped vacabounds...ijs."; "1611, to Mitten for whipinge vagrants...js."; and so on.

To return to those who found in the Workhouse a resting place such as it was; it may be remarked that some authorities for long insisted that the paupers of their parish should, in accordance with a law passed in the reign of William III, wear a badge, "openly upon the shoulder of the right sleeve, with a large P, and the first letter of the parish whereof such poor person is an inhabitant, cut thereon in red or blue cloth." Thus the paupers of Great St Mary's parish wore a badge with the letters "S. M. G." upon it.

As to the arrangement, sanitary or otherwise, of these workhouses, much might be said. They varied, of course, in construction and in details. There is a pleasant picture of the Workhouse belonging to St Edward's at a former period, when a house hired from the Old Botanic Gardens is described as having vines clinging to its walls. But other pictures are not so savoury. That St Clement's parish in 1804 spent 3*d.* on "a comb for the poor" was a good beginning; but there is no record that it occurred again. Entries for a guinea's worth of "poison for rats" and a certain sum for "louse powder" are not pleasant; nor are certain allusions to necessary sanitary

¹ Other towns were equally stringent. At Askham, in Westmoreland, in "1610, October the 3 day was John Hurst and Jane Washtell two poor travellers whiped"; at Bakewell, "1637, 6 Nov. Thomas Tomlinson and Dorothy his wyfe of Wakefield or thereabout were taken begging, and whiped according to y^e law, and he sent home"; while at Brentford, "1698, 26 Feb. Alice and Elizabeth Pickering, wandering children, were whiped according to the law, and sent with a pass to Shrewsbury, the place where they were born." Other similar instances may be seen in the Rev. Dr Cox's book on *Parish Registers*, pp. 230 and 231.

arrangements; a tub at Hobson's Workhouse served for certain uses; and open places at the St Giles's Poorhouse were, an old inhabitant reports, cleansed "at intervals"—with a long emphasis on the word. But enough, and more than enough of this.

Let us close with a bright side of affairs. Great St Mary's, in 1808, spent 17s. in buying a Bible and Prayer Book for the use of the Poor; and an old inmate of the Albert Buildings tells how Mr Mortlock used to visit the Workhouse of that parish and read to the paupers. The same informant remembers how, nearly 80 years ago, he often attended the services held by a clergyman in the St Andrew's-the-Less Poorhouse, which still stands in Staffordshire Gardens. The children from that institution were taken to one of the parish churches, perhaps to that which formerly stood on the St Paul's part of the Mill Road Cemetery. A lady, who for many years worshipped at St Edward's, remembers how the paupers from their parish Poorhouse on Sundays attended at that Church. The inmates of the Workhouse of Holy Trinity had to walk to their parish church under the leadership of their Governor, which sounds somewhat formal. But the ministrations¹ on the part of the University clergy towards the unfortunate inmates of the Spinning-house look less official, and form a more hopeful ending of this Chapter on Life in the old Workhouses of Cambridge.

APPENDIX I.

LICENTIA CONCESSA HENRICO WOOD PAUPERI SCHOLARI AD ELEMOSINAM ACCIPIENDAM, 1540.

"for poore scolers

f[franciscus] M[allet] sacrae theologiae professor ac almae universitatis Canteb' vicecancellarius vniuersis et singulis rectoribus vicariis capellanis curatis et non curatis ac vniuersis christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis visuris vel audituris salutem in domino sempiternam Nouerit vniuersitas vestra quod nos dilectum nobis in christo henricum wood scholarem pacificum et honestum laudabilem studentem atque proficere

¹ See vol. D of the Minute Books of the Hobson Trust.

cupientem bona vita laudabilique conuersacione ac morum fragrantia satis perornatum vestris reuerentiis pro illius meritis id exigentibus pleno commendamus affectu ac rogamus quatenus eum loca Ciuitates terras territoria ac passagia vestra ipsum pertransire contigerit eundem absque vilo impedimento seu grauamine cum rebus ac bonis suis pertransire ac ibidem moram facere provt temporis oportunitas rerumve necessitas ex-
 poscat libere et quiete permittatis si bene se gesserit. Et si in aliquo rerum vel bonorum suorum ipsum iniuriari contigerit hoc ad contem-
 placionem dict' vniuersitatis graciosius informari curetis. Ideo vos omnes vicarios rectores curatos et non curatos Rogamus vt cum predictus henricus W. ad ecclesias vestras peruenerit ipsum fauorabiliter recipiatis negociaque sua coram parochianis vestris pronuncietis, vt per vestras diligentias predictus henricus vberriorem elemosinæ fructum colligere at-
 que percipere valeat. Et ne huiusmodi literæ nostræ predicto scholari a scholis se absentandi seu divagandi quouismodo materiam subministret easdem duntaxat a dato presentium vsque ad festum natalis domini proxime futurum post datum presentium volumus esse duraturas. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum officiale nostrum presentibus est appensum. Datum Cantabrigiæ 16 die mensis Septembris anno 1540 regni vero illus-
 trissimi in christo principis et domini domini henrici octavi die gratia anglie et francie Regis fidei defensoris domini hibernie et in terra sub christo anglicanæ ecclesiæ capitis supremi anno tricesimo secundo.'

[Copied from C.C.C. *MSS.*, cvi, 286.]

APPENDIX II.

AN INVENTORY OF THE GOODS IN ST BOTOLPH'S WORKHOUSE, 1747.

"An Inventory¹ of the Goods in the Workhouse in the parish of St Bottolphs, Cambridge. May, 4, 1747. Delivered to Mr W^m Rutter.

In the Fore Low Room²

Two Elbow Chairs
 Six Rush Bottom Chairs
 Two Tables
 One Lookeing Glass
 Fire Irons and a Fender
 A wicker cloaths Baskett
 One picture.

¹ The Overseers' Books for this parish contain another Inventory for the year 1739 ; but the list here printed, although a little later in date, is fuller in detail.

² This room is, in the 1739 inventory, called "the Officer's Room, or parlor."

In the Midle Low Room

Two Chairs
 One Table
 One Stool
 Six wheels
 One Reel.
 One Cricett¹
 One Salt Box
 Fire Irons
 A Pooker
 Two Fire Shovells
 Two pair of Bellows
 One Fryeng pan
 A pewter Dish
 One wooden Dish
 Three Iron Candlesticks
 Four pint Muggs and half pint Mugg
 A Towell Rowl
 A Looking Glass
 A Large Sawspan and Lid².

In the Back Low Room³

One Copper and a wooden Lid
 A Livery cubbard
 A Fryeng pan
 Fire Irons and Large Standards
 A Large Gridiron
 A Brass Kettle and wooden Lid
 A Small Sawspan and Iron pott
 Three earthen Dishes and Two panns
 Three wheels
 One wooden Bowl and one platter
 Eight wooden Dishes Fourteen Spoons
 One Ladle and Thirteen Trenchers
 Four Wash Troughs
 A Half Mess Dish and Two pewter plates
 A Spade and a coal Tubb

¹ This word denotes (according to *N.E.D.*) "a low wooden stool, or a foot-stool."

² In this room, in 1739, hung "a Table of Orders, and Bill of Fare, for the Workhouse."

³ Also called "the Kitchen" in the former Inventory. It also contained "a Hemp Block and Beetle"; where the word Beetle denotes (*N.E.D.*) a ramming implement or "mall"; compare the phrase "between the beetle and the block."

One chair
Two pails
One Brush.

In the Back Chamber¹

One Feather Bed one Pillow
One Bedstead one Matt
Standards and Bars
One Chair.

In the Fore Chamber

A Feather Bed, one Boulster, Two pillors
Three Blanketts, and one Cover Lid
A Bedstead and Curtins
Window Curtins
Five Curtin Rods in the Closett
Three pair of Sheets, one pillow beer
One Looking glass, one warming pan
A Fire Grate and a Pair of Tongs
A chest of Draws
A Nest of Draws
Seven chairs
One Table.

In the Midle Chamber

One Feather Bed one Bowlster
One pillow, Two Blanketts, one Rugg
A Bedstead and Two white Curtins
Two Tables, one Stool
Another Bedstead
One Straw Bed and a coverlid in the Closett
Two Candle Sticks
A hair Broom.

In the Back Garett

Two Feather Beds, Three Bowlsters
One Bedstead, Two Coverlids
One Sheet, Two Matts
Two Chairs, one Table, one Trunk
One window curtain, one Rod.

In the Fore Garett

Three Feather Beds, Three Bowlsters
Three sheets, Three Blanketts
Three Coverlids
Three Bedsteads, A Sett of Curtins
Three Chairs, one Looking Glass, seven Chamber potts.

¹ In the former list, "one Iron poridge Pott" was in this room.

In the Seller

One Beer Stall, one Filter, one Baskett.

June 9, 1744. Bought a Box Iron and two heaters and delivered to Mr Rutter."

APPENDIX III.

AN INVENTORY OF GOODS IN GREAT ST MARY'S WORKHOUSE, 1827.

"Inventory at commencement of William Freeman's Mastership
March 1st, 1827

2 Covered tables
5 Chairs
Chest drawers
2 Stump bedsteads 2 more stump bedsteads
3 beds.

Webb's room

1 Table
3 Chairs
3 Stump bedsteads.

Paul's room

1 Stump bedstead
1 4-post bedstead
2 beds
4 chairs
1 table with drawer.

Men's room

3 beds
1 table
2 chairs &c.

Women's room

1 4-post bedstead
1 Stump bedstead
1 round table
1 square leaf table
2 chairs.

Bottom large room

5 Tables
8 Chairs
Baking trough
4 Wash troughs
1 Stump bedstead."

APPENDIX IV.

RESOLUTION FOR BUILDING A NEW PARISH WORKHOUSE,
ST EDWARD'S, 1786.

“Vestry Meeting, 25 July, 1786.

It has been made to appear that Persons receiving Alms of the said Parish have very much increased of late, and are still increasing and that many of such Persons have been well able to support themselves, but who rather to indulge their idle Dispositions throw themselves upon the Parish, knowing that the Officers have no Convenience of setting them to Work. And that the Workhouse of this said Parish is much too small to answer the intended Design of a Workhouse (namely) to keep all Persons employed at some useful Labor, to deter the idle from throwing themselves upon the Parish; and to bring up the Children in Habits of Industry. And that the present Proprietor is willing to sell the said Workhouse to the Parishioners, thereby giving them an Opportunity, much desired, of purchasing and enlarging the same.

We, whose Names are hereunto subjoined, Inhabitants and Parishioners of the said Parish, duly considering the great Benefit and Advantage that must accrue to the Parish from a Workhouse upon a Proper Plan, well managed, do consent and agree to the purchasing, improving, and enlarging the said Workhouse with Proviso that the Purchase and Improvements are done upon fair and equitable Terms. At the same Time considering the Difficulty and Inconvenience that might attend many of the Inhabitants was the Money necessary for the purchasing and enlarging the said Workhouse immediately to be raised by Rate, we, being Inhabitants and Parishioners of the said Parish do consent and agree to subscribe and lend unto the said Parish without Interest the several Sums set against our respective Names for the Purpose of purchasing and enlarging the said Workhouse. And we do further agree (so far as by law we can) that there shall quarterly and every Quarter so long as the Money so subscribed or any part thereof remain unpaid be a Rate equal to the discharge of Twenty Pounds of the said Debt Quarterly, and after deducting the Expences and Disbursements of the Overseers the Remainder of the Money so raised shall be repaid to the Subscribers, their Executors, or Administrators, in equal shares according to the several Sums subscribed by them, in part and towards the Discharge of their respective Subscriptions. And we do likewise agree that the several Sums subscribed and lent, be paid into the Hands of the Church-wardens, for the Purpose aforesaid, when called for by the Church-wardens, for paying the Purchase-money and the Different Tradsmen, for making the Additions and Alterations to the said Workhouse, And the Church-wardens Receipt for the same shall be sufficient to entitle the several Subscribers to their respective Shares, in the future Rates, until the whole of their Money is repaid.”

APPENDIX V.

POOR HOUSE RULES, 1813.

“Great St Andrews, August 2nd, 1813.

“At a Vestry Meeting held this day, it was the unanimous opinion that the following Rules be printed and put up in the Poor House.

1. That all persons in the house obey the Master and Mistress or Assistant in all proper commands.
2. That they be diligent at their work.
3. That they work from seven O’Clock in the morning until seven O’Clock in the evening in Winter—and from six O’Clock in the morning, till six O’Clock in the evening in Summer.
4. That they be allowed half an hour at breakfast, and an hour at dinner.
5. That they do not go out without leave, nor permitted to stay longer than the time appointed them.
6. That they clean themselves before breakfast on Sunday mornings and go in time to Church in a regular and decent manner.
7. [*Blank.*]
8. All who conduct themselves properly shall be paid one Half of their earnings as a reward for their industry.
9. That every person shall be in the house by eight O’Clock in the evening from Michaelmas to Lady day—and nine O’Clock in the evening from Lady day to Michaelmas.”

APPENDIX VI.

DUTIES AS TO WORKHOUSES.

The following is a specimen of the rules drawn up as to the duties in the workhouses.

There shall be monthly meetings of the Churchwardens and Overseers (3 & 4 William III).

The Master and Mistress were to see

that the Paupers worked from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. in winter, and from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m. in summer ;

that there was no intercourse from the outside with paupers, “lest an opportunity be given for ill advice or embezzling the provisions, &c.”;

that the door be shut by day as much as possible, and be locked at 7 p.m. in winter, and 9 in summer ;

- that none be excused attending Divine Service on Sunday, morning and evening, except in case of sickness ;
 that notes of admission be filed, and a Register kept ;
 that able boys of 14 be "putt outt apprentice," and girls of 15 be "putt to service" ;
 that the mistress teach the children to read...hours¹ each day.

APPENDIX VII.

MAGISTRATES' ORDER AS TO AMOUNT OF RELIEF, 1829.

The following printed sheet is pasted on the cover of an overseer's book at St Bene't's.

"Town of Cambridge"

The Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor are requested to regulate the incomes of such Persons as may apply to them for Relief or Employment according to the price of fine Bread namely :—

A single woman	the price of 3½	quartern Loaves	per week
A single man	" "	4½	" " "
A man and his wife	" "	8	" " "
" " and 1 child	" "	9½	" " "
" " and 2 children	" "	11	" " "
" " and 3 "	" "	13	" " "
Man, wife 4 children and upwards	" "	2½	" " per head

It will be necessary to add to the above income in all cases of sickness or other kind of Distress, and particularly of such Persons or Families who deserve encouragement by their good behaviour, whom Parish-officers should mark both by commendation and reward.

By Order of the Magistrates assembled at the Town-Hall, Cambridge,
 Nov. 27, 1829.

A. CHEVELL

(Clerk to the Magistrates.)"

APPENDIX VIII.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN PAROCHIAL AUTHORITIES
 AND WORKHOUSE MASTER OF ST ANDREW'S THE GREAT,
 1835.

"Articles of Agreement made and entered into this sixteenth day of June one thousand eight hundred and thirty five Between Thomas Woodley and Joseph Truslove churchwardens and Edward Jay, Field

¹ It may be added that the blank left as to the number of hours devoted to teaching the children is perhaps significant of the uncertainty attending such instruction.

Dunn Barker, Thomas Markham and John Cream Overseers of the poor of the parish of Saint Andrew the Great in the Town of Cambridge of the one part and William Stonebridge of the said parish and Town of the other part.

Whereas at a General Vestry Meeting of the said parish duly convened by public Notice and held on the fifteenth day of May last the said William Stonebridge was duly elected Master of the Workhouse of the said parish and upon such his election it was stipulated that he should sign an Agreement for the due performance of the Duties of the said Office and hold the same under and subject to the Rules, regulation, and conditions hereinafter mentioned Now therefore he the said William Stonebridge doth hereby promise and agree to and with the said Churchwardens and Overseers above named and their Successors that he the said William Stonebridge shall and will so long as he shall be and continue Master of the said Workhouse well faithfully and honestly perform and execute all the duties of the said Office and obey and in all respects conform to all such orders and regulations as shall from time to time be made by the Select Vestry of the said parish or the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor of the said parish for the time being And also shall and will provide sufficient good and wholesome Meat and Drink [*inserted in pencil*] Table Beer] for all such paupers as shall be from time to time residing in the said Workhouse allowing them three hot Meat Dinners every week and shall wash make and mend their Linen and provide them with sufficient firing, he the said William Stonebridge being allowed out of the funds of the said parish for every pauper under the age of Seven years the sum of two shillings and sixpence per week and for every other pauper of more advanced age the sum of three shillings weekly and in the like respective proportions for any less period

And also that he shall receive and lodge in the spare rooms of the said Workhouse all such Parishioners as shall be sent there by any Order of the Select Vestry or by the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor for the time being or any of them he being allowed a reasonable sum for the washing of their Bed Clothes And also that he shall take care and see that all paupers who shall be lodged in the said Workhouse from time to time shall attend Divine Worship on Sundays both Morning and afternoon and shall take care that no indecent or immoral practices or conduct shall be suffered among them.—

And that he shall from time to time keep a proper and correct account of all such furniture and other articles and things as shall be intrusted to his care belonging to the said parish and shall give an account thereof when required to the Churchwardens and Overseers for the time being or any of them and deliver up the same when required so to do either by an Order of the Select Vestry or by the Churchwardens and Overseers for the time being And in case any Linen Clothes Utensils or other Articles shall be wanted in the said Workhouse he shall give Notice thereof either at

the Select Vestry or to the Churchwardens and Overseers for the time being or any of them and shall not purchase or provide any such articles of Linen Clothes or Utensils without first obtaining an Order for that purpose of the Select Vestry or the said Churchwardens and Overseers or some of them And that he shall receive all orders from any persons wishing to employ any of the Paupers in the said Workhouse and shall make weekly returns of all such Employers to the acting Overseer for the time being And shall direct all such Employers to pay to such Overseer all wages due for the week so done And if the said William Stonebridge shall employ any of the Paupers in any business or employment of his own he shall pay for such employment to the acting Overseer for the time being such sums as he and such Overseer shall think reasonable or in case of their disagreeing then as the Select Vestry shall order and adjudge.—

And the said Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor above named Do for themselves and their Successors agree to pay to the said William Stonebridge out of the funds of the said parish all such sums and allowances as aforesaid and to allow the said William Stonebridge and his family to have the use and occupation of two good rooms in the said Workhouse for their exclusive use without paying anything for the same.—

And it is expressly understood and agreed between the parties hereto that the said William Stonebridge shall quit the said Workhouse with his family and others belonging to him and the said Office or place of Master of the said Workhouse shall be determined and put an end to at any time on the said William Stonebridge receiving three Calendar months Notice in writing signed by the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor of the said parish for the time being or on such Notice so signed being left at the said Workhouse and in case he shall be desirous of relinquishing the same then he shall give to the said Churchwardens and Overseers three Calendar months previous Notice in writing of such his intention As witness the hands of the parties the day and year aforesaid—

THO^S WOODLEY } Church
[JOSEPH TRUSLOVE] } Wardens.

EDW^D JAY }
JOHN CREAM } Overseers.
F. D. BARKER }

Chairman. ROBERT BARRETT }
JOHN GINN } Select
D. ADAMS } Vestry.
J. COORT }
RICH^D BARBER }

The mark of William Stonebridge

X X."

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