

**MILL ROAD HISTORY PROJECT
BUILDING REPORT**

81a Mill Road, Cambridge, PART I

Cambridge Union Workhouse (1838–1930)

Cambridgeshire County Infirmary (1930–1939)



Ian Bent with Allan Brigham

The Mill Road History Project was officially launched in 2013 under the umbrella of Mill Road Bridges¹ to study the heritage of Mill Road, Cambridge, its buildings (residential, commercial and industrial), institutions and community. It was supported by a two-year grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund.

This is the first edition – October 2015
Authors: Ian Bent with Allan Brigham

Cover picture: Union Workhouse frontage, c. 1880 (Cambridgeshire Collection in the Central Library)

¹ 'Mill Road Bridges seeks to grow and maintain the community spirit, heritage and rich cultural diversity of the Mill Road area by improving the flow of information between and about individuals, businesses, voluntary organisations and local stakeholders.'

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Abbreviations

CA:	Cambridgeshire Archives in the Shire Hall
CC:	Cambridgeshire Collection in the Central Library
CIP	<i>Cambridge Independent Press</i>

NOTE

This report was produced by Ian Bent, resident of Petersfield, Cambridge, and member of the steering group of the Project. One section was written, and significant other contributions were made throughout, by Allan Brigham. The authors wish to express their gratitude to the archivists of the Cambridgeshire Archives, especially to former archivist Melissa McGreechan, and to the librarians of the Cambridgeshire Collection, especially Chris Jakes.

The archival documentation for the Cambridge Union Workhouse and the County Infirmary is – unlike that of many Mill Road buildings – massive in both depth and sheer coverage (see the List of Sources below to gain some idea of what is preserved). This report can do no more than scratch the surface of the site and its history, not to mention the community of thousands who lived in it over the century between 1838 and 1939. To make a full study of even the Workhouse alone would take many years of research in Cambridge, in the National Archives, and elsewhere.

This report covers the history of the site and its buildings up to 1939. Its history from that date to the present will be covered in Part II.

Location

The building under discussion is located on the north side of Mill Road, between Gwydir Street (to the east) and Perowne Street (to the west). In 1887, the building still had no street number, the next building to the east, the *Durham Ox* public house, being No. 49. In 1891, the neighbouring buildings were numbered 41 (*Durham Ox*) and 43 (Percy Villa). By 1895, it lay between numbers 83 and 81, and soon acquired the number 81a. Its current postal address is:

Ditchburn Place
81a Mill Road
Cambridge CB1 2DR

Its Global Positional System (GPS) location is:

National Grid: 546172 (easting) 257987 (northing)
Lat/Long: 52° 12' 2.7" 0° 8' 14.886"

During the period 1838 to the present the building and site have served several different functions and borne various names:

Part I (<i>current report</i>)	1838–1912	Cambridge Union Workhouse
	1913–29	Poor Law Institution <i>or</i> Cambridge Union Workhouse
	1930–34	Mill Road Institution <i>or</i> Cambridgeshire County Infirmary
	1934–39	Cambridgeshire County Infirmary
Part II	1939–45	Wartime Emergency Medical Hospital
	1946–48	Midwifery Training School
	1948–83	Cambridge Maternity Hospital
	1983–88	[<i>closed</i>]
	1988–present	Ditchburn Place

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In the context of Mill Road and its surrounding side-streets, No. 81a is a building of outstanding importance, historically and in architectural and functional terms.

- The core building, dating from 1838, is arguably the oldest surviving structure in the area (its only rival being the terrace of houses at 21–31 Covent Garden, which was probably built in 1838–40).
- Designed by John Smith in 1837, the building is in Georgian style, classically symmetrical, and elegantly proportioned. Later buildings designed by S E Urwin c. 1934 are in modernist and art deco style.
- Over its nearly 180-year history, it has served the local community and the City of Cambridge as a whole – as workhouse, wartime hospital, maternity hospital and sheltered housing scheme.

And yet, *extraordinarily*, unlike four other buildings in the Mill Road area, which are Grade II listed,² *it is not listed by English Heritage*. It surely deserves comparable recognition, and this would take on a compelling aspect were any of its buildings ever to be threatened with demolition. It is hoped that this report, in addition to recording the history of what is now called Ditchburn Place and its role in the community, may help in achieving Grade II listed status for not just the original building but the whole site.

Surprisingly, Nikolaus Pevsner made no mention of Ditchburn Place in the first edition of his *The Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire*. The new edition of 2014 says:

On the N side of Mill Road, the former WORKHOUSE, latterly a maternity hospital. Built of yellow brick by *John Smith* in 1836–8, it survives in part within Ditchburn Place, housing of 1989–90. The frontage has the typical pedimental gables which mark the transition from Neoclassicism to Early Victorian. Behind was the archetypal New Poor Law plan of four arms radiating from a central octagon.

The *Mill Road Conservation Area Appraisal* of 2011, in which Ditchburn Place is identified as a 'Building of Local Interest' (BLI), states:³

This building was opened in 1838 as the Union Workhouse for Cambridge, and is one of the oldest buildings in the Conservation Area. It is built from gault brick with sash windows in a simple Georgian style, with a shallow pitched slate roof above. A gable faces Mill Road with the date 1838 on a plaque. This building became the Maternity Hospital in 1946 and closed in 1983. It was recently converted and extended to become part of the Ditchburn Place Sheltered Housing complex.

The *Appraisal* notes that the building is 'surprisingly not listed'.⁴

Not only are the earlier layers of the building of merit, but also the later 20th-century developments, too. The work of the City architects in reshaping the site in the mid/late-1980s while respecting the best of its historical architecture was outstanding.

² St Matthew's Church (by Richard Reynolds Rowe, 1864–66), the Cemetery Lodge (also by John Smith, 1847), the Free Library (now Bharat Bhavan, by Frank Waters, 1896–97), and Hughes Hall. Also Grade II listed is Mill Road Cemetery and nine of the monuments.

³ p. 30; other references pp. 3, 7, 15. On the plan, p. 60, not even the oldest part of the site is coloured yellow (= BLI).

⁴ *ibid*, p. 7.

A– SOCIAL CONTEXT

1. The Social Background to the Workhouse

Many of the social issues debated in Britain today – the ‘poverty trap’, the ‘working poor’, the ‘workshy’, joblessness, disability, homelessness, ‘street people’, public disorder, and so on – were hotly debated also 400 years ago in the time of Queen Elizabeth I, and again 200 years ago. Just as in the years after 1945 the British government created the welfare state, so at the beginning of the 17th century, and again in the early 19th century, the English parliament instituted reforms to regulate those in society who either refused to work or were unable to do so. These reforms arose not only out of charitable motives, but also from a desire to maintain order on the streets, reduce crime, and ultimately prevent civil uprisings.

17TH CENTURY: In 1601 the English parliament passed the **Poor Law**, which distinguished between the ‘able-bodied poor’ (to be set to work), the ‘idle poor’ and ‘vagrants’ (to be punished), and the ‘impotent poor’ (to be given support). The ‘impotent poor’ were those who could not work because of physical or mental illness, long-term disability or old age, and children with no one to care for them – in short, people who were unable to work through no fault of their own.

In the middle ages, such people had been given support by the monasteries; but the latter were dissolved and closed by Henry VIII in the 1530s. The Poor Law placed responsibility for the poor in society on to the 1,500 **church parishes** throughout England. Each parish was required to do two things: (1) to tax the landowners in its community according to their wealth by setting and collecting a ‘poor rate’ each year; (2) to distribute this to the poor in the form of money, food, clothing and other provision. People received this either in their homes (‘outdoor relief’) or in a special parish ‘poorhouse’ (‘indoor relief’). The official charged with identifying those who deserved such relief and administering the distribution was the ‘Overseer of the Poor’.

19TH CENTURY: By the early 19th century (despite many adjustments to the law meanwhile), provision for the deserving poor had reached crisis point. The numbers of impotent poor had greatly increased as the unemployment rate rose in the early part of the century, and the cost of supporting them had risen steeply. Many parishes could no longer afford to maintain their own poorhouses and support those in them; and outdoor relief was expensive. The many differences between parishes small and large, rural and urban, north and south, meant that the burden fell unequally. It was life in the parish poorhouse at this point in history that Charles Dickens portrayed, and to some extent satirized, in the opening chapters of his novel *Oliver Twist*. This novel was written in 1837–39, just as the poorhouses were being reformed, but it is thought to have drawn on his own impressions from around 1815–17.⁵

The **Poor Law Amendment Act** of 1834 caused parishes to form into groups called ‘unions’ in order to share that burden. The old parish poorhouses were to be closed, and each union was to establish a specially designed central workhouse with its own buildings and administering staff. Over each union was a Board of Guardians, whose members were elected from the parishes and the local community. This Board oversaw the operation of the workhouse,

⁵ Richardson (2012), *passim*. *Oliver Twist* was first published in monthly installments in *Bentley’s Magazine* between 1837 and 1839, but was released entire in three volumes in November 1838. The page references cited in this report will be those of the edition in the series Charles Dickens: Complete Works, Centennial Edition, published by Heron Book (n.d.).

hiring and firing its staff, deciding all major issues, and also supervising outdoor relief, which was distributed by 'relieving officers'. In his novel *Oliver Twist*, Dickens painted an uncomplimentary picture of the guardians of his fictitious London parish poorhouse. Since the guardians of the union workhouses were largely made up of appointees from the separate parishes, one might suppose that at first they were not so different from their predecessors. Oliver was ushered into a large white-washed room where:⁶

eight or ten fat gentlemen were sitting round a table. At the top of the table, seated in an armchair rather higher than the rest, was a particularly fat gentleman with a very round, red face. [...]

'Boy,' said the gentleman in the high chair, 'listen to me. You know you're an orphan, I suppose?'

'What's that, sir?' inquired poor Oliver.

'The boy is a fool – I thought he was,' said the gentleman in the white waistcoat. [...]

'Well! You have come here to be educated, and taught a useful trade,' said the red-faced gentleman in the high chair.

'So, you'll begin to pick oakum to-morrow morning at six o'clock,' added the surly one in the white waistcoat.

Under the Guardians, the workhouse appointed a Master, who dealt with the day-to-day running of the institution, and maintained strict discipline. Central to the whole national system was the Poor Law Commission in London, to which each Board of Guardians had to refer all major decisions for approval.

There was resistance to these changes from some quarters, and this cartoon from 1834 pictures a new-style workhouse; it attacks the new Poor Law, the workhouse system and the local politicians who supported it.

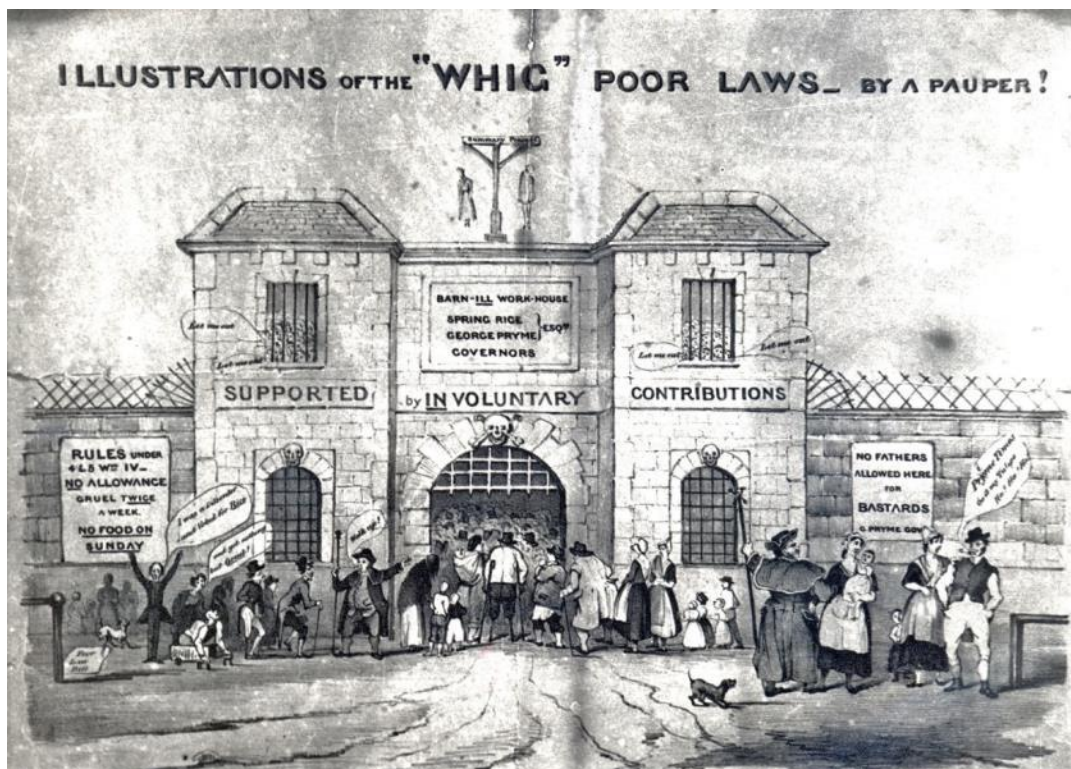


Figure 1 – Satirical cartoon attacking the 1834 Act (CC)

⁶ *Oliver Twist*, chapter II (pp. 11–13).

The Boards of Guardians were elected in or around 1836, new workhouses were built, old poorhouses sold off, inmates transferred from one to the other, and their officers given notice. For example, minutes of the vestry of Great St Mary's Church read:⁷

Resolution that the churchwardens be requested to give a month's notice to George James and his wife to leave the workhouse as their services are no longer needed when the new Poor Law Act comes into operation, 5 May 1836. [...]

Resolution that parish furniture in the workhouse be sold by public auction, 2 June 1836.

The new workhouses, as their name implies, not only fed and sheltered vulnerable people but also put the able-bodied among them to gruelling, hard work. They also looked after their sick, and delivered babies as necessary; so they marked the beginning of public hospitals and maternity units. In addition, they supplied a basic education to the children in their care, so provided the beginnings of public (as apart from private) education, and put young children into apprenticeships with local firms. In short, they performed a huge public service in English society. They continued to exist, with the apparatus that controlled and ran them, until the National Assistance Law was passed by parliament in 1948.

⁷ CA: KP30/8/1, St Mary the Great Church, Cambridge, Vestry Minute book. Taken from the summary in the archive catalogue (CALM).

2. What is (or was) a Workhouse?

A workhouse was a collection of buildings in which were housed people who through, no fault of their own, were unable to sustain a job in regular society – people who would otherwise become homeless or would starve to death. It was not a prison; nor was it a hospital, a school, or a workplace. As an Order of 1847 put it:

The sole object of the workhouses is to give relief to the destitute poor in such a manner as shall satisfy their necessary wants, without making pauperism attractive, or otherwise injuring the industrious classes. The workhouse is not intended to serve any penal or remuneratory purpose; and it ought not to be used for punishing the dissolute.

The workhouse admitted 'paupers' and took care of them by providing food, basic clothing and accommodation. But it did have *elements* of those other institutions: hospital, school, workplace, and prison. It had a Matron and a Nurse, who tended those who became sick. It had a Schoolmaster and Schoolmistress who provided the children with an elementary education. It had a 'labour master' who put able-bodied men to work. It had a Master who punished those who broke its rules (and kept a 'punishment book').

It was a harsh life: inmates rose at 6 a.m., worked from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., and were in bed by 8 p.m. Meals were short, basic, and eaten in total silence. Harshest of all was that men, women and children were made to live in separate quarters, and were punished if they tried to communicate with one another. So when a family was admitted, its members were immediately split up. Dickens commented acidly on this practice:⁸

[The guardians] kindly undertook to divorce poor married people, in consequence of the great expense of a suit in Doctor's Commons; and, instead of compelling a man to support his family, as they had theretofore done, took his family away from him, and made him a bachelor!

The adults were further divided into the 'able-bodied' and 'aged or infirm'. Thus there were six categories of inmates: able-bodied men, able-bodied women, aged or infirm men, aged or infirm women, boys, and girls. Any set of workhouse buildings thus had six separate living areas, as well as other spaces such as laundry, kitchen, dining rooms, infirmary, schoolrooms, wash houses, store rooms, and so on. The typical groundplan for a workhouse was 'cruciform' (i.e. in the shape of a cross). The prototype of this plan was created by the London architect Sampson Kempthorne (1809–73) in 1835. It was he who went on to design several English workhouses.

Above all, the workhouse was a place of *shame*. It was the last place that anyone wanted to end up in. To enter it was the ultimate admission of defeat. To have been in it was a stigma that you carried for a lifetime. Those who ran the workhouses strove hard to maintain this image, in order to discourage the lazy, the workshy, the 'shirker' and the criminal from seeking entry.

⁸ *Oliver Twist*, chapter II (p. 14).

3. A Week in the Life of the Workhouse

The key person in any workhouse was its Master. To him fell the everyday management of the institution. Other than the nursing of sick people in the infirmary, he was in overall charge of every aspect of the workhouse's operation. While much of the practical work was delegated to others such as the Porter and Portress, the Schoolmaster and Schoolmistress, the Labour Master, the Cook and others, he was ultimately answerable to the Board of Guardians for all that his officers did as well as his own actions. He had to be a disciplinarian and to mete out punishment when appropriate. He was administrator, judge and social worker all rolled into one.

His primary task was the admission to – and discharge from – the workhouse of paupers. With help from the Porter and Portress, he had each day to question and examine every person seeking admission, to decide whether to take them in, turn them away or refer them to another institution, and to note their condition and any possible actions needing to be taken. He was also responsible for reporting to the Guardians all *admissions*, *deaths* and *births* that took place on the premises. Every week, the Master had to draw up a formal report of all arrivals and departures, to produce a detailed statistical table breaking down the community of inmates into its many categories, and to comment on any other events.⁹

A good way to get a feel for his job, and the world of the workhouse, is to examine the Master's report for a single week. The longest-serving Master of the Cambridge Union Workhouse was Luke Hosegood (see below, Section B/2a). He served the institution for nearly 53 years, 1871–1924, during which, with his wife Emma as Matron, he was Master for 37 years, 1876–1913. He was greatly admired and respected in and out of the workhouse. His report for the third week of November 1907 (dated 27 November) is representative. His tabular statistics (simplified here) give the make-up of the community on the last day of that week:

1. Adults not able-bodied:	Men	72
	Women	16
2. Adults ordinarily able-bodied:	Men	26 (21 temporarily disabled)
	Women	33 (31 temporarily disabled)
3. Children:	Youths 8–16	2
	Boys 3–8	2
	Girls 8–16	2
	Girls 3–8	2
	Infants	8
Total		<u>163</u>
Vagrants	Men	122
	Women	14
	Children	3
Imbeciles or Idiots		2
Total		<u>141</u>
Grand total		<u>304</u>

⁹ G/C/WRm1–11 in the Cambridgeshire Archives are the Master's Report Books for 1905–26.

His list of admissions, deaths and births for that week is sobering, with two people in their mid-80s, eight in their 60s, and the four orphans between 2 and 12 years. That a man (such as Peter Fuller) and his wife with four children, on entering the workhouse, would be split up and distributed among separate areas of the site, represents one of the more harrowing features of workhouse life. Another woman (Alice Prevett) was pregnant, and an illegitimate birth is recorded at the end of the list – unmarried women were kept separate in the infirmary when giving birth, and were judged 'loose' and 'morally weak' and so despised (see Section B/2c/3 below).

The Master begs to report the admissions of:

W ^m . Thos. Booty	64	
Fredk. Radford	61	
Chas. Lattimore	52	
Geo. Geap	68	
Philip Miller	44	
Henry Dent	32	
Peter Fuller	38	Wife and 4 children
Chas. Gaunt	32	
Samuel Gatwood	39	
Robt Benstead	68	
Edward Marshall	57	
James Randall	51	(Not belonging here)
John Roper	51	
Alice Prevett	28	and 2 children, Woman pregnant
W ^m . Holland	86	Verminous
David Prime	35	
Chas. Fuller	53	
Fred. Loates	34	
Robt Hunt	61	
Joseph Welch	45	
Francis Bavister	67	
Iby Gillett	86	
Stephen Leavens	12	
Winnie Leavens	9	
Harry Leavens	7	
Charles Leavens	2	
Sidney J. Freeman	49	
Walter Chapman	63	
Robt Hunt	61	

Also the death of Sarah How. 70. Cancer.

Also that Rose Mary Turner, 24, has given birth to a female illegitimate child.

In other weeks, some people were deemed not to belong to the Cambridge 'parish' and would be sent away perhaps after one night's lodging; against others would be notes such as 'but passed away after six hours'; others arrived with a small amount of money that they could contribute to their care. In some weeks an inmate would be discharged to the local asylum. The Master occasionally reported that a local firm had agreed to take on one of the youths as an apprentice. Every week there was a list of local people who had contributed money or packets of magazines or books. Entertainments on special days were reported, and excursions by children to places of interest or to the home of a Guardian.

B – THE CAMBRIDGE UNION WORKHOUSE

1. Beginnings

The first meeting of the Guardians of the Cambridge Union workhouse took place on 7 April 1936. The newly elected Guardians comprised two representatives from each of the fourteen Cambridge parishes in the Union. The parishes in the centre of the town were All Saints, St. Andrew the Great, St. Benedict (St. Bene't), St. Botolph, St. Clement, St. Edward, Holy Sepulchre (the Round Church), Holy Trinity, St. Mary the Great (Great St. Mary), St. Mary the Less (Little St. Mary) and St. Michael; on Castle Hill were St. Giles and St. Peter; and on the Newmarket Road was St. Andrew the Less. The last of these, being geographically by far the largest, had four Guardians, making thirty in all. In addition there were two 'ex officio' officers: the Chairman (who was the Mayor of Cambridge), and Vice-Chairman. And the first meeting appointed a Clerk to the Board to deal with the day-to-day business.¹⁰



Figure 2 – St. Andrew the Less Poorhouse, Staffordshire Garden (CC)

In June 1837 the Guardians finally negotiated the site for the workhouse, chosen, after a long and contentious search (it was a case of 'not in my backyard'), for its remoteness from the town, in the Barnwell Fields beside a path to Cherry Hinton. A month later the Board selected its architect: John Smith of All Saints' Passage, who designed a new building at a cost of £4,029. Construction was completed by 1 August 1838, and the frontage bore a datestone '1838' in each of its two pediments. It was probably the first building on Mill Road, other than the Mill itself. Unfortunately, no photographs of the outside of the earliest

¹⁰ CA: G/C/AM1, pp. 1–7.

buildings survive, so we have to rely on the architect's drawings.¹¹ The central buildings formed a two-armed cross, flanked by perimeter buildings and walls. If we split the ground-floor plan into three, on the Mill Road frontage were the areas for the 'aged and infirm':

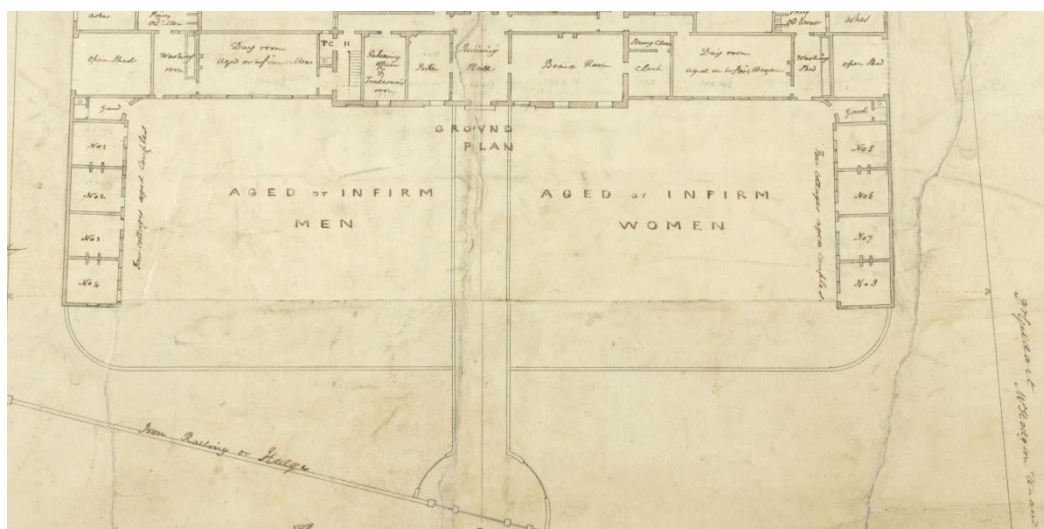


Figure 3 – 1837 ground plan, front (CA: G/C/AP16.1)

Men and women were separated left and right by the central passageway (which can be seen in Figure 8 below). Each group had a yard to the outer side of which were 'four cottages for aged couples'. At the back of each yard was a 'day room'; next to that on the women's side was the boardroom, where the Guardians met every week, and on the men's side the porter's lodge and relieving officer's room. On the first floor above these were the male and female sleeping accommodations.

The middle portion housed the children, again segregated:

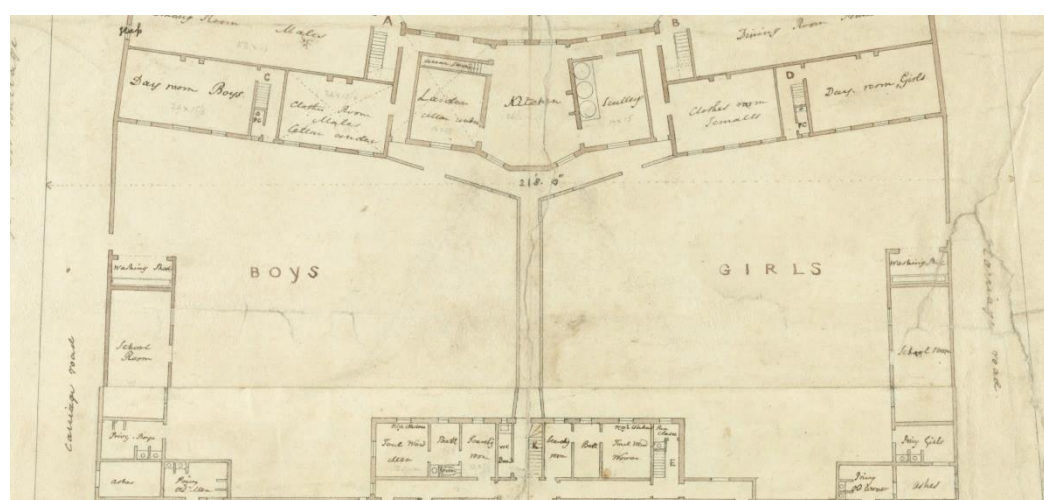


Figure 4 – 1837 ground plan, middle (CA: G/C/AP16.1)

¹¹ CA: G/C/AP16.1–4, the drawings are all signed 'July 10th 1837' and are inscribed as approved by the Poor Law Commissioners on 21 July 1837.

At the back of each yard was a day room, and to left and right at the edges of the site were the schoolrooms. The dormitories for boys and girls were above the day rooms on the first floor.

In the rear third of the site (Figure 5) was the accommodation for the able-bodied: men to the left, women to the right. Flanking the men's yard to the left were the workplaces: 'Stone Room' and 'Mill Room'; and to the right for the women: 'Laundry' and 'Wash House', below which were two cells marked 'Refractory [i.e. troublesome] Men' and 'Refractory Women'. In front of the two yards were the two segregated dining rooms, with kitchen between. Over these, on the first floor, was the accommodation for the able-bodied.

At the very back of the site was the infirmary. On the ground floor were the 'sick wards' for men and women, the surgery, a room labelled 'Nurse', and the 'dead house' – an unflattering name for the mortuary. Over those, on the first floor, were a 'ward for sick women' and, significantly, a 'ward for lying in women' [i.e. women delivering babies], as well as three small private wards. Behind the infirmary was a large 'airing ground for [the] sick'.

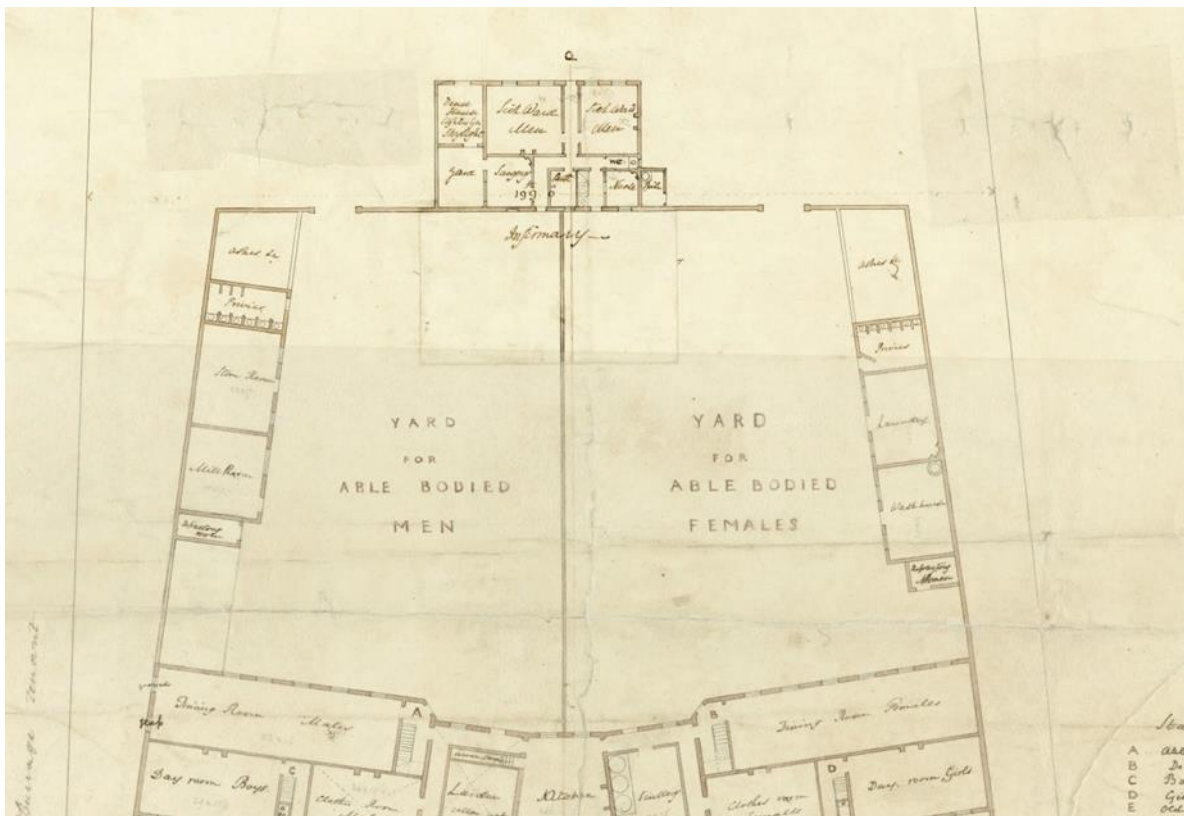


Figure 5 – 1837 ground plan, rear (CA: G/C/AP16.1)

The first-floor plan (Figure 6) shows that the residential quarters of the Master (here labelled 'Governor') were located in the middle range, placed symbolically, at the very centre of the site with convex windows to the front and concave ones to the rear affording him a cockpit-like view of the whole institution. He is, one might say, 'captain of his ship'.



15



Figure 7 – 1837 ground plan, front elevation (CA: G/C/AP16.4)

Of this frontage, only the central portion was actually built to two storeys. The range on either side was marked on the plan as 'to be raised another storey if required' (as they are today). Figure 8 shows the flanking buildings as single-storey:¹²



Figure 8 – The Main Building as it was c.1880 (CC)

Most of the other buildings were single-storey, with only the middle 'arm' of the cross and the infirmary rising to two storeys, as can be seen from the cross-section of the whole site:

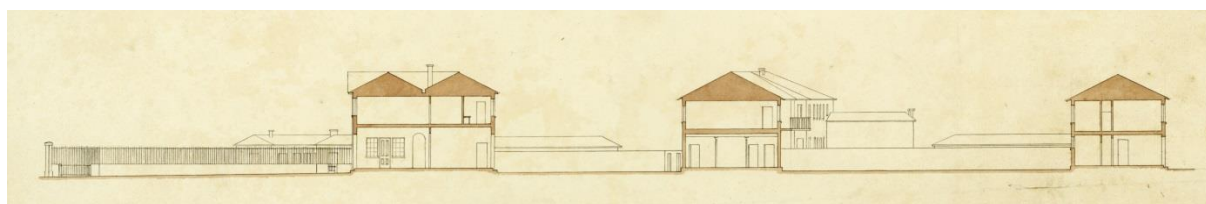


Figure 9 – 1837 ground plan, cross-section (CA: G/C/AP16.3)

¹² This is one of an album of photographs of the Workhouse dating from c.1880 – Figure 10 being another – held by the Museum of Cambridge.

The workhouse was initially designed to sleep 256 people: 66 aged or infirm, 48 children, 84 able-bodied, 30 in the infirmary, 20 in the nursery, and 8 others, many of the women and children sharing double beds. These figures may have changed slightly as the design was modified during construction.

The day-to-day managers of the workhouse were the Master and Matron. These were required to be man and wife. During the summer of 1838 the first Master and Matron, Schoolmaster, Schoolmistress and Porter were appointed, and in early November the Nurse and Chaplain. As paupers were moved from the parish poorhouses, the workhouse gradually came up to full strength during the autumn of that year.

Not only are the architect's drawings all preserved in the Cambridgeshire Archives, but also all the detailed building specifications. These contain such interesting information as:¹³

The Contractor to sink a Well and bore to such depths as may be necessary to reach a good supply of Water, for at least one Year after the Completion of the Building. The Well to be bricked, and the Land Springs be stopped out.

In September 1837 the Guardians selected the contractor for the job: Edward Bennett, bricklayer. Other local craftsmen who came to be involved in the building work were William Crowe, a well known Cambridge builder (responsible for among other buildings the west wing of Downing College), Keith (or Richard?) Whittaker, carpenter, and Jeremiah Thring, ironmonger.

The land in the Petersfield area was rich in high-quality gravel – a gravel pit existed in the near neighbourhood, close to the present Anglia Ruskin University site. In dealing with this, the Guardians called on their own resources: in January 1838, they agreed to employ eleven able-bodied paupers selected from the parish poorhouses to dig the gravel on the site.

A dark note is struck in July 1836: a minute instructs that 'a sufficient Quantity of Oakum be procured to employ the Paupers in the different Workhouses'; again in October 1836 a minute directs that a '¼ ton of Oakum *for Use of the Union*' be procured.¹⁴ Oakum was old, used, tarry rope. Able-bodied paupers were forced laboriously to unpick it into separate threads for making into new rope. 'Picking oakum' was a notorious punishment in prisons: with no protective gloves, the inmates' hands were soon torn, blistered and bleeding, and quickly became infected. We are told that this form of labour was not practised at the new Cambridge Union Workhouse, but while the first of these entries seems to reinforce that, the second flatly contradicts it.

The men's occupation that was practised most commonly was the breaking of stone: large chunks of granite and other materials were delivered to the workhouse for the able-bodied men to break into small pieces, which were then sold on for road-making. The other workroom for men was the 'mill room' – apparently a mill had been moved from one of the old parish poorhouses, and a record from January 1838 recommended the building of 'another Room at the New Workhouse for receiving the Mill, the present Room, (as set out in the Plan,) being recommended by the Architect to be used as a Work Room for the Men to stand in when employed'.¹⁵ This is most likely to have been a treadmill for grinding corn.

¹³ CA: G/C/AP16, 13-page document dated August 1837.

¹⁴ G/C/AM1, pp. 124, 264.

¹⁵ CA: G/C/AM3, p. 241 (*italics editorial*).

2. The Workhouse Period: 1838–1930

The Ditchburn site is unique among Mill Road sites in that its buildings have never stood still.¹⁶ New buildings have been added, existing ones reconfigured or demolished, regularly throughout the subsequent 92 years – to suit both the requirements of the inmates and of-ficers and also to meet the directives of successive ministries in Whitehall. It was a process of constant organic change. This section of the report will take just three key moments within that span of time as examples of change. But first a personal note.

a: Master and Matron: Mr. and Mrs. Luke Hosegood

The Master and Matron were pivotal figures in any workhouse. They stamped their character on the institution through their own actions and through the staff under their command. Master and Matron had to be a married couple, so worked closely and generally in harmony to administer the institution. At the Cambridge workhouse there were some ten couples who successively occupied the 'twin' positions between 1838 and 1930, some for only a short while, others for long periods. Between 1861 and 1867 they were Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Bounds, between 1914 and 1926 Mr. and Mrs. John Johnson. But the longest-serving of all couples was Luke and Emma Hosegood, who were Master and Matron from 1876 and 1913 – for 37 years.

Luke Hosegood came from the small village of Poughill (pronounced 'Poyill') in South Devon, and Emma Porter from Caxton, near Cambridge. They first appear in 1871, when Luke, aged 23, was appointed Schoolmaster, and Emma, aged 22, was appointed Schoolmistress. Emma resigned her position in September 1875.¹⁷ In May 1876, the then Master¹⁸ absconded, allegedly to the United States, abandoning his wife. Luke was appointed as temporary Master to work with the existing Matron, who was destined to be dismissed in the absence of her husband. A month later the Guardians dispensed with advertising the position and declared that 'Luke Hosegood the present Work House School Master and his Wife are fully competent to discharge the Duties of Work House Master and Matron', so they were appointed. Luke's wife was none other than Emma! The two had married in the summer of 1875, which perhaps explains her resignation; so Emma returned to the institution, and Luke swapped the position of Schoolmaster for that of Master. The couple went on to have four children, of whom two died and two survived.¹⁹

Their time in charge of the workhouse was a successful one. But the day that sealed Luke's place in the annals of the institution is reported as follows:²⁰ at 3 a.m. on 8 April 1883:

a fire of an alarming nature broke out in the bathroom of the men's infirmary at three o'clock on Sunday morning last. Upon the alarm being raised, the officials were quickly on the scene, and the first care was to remove the inmates. This was a work of much difficulty and danger; in fact, after access had been cut off from the staircase, four old men had to be rescued through a window.

¹⁶ The possible exception to this statement is the Brookfields Hospital site.

¹⁷ Her replacement was Charlotte E. ('Bessie') Hosegood (relationship unknown).

¹⁸ Confusingly, his name was Thomas Luke Hosegood, and he was from the same Devonshire village. His wife was Mary Ann Hosegood.

¹⁹ George Bertram and Mabel Grace, born c. 1880 and c.1884, survived to at least 1911, Algernon Graham only to some time beyond the 1881 census. See Appendix III(e)–(h).

²⁰ From Guardian's minutes, as recorded in the *Cambridge Independent Press*, 14 April 1883, p. 6.

One of the Guardians had been on the spot, and reported that:

after all the people had been supposed to have been extricated, and one man was found to be missing, the master went up a ladder, got through the window, and at a great risk groped about amidst smoke, and falling ceiling, &c., until he found the poor creature crouching in terror in a corner, and brought him out, thereby saving his life. This was a most courageous act, and [he] could not express too highly [his] sense of the admirable conduct of the master.

From the Royal Society for the Protection of Life from Fire Luke received a donation of £5, and a testimonial that hangs now in the Museum of Cambridge alongside a portrait of him. It praises 'his prompt and meritorious action in rescuing some inmates from a fire that happened in the infirmary of the Cambridge Union Workhouse'.

In her final years as Matron, Emma suffered from ill-health, and in March 1913 she handed in her resignation. She died on 21 April of that year aged 63. Luke was obliged also to resign, and during the First World War he served as acting Master at several other workhouses and was eventually elected a Guardian of the Cambridge workhouse in 1921, serving until his death on 15 June 1924. He had served the Cambridge workhouse in all for nearly 53 years. Emma and he are buried in Mill Road Cemetery, within a hundred yards of the workhouse. A photograph of about 1880 shows Emma (standing) and the Nurse, perhaps in the old male infirmary.



Figure 10 – Emma Hosegood (standing) with the Nurse and inmates (CC)

b: Chapel, Chaplains

Every workhouse was required to have a chaplain, who served as the spiritual counterpart to the Master. At the Cambridge Workhouse, the post was the sixth to be appointed in 1838: the positions of Master and Matron were advertized in May, the Porter in July, the Schoolmaster and Schoolmistress in August, all to start work on 29 September. They were thus in post – though barely! – by the time the inmates of the parish workhouses began

being moved into Mill Road on 26 September. The Chaplain's position was not advertized until October, at the same time as that of the Nurse, and his appointment made in early November.

Most striking is that the first chaplain, the Rev John Orman, despite being a part-time appointment, received the same salary as the Master, £50 a year, whereas the Matron received £30, the Schoolmaster and Schoolmistress a joint salary of £35, and the Porter £20 – all of them full-time. A clergyman was recognized as a gentleman in the 19th century,²¹ granting him a social status higher than his fellow workhouse officers; that must have afforded him a degree of independence that was bolstered by the fact that his appointment had to be licensed by the Bishop of Ely, as well as giving him the right to a relatively high salary.

A workhouse chaplain's duties were to read prayers and preach on Sundays, to catechize the children once a month, to visit the sick as and when the Master requested, and to minister to the dying.²² The Cambridge advertisement stated:

Candidates must be Clergymen of the Church of England.

The duties will be, one full Service of the Church of England every Sunday in the Workhouse, and Morning Prayers twice during the Week.

The Chaplain will also be required to attend the religious and moral instruction of the Inmates, and in all other respects to comply with the Rules, Orders, and Regulations of the Poor Law Commissioners for the government of the Workhouse.

The last chaplain to be appointed under the Guardians was Ernest Goodchild, in 1928.

However, nowhere on any Workhouse plan between 1837 and 1930 is a chapel shown to exist! This is puzzling, because the Poor Law Commissioners prohibited inmates from going out of the workhouse on a Sunday, while at the same time all inmates were required to attend services; thus the chaplain had to serve all religious denominations within the institution (including Roman Catholics, non-conformists, and Jews).²³ Where, then, was a space capable of holding 256 inmates, or perhaps two spaces of about half that capacity for males and females separately?

The Guardians' Minutes for 29 December 1880 provide a solitary entry:

Workhouse Chapel

Mr. F. R. Leech (Church Decorator City Road) having much improved the Appearance of the Interior of the Chapel by Painting Religious Inscriptions upon the Walls thereof without Cost to the Ratepayers.

Ordered that the Clerk thank Mr. Leech for his Gratuitous Services.

Frederick Leach was a master decorator, mural painter and stained glass artist, who worked with designer William Morris and also leading Victorian architects George Bodley, George Gilbert Scott and others, on churches and college interiors. Notably, in Cambridge, he worked on the restoration of the medieval churches of St Botolph and St Michael; among the newly built churches, he contributed to the decorative work of All Saints (1863–70), and provided stained glass and possibly decoration for St Barnabas Church on Mill Road (1869–70, 1919); and decorated the panelling, walls and roof of the late medieval dining hall of Queens' College. A fine example of his work is the ceiling of Jesus College Chapel, designed

²¹ Traces of this status still exist today, in such matters as eligibility to be a witness to the signing of a document.

²² Crowther (1981), p. 128.

²³ Roman Catholics in England had been granted full civil rights only nine years previously, in 1829, and Jewish emancipation in the country did not come until 1858.

by William Morris (1867). Leach established his own firm, F. R. Leach & Sons, his workshop being at 35–37 City Road and his showrooms at 3 St Mary's Passage, Cambridge. He was evidently generous in his 'Gratuitous Services', for he is recorded as having decorated the chapel of 'Arlesey Asylum Chapel'²⁴ for no charge, and carried out his work at St Michael's 'without payment as a thanks offering to God'.

The only other reference to a chapel in the Cambridge institution that has come to light so far dates from 21 April 1937, in the days when the building served as the County Infirmary, on which day the Master, Douglas Ditchburn, requests:²⁵

Will the Committee please consider the question of the disposal of various articles of old furniture, beds from Male Home & *chapel pews*.

Re Stained Glass Window

The presence of pews suggests that, at least by that time, the chapel was a dedicated space, rather than a temporarily converted dining room. Where the chapel was located is as much a mystery in Infirmary days as it was in those of the Workhouse; and one wonders whether the stained glass window that the Master wanted to dispose of might have been the work of Frederick Leach also.

²⁴ Arlesey Asylum' is cited on a tradecard as a place where examples of Leach's work might be seen. Arlesey Asylum later became Stotford Three Counties Asylum, later Fairfield Hospital, and is now Fairfield Hall and Park. I am grateful to Shelley Lockwood for drawing this to my attention and for all of this information. For more about Leach, his work, and his family, see: <http://davidparrhouse.org/category/the-leach-family/frederick-leach/>.

²⁵ CA: H/C/PRm4, emphasis editorial.

c: Three Moments in the Building History

Of the three key moments within the period 1838–1930 promised earlier, the first two concern tramps and vagabonds.

1. 1879 : Tramps Wards

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 made no provision for one particularly despised social group: tramps (i.e. homeless people who travelled constantly from place to place), otherwise known as 'vagrants', 'vagabonds', 'rogues', 'pedlars' and 'travellers', including labourers of no fixed abode who travelled merely in order to seek work. In 1837 the Poor Law Commissioners had introduced a regulation allowing such people to be given food and a night's shelter at a workhouse in cases of necessity, in return for work. The accommodation that workhouses produced in response acquired a notorious reputation, and was dubbed the 'spike'. Tramps would queue up outside a workhouse in the late afternoon, be admitted and searched in the early evening, allowed to wash, issued with a night shirt, given a bed, and provided with breakfast followed by a period of work such as oakum-picking or stone-breaking.²⁶

As we have seen, there was no provision for tramps in the original Cambridge plans, but the Guardians evidently did subsequently provide some accommodation towards the back of the site. In March 1877, the Cambridge Guardians appointed a committee to look into what alterations were necessary to the workhouse buildings, including 'Receiving and Tramp Wards'.²⁷ The committee carried out its enquiries 'pursuant to Suggestions of Inspector of Local Government Board' (the body that governed all matters of public health and local government between 1871 and 1919), and produced its report on 6 June.²⁸

That a Building with Water Closet Bath and efficient Drainage be erected on each side of the Principal Entrance to Workhouse on Ground fronting Mill Road for use as Receiving Wards for Males and Females that is to say One of such Building to be Erected on the left hand side of Entrance for Males and the other Building at the right hand side of Entrance in juxtaposition for the use of Females.

This couldn't have been clearer: they were to be placed in the most prominent position, right on the Mill Road frontage, obscuring the handsome main building. Within two weeks the Guardians rebelled, objecting both to the location and to the cost, no doubt thinking tramps not worth spending large sums of money on. The battle of the Board raged for 14 months until the Local Government Board put its foot down and insisted on the original plan. Completion must have been in the summer of 1879, and the result is plainly visible on the Ordnance Survey 25-inch map of 1886 (Figure 11, below): A new fence and gates had been installed behind the tramps wards to isolate them from the aged and infirm yards and main buildings.²⁹ The structure to the left of the front gate was the ward for male tramps, to the right that for female tramps and children. Beyond the end of the male tramps' ward, at the left-hand edge of the site, across a pathway, can just be seen a line of tiny cells. These were new stone-breaking sheds (they can be seen also in Figures 13 and 14), to which the temporary inmates could be ushered to work for several hours before being released

²⁶ Information in the preceding paragraphs is taken from <http://www.workhouses.org.uk/vagrants/index.shtml>. As remarked earlier, oakum-picking was not practised at the Cambridge Union Workhouse.

²⁷ CA: G/C/AM28, p. 78. 'Receiving' implies wards in which those who had been inspected and interviewed were kept until fully admitted; but in practice 'receiving' and 'tramps' seem here to be synonymous.

²⁸ CA: G/C/AM28, pp. 167–69.

²⁹ CA: G/C/AF21.

back on to the road. Once let out, they were not permitted to return to this workhouse for a set number of days. As local resident Mr. Sparrow recalled:³⁰

They in turn then used to be let out and they were not allowed another night following that one. They used to go round, and well we used to term it 'in a circle'. There was a workhouse in Linton and one in Saffron Walden and by the time they got round them all and back to Cambridge again they were entitled to another night's doss.



Figure 11 – Ordnance Survey map 1886 (detail)
© Crown Copyright

The partitions between the stone-breaking cells can still be traced on the west boundary wall as dark vertical strips, the dark triangles above them suggesting transverse sloping roofs (Figure 12). The neighbouring house behind the wall, now No. 79 Mill Road (Emery Villas), was built between 1874 and 1878, and the party wall appears to be at least as old as that if not dating from the building of the Workhouse itself. The cell partitions were 4 feet tall and a 9-inch brick thick, the cells themselves were 54 inches wide. Three cells can be discerned in the photograph, and at least two others further to the left can be traced under greenery.



Figure 12 – Traces of stone-breaking cell partitions (Ian Bent, 2015)

³⁰ *We remember: An Account of Ditchburn Place*, ed. Kate Lawrance (2007), p. 16.

2. 1897 : Sleeping Cells for Tramps

By 1894 there was discussion among workhouses across the country about improvement of conditions for tramps, in particular providing individual cells for sleeping. The Cambridge Guardians began to debate the matter two years later. Again, a committee was appointed and reported back in July 1896:³¹

The Committee consider that the most convenient place for the Sleeping Cells would be upon the site of the Buildings now standing opposite to the working cells. The plan [...] shows how the buildings could be converted into sleeping cells but the Committee are of opinion that it would be better to pull them down and utilize the material in erecting the new cells upon the site.

By buildings 'standing opposite to the working cells' they meant the four cottages for aged or infirm couples. (This can be seen by comparing Figures 3 and 13.)

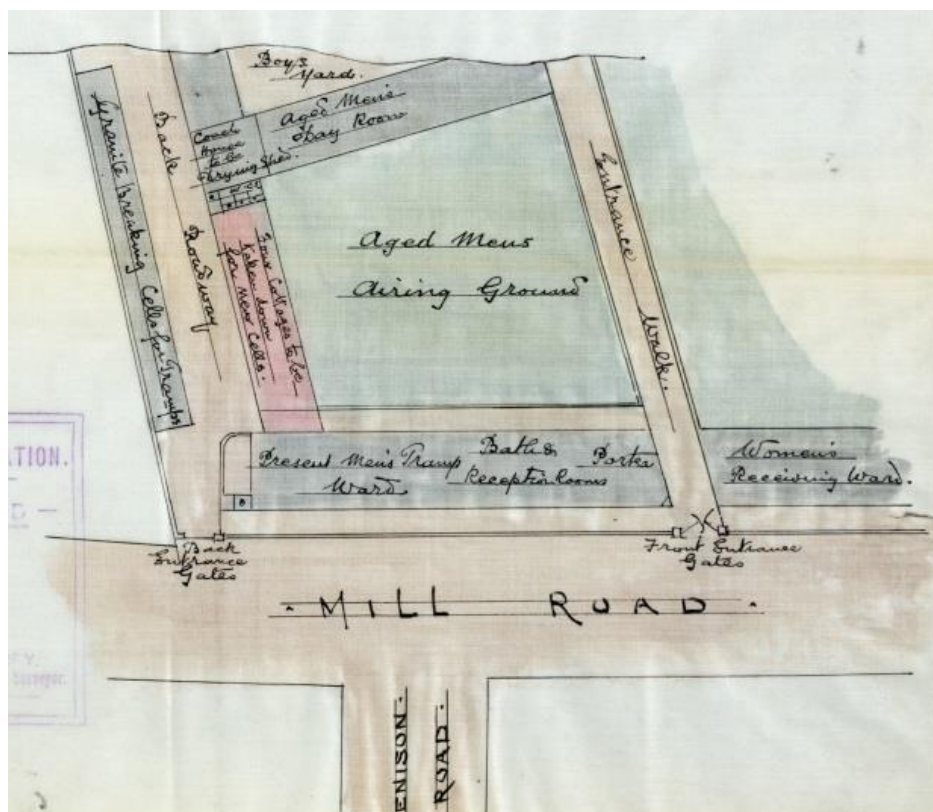


Figure 13 – 1897 Tramps cells, block plan (CA: G/C/AP11 : Planning Permission 1167)

The pink-shaded area above denotes the new cells. As on the previous occasion, there was much dispute, and again the Local Government Board had to put its foot down. The cells were ready for occupation at the beginning of October 1897.

³¹ CA: G/C/AM34, pp. 502–03.

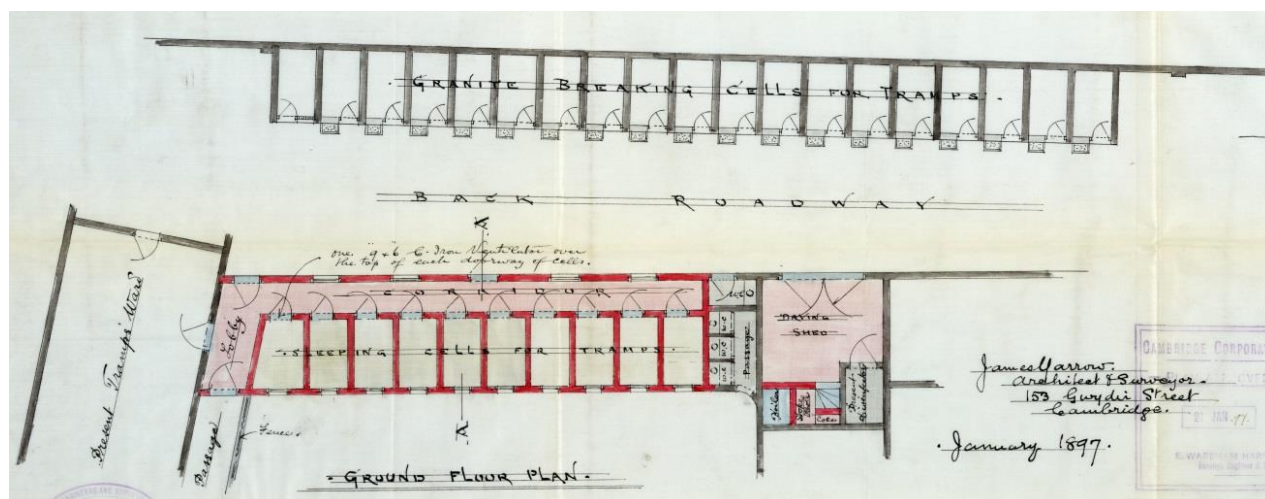


Figure 14 – 1897 Tramps cells, ground plan (CA: G/C/AP11 : Planning permission 1167)

Figure 14 shows clearly the positions of the old tramps' ward and the existing stone-breaking sheds, and the interior design of the new sleeping cells (in pink and red), each with its own 'iron ventilator'. The new cells are also shown in elevation from the east:

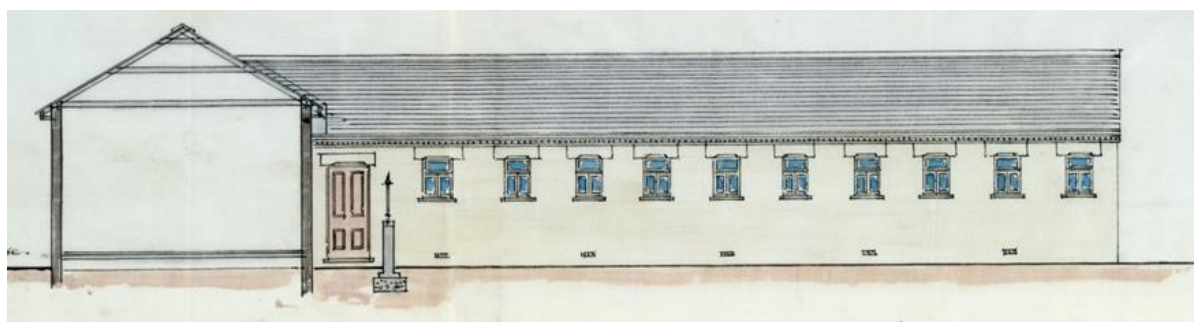


Figure 15 – 1879 Tramps Ward (CA: G/C/AP11 : Planning Permission 1167)

3. 1926 : New Infirmary and Nursery

The 1837 plans already included an infirmary with a capacity of 30 patients. Illness was a constant factor in the life of the institution. Because paupers had been in distressed circumstances before entering the workhouse, they were susceptible to disease. A cause frequently cited on death certificates was *phthisis pulmonalis*, the common name of which was then 'consumption' – now pulmonary tuberculosis (TB); other causes were pneumonia, dementia, even cancer.

Since many women, on entering the workhouse, were found to be pregnant, facilities had to be provided for them to give birth and for their babies to be nursed. As can be seen below, the facilities for childbirth were initially very restricted:

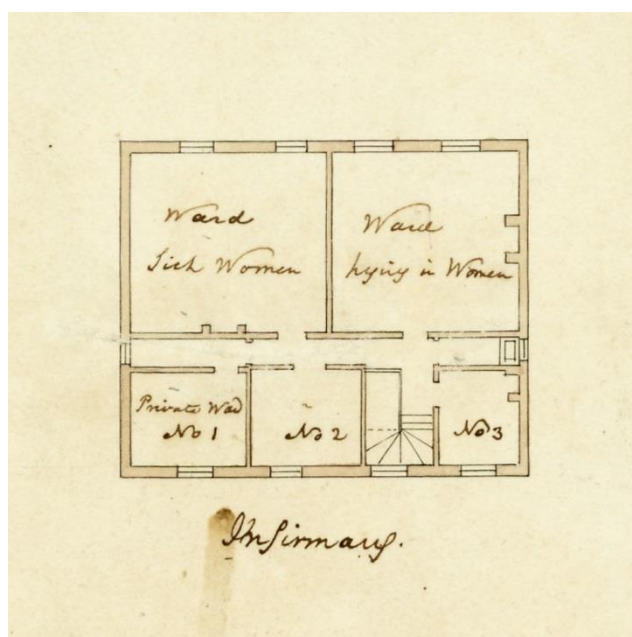


Figure 16 – 1838 Infirmary first-floor plan (CA: G/C/AP16)

Conditions were at first basic: hygiene was inadequate, midwifery of poor quality, and women were shown little sympathy. In his novel *Oliver Twist*, Charles Dickens described the inadequate nursing in the parish poorhouses and the indifference of the surgeons who attended inmates, as in these extracts from chapter I (see Appendix I below for further excerpts):

There being nobody by, however, but a pauper old woman, who was rendered rather misty by an unwonted allowance of beer; and a parish surgeon who did such matters by contract; Oliver and Nature fought out the point between them. [...] 'Lor bless her dear heart, no!' interposed the nurse, hastily depositing in her pocket a green glass bottle, the contents of which she had been tasting in the corner with evident satisfaction. 'Lor bless her dear heart, when she has lived as long as I have, sir, and had thirteen children of her own, and all on 'em dead except two, and them in the wurkus with me, she'll know better than to take on in that way, bless her dear heart!'

The reforms for which Florence Nightingale began to campaign in 1865, at first in the Liverpool Workhouse, to raise the standard of nursing in workhouses to the level of that in hospitals and to eliminate 'pauper nurses', were slow to spread through the system.³² Moreover, unmarried pregnant women were regarded as shameful and treated with scorn. Mrs. Auger, a nurse at the Cambridge Workhouse as late as the 1920s, described the situation thus:³³

In 1925 the Hospital was mainly for destitute people or people who couldn't cope, old and infirm. At the front there were the tramp wards and at the back the infirmary. The Master looked after house patients and the tramp wards. [...] On the wards patients did the cleaning, washing up, everything. [...] There was only one trained midwife in the hospital and that was the Matron. There was also a Charge Nurse. If a baby was born, the Matron had to attend. There was no resident doctor. [...] It was terrible for patients with TB. They had to live outside in wooden huts in all weathers. They were literally dying.

In December 1923, the Guardians agreed that the female infirmary of the Chesterton workhouse should be absorbed into Mill Road, together with its day and night nurseries. By the mid-1920s, the Cambridge Workhouse itself had facilities for babies. Also the nursing staff

³² See, for example, <http://www.historytoday.com/lynn-mcdonald/florence-nightingale-social-reformer>.

³³ *We remember*, p. 18.

had expanded from the Matron and a single nurse in 1838 to a Superintendent Nurse (the Matron), an Assistant Matron, a Charge Nurse, three Staff Nurses and three Assistant Nurses, all with qualifications from the Central Midwives Board (set up in 1902), living in a separate nurses' home: Edinburgh House, on Hooper Street (see Section B/2d/3 below).³⁴

But with the Chesterton move came an urgent need for additional space. Plans for a new female infirmary and a babies' nursery were drawn up in late 1924, approved by the Ministry of Health (established in 1919) in May 1925, and formally opened by the Lord Mayor in autumn 1926. The outline of the buildings can be seen on the Ordnance Survey map for 1927 (Figure 17 below). Along the rear perimeter of the site is the new female infirmary, connected to the male infirmary by a long corridor. Halfway between the new and old buildings is a smaller building which had previously been the babies' nursery (and before that the nurses' block). The old female infirmary is against the right perimeter wall:

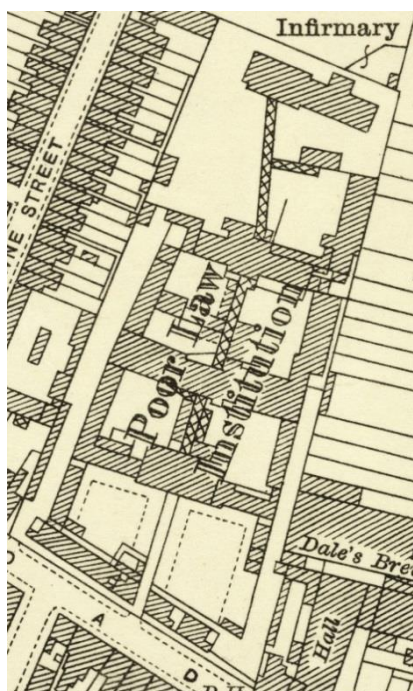


Figure 17 – Ordnance Survey map of 1927 (detail) © Crown Copyright

The new building included on the first floor a main ward with 20 beds, a labour ward and a lying-in (i.e. delivery) ward; and on the ground floor a day nursery, a night nursery with 12 cots, a surgery and day room. The first floor also had another ward, and a 'separation ward' (presumably for those who could pay). On the front was a verandah with balcony over, equipped with a screen, blinds and a 'weather box' – all reflecting the new belief in the benefits of fresh air for recuperation. As Mrs. Auger described:

When the new block was built at the back, one end was maternity and a new nursery. Upstairs was the paying ward – people who had a bit of money, but nowhere else to go. They built a veranda along the side which was for TB patients and they did away with the huts. Of course they all died; there was no treatment in those days. The young ones went to Papworth but it was open huts there too and quite a lot of them died. The windows would be open all year round. One of our nurses went there and wrote that even her ink was frozen.

Figure 18 below shows the ground- and first-floor plans of the new Infirmary with day and night nurseries in the ground-floor plan, the main ward in the first-floor plan with the services clustered in the western half of the building, and the distinctive outline with its three-sided bay to the south rising through both floors and enclosing the two duty rooms.

³⁴ CA: G/C/AM42, pp. 394, 439, 491, 601–02; AM43, pp. 52–53, 57–59.

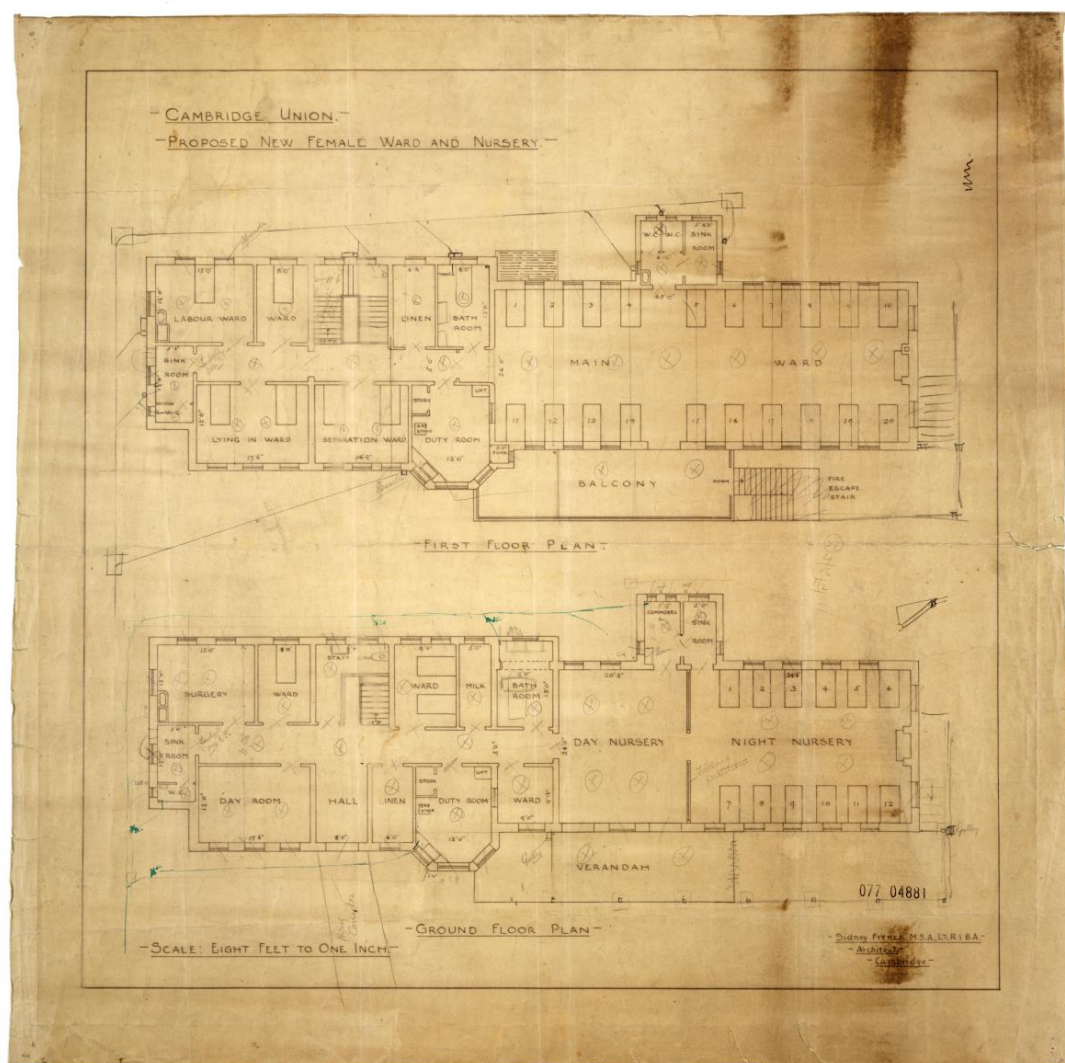


Figure 18 – New Female Infirmary: 1926 plans (CA: G/C/AP24)

The front view of the new infirmary, from the architect's drawings, is shown in Figure 19 below. At the left-hand end on the first floor are the labour and lying-in wards, at the right-hand end upstairs is the main ward. In the centre of the building can be seen the verandah (below) and balcony (above):



Figure 19 – New Infirmary: front elevation 1926 (CA: G/C/AP25)

d: Three Offsite Developments

From early days, the Guardians debated establishing outposts of the institution on sites beyond the workhouse perimeter. The initiative for some of these emanated from Whitehall, others from within the Guardians and the local community. Three of these came to fruition.

1. Industrial Training Ground : 1853–87

(author: Allan Brigham)

By the early 1850s, several workhouses around the country had experimented with the practice of putting their inmates to types of work that were both *useful* and *profitable*, rather than assigning them merely routine and punitive labour. In December 1852 the Cambridge Guardians debated the creation of an ‘industrial training ground’ in the Mill Road area – its purpose being to train young people to be *industrious*, rather than prepare them for industrial occupations. The proposer referred to ‘the moral habits and future happiness of the inmates’, but also to ‘the interests of the Rate-payers’.³⁵ It was a high priority for the Guardians that the project should be a source of financial profit for the Workhouse Union.

By the following July, the Guardians had been offered a site by a Mr Patman of just over three acres near the workhouse (part of a larger plot of over 6 acres) at 200 guineas an acre, the purchase price being £675 18s. 9d. A striking critique of the existing system was presented:³⁶

The only means hitherto possessed by the Guardians [...] were employing the able-bodied men in picking oakum, and teaching some of the boys tailoring and shoemaking: in both of which occupations very little, if any benefit was derived, and no profit – independently of other considerations affecting their moral and physical condition. [...] It was also required by the regulation of the Poor-law Board [...] that pauper children should be trained to such habits of usefulness and industry as would best fit them to gain their own living.

It is hard to see why tailoring and shoemaking would be ‘benefit’-less preparations for future life. The significant phrase here is perhaps ‘no profit’. Saffron Waldon Workhouse was evidenced as having made nearly £20 a year out of a 2½-acre site of the sort proposed. However, the Guardians agreed to the proposition, and within three years the location of the site became public knowledge.³⁷

A letter was read from Messrs. Headly and Manning, of the Eagle Foundry, complaining of a nuisance caused by a pigstye, on the Industrial Training Ground, next to their premises; the smell arising therefrom was said to be offensive.

The Eagle Foundry was located on the Petersfield side of the railway lines. The Foundry, and ‘The Limes’ (a house belonging to the Headleys) can be seen at the edge of the 1886 Ordnance Survey map (see Figure 20); the railway itself is off the map. In the 1850s, neither Kingston nor Hooper Street, nor any of the houses lining them, had yet been built. ‘Gothic Cottage’ existed, as did ‘The Limes’. So the industrial ground was a inverted L-shaped plot bounded by the Foundry on the east, Mill Road on the south, the line of Kingston Street on the west and that of Hooper Street on the north.

³⁵ Guardians meeting, as reported in *CIP* 18 December 1852.

³⁶ Guardians meeting, as reported in *CIP* 19 July 1853.

³⁷ Guardians meeting, as reported in *CIP* 15 November 1856.



Figure 20 – Ordnance Survey map of 1886 (detail)
© Crown Copyright

Not until 1884 do the early street directories identify the Ground (reading east–west):³⁸

Great Eastern Railway Crossing and Foot Passengers' bridge

Eagle Foundry and Coprolite Mills, Headley, James Ind, proprietor
Blewitt, Thomas, manager
Headley, James Ind, The Limes

- 41 Lyon, Algernon Jasper, Gothic House, solicitor, captain Cambridge Volunteer Fire Brigade
Cambridge Union Workhouse Vegetable Gardens

KINGSTON TERRACE

- 4 Jones, Mrs.
3 Barker, Obadian, coachman and groom
2. Hemmings, Joseph, superintendent Prudential Assurance Company
1 Chandler, Jno.

Here is Kingston Street.

Mathieson's directories of 1866 and 1867 show how little building there was in the area in the early days of the Ground:

Headley, I. J., iron founder and engineer
Lyon, Jasper
Ward, Benjamin, *The Swan*.

Putting these items together: Jasper Lyon lived in 'Gothic Cottage' (now the English language school beside the bridge), thus was a neighbour of the Ground. In fact, he was also a member of the Board of Guardians and served as superintendent of the Industrial Ground, while the Master of the Workhouse was responsible for its day-to-day running and presented an annual account of its finances, such as that for 1857.³⁹

Gas Company by the Clerk. The Board then proceeded to consider the applications for outdoor relief.

Industrial Ground Account for the Year 1857:

PROFIT.		£.	s.	d.
Cash for pigs		64	19	0
Estimated value of potatoes (552 cwt.) at 2s. 3d		62	2	0
Ditto (18 cwt.) ditto, for pigs, at 1s.		0	18	0
Ditto (32 cwt.) barley, at 38s.		7	12	0
Ditto (8 ton) wurzel, at 17s. per ton		6	16	0
Ditto of pigs in hand (December)		19	6	0
Ditto of manure, ditto ..		10	0	0
		171	13	0
Expenses		76	8	11
Estimated profit		95	4	1
LOSS.				
Value of sows and pigs, at Christmas, 1857..		20	17	0
Paid for pig feed, one year		46	16	0
Expenses of auction		1	7	0
Straw, one year		4	7	0
Small accounts		1	1	5
Porter (yearly allowance)		2	0	0
		£76	8	11

Death from the Bite of a Sow. On the 10th of

Figure 21 – Activities on the Industrial Ground, 1857

³⁸ Spalding's Street Directory, 1884: the order has been reversed, from west–east to east–west, for present purposes.

³⁹ Guardians' meetings, as reported in *CIP*, 23 March 1878 and 12 December 1857.

The profitability of the Ground rose to a peak in the late 1870s, the report for 1878 showing a profit of £205 9s 5d; but thereafter it declined, those for 1882 and 1883 being £85 and £75 13s respectively.⁴⁰ The principal activities of the Ground were raising pigs, growing potatoes (which supplied all the needs of the Workhouse and sold the surplus to local trade) and the digging of gravel.

Some smart sleuthing on the part of the Master and Superintendant in March 1870 detected the theft of potatoes; the story gives us an idea of the importance of potatoes to the economy of the Workhouse, the level of surveillance that went on, and the penalty for an infraction:⁴¹

A PAUPER STEALING POTATOS. —John Gray, an inmate of the Union Workhouse, was charged by Mr. Hosegood with stealing a quantity of potatoes, value 3d., the property of the Guardians. —Mr. FETCH prosecuted. —Mr. Hosegood said: The man was employed in the industrial ground planting seed potatoes. I went in the ground during the dinner hour, and found some potatoes secreted. I marked some of them, and placed them back again. I afterwards saw some potatoes in the prisoner's hand. I charged him with stealing them, and he admitted that he had. —Mr. Jasper Lyon: I superintend the industrial ground, and in consequence of some information I received, I watched the workers. I saw the prisoner stoop down close by Mr. Headly's wall and put a bundle under his arm, which contained potatoes. I asked the prisoner what he was going to do with them, and he said he was going to take them to the men in the Workhouse to roast. —He was committed for seven days' hard labour.

By 1868, preference had evidently been given to able-bodied men over boys in allocating work at the Ground, for the Guardians discussed the use of children, recommending:⁴²

that three of the boys should be placed under the supervision of the shoemaker to learn the trade, and a like number under the tailor, and that other boys, who were of sufficient age, should occasionally be employed in the industrial training ground, circumstances and the weather permitting. [...] Mr Lyon, who lived close to the industrial ground, had promised to assist the master in looking after the boys.

Even when he ceased to be a Guardian in 1869, Mr Lyon continued to be reappointed as Superintendant of the Ground.⁴³ There was clearly disagreement as to the extent to which boys should be used, some arguing that, as the original purpose of the Ground, priority should go to the boys, others favouring the use of all the able-bodied male inmates of the Workhouse. In 1876, it was reported that:⁴⁴

All the able-bodied men are employed in raising gravel in the Industrial ground, with two exceptions. [...] The Chairman] had visited the Industrial Ground, and he found they had now there about 20 men employed in digging gravel, and he thought that was nearly as many able-bodied men fit for work as they could find in the House.

As will be remembered from the description of the building of the Workhouse in Section B/1 of this report, the area was rich in high-quality gravel. In 1878, Mr Lyon advocated combining old and new methods by having the gravel sent to the Workhouse so that when the weather was wet the men could break the gravel there by hand.⁴⁵

By 1880, some Guardians argued that, with Jasper Lyon visiting the site less frequently, and the value of the land having increased greatly, there might come a time when it was more

⁴⁰ Guardians' meeting, as reported in *CIP* 14 April 1883.

⁴¹ *CIP* 26 March 1870.

⁴² Guardians' meeting, as reported in *CIP* 29 February 1868.

⁴³ Guardians' meeting, as reported in *CIP* 24 April 1869.

⁴⁴ Guardians' meeting, as reported in *CIP* 29 January 1876.

⁴⁵ Guardians' meeting, as reported in *CIP* 19 January 1878. The alternative was to have it broken by steam hammers in the trade.

worthwhile to sell the land for building purposes.⁴⁶ Late in 1880, notice of a motion was given:

That for the better Industrial and Educational training of the Children of this Union

1st It is desirable that a Building apart from the Workhouse be provided or Erected containing School, Dormitories and workshops in which the Boys may be instructed as Tailors Shoemakers Carpenters or other Employments such as Gardening and Farm Labour, the Girls Needlework and Domestic Duties so as to fit them for Situations as Servants &c

2nd That a Special Committee be appointed to consider and Report to the Board upon the practicability and Costs of such Establishment and Organization.

As will be seen below, this innovation did not materialize until 1915. In 1883, Joseph Sturton was appointed to replace Jasper Lyon as superintendent.⁴⁷ The end came in 1887, when it was reported that there were no longer any able-bodied men at the Workhouse, and a proposal was adopted that the Ground should be let in lots to the public for a rent of 1 shilling a year. Accordingly, the entry in Spalding's Street Directory for 1887 names the site as 'Vegetable Garden Allotments'. Offers of £1,000 from a Mr Catling and £2,000 from a Mr Peed for purchase of the site were turned down.⁴⁸ In 1889, the strip of land at the Mill Road frontage was sold for £300 to the Great Eastern Railway for the building of the new bridge;⁴⁹ in 1891, further land at the south end was sold to the Borough of Cambridge at the token price of 10 shillings for the new free library. Thus, whereas the 1895 directory has 'Garden Ground', the 1898 directory has:

121 Lyon, Algernon Jasper, Lt.-Colonel, The Limes

119 Lyon, Mrs. Ann, Gothic Cottage

Cambridge Free Library and Reading Room (Barnwell Branch)

Robinson, H. J. *assistant librarian*'.

With that, the last vestiges of the Industrial Training Ground vanish – only to be resurrected in another guise as 'Corporation Store Yard' in the 1904 directory.⁵⁰ This yard still survives today as the Council Depot, occupying roughly the core of the Industrial Ground and part of the Eagle Foundry land, though it is now scheduled to be redeveloped as housing.

The Industrial Training Ground has, nevertheless, been integral to the history of Mill Road, and the decisions that its Guardians made have proven crucial to the area's formation.

2. Children's Home : 138 Ross Street: 1915–c.1950

1908 saw several progressive pieces of legislation passed by Parliament, including the introduction in 1909 of the Old Age Pension for people over 70. It saw also the passing of the Children Act or 'Children's Charter'. This made it illegal to neglect or ill-treat a child, or to exploit a child through work or begging, and at the same time protected children from the adult court and prison systems by establishing separate juvenile courts and borstals. Most significantly, it gave local authorities the power to keep poor children out of the workhouse. Another piece of parliamentary legislation, the Poor Law Institutions Order of 1913, strengthened this by decreeing that as from 1915 guardians were not to keep any children

⁴⁶ Guardians' meeting, as reported in *CIP* 4 September 1880.

⁴⁷ Guardians' meeting, as reported in *CIP* 21 April 1883.

⁴⁸ Guardians' meetings, as reported in *CIP* 18 February, 5 March and 23 July 1887.

⁴⁹ *CIP* 26 October 1889.

⁵⁰ The Corporation had expressed an interest in acquiring the site as a storeyard in 1899, and agreement to sell for £4,400 was given in 1904: *CIP* 1 September 1899 and 29 January, 17 June and 16 September 1904; the purchase is reported retrospectively in *CIP* 24 March 1905: 'during the year [the Council] had borrowed £4,400 for land for a new storeyard'.

over three years old in workhouses for more than six weeks; instead, they had to provide special institutions or foster homes for them.⁵¹

The Cambridge Board of Guardians, having seemingly dragged its feet, finally acted on the legislation in 1913. In May they called for a report on 'the circumstances of the children now in the workhouse'. In October they agreed that 'a Receiving Home for about 20 children' should be provided.

The Board owned a plot of land on Ross Street that had earlier belonged to the University & Town Rifle Club (when Ross Street was still Rifle Butts Lane) as its rifle range. The Guardians had bought it from the Club in 1872 as the site for a Contagious Diseases (or Smallpox) Hospital, which was seen as a necessity for the Workhouse after an outbreak of smallpox in that year. Later recognizing that such a hospital was necessary not just for the poor but for the community at large, they sold part of the site to the Cambridge Improvement Commissioners, who, however, later built the hospital elsewhere.⁵² In 1881, the Guardians had rented the remainder of the site as a 'garden', and in March 1914 the tenant, a Mr A H Willis, had agreed to surrender it. The site retained, labelled 'Cambridge Guardians', and the site sold, labelled 'Cambridge Corporation', can be seen in the map in Figure 22.

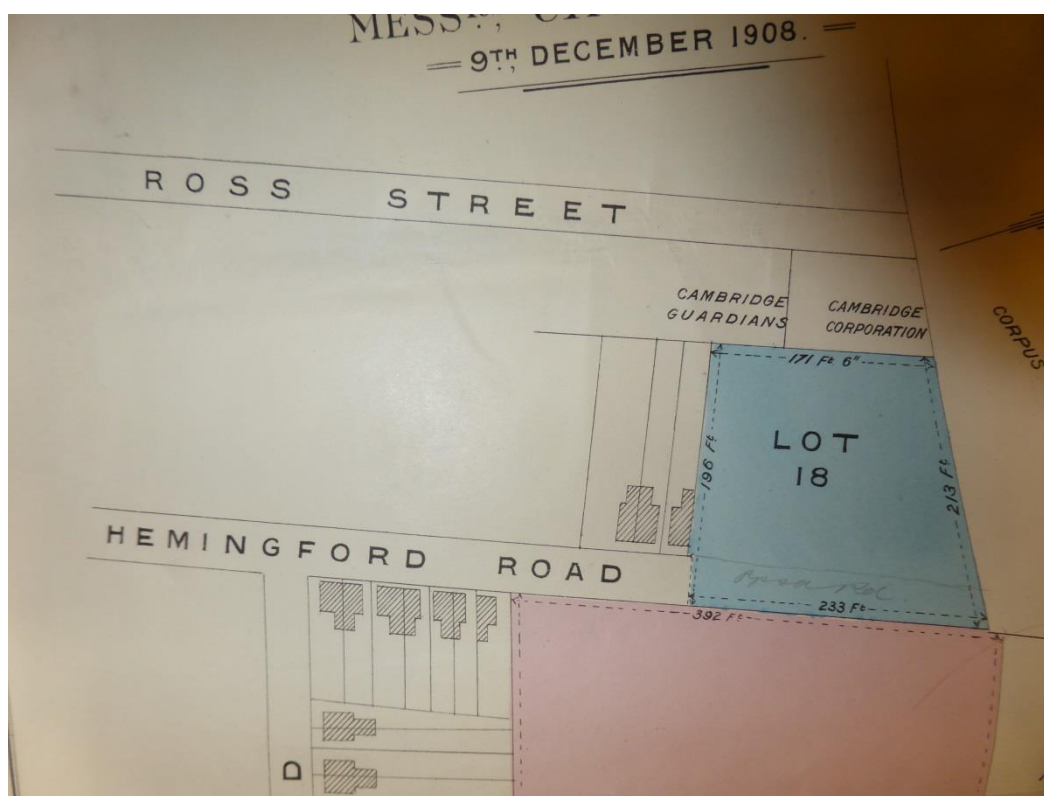


Figure 22 – Site of future Children's Home, and planned recreation ground
(Cambridge City Planning Department – Romsey Recreation Ground)

Already in February the Guardians had received from their architect, Sidney French, three alternative plans, one of which was forwarded to the Town Council and the Local Government Board. The latter, however, rejected it as unsuitable, and not until June did it approve French's revised plan, with its imposing frontage and twin doors (see Figure 23 below). The work was put out to tender, awarded to John Brignell of Newmarket road, and a clerk of

⁵¹ Crowther (1983), p. 86.

⁵² Further details of the building of the infectious diseases hospital, and of the politics surround its inception, will be given in the Mill Road History Project building report on Brookfields Hospital.

works, W C Gibbs, appointed in September. By January 1915 the work was complete, the address of the home being 138 Ross Street, on the west side of the entrance to the recreation ground (the building no longer stands). In April a Foster Mother and Assistant Foster Mother were appointed as the staff of the Home. The children were transferred from the Workhouse on 8 May 1915.

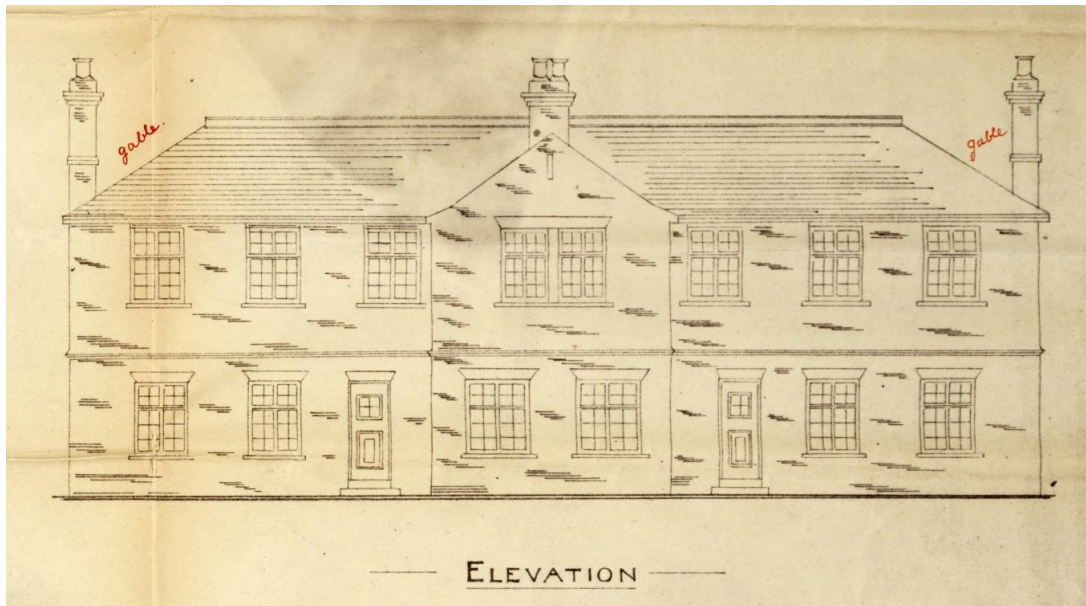


Figure 23 – Ross Street Children's Home 1915: front elevation (CA: CB/2/SE/3/9/3762)

The building's plan was in the form of an inverted "T" (see Figure 24 below), its central core containing the dining room, kitchen, scullery etc. on the ground floor, and sick rooms and the Foster Mother's accommodation on the first floor. The side arms contained the separate girls' and boys' entrances, day rooms and bathrooms on the ground floor, and the girls' and boys' dormitories and toilets on the first floor.

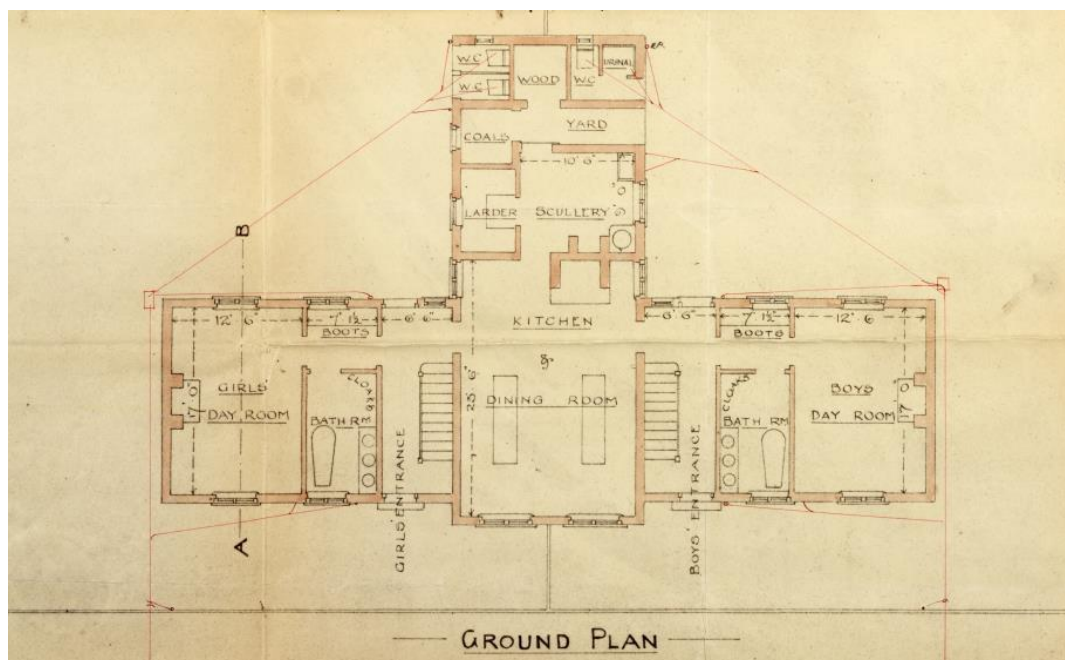


Figure 24 – Ross Street Children's Home 1915: ground-floor plan (CA: CB/2/SE/3/9/3762)

Among the rules for the Home were the following:

5. That on Sundays the children attend the morning service at Church; and in the afternoon the Sunday School of the denomination to which they belong.

Hence Roman Catholic and non-conformist children would no longer be under the care of the Workhouse's Anglican chaplain.

6. That on week days the Children attend the nearest day School, at the earliest age at which they will be accepted.

The nearby schools at that time were St Philip's School for boys in Ross Street, St Philip's School for girls and infants in Catharine Street, St Matthew's School for infants on Norfolk Street, and St Barnabas Church School for girls in St Barnabas Road. There was also the Roman Catholic School, St Alban's, on Union Road (adjacent to the Catholic Church).

Parents were permitted to visit on alternate Saturdays between 2.30 and 4 p.m.⁵³

The Ross Street building retained its function as a Children's Home for at least thirty-five years, serving as a place of transfer from Mill Road even after the latter had become the County Infirmary in 1930 (see Section C, below). After the Second World War and until the mid-1950s it was the Cambridgeshire County Council Children's Home; by 1955 it had become a Civil Defence Depot, by 1975 an education store for the City Council, and more recently it was demolished and replaced by modern housing.

3. Nurses' Home : 1 Hooper Street: 1923–c.1935

In 1838, the workhouse had just one nurse, Jane Cooper, appointed at 10 guineas⁵⁴ a year (the lowest salary of all the officers) with free board and lodging. We do not know her age, only that she was a widow (in fact all three candidates for the advertised position were widows) from Ely. The original plans did, as we have seen, designate a room on the ground floor of the Infirmary for the 'Nurse' (see Figure 5 above).⁵⁵ In 1901, there was still only one nurse, Charlotte Slater. Ten years later a second nurse had joined her, Annie Keene; the two, both single, were by then aged 53 and 27 respectively.

From the start, nursing was better in the Cambridge Workhouse than in many such institutions, where a nurse was selected from among the inmates, unpaid, without separate accommodation or facilities (see Appendix I below) – little more than a slave to the Matron. Some change may have been signalled by the *Guardians'* agreement in October 1913 that the current Matron (Emma Hosegood) should have the additional title of Superintendent Nurse, with an extra £10 a year. This was continued when the Hosegoods retired and the new Matron, Edith Johnson, was appointed,⁵⁶ and with future Matrons.

In 1920, the Ministry of Health sanctioned shorter hours and better pay for nurses, and permitted expenditure on nurses' homes while forbidding it on other buildings. The first sign of a response to this at the Cambridge Workhouse came in December 1923, when the *Guardians* agreed that the nurses' current accommodation on the site should be assigned to infants, and that accommodation for the nurses should 'be found outside the Institution'. At that time, The Leys School was selling a large house on Hooper Street within a few hun-

⁵³ CA: G/C/MB39, pp. 248, 328–29, 350–51, 378–79, 383–85, 410, 417, 454–55, 477–78, 495, 564, 575–77, 604–05, 620–23.

⁵⁴ A guinea = £1. 1 shilling.

⁵⁵ Further on this, see above, Section B/2c/3.

⁵⁶ CA: G/C/AM39, 22 October and 5 November 1913; 11 March 1914.

dred yards of the Workhouse. That house had been the home of the curate of St Matthew's Church from at least 1887, and was known as 'Edinburgh House'. The Leys School had purchased it in 1890 as an 'isolation hospital' for boys with infectious diseases – hence the distance from the main school on Trumpington Road (where the school's main sanatorium was located).⁵⁷ By early January 1924, the sale by the Leys to the Guardians had been agreed at £1,250,⁵⁸ and on 12 March a housekeeper, Miss Nancy S. Hawkeswood, was appointed to it.

Minutes for that same day show the Guardians instituting three grades of nursing staff (to which must be added that of probationary nurse), absorbing the existing personnel into the new structure, and seeking additional qualified nurses to bring the staff up to full complement:⁵⁹



Figure 25 – Nurses' Home (Ian Bent, 2014)

Nursing Staff, Charge Nurse, Staff Nurses and Assistant Nurses

(a) that in future the Nursing Staff consist of one fully trained Charge Nurse, three Staff Nurses, and three Assistant Nurses;

(b) that the salaries be as follows: Charge Nurses £75 each; Staff Nurses, £60 each, and Assistant Nurses, £45 each.

Dell, Wilson, Williams

(c) that Miss Dell and Miss Wilson, whose salaries are now £60 each, be 'Staff Nurses';

(d) that the services of Miss Williams be retained temporarily as Staff Nurse; and

Lewis, Foster

(e) that Miss Lewis and Miss Foster (on trial), whose salaries are £45 each, be 'Assistant Nurses'.

[...] The matter being urgent the Sub-Committee instructed the Matron to engage suitable persons on trial as Charge Nurse, Staff Nurse, and Assistant Nurse to bring the present Nursing Staff up to the number recommended.

What prompted this, and what occasioned its being 'urgent', is in part made clear six weeks later: in answer to a letter of 28 April from the Ministry of Health questioning the increase in number of nurses, the Guardians explained that:⁶⁰

persons belonging to the former Parishes of Chesterton and Cambridge Without were now accommodated in the Infirmary.

'Cambridge Without' presumably refers to one or more workhouses outside the town.

Little more is recorded in the Guardians' minutes except that in October 1924 a Mrs. Felix Clay of 11 Grange Road made a 'generous gift of a piano for the Nurses' Home'.⁶¹

⁵⁷ This information comes partly from Spalding's street directories, and partly from the Leys School's Governors' Minute Books covering July and October 1890. I am indebted to John Harding of the Leys School for his helpful communication.

⁵⁸ CA: G/C/AM42, pp. 377–78 (5 Dec 1923), 385–86 (19 Dec 1923), 394 (2 Jan 1924).

⁵⁹ CA: G/C/AM42, pp. 439–40 (12 March 1924).

⁶⁰ CA: G/C/AM42, p. 491 (7 May 1924).

⁶¹ CA: G/C/AM42, pp. 607–08 (22 Oct 1924).

Edinburgh House continued to be the nurses' home after the transition from workhouse to infirmary in 1930. Spalding's street directories record the building as follows:

- 1923/24: Board of Guardians Nurses Home
- 1931/32: Public Assistance Nurses' Home
- 1933/34: County Infirmary Nurses' Home
- 1937/38: Cambridgeshire County Council Public Assistance

After the Second World War the building became the 'Cambridgeshire County Council Education Committee (Youth Employment Service)' – and many people still living remember it as such.⁶²

Plans existed from 1933 to bring the nurses' accommodation back on to the main site. The ground plan from 1933, which shows intended changes to the site (see Figure 35 below for full plan), includes a new 'Nurses Home' in the southwest corner of the site:

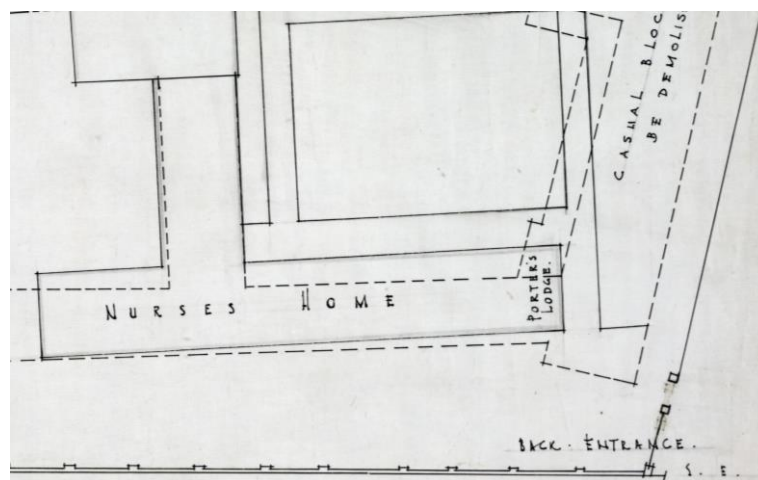


Figure 26 – Planned nurses' home 1933 (CA: KCC7 Arch SS2 7.07704860)

See Section C/5 below for further on the Nurses' Home built in 1934–35.

⁶² These titles are taken from Spalding's street directories (abbreviations expanded).

3. Who were the Inmates? : 1911

When the census takers descended on the Cambridge Workhouse on Saturday 8 April 1911, eight officers, plus two children of the officers' household, and 225 inmates awaited them. Of those 225, 199 were long-term inmates, and 26 were tramps, or casuals. The entire community is listed in Appendix III (h).

The 199 inmates comprised 120 males and 79 females. Of the 26 casuals, 22 were males and 4 were females. In all, then, not including the staff and their family, there were 142 men and 83 women in the care of the institution on that day.

From the census sheets, we can determine the order in which the census was taken, organized no doubt by the efficient Luke Hosegood. The officers started with the 199 regular inmates, recording first those women who had no other family members in the workhouse (49 of them, starting with Helen Lofts⁶³), moving on to women with children and in some cases husbands (45 in all, starting at William and Sarah Hutt), then on to men with no family members (105, starting at Frederick George Ogle). They finished with the casuals (26, starting at William Pearce).

Age and Status

As to age distribution (inmates and casuals taken together): of those who were 'aged' (70 years or older), 19 were men and 17 women. Of those who were middle-aged (40–69), 84 were men and 38 women. Of younger adults (20–39), 28 were men and 15 women. Of those aged between 1 and 19, 8 were boys, 12 were girls, and 4 were infants (gender not specified). A more detailed breakdown is provided in the table below.

Age range	Males	Females	Total
90-99	0	3	3
80-89	2	7	9
70-79	17	7	24
60-69	43	20	63
50-59	26	6	32
40-49	15	12	27
30-39	18	5	23
20-29	10	10	20
10-19	0	4	4
5-9	2	4	6
1-4	6	4	10
Infant	—	—	4
All	139	82	225

As to marital status: 106 were single, 31 married and 83 widowed. Of those who were single, 65 were men and 32 women. Of those who were married, 16 were men and 15 women. Of those who were widowed, 51 were men (widowers) and 32 women (widows).

⁶³ Helen Lofts is listed in the 1901 census report as a servant in the Hosegoods' household. Since she is listed first among the inmates in 1911, it is likely that she still holds that position now.

Occupation

Previous occupations are given in the census report for 156 of the inmates and casuals. These tell us a lot about the social make-up of the workhouse community – always supposing that they can be trusted, of course, since they must have been dependent on the word of each inmate. By far the commonest occupation among the men is that of *unskilled* labourer (82) – variously working for a builder, bricklayer, plasterer, painter, carpenter, plumber, gardener, farmer or dairyman. The occupation most commonly found among the women is that of general domestic servant (17), with a few declaring laundress or charwoman. Most striking is the incidence of *skilled trades* among the men: printer and compositor, of which there are four, was one of the highest paid occupations in those days; two stonemasons, one wood and stone carver, and one wood carver, are among the most highly trained artisans; other skilled workers are three bricklayers and one each of plasterer, carpenter, French polisher, cooper, tailor, shoemaker, 'engine driver (mill)', and shepherd. Among others retail-related, there is one brewer, one maltster, one butcher and one fishmonger. Other occupations include three grooms, one 'horse slaughterer' and one wood sawyer, the most unexpected occupations being perhaps musician and boxer.

Place of Birth

The great majority of the 225 inmates and casuals were born in Cambridge (125) and its surrounding villages (29), or the adjacent East Anglian counties of Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex (29). Only 42 come from elsewhere: 15 from London, 23 from other counties of England, and 4 from Ireland, with 4 others of undeclared origin.

It is in place of birth that the casuals mark themselves out most strongly from the inmates: of the 26, 8 are from London, 13 from other counties – that is, 80% of casuals as against 10% of inmates. It is no surprise that the casuals come predominantly from further afield, since many of the men will have walked long distances in search of casual labour, and since itinerancy will have been a way of life for many of them. It is also perhaps not surprising that they would all know their birthplaces.

Finally: the staff-to-inmates/casuals ratio is 1:28. This brings home what a difficult job managing a workhouse, with only the Master, Porter and Portress, must have been, and caring for its occupants, with only the Matron, Assistant Matron, two nurses (none of these four trained as nurses) and cook.

Marriage, Families, Individuals

The 1911 census is the first to include *length of marriage* and *number of children* (columns 5–8 of Allendix III(h)). **William and Sarah Hutt** (aged 74 and 75) have been married for 50 years, **James and Emily Hanning** (aged 57 and 62) for 32 years, 4 other women for between 30 and 40 years, and two others for between 20 and 28 years, some of these with their husbands also as inmates. None are shown as widows. **Mary Jane Roe** has seven children, all still alive, **Anna Symonds** (whose husband is in Fulbourn Asylum) has had seven of whom five survive, and **Annie Whitehead** six of whom five survive.

We can pick out four families in which the mother is living with children – with or without husband – as inmates: Moore, Whitehead, Chapman and Sparkes.

Elizabeth Ann Moore, aged 25, has been married to **Horace Alfred Moore** for nine years, and has borne six children of whom five survive, all of them inmates: **Maud Tyler** (12), **William** (8), **Frederick** (4), **Sidney** (3), and **Alfred John** (3 months): a family of seven. In March of the previous year, the *Guardians* had decided that the couple's four children (presumably

then inmates) should be handed over to Horace (presumably outside); but in March 1911 the couple again presented themselves to the workhouse with their five children and were admitted. Two months later, Horace was offered a job through the Labour Exchange; but he failed to turn up for work, as a result of which he was taken to court and sentenced to 21 days' hard labour for neglecting to maintain his wife and children.⁶⁴

We must remind ourselves that families, on entering the workhouse, were split up into separate groups in separate quarters: adult males, adult females, male children, and female children, with little or no communication between them. Resorting to the workhouse must have been a hard decision for the Moore family, as for others.

Annie Whitehead, aged 48, already mentioned above, has three of her five children with her: **Mabel** (18), **Ethel** (11), and **Lily** (7). She had been admitted in early February 1911.⁶⁵

Florence Chapman, aged 33, married for four years, has both her children with her: **John** (3) and **Frederick** (1). She had been admitted to the workhouse in the previous May with the two children, and again in August, and yet again in early December 1910, when the Master's two-weekly report describes her as:

[Admitted:] Florence E. Chapman – 33 – and 2 young children (verminous) (woman pregnant)

Florence perhaps gave birth in the workhouse infirmary – many women in Victorian times entered the workhouse just for a few weeks for the purpose of childbirth. Consider the case of Sarah Gray (not on the 1911 census list), who had presented herself at the workhouse in October 1910:⁶⁶

Sarah Gray, 32, was admitted on Sunday morning, Oct 2, at 1.15 a.m., [...] in labour, and [...] gave birth to a male illegitimate child at 3 o'clock the same morning. And on Tuesday, 3 of her children were admitted, Robt 11, Sarah 5 and Thomas 4.

A similar case was **Amy Endersby**, who was admitted on 18 January 1911, pregnant, and the Master reports that:⁶⁷

Amy Ada Endersby, 23, has given birth to a male illegitimate child (March 26)

The 1911 census report accordingly lists an 'Infant Endersby' of 1 week.

To return to **Florence Chapman**: If she did deliver the baby in the workhouse, it either was stillborn or died in infancy, because Florence again presented herself for admission in early February 1911 with only the two children.⁶⁸ **Violet Chapman**, aged 22, is present at the census with an infant of one week. She had been admitted to the workhouse on 25 March 1911 at 6 a.m. and had given 'birth to a female illegitimate child'.⁶⁹ There are two adult male inmates with the surname Chapman present on the census day, both first-named John, one a widower of 80, 'demented', another aged 29, who had repeatedly discharged himself from the workhouse, and was sentenced to 168 hours' hard labour breaking stones.⁷⁰

The **Sparkes** family must have been a regular headache for Master Hosegood around this time. **Alice Sparkes**, aged 40, has been married for 17 years and has had twelve children of whom eight survive. Of those eight, six are with her in the workhouse on the census day: **Alice** (14), **Percy** (5), **William** (3), **Amy** (2), **Charlotte** (1), and an as yet unnamed infant less

⁶⁴ CA: G/C/AM38, pp. 291, 510, 519, 529, 535; G/C/WRm2, 15 March, 29 March, 12 April 1911.

⁶⁵ CA: G/C/WRm2, 15 Feb, 1 March 1911.

⁶⁶ CA: G/C/WRm2, 12 Oct 1910.

⁶⁷ CA: G/C/WRm2, 18 Jan, 29 March 1911; G/C/AM38, p. 567.

⁶⁸ CA: G/C/WRm2, 11 May, 3 Aug, 7 Dec 1910; 15 Feb, 12 April 1911.

⁶⁹ CA: G/C/WRm2, 29 March 1911; G/C/AM38, p. 506.

⁷⁰ CA: G/C/WRm2, 21 Dec 1910; G/C/AM38, p. 495.

than a month old. Her husband, **William Charles Farrington Sparkes**, had been punished for insubordination in January 1910 and sentenced to isolation in a stone cell with the task of stone-breaking. He was repeatedly readmitted with his family in 1910. In April 1910 he had been discharged to find accommodation, but was brought before the Borough Justices for neglecting to maintain his wife and children. Two of the children had been removed to Dr Barnardo's Home. For the following twelve months he was in and out of the workhouse. In May 1911 he obtained a job working on 'the waterworks extension at Swavesey', but left the job after one day on the grounds that he could 'not find a Cottage'. He was then sentenced to fourteen days' hard labour and daughter Alice was sent away to a Home.⁷¹

The 26 casuals – tramps, vagabonds, itinerants – constitute a separate group in two senses: they are in the workhouse for one night only, and they are sequestered in the tramps' wards and stone-breaking cells at the front of the site. Of these people (24 men and 4 women), only one is over 70, 14 are middle-aged, and 11 are young adults; none are children. All but three are in unskilled occupations or have no occupations listed. Seventeen are single, seven are married, and two are widowed.

The life-stories of most of the individuals in the 1911 census list are closed to us. There are two cases in which we get a fuller glimpse of what life was like for them. **Annie Huckle**, a single woman of 22 from Liverpool, was partially-sighted. The Guardians' minutes for 6 January 1909 record:

A letter was read from the Manchester and Salford Blind Aid Society asking the Guardians to make an allowance towards the clothing of Annie Huckle. — Resolved that the sum of Ten shillings per quarter be allowed for clothing in addition to the charge for maintenance.

On 31 January 1911 the minutes record:

A letter was read from the Manchester and Salford Blind Aid Society stating that Annie Huckle appeared to be getting strange in her mind and asking when they could send her to the Workhouse. — Resolved that they be asked to send her to the Workhouse.

She was admitted to the Cambridge Workhouse during the two weeks ending 15 February, and so appears on the census. Later in April there is reference to her 'going to reside at Teversham'. The latter is a village four miles east of Cambridge, and half of her care was to be paid by relatives, 6 shillings by the Chesterton Union Workhouse as 'non-resident relief', and 2 shillings by a Mrs Scales (identity unknown). Why precisely the Cambridge and Chesterton workhouses were involved is not explained.⁷²

Cambridge-born **Rose Gadders** was sent in June 1908 at the age of 17 to a 'Certified Training Home' – training, that is, in domestic service. By 3 February 1909 she was 'placed in service', but on 31 March it is reported that:

Rose Gadders, formerly in a Certified Home at Hove chargeable to the Board, had been dishonest and had been given notice to leave her situation in consequence. — It was decided to ask that the girl might be received back into the Home until some arrangements could be made for her.

She was readmitted to the Hove Training Home in May. By 1 July 'a lady had offered [...] to have her trained for six months under her maid'. But by 21 July Rose was back in the workhouse and matters had gone downhill:

⁷¹ CA: G/C/AM38, pp. 263, 291, 308, 324, 336–37, 519, 529, 535, 547, 552–53, 559; CA: G/C/WRm2, 19 Jan, 2 Feb, 2, 16, 30 March, 25 May 1910; 1, 15 Feb, 15 March, 12 April 1911.

⁷² CA: G/C/AM38, pp. 97–98 (6 Jan 1909), 103 (20 Jan 1909), 459–60 (31 Jan 1911), 505 (26 April 1911), 523 (24 May 1911), 596 (11 Oct 1911); CA: G/C/WRm2, 15 Feb 1911.

it was resolved that Rose Gadders, aged 17, an inmate of the Workhouse, be sent to the Refuge for the Destitute, Manor House, nr Dalston [Dalston Lane, London], at a cost of 5/- a week, she having given her consent thereto.

However, by early August the Refuge had declared it impossible to receive her 'on the Medical Certificate'. We lose track of her then until she appears on the 1911 census, listed with the occupation 'general domestic servant'.⁷³

Long-term and Short-term

In Section A/3 of this report, we gave as a representative sample the Master's list of admissions for the week ending 27 November 1907. A comparison of this with the 1911 census list might give us some impression of long-term occupancy among inmates. Of those listed in 1907, no fewer than eight men, William Thomas Booty, Charles Lattimore, Henry Dent, Samuel Gatward (Gatwood), Robert Benstead, Edward John Marshall, Frederick Loates and Francis Bavister, were also present on 8 April 1911.

This may, however, create a false impression: we know, for example, that **Henry Dent** – single, aged 37, a Cambridge-born former printer-compositor – had been out of the workhouse for a period in the meantime, and that between 1909 and early 1911 he was in the Great Yarmouth workhouse (at the cost of the Cambridge Guardians), and had been readmitted to the Cambridge Workhouse only three months before the census.⁷⁴ To take another example, **Florence Crestfield** aged 30, widow with a child aged 1 (with an older child in a Home), was admitted to the workhouse in the two weeks ending 13 April 1910 and again 14 September, 12 October and 9 November 1910, 4 January and 15 March 1911.⁷⁵

These cases suggest that there were not just two categories as we have so far assumed – long-term inmates, and one-day casuals – but *three*, the third being inmates who were alternately admitted to and discharged from (or discharged themselves from) the workhouse – people who repeatedly tried to live in the outside world only to find that they could not cope and needed the protection of the institution. What are we to make of **Alfred Royall** – widower aged 65, former plasterer – who was admitted on 21 December 1910, 1 February, 15 March and 12 April 1911?; Or **Charles Sandfield** – widower aged 75, former builder's labourer – who was in the workhouse on 5 January 1910 (cautioned for using foul language⁷⁶), and readmitted on 27 April, 14 September, 26 October 1910, 1 March and 29 March 1911?; Or **Alfred Gunn** – single, aged 74, former bricklayer – who was in the workhouse on 4 January 1911 (sentenced to 28 days' imprisonment for being drunk and disorderly in the workhouse and damaging property⁷⁷), and readmitted on 15 February, 15 March and 12 April 1911?⁷⁸ Many men and women perhaps found they could not fend for themselves, were unable to find work or accommodation, or fell to drinking or unsocial behaviour. Some of them had perhaps become so institutionalized (like former soldiers in civvy street, or recidivist prisoners) that the outside world had become alien to them. One thing is clear: when reviewing the day's candidates for admission, the Porter and Master must have found many of those unfortunates all-too-familiar faces.

⁷³ CA: G/C/AM38, pp. 4 (10 June 1908), 97 (6 Jan 1909), 109 (3 Feb 1909), 139 (31 March 1909), 156 (28 April 1909), 164 (12 May 1909), 195 (21 July 1909), 200 (4 Aug 1909).

⁷⁴ CA: G/C/AM38, pp. 249 (24 Nov 1909), 453 (18 Jan 1911); CA: G/C/WRm2, 1 Feb 1911.

⁷⁵ CA: G/C/WRm2.

⁷⁶ CA: G/C/AM38, pp. 263–64.

⁷⁷ CA: G/C/AM38, p. 448.

⁷⁸ In all these cases, '(re)admitted on' means '(re)admitted during the two weeks ending'.

Finally, is it possible to identify any long-term inmates? A comparison with the 1901 census results in fifteen cases of people present on both lists. **Sarah** and **William Hutt**, cited above as the couple longest married, were inmates in 1901, when Sarah declared herself to be a 'book sewer and folder' – another member of the printing trade. Thirteen others appear on both lists: Thomas Allen, Amelia Flack, James Gigney, Joseph Knights (Knight), Emma (Emily) Larkins, Helen Lofts, Charles Nicholls, Rose Nickson (then aged 19, together with Winifred Nickson (aged 4) and Maud Nickson (3), perhaps younger sisters), William Redgraves, Mary Redman, Robert Donald Smith (present also on the 1891 census), Edward Spencer, and Henry Webb (the boxer, who in 1901 is recorded as 'pugilist Exhib', and who is present on the 1891 census list with the occupation 'general labourer').

The exercise performed in this section of the report has been severely limited in time (only 1909–1911) and in range of sources. A longer-term study of the inmates as recorded in all the Cambridge censuses from 1841 to 1911, taking into consideration not only the full range of workhouse sources but a much wider range of source materials – such as electoral rolls, births, deaths and marriages, military service sources, court and prison records, and local newspapers – would be a worthwhile and valuable piece of social history research.

C – THE COUNTY INFIRMARY, 1930–39

1. Transition from Workhouse to County Infirmary : 1927–30

As far back as 1905 changes to the workhouse system were being urged by the government, and new social legislation was being brought in. Thus in that year there was a Royal Commission on the future of the workhouses. In 1909 the state pension was, as we have seen, introduced for people over age 70, and 1911 saw the beginnings of unemployment insurance and health insurance. In 1913 the term 'workhouse' was replaced in the language of officialdom by 'Poor Law Institution'. Significantly, in 1918 the Maclean Committee recommended that all such institutions be transferred from the Poor Law Commission to the county councils, but that was resisted.

In 1919 the Ministry of Health was created by merging the medical and public health functions of government. Between 1924 and 1929, Neville Chamberlain as Minister of Health pushed through a series of bills in Parliament aimed at abolishing the entire poor law system: the Board of Guardians Act (1926), the Poor Law Act (1927), and the wider Local Government Act (1929), which came into force on 1 April 1930.

By 1927, Guardians around the country were circulating letters trying to reverse these 'retrograde' measures. They were concerned that, amid such sweeping changes, the needs of the destitute would get lost – and remember that 1926 was the year of the General Strike (something which affected Mill Road, with its nicknames 'Red Romsey' and 'Little Russia', quite acutely!).

The Cambridge Guardians held a special meeting on 17 October 1928, and drew up a resolution urging the Prime Minister to 'defer, for at least three years, the consideration of suggested changes in Poor Law administration'. A vigorous propaganda campaign was launched among Guardians nationwide, but when Guardians asked the Lord Mayor of Cambridge to summon a meeting to protest against the Local Government Act he declined. The Government, however, persisted in 'the transfer and appropriation of Poor Law Institutions, and the transfer of Poor Law Officers' – transfer, that is, from the Board of Guardians (to be abolished) to the County Council.

One amusing sidelight: In February 1930 the Cambridge Guardians received a letter from Panorama Ltd of Southampton Row, London offering to take 'a photograph' (shades of annual school photos!) as a 'souvenir of their activities' before abolition. The Guardians decided it was a good idea, but rejected the London offer and turned instead to the local firm of Starr & Rignell, Regent Street, Cambridge. The photograph was taken on 19 March (inmates were evidently not included).

A final meeting of the Board was called for 31 March at which the Guardians wound up their business and passed votes of thanks. At the end of the minute book, in red ink, is the following plaintive inscription (see Figure 27):⁷⁹

Note: The functions of the Board of Guardians were transferred to the Cambridge County Council under the Local Government Act 1929, the appointed day being the 1st day of April 1930.

J.W. E. Rule

Clerk to the Guardians

⁷⁹ CA: G/C/AM44, Guardians' Minute Book 1927–1930.

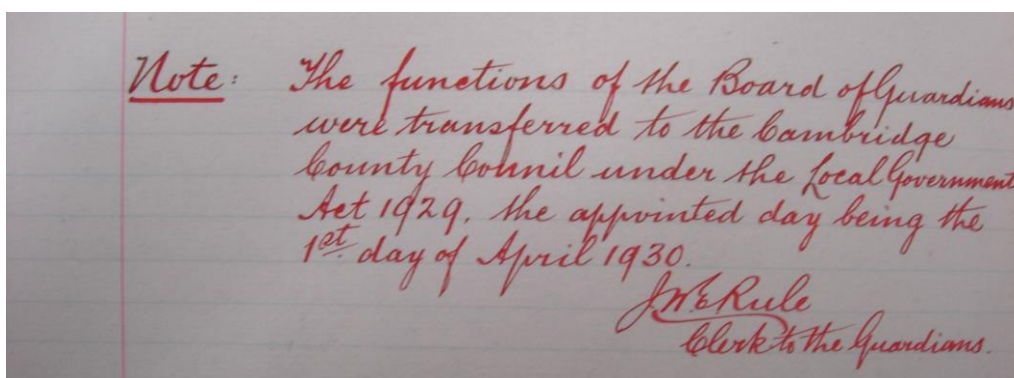


Figure 27 – Guardians' final note (G/C/AM44)

It is not surprising that in the lead-up to 1930 few changes were made to the buildings. Alterations were mostly confined to the new and old infirmaries. The old female infirmary was equipped with better kitchen, bathroom and lavatory facilities and central heating, and further plans for it by the architect were agreed by the Ministry of Health in 1928. In the new female infirmary, the balcony, with its exposure to the elements (see Figure 18 and 19 above), remained a bone of contention, but the Ministry eventually backed down on its demand that it be completely enclosed by sliding screens.

2. How big a change took place in 1930?

The counties around the country were not necessarily any better equipped to manage the institutions than the Poor Law authorities in Whitehall or the Boards of Guardians on the spot. Hence the institutions themselves were slow to change, the rate of change depending on local circumstances. In Cambridge, the Union Workhouse, or Poor Law Institution, became the Cambridgeshire 'County Infirmary', and remained so until it was requisitioned for emergency wartime purposes in 1939.

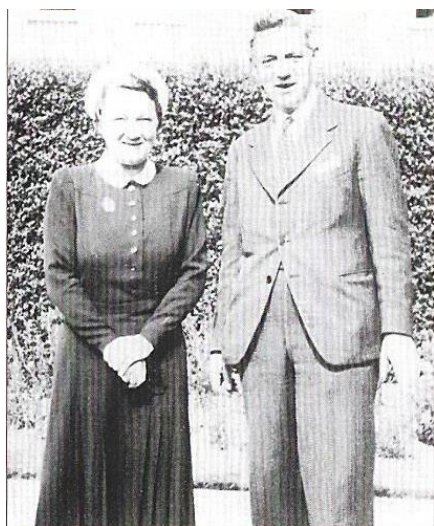


Figure 28 – Doris and Douglas Ditchburn

The main sources of information about the 1930–39 period are the Master's two-weekly report books and half-yearly reports and the Medical Officer's monthly reports.⁸⁰ To judge from the Master's reports, very little seems to have changed. For a start, The Master and Matron, Harry and Sarah Roberts, having taken up their positions in the workhouse in September 1929 continued in those roles until 7 April 1934, at which point the couple now indelibly associated with the institution were appointed: Douglas and Doris Ditchburn. They had previously been Master and Matron of Chesterfield workhouse, then Bradford Union workhouse, and then the Birmingham workhouse, and were not to retire until

1956, during which time they saw the place through a series of radical transformations.⁸¹

⁸⁰ See List of Documentation, below. We have yet to establish where the minute books of the new County Committee are preserved. They appear not to be in held the County Archive or in the Addenbrooke's Hospital archive.

⁸¹ Martyn Shadboult, daughter of the Ditchburns, recalls: 'Father was two years younger than Mother and when they went, they went as Master and Matron. They were offered the job on the condition that they got married and they had to get married to take the position. My mother did tell me at one time that she had to have permission from the Committee to

In workhouse days, the Master's weekly (later two-weekly) report comprised (1) a list of staff changes, (2) a list of gifts received, (3) visits by inspectors, (4) requests to the Guardians, and (5) events, entertainments, and unusual occurrences, followed by (6) statistical tables, and (7) a list of all those admitted during the week and of deaths and births in the institution. This was the pattern far back into the 19th century, and remained so after April 1930.

Gifts, Staff Changes, etc.

To take a typical list of gifts:⁸²

The following gifts have been received & acknowledged:

Vegetables &c	Girton College (3 occasions)
Books	Redlions[?] Society
Clothing	Mrs Saltburn 24 Fullbrooke Rd
Periodicals	Messrs Eaden Lilley Co.
Rolls Cakes	W. H. Springall [baker]
Perambulator	Mrs Dickinson Huntingdon Rd
Flowers	Mr W. J. Unwin Histon
Books	Mrs Moule 36 Argyle Street
Books Records	Miss Beal 1 Earl St
Pears	The Chairman Mr Simpkin
Fruit Veg & Flowers	Childrens Service Hornsey

The gifts and donors are entirely in accord with those recorded in workhouse days (except for gramophone records – a recent invention⁸³), as are the gifts of turkeys, sweets, cigarettes and tobacco at Christmas time. Inspectors kept coming, though not from the Poor Law Commission in Whitehall but from the Ministry of Health and the Board of Control for Lunacy and Mental Deficiency,⁸⁴ also in Whitehall.

Another indicator of continuity concerns the workhouse staff: Rosalind Irene Cornell, a trainee nurse who had completed her sixth-month probationary period by March 1930, was appointed at the meeting on 31 March to be a Junior Assistant Nurse from 1 April. We might infer from this clue that other workhouse staff were held over similarly from the old to the new regime.⁸⁵

The lists of admissions, births and deaths were very similar to those recorded throughout the life of the workhouse. An example of such, a list from 27 November 1907 is quoted in full in Section A/3 of this report.

actually get pregnant; so she had to get permission to have me at all. She was thirty-two when she married.' (Lawrence, *We remember ...* (2007), p. 26).

⁸² Master's report, 9 December 1936.

⁸³ Master's report 28 April 1834: 'an undergraduate of Magdalene College requests permission to visit patients in the Infirmary & give gramophone recitals in suitable wards also to take patients for a short outing in motor car occasionally'.

⁸⁴ e.g. Master's report 21/28 July 1934: 'Mr B J Hodgson, Commissioner of the Board of Control visited the Institution on the 18th July. He interviewed all the Mental Defectives & Lunacy cases. He drew attention to a new requirement of the Board, namely an additional guard on the calendar machine.'

⁸⁵ This could be established by looking at lists of staff from prior to 1930 and comparing them with the staff-change lists after 1 April 1930.

Terminology

The tables of statistics are helpful in giving a picture of the institution: below is the first set of tables of the new regime, for the second full week of October 1930:⁸⁶

[Table A]

Weekly Return of Inmates (excluding Casuals) relieved on Saturdays					
[Category]	Men	Women	Children 3–16	Infants	Total
(a) Infectious Wards					
(b) Lunatic Wards	2	3			5
(c) Maternity Wards					
(d) Other Sick Wards	41	51	3	4	99
(e) Nurseries			2	7	9
(f) Receiving Wards					
(g) Other Wards:					
(i) over 70	15	6			21
(ii) under 70	41	28			69
TOTALS	99	88	5	11	203

Table I

Persons afforded institutional relief (excluding Casuals) on Saturdays					
[Category]	Men	Women	Children 3–16	Infants	Total
Institutions provided by Poor Law Authorities					
Institutions for Adults					
(a) Sick Wards	41	53	3	4	101
(b) Other	58	35	2	7	102
Totals	99	88	5	11	203
Last Year	105	83	3	14	204

Table IV

Number of Casuals during the week ended noon on Saturdays				
	Men	Women	Children	
No. adm. to Casuals Wards	189	14	1 = 204	Men 34
No. to whom Relief granted				Women 2
last year	232	8	[0] = 240	36
				77

The disparity of language in these tables reveals the split nature of the new institution. On the one hand, 'inmates' is workhouse-speak (whereas 'patients' would have been hospital-speak); on the other hand 'ward' is hospital-speak (replacing the previous 'dormitory'). The wards are now given functional names: infectious, lunatic, maternity, nursery, sick, rather than being categorized as 'aged or infirm', 'able-bodied' and 'boys and girls'. And 'tramps',

⁸⁶ CA: H/C/PRm1: Saturday 18 October 1930.

'vagabonds', 'pedlars' etc. are replaced by 'casuals'. Whereas in the 19th century the infirmary was a small cluster of buildings at the back of a site that otherwise comprised 'day rooms', 'dining rooms', 'dormitories' and 'schoolrooms', from 1930 the *whole* institution was nominally an 'infirmary'.

We must remember, though, that all these reports were handwritten on printed forms – forms emanating presumably from Whitehall, partly with the intention of imposing a new terminology on an old system of thought. We cannot assume that those in the institution necessary mirrored that terminology in their everyday language.

Numbers

A comparison of Table A with Table I shows that the numbers in the latter precisely equate to those in the former (thus in the 'Men' column, '(a) Sick Wards' in Table I equals '(d) Other Sick Wards' in Table A: 41 = 41; and '(b) Other' in Table I equates with '(g) (i)–(ii) Other Wards' plus any other wards in Table A: 58 = 15 + 41 + 2. This remains so throughout the entire period 1930–39, suggesting that *all* the inmates of the County Infirmary were 'afforded institutional relief'. The total number of inmates in the period 1930–39 fluctuated between 190 and 245, matching closely the number of 256 for which the architect designed the original Workhouse in 1837. The numbers of casuals housed for a single night over the course of a week varied between 27 and 89, centering around 50. Ken Parker, looking back from Maternity Hospital days, writes:⁸⁷

What had we in the 1930s – the County Infirmary (as it was then called) with about 250 beds, mostly for the infirm, including accommodation for 'house' (able-bodied but homeless) patients, and a nursery for children to the age of 5, huts in the grounds for the treatment of tubercular patients and a few maternity beds for those requiring them through social or economic necessity. Births in 1936 – 93; in 1932 – 36!

Before the National Health Service the institution was administered by the Cambridgeshire County Council under the Public Assistance Act and later by the Public Health Act 1936. The County Council then had in mind developing its maternity side and the number of such beds had increased to around 210 by 1939, and the number of births had risen to over 300 in the year.

Staffing

Staffing, on the other hand, was now a very different matter. In the days of the Workhouse, inmates were required to work in the kitchen, dining room, laundry, in cleaning and general repairs, and to serve as nurses and midwives. As we saw in Section B of this report, the salaried or waged positions were those of Master and Matron, Schoolmaster, Schoolmistress, Porter, Nurse and Chaplain. Now, in addition to Master and Matron, there was an Assistant Master, a Master's Clerk, a Matron's Maid, and appointed positions of cook, kitchen boy, laundress, laundry assistant, stoker, bricklayer, painter, handyman, cleaner, and other positions. The 1920s had seen an expansion of the nursing staff and definition of levels to include Charge Nurse, Staff Nurse and Assistant Nurse (see Section B/2c/3 above), and by 1930 there were additional grades, the nursing staff now including Ward Sister, Night Sister, Staff Nurse, Charge Nurse, Junior Assistant Nurse, and Probationary Nurse.

⁸⁷ Parker (1969), pp. 19–20.

3. The Roles of Hospital and Infirmary

An amusing story illustrates the distinction between these two institutions: On 5 July 1939, one Nicholas Sheedy walked into Addenbrooke's Hospital complaining of heart trouble; the Medical Officer there phoned the Mill Road night sister at 12.30 a.m. to say that Sheedy 'was not a case for the Hospital and he was sending him to the County Infirmary.' The night sister examined the man, found nothing wrong, and discharged him.⁸⁸ The Addenbrooke's Medical Officer's words betray the existence, nine years after the transition, of a two-tier system in which Addenbrooke's took only cases for which they could do something medically, as apart from malingerers, hypochondriacs, the mentally ill and imbecile, the aged, infirm and senile. He saw Addenbrooke's as a *curative* hospital, whereas Mill Road was a place for the (in any of several senses of the word) *incurable*.

In fact, a fundamental distinction separated these two institutions: Addenbrooke's, founded in 1766, was like St Bartholomew's and Guy's in London and the Royal Infirmarys of Edinburgh and Bristol in being a *voluntary hospital*. It was an independent foundation, relying on donations, legacies,⁸⁹ subscriptions and fund-raising activities for its financial support. Patients did not generally pay for medical services, but had to pay for their accommodation, and many of them paid into contributory schemes to cover these costs. Mill Road, by contrast, was – like asylums and isolation hospitals – a *state* service, run by the county, created and overseen by central government, and financially managed by some combination of the two. Patients did not pay for either services or accommodation. This basic distinction remained until 1948, when the entire hospital sector was put into public ownership and supported by a mass contributory scheme.

Mill Road Infirmary's Medical Officer frequently complained of difficulties with mentally ill inmates:⁹⁰

'The large numbers of senile mental decay, particularly when the patient is violent, not infrequently causes a good deal of anxiety to the nursing staff.' (31 Dec 1931);

'If we continue to have borderline mental cases that we have had recently, then it will be necessary to have two male nurses for the male side. It is not right that young female nurses should attend some of these cases whose conduct and language are most objectionable.' (31 Dec 1933).

In addition to the mentally ill, the Infirmary housed the long-term sick and the terminally ill, including hopeless cancer cases. The Medical Officer seems to have harboured his own sense of a lower-order two-tiered system:

'There has within recent months been a marked increase in heavy nursing cases such as inoperable carcinomata and senile incontinents, and in consequence the nursing staff is being heavily taxed.'

'The most urgent matter is the need for more beds for nursing the acute sick. The removal of the chronic sick which we are at present forced to accommodate, & which could well be looked after at the other Institution would solve this problem.' (31 Dec 1932)

The 'other Institution' referred to was presumably either that at Chesterton or Linton, or possibly Fulbourn mental hospital. The Infirmary had, in addition, to cope with influxes of patients during outbreaks of influenza and childhood ailments.

⁸⁸ CA: H/C/PRm5, Master's two-weekly report, 8 July 1939.

⁸⁹ i.e. money, investments or property left to the hospital in a person's will.

⁹⁰ CA: H/C/PRz, Medical Officer's half-yearly report book 1930–45.

Owing to the Influenza epidemic, the number of admissions has been abnormally high. On many occasions we have not known where to put new cases. [...] During this epidemic, which necessitated closing the Nursery to fresh admissions, we have had a phenomenal number of admissions of children, and we have had to turn the Day Room on Ward 6 into an accessory nursery accommodating eight children, while, in addition, we have had to put children in Wards 7 & 5. This has added considerably to the work of the Nursing Staff. (4 Jan 1937)

Schooling for children, so important in workhouse days, now no longer played a part in the Infirmary, nor is there any mention of the posts of Schoolmaster and Schoolmistress. That function was presumably taken over by the Ross Street Children's Home, which continued in that form until the mid-1950s. Nonetheless, the Infirmary still had long-term infant and child inmates housed in its Nursery, and the transfer between Mill Road and Ross Street still went on.⁹¹

'William Edward Sparkes – 4½ Yrs ?Removal to Ross Street from Nursery' (Master's report: 14 Nov 1933)

'Anthony King – 3½ Yrs ?Permission to transfer from Nursery to Ross Street' (Master's report: 9 Feb 1934)

'Sheer lack of accommodation for children necessitated transferring to the Childrens Home a child 2½ years old. There was no alternative in this case [in view of influenza outbreak].'
(Medical Officer's report: 31 Dec 1935)

One feature of the previous regime does at least seem to have been discontinued as of 1930: *punishment*. Inmates of workhouses in the early days were subject to a range of punishments for infractions such as idleness, misconduct, fighting, swearing and abscondment. For these they were variously flogged, placed in isolation, starved or put on bread-and-water rations, forced to wear special clothes or to do hard labour, or ultimately handed over to the justices for a prison sentence. The workhouse was designed to be *punitive* in nature. Although over subsequent decades the Commissioners gradually placed restrictions on the types of punishment inflicted, the principle continued through to the end of the workhouse era. All sentences had to be recorded in a special book. It is notable that the Mill Road punishment books (G/C/Wip1–5) end at 1929. At least in that one respect the institution appears to have changed upon becoming an infirmary.

4. Exclusion of Casuals

The organized housing and feeding for a single night of homeless people – usually termed tramps or vagabonds – had begun at Mill Road in 1879, with improved accommodation from 1897 (see Sections B/2c/1–2 of this report). Each man or woman was required to do four hours' labour in the Workhouse after breakfast before being released, not to return for a set number of days. That this practice continued after the transition in 1930 is clear from the statistical tables and from frequent references to their accommodation in the report books – e.g. 'The Male Casual Wards have been very overcrowded on several occasions during the half-year' (30 June 1931).⁹² We know that the tramps cells and the stone-breaking yards still existed as structures in 1930 (see Section C/5, below).

The first sign of change came on 1 June 1932, with a report from the Master that:⁹³

Mr G Johnston, Labour Master, was transferred to Chesterton Institution.

⁹¹ CA: H/C/PRm1, 2 and 3.

⁹² CA: H/C/WRh, Master's half-yearly report book 1914–43.

⁹³ CA: H/C/PRm1.

It comes as a shock to see that the Labour Master – the man who supervised labour by male casuals, synonymous with cruelty! – still existed in 1932, but his office is shown on the 1930 first-floor plan (see Figure 31, below). The next sign of change is recorded six weeks later:⁹⁴

Last of articles transferred to Chesterton Institution (Casual Ward)
Authority for writing off Inventory.

But already by 9 July the number of casuals housed in the course of a week had dropped from around 50 to 2, by the following week to 1, and by mid-August to zero. From late August on, Table IV (casuals) was merely crossed through.

The Chesterton institution was of course already on the tramps' circuit. So when the 'inventory' (presumably not only the furniture from the wards but also pick-axes, hammers, etc. from the stone-breaking cells) was transferred to Chesterton, that institution, indeed the whole circuit including Linton, Saffron Walden and Caxton, must have had to absorb the numbers. We can tell from the statistical tables that the transfer of inventory did not reflect a downward trend in the numbers of tramps – indeed, this was a time of economic depression in Britain. The continuing nature of the other institutions in the area and the situation of tramps warrant further study, and the Mill Road workhouse and infirmary inventory books (G/C/WZ and H/C/WF1–3) need examination.

⁹⁴ CA: H/C/PRm1, 14 July 1932.

5. The Buildings

Unfortunately no ground-floor plan of the Infirmary at its inception in 1930 appears to exist. A first-floor plan, however, does, and shows the layout of the site as of November 1930, the first-floor outlined heavily in black and the ground-floor in grey. If we place the Ordnance Survey map of 1927 (previously shown as Figure 17) side-by-side with the 1930 plan slightly tilted (see Figures 29 and 30, next page), and compare the map outline (left) with the *grey* plan outline (right), we can see that they correspond very closely.

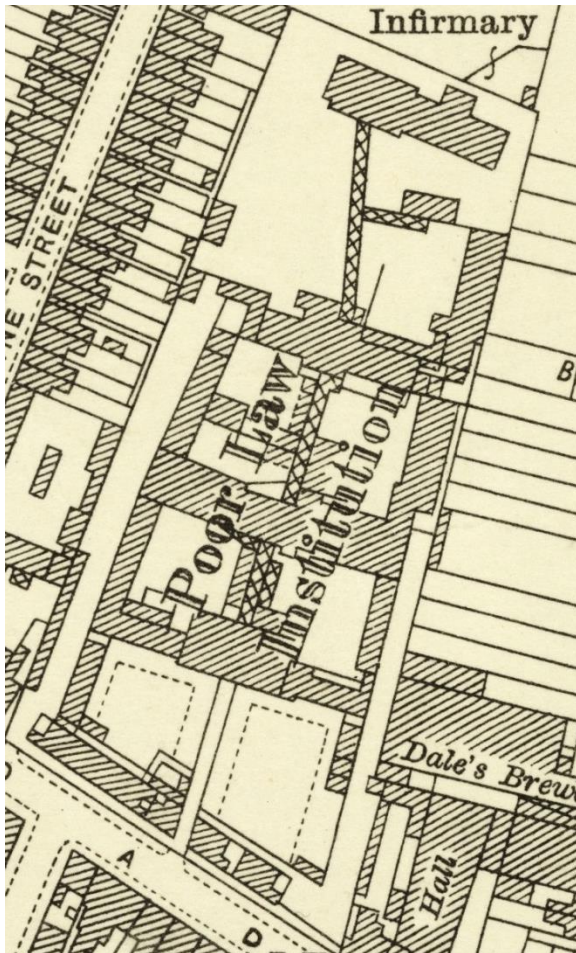


Figure 29 – Ordnance Survey map of 1927 (detail)
@ Crown Copyright

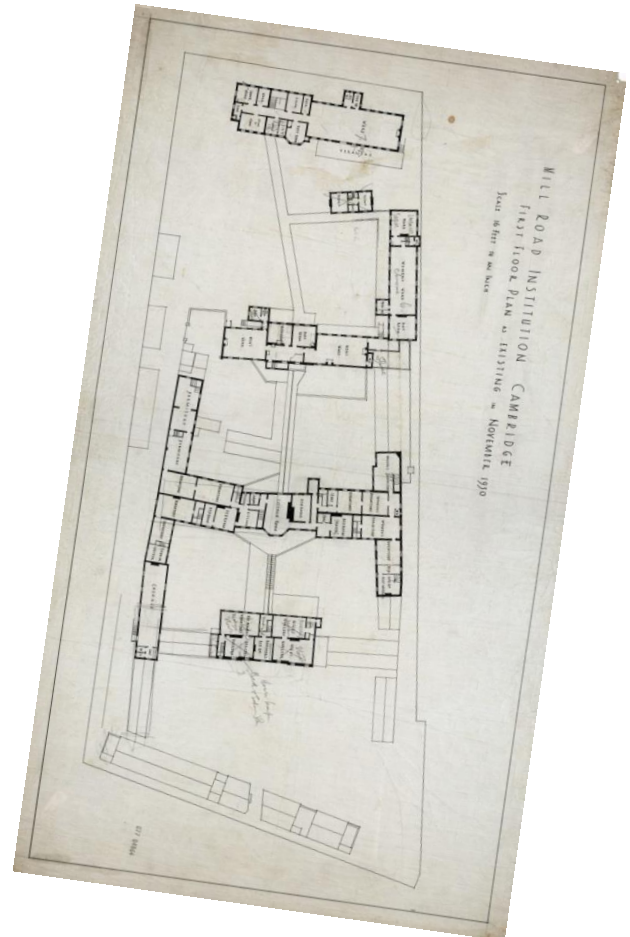


Figure 30 – Infirmary plan, 1930
(CA: KCC7 Arch SS2 7.0774864)

Figure 31 (next page) gives the 1930 plan at larger size so that the labels can be read. Most recognizable are the 1879/1897 tramps cells at the front (south) of the site, only single-storey, thus grey and unlabelled. In the middle of the site can be seen the familiar two-armed cross of the original workhouse buildings, flanked by perimeter buildings. Thirdly, the new Infirmary, built in 1926, is clearly recognizable at the north end of the site, with its verandah, and the diagonal path leading to it (see Figures 18 and 19 above).

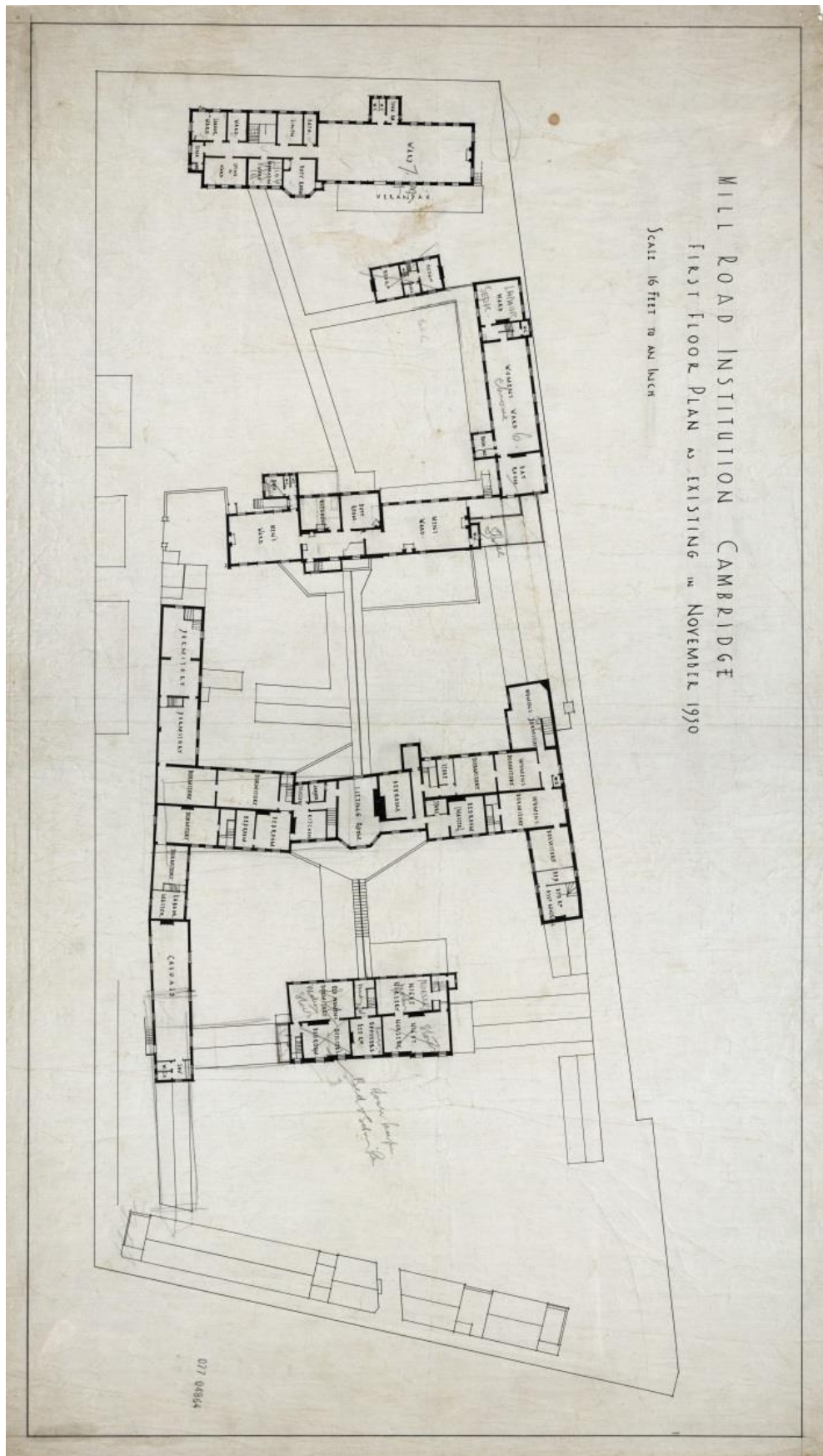


Figure 31 – First-floor plan of Infirmary, 1930 (CA: KCC7 Arch SS2 7.0774864)

Only the first-floor spaces are labelled, and if we compare this plan with that of the original building (Figure 6), we can see how far the development of the first floor had proceeded over the intervening 93 years. In the oldest parts of the site, the workhouse term 'dormitory' persists. The central section of the middle range remains the Master's quarters, as on the 1837 plan. Only at the rear of the site is the term 'ward' used rather than 'dormitory', and in all cases these were buildings added later – the first floor of the back-most original range and the Infirmary buildings at the rear and east side. The term 'casuals' replaces 'tramps', this terminology having crept into the Guardian's language by the mid-1920s.

Most interesting are the pencil changes, particularly the addition of numbers '6' (Women's Ward) and '7' to two of the wards, from which we might project that wards 1–5 were located on the ground floor. This numbering system, seen in the very act of emerging here, was to remain in force until the closure of the Maternity Hospital in 1983. Other changes in the Infirmary include 'T.B.' for the verandah and a second 'lying in' ward in place of the old separation ward, and in the main front building a reorganization of all the rooms. The status of these pencillings is unknown – might they have been the work of the Master or Matron, or an architect, or of an official at the Ministry of Health?

If the plan of 1930 reflected the historical accumulation of buildings while introducing new terminology, the site plan of 1933 (see Figure 35 below), on the other hand, looked to the future. Its introduction of the word 'block' simplified the site structure by demarcating larger functional entities ('administrative block', 'nursery block', etc.). Even more significantly, it marked the first move towards remodelling the site as a whole. At the front it shows the two 'casual blocks' with dotted outlines as 'to be demolished'. The western half of the main ranges of buildings is also shown as scheduled for demolition, to be replaced by an acute male block⁹⁵ in the west, and a nurses's home and porter's office in the southwest corner. The latter two buildings were evidently still to be built, for two reports dated 30 June 1934 record:

[Medical Officer:] I should like to draw attention to the fact that the present receiving ward will be demolished, as a result of the New Nurses Home construction. It is necessary to have such a ward, particularly for isolating children a few days after admission, as quarantine.

[Master:] Workshops – The shoemakers workshops will be demolished in the course of the building of the new Nurses Home.

whilst the Master's report for 18/25 September 1935 reports on the 'window cleaning [of the] Nurses Home'. If this is a reference not to Edinburgh House but to the new building on the main site, then we have a timeframe of late 1934 to summer 1935 for its opening.

The new Nurses' Home, of which architectural drawings from 1933 and 1934 exist,⁹⁶ is designed to replace the casuals area on the front west wing. Its architect was S E Urwin (1892–1968), then Deputy County Architect and later County Architect; he also designed the original buildings of Bottisham and Linton Village Colleges (1937), both of which Pevsner describes as 'in a Modernist idiom derived from Holland',⁹⁷ Long Road Girls High School (1937–40), and the Register Office at Shire Hall. The south, west and east elevations (see Figures 32 and 33) show a three-storey building in 1930s modern style, with Crittall metal

⁹⁵ Master's report: 'I beg to report that Colonel Hayward, Ministry of Health Inspector, visited the Institution on 16th January, in connection with the proposed New Male Block.' (H/C/PRm3).

⁹⁶ CA: KCC7/ARCH/SS2, 007 04887 (elevations, Dec 1933), 007 04868 (ground-floor plan, Jan 1934), 007 04869 (1st-, 2nd- and roof plans, Jan 1934). S E Urwin was then the Deputy County Architect for Cambridgeshire.

⁹⁷ 2014 edition, pp. 412, 439, 593. The Crittall windows have now been replaced by PVC replicas.

windows. The boldest feature occurs in the southwest corner, where vertical ribbon windows spanning two-and-a-half floors on three sides, and a flat roof, conspire to give the appearance of a tower. At the same time, the brickwork and tall chimneys are designed to harmonize with the original buildings, and the transition to the 1838 south frontage is sensitively handled.



Figure 32 – Nurses' Home 1935: south elevation (CA: KCC7/ARCH/SS2)



Figure 33 – Nurses' Home 1935: east and west elevations (CA: KCC7/ARCH/SS2)

The result is immediately recognizable as the existing front west wing of Ditchburn Place, which served as the nurses' accommodation throughout the Maternity Home period of 1946 to 1983. The ground floor accommodated sitting rooms for the Sisters and nurses, with the porter's office at the front; the first floor comprised Sisters' and nurses' bedrooms and bathrooms, and the second floor further bedrooms and bathrooms for the nurses.

In the southeast corner of the 1933 site plan (Figure 35), on the Mill Road frontage, and separated from the other buildings, is the Master's house. While the house is presented in the plan (unlabelled) as already in existence, an artistic impression by Urwin dated April 1935 declares it to be the 'proposed Master's Quarters'. This arresting image (Figure 34) shows Urwin continuing the modernity of the Nurses' Home by providing an art deco domestic house devoid of unnecessary ornament, with Crittall windows and distinctive Cumberland green slate roof. (In the background are sketched the Kinema, with the last two letters 'M A' – in itself a historic image, the earliest depiction of this 'flea-pit' cinema – and the side of the *Durham Ox* public house.)

This is the house – now a shadow of its former self and surrounded by a high wall – into which Douglas and Doris Ditchburn (see Figure 28 above) must have moved only a little over

a year after taking up their posts. Mary Merrick, who worked at the Maternity Hospital between 1956 and 1961, recalls that Molly Lobban, who was appointed Matron in 1956:⁹⁸

had taken over the Ditchburns' house on Mill Road, renamed it 'Bemersyde House' and had it decorated in strong colours – this was the talk of the hospital.

The implication perhaps is that the Ditchburns' taste in decoration was conservative.

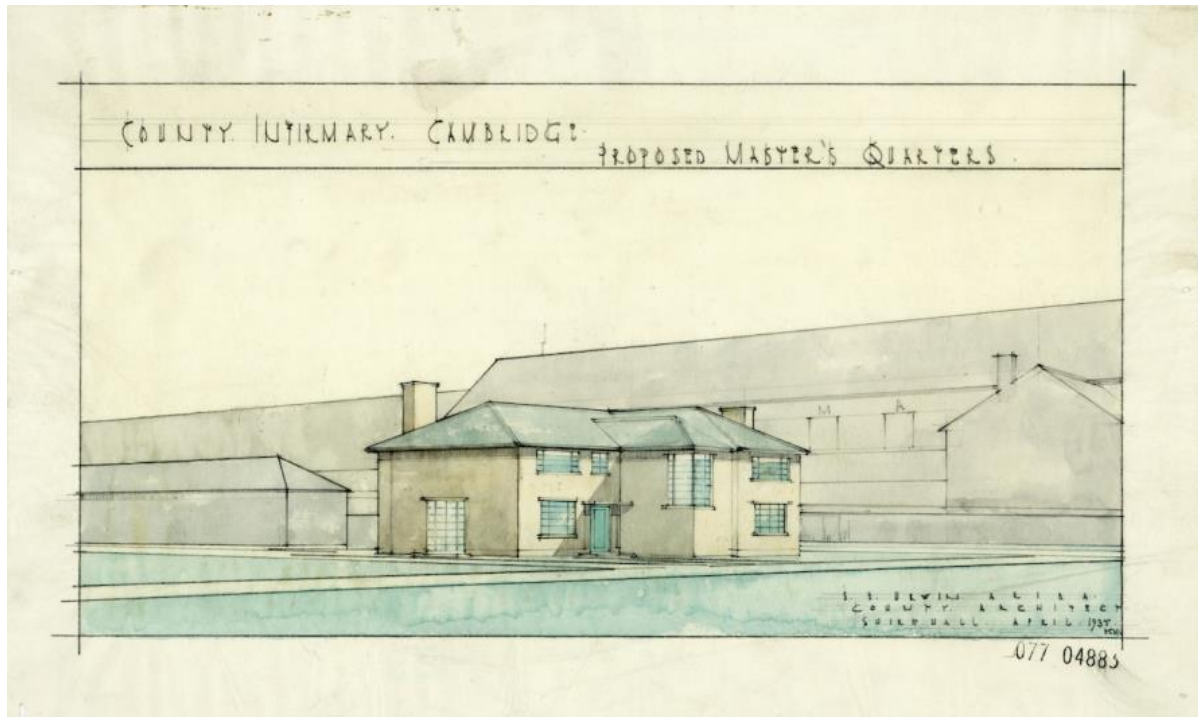


Figure 34 – Design for Master's House, 1935 (CA: KCC7 Arch SS2 7.07704885)

These changes can be seen finally in the ground plan of August 1939 (Figure 36). The site now has a spine in the form of a corridor running from the front gates through to the rear-most building, with arms running east and west at each of three points (a vestige of the original workhouse design) into wards and the various facilities. A second entrance at the eastern perimeter with gates allows access by vehicle to the various patients' entrances. The Maternity Unit (Ward 7) has been reorganized following suggestions from the Matron and Medical Officer, who reported on 3 June 1939: 'The rearrangement of the maternity accommodation on Block 7 has been highly successful. As the result, more patients have been able to be accommodated than could have been previously' (CA: H/C/PRz). To the left of the corridor as it angles towards the Maternity Unit is a newly constructed block housing the operating theatre and x-ray area, with a room for the first time for 'Surgeons'.

⁹⁸ Interview recorded with Judy Wilson, 15 October 2014.

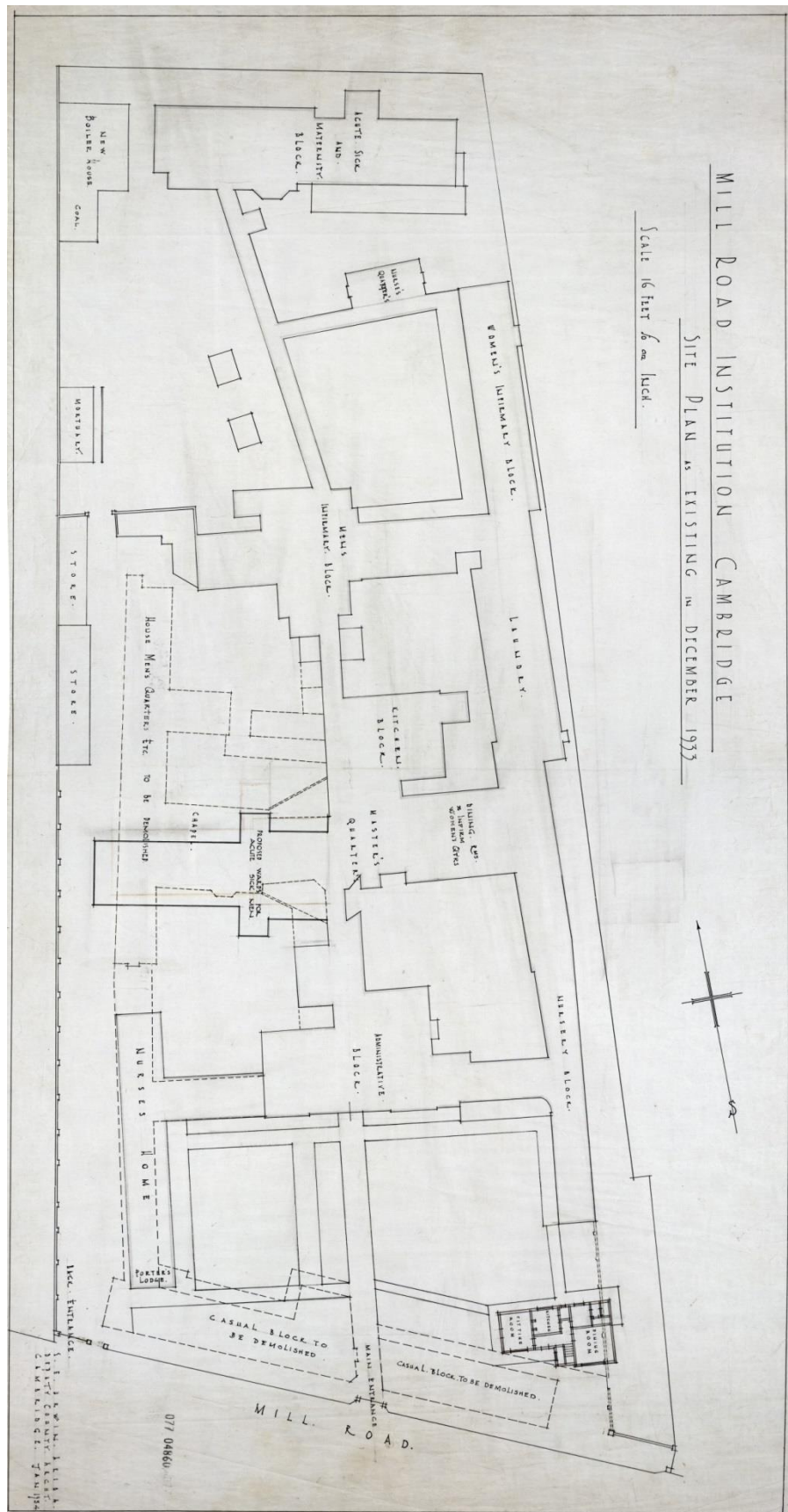


Figure 35 – Ground-floor plan of Infirmary (1933) (CA: KCC7 Arch SS2 7.07704860)

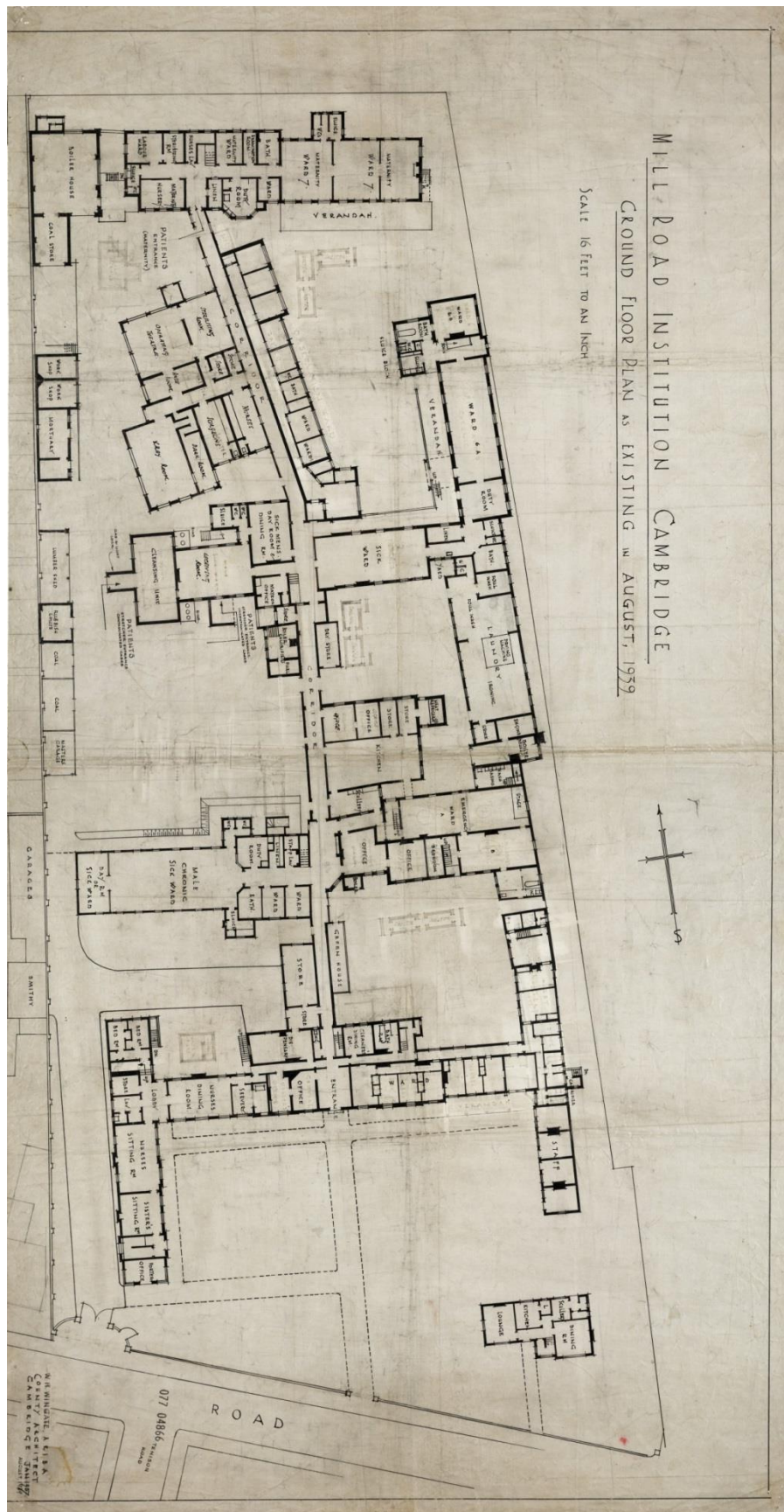


Figure 36 – Ground-floor plan of the Infirmary, 1939 (CA: KCC7 Arch SS2 7.07704866)

6. Transition to Wartime Emergency Medical Hospital

Long before 3 September 1939, when Britain declared war on Germany, preparations were being made for a possible invasion. Thus the Air Raid Precautions Act was passed in 1937, ARP regional officers were appointed (for Cambridge, Lord Rothschild was the Chief ARP Warden), and new airfields were commissioned in East Anglia. Thirty-five million gas masks were distributed to the public in 1938 and instructions given as to their use; the navy was mobilized in September 1938, and public shelters were constructed in 1938 and 1939. In January and February 1939, evacuation plans were drawn up that included an allocation of 16,000 evacuees from London to Cambridge; and in April 1939 conscription of men aged 20–21 began.⁹⁹

Two significant entries appear successively in the Workhouse Master's weekly report for 25 January 1939:

Professor Ryall visited Saturday.
Mrs Ryall – re Spanish Refugee girl in Nursery.

The latter is a reminder that the Spanish Civil War had been going on since 1936 and was not to finish for another three months. 'Professor Ryall' (correctly, 'Ryle') was the head of the Emergency Medical Service (see the quoted passage below).

As Ken Parker reports:¹⁰⁰

In the summer of 1939 preparations were made to meet the emergencies of the imminent outbreak of war. It was design[ed] as an AI Hospital under the Emergency Medical Scheme and equipped and staffed for acute general cases. As many as possible of the patients were transferred to other hospitals in the area or home with the view initially to taking patients evacuated from hospitals in the danger zones of the East Coast on their way West.

More of Parker's account of events will be quoted in Part II of this report, which will cover the wartime period, the Maternity Hospital, and Ditchburn Place.

Already on 31 August, serious cases were transferred from Addenbrooke's Hospital to the West Suffolk Hospital in readiness for an influx of cases from London hospitals (the opposite of what Parker says!). Rex Salisbury Woods gives a detailed account of the readying of the Infirmary for wartime service, characterizing some of its new personnel, over the first six months:¹⁰¹

On the first of September the Emergency Medical Service, headed by John Ryle, Regius Professor of Physick at the University, appointed me surgeon-in-charge at the Cambridge Infirmary, Mill Road, which was then raised to the status of a County Hospital. Harry Nourse became my anaesthetist, [...]

At once the Hospital was flooded with cases evacuated by motor ambulance convoys from infirmaries in North London. Most of them were old and enfeebled; some arrived moribund; a few died on the way, and others had gangrene of the extremities requiring amputation. London expected heavy casualties from immediate bombing, and every possible bed was emptied in preparation. But the Germans held their hand, [...] and on land, if not at sea, the 'phoney war' ensued and continued until the following spring.

⁹⁹ R Douglas Brown (1980), pp. 24, 147, 152, 154, 157, 161, 164–65, 167.

¹⁰⁰ Parker (1969), p. 20. Ken Parker had worked at the institution as the Master's Clerk from 1939 to 1942; after war service he returned to it in 1946, rising – after a short spell at Addenbrooke's – to its senior administrative position in 1961, from which he retired in March 1983, the year in which the 'Rosie' was built on the Addenbrooke's site.

¹⁰¹ Rex Salisbury Woods, *Cambridge Doctor* (London: Robert Hale, 1962), pp. 147–48, partly quoted in Brown (1980), p. 181. Rex Salisbury Woods (1891–1986) major and surgeon in the RAMC, had previously served in the First World War with the rank of Captain. He had also represented Great Britain in the Olympic Games of 1924 and 1928 in the shot-put. He left the Infirmary in April 1943 to return to active service.

Meanwhile we disposed of our initial civilian intake and filled up with cases from the Forces – herniae, varicose veins, haemorrhoids and other disabilities. These were cured by operation, and the men made fit for combatant service. In addition I was asked to run a Fracture Centre. Laurence Martin, one of 'Ryle's Bright Boys', was appointed Physician-in-Charge of medical beds. He was a splendid opposite number, [...]

As R[esident] M[edical] O[fficer] we had a local doctor who had been a medical missionary in China where, in the wilds, he had learned to do everything for himself. There was nothing that he could not tackle. Apart from his heavy administrative duties, he would fill any role in an emergency. [...]

At first there was no X-ray department, and we used a room off Ward 4A as a theatre – so tiny it could hardly contain an operating table, the anaesthetist and his trolley, the Sister, a nurse and myself. The manoeuvring-in of the stretcher-trolley was itself a skilled piece of jugglery. Fortunately my first-war chiefs, Sir Ernest Rock Carling and Sir Claude Frankau, were now Senior Surgical Advisers to the E.M.S., and after inspecting the Hospital they hurried to my rescue so successfully that, by early 1940, the Ministry of Health had built me a splendid new theatre and X-ray department. Our Radiologist was Dr. Dick Berridge of St. George's, a most pleasant and able colleague, [...]

My work included two operating days and all the night emergency work – an average weekly total of about twenty-five operations – together with ward rounds and writing up all my own notes and records for the War Office and Air Ministry.

The first reference specifically to war in the Master's reports occurs in an unusually long series of entries dated 13 September 1939, including:¹⁰²

The following staff have been called up in H. M. Forces [*lists four people*]
Two painters were engaged [...] for blackening of windows.

Extra staff were brought in under Eastern Region (No. 4) Office control:

R. Hoppit engaged [as a nurse] on behalf of Eastern Region.
Owing to the appointment of 2 Resident M.O.s & 1 Sister to live in it was necessary to find billets for 4 Resident Staff Adams, Blayden[,], Orin [&] Holdup. 1 Ward Sister is sleeping in Matrons quarters.
Extra trained Staff & auxiliary Nursing Staff have been sent by the Eastern Region Office.

Staff were also temporarily borrowed from the Emergency Hospital Services. Much rearrangement of accommodation was undertaken to house this additional staff, especially for those living on the premises; and special arrangements had to be made with Boots, the chemists, to maintain medical supplies.

The first indication of the presence of military personnel as patients came in the Medical Officer's report for December 1939 (covering the previous six months):

Diet: 'C' diet has been quite adequate for army sick & certain other civilian cases.

In the Master's weekly report for 2 February 1940 the entry under 'Other Sick Wards' in Table A reads:

Men: 106 (68 Mil[itary] Sick) | Women 5 (2 M[ilitary] S[ick])

The Creed Registers for June 1939 to January 1940¹⁰³ report military casualties from anti-aircraft units in the surrounding area such as that at Sawston. Evacuation of Londoners began the day war was declared; it is in that month that the Creed Registers report a flood of patients being transferred to Mill Road from the London hospitals of St Andrew's, Whipps Cross, St Mary's Highgate, and Mile End, just as Woods indicates.

¹⁰² CA: H/C/PRm5.

¹⁰³ Addenbrooke's Hospital archive: AHRO 1/2/1/1.

It would be only a few months before, in early June 1940, Mill Road would receive its first casualties from the Dunkirk evacuation (the long-awaited Luftwaffe 'blitz' of London did not become a reality until 7 September). By then, the Infirmary had well and truly earned its status as an AI Wartime Emergency Medical Scheme Hospital.

Final Note

Part II of this Mill Road History Project building report will investigate in further detail the wartime EMS hospital, its range of military casualties and civilian patients, its staffing, and the changes made to its buildings. It will go on to examine the immediate aftermath of the war, the introduction of the National Health Service and the establishment of the Cambridge Maternity Hospital, then record the transformation that the City architects wrought to the site between 1983 and 1988. Finally, it will trace the history of Ditchburn Place as a model housing scheme 'to combine general and special needs housing with other forms of support and to encourage the development of an independent community within the wider local community',¹⁰⁴ and the restructuring that it underwent in about 2005 with the introduction of management by the Independent Living Service.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in Lawrence (2007), p. 33, source unknown.

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LIST OF SOURCES

Cambridgeshire County Archives

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"(n.c.)" = not consulted for this edition of this report

G/C/AM1–44:	Board of Guardians' Minute Books	1836–1930
G/C/AP9–30:	Building plans, specifications, contracts etc	1837–1930
G/C/Wip1–5:	Punishment Books (n.c.)	1842–98, 1914–29
G/C/WRm1–11:	Master's Report Books	1905–26
H/C/WRn1	Matron's Report Book (n.c.)	1914–30
G/C/WZ1–3:	Inventory Books (n.c.)	1901–28
H/C/Wlc1–6	Creed Registers (n.c.)	1880–1930

COUNTY INFIRMARY

H/C/PRz	Medical Officer's Report Book	1930–45
H/C/WF1–3	Inventory Books	1928–32
H/C/Wlc1–6	Creed Registers (n.c.)	1880–1930
H/C/WRh	Master' half-yearly Reports	1914–43
H/C/PRm1–9	Master's Report Books	1930–48
KCC7/ARCH/SS2/7	Architects' Plans	1930–39

There are also Registers of Deaths (H/C/Pld1–2), Visitors' books (H/C/Plv, H/C/Wlv and H/C/WRv), Chaplain's Report Book (H/C/PRc), and Registers of Inmates (H/C/Wlp1–4), none of which have been consulted for this edition of this report.

Cambridgeshire Collection

c.40 Cambridge newspapers from 1762 to present day

Large collection of photographs, prints, drawings

Maps of Cambridge and Cambridgeshire from 1574, including Ordnance Survey maps from 1885

General

Spalding's Street Directories of Cambridge 1874–1939/40

Kelly's Street Directories of Cambridge 1948–75

Mathieson's Street Directories of Cambridge 1866, 1867

APPENDIX I : Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist*

Excerpts from chapter I

TREATS OF THE PLACE WHERE OLIVER TWIST WAS BORN, AND OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES ATTENDING HIS BIRTH.

[...]

Although I am not disposed to maintain that the being born in a workhouse, is in itself the most fortunate and enviable circumstance that can possibly befall a human being, I do mean to say that in this particular instance, it was the best thing for Oliver Twist that could by possibility have occurred. The fact is, that there was considerable difficulty in inducing Oliver to take upon himself the office of respiration,—a troublesome practice, but one which custom has rendered necessary to our easy existence; and for some time he lay gasping on a little flock mattress, rather unequally poised between this world and the next: the balance being decidedly in favour of the latter. Now, if, during this brief period Oliver had been surrounded by careful grandmothers, anxious aunts, experienced nurses, and doctors of profound wisdom, he would most inevitably and indubitably have been killed in no time. There being nobody by, however, but a pauper old woman,¹⁰⁵ who was rendered rather misty by an unwonted allowance of beer; and a parish surgeon who did such matters by contract¹⁰⁶; Oliver and Nature fought out the point between them. The result was, that, after a few struggles, Oliver breathed, sneezed, and proceeded to advertise to the inmates of the workhouse the fact of a new burden having been imposed upon the parish, by setting up as loud a cry as could reasonably have been expected from a male infant, who had not been possessed of that very useful appendage, a voice, for a much longer space of time than three minutes and a quarter.

As Oliver gave this first proof of the free and proper action of his lungs, the patchwork coverlet which was carelessly flung over the iron bedstead, rustled; the pale face of a young woman was raised feebly from the pillow; and a faint voice imperfectly articulated the words, 'Let me see the child, and die.'

The surgeon had been sitting with his face turned towards the fire: giving the palms of his hands a warm and a rub alternately. As the young woman spoke, he rose, and advancing to the bed's head, said, with more kindness than might have been expected of him:

'Oh, you must not talk about dying yet.'

'Lor bless her dear heart, no!' interposed the nurse, hastily depositing in her pocket a green glass bottle, the contents of which she had been tasting in the corner with evident satisfaction. 'Lor bless her dear heart, when she has lived as long as I have, sir, and had thirteen children of her own, and all on 'em dead except two, and them in the wurkus with me, she'll know better than to take on in that way, bless her dear heart! Think what it is to be a mother, there's a dear young lamb, do.'

¹⁰⁵ This was a 'pauper nurse': see Section B/2c/3, above.

¹⁰⁶ i.e. he was not a salaried member of the workhouse staff, but rather someone from outside paid – no doubt meagerly – by the visit.

Apparently this consolatory perspective of a mother's prospects failed in producing its due effect. The patient shook her head, and stretched out her hand towards the child.

The surgeon deposited it in her arms. She imprinted her cold white lips passionately on its forehead; passed her hands over her face; gazed wildly round; shuddered; fell back—and died. They chafed her breast, hands, and temples; but the blood had stopped for ever. They talked of hope and comfort. They had been strangers too long.

'It's all over, Mrs. Thingummy!' said the surgeon at last.

'Ah, poor dear, so it is!' said the nurse, picking up the cork of the green bottle, which had fallen out on the pillow, as she stooped to take up the child. 'Poor dear!'

'You needn't mind¹⁰⁷ sending up to me, if the child cries, nurse,' said the surgeon, putting on his gloves with great deliberation. 'It's very likely it *will* be troublesome. Give it a little gruel¹⁰⁸ if it is.' He put on his hat, and, pausing by the bed-side on his way to the door, added, 'She was a good-looking girl, too; where did she come from?'

'She was brought here last night,' replied the old woman, 'by the overseer's order. She was found lying in the street. She had walked some distance, for her shoes were worn to pieces; but where she came from, or where she was going to, nobody knows.'

The surgeon leaned over the body, and raised the left hand. 'The old story,' he said, shaking his head: 'no wedding-ring, I see. Ah! Good night!'

The medical gentleman walked away to dinner; and the nurse, having once more applied herself to the green bottle, sat down on a low chair before the fire, and proceeded to dress the infant.

[...]

¹⁰⁷ i.e. don't bother.

¹⁰⁸ gruel: a watery version of porridge, popularly associated with poverty.

APPENDIX II : STAFF

from Street Directories and Census Reports

with information also from Guardians' Minute Books

Year	Staff Members	Notes
1838	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Mr. Legge Matron: Schoolmaster: Richard Robinson Schoolmistress: Mrs. Robinson Nurse: Jane Cooper Chaplain: James Orman Porter: William Barson	
1841	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: D. F. Colclough Matron: Eliza Colclough Schoolmaster: A. A. Fred Wing Schoolmistress: Ann Robinson Jane Allen: Nurse Cook: Thomas Graves Porter: James Allen Servant: Phoebe Sheldrick	
1851	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: James Hatfield Matron: Emma Susannah Hatfield Schoolmaster: Alfred Augustus Paul Jenkins Wing Schoolmistress: Maria Miller Nurse: Lucy Haysom House Porter: Thomas Bate Under Porter: John Lane	
1861	<i>Cambridge Workhouse</i> Master: William Thomas Bounds Matron: Mary Bounds Schoolmaster: William Gee Schoolmistress: Elizabeth Chapman Nurse: Mary Webster Porter: Thomas Bates Asst Porter: John Lane	
1862	<i>Cambridge Workhouse</i> Master: William Thomas Bounds Matron: Mary Bounds	
1863	<i>Cambridge Workhouse</i> Master: William Thomas Bounds Matron: Mary Bounds	
1864	<i>Cambridge Workhouse</i> Master: William Thomas Bounds Matron: Mary Bounds	
1865	<i>Cambridge Workhouse</i> Master: William Thomas Bounds Matron: Mary Bounds	
1866	<i>Cambridge Workhouse</i>	

	Master: William Thomas Bounds Matron: Mary Bounds Schoolmaster: George Howlett Schoolmistress: Elizabeth Howlett Porter: Thomas Bate	
1867	<i>Cambridge Workhouse</i> Master: William Thomas Bounds Matron: Mary Bounds Master: Thomas Luke Hosegood Matron: Mary Ann Hosegood Schoolmaster: George Howlett Schoolmistress: Elizabeth Howlett Schoolmaster: John Reach Schoolmistress: Jane Wright Porter: Thomas Bate	Jan–May Jan–May May–Dec May–Dec Jan–April Jan–April May–Dec May–Dec
1868	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Thomas Luke Hosegood Matron: Mary Ann Hosegood Schoolmaster: John Reach Schoolmistress: Jane Wright Schoolmistress: Anna Clementina Rowe Porter: Daniel Denny	Jan–May May–Dec April–Dec
1869	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Thomas Luke Hosegood Matron: Mary Ann Hosegood Schoolmaster: John Reach Schoolmistress: Anna Clementina Rowe Porter: Daniel Denny Porter: Henry T. Ulton	Jan–June June–Dec
1870	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Thomas Luke Hosegood Matron: Mary Ann Hosegood Schoolmaster: John Reach Schoolmaster: Luke Hosegood Schoolmistress: Anna Clementina Rowe	Jan–Nov Dec
1871	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Thomas Luke Hosegood Matron: Mary Ann Hosegood Schoolmaster: John Reach Schoolmaster: Luke Hosegood Schoolmistress: Annie Clementina Rowe Nurse: Amy Clarke Cook: Alfred Merridew Porter: Henry John Utton	ill: Jan–Feb Jan–Feb Sept–Dec
1872	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Thomas Luke Hosegood Matron: Mary Ann Hosegood Schoolmaster: John Reach Schoolmistress: [?] Cook: Luke Hosegood breadcutter	Jan
1873	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Thomas Luke Hosegood Matron: Mary Ann Hosegood Schoolmaster: Luke Hosegood Schoolmistress: Emma Porter Schoolmistress: [?]	
1874	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Thomas Luke Hosegood	

	Matron: Mary Ann Hosegood Schoolmaster: Luke Hosegood Schoolmistress: Emma Porter Nurse: Eliza Shorten Cook: James Abrahams Porter: John Chapman	
1875	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Thomas Luke Hosegood Matron: Mary Ann Hosegood Schoolmaster: Luke Hosegood Schoolmistress: Emma Porter Schoolmistress: Charlotte E. Hosegood Porter: [?]	Luke and Emm married summer 1875 Jan–Sept Dec
1876	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Thomas Luke Hosegood Matron: Mary Ann Hosegood Master : Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood [Porter] Schoolmaster: Luke Hosegood Schoolmistress: Charlotte E. Hosegood Porter: [?]	Jan–June Jan–June June–Dec June–Dec
1877	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Schoolmaster: Luke Hosegood Schoolmistress: Charlotte E. Hosegood Porter: [?]	
1878	<i>The Cambridge Union</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Schoolmistress: Charlotte E. Hosegood Schoolmistress: Laura A. Menhinick Porter: George Billows Porter: John Dye	Jan–July July–Dec Jan–Nov Dec
1879	<i>The Cambridge Union</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Porter: John Dye	
1880	<i>The Cambridge Union</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Asst. Matron: Laura Augusta Menhinick Schoolmaster: William Oborn Schoolmaster: William Edward Erith Porter: John Dye	
1881	<i>The Cambridge Union</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Asst Matron: Ada Porter Schoolmaster: William Edward Erith Schoolmistress: Laura Augusta Menhinick Nurse: Eliza Sharten Cook: James Abrahams Porter: John Dye	
1884	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood	
1887	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i>	

	Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Porter: Frederick Morton	
1891	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Nurse: Sarah Jane Carroll Porter: Frederick Pulling Porter: Ernest William Nudds[?]	
1895	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Nurse: Annie Smith Porter: Herbert Pauley	
1891	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Nurse: Charlotte Slater Nurse: Sarah Jane Carroll Porter: F. Fordham Porter: Frederick Pulling Porter: Ernest William Nudds[?]	
1901	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Nurse: Charlotte Slater Cook: John Neale Porter: Reginald Moore Laundress: Annie Crouch	
1904	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Nurse: Charlotte Slater Porter: H. Symonds	
1907	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Nurse: Charlotte Slater Porter: H. Symonds	
1909-10	<i>The Union</i>	
1910	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Nurse: Charlotte Slater Porter: William R. Hansom	
1911	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood Asst Matron: Mabel Grace Hosegood Nurse: Charlotte Slate Nurse: Annie Keene Cook: Ernest Unwin Porter: Herbert Pryer Clark Portress: Emma Harriett Clark [Servant:] Helen Lofts	
1912	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: Luke Hosegood Matron: Emma Hosegood	

1913	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: George Foden Matron: Catherine Miriam Foden Case Paper Clerk: Miss Hosegood	
1914	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: John Johnson Matron: Edith Susan Johnson	
1915	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: John Johnson Matron: Edith Susan Johnson	
1916-17	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: John Johnson Matron: Edith Susan Johnson	
1919-20	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: John Johnson Matron: Edith Susan Johnson	
1920-21	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: John Johnson Matron: Edith Susan Johnson	1921: Luke Hosegood app'd Guardian
1922-23	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: John Johnson Matron: Edith Susan Johnson Porter: P. G. Dove Porteress: Mrs. P. G. Dove Porter: Walter John Pennelles Porteress: Ada Pennelles	Jan–March Jan–March March–Dec March–Dec
1923-24	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: John Johnson Matron: Edith Susan Johnson	
1924-25	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: John Johnson Matron: Edith Susan Johnson	
1925-26	<i>Cambridge Union Workhouse</i> Master: John Johnson Matron: Edith Susan Johnson	
1926-27	<i>Cambridge Poor Law Institution</i> Master: John Johnson Matron: Edith Susan Johnson Master: Robert Watson Ramsay Matron & Sup't Nurse: Alice Maud Ramsay	Jan–Oct Jan–Oct Oct–Dec Oct–Dec
1927	<i>Cambridge Poor Law Institution</i> Master: Robert Watson Ramsey Matron: Alice Maud Ramsay Asst Master: John Joseph Nixon Asst Matron: Miss A.O. Morrow Labour Master: Reginald John Turner Chaplain: Ernest J. Goodchild Organist: G. B. Hosegood	St. Barnabas Vicarage
1928	<i>Cambridge Poor Law Institution</i> Master: Robert Watson Ramsey Matron: Alice Maud Ramsay Asst Master: John Joseph Nixon Asst Matron: Miss A.O. Morrow Labour Master: Reginald John Turner Chaplain: Ernest J. Goodchild Organist: G. B. Hosegood	
1929	<i>Cambridge Poor Law Institution</i> Master: Robert Watson Ramsay	Jan–Aug

	Matron: Alice Maud Ramsay Master: H. Roberts Matron: Mrs Roberts Porter: Walter John Pennell Portress: Ada Pennells Porter: Felix Francis Fisk Portress: Florence Victoria Fisk	Jan–Aug Sept–Dec Sept–Dec –Jan –Jan Jan–Dec Jan–Dec
1930	<i>Cambridge Poor Law Institution</i> → <i>Mill Road Institution</i> Master: H. Roberts Matron: Mrs Roberts	name change at 1 April 1930
1930-31	<i>Mill Road Institution</i> Master: Harry Roberts Matron: Sarah Elizabeth Roberts	
1931-32	<i>Mill Road Institution</i> Master: Harry Roberts Matron: Sarah Elizabeth Roberts	
1932-33	<i>Mill Road Institution</i> Master: Harry Roberts Matron: Sarah Elizabeth Roberts	
1933-34	<i>Cambs County Council The County Infirmary</i> Master: Harry Roberts Matron: Sarah Elizabeth Roberts	
1934-35	<i>Cambs County Council The Count Infirmary</i> Master: Douglas W. Ditchburn Matron: Doris I. Ditchburn	
1935-36	<i>Cambs County Council The Count Infirmary</i> Master: Douglas W. Ditchburn Matron: Doris I. Ditchburn	
1936-37	<i>Cambs County Council The Count Infirmary</i> Master: Douglas W. Ditchburn Matron: Doris I. Ditchburn	
1937-38	<i>Cambs County Council The Count Infirmary</i> Master: Douglas W. Ditchburn Matron: Doris I. Ditchburn	
1938-39	<i>Cambs County Council The Count Infirmary</i> Master: Douglas W. Ditchburn Matron: Doris I. Ditchburn	
1939-40	<i>Cambs County Council The Count Infirmary</i> Master: Douglas W. Ditchburn Matron: Doris I. Ditchburn	

APPENDIX III : CENSUS REPORTS

(a) 1841 CENSUS REPORT

Note: Staff members are highlighted in bold.

NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	BIRTH PLACE Cambs?
D. F. Colclough	40	Workhouse Master	No
Eliza Colclough	30	Workhouse Matron	No
A. A. Fred[?] Wing	20	Workhouse Schoolmaster	No
Ann Robinson	15	Workhouse Schoolmistress	Yes
James Allen	45	Workhouse Porter	Yes
Jane Allen	45	Workhouse Nurse	Yes
Phoebe Sheldrick	20	Workhouse Servant	Yes
Tho^s Graves	55	Cook	Yes
Thos Thompson	20	Shoe Maker	Yes
Will T Wilkinson	15	Labourer	Yes
John Bell	25	Labourer	Yes
Charles Gunner	60	Brewers Labourer	Yes
Ann Gunner	50		Yes
Rich ^d Johnson	65	Labourer	Yes
M. A. Johnson [<i>female</i>]	60		Yes
Charles Aldbrough	70	Shoe Maker	No
Dora Aldbrough	70		No
Edward Baldwin	70	Brick layer	No
Sarah Baldwin	65		No
Tho ^s Yarrow	60	Porter	Yes
Susan Yarrow	60		Yes
Lucy Short	70		Yes
Sarah Lowe	70		Yes
Mary Jackson	70		
Mary Avery	80		Yes
Mary Webb	65		Yes
Ann Burkutt	60		Yes
Sarah Chisholm	80		Yes
Eliza Oakey	40		Yes
Ann Masterson	70		Yes
Esther Jackson	65		Yes
Catherine Rowe	65		Yes
Mary Salmon	75		Yes
Mary A Parker	60		Yes
Mary Sully	70		Yes
Rebecca Peachy	25		Yes
Emma Dunn	15		Yes
Mary Lyon	75		Yes
Robert Hill	80		No
Will Dawkins	40		Yes
James Benton	60		Yes
Will ^m Herring	65		No
Francis Mayer	80		Yes
Will ^m Beasley	60		Yes

John Miller	20		No
Joseph Kildere	70		Yes
James Smee	65		Yes
Will Scott	65		Yes
Will ^m Allen	70		No
Will ^m Johnson	65		Yes
John Langford	70		Yes
Francis Warring	70		Yes
John Darlow	60		No
John Stearn	65		Yes
Robert Stubbing	75		Yes
Will ^m Abbis	60		Yes
John Rawling	60		Yes
Charles Sykes	20		No
Mas[?] Cann[?] John	20		
David Singlegood	30		No
Charles Pratt	75		Yes
Will Tuck	60		Yes
James Taylor	25		No
Willm Lawrence	9		Yes
Charles Mayer	11		Yes
Frederick Fisher	9		Yes
Henry Palmer	6		Yes
John Smith	40		Yes
Will Parsons	40		Yes
Charles Blut	40		Yes
John Bowman	75		Yes
Godfrey Goode	50		Yes
James Hipwell	40		Yes
Will ^m Wealshy[?]	45		Yes
Rob ^t Palmer	13		Yes
John Andrews	13		Yes
James Milton	13		Yes
White Lee	80		Yes
Brewster Garth	60		No
Tho ^s Glover	18[?]		Yes
John Kimpton[?]	10		Yes
Will ^m Bridges	7		Yes
Josh Downs	70		No
Henry Simpkins	10		Yes
Daniel Simpkins	60		Yes
Willis Biggs	65		No
Willm Dockain[?]	65		Yes
Josh Purcox	65		No
Robert Gee	85		Yes
Josh Lawrance	5		Yes
Elizb th Edwards	30		Yes
Willm Edwards	4		Yes
Josh Edwards	2		Yes
Jane Cook	40		Yes
Mary Cook	5		Yes
James Cook	2		Yes
Susan Burrows	25		No
Susan Burrows	6		Yes
Emma Burrows	6mo		Yes
Caroline Fordham	15		Yes

Sarah Betson [Belson?]	20	Servant	Yes
Jane Betson	3		Yes
Harriett Betson	9mo		Yes
Ellen Shepard	21	Servant	No
Ellen E. Shepard	9mo		Yes
Mary Howe	25	Servant	Yes
Emily Howe	1		Yes
Jane Webb	30	Dress Maker	Yes
Edward Wells	2		Yes
Eliz th Fulston	35	Servant	No
Mary Ann Fulston	5		Yes
Jane Fulston	2		Yes
Mary Wills	35	Char Woman	No
Sarah Daffin	25	Servant	No
Sarah Bancroft	20	Servant	Yes
Stephen Newell	50	Cap Maker	No
Harriett Jefferies	25	Servant	Yes
Matthew Jefferies	1		Yes
Ann Balls	55	Nurse	No
Martha Wilson	35	Servant	Yes
Charlotte Willson	5		Yes
Ge ^o Willson	10mo		Yes
Sarah Lester	20	Servant	Yes
Emma Lester	3mo		Yes
Sarah Bowman	35	Char Woman	Yes
Mary Payne	20	Servant	Yes
John Payne	3days		Yes
Mary Jardham	45	Char Woman	Yes
Sarah Fordham	15		Yes
Ann Green	50		Yes
Martha Fuller	70		Yes
Eliz th Leach	80		Yes
Eliz th Johnson	20	Servant	No
Eliz Johnson	2		Yes
Ann Murcit[?]	40		Yes
Eliz th Beals	20	Servant	No
Jane Labon	11		Yes
Ric ^d Ward	4		Yes
Mary Ann Hienns[?]	15	Servant	No
Mary A Glover	15	Servant	Yes
Will ^m Palmer	15		Yes
Will ^m Canham	11		Yes
James Harry	13		Yes
Henry Grist	13		Yes
Edward Morrison	13		No
Fred ^k Maile	6		Yes
John Smith	10		Yes
Willm Smith	15		Yes
Alfred Falby	10		No
Robert Channon	6		Yes
Robert Edwards	6		Yes
Henry Tunmore	40	Sawyer	Yes
James Edwards	12		Yes
Will Spenilty[?]	12		Yes
Ge ^o Edwards	10		Yes
Charles Andrews	9		Yes

Fred ^k Turner	15		Yes
John Barker	12		Yes
Amos Bowan	13		Yes
Ge ^o Smith	12		Yes
Tho ^s Boutle[?]	13		Yes
John Hardman	13		Yes
Edward Harring	12		Yes
John Edwards	11		Yes
Will ^m Wells	11		Yes
Will ^m Everett	10		Yes
Stephen Tillitt	11		Yes
John Canham	9		Yes
Charles Bell	9		Yes
Tho ^s May	10		Yes
Charles Cook	7		Yes
Henry Webb	6		Yes
Dan ^l Rooney	10		Yes
Walter Gunn	10		Yes
Ge ^o Haniaine[?]	14		Yes
Caroline Rowen	11		Yes
Ann May	11		Yes
Sarah Hardman	10		Yes
Emma Causten	9		Yes
Cecelia Rowen	7		No
Alice Mansfield	10		Yes
Eliz th Howard	7		Yes
Eliza Avery	11		Yes
Susan Causten	11		No
Eliza Edwards	11		Yes
Mary Milton	15		Yes
Agnes Arnold	12		No
Eliz th Edwards	8		Yes
Mary Bird	15		No
Ann Wells	6		Yes
Mary A Hurey[?]	11		Yes
John Ward	6		Yes
Isabella Bell	6		Yes
Sophia Andrews	7		Yes
Mary A Willson	5		Yes
Eliza Webb	10		Yes
Ann Willson	9		Yes
Lydia Bowman	5		Yes
Eliz th Bowman	7		Yes
Sarah Barrow	6		No.
Mary Ann Barrow	23	Servant	No
Henry Barrow	1		Yes
George Bancroft	1		Yes

(b) 1851 CENSUS REPORT

Name	Position	Cond	Age	Rank	Born
James Hatfield	Master	M	52	Master of Cambridge Union	Hunts Huntingdon
Emma Susannah Hatfield	Matron	M	57	Matron of Cambridge Union	Middlesex London
Mary Hatfield	Dau of J&EH	U	14		Cambs Cambridge
Alfred Augustus Paul Jenkins Wing	Schoolmaster	Widr	32	Schoolmaster of Union	London St Clement Danes
Annie Sophia Harriet Wing	Dau of AW	—	9		Cambs Cambridge
Harriet Selma Wing	Dau of AW	—	4		Cambs Cambridge
Maria Miller	Schoolmistress	Wid	47	Schoolmistress of Union	Norfolk, Shropham
Lucy Haysom	Nurse	Wid	39	Nurse of Union	Cambs Waterbeach
Thomas Bate	Porter	Widr	54	House Porter of Union	London Aldgate
John Lane	Porter	U	30	Under Porter of Union	Cambridge
<i>inmates to be entered</i>					

(c) 1861 CENSUS REPORT

Name	Position	Cond	Age	Rank	Born
William Thomas Bounds	Master	M	25	Master of Workhouse	St Bartholomew London
Mary Bounds	Matron	M	25	Matron of Workhouse	Bloomsbury London
William Gee	Schoolmaster	Widr	67	Schoolmaster of Workhouse	Cambridge
Thomas Bates	Porter	Widr	66	Porter of Workhouse	Cripplegate London
John Lane	Asst Porter	S	28	Asst Porter of Workhouse	Cambridge AL
Elizabeth Chapman	Schoolmistress	S	27	Schoolmistress of Workhouse	Cambridge HT
Mary Webster	Nurse	S	48	Nurse of Workhouse	Marylebone London
<i>inmates to be entered</i>					

(d) 1871 CENSUS REPORT

Name	Position	Cond	Age	Rank	Born
Thomas Luke Hosegood	Master	M	40	Master	Poughill Devon
Mary Ann Hosegood	Matron	M	41	Matron	Carisbrook Castle Hants
Thomas Luke Hosegood	Son	[U]	16	Scholar	Dunkswell Abbey Devon
William Henry Hosegood	Son	[U]	14	Scholar	Dunkswell Abbey Devon
Luke Hosegood	Visitor	U	19	Schoolmaster	Poughill Devon
John Reach	Officer	U	27	Schoolmaster	Bury St Edmunds Suffolk
Annie Clementina Rowe	Officer	U	24	Schoolmistress	Corfe Castle Dorset
Henry John Utton	Officer	U	24	Porter	Newmarket Suffolk
Alfred Merridew	Officer	U	24	Cook	London
Amy Clarke	Officer	Wid[?]	27	Nurse	London
<i>inmates to be entered</i>					

(e) 1881 CENSUS REPORT

Name	Position	Cond	Age	Rank	Born
Luke Hosegood	Master	M	29	Workhouse Master	Poughill Devon
Emma Hosegood	Matron	M	30	Workhouse Matron	Bourn Cambs
George Bertram Hosegood	Son	—	1	—	Cambridge
Algernon Graham Hosegood	Son	—	3mo	—	Cambridge
Ada Porter	Asst Matron	U	21	Workhouse Asst Matron	Bourn Cambs
William Edward Erith	Schoolmaster	U	24	Workhouse Schoolmaster	Bury St Edmunds Suffolk
Laura Augusta Menhinick	Schoolmistress	U	31	Workhouse Schoolmistress	Bodmin Cornwall
Eliza Sharten	Nurse	U	54	Workhouse Nurse	Dublin, Ireland
John Dye	Porter	U	45	Workhouse Porter	Attleburgh Norfolk
James Abrahams	Cook	U	27	Workhouse Cook	Stowe Hunts
<i>inmates to be entered</i>					

(f) 1891 CENSUS REPORT

Name	Position	Cond	Age	Rank	Born
Luke Hosegood	Head	M	39	Master of Workhouse	Poughill Devon
Emma Hosegood	Wife	M	41	Matron of Workhouse	Bourn Cambs
George Bertram Hosegood	Son	—	11	Scholar	Cambridge
Mabel Grace Hosegood	Daughter	—	7	Scholar	Cambridge
Sarah Jane Carroll	Officer	S	44	Workhouse Nurse	Manchester
Ernest William Nudds[?]	Officer	S	24	Workhouse Porter	Tibenham Norfolk
<i>inmates to be entered</i>					

(g) 1901 CENSUS REPORT

Name	Position	Cond	Age	Rank	Born
Luke Hosegood	Head	M	49	Master of Workhouse	Poughill Devon
Emma Hosegood	Wife	M	51	Matron of Workhouse	Bourn Cambs
Geo. Bertram Hosegood	Son	S	21	Merchant's Clerk	Cambridge
Mabel Grace Hosegood	Daughter	S	17	at School	Cambridge
Helen Lofts	Servant	S	49	Domestic Servant	Cambridge
Reginald Moore	Porter	S	26	Workhouse Porter	Wilton, Norfolk
John Neale	Cook	S	22	Workhouse Cook	Ashmonhaugh Norfolk
Charlotte Slater	Nurse	S	40	Sick Nurse	London
Annie Crouch	Laundress	M	40	Laundress	Cambridge
<i>inmates to be entered</i>					

(h) 1911 CENSUS REPORT

Key: col. **5** = years married; **6** = total children born alive; **7** = children still living; **8** = children who have died. Staff members are highlighted in bold.

Census date: 8 April 1911

NAME	POSITION	COND	AGE	5	6	7	8	RANK	BORN
Luke Hosegood	Head	M	59	36	4	2	2	Master of Workhouse	Poughill Devon
Emma Hosegood	Wife	M	61					Matron of Workhouse	Bourn Cambs
George Bertram Hosegood	Son	S	31					Merchant's Clerk	Cambridge
Mabel Grace Hosegood	Daughter	S	27					Assistant Matron	Cambridge
Charlotte Slater		S	53					Nurse	London
Annie Keene		S	27					Nurse	Coventry Warws
Herbert Pryer Clark		M	35					Porter	Chatham Kent
Emma Harriett Clark	Wife	M	32	2				Portress	Westminster London
Ernest Unwin		S	36					Cook	Fulbourn Cambs
Helen Lofts		S	57					General Domestic Servant	Cambridge
Louise Berry	Inmate	Wid	84						Cambridge
Emma Stretel	Inmate	S	84					Formerly Gen Dom Serv	Cambridge
Amelia Flack	Inmate	M	48	30	1	1			Cambridge
Louisa Buttress	Inmate	S	42					Formerly Gen Dom Serv	Cambridge
Mary Ann Clements	Inmate	Wid	69						Cambridge
Harriett Johns	Inmate	Wid	92						Shipsham Norfolk
Elizth Frohock	Inmate	S	56					Formerly Gen Dom Serv	Waterbeach Cambs
Agnes Loates	Inmate	S	26					Gen Dom Serv	Cambridge
Louisa Jennings	Inmate	S	25					Gen Dom Serv	Burwell Cambs
Sarah Ann Watson	Inmate	S	64						Bourn Cambs
Mary Stroud[?]	Inmate	Wid	93						Balsham Cambs
Sarah Wright	Inmate	Wid	83						Middleton, Co. Cork
Mary Ann Smith	Inmate	S	44					Charwoman	Cambridge
Mary Brown	Inmate	M	65	35	4	4			Not known

Alice Linsey	Inmate	Wid	84						Shelford Cambs
Emily Watts	Inmate	S	44						St Ives Hunts
Mary Ann Scott	Inmate	Wid	95						Kingston Cambs
Amy Endersby	Inmate	S	24					Gen Dom Serv	March Cambs
Infant Endersby	Inmate		1wk						Cambridge
Violet Chapman	Inmate	S	22					Gen Dom Serv	Chesterton Cambs
Infant Chapman	Inmate		1wk						Cambridge
Susan Everitt	Inmate	Wid	88						Not known
Eliz th Dean	Inmate	Wid	60						Grantham Lincs
Annie Headland	Inmate	Wid	75						Chevely Cambs
Eliz th Nixon	Inmate	Wid	75						Cambridge
Bertha Mole	Inmate	S	27					Gen Dom Serv	Cambridge
Matilda Seaby	Inmate	Wid	44						Hendon Middx
Ellen Battle	Inmate	S	20					Gen Dom Serv	Saffron Waldon Essex
Charlotte Clark	Inmate	S	63						Cambridge
Emma Lee	Inmate	M	38	15					Cambridge
Annie Fairs	Inmate	S	70					Gen Dom Serv	[—]
Emma Smith	Inmate	Wid	58						[—]
Effie Waters	Inmate	Wid	73						Limerick Ireland
Maria Webb	Inmate	S	68						Cambridge
Julia Chapman	Inmate	M	65	6					Haslingfield Cambs
Eliza Plumb[?]	Inmate	M	53	34	2	2			Triplow Cambs
Martha Kirby	Inmate	Wid	63					Domestic (Cook)	Cambridge
Eliz th Ball	Inmate	S	68					Formerly Charwoman	Marylebone London
Mary Ann Laxton	Inmate	Wid	68						Cambridge
Emma Wilson	Inmate	Wid	68						S. Neots Hunts
Mary Harris	Inmate	Wid	70						Cambridge
Mary Redman	Inmate	Wid	80						Leeds Yorks
Elizth Leach	Inmate	Wid	66						Stoke Newington London
Emma Hatton	Inmate	Wid	69						Chesterton, Cambs

Emma Fox	Inmate	Wid	64						Cambridge
Jane Offley	Inmate	Wid	65						not known
Mercy Harris	Inmate	Wid	81						Cambridge
Catherine Bridgeman	Inmate	Wid	61						Chesterton, Cambs
William Hutt	Inmate	M	74					Formerly Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
Sarah Hutt	Inmate	M	75	50					Cambridge
Rebecca Fordham	Inmate	S	40						Cambridge
Annie Whitehead	Inmate	M	47	28	6	5	1		Cambridge
Mabel Whitehead	Inmate	S	18					Gen Dom Serv	Cambridge
Ethel Whitehead	Inmate		11						Cambridge
Lily Whitehead	Inmate		7						Cambridge
Mary Ann Dowell	Inmate	Wid	58					Laundress	Cambridge
Mary Ann Spilsworth	Inmate	M	25	2	2	2		Gen Dom Serv	Cambridge
Hilda Spilsworth	Inmate		1½						Cambridge
Emma Larkins	Inmate	S	44						Cambridge
Rose Nickson	Inmate	S	26						Cambridge
Annie Huckle	Inmate	S	22						Liverpool Lancs
Florence Crestfield	Inmate	Wid	31					Laundress	Cambridge
Frances Crestfield	Inmate		2						Cambridge
Florence Baker	Inmate	S	31					Gen Dom Serv	Dublin Ireland
Lily Baker	Inmate		6						Cambridge
Ernest Baker	Inmate		3						Cambridge
Martha Bull	Inmate	Wid	61						Cambridge
Anna Symonds	Inmate	M	47	23	7	5	2	Gen Dom Serv	Rattlesden Suffolk
Winnie Symonds	Inmate		9						Cambridge
Lily Symonds	Inmate		6						Cambridge
James Henry Hanning	Inmate	M	57					Formerly waiter	Cambridge
Emily Hanning	Inmate	M	62	32	3	2	1		Cambridge
Rose Gadders	Inmate	S	19					Gen Dom Serv	Cambridge
Mary Jane Roe	Inmate	M	44	27	7	7			Wendy Cambs

Annie Elizth Smith	Inmate	Wid	62						Exning Suffolk
Eliz th Clark	Inmate	Wid	41						Cambridge
Sparkes Alice [sic]	Inmate	M	40	17	12	8	[4?]		Cambridge
Alice Sparkes	Inmate		14						Cambridge
Percy Sparkes	Inmate		5						Cambridge
Wm. Sparkes	Inmate		3						Cambridge
Amy Sparkes	Inmate		2						Cambridge
Charlotte Sparkes	Inmate		1						Cambridge
Infant Sparkes	Inmate		under 1mo						Cambridge
Florence Chapman	Inmate	M	33	4	2	2		Gen Dom Serv	Chelsea London
John Chapman	Inmate		3						Cambridge
Fred ^k Chapman	Inmate		1						Cambridge
Horace Alfd Moore	Inmate	M	20					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
Eliz th Ann Moore	Inmate	M	25	9	6	5	1	Laundress	Trumpington Cambs
Maud Tyler Moore	Inmate		12						Cambridge
William Moore	Inmate		8						Cambridge
Frederick Moore	Inmate		4						Cambridge
Sidney Moore	Inmate		3						Cambridge
Alfred Moore	Inmate		3mo						Cambridge
Fred ^k George Ogle	Inmate	S	58					Formerly Printer's pressman	Cambridge
Thomas Allen	Inmate	Widr	77					Formerly gardner	Barrington Cambs
Frank Lockwood	Inmate	M	55					Formerly stone-mason	March Cambs
Cha ^s Archer	Inmate	S	54					Iron-work fitter	Brighton Sussex
Charles Everitt	Inmate	S	26					Hawker	Cambridge
William Phillips	Inmate	S	63					College Kitchen Porter	Cambridge
Esau James	Inmate	Widr	85					Formerly umbrella-repairer	Cambridge
Benjamin Callow	Inmate	S	39					Formerly Bricklayer's Laborer	Landbeach Cambs
Alfred Clayton	Inmate	S	26					Seaman	Cambridge
Thomas Smith	Inmate	S	49					Hawker	Dorking Surrey

Herbert Moore	Inmate	Widr	68					Formerly carpenter	Cambridge
William White	Inmate	Widr	61					Formerly stone-mason	Cambridge
William Hopkins	Inmate	Widr	65					Formerly hawker	Cambridge
John Newman	Inmate	S	62					Formerly Gardener's Laborer	Madingley Cambs
Joseph Munns	Inmate	S	53					Hawker-Porter	Cambridge
Charles Sandfield	Inmate	Widr	75					Formerly Builder's Laborer	Cambridge
William Wyatt	Inmate	Widr	54					Formerly Engine Drive (Mill)	Hauxton Cambs
John Danby	Inmate	S	63					Formerly Musician	Cambridge
William Reynolds	Inmate	S	63					Formerly Bricklayer's Laborer	Bury St Edmunds Suffolk
Christopher Chapman	Inmate	Widr	61					Formerly Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
John Shaw	Inmate	Widr	77					Formerly Hawker	Cambridge
George Edgeley	Inmate	S	28					Compositor	Stanstead Essex
Charles Lattimore	Inmate	S	57					Formerly Dairyman's Laborer	Cambridge
Charles Wade	Inmate	Widr	76					Formerly Road Laborer	Cambridge
Samuel Westwood	Inmate	S	40					Builder's Laborer	Cambridge
Charles Taylor	Inmate	M	59					Hotel Groom	Cambridge
John Chapman	Inmate	Widr	80					Formerly Bricklayer	Quy Cambs
James Fletcher	Inmate	S	62					Formerly Tailor	Derby
William Willis	Inmate	S	57					Gardener's Laborer	Cambridge
Frederick Banks	Inmate	S	51					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
John Chapman	Inmate	M	29					Builder's Laborer	Thetford Norfolk
John Clark	Inmate	Widr	61					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
George Maskell	Inmate	S	38					Butcher	Cheveley Cambs
Herbert Hunberstone	Inmate	S	37					Plasterer's Laborer	Cambridge
Alfred Gray	Inmate	S	41					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
Alfred Gunn	Inmate	S	74					Bricklayer	Cambridge
Frederick Canwell	Inmate	S	50					Builder's Laborer	Cambridge
Samuel Thomas Ripley	Inmate	S	29					Groom	Cambridge
Samuel Gatward	Inmate	S	39					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
John Newman	Inmate	S	35					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge

Arthur Martin	Inmate	S	38					Cook	Cambridge
John Carr	Inmate	Widr	60					Cooper	Cambridge
Albert Flack	Inmate	Widr	61					Plasterer's Laborer	Cambridge
William Thompson	Inmate	S	55					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
Frederick Loates	Inmate	S	39					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
William John Edwards	Inmate	S	50					Skin-dresser	St Leonard's Sussex
Harry Mimsby[?]	Inmate	M	45					Stableman	Cambridge
William Low	Inmate	Widr	60					Horse-slaughterer	Cambridge
Patrick Smith	Inmate	S	35					Builder's Laborer	Monaghan Ireland
Henry Dent	Inmate	S	37					Compositor	Cambridge
William Dorkings	Inmate	S	47					Painter's Laborer	Cambridge
James Gigney	Inmate	Widr	65					Coal Porter	Cambridge
Frederick Moore	Inmate	S	51					Plasterer's Laborer	Cambridge
James Knights	Inmate	M	57					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
Simon Oates	Inmate	S	39					Engineer's fitter	Cambridge
George Clark	Inmate	Widr	63					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
William Ison	Inmate	S	35					Wood-sawyer	Cambridge
Arthur Jas Neal	Inmate	M	44					Carpenter's Laborer	Cambridge
Charles Richard Spicer	Inmate	Widr	56					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
Joseph Knights	Inmate	M	59					Painter's Laborer	Cherryhinton Cambs
Henry Farrow	Inmate	S	54					Builder's Laborer	Orford Suffolk
Joseph Mole	Inmate	Widr	77					Formerly Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
Robert Clarke Pryke	Inmate	Widr	56					Bricklayer's Laborer	Bury St Edmunds Suffolk
Joshua Gibson	Inmate	Widr	68					Formerly Bricklayer's Laborer	Grantchester Cambs
Arthur Bidwell	Inmate	Widr	63					Carpenter's Laborer	Newnham Cambs
John Neaves	Inmate	Widr	65					Formerly Builder's Laborer	Barton Cambs
Edward John Marshall	Inmate	Widr	60					Builder's Laborer	Cambridge
Thomas Hanes[?]	Inmate	S	68					Formerly Stonemason's Lab	Cambridge
Robert Benstead	Inmate	Widr	70					Formerly Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
William Redgraves	Inmate	Widr	56					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge

Edwin Cash	Inmate	Widr	60					Shoemaker	Lakenheath Suffolk
James Morley	Inmate	Widr	64					Formerly Bricklayer's Laborer	Smithfield London
Sampson Edwards	Inmate	Widr	66					Painter's Laborer	Cambridge
David Wing	Inmate	Widr	64					Painter's Laborer	Cambridge
Alfred Harding	Inmate	Widr	63					Bricklayer's Laborer	Haslingfield Cambs
Robert Hart	Inmate	Widr	62					Bricklayer's Laborer	Burwell Cambs
George Howell	Inmate	S	62					Builder's Laborer	Cambridge
James Jones	Inmate	S	64					Formerly Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
David Cooper	Inmate	Widr	61					Builder's Laborer	Stansfield Suffolk
James Gallagher	Inmate	S	58					Builder's Laborer	Cambridge
Isaac Clark	Inmate	Widr	71					Formerly Malt-maker	Grantchester Cambs
Robert Donald Smith	Inmate	S	49					Bricklayer's Laborer	Marylebone London
Edward Spencer	Inmate	S	49					Builder's Laborer	Cambridge
Henry Webb	Inmate	S	60					Boxer	Cambridge
John Boarder[?]	Inmate	S	58					Builder's Laborer	Bourn Lincs
William Peters	Inmate	Widr	69					Formerly Farm Laborer	Histon Cambs
Stephen Scotcher	Inmate	Widr	68					Formerly Farm Laborer	Gt Abington Cambs
William Booty	Inmate	Widr	67					Formerly Plumber's Laborer	not known
Frederick Hawkes	Inmate	S	54					Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
William Marshall	Inmate	Widr	74					Formerly Builder's Laborer	Cambridge
John Faben	Inmate	Widr	76					Formerly Coal Porter	Cambridge
John Seymour	Inmate	S	67					Formerly Compositor	Yorkshire
Alfred Royall	Inmate	Widr	65					Plasterer	Cambridge
Charles Nightingale	Inmate	Widr	68					Navvy	Girton Cambs
Henry Day	Inmate	Widr	71					Formerly Bricklayer's Laborer	Dalingham Cambs
John Bowers	Inmate	M	59					Farm Laborer	Landbeach Cambs
Jacob Denny	Inmate	Widr	68					Cab Driver	Chey[?] Norfolk
Joseph Johnson	Inmate	Widr	65					Formerly Farm Laborer	Shardlow Derbs
Robert Simmonds	Inmate	Widr	68					Formerly Fishmonger	Willesden London
George Nottage	Inmate	Widr	57					Formerly Farm Laborer	Bottisham Cambs

Francis Bavister	Inmate	Widr	70					Formerly Bricklayer's Laborer	Cambridge
Charles Nicholls	Inmate	S	72					Formerly Carpenter's Laborer	Norwich Norfolk
William Hart	Inmate	Widr	79					Formerly Brewer	Grantchester Cambs
Thomas Burns	Inmate	Widr	70					Formerly Wood & Stone Carver	Westminster London
Daniel Johnson	Inmate	Widr	79					Formerly Bricklayer	Melbourne Cambs
John Kavanagh	Inmate	S	35					Farm Laborer	Caxton Cambs
William Pearce	Inmate	S	49					Farm Laborer	Southampton Hants
Harry Roberts	Inmate	M	49					Stableman	Stepney London
John Thompson	Inmate	S	38					Wood-Carver [Turner?]	Newport Salop
William Evans	Inmate	M	45					Bricklayer's Laborer	Rotherham Yorks
Thomas Clark	Inmate	S	27					Builder's Laborer	St Giles London
John Smith	Inmate	S	48					Farm Laborer	Preston Lancs
Henry Price	Inmate	S	63					French Polisher	Mile End London
John Haywood	Inmate	S	62					Farm Laborer	[—]
William Taylor	Inmate	S	22					Bricklayer's Laborer	Manchester Lancs
James Taylor	Inmate	M	48					Farm Laborer	Sheffield Yorks
John George Norris	Inmate	S	30					Builder's Laborer	Folkestone Kent
Tho ^s Edward Wilson	Inmate	S	42					Builder's Laborer	St Pancras London
Joseph John Ennis	Inmate	M	57					Bricklayer's Laborer	Camberwell London
Cha ^s Graham	Inmate	S	27					Bricklayer's Laborer	Stonebridge Worcs
Albert Smith	Inmate	S	38					Farm Laborer	Kensington London
William Brooks	Inmate	S	31					Bricklayer's Laborer	Marylebone London
Thomas Simpson	Inmate	M	60					Shepherd	Hildersham Cambs
Elizth Simpson	Inmate	M	59	24	1	1			Oldham Lancs
Charles Banks	Inmate	S	37					Farm Laborer	Colchester Essex
George Owen	Inmate	S	63					Farm Laborer	Sittingbourne Kent
Emily Walsham	Inmate	Wid	72					Laundress	Bromley-by-Bow London
Robert Seaman	Inmate	S	42					Farm Laborer	Setchley[?] Norfolk
Percy Tyler	Inmate	S	24					Bricklayer's Laborer	Ipswich Suffolk
Edward Watson	Inmate	S	34					Engineer's Laborer	Woolwich Kent

Sarah Ann Watson	Inmate	M	33	6	6[?]				Market Drayton Salop
Charlotte Smith	Inmate	Wid	63					Hawker	Weymouth Dorset