

**The Place of the Pauper:
A Historical Archaeology of West Yorkshire Workhouses
1834-1930**

Volume 1 of 2

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PhD

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November 2010

Abstract

To date, there has been little attempt to address the archaeological evidence of the New Poor Law (NPL). The continuing use and frequent adaptation of workhouse buildings over nearly 200 years attests to the complexity of the institution's history. This research addresses a significant gap in the study of workhouses by offering an interdisciplinary approach, challenging national typologies that provide synthesis at the expense of subtle but important differences between workhouses. This thesis suggests that West Yorkshire NPL Unions' attitudes towards pauperism and resultant architectural choices were largely influenced by regional contexts. It combines an archaeological study of workhouse architecture (focusing on location, plan, and style) with documentary evidence, using the workhouse as a lens through which to examine changing attitudes toward poverty and varying experiences of the workhouse by inmates, staff, and administrators over the course of the NPL.

West Yorkshire workhouse inmates were classified on the basis of age, gender, and able-bodiedness. Segregation, surveillance, and specialisation were variably implemented to promote care and/or control. As a result, workhouse inmates had dramatically different experiences of the NPL depending on their classifications, locations, and the years in which they were admitted. In its use of the built form to understand human experience, this thesis reflects the contemporary emphasis in post-medieval buildings archaeology on interdisciplinarity and the related shift in scholarship from description to interpretation. Ultimately, its multifaceted approach to the workhouse reveals how workhouse architecture reflected and sometimes contradicted contemporaneous attitudes toward poverty, structuring—but not defining—a pauper's identity.

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List of Abbreviations

BGM	Bramley Guardians' Minutes
BFGM	Bradford Guardians' Minutes
BO	Bradford Observer
GOGM	Great Ouseburn Guardians' Minutes
LGB	Local Government Board
LGM	Leeds Guardians' Minutes
LMITS	Leeds Moral and Industrial Training School
NBGM	North Bierley Guardians' Minutes
NMR	National Monuments Records
NPL	New Poor Law
OPL	Old Poor Law
PBGM	Pateley Bridge Union Guardians' Minutes
PLB	Poor Law Board
PLC	Poor Law Commission
PLU	Poor Law Union
SGM	Skipton Guardians' Minutes
RCHME	Royal Commission of Historic Monuments of England
RGM	Ripon Guardians' Minutes
RLB	Ripon Workhouse Letter Books
RMR	Ripon Master's Report Book
WGM	Wetherby Guardians' Minutes
WDGM	Wharfedale Guardians' Minutes
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

A Timeline of Key New Poor Law Legislation

- 1601 *An Acte for the Reliefe of the Poore*: included House of Correction for vagrants, suppression of begging, provision of work, setting up of apprenticeships for children, and establishment of parochial responsibility, with churchwardens or overseers allocating relief
- 1723 *Knatchbull's Act (The Workhouse Test Act)*: a parish, or combined parishes, could force all those seeking relief to enter the workhouse
- 1782 *Gilbert's Act*: combined parishes created common workhouses, but the able-bodied were relieved outside the workhouse
- 1808 *County Asylums Act*: established institutions for poor and criminally insane
- 1834 *Poor Law Amendment Act*: received royal assent on 14 August
- 1842 *The Outdoor Labour Test*: relieved able-bodied male paupers who satisfied a Labour Test
- 1844 *Additional Poor Law Amendment Act*: granted mothers civil right to claim against putative fathers, regardless of whether they were in receipt of poor relief; prohibited all outdoor relief to able-bodied men and women apart from in exceptional circumstances
- 1845 *Lunacy Act and County Asylums Act*: initiated public network of asylums and Commissioners of Lunacy.
- 1847 Poor Law Board (PLB) replaces Poor Law Commission (PLC)
- 1852 *Out Relief Regulations Order*: out-relief more freely granted
- 1857 *The Industrial Schools Act*: provided better education and care for potentially criminal children
- 1864 *Industrial Schools Act*: defined the classes of children who could be placed in an Industrial School: under-14s found begging; under-14s wandering and not having any home or visible

means of subsistence or frequenting the company of reputed thieves; under-12s committing an offence punishable by imprisonment; under-14s whose parents claim they are unable to control them and are prepared to pay for the child to be detained in an Industrial School

- 1865 *Houseless Poor Act*: compulsory vagrants' wards at all Metropolitan Unions
- 1867 *Industrial Schools Act*: criminal children to be detained in the workhouse rather than prison
- 1870 Remaining Gilbert Unions abolished
- 1871 *Education Act*: compulsory elementary education from local School Boards
- 1875 Local Government Board (LGB) replaced Poor Law Board (PLB)
- 1876 *Public Health Act*: nationwide system of rural and urban sanitary authorities
- 1902 *Public Health Law Consolidation Bill*: all Londoners, not just paupers, entitled to free treatment in fever hospitals; created England's first free state hospitals
- 1909 *Children's Act*: enabled local authorities to prevent poor children from entering the workhouse
- 1911 *Old Age Pension* introduced; Royal Commission *Majority Report* and *Minority Report* published
- 1913 Beginnings of Unemployment Insurance and Health Insurance
- 1919 Workhouse now referred to as Poor Law Institution in official documents
- 1921 Local Government Board replaced by Ministry of Health
- 1930 Local Government Act abolished; resulted in transfer of Poor Law Unions to local councils

1948 National Health Service (NHS) formed

Acknowledgements

This research has benefited from the input, intellectual and emotional, of various people and organisations. I am deeply indebted to my supervisor at York, Dr Kate Giles, for giving this thesis direction and purpose and for her support and motivation. I would like to thank the Department of Archaeology, University of York, for partly funding this PhD. I am grateful to all my friends and colleagues—Joe, Hartley, Suz, Sarah, Ashley, Gemma, Graham, Jen—who have shared my enthusiasm for this project and accompanied me on fieldwork. The MA Buildings Archaeology students of the year 2008-09 deserve a special mention for all their help.

I would especially like to thank the staff at Leeds, Bradford, Northallerton, Skipton, Wakefield and Keighley archives and at the National Monuments Records for sharing vital resources for this research with me. Gratitude is also due to Ripon Museum Trust, Campbell & Plenty, Nidderdale Museum, English Partnerships, Leeds Primary Care Trust, Bradford Teaching Hospitals NHS Foundation Trust, and Thackeray Medical Museum for allowing me to access workhouse sites.

The thesis owes a lot to my Academic Writing Tutor, Steph, and her passion for words.

I am very thankful to my parents, who believed in me and made this research possible. Finally, I would like to thank my partner Mark and all my friends for their unwavering support and commitment to this project.

Part One

Introduction

Then I told her the house was open;
She had heard of the ways of that,
For her bloodless cheeks went crimson,
And up in her rags she sat,
Crying, 'Bide the Christmas here, John,
We've never had one apart;
I think I can bear of the hunger—
The other would break my heart'.

(Excerpt from Sims 1879)

'A Christmas Day in the Workhouse' relates the story of a man who, reluctant to seek relief from his local parish, witnesses his wife's death by starvation before finally succumbing to the workhouse on his own. The poem reiterates the sentiments of many towards the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, familiarly known as the 'New Poor Law' (hereafter referred to as the NPL), which established a commission to oversee a national system of relief for the poor. The act stated that all 'able-bodied' poor receiving relief from the local authority were to be housed in the workhouse.

For those constantly on the brink of pauperism, often due to circumstances beyond their control, the workhouse was a daunting and shameful prospect—one to avoid at all costs. Fictional portrayals over more than a century by prominent authors such as Charles Dickens (in *Oliver Twist*, 1838) and George Orwell (in *Down and Out in Paris and London*, 1933) contributed toward a negative, stereotypical representation of the NPL, providing graphic images of a pauper's life during this period and emphasising the harsh conditions and abuses within the system (see Appendix 1).

The workhouse stereotype was upheld by the frequent publication of workhouse scandal, which emphasised the harrowing conditions within these institutions. The most famous story of all, which the newspapers were only too willing to retell, took place at Andover Workhouse. The scandal came to light after rumours of horrendous conditions were noticed by the local MP. The original enquiry found in favour of the Guardians. However, the more thorough investigations of a select committee

of MPs found gross inadequacies, with one inmate reporting, 'I have seen the men gnaw the bones, they broke the pig chop bones to pick the fat and gristle out...The men were very glad to get hold of them, they were so hungry' (Wells 1845 cited Fowler 2007: 7). *The Times* reports that the Master of Andover Workhouse was accused of 'negligence, brutality and maladministration', which was condoned by the *Guardians* as it kept the poor rate down (Anstruther 1973). The horrors of this scandal led to a reorganisation of the Poor Law Commission (hereafter referred to as the PLC) and the more direct involvement of Whitehall.

The NPL was the most radical piece of Victorian legislation, reflecting the values of a society that deemed idleness the root cause of poverty. Remnants of the institutional buildings related to this act may be found throughout England. These buildings touched the lives of many people, from the unemployed, single parents, and the elderly to orphans, the sick, and the mentally ill. Previous studies of the workhouse institution have documented a shift in attitudes toward the poor after 1850 (Driver 1993, Morrison 1999). Indeed, from the mid-nineteenth century, attitudes towards the poor began to evolve. The industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism required a healthy nation fit for work—a nation the workhouse system failed to provide. Various political and social factions worked to develop new social policies during this period, and the policies that ultimately emerged came to provide the foundation for modern-day social services.

The study of institutional architecture is particularly timely as institutional buildings are becoming increasingly vulnerable. As towns have expanded, the large-scale sites of former institutions have become valuable land. Since the early 1990s, the NHS has sold many former workhouses to developers, resulting in their complete demolition or severe alteration for an alternative use. Taking the north of England as an example, out of 135 workhouses constructed in response to the NPL, only 21 remain near to their original forms and are still being used as institutions; 50 have been entirely demolished (Higginbotham 2006a). Figure 1 illustrates the changing conditions of workhouses within the northern region in 2007. The importance of recording such structures before they are permanently lost or altered has been highlighted by the RCHME publication on workhouses and hospitals (Morrison 1999; Richardson 1998). The RCHME publication describes the difficulty of presenting a case for the preservation of many of these former Poor Law institutions. 'They are not *avant garde* architecture and, by the 1980s, few could meet modern standards of comfort' (Morrison 1999: vii). However, the RCHME does note that such buildings were an influential aspect of a community's built environment and are crucial to the history of the Poor Law. The statements and

conclusions drawn by the RCHME have been reiterated in English Heritage's selection guides, which set out the guidelines for designating buildings worthy of listed status. Published in 2007, the Health and Welfare Buildings selection guide aims to explain the significance of such buildings and 'where special interest lies' within this category of building. Echoing the sentiments of the RCHME, English Heritage believes these buildings 'provide strong architectural evidence of changing attitudes to the sick and destitute, and have long been some of our most functional buildings, as well as among our largest' (English Heritage 2007: 2). English Heritage further argues that workhouses reflect 'the impact of evolving medical science within the built form' (English Heritage 2007: 2). Although such guidance aims to illustrate changes in institutional design and the move towards specialized treatment, it neglects the many buildings that remained in their original form or were built to aging designs. Ignoring these more humble examples creates an inaccurate image of an ever-developing welfare system. While English Heritage may not regard it practical to preserve such buildings, they are especially important in understanding the realities of the Poor Law system.

To date, there has been little attempt to address the archaeological evidence of the NPL. (Lucas 1999, which provides a study of one specific workhouse, provides a rare exception). Archaeological approaches to other institutions, advanced by scholars in the United States and Australia, demonstrate that the architecture and material culture of institutions were potent factors in determining the treatment and experience of the institutionalised (Casella 2007; Beisaw and Gibb 2009). The success of such studies anticipates the value of archaeology to a study of English NPL workhouses. Generally, scholarship on NPL buildings has been intent on providing national synthesis and typological analysis at the expense of subtle but important differences between workhouses. By refining the interdisciplinary methodology piloted during my MA (Newman forthcoming), my PhD challenges these overarching narratives by illuminating the diverse and distinctive strategies of NPL Unions in West Yorkshire. In its use of the built form to understand human experience, it reflects the contemporary emphasis in buildings archaeology on interdisciplinarity and the related shift in scholarship from description to interpretation (Hicks and Horning 2006). This thesis will demonstrate how an archaeologically driven, interdisciplinary approach to workhouse buildings can shed new light on how workhouse architecture reflected and sometimes contradicted contemporaneous attitudes toward poverty, structuring—but not defining—a pauper's identity.

This research suggests that West Yorkshire NPL Unions' attitudes towards pauperism were largely influenced by regional contexts. Differences between rural and urban areas and regional responses to

the agricultural, industrial, social, and economic problems faced by nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century communities generated numerous institutional responses to poverty. This regional case study combines archaeological data with documentary records, allowing for a detailed, in-depth analysis of the buildings within a complex. It illuminates the plans, architectural styles, locations, decorative schemes, fixtures/fittings, access routes, and surveillance methods that workhouses adopted. This research reveals that even workhouses adopting similar plans, styles, etc. differed widely in their cultural functions. Workhouses also transformed over time; they thus provide an index of contemporaneous attitudes toward labour, poverty, specialisation of care, and the improvement of hygiene and sanitation.

Discussion throughout this thesis focuses on how the workhouse was used to categorise and classify groups within the workhouse on the grounds of age, gender, and physical fitness. It also identifies hierarchies and divisions within those pauper classes. This thesis also traces hardening attitudes towards vagrants and the able-bodied poor, changing concern as to the possibility of moral contamination of children and young women by able-bodied male paupers, varying preferential treatment of the elderly, and clear evidence of the medicalisation of workhouses for sick paupers. This research has uncovered attempts to use architecture as a mechanism of social control, to compel inmates to subscribe to the values and aspirations of the Guardians and their middle class patrons. To contextualise these trends, the following section provides a historical overview of key developments in Poor Law history.

The Poor Law

Developing Social Policy and the Old Poor Law

Prior to the early sixteenth century, monastic orders frequently provided the poor with basic necessities and in a few cases offered accommodation in return for work (Howson 1993: 17). The dissolution of the monasteries (1536-39) instigated the demise of this system and prompted various acts to develop charitable and parish-based institutional relief. The first institutions designated for the poor were established in London. St. Thomas's Hospital (1551) and St. Bartholomew's Hospital (1546) were used to care for the aged and sick, and Christ's Hospital (1553) was used to house and train orphans. Bethlem Hospital (1547) was established to care for the insane, and Bridewell (1555), originally a palace for Henry VIII but later a poorhouse and prison, was used to punish vagrants and prostitutes by putting them to work (Morrison 1999: 4). Outside of London, parishes were encouraged by the state to provide work for able-bodied paupers. Wool and iron, amongst other

materials, were bought to provide paupers with an occupation, such as weaving, spinning, or metal works. The work of paupers was carried out in hired workshops, parts of guildhalls, or in the homes of the paupers themselves (Slack 1990). Although Bridewell provided a model on which later Houses of Correction were based, neither Bridewell nor contemporaneous hospitals, workshops, etc. should be viewed as earlier forms of Poor Law Institutions (Morrison 1999: 5). Unlike later institutions, which were primarily funded by levied rates, each of these early institutions was funded by a number of sources, including parish collections and charitable endowments. More significantly, unlike later buildings, which were strategically designed, these early buildings were not necessarily designed with an institutional purpose in mind and do not as clearly reflect attitudes towards poverty as those designed in response to the Old Poor Law (henceforth OPL) and the NPL.

Ultimately, the combined efforts of charitable and parish-based systems failed to adequately accommodate the needs of the poor. The various acts devised throughout the sixteenth century were combined to form the OPL in 1601 (see Appendix 2). The OPL made parishes responsible for providing poor relief, which they were expected to fund by levying rates. Parishes were to provide relief for the impotent poor, place children in apprenticeships, and set the able-bodied to work. The entire system was to be administered by an appointed overseer (Slack 1990: 10). Some towns and cities, such as York, had already established some of the facilities called for by the OPL under previous sixteenth-century acts (Slack 1990: 12). The OPL clearly distinguished the settled poor from the wandering poor and designated parishes responsible only for the legally settled poor. Its primary aims were to prevent disorder whilst eradicating poverty and 'ungodliness' (Solar 1995: 6; Slack 1990: 16).

Uncompelled by its ambitious aims, many parishes did not adopt the OPL. As a result, three additional acts were passed to aid the enforcement of the OPL in English towns: every county and borough was obliged to (1) have a House of Correction (1608), (2) provide a 'hospital' and working-house for the poor (1623), and (3) establish a series of commissioners to check that the law was being followed (1630). In response to these acts, many parishes established Houses of Correction, which enforced hard labour for vagrants and those 'refusing' to work (Slack 1990: 15). In addition, many parishes that had not previously provided work for the poor established workshops or workhouses (Morrison 1999). The concept of the workhouse thus evolved to provide not only employment for the able-bodied poor but also residence to the poor unable to care for themselves. Early institutions in rural areas were often small, vernacular buildings or converted domestic dwellings that could

house only a small number of paupers. They were managed by an unpaid overseer or churchwarden who levied the rates as well as managing the relief of the poor (Higginbotham 2006a: 9; Slack 1990). Some saw these institutions as a way of harnessing idle labour and reforming character. The newly conceived workhouse was intended to curb rates levied in the parish by compelling the able-bodied receiving relief to contribute toward their cost to the parish. In reality, the concept of work in return for relief was too difficult and costly to organise, especially in smaller parishes (Slack 1990: 27-40). The majority of the poor continued to receive out-relief from the parish or from private charity because this was far less costly for the individual parish than establishing an institution.

By the eighteenth century, attitudes towards the poor had begun to harden. Because Houses of Correction were often used to punish vagrants or non-working paupers and because many were built in response to the same acts as workhouses, the two institutions were closely associated and often confused with one another (Morrison 1999). This led to the beginnings of the stigmatisation of pauperism. Negative attitudes towards the poor were also associated with rising poor-rates. Poverty was increasingly blamed on lazy and idle attitudes toward work (Brundage 2002: 12). The OPL evolved into a series of regulations designed to not only to relieve dependents but also to control their behaviour (Ely 1986: 1). Urban corporations in cities such as Bristol (1696) established workhouses in which to train children whilst profiting from pauper labour. Little is known of these early workhouse buildings. Many occupied monastic buildings, houses, or guildhalls, but certain examples, such as those in Kingston-Upon-Hull, were built for purpose (Morrison 1999: 11). The 1723 Knatchbull Act allowed parishes to build workhouses or contract paupers out to private institutions. The act became known as 'the workhouse test'; a pauper's refusal to enter the workhouse could result in the denial of all forms of relief and thereby tested their level of destitution (Slack 1990: 32). The test did not take into account any personal considerations, so it was not widely adopted. It was clear that the institutions established in the seventeenth century had not been successful; they had increased the poor-rates and were clearly difficult to establish, especially in rural areas.

Larger areas of administration were needed to successfully relieve the poor. Initially, rural corporations were established under specialised acts. Such acts enabled the rural corporations to build large workhouses or Houses of Industry, such as those found in East Anglia (Digby 1978). These buildings clearly aimed to reduce the poor-rate. However, other aims of the institution were stated over the entrance, as at Rollsbury: 'For the instruction of youth, the encouragement of industry, the relief of want, the support of old age, and the comfort of infirmity and pain' (Morrison 1999: 21). It is

clear from such idealistic statements that these buildings aimed to help those in need of relief as well as potentially reduce the poor-rate.

Further acts were implemented to curb the cost of the poor whilst still helping those in need (Baugh 1975). The Gilbert Act of 1782 permitted parishes to combine their resources in order to provide large residential workhouses, which were overseen by a paid Guardian. Controversially, the act refused to allow the able-bodied to enter the workhouse, which was to be used strictly by the aged, sick, and children (Fowler 2007: 42). The parish had to seek work for the unemployed able-bodied, and if none could be found, they were granted out-relief. Adopting the Gilbert Act was the choice of the parish. By 1834, 942 parishes, predominantly rural, had combined themselves into 67 Gilbert Unions (Brundage 2002: 21; Slack 1990: 35-6). The act resulted in the further construction of purpose-built workhouses, of which examples can be found in Sussex and Norfolk. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the Spleenhamland system was implemented to compensate for rising food prices caused by the French Revolution. The Spleenhamland system granted allowance in aid of wages, which meant extra relief was provided to supplement families' wages in times of economic hardship (Fideler 2006: 178). This system was not adopted by all parishes because when large numbers of families sought relief, it became harder for the local population to meet the poor-rate.

By the early nineteenth century, some authorities became increasingly reluctant to offer out-relief, especially to certain pauper classes. In some areas, such as Nottinghamshire, Shrewsbury, and Portsmouth, overseers refused outright to provide outdoor relief for able-bodied paupers (Morrison 1999). The overseers of Nottinghamshire introduced a range of experiments as a way of curbing the rising poor-rates. The most influential experiment was the building of a workhouse that would allow for the inspection, classification, and segregation of paupers. The result was Thurgarton Hundred Workhouse, discussed in more detail below, which was a forerunner for the planned workhouses of the NPL. Although the poor-rates did not reduce, the concept of using the workhouse as a deterrent to prevent the increase of poverty inspired other parishes to adopt a similar system (Morrison 1999: 38-40; Smith 2002).

Enthusiasm for the workhouse concept and what it entailed developed in phases over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and many towns of varying sizes constructed workhouses that differed in purpose (Fideler 2006: 172). Generally, workhouses were more successful in providing education for children and care for sick paupers than in creating work for the able-bodied.

Various methods of relief offered throughout the country conflicted with one another, and standards varied significantly between neighbouring workhouses (Fowler 2007: 13). Contemporaries regarded the OPL system as generous (Solar 1995: 7); however, localised studies suggest it was not (Ely 1986: 1). In the majority of cases, OPL relief required supplementation by charity (Slack 1990: 41-44). Many charitable almshouses, for example, provided care for the elderly poor throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Caffrey 2006; Howson 1993).

As a capitalist economy emerged in Britain during the eighteenth century, it challenged previous forms of economic and social organisation (Brundage 2002: 30). Economic historians attribute the increase in poverty throughout the eighteenth century on a rising population, falling wages, and price inflation (Solar 1995). Population growth, which had remained static since 1650 at 5.1 million, rose sharply to 8 million by 1800. The consumer price index, which remained steady for almost a century, began to rise during the eighteenth century. In contrast, wages, which rose steadily throughout the seventeenth century, steadily declined until 1800. Plague and bad harvest also increased poverty (Fideler 2006: 142). When the country experienced stable economic and political conditions, the OPL facilities could cope with demands for relief. However, in times of economic crisis and population increase, the system fell under enormous strain. The large size of some parishes, particularly in northern counties like Yorkshire, meant that local officials could not always manage the needs of the poor (Ely 1986: 1). As corporations and Unions began to emerge, changing attitudes towards the OPL caused parish-centred welfare to decline. Treatment of the poor was developing into a serious problem on a national scale. The limited uniformity of relief resulted in radically differing experiences of poverty dependent on region, and workhouses were increasingly proving social and economic failures.

In the context of an industrialising economy, many seriously questioned the value of the OPL. Compassion for the poor and concern for their rights was frequently weighed against the expense of the OPL and the problem of recipients perceived as unworthy (Brundage 2002: 32, Fideler 2006: 173). Was poverty the consequence of weak character? In 1751, Henry Field advocated an institution for paupers and criminals, illustrating the close link for some between poverty and crime (Brundage 2002: 18-19). Or was it created by unfair institutions and legalised greed, as writers as far back as Thomas More had claimed (Bruce 1999). Despite such debates, the OPL had been in place for 200 years: it had become a tradition that would be hard to alter.

The Nineteenth Century and the New Poor Law

Industrial depression (1803-1815) and the chaos created by the Luddite movement led to an atmosphere of disorder and fear. The cost of poor relief was rapidly increasing due to rising unemployment resulting from the depression and the return of war veterans from France (Brundage 2002: 45). Enclosure and the demise of cottage industries resulted in further social and economic change. The House of Commons Select Committee report of 1817 states that the 'contemporaneous Poor Law was producing an increasingly large, demoralised pauper population' (Dunkley 1974). The Captain Swing Riots (1830-1831), during which labourers resorted to machine-breaking and arson whilst making demands for higher wages, led to further hatred of Poor Law overseers. In some cases they were forcibly ejected from the villages on the cart that usually transported paupers (Brundage 2002: 58; Hobsbawm and Rude: 1968: 104-6). Rioting exposed underlying hatred for the OPL and the changing economic climate. The rioters themselves did not seek reform, but such disorder provoked political change.

In 1832, a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the OPL throughout the country. The complete report was published in 1834. It concluded that the system was flawed and in need of radical reform (Blaug 1963; Englander 1998: 10-11). Pauperism was considered infectious and a result of a weak character, but it was felt that allowing the poor to starve would result in acts of crime. Twenty-one main measures were advocated. These included the abolition of the entitlement of the able-bodied to out-relief, which required the pauper and his family to enter the workhouse as a test of their destitution. This was intended to deter the able-bodied from seeking relief and thus to reduce rates. Workhouse conditions were intended to be worse than those endured in the homes of the lowest earners. A central board, the PLC, was to control the administration of the law. A combination of parishes was to form a network of NPL Unions across the country. Each Union was to be managed by a Board of elected Guardians, and in each Union a workhouse was to be constructed. Within the workhouses, paupers were to be divided into several categories: the aged and infirm, children, lunatics, able-bodied men, and able-bodied women. The Royal Commission's report also included recommendations concerning administrative matters, such as the appointment of officers, the creation of reports, and uniform accounting. This meant the new system would be open to public scrutiny (Brundage 2002: 66-7). The report projected that once the workhouse regime was in place, the able-bodied would do anything to find an alternative, thus reserving the workhouse for the elderly, infirm, and sick. The workhouse, it was believed, would encourage the poor to seek work and would thus restore social order (Digby 1989: 38).

The NPL, incorporating some of the measures advocated in the 1832 investigation, was passed in 1834. However, it was decided that the Commissioners would persuade Guardians to gradually stop out-relief over time, not immediately. Implementing the act proved a challenge in some regions, as not all areas saw the need for change. The Commissioners lacked the authority to dissolve the already-formed Gilbert Unions, so creating new Unions in those areas was especially difficult. The NPL was resisted in rural and urban areas throughout the country, in some cases resulting in riots (Higginbotham 2006a).

NPL Unions were to build new, suitable workhouses in which to apply the law. The 1834 report did not mention in any great detail the form workhouses were to take (Morrison 1999: 43). However, it did state that the workhouse should be segregated into at least four levels to separate the aged and impotent, children, able-bodied females and able-bodied males. The report elaborates as follows:

It appears to us that both the requisite classification and the requisite superintendence may be better obtained in separate buildings than under a single roof. If effected in the latter mode, large buildings must be erected, since few of the existing buildings are of the requisite size or arrangement, and as very different qualities, both morally and intellectual, are required for the management of such dissimilar classes, each class must have its separate superintendent. Nothing would be saved, therefore, in superintendence, and much expense must be occurred in building. (Poor Law Report 1834 cited Checkland and Checkland 1974: 429)

The ideals of the 1834 report, though, were soon superseded by the concept of a single building. There were several reasons for this move. Firstly, a single building was deemed adequate for most of the functions described in the report, such as the classification of inmates. Secondly, it was deemed more economical to house paupers in one building than in separate buildings according to class, especially once the seven inmate classes were advocated in the Commissioner's annual report (1836). Inmates were to be classified as follows: class one, infirm men through age or any other cause; class two, able-bodied men and youths above the age of fifteen; class three, boys over the age of seven and under the age of fifteen; class four, infirm women through age or any other cause; class five, able-bodied women and girls above the age of fifteen; class six, girls above the age of seven and below the age of fifteen; class seven, children under the age of seven (Morrison 1999). Thirdly, as Assistant Commissioner for Kent Sir Francis Head suggested amongst his arguments in favour of a single building, those administering the building needed something to be proud of:

The very sight of a well-built efficient establishment would give confidence to the Board of Guardians; the sight and weekly assemblage of servants of their Union would make them proud of their office: the appointment of a chaplain would give dignity to the whole arrangement, while the pauper would feel it was utterly impossible to contend against it. In visiting such a series of Unions, the Assistant Commissioner could with great facility perform his duty, whereas if he had eight establishments to search for in each Union, it would be almost impracticable to attend to them. (Sir Francis Head cited Webb and Webb 1929: 126-7)

Sir Francis Head clearly thought a single building would inspire not only pride in those administering the NPL but fear in those resident within it. Interestingly, Sir Francis Head actually goes so far as to suggest the poor would actively 'contend against' a system supposedly intended for their betterment. His perspective may derive from a belief that the poor were unwilling to seek work. Such perceived unwillingness to participate in capitalist pursuits constituted a threat to the values of an industrial society, values the workhouse itself was intended to represent. Clearly the concept of a single workhouse was seen not only as symbol of civic pride but as a mechanism for controlling the poor.

The desire to control the poor influenced the workhouse designs advocated by the Commissioners. Model plans of single, mixed institutions were published in the first and second Poor Law Annual Reports of 1835 and 1836 (see Appendix 2). These plans will be discussed in more detail below. The implementation of the NPL resulted in the construction of a large number of workhouses across the country. Ultimately, each region decided upon the plan and style of its workhouse, so the styles of institutions varied. However, common locations, forms, and appearances made the workhouse a recognisable institution. Stylistic choices indicate the intentions and attitudes of those administering to the poor and illustrate developments, cessations, and continuities in welfare. Workhouse designs will be discussed in a later section. The workhouse separated the family unit, and conditions were made purposely unpleasant (Dickens 1976: 345). The lives of the inmates were made as monotonous as possible with limited diet and activity. The able-bodied were made to work, often performing tasks such as stone-breaking or the picking of old ropes. The assignment of such meaningless tasks broke with the idea held by earlier institutions of obtaining profit from the work of workhouse inmates; the primary goal of the NPL was to deter the poor from seeking relief in the first place. Inmates were made to wear a uniform that had already been used by many and that took away individualism and identity (Higgs 2007: 27, 41). Taking away individual identity clearly made the inmate part of the institution and removed him/her from society. The denial of individual identity

was a particularly timely characteristic of the NPL given the rise of capitalism and its associated values of individuality and self-help.

Because the NPL contained several crucial omissions, each region was able to interpret the guidelines in relation to its own needs and values. The conditions granted to different categories of pauper in each region, therefore, often directly reflect the attitudes of Guardians in that region toward the poor. How to provide for non-able-bodied paupers, such as the sick and children, for example, whose treatment had been an important part of the OPL, remained unclear under the NPL. Left to the discretion of the Guardians, the treatment of the non-able-bodied pauper varied greatly from Union to Union, an important issue that will be highlighted throughout this thesis. Vagrancy was also neglected in the Royal Commission's Report, because it was believed that the strict workhouse test would deter vagrants as it was meant to deter the able-bodied. When this proved not to be the case, the Commission advocated that Guardians provide vagrants a night's lodgings in a separate ward with harsher conditions than the workhouse in return for a few hours labour the following day. Despite the harsher conditions, though, the number of vagrants continued to increase (Tanner 1999; Vorspan 1977). In regard to other classes, guidelines were somewhat clearer but often equally ill-conceived. Children, for example, were to enter the workhouse with their parents. Their care, though, was to be based around the workhouse school, where the poor quality of staff was renowned and recorded frequently in the Guardians' Minutes.

Like the treatment of non-able-bodied paupers and the accommodation of vagrants, the provision of medical care received little attention in the Royal Commission's report of 1834 and was therefore similarly subject to regional interpretation. The Guardians frequently extended medical care beyond the workhouse to paupers in their homes, as they believed treatment would get them back to work more quickly. Usually, Guardians employed the cheapest local doctor, which raises questions about the quality of care received by the poor. The role of the workhouse doctor was vast, so eventually Unions were split into divisions, each with its own doctor who continually battled with Guardians for the paupers' needs (Crowther 1984; Brundage 2002).

Medical relief of the insane was an important aspect of the NPL, but it was not highly publicised. Lunacy Acts of the nineteenth century highlighted issues pertaining to mental illness and stated that no dangerous lunatics were to be kept in the workhouse, but enforcement of this advice was left largely to the Guardians' discretion. The Lunacy Acts of 1862 and 1863 aimed to remove insane

paupers from workhouses to asylums and to improve conditions in pauper lunatic wards. Mental illness was seen by some Guardians as a threat to mainstream workhouse residents. Many 'lunatics' were transferred to local asylums, but this was more costly than accommodating them in the workhouse, so many remained (Bartlett 1999). The number of insane inmates in the workhouse dropped in the 1840s because new asylums, constructed in response to the County Asylums Act of 1845, were able to accommodate a larger number of insane paupers than ever before (Bartlett 1999). However, it increased a decade later because asylums were generally full. The mistreatment of the insane received much publicity.

Despite the NPL, regional variations still occurred. Whitehall was occasionally able to persuade or embarrass Unions into acting as the government advocated, but before the 1870s, their requests were often ignored (Fowler 2007: 13). The NPL did not lessen the extent or expense of poverty. The cost of relief continued to increase at a faster rate than the rising numbers of paupers receiving it (Rose 1972). As a result, in its early years, the NPL received many criticisms and remained much more localised than originally intended (Brundage 2002: 84). Many of the ideals promoted by the central authorities were blunted by the strength of regional traditions of dealing with poor relief, particularly in rural areas (Digby 1978: x). Abuses like the aforementioned Andover Workhouse scandal were quickly made public. This scandal ultimately prompted the end of the PLC, which was replaced by the Poor Law Board (PLB) in 1847. Under the charge of an MP, the agency became directly answerable to government and its actions more open to public scrutiny.

In 1852, the PLB still had not succeeded in persuading all parishes to adopt the 1834 act, so in an attempt to unify the system, the Outdoor Labour Test was introduced. Able-bodied males could receive out-relief in return for working the most unpleasant and monotonous jobs, such as stone-breaking and oakum-picking, but relief under these circumstances did not involve entry into the workhouse. This policy unionised areas of the north and London that had previously resisted the NPL. By the mid-nineteenth century, Unions still had drastically different figures for indoor and out-relief, which indicates the extent to which local authorities attempted to maintain their independence from Government (Brundage 2002: 91).

The Beginnings of Change, Edwardian Social Policy, and the end of the Workhouse

Change began in 1871 with the PLB's transformation into the Local Government Board (LGB), which amalgamated a number of services. Medical scandals of the 1860s had resulted in the need for an expert central medical section. By 1870, it had also become apparent that Unions had become lax in their relief policies. The creation of a new auditing body in 1879 aimed to curb out-relief. However, authority was not used efficiently, and persuasion and negotiation were still the only powers of the new auditing body (Brundage 2002: 120). By 1870, the size, function, and design of workhouses had undergone significant change, particularly in towns and cities. Vagrancy was more of an issue than ever, so most workhouses had a particularly harsh vagrants' ward by this time. Change was also reflected in the election of the first female Guardian in 1875 (Brundage 2002; Fowler 2007).

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, the profile of the poor was lifted due to the shocking findings of private investigations into poverty, such as those conducted by Booth (1880s) and Rowntree (1890s) (Digby 1989: 41-3). Such investigations increased awareness of the NPL in practice. Social investigations raised concerns regarding the condition of NPL institutions and the appropriate plan and style of the buildings. A desire to improve social conditions emerged, particularly after Britain's defeat in the Boer War, which was blamed on a 'degenerate and sickly race' created by the NPL. Employers, too, needed a healthier workforce if they were to fight off increasing foreign competition (Rose 1972). A healthy nation was deemed vital to the creation of an imperial race.

In the late nineteenth century, the emerging philosophy of 'New Liberalism' advocated greater state intervention in social policy (Crowther 1988: 11). The younger generations, especially those from comfortable backgrounds, experienced a sense of guilt at the sight of the poverty existing in the cities of the wealthiest nation in the world (Rose 1972: 32). The country was much changed by the early twentieth century. There was a much larger, more urbanised population, with poverty affecting towns and cities rather than the countryside. Trade cycles in urban areas led to economic disruption, and poor-relief expenditure doubled from 1870–1905. The original concept of poverty as a result of flawed character still remained deeply entrenched within society well into the Edwardian period, but questions began to arise as to whether the concept of deterrence was still appropriate.

The belief that the NPL could not deal with the rising poverty level of the early twentieth century led to another Royal Commission Report in 1905-6. In contrast to the 1830s report, the 1905-6 report contained clear differences of opinion among Commissioners; consensus regarding the provision of

specialised services could not be found. This resulted in the publication of the Minority and Majority Reports (Digby 1989: 215). The majority report, written by Helen Bosanquet and William Smart, aimed to destigmatise poverty. The Guardians were to be replaced with Public Assistance Committees of the county councils, and workhouses were to be made more positive. Positivism was conveyed through key words such as 'help', 'prevention', 'cure', and 'instruction'. The Minority Report, written by Beatrice Webb, moved even further away from the concept of pauperism. The report expressed an intention to end destitution and advocated the 'life cycle'. The life cycle meant that from birth to old age the government would provide the necessary help. This would include the likes of old age pensions and labour exchanges. Although widely discussed, both sets of recommendations were ignored by the government (Brundage 2002: 139). The need for change was not recognised the way it had been in 1834.

Rather than solving the problems of the existing system, the government constructed completely new policies and institutions. Children were increasingly moved from the workhouse to separate institutions, where education would break the cycle of poverty and reduce the rates in the long term. In 1908, the introduction of the old age pension for men and women meant a better standard of living for the elderly. It enabled the aged to avoid the workhouse, and—for the first time—took them out of the care of the NPL (Fowler 2007). Advances in the field of medicine and pressure from the Medical Association compelled Unions to provide better infirmaries, which in urban areas led to infirmaries on separate sites (Higgs 2007: 70-71). The need for specialised treatment was slowly being recognised, and qualified staff members were sought. The first sign of change for the able-bodied was The National Insurance Act of 1911. Until this time, able-bodied individuals unable to work due to minor illness were made to enter the workhouse as able-bodied inmates. The National Insurance Act provided benefits for those able-bodied paupers, and thus provided an alternative to the workhouse for the first time since 1834. However, under the majority of these new systems, the break-up of the family unit continued.

Workhouse conditions remained varied from one region to the next because 'Liberal Social Reform' did not directly abolish NPL Unions; instead, it phased the workhouse out by removing particular classes of paupers to specialised institutions (Crowther 1981: 36; Thompson 1983). Conditions still depended greatly on the efficiency and generosity of the Guardians. In 1912, the NPL was still dominant, with the number receiving relief at an all-time high. The renaming of the workhouse to the Poor Law Institution in 1913 did nothing to change attitudes towards the law. Instead, it caused

confusion as the workhouse was just one of many Poor Law institutions in existence at this time. In 1921, the number receiving relief reached 1.5 million, 4% of the population, and it rose to 2.5 million in 1925, not including those seeking some kind of relief outside of the NPL (Brundage 2002).

Neville Chamberlin, the Minister of Health in 1925, was particularly concerned at how lax the Board of Guardians had become (Crowther 1988). A series of acts curbed the powers of the Guardians and reduced outdoor relief. A bill to reorganise local government and abolish the Board of Guardians was introduced in 1928 (Crowther 1988). Powers were to be transferred to the local council, and Public Assistance Committees were appointed to administer relief (Crowther 1981; Wood 1991). The NPL and the workhouse era officially ended 1 April 1930. For many, however, workhouses changed only in name, as the lives of those still living in the buildings changed very little during the 1930s. Those who administered the institution did not really change either as Guardians found themselves positions within the councils. For the poor and their families, everything associated with the NPL remained tainted with the shameful stigma of pauperism.

A Workhouse Typology

The recognition in the NPL of the need to provide indoor relief for the poor prompted the construction of numerous workhouses across the landscape. Although no two workhouses are identical, common forms, styles, and choices of location made the workhouse a recognisable and formidable structure. The workhouse was frequently used as a mechanism by which to institutionalise the individual through categorisation and control. By removing the individual identity of the pauper, these institutions aimed to eradicate poverty through moral and practical education. As moral values were shaped by capitalism, paupers seeking relief were deemed anti-capitalist and thus immoral. Removing the identity of the pauper on his/her entry into the workhouse, therefore, allowed the authorities to remould the individual into a moral being conforming to capitalist ideals. Workhouses were often designed strategically with these goals in mind.

During the development of workhouse architecture, four main plans emerged: the varied plans of workhouses constructed under the OPL, the model plans of the NPL, the corridor plans of the 1850s, and the pavilion plans adopted towards the end of the nineteenth century. Ultimately, each region decided upon what plan and style it was going to adopt. Therefore, many different designs emerged from the same period. The design of the workhouse reveals the intentions of the Guardians and their attitudes towards the different classes of pauper. The development of these institutional complexes

over time illustrates how and to what extent attitudes towards the poor evolved and social welfare progressed during the NPL.

Workhouses under the Old Poor Law

Prior to the NPL, it was the responsibility of each parish to provide indoor relief for its poor. There was no single method for dealing with paupers, so no standard form of institution developed. The plans and styles of workhouses varied dramatically between rural and urban areas. As discussed above, sixteenth-century workhouses or workshops were usually established in converted domestic buildings or guildhalls (Giles 2000: 90; Morrison 1999). These buildings may not have necessarily controlled the poor through their architectural forms. However, by establishing a system and designating specific places to which the poor had to come to work in return for relief (or risk the House of Correction), authorities instituted an element of physical control over the poor that would be echoed in the institutional architecture of the NPL.

By the mid-seventeenth century, some urban workhouses were being planned and built for the purpose of housing, segregating, and controlling a variety of inmates, whether they were able-bodied, sick, aged, or children, anticipating the function of later workhouse buildings. Cotton and Woollcombe's *Gleanings from the Municipal Records of Exeter* cites one of the first documented references to a workhouse in this context, dating from a 1652 reference to a building in Exeter: 'The said house to be converted for a workhouse for the poore of this citty and also a house of correction for the vagrant and disorderly people within this citty' (Oxford English Dictionary 1652 cited Higginbotham 2006b) (fig 2). Early examples dominated the landscape by adopting similar classical styles, clearly drawing on recognisable symbols of institutional power and control. The plans of these large workhouses indicate that a large proportion of space was designated for work, which suggests that the provision of labour was the main priority of these buildings. These buildings never developed into small-scale factories as the majority of produce was used within the workhouse itself. The tasks were intended to encourage a positive work ethic rather than to generate substantial profits. The success of urban workhouses led to the development of rural workhouses, but these were built on a smaller scale. In contrast to the relative similarity of urban examples, rural architectural forms differed greatly from one another, adopting domestic styles or occupying buildings converted from a previous use (fig 3).

Due to the cost of a workhouse to a rural parish toward the end of the eighteenth century, parishes were permitted to form local incorporations. Combined funds were used to construct workhouses similar to those in urban areas. In contrast to earlier, parish workhouses, these were built on a remarkable scale as representations of civic pride and power, as in the case of Southwell Workhouse (fig 4). These workhouses were designed to allow high levels of classification and segregation so as to prevent moral contamination of 'deserving' paupers by those 'less deserving'. Furthermore, they aimed to reduce the burden of the poor upon society by instigating harsh regimes and conditions. These early workhouses are some of the first examples of how architecture could be employed in an attempt to control the existing poor and ultimately eradicate poverty. Architectural methods for controlling the poor were inspired by the work of Jeremy Bentham, who attempted to apply his institutional, panoptical designs for criminals to paupers (fig 5) (Morrison 1999: 33). Bentham, amateur architect, reformer, and philosopher, created a plan that would heighten surveillance and segregation, a principle he thought was adaptable to prisons, asylums, poorhouses, orphanages, hospitals, and many other purposes. The panoptical plan consisted of a circular building with cells around its circumference and an inspection tower at its centre. Bentham's principles were never truly adopted by workhouse architects, but the ideas of surveillance and control behind Bentham's plans became central to workhouse design (Driver 1993). Early NPL workhouse designs closely correlate to prison architecture. This architectural correlation led to a perceived association between prisoners and paupers, which contributed to the stigmatisation of pauperism. Early examples of workhouses adopting aspects of Bentham's principals include Alverstoke House of Industry in Hampshire (1799-1801) and Caistor House of Industry in Lincolnshire (1800-2) (fig 6).

In practice, the majority of workhouses constructed before the NPL often neglected the concept of segregation because architects had failed to accurately anticipate the proportion in which paupers of different classes would be admitted. Mismanagement and poor administration also contributed to the inefficient running of many workhouses. In contrast to workhouses with policies aimed at the able-bodied, some workhouses were aimed solely at the care of the aged and infirm, such as the Gilbert Union workhouses in East Anglia (Digby 1978). An uncertainty of purpose thus likewise impeded the effectiveness of the pre-NPL workhouse.

The 1832 Commission went so far as to describe the workhouse as 'a large almshouse, in which the young are trained in idleness, ignorance and vice; the able-bodied maintained in a sluggish sensual indolence; the aged and more respectable exposed to all the misery that is incident to the dwelling in

such a society, without government or classification’ (1834 Poor Law Report cited Checkland and Checkland 1974: 127). George Nicholls, Poor Law reformer and Poor Law Commissioner, contributed his perception of the workhouse as ‘a sort of pest-house where diseases, social, moral, and physical, were generated and nurtured, and whence they spread into and contaminated the surrounding districts’ (Poor Law Commissioner George Nicholls cited Marshal 1926: 31). Such criticisms of the existing institutional facilities motivated the radical reforms called for by the NPL. In particular, dissatisfaction with the institutional buildings of the OPL led to the drastic strategies of the NPL model plans.

Model Workhouses

Morals reformed – health preserved – industry invigorated – instruction diffused – public burden lightened – economy seated as it were upon a rock – the Gordian knot of the poor laws not cut but united – all by a simple idea in Architecture!

(Jeremy Bentham 1787)

The NPL aimed to reduce the cost of poor relief by creating workhouses with harsh conditions that had to be endured if relief was to be received. The act resulted in the creation of numerous workhouses throughout the 1830s and 1840s, and architecture was seen as the key to accomplishing the primary aims of the act (Markus 1993: 141). Four model plans, created by Sampson Kempthorne and Sir Francis Head, developed a ‘standard workhouse’ (see Appendix 3) (Dickens 1976: 346-7). A variety of workhouses were constructed on the basis of the main principles advocated in these model plans, while subtle variations reflected varying attitudes amongst Unions. The style in which these buildings were constructed varied. Some, such as Skipton in West Yorkshire (see Part 2.1), adopted a neo-classical appearance, whereas others, such as Ely Union Workhouse (fig 7), took on an Elizabethan or Gothic style. All these styles were designed to influence the opinion of the individual towards the structure. The sentiments of George Lansbury highlight the contemporary attitudes towards these new institutions: ‘These prisons or bastilles of surrounding were organised for the purpose of making self-respecting, decent people endure any suffering rather than enter’ (George Lansbury, *My Life*, 1931, cited Fowler 2007: 41). Lansbury’s comparison of NPL workhouses to prisons reflects the aforementioned association between the two institutions created in part by their architectural similarity. The similarity went beyond design, however, extending also to the meaninglessness of tasks assigned within both institutions, indicating comparable aims of deterrence and reform (Brodie, Croom, Davies 1999).

The location and appearance of the model-plan workhouse allowed the institution to become a powerful and influential symbol, as we see in examples such as Skipton Union Workhouse. The sheer size of the structure gave the building a bleak and invasive expression (Driver 1993: 59). Within typological studies of workhouses, the model plans receive the most attention, although archaeological analysis is usually limited to descriptions and does not fully explore the implications of this architectural type.

The Corridor Plan

After the initial building phase of the 1830s and early 1840s, the pace of construction began to slow, and designs began to deviate from the radical model plans. Wider ranges and central corridors were introduced, and increasing workhouse functions were spread out over at least three blocks, as in the examples of Bradford and Leeds Union Workhouse (see Part 3.1 and 3.3). Such blocks would normally run parallel to one another, divided by exercise yards, but they were still designed in similar architectural styles to the model plans discussed above. In contrast to earlier buildings, which were one room deep, each block of the new design was divided by a long, central corridor, with rooms on either side. The majority of these buildings, including Rochdale (fig 8) and Preston Union Workhouses, were constructed in the north of England. Unions in the City of London also built new workhouses that had been avoided initially, but old workhouses were beginning to suffer from severe overcrowding and neglect (Tanner 1999). A corridor plan made it easier for inmates to communicate, especially in workhouses where iron galleries were used instead of solid walls and doors, as was the case in Birmingham Union Workhouse, for example (fig 9). In 1866, inspectors of London workhouses, particularly Greenwich, noted the neglect of the rules of segregation and the poor ventilation of the new design; these became two of the major criticisms of this workhouse type and eventually led to its demise (Morrison 1999: 98). The PLC called for cross ventilation and projecting sanitary towers; thus elements and principles of the later pavilion plan began to creep into workhouse design, as illustrated below (Taylor 1991b: 47).

Little study has been made of the corridor-plan workhouse as it has been largely overshadowed by the model plans and the development of the separate-block system. Why it replaced previous designs is also uncertain because it did not appear to decrease cost or improve health or control. Moreover, documentary sources from the PLC and the architectural press do not shed any light on this subject (Morrison 1999: 87).

The Pavilion Plan

Increasing criticism of the corridor plan coincided with attempts to improve sanitary conditions and reduce the spread of disease through the modification of institutional forms. Workhouse architects were inspired by principles of the pavilion plan used in the construction of infirmaries from the 1850s. In its simplest form, the pavilion plan meant designing separate buildings to cater for the varying classes of inmates who had previously been housed in single structures like the model and corridor plans noted above. In hospital architecture, the pavilion plan was initially adopted to curb the spread of disease believed to be airborne and to improve conditions for soldiers after the Crimean War (Taylor 1991b: 5). Florence Nightingale was an advocate of the pavilion plan. Its long wards characterized by their opposing windows, which allowed a through-draft, with beds placed between the window spaces, became known as 'Nightingale Wards'. Sanitary facilities were provided in a tower attached to the main building and were well ventilated. Interestingly, the pavilion plan was closely aligned with the original 1832 report, which had advocated separate buildings for each class of pauper, reflecting the belief that poverty was infectious. Forty-six workhouses were built to this plan, including large urban examples like Sheffield and Hammersmith Union Workhouse (1877-80) and rural examples like Madeley Union Workhouse, Shropshire (1871-5) (fig 10). Many others were converted to the pavilion plan, such as Leeds and Bradford workhouses.

During each phase of the workhouse's architectural history, control, surveillance, and power were built into the institutional form. The RCHME typology outlined above provides a valuable basic classification of workhouse architecture. The case studies analysed within this thesis will examine the influence of each of these architectural types upon the paupers of each region in West Yorkshire. Skipton Union Workhouse, for example, conforms to a model plan. Discussion will consider the impact of its central surveillance hub, segregated courtyards, and other regionally influenced facets of its built form upon pauper experience and identity. Similarly, the wide ranges and long corridors of the corridor plan and the widespread individual block of the pavilion plan will be examined in relation to their social impact through the examples of Leeds, Wharfedale, and other workhouses. However, this thesis challenges preconceived expectations of conformity to the typology discussed above, not only acknowledging but embracing deviations from the normative, typological approach to the study of workhouse buildings.

Approaches to the Study of Workhouses

The Poor Law is the focus of an extensive body of historical research. Scholars of Poor Law history have approached the subject from economic (Boyer 1990; King 1997a; Snell 1992), political (Brundage 1978; Mandler 1990), and social perspectives, analysing such diverse subjects as settlement laws (Snell 1992; Taylor 1991a), the role of the landed elite in policy-making (Eastwood 1994; Mandler 1990), and the influence of private charity (Brundage 1998). In recent years, studies with a social emphasis have become more prominent (Cody 2000; Levine-Clark 2000), yielding a wealth of class-specific research, including explorations of the lives of children (Crompton 1997), the sick (Crowther 1984; Thompson 1983), and vagrants (Tanner 1998), among other groups. Poor Law histories have thus shifted away from politics and administration toward more socio-historical themes.

Studies of the workhouse comprise an important facet of the socio-historical approach to the Poor Law. One of the first scholars to address the workhouse specifically was Norman Longmate (1974), whose research was influenced by the living memories of stigmas associated with the workhouse and pauperism. Drawing on reports from the journal of the workhouse visiting committee, journalists' reports, and personal anecdotes, Longmate writes a political chronology of the workhouse under the NPL. Primarily focusing on inmate classes within the workhouse (rather than the institution itself), Longmate illustrates how changes in policy or charitable offerings impacted the lives of paupers.

Margaret Anne Crowther's *The Workhouse System, 1834-1929: The History of an English Social Institution* (1983) extends the study of the workhouse to outline the development of the institution, but it remains generalised in terms of examples. In contrast to early historical accounts of the NPL, Crowther's research suggests that the workhouse developed from an institution of deterrence into one providing social welfare. Interestingly, Crowther argues that the workhouse could never have realised its aim as a form of deterrence whilst providing genuine refuge for the helpless (Crowther 1981: 1-7; 1983). The idea of regional diversity is acknowledged by Crowther but without a contextual history, so her research does not have the scope to explore such themes thoroughly.

More recent historical accounts of the workhouse have offered a similarly broad overview of socio-historical issues. Simon Fowler's *The Workhouse* (2006), for example, focuses on the various inmate classes within the workhouse. Fowler makes substantial use of Poor Law correspondence held at the National Archive whilst also exploring the influence of contemporary writers such as Dickens, Hardy,

and Orwell. Drawing heavily on an enormous volume of documentary evidence, Fowler summarises the experience of the workhouse, drawing on examples nationwide to provide an understanding of why the Poor Law was regarded with such horror. Variations amongst workhouses are acknowledged, as is the impact of institutional development on the treatment of inmates throughout the period. Fowler concludes that the structure of the Poor Law and the lack of power within central authority were responsible for the inadequacies of the workhouse. Such scholarship draws heavily on historical approaches to the study of poverty but fails to acknowledge the significance of workhouse buildings or their impact on pauper experience.

Anne Digby's *Pauper Palaces* (1978) provides an exception to the general, national histories offered by other scholars. Digby aims to differentiate between the image and theory of the Poor Law and explores the reality and practise of its implementation using case studies in Norfolk. Digby's regional focus provides a useful model. Combining historical and economic approaches to the study of the Poor Law within a regional context, Digby illustrates extensive variations in its implementation at a local level. Digby's detailed analysis of Poor Law administration through the documentary sources illustrates that the Unions of Norfolk administered the Poor Law in a more humane way than the 'ideals' advocated by the PLC. Norfolk workhouse buildings are briefly contrasted against the popular conception of the workhouse.

Felix Driver's *Power and Pauperism* (1993) offers a more theoretical approach to the implementation of the workhouse system, examining the conflicts between NPL policy and the workhouse in practice through an analysis of the new 'historical geography' created by the NPL. Focusing on the regulation/implementation of relief and institutional provision, Driver provides a national picture of the workhouse system in operation, noting that the system was not designed for the benefit of paupers, but for their management. Highlighting the concept of institutional design as a strategy of moral regulation, Driver draws on the theoretical framework represented in French philosopher Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment* (1975). Driver's innovative theoretical framework retains sensitivity to regional variation, noting that workhouse systems were bound to develop differently due to varying regional contexts. In the following case studies from West Yorkshire, the context-sensitivity of Driver's research will be adopted to challenge previous interpretations of the workhouse type that have generally lacked theoretical underpinning.

No previous approach to the workhouse has focused on the building itself. The Royal Commission for Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) offers the only architectural history of the workhouse; it sought to create elucidating typologies and made assumptions about the ways in which national models were adopted in different regions. Reacting to the threat facing this category of building, the RCHME undertook a national survey to identify and record all surviving Poor Law buildings. This important work highlighted the diverse array of institutional buildings constructed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Richardson 1998; Morrison 1999; Brodie 2001). The survey created over 700 site files, which have been supplemented by reports from commercial archaeological units. Some have been published (Garwood 2002). In 1999, the RCHME produced a volume entitled *The Workhouse*, which draws on many of these records to provide a chronological overview of the development of workhouse architecture in direct relation to social policies, thus creating a narrative of Poor Law architecture. Because of the scale of the survey, the study is predominantly chronological and descriptive, and it offers only a broad typology for workhouse buildings. The study does not allow for cases that deviate from the traditional narrative. NPL buildings developed in various ways at different times, but examples that do not fit into the typological timeline are overlooked. As a result, the RCHME volume has neglected minor and less prestigious examples or those that deviate from typological criteria. This is a huge oversight, as the very failure or disinclination of some workhouses to conform to national trends provides insight as to how the NPL was implemented and functioned in reality. Although to some extent the RCHME recognises regional diversity between urban and rural regions, it does not acknowledge more subtle variations, such as those between industrial, agricultural, and commercial areas. However, the RCHME typology enables the identification of buildings, and the amount of evidence that can be (and has begun to be) accumulated about workhouses provides a solid base from which a more extensive archaeological exploration can be advanced and a deeper understanding for this subject gained.

Underpinning typological analyses of workhouse buildings is the assumption that workhouses share the characteristics of other architectures of control and surveillance, such as prisons or hospitals (Dicken 1976; Markus 1993). Markus's *Buildings and Power* analyses the form of the workhouse through its spatial organisation using access diagrams. Markus's study uses access diagrams to illustrate the restriction of movement within the workhouse. Markus relates this directly to how life was structured and to how power and control were dispersed throughout the institution. Using this technique, Markus is able to expose subtle divisions that existed between the inmates that were not apparent from the buildings' plans in isolation (Markus 1993: 104). A spatial analysis provides a

contentious interpretation of how these buildings functioned for a number of reasons. One of the questions frequently raised concerning the use of access analysis is whether one can really relate social organisation to social structure. When studying workhouses, it is possible to link organisation to structure, but this is not without limitations. Workhouses evolved throughout the NPL, so the plans in reality only provide a snapshot of how the workhouse was originally intended to be used. As this thesis will demonstrate, a major aspect of analysing workhouse architecture is evaluating the buildings' continuing evolution throughout the NPL. The workhouse as an institutional form never remained static. Locking doors, for example, which within an access analysis would appear to restrict access between areas, was a temporary measure. Furthermore, access analysis assumes that the rules of workhouse were adhered to when in fact workhouse rules were often broken. The documentary evidence used throughout this thesis suggests that in many cases the rules were far removed from the reality of workhouse life. The merits of Markus's work are clear. However, the alternative approaches devised within this thesis encompass the diversities of workhouse architecture by acknowledging change and seeking the realities of workhouse life by capturing the lives of those people occupying and administrating the institution.

Aims and Key Questions

My project is based on an interdisciplinary methodology that will use a detailed archaeological analysis of the location, style, plan form, access routes, decoration, and development of workhouse buildings to shed light on the ways in which paupers were categorised and controlled. Through a regional study, this work will challenge existing, overarching accounts of the development of workhouse architecture and refine our understanding of attitudes towards poverty and the experience of the pauper during the NPL. In particular, it aims to reveal profound differences between urban and rural workhouses but also, importantly, between workhouses in different kinds of urban environments. Factors such as the rate and nature of industrialisation, the structure of governing elites, the strength of religious influence, and the history of previous Poor Law institutions have subtle but important impacts on the form and nature of the workhouse experience. As Crowther notes, 'Anyone writing about the most helpless members of a past society runs the risk of making them abstract and stripping them of their humanity' (Crowther 1983: 1). Resisting such tendencies, through the following key questions, it is the aim of this thesis to engage further with workhouse buildings and the experience of the workhouse inmate than attempted by previous studies. I have three major research aims, each driven by several key questions and attuned to the issue of change over time, as well as similarities and differences between places:

1) *Workhouses and cultural contexts*: To explore the idea that the designs of workhouses in my chosen case study area, West Yorkshire, were neither simple reflections of national attitudes towards the poverty nor straightforward products of the diffusion of national workhouse designs to the provinces. Key questions include:

- What were the important economic, social, political, and cultural differences within and between the urban and rural areas?
- How did these differences influence the composition of local, governing elites and the Boards of Guardians of institutions such as workhouses?
- How do workhouse buildings illustrate a complex interplay between conflicting cultural forces (tradition vs. progress, ideology vs. economy, social order vs. moral reform, etc.)?

2) *Workhouse Buildings: Location, Plan, and Style*: To explore how differences in location, design, plan form, decoration, spatial qualities, and access arrangements among workhouse buildings in the region generated differences within the workhouse experience. Key questions include:

- What factors influenced the design and plan of individual workhouses? National policies? Individual architects? Patrons? Boards of Guardians? Pauper experiences in existing local institutions?
- What factors influenced the topographical locations and landscape settings of workhouses?
- What factors influenced a workhouse's plan and style?
- How did different workhouse experiences shape the status, identity, and mental welfare of pauper inmates? How did different institutions segregate, categorise, and/or control these individuals?
- What evidence is there of the acceptance or resistance of the experience of different workhouses on the part of paupers and staff?
- What evidence is there of the social effectiveness of different workhouses? How does this change over time?

3) *National trends*: To explore how the process of institutional specialisation increasingly apparent in the period 1834-1930 reflected and influenced public opinion and the experience of the poor. Key questions include:

- Does the adaptation, alteration, and construction of workhouse buildings reflect changing attitudes toward and practical treatment of the poor?
- What was the impact of such changes on the workhouse experience of inmates (and staff)?

Plan of research and methods

To explore these questions, I have conducted a detailed analysis of the architecture and associated archival material of workhouses in West Yorkshire. A detailed regional case study of architectural responses to the poor has provided a framework for research in other regions and highlights the importance of micro-histories in understanding the complexity of workhouse provision in the development of social welfare. Political, social, and economic contexts had a significant impact on the scale and nature of poverty while fashioning the attitudes toward those on the margins of the society, such as the poor, orphaned, and mentally ill. This project has conducted an exhaustive, in-depth site survey of ten workhouse buildings: Skipton, Ripon, Great Ouseburn, Wetherby, Pateley Bridge, Wharfedale, Leeds, Bramley, Bradford, and North Bierley. I have selected West Yorkshire as the principal focus because the region witnessed particularly rapid growth as a result of industrialisation. There were important differences in the economic experiences of individual towns and villages that were reflected in the diverse architectural responses to the poor (Hey 2005; Thackrah 1979). West Yorkshire experienced a remarkable range of responses to NPL legislation, so it provides a useful, though complex, microcosm for national histories. The selected case studies demonstrate several architectural plans and styles, and numerous alteration and additions were made to each complex. Despite the survival of architectural features and documentary evidence, the workhouses of the north of England remain largely neglected in NPL scholarship, thus warranting more detailed investigation.

Through the medium of these case studies, I have approached my key questions via two methodological strands: architectural survey and documentary research.

Architectural survey: The first stage of the project was to compile a comprehensive buildings file for each site, which will map the development and phasing of each institutional complex. This has

involved the recovery of all grey literature on all case studies from the National Monuments Record Office (NMR), in Swindon, and local Site and Monument Record Offices (SMRs), in Wakefield. The extent of a commercial archaeological buildings report varies depending on the level of survey requested by the planning authority, so it was vital that all reports relating to the case studies were collected for analysis. These reports have provided important details relating to demolished buildings, which may not be recorded elsewhere. The accurate and exhaustive compilation of existing records was vital to the project's consideration of workhouse development and change over time. Original plan and elevation drawings have also been gathered from local archives and from architectural journals, such as *The Builder* (London Metropolitan Archive). All surviving drawings have been copied and digitized for analysis using CAD. These plans have provided significant insight regarding the use of space and access and answer questions regarding segregation, categorization, surveillance, and treatment.

Investigations into surviving standing buildings have included developing and executing a surveying strategy for sites with well-preserved evidence. This has involved the selection of appropriate levels and methods of survey as per English Heritage (2006) guidance. Survey has used a combination of record and rectified photography to produce standardized ground and floor plans and elevations. Effective surveying, like the other archaeological methodologies this thesis employs, has enabled a consideration of how subtle architectural features impacted pauper experience, status, and identity. The phased development of each site, recorded in its corresponding building file, has been compared to that of other examples in the case study area and considered in relation to national, typological narratives of workhouses.

Documentary research: The second stage of the project has focused on the manuscript records of each workhouse. Archive material stored in local archives relating to the chosen asylum sites is considerable and has required a selective and systematic sampling strategy. This part of the project has involved the consultation of building records, such as *The Builder*, records of building committees, and administrative minutes from individual sites. These records have illustrated the nature of extensions and repairs to buildings, which gives important insight into conditions within the building. Such sources have helped to answer questions as to the differentiation and prioritisation of treatment, which reveals varied workhouse experiences. The Guardians' Minutes have also been consulted in relation to changing use of space over time and the prioritisation of building works. Furthermore, the Guardians' Minutes have revealed the treatment of and attitudes toward poverty,

suggest motivations for changes to the fabric of the workhouse. They also provided information crucial to a detailed understanding of inmate experience and provide some clues as to the relationship between workhouses and the varied communities to which they were linked. All archive material has been consulted to illustrate different workhouse experiences and enable comparisons to be drawn between case studies.

Workhouses often used different terminology to refer to the same pauper class. Vagrants were sometimes called 'casuals' or 'tramps', the sick were sometimes called the 'infirm', the mentally ill were sometimes called 'imbeciles', 'lunatics', or 'feeble-minded', and so forth. For the sake of clarity and/or cultural sensitivity, this thesis uses a single term for each pauper class across the case studies.

All census data relating to each workhouse site has been recorded in Excel. This data has been integrated into the analysis of workhouse populations where possible. However, the extent to which this data is useful to our understanding of numbers in the workhouse is limited due in part to the varying methods of recording employed during the NPL. In some cases, inmates were recorded chronologically or by gender. Other times, there appears to be no logic to the order of the inmate list. Mostly, records did not make clear reference to inmates' statuses, but there are a few exceptions. In 1891, for example, in urban Unions, inmates were recorded by their classification, giving a truer representation of the workhouse population than other records. Also in 1891, Wetherby began to record all of its inmates as sick, indicating the workhouse was in fact used largely as a hospital from this time. Apart from the elderly, children, and occasionally the mentally ill, pauper classes are not specifically represented in the data more broadly. Therefore, it is difficult to know how many inmates were truly able-bodied, sick, or otherwise classified on the basis of census data.

All available plans have also been gathered from local archives and museums. The re-creation of plans using CAD has allowed for a detailed analysis of space within the workhouse in relation to segregation, surveillance, categorisation, and control; it has also mapped change over time. The ideological use of space as designated in the workhouse design has been compared with use as recorded in the workhouse's administrative minutes to construct a sense of how space was truly used, noting instances of conformity with and resistance against design ideals. The spatial experience of workhouses has also been studied through analysis of decorations recorded from the building and consultation of administrative minutes.

Part Two

Rural Workhouses of West Yorkshire

As suggested in Part One, a detailed study into the NPL workhouse reveals its development to be far more complex than any typological architectural study of workhouse buildings would suggest. Diverse economic, political, and social development during the nineteenth century led to variations in architectural design, which in turn led to dramatic differences in the experiences of paupers. The NPL workhouses of rural West Yorkshire provide a revealingly varied sample. In some cases, they conform to national trends in design and construction. Skipton, for example, followed closely the PLC's guidelines. After the passing of the NPL Act, Skipton unionised promptly, as the act intended, and built a model-plan workhouse conforming to the Commission's design ideals. Elsewhere, however, Unions failed to implement the NPL as intended. Some Unions that formed later, for example, such as Pateley Bridge Union, built workhouses to outdated standards or failed to adopt national ideals at all.

Such varied implementation of the NPL among the rural workhouses of West Yorkshire reflects significant differences in historical, political, economic, and social conditions in the region. Growth and development during the nineteenth century differed substantially from one settlement to the next. Rural and agricultural areas, such as Great Ouseburn and Pateley Bridge, experienced little development during this period. Their populations remained steady, and their expansion was limited. Socially, they retained a village identity, with community-orientated values typical of settlements of their size. Skipton and Otley, conversely, industrialised rapidly. Although they began the nineteenth century as small villages with agriculture-dominated economies, they transformed dramatically. The creation of the factory system and improved transportation turned them into industrial market towns. Increased wealth and greater social mobility created a middle-class society that constructed buildings such as assembly rooms, market halls, and town halls to reflect its newfound civic pride.

Other Unions experienced industrialisation rather differently. Ripon, for example, had long been established by the beginning of the nineteenth century, and over its long history, it had already developed the civic values and institutional propensities that were elsewhere associated with sudden industrial growth. Although Ripon did expand throughout the nineteenth century, its growth was not as sharp as that of Skipton or Otley. No single industry dominated although there were many trades associated with hospitality. Owing, again, to its earlier establishment, Ripon had long established

relief systems for the poor, and private charity was firmly embedded within its culture. The development of Wetherby tells yet another story. Surrounded by an agricultural landscape, Wetherby served as a coaching stop between London and Edinburgh. Land-ownership restricted its development, and industry did not flourish as it did in Skipton and Otley. However, trades associated with the coaching industry and a regular market distinguished Wetherby from surrounding rural villages. Due to the differing cultural and economic conditions in these areas, the level of poverty varied substantially, as did the way in which each area perceived its poor.

West Yorkshire's rural Unions had very different values and priorities when it came to treatment of the poor. In some areas, charitable giving continued to relieve many paupers throughout the nineteenth century, which ultimately stopped these paupers from ever entering the workhouse at all. Relief may have been provided by the church, neighbours, the local gentry, or in some cases philanthropic industrialists. Charitable giving, as exhibited in Ripon, provided clothing, medicine, and ale to those most in need, but many did not benefit from charitable gifts, which were reserved only for those categories of paupers deemed more deserving.

Another regional practice that undermined adherence to the NPL was the provision of out-relief by the Union. Many paupers in rural areas were able to avoid the workhouse because they received out-relief from the NPL Union. Archival evidence suggests that the practise of out-relief in many regions continued long after the passing of the NPL. Regions in which paupers received out-relief tended to have more understanding attitudes towards poverty. The giving of out-relief reflects a reluctance to institutionalise the paupers in receipt of it, which may relate to a desire to preserve the family unit and echoes traditionally paternalistic attitudes towards the rural poor. Only certain categories of pauper were entitled to out-relief, however. Like the selective charity described above, variable entitlement to out-relief affirms that some paupers were always considered more deserving than others.

Paupers that were ultimately sent to the workhouse were considered in need of character reformation and moral guidance out of poverty, a policy often reflected in the built form of the workhouse. In some areas, their situation may have been considered infectious. Pauperism was believed to cause disorder, so the removal of paupers from society was essential for the protection of its citizens and the maintenance of order. Certain classes of pauper were seen as a contaminating threat even to order within the workhouse. Examples of this attitude in practice can be seen in

Pateley Bridge, in the case of vagrants, who were treated as potentially contagious and accordingly were isolated even from mainstream workhouse society as thoroughly as possible. Elsewhere, such as Great Ouseburn, vagrants were regarded somewhat less harshly, and the location and style of the vagrants' wards there reflect this nuanced difference in attitude. As both of these examples reflect, differing attitudes and values toward different classes of pauper created dramatic variation in the way in which the NPL was implemented through the built form.

Within the case area, workhouse locations, styles, and plans varied enormously. The majority of workhouses were located on the outskirts of the settlement; however, this was not always the case. In the case of Ripon Union Workhouse, for instance, the workhouse was incorporated into the town. The styles workhouses adopted also varied. Workhouses such as Skipton, Wetherby and Great Ouseburn adopted more classical styles whereas Ripon's style is Elizabethan, and Wharfedale's verges on gothic. West Yorkshire workhouses were designed based on a variety of plans, including the model plan, T-plan, corridor plan, and pavilion plan. Finer details revealed during investigation of these buildings, concerning segregation, surveillance, and the provision of heat, light, and other such facilities, also differed between workhouses.

Changes in workhouse facilities over time reveal changes in attitudes towards poverty. Some paupers in certain regions saw significant improvements in the facilities in which they were housed and in the care they received whereas for others elsewhere (or even within a given Union) the experience of life as a pauper changed little throughout the nineteenth century. The case studies that follow will explore how regional values influenced the built form of rural West Yorkshire workhouses and how these in turn impacted the lives and identities of the region's poor.

Case Study One: Skipton Union Workhouse

Skipton is a civil parish fourteen miles from Pateley Bridge in the Craven Dales, northwest Yorkshire. Historically a market town, Skipton grew throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as an agricultural, textile, and mining district, as well as a centre of tourism. In the early eighteenth century, Skipton Castle Estate owned a majority of land in the region, and Skipton itself was no more than a large village, reporting a population of just 4,000 in 1837 (Mitchell 2006: 104). In the late eighteenth century, however, improvements in transportation and the eventual transferral of land to industrial developers began to alter the dynamic of the area and the pace of its development.

Improved transportation played a particularly significant role in Skipton's development. Prior to 1847, an extension from the Leeds Liverpool Canal to Skipton constituted the town's only connection to major cities and ports. This was supplemented by the railway in 1847 and later by improvements to the road system (Rowley 1983: 126). These added transport options made it possible for Skipton to cheaply transport lime and corn to Bradford and other cities. They also allowed Skipton's factories to ship in coal at lower costs than ever before. Wool, cotton, and weaving industries thrived. Industrialisation attracted Irish migrant workers and labour from the surrounding rural areas, which greatly augmented the population of the town (Mitchell 2006). Skipton fared well even in times of economic hardship because seasonal agricultural employment and lime-washing supplemented its specialised cotton industry and vice versa. Agriculture retained prominence throughout the nineteenth century.

Reflecting the growth of civic pride often associated with industrialisation, Skipton became increasingly interested in public institutions. As a rapidly expanding industrial town, it aimed to elevate its authority and social standing on a national scale through the construction of civic buildings. These buildings illustrate Skipton's growing importance and its aspiration to pursue national trends and enforce the government's ideology. Prior to the NPL Act, there were reportedly workhouses already in operation in Skipton, Grassington, and Kettlewell (Higginbotham 2006a: 119). However, Skipton's fast-growing population included larger numbers of the poor than existing facilities could accommodate, so establishing an institution to address the problem of poverty became a priority.

Skipton Union formed on 14 January 1837, shortly after the NPL was passed. In contrast to many West Yorkshire Unions, Skipton Union erected a new workhouse almost immediately after its formation. Although Skipton Union followed national trends by adopting the NPL and constructing a model plan workhouse, it was regionally unique in doing so. Surrounding areas adamantly opposed the NPL, and NPL Workhouses were not constructed in these areas until the 1850s or even later. Skipton's growth was more concurrent with national growth, its values more in line with national values, so national legislation was more relevant to Skipton than to other rural Unions.

Forty-three Guardians representing forty-one parishes were appointed to administer the Union. The PLC authorised the expenditure of £4000 for the construction of a workhouse to house 200 inmates. The design adopted Sampson Kempthorne's model 'square' plan, which the PLC had endorsed in 1835. The workhouse was completed in 1840 (Higginbotham 2006a: 119).

Available Sources

The NMR holds the most substantial record of Skipton Union Workhouse, including partial plans, elevations, and a brief description. The RCHME survey was taken in 1993, before the conversion of the site to its current state, so it provides insight into the appearance of the site before its conversion. The description, however, is brief, and the suggested phasing does not concur with archival evidence. Conclusions as to how the site operated are limited, and the report focuses primarily on the site's exterior construction.

The remaining documentary evidence consists of the minutes from the Guardian's meetings from 1906-09, 1911-18, and 1925-30, which are fragmentary in their survival. Platt's survey for the West Riding Council (completed in 1930) provides a description of the condition of the site at the end of the NPL era. Newspapers articles and passages from *The Builder* provide additional information regarding the site's development and refer to the treatment of paupers. A series of detailed OS maps depicts the extension and demolition of the site. Importantly, the 1852 map also records room-use in the original workhouse.

Description of the building

Skipton Workhouse is located north of Gargrave Road, on the outskirts of town (fig 1.1). Originally, it was quite isolated, but a grammar school was built in close proximity in 1877, and housing developed around the workhouse grounds as the town expanded. Positioned on a steep gradient, the building

sits at a significant height from the main road. Because of its elevated position, it is highly visible and presents an impressive façade. During the NPL era, the building's physical dominance emphasised the power of the institution whilst providing a stark reminder of the consequences of pauperism. A sweeping drive provides access to the site, which offers expansive views of the surrounding area. During the NPL era, visitors entered through a porter's lodge before proceeding up the drive. The entire site is enclosed by walls, which were maintained continually throughout the NPL era to segregate the institution from the surrounding community (SGM 6/10/1906). Such isolation removed the poor from the mainstream population and positioned them physically at the margins of society, highlighting the severe social stigmatization of poverty.

Changing use of the site over time can be understood in seven phases distinguished by significant physical alterations. Phase one began with the original construction of the workhouse (fig 1.2). Its H-shaped design adopted Sampson Kempthorne's square plan, and its use during this period reflects the high ideals of a newly industrialised Skipton. As the Union continued to grow, however, and medical advances led to an appreciation for the need to maintain standards of cleanliness and the provision of specialised care, the demands upon the workhouse facilities changed. These changes culminated in the construction of a separate infirmary, northwest of the original building, in 1870; thus began phase two. As the town continued to develop, so did the workhouse. Cartographic evidence indicates that additional administrative facilities and vagrants' wards had been constructed by 1894, indicating a third phase in the history of workhouse use (fig 1.3). Medical care continued to advance throughout the late nineteenth century. Developments in treatment for the sick and the growing population of the town resulted in the construction of a new infirmary, designed by James Hartley, in 1901. The construction of the new infirmary marks the beginning of phase four, which also saw the conversion of the existing infirmary into a Nurses' Home, an indication of the Guardians' desire to encourage qualified staff to work in the workhouse. Hartley also designed a new receiving ward during phase four. The Guardians' desire to separate inmate classes within the institution and provide better care for the inmates perceived as most deserving was realised in 1928, the beginning of phase five, with the conversion of the north range of the main building for the use of children and the infirm (fig 1.4). Also during phase five, a boiler-house was constructed near the original workhouse building. The addition of a wooden isolation block between 1909 and 1930 also took place during phase five, reflecting the continual development of medical facilities.

When the Poor Law Unions were abolished, in 1930, the workhouse passed to the West Riding County Council and was made a Public Assistance Institution. Buildings that had survived through the end of phase five were significantly altered during phase six, which commenced with the conversion of the site to Raikeswood Hospital in 1945. The male vagrants' ward was demolished in 1958, and the porter's lodge in 1971. The early-1990s conversion of the site to its current residential use, phase seven, has involved even more alteration and the demolition of earlier buildings.

Exterior Grounds

OS maps show that high walls divided the exterior grounds into exercise yards for the inmates during the NPL era (fig 1.5). As previously mentioned, a boundary wall ran around the site. The space surrounding the main building was highly segregated, providing separate exercise yards for men, women, infirm men, and infirm women. OS maps show the northern exercise yards were used by infirm men and infirm women, and the infirm women's yard was subdivided, presumably to provide a separate yard for children. This suggests a desire to impede the influence of the adults upon the children. There appears to have been a small enclosed space around the male vagrants' ward, where tasks such as stone-breaking were undertaken, but this is not repeated in the female vagrants' ward, which appears not to have featured an exercise yard, presumably due to differing gender perceptions. Although no mention of work for female vagrants appears in the documentary evidence, oakum-picking was a task commonly given to female vagrants (Fowler 2007: 197).

The space around the old infirmary was enclosed. However, in 1901, the building became a Nurses' Home, and the walls were removed. Clearly controlling the space of the staff was no longer a priority. The space around the new infirmary was initially enclosed and appears to have been divided in two to separate men and women (fig 1.6). Initially, the area surrounding the workhouse was segregated, as per government ideals. Although sight between the various exercise yards was obscured, the sound of paupers undertaking various tasks would have been audible; indeed, paupers might even have been able to hear the voices of family members from whom they had been separated upon entering the workhouse. The permission of inmates to hear one another across segregated areas may have been intended to encourage their desire for reunion with loved ones and thus to motivate them to endeavour to alter their situation. Such a tactic would reflect the NPL presumption that paupers were voluntarily poor. In the early years of the NPL at least, the developing industrial town of Skipton evidently firmly advocated NPL ideals.

Entrance Block

The entrance block was used as a porter's lodge and as offices for the Relieving Officer, who assessed those applying for relief and advised the Guardians what relief, if any, should be offered (Fowler 2007: 202) (fig 1.7). It was also used as a committee and waiting-room for the Board of Guardians (Platt 1930). Interestingly, the addition of offices to the porter's lodge removed the Guardians from the workhouse, isolating them from the inmates and elevating their status over that of the paupers. Nationally, it was more common for the Guardians' Boardroom and porter's lodge to be combined within the workhouse. The location of the boardroom and lodge in the entrance block may have been a functional arrangement intended to improve communication between administration and staff, but it also provided an opportunity to emphasise the authority of the Guardians over those entering the workhouse immediately on their arrival, thus asserting the regulatory power of the institution.

There is some confusion as to the timing of the development of the entrance block. W.H. Dawson describes 'handsome board offices erected at considerable expense' a few years prior to the 1882 publication of his book (Dawson 1882). The RCHME report concludes that the entrance block was constructed at the same time as the receiving ward (1902/3), but the first mention of the entrance block in the Kelly's Directory is in 1927: 'The institution has been enlarged by the addition of new offices, infirmary, boardroom and receiving ward...' (Kelly Directory Yorks WR 1927: 869). Cartographic evidence supports the dates published by Dawson. The entrance block first appears on OS maps dating 1888-1914, suggesting it must have been constructed during an earlier phase (fig 1.1). Cartographic evidence indicates that the entrance block was constructed during phase three, altered frequently during phases three to five, and demolished in 1971, during phase six.

Main Building

The central location and elevated position of the main building made it the focus of the workhouse site (fig 1.10-13). The two/three-storey, 21-bay, stone building, with a Welsh slate roof, conformed to an H-plan, adopting a plain, classical style. It focuses on a central, seven-bay, three-storey block surmounted by a slight pediment. The central projection is flanked by two-storey, seven-bay wings that terminate in projecting, gabled cross-wings. The entire range is built over a rusticated basement. Entrance is gained via a series of small steps to a central ashlar doorway flanked by round-headed windows that light the hallway within. The windows feature stone lintels whereas the gables of the cross-wings feature blind oculi in stone surrounds. The connotations of power and control

associated with a classical style invited visitors to make assumptions about the power and control of the institution before entering. A classical style portrayed the status and eminence of the workhouse, a visual representation of civic pride intended to elevate the social standing of those administering the institution.

The east and west elevations were radically altered at the start of phase six. Rectangular stone lintels remaining in the fabric indicate that the two-storey gable-ends originally consisted of three bays. A single-storey projection originally adjoined the west gable-end.

Internal

Rooms used for administrative purposes, including the Master's office and a messroom for officers, were located in the central block, either side of the hall (Platt 1930: 16) (fig 1.8). The central block featured an entrance hall spanning the width of the building, with composition floors, plastered-and-painted walls, and an open fireplace. By 1930, the open fireplace had been supplemented by hot-water pipes and radiators (Platt 1930: 15).

The first floor was partially used by the Guardians, until they were moved to the entrance block during phase three. The first floor was reached by a stone staircase, with a half landing providing access to the original boardroom. The doorway and windows featured elaborate mouldings and architraves with sunken panels below the windows (RCHME 1993: 3). This area of the workhouse features the most elaborate fixtures and fittings, clearly indicating the high status attributed to the role of the Guardian.

The central location of the Master provided him with a predominant position of authority and elevated his position through the architectural form. The Master's quarters, which consisted of a kitchen, dining-room, bathroom, sitting-room, and bedroom, also occupied the central block. The inclusion of a dining-room suggests the Master did not always dine with the inmates and may have entertained guests in his quarters. The floors throughout this area were boarded, and the walls were papered or plastered. Fireplaces and hot-water pipes provided heat throughout. All these features provided a level of comfort not repeated in many areas of the workhouse.

The central block extended to a second floor, where by 1930 there were three bedrooms, a bathroom, and a sewing room, all featuring boarded floors and open fireplaces (Platt 1930: 15).

Female inmates undertook sewing, which suggests they may have been permitted into this area of the workhouse not originally designated for their use. The importance of enforcing a sense of place amongst inmates through the strict designation of workhouse space evidently began to weaken towards the end of the NPL era, a possible reflection of Guardians' growing realization that poverty was not necessarily the fault of the pauper.

Inmates were divided by gender into the two wings. Initially, all inmates were housed in the same block, but as the institution evolved, they were designated separate areas of the workhouse. The female wing included two dayrooms and a bathroom with a bath and three lavatories. All three rooms featured boarded floors, painted walls, and open fireplaces. A heated washing room with a flagged floor and three lavatories was also provided. Similarly, the ground floor of the male wing featured two dayrooms and a tailor's shop in which men could be employed in useful activities. A tailor's shop may have provided an opportunity for inmates to learn a skill that could make them more employable in Skipton's successful textile industry.

Access to the first floor was gained via wooden staircases in each wing. Fourteen-bed, six-bed, and seven-bed wards provided accommodation for the female inmates. In 1930, each ward featured boarded floors, painted walls, and an open fireplace supplemented by hot-water pipes. Two W.C.s were located off the landing, with an iron fire escape providing an emergency exit. Accommodation in the male wing was similar to that in the female wing, consisting of one fourteen-bed and three eight-bed dormitories, for which there was only one W.C. (Platt 1930: 15). The severe lack of sanitary facilities suggests a particularly low level of comfort for inmates in this area of the workhouse. Such poor facilities at the end of the Poor Law era suggest that attitudes towards this inmate class had altered very little.

Main Block: North Range

The north (demolished) and south ranges were mirror images of one other (fig 1.14-15). The north range was probably used as an infirmary until phase five, when it was converted to accommodate the elderly and children. The seventeen-bay, T-plan building centred on a two-bay projection surmounted by a pediment, which was flanked by eleven- and six-bay wings. The projection extended south to include sanitary and service accommodation. A further sanitary tower, containing a W.C. on each floor, projected north from the end of the east wing (RCHME 1993: 3). Windows within the block all featured stone surrounds with rectangular lintels, interrupted jambs, and individual sills.

Internal

The north range was divided into two wings, with the elderly men in the east wing and the elderly women and children in the west, which mirrored the gender divisions in the south range. Such divisions illustrate the extent to which the Union conformed to guidelines concerning segregation. Allowing the children to mix with the elderly women suggests that the elderly were perceived as more worthy inmates, whose influence would not damage the children's characters. In fact, it was not uncommon for elderly women to help with the care of the children as a form of required work (Crompton 1997; Longmate 1974).

On the ground floor, the men's accommodation consisted of a twelve-bed dormitory, a dayroom, and a bathroom. A terrazzo double staircase per wing allowed independent access to each wing, further enforcing segregation. Accommodation on the first floor included another dayroom, a twelve-bed dormitory, a two-bed dormitory, a bathroom, and twelve W.C.s. For the women, there was a dayroom and a twelve-bed ward, which contained four cots and a bathroom. The provision of new, separate sanitary facilities suggests that treatment of the elderly changed substantially during the NPL period.

Documentary records indicate that after 1907, the Guardians offered out-relief to the elderly, who were also receiving state pensions at that time (SGM 9/2/1907). This relief would have helped keep this category of pauper out of the workhouse and indicates that towards the end of the NPL era, the elderly were seen as more worthy of public relief. Such sympathies toward the elderly are documented in passages referring to treats for the elderly in the Guardians' Minutes (SGM 5/12/1925).

The facilities provided for children in this area of the workhouse appear much more comfortable than those in the able-bodied wards, reflecting the perception of children as worthier of relief. The children's ward contained eleven cots, two beds, a day nursery, and a bathroom. The nursery attendant had a separate bedroom attached to this area, facilitating a higher level of care and more thorough surveillance. Staff facilities also included a duty room and service kitchen. The children's ward had terrazzo floors and sash windows, and the walls were all plastered and painted. Hot-water pipes reportedly provided heating throughout by 1930 (Platt 1930: 16).

Skipton had developed a reputation by the early twentieth century for keeping children out of the workhouse building, housing them instead in cottage homes or boarding-out accommodation until they were eighteen (SGM 12/1/1927). They were also sometimes placed in industrial schools. In 1906, for example, the *Guardians* ordered 'that David Luiwn and John Luiwn be sent to the Humber Industrial School stationed at Hull and maintained thereon at a cost of 8/- per week each together with the usual outfit for clothing' (SGM 25/8/1906). It was common for children who were not placed in such institutions to be placed in internships with local businesses or farmers (SGM 29/8/1925). *Guardians* also encouraged the emigration of mentally and physically able children to Canada while they were still young 'so they [could] be trained to take their part in the development of the empire' (SGM 12/1/1929). Emigration gave children opportunities away from the taint of pauperism and reduced overcrowding in the workhouse, towns, and cities while also advancing the nation's colonial and capitalist interests (Crompton 1997; Fowler 2007: 146; Thompson 1989).

Children also received special treatment, including the services of a dentist employed by the workhouse for them and excursions to seaside resorts, such as Morecombe Bay (SGM 15/8/1925; 14/10/1911). By July 1914, the *Guardians* were discussing the permanent removal of children from the workhouse, and by the end of the year they were looking to purchase a house in which to accommodate children separately (SGM 2/12/1914). The removal of children from the workhouse was advocated by the Local Government Board from the 1890s, and it had become law by 1913 that no child over the age of three should be kept in the workhouse (Fowler 2007: 148). Such decisions reflect changing attitude towards children, whom it was believed no longer benefited from the workhouse or deserved to remain there. The *Guardians* clearly did not want these children to repeat the mistakes of their parents. Education, emigration, apprenticeships, and ultimately the permanent removal of children from the workhouse lifted the stigma of pauperism from this class of inmate.

Central Range

Originally, central corridor provided access to the central range (fig 16-17). The corridor comprised a kitchen and a dining hall, which were connected to a two-storey octagonal hub. The dining-room featured boarded floors and was heated by hot-water pipes. In contrast, the well-equipped kitchen had flagged flooring and painted walls. Adjoining the kitchen was a series of stores, all with flagged floors. A boiler-house was attached to the kitchen.

Inmates' workhouse experience often involved participation in designated works. A plumber's shop, joiner's shop, and wood-chopping shed were in close proximity (Platt 1930: 15-16). The prominence of the workshops within the building strongly reiterates the workhouse ideal of relief in exchange for work and the Guardians' intention to teach inmates moral lessons through work. The workshops also contributed toward the attainment of self-sufficiency. Female inmates worked in the washhouse and laundry, in which the walls had glazed brick dado with painted upper sections; these were located near the female wing (Platt 1930: 15).

The Master's occupation of the central hub allowed him to survey the exercise yards thoroughly without travelling any great distance. Multi-faced observatories allowed the Master to oversee multiple exercise yards simultaneously and to maintain order. The Master's prominent position within the building reflected his significance and status; his elevated position implied a godlike status that increased his ability to influence the actions of the inmates through its suggestions of power and supremacy. High-level surveillance indicates how untrustworthy and uncivilised the able-bodied inmate was considered to be.

Infirmiry (Nurses' Home)

The beginning of phase two in 1870 was marked by the creation of a separate 'fever hospital' for the workhouse, undoubtedly intended to prevent the spread of contagious disease (RCHME 1993) (fig 1.18). Some time after the construction of a new infirmiry in 1901, this building became the Nurses' Home. The five-bay, T-plan, stone building with a slate roof was of a similar style to the main complex. Entrance was gained through an ashlar-framed doorway located in a central projection. Above the entrance is a round-arched stair window, with a moulded stone surround and pediment. Cast-iron grilles set within stone square blocks in the front and rear elevations allowed for ventilation. Though functional, these iron grilles also evoked prison architecture and emphasised institutional control. By 1909, a two-storey sanitary annex had been added to the northeast corner of the building (RCHME 1993: 4).

Internal

Platt considered the Nurses' Home insufficient for providing the comforts deemed 'very necessary if the nursing staffs are to attain a high standard of efficiency' (Platt 1930: 16). Clearly government inspectors encouraged high standards of accommodation for nursing staff, in order to encourage a good working practise. The front entrance led to a hall with a stone staircase, which rose to a half-

landing. Originally, each floor had a tall, two-bay ward on either side of the central staircase. These were heated by stacks at either end of the building (fig 1.19). These spaces were divided during post-NPL phases. The rear wing featured paired, narrow windows, suggesting it housed sanitary facilities. The passage between the two rooms likely led to a kitchen and scullery on the ground floor and staff accommodation and a sitting-room on the first floor. In general, the floors were boarded, and the walls were painted or papered. At Skipton, the insufficient facilities did not encourage high-quality work from staff; standards of care likely suffered.

Staff nurses are consistently mentioned in the documentary records. In the early twentieth century, rooms were converted to provide extra staff quarters, and uniforms including shoes were purchased (SGM 28/9/1912; 23/11/1912). Such provision, however, was clearly deemed inadequate by the nurses. The turnover of nursing staff was high. Nurses' positions were occasionally terminated after their probationary period, and it was reported in the minutes that staff had been accused by the press of inappropriate behaviour and treatment on multiple occasions. The Relieving Officer and Master were also dismissed for misconduct (SGM 12/1/1927; 3/12/1927). The minutes do not offer the details of such misconduct, but it is known to have been common throughout the NPL system. Poor training and lack of understanding of patients' and inmates' needs are often cited by historians in explanation of poor staffing levels (Fowler 2007), but poor facilities could also have affected staff behaviour.

The New Infirmary

The new infirmary was authorised in 1899 at a cost of £4,000 (*The Builder* 26/1/1901: 93). It was designed by James Hartley and completed in 1901 (fig 1.20-19) (LGB 291 1900 XXXIII 461). The Chairman of the Board of Guardians, Mr. J.A. Slingsby, reportedly said the new infirmary was located in a 'splendidly elevated' position above the original workhouse. Although it was considered as 'nothing elaborate in design and had few luxury's, there was everything necessary to make a patients stay comfortable' [sic] (*Telegraph and Argus* 18/1/1901). Such comments clearly illustrate how proud the Guardians were of this development.

The philanthropic image of the Guardians was promoted through the building's design. The two-storey infirmary adopted a style sympathetic to earlier buildings (fig 20-21). It centred on a five-bay projection flanked by three-bay wings, each featuring a centrally placed sanitary annex. The central,

round-headed entrance was surmounted by a pediment and featured a keystone dated 1900. The date-stone reiterates the Guardians' pride toward the new, modern facilities.

The new infirmary clearly reflected advances in contemporary hospital planning, which emphasised the importance of fresh air and ventilation in preventing disease and hastening recovery (Taylor 1991b). The front of the central block included a veranda supported by cast-iron columns (fig 1.22). The entire infirmary featured sash windows and was ventilated by means of two circular ridge ventilators. An isolation block was also constructed, to relieve the most contagious sick. The block (now demolished) was located in the far northeast corner of the site.

It appears the infirmary was always trying to catch up with improving standards of medical care and technology. In its original plans, the Union underestimated its needs and allocated inadequate funds for the infirmary. This short-sightedness resulted in the need for an extension just six years after original completion (SGM 18/5/1907; 26/6/1907). Due to an increase in tubercular disease, the LGB granted £3,150, almost the cost of the original infirmary, to make necessary improvements (LGB 1908 XXVIII 753).

In 1908, James Hartley designed an extension to the west wing to accommodate the increasing number of patients. The changes meant the demolition of the original sanitary annex to incorporate a five-bay extension, which adopted the same style as the original building. A two-storey sanitary tower was added to the west wing to serve the new extension (RCHME 1993: 5). Additional improvements were made throughout later phases, including the addition of service lifts (SGM 2/6/1927).

Internal

The entrance provided access to a central corridor, from which the wards were reached (fig 1.9). The central block housed the nurses' quarters, bathrooms, and dayrooms (Platt 1930: 16). Inmates were accommodated in the wings. During phases four and five, men were accommodated on the ground floor and women and children on the first floor. Each floor held two wards, featuring partly wooden-block and partly stone floors, plastered/painted walls, and hot-water-pipe heating throughout. The male ward could accommodate 24 patients and included a duty room for the nurse, a service kitchen, and a bathroom. The first floor accommodated 39 female patients. It also featured a labour ward

and space for thirteen cots, an operating theatre, and a dayroom. These facilities were considered far from satisfactory in relation to 1930s standards (Platt 1930: 16).

Despite government reports citing the inadequacy of the building, the Guardians frequently received letters of thanks from local residents. On one occasion, for example, the minutes record: '[R]ead letter of Mr, Knowles, Gargrave, expressing grateful thanks to the Boards officers for their kindness towards Clara Knowles whilst a patient in the infirmary' (SGM 23/3/1929). Such sentiments imply that facilities were seen as a benefit by the people using the institution and their relatives. The date of this letter, 1929, suggests that by the end of the NPL era, Skipton Workhouse had become a hospital for the poor. Workhouses were used increasingly to serve the needs of the sick throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; in this respect, Skipton Workhouse evolved in a typical fashion.

During the early twentieth century, the Guardians sought increasingly to remove mentally and physically impaired paupers from the workhouse. Inmates who were either deaf or epileptic were sent to special colonies and 'imbeciles' to the county asylum, as recommended in the Mental Health Act (SGM 15/8/1915; 30/6/1906). Skipton Union frequently received letters from neighbouring Unions requesting that it receive 'imbeciles' into its infirmary, but the Guardians always refused. Their refusal suggests that the Union did not deem the workhouse equipped to handle the needs of the mentally ill, who were sent to local asylums instead.

Vagrants' Wards

Conditions within the vagrants' wards were particularly basic, in keeping with the lowly position of vagrants in the workhouse social hierarchy. Both vagrants' wards were constructed during phase three (fig 1.7). The 1930 survey reports that the accommodation for male vagrants (demolished) consisted of association wards with boarded floors, a top light, a W.C. in each ward, and heating via hot-water pipes. Male accommodation also included 27 separate cells with flagged floors, no artificial light, and painted dado lime with white-wash above. The separate-cell system maintained severe segregation and used the building to control the vagrants rather than relying on staff. Amongst additional facilities were two W.C.s, a bathroom containing two baths, and a small dayroom with a wood block floor and an open fireplace (Platt 1930: 14). In 1929, there was still no hot water supplied to the area (SGM 26/1/1929).

Unlike the male vagrants' ward, the female vagrants' ward survived the phase-seven development (fig 1.23-24). The building that was to house the female vagrants' ward was built in 1904 (phase four) and was originally the receiving ward. Prior to 1904, the male and female vagrants had been relieved in the same ward, a two-storey stone structure with a Welsh slate roof, built in similar style to the rest of the site. It has a wide, central, arched entrance, with surrounds similar to those used in the new infirmary set between the ground-floor windows. The upper floor is lit by gable-end windows and small roof and ridge lights, which carried a central ventilator. Generally, few female vagrants were reported to have used vagrants' wards during the NPL era, and even fewer did so in later years. The Departmental Committee for vagrancy recommended that female vagrants and their children be accommodated in the female wards in the main workhouse when appropriate (Fowler 2007: 189); there, they would receive a higher standard of care than male vagrants. By 1 January 1906, out of the 9,768 vagrants occupying vagrants' wards throughout the country, only 886 were women. Given these figures, it is surprising that Skipton built a ward for its female vagrants. Perhaps attitudes toward female vagrancy had not evolved in Skipton as they had elsewhere due to the regions deeply embedded capitalist values or the sheer numbers seeking work, so Guardians still felt it necessary to keep the vagrants and their perceived infectiousness away from the rest of the workhouse inmates.

The Guardians' Minutes report that child vagrants were sometimes detained in the vagrants' wards. This was uncommon prior to WWI, but after the war, many returning veterans and their families turned to vagrancy due to a lack of work. Allowances do appear to have been made for children. Unlike other vagrants, for example, child vagrants were not discharged on Sundays (SGM 23/3/1929). However, given that the Children's Act of 1908 allowed Guardians to remove children from the care of unsuitable parents, that they were instead kept with parents in the vagrants' wards (especially as late as 1929) reflects a desire to preserve the family unit and prevent corruption of the mainstream population.

Skipton Union frequently complained that lack of space in the vagrants' wards necessitated the early release of vagrants (SGM 17/7/1926). As an alternative to early release in the prevention of overcrowding, the Guardians frequently supported the implementation of labour colonies for vagrants, so that the habitual vagrant could be detained and made to work for his maintenance (SGM 23/12/1911). In contrast to national policy, Skipton Union utilised the labour potential of the vagrants in its charge. In the early twentieth century, vagrants were used as gardeners in the grounds, and during the war, vagrants provided extra labour in the workhouse (SGM 12/9/1914;

10/10/1925). This was not a common measure, as it meant allowed vagrants to interact with permanent inmates. Because vagrants were considered the least deserving poor, this was not considered desirable (Fowler 2007: 182). Putting vagrants to work within the workhouse may have been a temporary solution deemed necessary during the war years, when the number of able-bodied men in the workhouse decreased due to compulsory national service.

Conclusions

Skipton was the first Union to build a workhouse in West Yorkshire after the passing of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. Its swift construction contradicts the general trend in the region, which was to resist the NPL and continue with earlier, provincial systems of relief until at least the second half of the nineteenth century. As a rapidly expanding industrial town, Skipton clearly aimed to elevate its authority and social standing on a national scale through the construction of civic buildings. Such iconic buildings clearly illustrate Skipton's growing importance and aspiration to pursue national trends and enforce government ideology.

Because it built a workhouse so promptly after the 1834 Act, like other Unions of its time, Skipton adopted the model plan endorsed by the government and embraced stylistic features typical of an early workhouse. Its plain classical style, elevated position, segregation based on an H-plan, and central hub allowing increased surveillance were iconic of workhouses constructed during the 1830s. The isolated location, model plan, and classical style adopted in Skipton created an image of dominance, threat, and authority conforming to the stereotype of early NPL institutions.

Although Skipton adopted the nationally recommended model plan, it adapted the plan to suit its perceived needs, scaling down the facilities by replacing two of the wings included in the traditional plan with walls. As a result, Skipton Workhouse was unable to segregate inmates to the same extent other model-plan workhouses did. The replacement of wings with walls substantially reduced the cost of the institution, however, a desirable outcome for a region where extensive facilities were not deemed necessary. The original plan enforced gender segregation but offered limited provisions for the separation of paupers by class. Architectural changes during the NPL period enabled the gradual division of paupers into separate buildings by class and the removal of certain classes of pauper from the workhouse entirely. Differentiation by category is especially evident in the treatment of sick inmates, for whom a separate block was provided from 1870.

Starting in the 1860s, advances in medical science led to improvements in the medical services provided by the NPL Unions. In line with national trends, Skipton constructed a separate infirmary in 1870. It was more ornate in design than the original buildings, which elevated its status over that of the rest of the workhouse. In 1901, it was superseded by a new infirmary, to which improvements were made continually, indicating an ongoing effort to implement medical advances and accommodate the increasing number of patients. Although Skipton created separate medical facilities around the same time as neighbouring Unions, forty years had elapsed since its establishment before an infirmary was constructed (whereas Unions established later included separate medical facilities in their original plans or created them shortly thereafter). Skipton's relative delay suggests that it was less receptive to change than neighbouring Unions, likely due to its earlier establishment (relative to medical advancements) and correspondingly embedded tradition.

Specialised staff associated with increased medical care required accommodation. Upon completion of the new infirmary in 1901, the old infirmary became accommodation for the nurses. This arrangement contrasts with that of workhouses such as Ripon, where the existing infirmary was demolished to make way for new facilities and nurses were housed in the infirmary building. The designation of a building for staff indicates the comparative importance of their role in Skipton, an interpretation corroborated by extensive discussion of staff suitability in the documentary evidence.

The provision of separate accommodation reflects broader changes in the staff/inmate hierarchy. During phase three, the Guardians relocated from the workhouse to the entrance block, a move not emulated by the Guardians of neighbouring Unions. A combination of factors resulted in this decision, including a shortage of space in the workhouse building and an increased desire amongst Guardians to separate themselves from the paupers in order to physically enhance their status. The status of the elderly and children also improved during the NPL period. They continued to receive out-relief despite the introduction of pensions and the Education Act. The creation of a specialised ward in 1928 indicates that the elderly and children were not entirely removed from the workhouse, but when they were admitted to the workhouse, they experienced better conditions than the average pauper. In contrast to the elevated position of the elderly and children, the condition of vagrants' accommodation did not improve.

Initially, the long-term aim of the Union appears to have been a balance between self-sufficiency and general pauper improvement. To this end, the workhouse contained tailor's shops and work yards

and used trained staff to aid in the running of the institution. By the end of the Poor Law, however, it is clear that the Guardians' aims had shifted to focus primarily on the improvement of the lives of paupers they considered most worthy. Increasingly, they provided children, the elderly, the disabled, and the infirm with separate higher-quality blocks, out-relief, and funding for external specialised institutions. For the able-bodied and vagrant paupers in Skipton Union workhouse, though, there was little improvement of conditions in the hundred years of NPL history.

Case Study Two: Ripon Union Workhouse

Located on the River Ure in the heart of the West Yorkshire countryside, Ripon is a cathedral city dating from 886 AD. Ripon's society flourished throughout the eighteenth century, centring on a spacious market square, town hall, theatre, and assembly rooms (Bumstead 1972: 47-8). The early arrival of transportation with the construction of the canal in 1773 brought valuable supplies to the area from neighbouring cities. No single industry dominated. Seventy-seven trades were recorded in 1837, with the city's 39 inns and 16 bars making hospitality and entertainment its largest industries. The majority of the workforce, however, consisted of general labourers and domestic servants (Bumstead 1972: 56-7).

In the early nineteenth century, Ripon was described as a 'large well-built town' (Farrer 1806 cited Bumstead 1972: 47). The town expanded throughout the Victorian period, particularly during the first half, but whereas the populations of neighbouring industrial market towns like Skipton increased sharply, Ripon's population rose gradually (Younge 2004: 60). The addition of the railway in 1847 transformed transportation links and enabled the development of large new employers, such as the British Iron and Implement Works, maltings, and engineering works. A small number of mills also opened at this time but closed down in the early twentieth century.

Already an established town, Ripon had a history of constructing civic buildings, including a workhouse and a House of Correction. Steady population growth meant that a parish-led public assistance system for the poor had developed long before 1834. Prior to 1834, the parish relief system operated two workhouses. One was likely located in a house at Sharow, the other within the Archbishop's Manor-House in Ripon, where the courthouse now stands (Higginbotham 2006a: 114). The Ripon Minster's overseer organised relief for the poor throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by utilising volunteers and paying a Master and Matron. In 1777, a parliamentary report recorded that John Aislabie MP donated land for a new workhouse in Ripon (Higginbotham 2007: 114). Such acts of patronage towards the poor were common under the OPL. Accommodating 30 inmates (Higginbotham 2006a), the workhouse was assisted by a public dispensary, three almshouses, and a House of Correction on St. Marygate (Bumstead 1972: 59). Charities supplemented this scheme by providing clothing, medicine, ale, and even tobacco to those most in need (Younge 2004: 59).

In line with neighbouring Yorkshire towns, Ripon opposed the NPL. Local administrators saw the act as interference in local matters and resisted its implementation until 25 October 1852, when Ripon Union finally formed (Younge 2004: 60). Chadwick suggests that the 'great' families of the area and the Mayor of Ripon opposed the concept of electing Guardians and thus prevented the implementation of the NPL (Chadwick 2008a). Resistance toward the election of Guardians may suggest the gentry considered existing systems of relief adequate. Eventually, the Union was overseen by 36 Guardians representing 32 parishes, encompassing a population of 13,147 (Higginbotham 2006a: 114).

Soon after the establishment of the Union, a new workhouse was commissioned, despite debates amongst the Guardians as to the necessity of the expense (RGM 15/2/1953). The new building was constructed in 1854, replacing the existing poorhouse on Allhallowgate. The workhouse was designed by William Perkin and Elisha Backhouse, a well-known partnership from Leeds to whom the designs for Armley Gaol and Leeds Union Workhouse are also attributed. Alterations to initial designs for Ripon Workhouse included '...a more capacious dining hall being erected than the one exhibited in the plans' (RGM 22/3/1853). Extending the original plans in the designs phase is surprising as Guardians were renowned for simplifying plans due to concerns of expense. Such improvements may illustrate more concern for the inmates' living conditions than that exhibited elsewhere. Ripon may display more Victorian paternalism than its neighbouring Unions due to its gradual growth and more substantial heritage.

Available Sources

Because in recent years the site has been divided up for various uses, its individual buildings have not all undergone the same level of alteration. The RCHME 1996 report proposes possible use and phasing for each building but offers only a basic description (RCHME 1996a). In 2007, as part of Ripon Workhouse Museum's expansion, Woodhall Planning and Conservation completed a conservation management plan outlining past and future development of the entrance block and vagrants' wards (Woodhall Planning and Conservation 2007). This report is detailed compared to the RCHME report and offers an in-depth discussion of how these spaces may have been used during the NPL. The rest of the site, however, remained outside the scope of the project.

There is more documentary evidence for Ripon Workhouse than for other rural workhouses in West Yorkshire. Platt's survey (1930) gives the most detail concerning the internal workings of the building

at the end of the NPL. This evidence is valuable because the main building and the infirmary have recently been stripped of their internal fabric, about which little was recorded prior to removal. Most useful are the Guardians' Minutes, of which surviving documentation dates from 1852-63, and the Master's Report Book, which dates from 1855-1922. The Master's Report Book is especially useful as it details the workings of the institution on a daily basis. Ripon Museum Trust has accumulated and analysed other fragments of documentary evidence, particularly old photographs, as part of its unpublished interpretation of the history of the vagrants' wards (Chadwick 2008a, 2008b, 2008c). The work of Anthony Chadwick is a valuable resource. His research on workhouses informs a number of booklets available from the Ripon Museum; these explore the history of Ripon Union from a curatorial perspective. (Chadwick provided a summary of his research for the purpose of this thesis.)

OS maps depict the location of the workhouse in relation to other civic and institutional buildings, including the town hall, courthouse, and prison. The workhouse was always integrated into the populated area (fig 2.1), which is surprising given that workhouses were usually isolated from society. Unlike Skipton, which never had an OPL workhouse in town, Ripon had always had a workhouse on this central site, so local residents were presumably accustomed to its proximity. The maps also indicate that the space within the institutional walls was highly segregated. As with all workhouses in the study area, no original plans exist for Ripon Workhouse. However, plans do exist for the later infirmary, and a detailed plan of entire complex made in 1930 survives.

Description of the Building

Ripon Workhouse replaced an earlier poorhouse on Allhallowgate. The site is located within the town, a short distance from the market square, Minster, courthouse, and town hall. The entrance, set within a small garden, is situated directly off Allhallowgate. The front of the workhouse appears to have always featured a lawn, albeit originally surrounded by a railing, which gives the building a more approachable, sympathetic feel than, for instance, Skipton Workhouse's domineering presence. An archway in the entrance block and a drive leading up to the east side of the building allow access to the complex.

Use of the site over time comprises seven phases, of which the NPL era spans one-three. Phase one began in 1852 with the construction of the new workhouse, which included an entrance block, the main building, a children's ward, and a laundry (fig 2.2). The planners demonstrated unusual foresight as compared to that reflected in the initial designs of earlier workhouses such as Skipton,

where the development of a children's ward, for example, came much later. Ripon embraced a more specialised approach to the various classes of inmate than that implemented by other workhouses in the region at this time. Despite their foresight, however, planners failed to adequately prepare for the needs of the infirm. The addition of an infirmary in 1874-5 marks the start of the second phase of the site's use, which also saw the extension of the vagrants' wards and work sheds. During this phase, the number of sick entering the workhouse continued to grow, so it was not long before further renovation was required. In 1895, phase three began with the demolition of the original infirmary and the construction of its replacement (fig 2.3). A mortuary was added in 1895 and a washhouse in 1899. Attitudes towards vagrancy evolved in subsequent decades such that in 1927, improvements to the vagrants' wards were undertaken, probably in response to overcrowding. These improvements mark the start of phase four, during which the workhouse continued to operate in roughly its originally intended capacity.

Phases one to three will be the focus of the following discussion, but a number of significant alterations were made to the building after the NPL was abolished. The abolition of the NPL in 1930, which led to the conversion of the site to a Public Assistance Institution, marks the beginning of phase four (fig 2.4). During phase four, the main building underwent many interior alterations to facilitate more convenient use. Phase five began in 1945, when the site began to operate as a hospital, which continued until the hospital was moved to a purpose-built site. The closure of the hospital marks the start of the most recent phase, phase six, during which the site has been divided and converted for a number of different purposes. Currently, the main building is used by Social Services, and the entrance block and vagrants' wards are occupied by the Ripon Workhouse Museum. That the workhouse is now the subject of a museum reflects current attitudes towards the workhouse as a remote and archaic social system. The most recent renovation was the 2005 redevelopment of the infirmary for the use as a community centre, which reflects the building's continuing use as a community facility. In contrast to neighbouring workhouses, such as Skipton, Ripon continues to serve civic functions.

Entrance Block

In stark contrast to Skipton's classical-style workhouse, Ripon adopted an Elizabethan style similar to earlier almshouses, reflecting Ripon's more paternalistic attitudes towards the poor (fig 2.5-6). Constructed at the beginning of phase one, the two-storey, three-bay, red-brick entrance block features a central archway providing access to the centre of the site. The first floor features an

ornate triplet window in the centre, with two smaller windows on either side. The first-floor windows are surmounted by a Dutch-style gable incorporating a small, oblong window to the roof space. This style is very similar to that of Leeds Workhouse. The windows at the front of the building feature stone lintels and coining whereas those at the rear are composed of bull-nosed bricks. A band inscribed 'Erected AD 1854' runs across the front of the building.

Non-inmates entered through the central archway, clearly differentiating themselves from the inmates, who entered through the receiving wards. The receiving wards were located in single-storey, three-bay wings either side of the entrance block. During phases one to six, entry to either wing could be gained via bay two. (Entry to the wings via bay two was blocked during phase seven.) A range with a hipped roof projected to the rear of the west wing.

Internal

On the west side of the ground floor, the central area of the entrance block currently consists of storage rooms (fig 2.4-5). In phase one, they were used as a gatehouse and occupied by the porter. This space allowed the porter to see anyone approaching the workhouse. A porter was appointed to receive inmates into the institution, but he was also required to have a trade, such as shoemaking, indicating that he was partly employed to teach the inmates skills it was believed would ultimately improve their character (*Ripon Gazette* 18/3/1869 cited Chadwick 2008b). The role of the porter was clearly varied, as he not only provided a point of surveillance and control but also supervised the work of inmates. The porter's accommodation comprised a sitting-room, a W.C. (Platt 1930), and later a bedroom (RGM 1865). Limited sanitary facilities were provided for the porter, but his area did have separate offices for the Master of the workhouse and a registrar (Platt 1930: 24; RLB 10/1860: 132). There was also a waiting-room with plastered walls and an open fireplace in this area of the entrance block. Clearly, a level of comfort was offered to a visitor before he/she was identified as a prospective inmate or a visitor with another purpose.

Access to the first floor is gained via an external stone staircase leading from an open, round-headed arch in the centre of the east wall of the archway. The first floor consists of one large room and two smaller rooms, all of which are currently used as storage. In the NPL era, the first floor was used by the Guardians as a boardroom, fitted with tiered furniture and providing a view over the site. A small committee room and a waiting-room for out-relief cases were located next to the boardroom, along with a further adjoining room. The reception of out-relief cases in this area of the workhouse clearly

distanced them from the inmates, a reminder of their privileged status likely intended to make them grateful for the Guardians' generosity. Gas was introduced to the Guardians' Rooms in December 1865, which presumably increased heat and light (RGM 12/1865). There are also specific references in the Guardians' Minutes to the installation of cupboards, a new fireplace (1860), and a W.C. (RGM 1869), indicating a degree of improvement and elevated comfort. The Guardians clearly had an elevated status within the workhouse, reflected in their prominent position over the entrance block. Such positioning was not an uncommon feature of workhouse design as it allowed the Guardians to observe workhouse activity.

Leadership of the Board of Guardians at Ripon was dominated by tradesmen, the clergy, the town gentry, and landowners. Although landowners originally avoided involvement with the NPL, once they realised the power associated with the position of the Guardian (setting the level of rates to be paid, for example), they began to seek involvement. The Marquis of Ripon was the longest-serving chairman of the Guardians in Ripon. His actions may have been influenced by his wife; she appears to have provided the inmates with many comforts, which are recorded in the Guardians' Minutes. Although the first female Guardian was not elected until 1871, women were clearly able to positively influence the treatment of the poor. Predominantly, farmers made up the rest of the board (Chadwick 2008a: 2).

As part of the Woodhall's *Planning and Conservation Plan* (2007), paint analysis was undertaken in this area of the workhouse. The results state that the original colour scheme in the wards was a plain white lime wash but that later the scheme became more colourful. The Guardians' area featured a more elaborate, decorative two-tone paint scheme. Again, this emphasises the elevated position of the Guardians within the workhouse. For the pauper entering this area of the workhouse, the status of the Guardians was clearly defined.

The west wing is currently used as storage, but soon it will be converted for use by the museum. In phase one, it was used as vagrants' wards. These wards consisted of two plain rooms on either side of the entrance. Behind these were the exercise yards, which are depicted on early maps, and the privies, which are still there. The yards were used by the male vagrants for tasks such as stone-breaking (RLB 26/3/1866). The east wing is used as offices and as the entrance to the current museum. During phase one, this was where inmates were received. Inmates were probably segregated upon entering the receiving ward into separate rooms either side of the entrance area.

Originally, there may have been receiving dormitories east and west of the bathroom, as required by law (Chadwick 2008b). Chadwick claims these areas were converted in 1865 into a disinfecting room and a storeroom for inmates' clothes (Chadwick 2008b). If so, inmates would have gone straight from the entrance block to the ward appropriate to their classification. The inmate's experience of the site would thus have varied based on his/her classification right from the moment of entry. Due to the proximity of the entrance block to the vagrants' wards, entering the workhouse must have been a daunting experience; the sound of stone-breaking would have been incredibly loud in the receiving wards.

In 1866, changes were made to the entrance block (RGM 1866). Due to cholera epidemics, the Guardians came under pressure to adhere to the PLB's instructions on how to receive paupers. The receiving wards were moved to the west wing and the vagrant's wards to the east wing (Woodhall Planning and Conservation 2007). Accommodation in the receiving wards consisted of a three-bed ward with a boarded floor, an open fireplace, and an adjoining bathroom. In the yard adjoining the ward was a store for the inmates' clothing, featuring a flagged floor and lime-washed walls. By 1930, this area had become disused as it was considered so unsatisfactory (Platt 1930). Platt's survey indicates that by 1930 female vagrants' wards were also located in the west wing. At the far end of the west wing was the six-bed female vagrants' ward, which had a tiled floor, plastered walls, and an open fire place. A bathroom adjoins the ward, but there is no lavatory. Sanitary accommodation was outside, across a yard that was partly flagged and partly earthen. This area was considered to be in bad repair by the end of the Poor Law (Platt 1930). Clearly the separation of male and female vagrants was important. Like Skipton Workhouse, Ripon Workhouse chose not to integrate the female vagrants into the main female ward as the Departmental Committee for Vagrancy had suggested in 1906. Attitudes towards female vagrancy had also not evolved in Ripon as they appear to have evolved nationally.

Vagrants' Wards

The vagrants' wards were on the southeast corner of the site and evolved over several phases. Similar in style to the rest of the complex, the wards' consisted of a single-storey structure built from pink-red bricks, with a slate roof. During the NPL era, one accessed the vagrants' wards through the north elevation, where a doorway surmounted by a row of tapered headers is flanked on either side by a large sash window. This is now used as the entrance to the workhouse museum. A. B. Trees designed the extension of the vagrants' wards, which was constructed during phase two (fig 2.7). Attached to

the east wing of the entrance block, the vagrants' ward features single cells that project to the south. The single cells were used to accommodate vagrants overnight. As in Skipton Workhouse, the single-cell system physically segregated the inmates and thereby instituted control. The single-cell projection features two sash windows with ashlar surrounds in the west elevation and one in the south, providing light into the corridor within. These windows were frosted to hide the workhouse interior from the view of the outside world and to prevent the inmates from seeing out, which ostracised the paupers from society. In the east elevation, a series of small windows in the façade provides light to the individual cells.

Internal

The vagrants' ward was used to receive vagrants. In addition to separate cells, it provided a six-bed ward that accommodated vagrants when the separate cells were full. This implies that vagrants were numerous in Ripon or travelled from elsewhere to use what was perceived as one of the better 'spikes' (as the vagrants' wards were colloquially known). It is surprising that the vagrants had a form of heating when those in the main block did not. This may suggest that the main block was not frequently used by 1930, so modernisation was not necessary. The ward also included a blanket store, a disinfector (due to cholera concerns), and a bathroom with two baths, one for washing the vagrants and the other for washing clothes (Platt 1930). On entering, the vagrants bathed, and their clothes were fumigated in the disinfecting room. Clearly there were concerns about cleanliness and the prevention of disease.

The cell block opened off the east side of the corridor (fig 2.8). There were thirteen single cells, plus a larger one for the 'tramp major' the Guardians appointed to oversee the ward; there was also a smaller room with four beds. A tramp major was usually an older vagrant who had frequently stayed in the vagrants' wards. He organised inmates' work and food (Chadwick 2008c). Appointing a tramp major was not uncommon. It created a hierarchy amongst the vagrants and also eliminated the need for official workhouse staff in this area. All the cells had wooden beds, low floor heating, and no artificial lighting (Platt 1930). The lack of artificial light would have created a very bleak experience for vagrants, particularly in the winter months. Surveillance and control appear to have been limited in the vagrants' wards. There are many records of noncompliant behaviour on the part of vagrants, including the tearing of clothes and the assault of the porter, all of which offenses resulted in imprisonment, which may explain the perceived need to employ a tramp major (RMR 6/3/1885-5/11/1889).

There were no work cells, so vagrants laboured in a four-bay, open-fronted shed on the east side of a triangular yard east of the cells (fig 2.9). This work-yard was added around 1900 and remains unaltered today as part of the workhouse museum. In return for breakfast and lodgings, vagrants broke stones here for three hours a day, unless they did not have the 'strength and capacity' to undertake the task (RGM 24/9/1857). This phraseology suggests that stone-breaking may have been undertaken by both men and women since there is no gender differentiation. Teasing coconut fibre, conversely, was reserved exclusively for females. There was not always a point to the work required of vagrants although the broken stone was often used for road building.

In the north part of the yard is the vagrants' dayroom, which was added in 1927 (Platt 1930: 24). Built from Fletton brick and featuring a slate roof, the dayroom was entered via a doorway in the west elevation. The room is lit by two large casement windows in the south elevation, one in the east and one in the north, and each is surmounted by a row of tapered headers. These windows are mostly frosted so that it was not possible to see into the rest of the institution from the dayroom. The interior of the dayroom features boarded floors, plastered walls, and an open fireplace (Platt 1930), and it provided greater comfort than any other in the vagrants' ward. The only W.C.s for the vagrants' ward were constructed in 1927, during phase four. One was accessed from the yard and the other from the interior. Prior to 1927, sanitary conditions were limited but no more so in Ripon than in other vagrants' wards in the region. Ledgers that kept a daily record of applicants to the workhouse indicate that vagrants'-ward facilities were completely inadequate by the late nineteenth century. The vagrants' dayroom represents an improvement upon the single-cells system; Ripon offered vagrants better conditions than neighbouring Unions, but most vagrants were refused admission due to overcrowding (*RGM Register of Refusals of Admission* BG R1 5/3).

Main Building

The main block has remained largely unaltered since the beginning of phase one, except for a small extension to the east wing in 1950 (fig 2.10-12). The main block is a two-storey, T-shaped structure, constructed from red brick with ashlar dressing and featuring a slate roof. Access is gained via a central doorway with a pointed head, which opens into an axial corridor. On either side of the entrance is a wide, single bay surmounted by a shaped gable, evoking the Dutch style associated with the charitable almshouses of the OPL era.

Double-pile wings flank the central block, and a Dutch shaped gable dominates the roofline of the façade, with one bay on either side. Projecting to the rear of the central block is a single-storey wing, which accommodated the kitchen and scullery during the workhouse era (fig 2.12-13). It is lit by four sash windows to the west and four small, high windows to the east. The height of the windows prevented women working in the kitchen from seeing into the men's yard and stopped them from passing food out (Chadwick 2008b). The tantalising smell of the food would have reached the inmates in the exercise yards. The PLB recommended that skylights be used in place of windows, but this was ignored, reflecting continuing resistance on the part of the Guardians (MH12 1 15353 cited Chadwick 2008b). A large stack on the east side of the kitchen and a ridge stack in the wall dividing the two rooms provided heat to these areas (RCHME 1996a: 2).

In phases one to five, work sheds adjoined the male yard, where the men undertook oakum-picking, a common employment within workhouses. In the minutes, the Guardians refer to the difficulty of selling oakum, suggesting oakum-picking was not a profitable venture; it is unknown how long it remained an occupation for male inmates (Chadwick 2008c). Evidence from the Guardians' Minutes implies that the workhouse attempted unsuccessfully to make a profit from the work given to the inmates. The male work-sheds were demolished in 1950 (Chadwick 2008c).

Internal

Phase seven has seen numerous alterations to the interior of this building. Owned by the council, it has been adapted for its current use by Social Services. Documentary evidence allows the partial reconstruction of how this space was used during earlier phases of the site's development. The Master's accommodation occupied the front of the central block and consisted of a living-room and a dining-room that doubled as an office. The provision of a dining-room for the Master implies that either he did not always dine with the inmates or that he received guests in the workhouse and this area was also used for social purposes. There were also two bedrooms, one bathroom, a pantry, and a Matron's store (Platt 1930). Storerooms and the dining hall were also located in the central block, behind the Master's accommodation. The location of the storerooms in a central area and in close proximity to the Master and Matron illustrates an attempt to keep control over resources. In contrast to the Masters and Matrons of other Unions in the study area, the Masters and Matrons at Ripon stayed in their posts for a substantial amount of time, with only two consecutive Masters between 1854 and 1922 (Chadwick 2008a). Clearly the Master ran the Union as the Guardians intended, with a

high level of dedication, which created a good working environment; Ripon attracted more reliable administrative staff than other workhouses in the region.

The kitchen was in the single-storey wing to the rear of the building and featured a tile floor and plastered walls. By the end of the NPL era, the kitchen area was deemed inadequately equipped and generally unsatisfactory (Platt 1930). Many alterations were made during the 1920s. Doorways were added and certain staircases removed to facilitate passage through the building.

Male and female accommodation was segregated by a dividing central block, with female accommodation in the west wing and male accommodation in the east. Ground-floor accommodation consisted of the dayrooms. The female dayrooms featured wooden floors, plastered walls, and open fireplaces. Generally, the female inmates worked in the laundry overseen by the Matron (fig 2.14-15). This would have been very hard work because there was no modern machinery (Platt 1930). Sanitary provision included three lavatory basins in a large room, allowing very little privacy. In contrast, the male dayrooms had flagged floors, and the W.C. facilities were across the yard. In nearby workshops and kitchen gardens, male inmates performed tasks and received training in new occupations that supported the running of the workhouse (fig 2.16). That the workhouse provided more limited facilities for men than for women suggests a hierarchy within this area of the workhouse in favour of the women.

Dormitories were on the first floor. Female accommodation included a four-bed ward, a six-bed ward, and two spare rooms for which the original use is not known. Sleeping provisions consisted of both double and single beds, which meant some beds were shared, so privacy was severely limited (RGM 14/9/1854). Although beds were probably shared to save space, it is likely inmates were glad of one another's warmth, especially in the winter months. There was only one W.C. on the first floor, and in 1930, the building still did not feature a fire escape. Although they all featured wooden floors, plastered walls, and open fireplaces, the wards were in bad repair by 1930. The floors were originally flagged. The nurses' and porters' rooms were boarded before the inmates', signifying the inmates' inferiority (RGM 3/3/1857). Stone flooring would have made this area of the workhouse particularly cold. The replacement of stone floors with boarded floors provided additional warmth, but this also would have increased the level of sound passing through the building. The male ward provided more accommodation than the female ward, featuring a twelve-bed ward, a nine-bed ward, and an eight-bed ward, all of which were finished the same way as the female wards. This suggests more men

were entering the workhouse than women, which implies there may have been more outdoor relief or charitable aid for women outside of the workhouse than men (see Appendix 4). Research undertaken by Chadwick indicates that classification within these wards went much further than gender. For example, pregnant women had their own ward. However, this allocation of space was continually changing (Chadwick 2008b), which indicates that the needs of the poor continually varied and that the Union was prepared to adapt to these needs.

Fireplaces were inserted into all the wards in phase one. Although, by 1930, central heating had been installed in the infirmary and vagrants' wards, fireplaces remained the principal method of heating in the main workhouse. It is not known when or if hot water was brought into the building, but it is unlikely the Master would have gone without. In maintaining the most basic standard of living in the workhouse, the Guardians sought to keep a clear distinction between the relief for the paupers in the workhouse and the quality of life afforded by the wages of the poorest rate-payers outside. Facilities were improved to prevent the spread of disease, not necessarily to enhance the comfort of the paupers (Chadwick 2008b). The *Guardians' Minutes* tell us of further alterations. In 1868, for example, earth privies were converted to W.C.s, and lavatories were provided within the workhouse (RGM 1868). No lavatories were considered necessary upstairs at that time. Though upstairs lavatories followed eventually, their omission in 1868 illustrates the extent to which the limitation of comfort was still the Guardians' paramount concern. The bathing of able-bodied inmates ceased to take place in the wards, instead occurring in the bathing facilities in the children's ward, another reflection of improved attitudes toward hygiene, the body, and privacy. By 1914, Ripon was no longer relieving able-bodied inmates in the workhouse; instead, it used the main building to house the elderly. This early removal of the able-bodied from the workhouse in comparison to neighbouring Unions, such as Skipton, suggests that attitudes towards the able-bodied were more understanding, and out-relief was considered a more appropriate form of relief. Such values reflect those of neighbouring Gilbert Unions and embedded local perceptions of the poor. The earlier Ripon Workhouse had at one point housed just 37 inmates, which suggests that, historically, institutionalising the poor had not been a priority (see Appendix 4). The Union's disinclination to institutionalise all able-bodied paupers seemingly persisted under the NPL.

Children's Wards

The Children's Ward (demolished in the 1950s) was a two-storey structure located behind the main block. In 1930, it was considered so unsatisfactory that it was designated unfit for any institutional

purpose (Platt 1930). Floors on the ground floor were flagged, and those on the first floor were boarded. Heat was provided by open fireplaces throughout. The children's ward featured bathrooms for able-bodied inmates (Platt 1930: 26), which necessitated the intermingling of the two pauper classes. The ward also featured a day nursery, a one-bed sick ward, and stores. A schoolroom was provided, and it featured flagged floors, but mats were purchased to provide more comfort in the room (RGM 4/9/1856). In the schoolroom, girls were instructed in sewing so as to provide them with a trade (RMR 12/1890). The attempt to educate children in employable occupations illustrates the Guardians' attempts to eventually integrate this pauper class back into civilised society. Accommodation for staff was also provided in this block, including a sitting-room, a living-room, two officer's bedrooms, and a bathroom (Platt 1930: 26). A sitting-room and a bedroom were provided for the schoolmistress, and before the addition of the infirmary, the nurse's bedroom was also located in the children's ward (RGM 12/10/1858; 3/3/1857). Placing staff in amongst the children enabled a high level of control over this area. Exercise yards specifically for the children were located around the children's block. By the 1890s, the girls' yard included a swing with a trapeze whereas a football was provided for the boys (RMR 12/ 1894).

The separate children's block enabled the complete segregation of children from adult paupers, which reflects the Guardians' belief that the presence of adults could negatively influence the children. In one instance, the Guardians extended this philosophy even to an older child who was seen to rebel against the system: 'Ordered that Mary Ann Potts aged 14 years be placed in the class provided for able-bodied women in order to prevent her conduct and character having an injurious effect upon the inmates of the workhouse of her own class' (RGM 8/2/1859). This order illustrates how seriously Ripon took segregation. By separating children from other pauper classes, the Guardians sought to mould them into suitable citizens, which they hoped would reduce the rates by keeping them out of the workhouse as adults.

From its formation, Ripon Union appears to have provided generously for the children of the workhouse. It was reported in 1883 that children were frequently taken on trips to Fountains Abbey by the local gentry and often received gifts of toys (RMR). In addition to helping poor children, this provided the local gentry an opportunity to display their wealth and charity. The appointment of a resident schoolmistress was a priority for the Guardians. In 1863, the Guardians interviewed twelve candidates for the position, while also considering the advice of the region's School Inspector (RGM 24/2/1863). On one occasion, the Guardians dismissed a schoolmistress for a lack of efficiency and an

inability to perform duties satisfactorily (RGM 11/3/1862). Whether her care was deemed overly or insufficiently harsh is unclear, but her dismissal by the Guardians reflects that education was very important to them. (The Guardians' limited ability to control staff may be why the workhouse school closed in 1878 [RGM cited Chadwick 2008a: 5]). Education was even offered to older workhouse residents. William Harrison, for example, a boy of over sixteen, received instruction at Ripon Workhouse, which affirms the desire of the Union to provide younger inmates with the skills to seek employment (RGM 20/12/1859). When physically well, children were apprenticed out to local industries (RMR 4/11/1883).

A number of children received relief outside the workhouse. The value the Union placed on education was reiterated in the stipulation that out-relief children were required to attend school four days per week if the cost of their education was to be met by the Guardians (RGM 7/9/1859). The Union was careful, though, not to send children into employment unless they were in full health. James Binns, for example, was requested for an apprenticeship by his half-brother, but the request was rejected due to James's poor health (RGM 8/3/1853; 5/5/1853). The Relieving Officer frequently ordered clothes for children outside the workhouse, demonstrating a high level of care and paternalism towards the child paupers of his Union (RGM 5/5/1853). The Guardians provided children with out-relief to prevent them from having to enter the workhouse, keeping rates down. They also provided children with trades so that they would not have to rely on relief in their adult lives.

Infirmary

Interestingly, no provision was made for the sick during phase one. Originally, Union doctors treated the sick at home. Treating sick paupers in their homes was less expensive than providing them a separate facility. In opting to treat the sick in their homes, the Guardians may have sought to prevent the contamination of the workhouse by sick paupers or to spare the sick the stigma of workhouse relief, as well as to avoid expense. Many complained about the medical assistance provided by Union doctors, however, including Reverend Thomas Dalton, who claimed his parishioners were being neglected by the Medical Officer (RGM 2/11/1858). In 1868, the Master and Medical Officers urged the Guardians to create a ward in the workhouse for infected patients (RGM 4/1868). It took six years for Guardians to agree on plans for a separate infirmary.

The original hospital block was erected in 1874 and demolished in 1898, and the current infirmary block was erected on the same site from 1897-9 (*The Builder* 20/11/1897: 428) (fig 2.17-18). In 1902, a fever hospital was built on a separate site, but it is only visible today in aerial photographs as it has been demolished. The history of medical care in Ripon highlights a theme running throughout the history of Poor Law Buildings: because Unions wanted desperately to minimise costs, facilities were never constructed with foresight. As a result, workhouses were always attempting to catch up with the modern standards of urban workhouses such as Leeds and Bradford. In the case of the fever hospital, just one year after its opening an inspector found two-pages-worth of faults (RGM 1878). The *Guardians*, dismayed, considered closing the hospital and building a new one. Instead, they paid for alterations then ended up demolishing it anyway (Chadwick 2008b).

The surviving two-storey infirmary was constructed during phase three, east of the main building, to which it is now connected as a result of a later phase. Similarly to the main block, the infirmary is made of pink brick, its façades are ornamented with bands of red brick and stone mouldings, and it is finished with a slate roof. The building runs north to south and features a central administration block with wards on either side of it (fig 2.19). The five-bay main façade faces east and centres on a single-storey bay window surmounted by a parapet. Beneath it is a badly weathered date-stone. On either side of the window is an entrance; in the workhouse era, the window separated the access points for men and women. The provision of separate entrances visualised the segregation by gender of inmates inside the workhouse, emphasising the regimented atmosphere of the building. The doorways have flat weather roofs on terracotta corbels, which are flanked on either side by a small window. The second and fourth bays feature tall, narrow windows that light the stairwells.

Much thought was given to lines of sight, so although the wards were lit by sash windows, frosted glass was used, to prevent paupers of different classes from seeing each other (MH 12 1 15353 cited Chadwick 2008b). The infirmary was served by three sanitary towers, which open off the west façade. The first floor is slightly shorter than the ground floor, so the roof of the ground floor provides a balcony area at both ends, originally for the patients to take air. The flat roof of the ground floor is surrounded by railings and leads to the fire escape. In 1930, this block was considered satisfactory (Platt 1930: 24).

Internal

The centre of the building features an entrance hall and a large office that divide the building into two wings (fig 2.20-21). The first floor was formerly accessed via two staircases, one on either side of the

entrance hall, but the northern staircase was converted to a lift as part of phase seven. In the workhouse era, the female ward contained a kitchen; a small dayroom with a fireplace; an eight-bed ward with a bathroom, open fireplace, and hot pipes; and a five-bed isolation ward with a separate sanitary annex (Platt 1930: 26). The provision of a separate kitchen for this pauper class implies not only that they received different dietary allowances but that they were completely separated from the rest of the institution. Separating the sick from the rest of the institution echoes the traditional method of relieving the sick at home instead of in the workhouse. Clearly treating the sick poor was regarded as a separate issue from treating the general poor. The male ward was identically equipped. Accommodation for the nurses was in the centre of the building and included a dining-room, surgery, linen room, and night nursery (Platt 1930: 26).

The first floor follows a similar plan to the ground floor, with smaller rooms in the centre dividing large wards at either end. It is used by the Community Centre as office space and seminar rooms. In the workhouse era, each ward contained eight beds. The smaller room in the centre would have contained a two-bed maternity ward and a lying-in ward with a separate bathroom. All sanitary facilities were found in the sanitary annex and are now used as storerooms. Staff bedrooms were also found in the centre of the first floor, but staff had to use the bathroom set aside for maternity cases. Each end room opens onto a balcony area featuring an external fire escape.

The infirmary faced high demand; reports describe severe overcrowding. At one point, 50% of workhouse inmates were reportedly in the infirmary and just 20 inmates in the male ward (RMR 13/2/1915). Insufficient staffing was also a continual issue. In 1915, it was reported that for two days and one night there was no member of staff on duty in the infirmary (RMR 6/3/1915). Such negligence reflects a desperate situation involving an extremely low level of supervision and care. Local gentry, particularly Lady Ripon, provided nightingales to substitute the workhouse staff, but this was not a permanent solution (RMR 1/6/1893). Alterations were continually made to this block to compensate for its inadequacies. Eventually, however, the city provided external medical facilities, like the small pox hospital at Lark Hill (established 1902), which reduced pressure upon the Guardians to provide for the sick.

Conclusions

In contrast to Skipton, Ripon did not adopt the NPL until 1852. Ripon was already an established town by the nineteenth century, and it had already established a relief system and institutions for the

poor. The parish relief systems combined with private charity were firmly embedded within Ripon society, and their influence is apparent in the style and location of the new workhouse constructed under the NPL. Because the workhouse was located within close proximity to the centre of the town and other civic buildings, the pauper inmates were not isolated from society like they were in Skipton. The building does not adopt a foreboding classical style but an Elizabethan one. In its appearance, it resembles earlier almshouses and thus gives the workhouse a charitable and philanthropic image. Its style (evoking charitable institutions) and its location (integrated into the centre of town) reflect visually the lesser stigma of pauperism experienced by the paupers in Ripon as compared to those in other workhouses, such as Skipton.

The location of buildings and the accommodation of inmate classes within the workhouse complex reflects a more charitable and generous attitude towards certain inmates, which created a hierarchy of care and control within the institution. For example, the children's block was located furthest from the entrance, away from the 'detrimental' influence of the adult paupers and vagrants. Their accommodation was reportedly of a better standard, featuring wooden floors throughout, and they were provided with a schoolmistress, indicating that their education was a priority. By 1930, staff accommodation was located in the children's ward. The close proximity of staff to children may indicate the superior care and control intended for this pauper class. Furthermore, documentary evidence shows that children received relief outside of the workhouse, an indication that the Guardians sought to spare them the stigma of pauperism associated with entry into the workhouse.

The treatment of children within the workhouse is sharply contrasted with the conditions created for vagrants. The vagrants' wards were located at the front of the complex, which prevented vagrants any access to, or association with, the other inmates. Surveillance was primarily undertaken by a fellow vagrant, who was placed in charge of the wards. Workhouse staff were not permanently located in this area, so control of the inmates was predominantly dependent upon the plan of the building itself. For example, the relegation of the vagrants to individual cells limited their interaction and activity, which allowed for heightened control. Documentary evidence suggests this system was not wholly successful, as poor behaviour and overcrowding are frequently recorded in the Master's Report Book. The construction of a dayroom for vagrants improved facilities, but conditions remained drastically different from those in the children's ward.

The location of the Guardians and Master clearly divided them from the inmates. The Guardians' elevated position at the front of the building allowed them a position of authority and the ability to survey the institution without having to enter the workhouse. Their position also allowed them to be seen by the able-bodied inmates and thus provided those able-bodied inmates with a constant reminder of the Guardians' authority and power. The Master, also located in an elevated position but in the centre of workhouse, presented a similar image to that of the Guardians. His central position amongst the able-bodied inmates, however, enabled him to survey the behaviour of inmates more directly. Placing figures of authority in visible locations served as a continual reminder to inmates of their position in society and the individuals whose power and control they were under.

The positioning of windows and the use of frosted glass in the workhouse was important to creating a hierarchy amongst inmates. Frosted glass was used in the vagrants' wards, infirmary, and kitchen to prevent interaction between inmates of different classes. Such tactics illustrate the importance and priority of segregation amongst inmates.

Although segregation was clearly a priority of the Guardians, the initial workhouse did not include an infirmary. The sick were traditionally relieved in their homes, and this continued after the implementation of the NPL. Documentary evidence indicates that the doctor and Master encouraged the Guardians to build an infirmary, but when they did, it was so inadequate that it had to be replaced only a few years later. This suggests the Guardians did not appreciate the need for this facility or were concerned at the cost and therefore tried to get away with minimal expense. This is a reoccurring situation throughout the NPL era.

The aims of the Union appear to have been a continuation of those of the parish system that preceded the NPL. Many of the poor, especially the sick, elderly, and children, continued to receive relief in their homes. The removal of the able-bodied inmates from the workhouse in 1914, a very early date for a West Yorkshire workhouse, highlights the continuation of traditional attitudes. Those in the workhouse entered a hierarchy of care from the beginning of the institution's establishment. There was clearly a more paternalistic attitude toward some inmates than toward others and a desire to improve the lives of those deemed worthy.

Case Study Three: Great Ouseburn Union Workhouse

The village of Great Ouseburn, situated on the edge of the Vale of York, is the easternmost Union in the case study area, on the border of the North Riding. In contrast to industrialising areas like Skipton, Great Ouseburn retained a predominantly agricultural economy. Agricultural trade declined in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, which caused families to migrate to industrial towns for work. Agriculture regained prominence in the mid-nineteenth century, and the number of labourers employed in agricultural activities peaked (Hey 2005: 377). After 1850, however, improvements in farm machinery and a shift from arable to pastoral farming reduced the demand for farm labourers dramatically. Unemployment rose throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. In 1930, when the NPL ended, agricultural trade remained depressed, and workers continued to move to towns and cities, substantially reducing Great Ouseburn's population (Hey 2005: 437).

Many of those who chose to remain in Great Ouseburn faced poverty. Local, charitable societies provided relief to certain paupers, and conditions were not as bad for farm labourers in the north as for those in the south (Hey 2005:381), but the situation was nonetheless severe. The PLC encountered significant resistance to the NPL in Great Ouseburn, as in many other areas in West Yorkshire, as the old system was considered adequate.

Cartographic evidence suggests that a workhouse stood on this site as early as 1828, when the parish of Great Ouseburn joined the Carlton Gilbert Union. The able-bodied did not receive relief in the Gilbert Union workhouse; instead, the poor received out-relief or private charity. The workhouse was reserved for those most in need, such as the elderly, sick, and children (Hey 2005: 381). By the beginning of the NPL, the OPL workhouse had fallen into disrepair, which may suggest it was used infrequently prior to 1834. Because the Gilbert Union system was already in place, the NPL did not result in an immediate change of policy in Great Ouseburn. The NPL did not require parishes to replace their existing systems, and the PLC was unable to persuade them to do so. The traditional way of relieving the poor was firmly embedded within the society of the region. However, the scattered location of the parishes within the Gilbert Union was a major disadvantage of the parish system; parishes within the same Union were not necessarily next to one another, so it was often unclear as to where the poor were to seek relief. The PLC, eager to unionise the parishes under the NPL, seized upon such weaknesses of the parish system to justify the eventual dissolution of the Gilbert Union in

1854 (Higginbotham 2006a). However, rising poor-rates resulting from growing unemployment in the countryside probably also encouraged NPL unionisation.

On 8 June 1854, the PLC created the Great Ouseburn NPL Union, which incorporated some of the original Gilbert Union Parishes as well as some new ones. The Great Ouseburn Gilbert Union Parishes not adopted into the Great Ouseburn NPL Union were incorporated into Knaresborough Poor Law Union, which had formed in 1854. The new Great Ouseburn Union was administered by 41 Guardians. The OPL workhouse had accommodated only the neediest of paupers, but the new workhouse was to accommodate a wider range of inmates, including the able-bodied. Given the dilapidated state of the existing facilities, the Guardians decided that a new workhouse building was required. John and William Atkinson of York designed the workhouse, as well as later workhouses of similar designs at Pateley Bridge and Wetherby, amongst others. The new workhouse was constructed (1856-1857) on the site of the previous workhouse and could accommodate roughly 60 inmates.

In 1930, when the Poor Law Unions dissolved, the West Riding Council took over the workhouse at Great Ouseburn. Platt's survey of the site at this time declared the planning and arrangement of the building unsatisfactory, describing it as 'extremely primitive' and 'in extremely bad repair' (Platt 1930: 18). Platt considered the hospital block, which had been constructed in 1891, more satisfactory than the other buildings, but even it was deemed too small and far from ideal (Platt 1930: 18). As a result, the institution was closed, and inmates were transferred to Knaresborough. During WWI (1914-1918), the workhouse housed Belgian refugees and served as a medical hospital, which suggests the building may have been under-used as a workhouse in any case.

Available Sources

Although its original features have been preserved to an unusual extent for a rural West Yorkshire workhouse, previous researchers have paid surprisingly little attention to Great Ouseburn Union Workhouse. The RCHME produced a short summary of the site for the NMR as part of its nationwide survey (RCHME 1996b); however, the RCHME final publication did not mention Great Ouseburn. Cartographic evidence enables the reconstruction of the use of the land surrounding the workhouse, particularly the division of exercise yards. The only surviving plan of the building is the survey undertaken by Platt in 1930. However, Great Ouseburn has retained much of its phase-one fabric, from which the original plan can be deduced.

Documentary evidence includes Platt's 1930 survey and the Guardians' Minutes (1898-1930), which contain an unusual degree of detail. The Guardians likely devoted more individual attention to the inmates given the low number resident over this period. Great Ouseburn saw lower numbers of inmates than other workhouses in the area. Its close attention to inmates reflects ideals associated with earlier, more charitable Gilbert Union workhouses rather than those of the NPL.

Description of building

The workhouse is located in a predominantly flat, rural landscape two miles from the village centre, isolated from the focus of population (fig 3.1). The site retains a prominent position facing the main road, easily accessible and just a short distance from York, Wetherby, and Ripon. The isolated location of the workhouse enhances the dominance of the building, especially as it is one of the largest in an area dominated by vernacular building types. A surviving panelled wooden gate, apparently contemporaneous to the building's workhouse phases, provides pedestrian access from the main road to the central entrance. An entrance on the north side of the site provides vehicle access to the rear of the building.

The site has development over four phases. Phase one began with the construction of the main workhouse building in 1856 (fig 3.2). During this phase, the workhouse consisted of only one building, which was to house all classes of inmate. The construction of two vagrants' wards in 1878 marks the beginning of phase two, when this class of inmate was finally provided relief by the workhouse. In contrast to Skipton and Ripon, both of which had constructed separate infirmaries at this time, Great Ouseburn still did not provide a separate, specialised facility for the sick. Phase three began in 1891 with the creation of a separate infirmary, which addressed the lack of a specialised medical facility (fig 3.3). The workhouse altered very little after the addition of the infirmary. Although the workhouse was used for a number of different purposes in the early twentieth century, these impacted little on the fabric of the building. Throughout the 1930s, the boardroom was used as a cinema for local residents. During WWII, the site was used as an anti-aircraft station, and the main building housed Italian prisoners of war. Campell and Plenty's purchase of the site in 1953 marks the beginning of phase four, during which alterations were made to the building to accommodate machinery needed for the processing of seed.

Main Building

The two-storey, T-plan main building adopts a basic, plain classical plan. It is constructed from grey bricks and features a slate roof (fig 3.4-5). The chosen combination of materials creates an extremely bleak appearance. Like the later workhouses at Pateley Bridge and Wetherby, Great Ouseburn Workhouse was designed with economy in mind.

The eleven-bay, primary façade features sash and casement windows. Access is through a centrally placed doorway surmounted by a fanlight, set within a small porch. Large windows and fanlights provide a substantial amount of natural light into the building, which provided a spacious feel but also saved on the expense of artificial lighting.

Originally, the rear elevations either side of the T-stem featured a symmetrical sequence of doors and windows. Doorways provided access to the exercise yards, which were located to the rear of the workhouse. These entrances have been modified to accommodate phase-four machinery.

Internal

In function, the building has changed dramatically from a residential institution to an industrial establishment, but while some features have been enlarged and others blocked, much of the original plan remains intact. During phase one, this building accommodated all classes of inmate and the administrative facilities (fig 3.6). Separate vagrants' wards were constructed (1878) and an infirmary for relieving the sick (1891).

The central entrance opens into an entrance hall with plastered and painted walls: black for the first four feet up from the floor and white from there to the ceiling. This use of paint is repeated throughout the building, except for a few exceptions indicated in the descriptions below. Practically, this paint scheme meant that the workhouse did not need painting frequently because the black walls would not mark, but it also made the space within the workhouse dark, which would have added to the sombre mood of the inmates. A small office to the left of the entrance hall was originally the Master's, and it features a surviving cast-iron fireplace, a desk, and a chair. This room allowed its occupant to survey visitors before permitting entry. To the right of the entrance is a large room that was used as the boardroom. In contrast to Ripon and Skipton, Great Ouseburn Workhouse had limited facilities for administration and staff, which illustrates how workhouse designs could be economised. The Master's quarters did not dominate the plan of the building, which suggests that

the hierarchy of power within the workhouse was not as clear as at Skipton and Ripon. The relationship between staff and inmates would not have been so politically and socially charged.

The high status of the boardroom is reflected in the substantial amount of natural light, the abundance of heating, and the plastered walls and decoration, a combination of comforts not repeated in any other room (fig 3.7). The Guardians entered the boardroom from the entrance hall. A second entrance from the boardroom permits access to the heart of the workhouse; it was probably used by inmates to enter the boardroom when summoned by the Guardians. Platt's 1930 report, however, notes the room was rarely used for NPL purposes except for religious services and concerts, which may suggest that the Guardians' meetings were not always held here; they may have been held in a more convenient location, like the larger nearby town of Boroughbridge (Platt 1930: 19; GOGM 4/12/1899). The room appears to have been frequently used by magicians from Boroughbridge, who entertained the inmates (GOGM 7/2/1899; 19/11/1900). The minutes suggest that all inmates were involved in the entertainments. This contrasts with the provision of entertainment at Ripon and Skipton, where it was reserved for the 'deserving' classes. Great Ouseburn's inclusion of all inmates in workhouse entertainment suggests that differentiation between inmate classes was not immense, and treatment was relatively equal. Post-1930, the boardroom was used as the local cinema, but no evidence of this remains (Higginbotham 2006b). The community use of this building only shortly after the abolition of the NPL may suggest that the stigma associated with many workhouse buildings was not so strong in Great Ouseburn. This was possibly a result of the more relaxed approach of the Guardians in administering poor relief.

Originally, a central stone corridor ran the length of the building. The tiled flooring suggests the dining-room was located in the centre of the workhouse to the rear of the main block (fig 3.8). The room accommodated up to 50 inmates, but it was lit only by 3 small windows just below the ceiling, and it had no form of heating. The beams have been left exposed, and the paint has been applied directly to the brickwork. The lack of heat and light made it a particularly dark and dismal space in comparison to the interiors of urban workhouses like Bramley, where the stem of the T-plan was also used as a chapel and thus adopted an ecclesiastical appearance.

The diet of the inmates at Great Ouseburn Workhouse reveals much about the tolerant and charitable attitude of the Guardians towards the inmates and about the quality of inmates' workhouse life. For example, instead of serving a set quantity of food to each inmate, the Guardians

instead agreed to allow inmates to take an amount of their own choosing, in order to reduce waste. While reducing waste, such actions subtly broke the aims of the NPL resulting in a better diet for the inmates. A second example concerning diet illustrates the influence the inmates themselves had over the running of the workhouse. In 1902, the inmates requested potatoes in place of haricot beans. The Guardians permitted the substitution (GOGM 8/9/1902). This demonstrates that the inmates had an impact on the running of the institution, which completely defied the power structures of the NPL. Instances of comparable leniency are not noted in any other Union in the case study area. The agricultural context of Great Ouseburn and its participation in an earlier Gilbert Union significantly impacted its attitudes towards the poor. Complete control was never taken from the pauper, and neither was identity. Because the poor were more involved in their relief, they retained a sense of freedom that was denied the paupers of other regions. Evidently, Great Ouseburn did not view poverty as the fault of the individual.

Inmates were divided into two wings either side of the central area. This plan maintained a low level of segregation in comparison to the contemporary plans of Ripon and Skipton Unions. Attitudes towards poverty, including the perception of a need to control and contain pauperism, were clearly not as severe in rural areas such as Great Ouseburn where the economy naturally created seasonal poverty and hardship in the winter months (fig 3.9).

Ground-floor rooms had varying finishes, the quality of which depended upon whether they were used by staff or inmates. Facilities for inmates included large dayrooms and a library (GOGM 2/1/1899; 20/1/1908). A library for inmates is an unusual luxury not found in other West Yorkshire workhouses. This facility provided a permanent form of entertainment, which broke the monotony of the workhouse that—under NPL guidelines—was supposed to deter the poor from seeking relief. The Guardians of Great Ouseburn evidently did not see the workhouse as a deterrent, probably due to the Gilbert Union traditions embedded within the region.

Each wing features a staircase that provided access to the first-floor dormitories (fig 3.10-11). W.C. facilities survive on the half-landings and under the stairs on the ground floor. The W.C.s in the workhouse were reportedly for the use of female inmates only; there were earthed closets for both men and women outside in the exercise yards. As suggested in relation to Ripon Workhouse, better facilities for the female inmates may suggest they were held in higher regard and that they were less responsible for their poverty. Gender attitudes within the workhouse are also illustrated by the

census records: fewer elderly women than elderly men were relieved in the workhouse (see Appendix 4).

The first-floor central corridor ran the length of the building (fig 3.12). Originally, this would have been blocked in the middle to segregate men and women; however, a door was inserted during phase three for ease of access between the wings for staff. Small windows allowed light but prohibited a view out of the institution towards the vagrants' wards. Larger windows did allow a view of the exercise yards, but the stem of the T-plan prevented men and women from seeing one another; segregation by gender was maintained. The large windows to the front of the workhouse provided the inmates with a view of the surrounding landscape. This served as a reminder of the world beyond the institution whilst also creating well-lit rooms.

Like the ground-floor rooms, the first-floor rooms had varied amounts of comfort. For example, some rooms are plastered and feature fireplaces whereas others have been finished with paint applied directly onto brickwork. Wooden floorboards are used throughout. The more comfortable rooms indicate a higher level of status. The children and staff were probably located in this area of the workhouse. Like the children in Ripon and Skipton Workhouses, the children of Great Ouseburn Union were given a substantial amount of care whilst in the workhouse in comparison to other inmate categories. In contrast to the children of the Unions previously discussed, the children of Great Ouseburn Workhouse attended the local school, so they were integrated into society (GOGM 5/11/1900). Their health was also a priority. The Guardians sent them to Harrogate to see a dentist located a significant distance from the workhouse, at considerable cost (GOGM 10/10/1889). The staff within the workhouse also sought to provide the children with a comfortable living. It was reported by the Guardians that, at the staff's expense, the children were taken to Scarborough (GOGM 29/8/1898). Whenever possible, the children were kept out of the workhouse through out-relief and boarding-out programmes (GOGM 24/4/1899; 29/7/1923). Clearly the children of the Union were disassociated with pauperism whenever possible. Conditions for children in the workhouse were of a better standard than those of the able-bodied adult inmate, and schooling and outings ensured that those children in the workhouse spent as little time there as possible.

The higher quality rooms were also used by staff. The permanent placement of the staff amongst the inmates was probably intended to promote stern discipline, as in Skipton and Ripon. Like Skipton, Great Ouseburn struggled to employ reliable staff. Although the Master of the workhouse appears to

have remained fairly constant, employing a suitable labour master appears to have been a challenge for the Union. Repeated advertisements for the position rarely received a reply (GOGM 6/1896; 5/1899; 7/9/1906). This suggests that working conditions for staff employed in lower positions were far from appealing.

As previously mentioned, the workhouse was designed to segregate inmates based on gender. The further segregation of inmates by age, health, etc., however, appears to have been limited. Documentary evidence sheds some light on this seeming disregard for the PLC's recommendations: the majority of inmates were elderly or children (see Appendix 4). Despite the dissolution of the Gilbert Union, Great Ouseburn continued its traditional methods of relief, reserving the workhouse for those deemed most vulnerable. Like children, the elderly were afforded extra care. In 1899, the *Guardians* resolved to remove any elderly pauper to the workhouse who could not care for him or herself properly (GOGM 28/8/1899). Sympathetic attitudes towards the elderly echo those of almshouses or OPL institutions and contrast greatly with the aims of the NPL. Out-relief continued to be granted to the able-bodied, illustrating the value placed on the family unit and the established belief that the able-bodied should not be in the workhouse. It would appear from the census records that the workhouse was never full, and the *Guardians'* Minutes indicate that out-relief was often offered. It seems segregating pauper classes was not necessary as the children and elderly were allowed to mix, so a simpler workhouse design was deemed adequate.

Although Great Ouseburn Workhouse was more like a Gilbert Union almshouse than a NPL institution, those inmates who were able to undertake light work were obliged to do so. On several occasions the inmates helped decorate the boardroom and paint the workhouse, for instance (GOGM 25/7/1924). In contrast to those of Ripon and Skipton, however, the inmates at Great Ouseburn did not learn a new trade in the workhouse. The *Guardians* did not seek to make inmates more employable or less of a burden on the poor-rates. Training may have been unfeasible given the unusual demographics of Great Ouseburn Workhouse, but the lack of training may also reflect the local agricultural economy, for which new, industrially skilled workers were not required like they were in more industrial areas, such as Skipton.

By the end of the NPL era, improved heating via hot-water pipes and electric lighting had been inserted into the dormitory areas (GOGM 16/10/1925). This would have drastically altered the comfort these wards provided. However, although paupers benefitted from such facilities, sanitary

conditions remained primitive. There is no evidence of bathing facilities, so presumably inmates washed in the wards, where hygiene must have been limited in comparison to workhouses such as Ripon. Most likely such limited facilities were the result of inadequate funding.

Kitchen

The T-stem (demolished) was a single-storey structure used as a kitchen area. Access was gained through the dining-room. The walls were part-tiled and part-plastered, and the floor was stone. The facilities were described as very limited in Platt's opinion (Platt 1930: 19). Adjoining the kitchen was the laundry, which was also described as of 'a very primitive type' (Platt 1930: 19). The Guardians' Minutes from 1901-1902 reveal a growing perception of the laundry facilities as dangerously inadequate. Though the Guardians discussed the possible construction of a new building to replace the old one, they opted instead to enlarge the original laundry in 1902 (GOGM 21/10/1901; 17/2/1902).

Vagrants' Wards

The original NPL did not provide for vagrants, but some Unions, such as Ripon, included a vagrants' ward in the initial plans of the workhouse. Although Great Ouseburn Workhouse was built at a similar time to Ripon, its initial design did not include separate facilities for vagrants. This omission was probably due to concerns as to the potential cost of including vagrants' wards, vestiges of Gilbert Union relief measures (which did not provide for vagrants), and the fact that there were fewer vagrants in Great Ouseburn than in more populated towns like Ripon and Wetherby, where vagrants more visibly populated the streets and thus presented a more tangible problem. By 1878, however, Unions were obliged to provide a vagrants' ward, and vagrancy had become enough of a problem in Great Ouseburn that designated facilities were required. The construction of a vagrants' ward at either end of the main building marks the beginning of phase two.

The two-storey vagrants' wards were constructed from pink-red brick and feature slate-hipped roofs in a style similar to that of the main building. The southern T-plan block of the vagrants' wards features a square block projecting to the rear with three hinged windows set high in the wall, which suggests the square block may have contained single cells (fig 3.13). The northern block is rectangular, with a one-bay gabled projection to the west (3.14). The building is lit by sash windows on the ground floor, and a round-headed window ornaments the first floor.

Internal

Though the Guardians' Minutes refer frequently to children, the elderly, and the giving of out-relief, vagrants are rarely mentioned. The Guardians do note that they believe the vagrancy laws to have 'wholly failed with the vagrancy class' (GOGM 18/4/1904). Perhaps as a result of this attitude, documentary evidence indicates that the vagrants' wards were significantly underused, which partly explains why the Guardians seem to have paid comparatively little attention to this pauper class. However, the Guardians did seem aware of the importance of the wards to the relatively few that used them; the ward was kept open even after the Yorkshire Vagrancy committee proposed its closure in 1917 (GOGM 28/9/1917).

A series of small rooms occupies the ground floor of each of the vagrants' wards. In contrast to those of Skipton and Ripon, Great Ouseburn's vagrants' wards did not include a dining-room or dayroom (Platt 1930). Inmates most likely took meals in their cells or in the communal ward, which emphasised their transience and demeaned their status in the workhouse. Platt reports that areas of the ground floor were intended to be used as receiving wards for workhouse inmates, but they were so poorly organised that they were never used (Platt 1930: 19).

The two vagrants' wards were built to different plans, so male and female paupers experienced the workhouse differently. The men's ward featured low-occupancy cells (fig 3.15). This arrangement allowed for strict control over the activity and movements of paupers. The cells functioned similarly to those in Skipton and Ripon but on a smaller scale. The cells at Great Ouseburn were probably never used as single-occupancy cells; censuses show that at one point more than eight men were accommodated in the vagrants' ward, which suggests that either overcrowding necessitated the sharing of cells by more than one inmate at that time or that the cells were generally intended to accommodate more than one pauper per cell. In accommodating more than one pauper in each cell, the Union may have compromised the heightened control achievable through the isolation of individual inmates in light of practical considerations concerning limited available space. In addition to low-occupancy cells, the male vagrants' ward featured larger rooms that were probably communal wards used for older vagrants, frequent vagrants, or those vagrants considered a low risk to order in the workhouse. The sanitary facilities were extremely primitive, consisting of just a urinal and an earth closet. Vagrants were expected to break stones in return for relief (Platt 1930: 19; GOGM 19/11/1909).

The women's ward did not feature cells, which may suggest that women were considered a lower risk and less of a threat to workhouse authority than male vagrants, so high levels of control were not deemed necessary. Furthermore, female vagrants were less common than male vagrants, especially in rural areas like Great Ouseburn. Many of Great Ouseburn's vagrants were travellers seeking agricultural work, and these were much more likely to be men; generally such work was not available to women at that time (Vorspan 1977). Because there were fewer female vagrants, they were less likely to disrupt the order of the workhouse than the male vagrants. The larger, more detailed architectural plan of the male vagrants' ward reflects the greater number of male vagrants and that they were considered more difficult to control. Even though women vagrants were deemed less of a threat than their male counterparts, they still were not tolerated to the point of being admitted to the workhouse, despite the advice of the PLC urging their integration into the mainstream workhouse population. There is no evidence of internal sanitary facilities, so female vagrants must have used external facilities like the male vagrants. However, there were attempts to improve the facilities of the female vagrants' wards. The minutes record the boarding of the female ward floors (GOGM 7.10.1910) around the same time that a female vagrants' ward was constructed at Skipton, where the PLC advice regarding the integration of female vagrants into the workhouse was also rejected, suggesting shared ideologies concerning female vagrancy.

The first floor of the female vagrants' ward can be accessed via a steep flight of stairs. The roof remains in line with the top of the stairs, which allows one to view the space below without descending the stairs (fig 3.16). The vantage point from the staircase would have provided the staff with increased control and a heightened sense of power over the vagrants below. The small hall at the top of the stairs is lit by an Italianate-style window and provides access to two small rooms. Both rooms were heated by a small fireplace, of which the iron grill remains in-situ, and lit by two small sash windows, which remain intact (fig 3.17). The increased ornamentation means staff probably occupied this first floor.

The remaining building fabric pertaining to the vagrants' wards suggests that improvements to the wards over the course of the NPL era were minimal. Like Skipton and Ripon, Great Ouseburn did not make any significant improvements to its facilities for vagrants over the course of the NPL. The vagrants' wards were condemned by the Ministry of Health in 1923 and subsequently closed. The poor facilities within the wards and their eventual condemnation suggest that vagrants were subjected to particularly bad conditions and that the Guardians did not consider their facilities a

priority. In its lack of regard for vagrants, Great Ouseburn was in line with national attitudes towards vagrants as least deserving of NPL relief.

Infirmary

The beginning of phase three saw the construction in 1891 of a single-storey infirmary to the south of the site at a cost of £1,500 (fig 3.18-19). Although the infirmary was constructed largely using similar materials to the main building, red brick was also used, for decorative purposes. The lintels, the corners of the south-facing, bay-window projection, and the four courses of brick that run through the southern façade were ornamented using red brick. Three large windows feature either side of a central projecting bay window, which is capped with a hipped roof and finial. Four ornamented stacks provide heat to the building, and ventilation is increased through triangular vents integrated into the roof. The windows facing into the complex on the northern façade are significantly smaller than those on the southern façade, and they are situated high within the fenestration, which obscures infirmary inmates' view into the main workhouse. Such features highlight the removal and isolation of this class of pauper from the workhouse.

The infirmary consisted of two six-bed wards and two separate four-bed wards, accommodating twenty patients in total (Platt 19030: 19). The four-bed ward on the female side was reserved for maternity cases. Although Great Ouseburn sent lunatic cases to Wakefield and Menston asylums, records indicate that lunatics still remained in the workhouse (GOGM 27/2/1899). It is possible that these inmates were admitted into the smaller four-bed wards. This would have put immense strain on the single nurse working for the Union; it is possible that she was helped by the female inmates from the workhouse. The nurse is frequently reported as sick in the Guardians' Minutes, which is not surprising considering the physical and mental strain of caring for so many patients. However, the level of mental deficiency of these patients is debatable. In 1924, the Union was still referring patients under the Mental Deficiency Act for having more than one illegitimate child (GOGM 30/5/1924).

In 1930, conditions within the infirmary were reportedly fair (Platt 1930). Boarded floors featured throughout, and the walls were all plastered and painted, which is in complete contrast to finishings in the workhouse. Heat was provided by open fires, and in addition to natural light, electric light was provided by 1930 (GOGM). Although Platt considered the infirmary to be in a fair condition, the facilities within the infirmary appear in retrospect to have been far from adequate. The infirmary first came under criticism, from the LGB, for not providing dayrooms. In response, the Guardians ordered

that the bathrooms be converted into two dayrooms. However, this only reduced sanitary facilities while providing less than adequate dayrooms. The limited facilities suggest that the majority of patients spent most of their time in the wards. A wireless and loud speaker were gifted to the infirmary by Mr. Ripley of Great Ouseburn, which provided entertainment and added comfort not noted in infirmaries previously discussed (GOGM 29/5/1925). In each ward, the sanitary facilities consisted of a bath and a W.C. finished with a tiled floor and plastered walls. The baths were reportedly badly worn, and no lavatory basin was provided for the patients (Platt 1930: 19). Although Great Ouseburn constructed an infirmary, it was clearly not comparable to the modern infirmaries at Skipton and Ripon. However, for the residents of Great Ouseburn, this facility was a substantial improvement on having no facility at all.

Conclusion

Great Ouseburn Workhouse adopted a style, plan, and location typical of nineteenth-century workhouses. Its bland classical style, simple T-plan, and isolated position give it a bleak, unwelcoming, and severe appearance. The workhouse is one of the largest buildings in an area dominated by rural, vernacular building types. Its style and position within the landscape thus enhance the dominant nature of the institution. The first impression of the Great Ouseburn Workhouse is that of foreboding power and authority. Guardians sought to evoke negative, Dickensian portrayals of the workhouse and pauperism. The simplistic design adopted by Great Ouseburn suggests that reducing expenditure on the workhouse building was also a priority. Its rural agricultural economy limited the rates that could be levied.

In contrast to the more affluent Unions of Ripon and Skipton, Great Ouseburn's agricultural economy prevented the Guardians from raising substantial funds for a workhouse. The Guardians opted for an economised model workhouse even though other workhouses built at the same time had abandoned the archaic model plan for more modern alternatives, such as the corridor plan. Rather than a lack of innovative thinking, the economic context of Great Ouseburn constrained the choice of facilities open to the Guardians. Limited amenities, like the primitive sanitary facilities in the main block and the lack of dayrooms in the infirmary, reveal that inmates had to endure difficult conditions within the workhouse, which reduced the comfort of their daily experience. However, analysing the building alone far from captures the complexity of attitudes towards pauperism and the treatment of paupers in Great Ouseburn. Only in conjunction with the documentary evidence is the nature of NPL relief

exposed: despite the workhouse's stereotypical physical image, the treatment of inmates at Great Ouseburn was not typical.

Although the architectural style of Great Ouseburn Workhouse closely associates it with stereotypical views of the NPL, census records, the Guardians' Minutes, and room-use suggest that the workhouse was not intended to deter the poor from seeking relief. The Guardians' Minutes indicate that a substantial number of paupers, including the able-bodied, were receiving out-relief, and the workhouse was reserved for the use of those most in need, such as children, the elderly, and the sick. The seasonal employment pattern of an agricultural economy like that of Great Ouseburn also created seasonal poverty, for which paupers could not be blamed. Accordingly, the Guardians evidently did not hold the poor responsible for their situation and sought to maintain the family unit through the provision of out-relief whenever possible. The poor were evidently not seen as inherently (and dangerously) anti-capitalist, as they were in Unions such as Skipton. Such views, fuelled by rapid industrialisation, were not relevant in rural agricultural areas such as Great Ouseburn. Tolerance of pauperism is also reflected in the treatment of workhouse inmates. The plan of the building at Great Ouseburn reflects little attempt to differentiate between inmate classes. Also, the Guardians' Minutes do not reflect the promotion of better treatment towards one class of pauper than another. Because poverty was not deemed the fault of the individual, there was no need for a workhouse hierarchy based on 'worthiness', like those that developed as a result of the preferential treatment offered to certain classes of pauper at Ripon and Skipton Workhouses. Inmates were all invited to partake in the entertainment brought to the workhouse and were given a library to use. Such diversions broke the monotony of the workhouse regime that was meant to act as a deterrent against poverty. The Guardians seemingly regarded the workhouse as a refuge for the most needy. This attitude was more closely associated with Gilbert Union ideals than those advocated by the NPL. Such attitudes are further reflected in the influence given to inmates in the running of the workhouse. The input of inmates once led to changes in the workhouse diet, which indicates that the inmates did not completely lose control over their daily lives upon entering the workhouse. Neither autonomy nor individual identity was ever entirely removed from the pauper at Great Ouseburn. There is no evidence of any such lenience at neighbouring workhouses. Control and discipline were clearly not deemed a priority by the Guardians of Great Ouseburn.

Laxer control and superior care are further demonstrated in the staffing of the workhouse. In contrast to Ripon and Skipton Workhouses, Great Ouseburn Workhouse did not situate its employees

in a central position of power within the building. Although the staff rooms are usually of a higher standard than those of the inmates, staff quarters were not in a dominant position over those of the inmates. The position of staff created a closer relationship between workhouse authority and inmate. Surveillance was not a primary aim of the staff. The attitude of staff toward inmates appears to have been more charitable than that exhibited in neighbouring workhouses, again more reflective of the previous Gilbert Union than of any facet of the NPL. Great Ouseburn Workhouse always had more staff than neighbouring Unions, even those that had more inmates. Higher levels of staffing suggest that the care of inmates was a priority for the Guardians. Although Great Ouseburn did not build a separate infirmary until 1891, a nurse was employed as early as 1871. Care of the sick was always a major concern. Children received care from a resident schoolmistress from the beginning of the Union's establishment. Expenditure on extra staff compensated for poor architectural facilities. Great Ouseburn's steady agricultural economy meant that facilities for the poor did not require the rapid expansion necessitated in Unions such as Ripon and Skipton. Great Ouseburn appears to have adopted very few NPL policies. The NPL workhouse seems to have continued administering relief as it had under the original Gilbert Union. As a result, the workhouse remained for the use of those most in need of care, and out-relief continued.

Case study Four: Wetherby Union Workhouse

Located on the banks of the River Wharfe, the market town of Wetherby and its surrounding agricultural lands are roughly centred between Leeds, York, and Harrogate. Although Wetherby dates back as far as Nordic times, the town is most renowned for its coaching days (Bogg 1923: 53). Situated midway between London and Edinburgh on the Great North Road, Wetherby developed as a coaching town (Speight 1902: 429). Travellers from the north and south often stopped in Wetherby to stay at the town's numerous hotels and inns. Traditional weekly markets and fairs, which had begun in the twelfth century, maintained the importance of the old town (Speight 1902: 433). In contrast to that of larger neighbouring towns, Wetherby's capacity for growth in the eighteenth century was stunted by fire, flood, cattle plague, and economic stagnation. Moreover, Wetherby was then owned by the Duke of Devonshire, whose absence prevented any development within the area (Unwin 1987: 80). Great changes in Wetherby began in 1824, when the Duke decided to sell his estate. Non-residents bought a substantial amount of land, which brought new money to the area, and improvements to the town were planned. However, within eighteen months, a decline in the national economy led to the eventual ruin of many residential families who had bought their land. Furthermore, the arrival of the railway age diminished Wetherby's role as a coaching town and caused the industries supported by the travelling trade to decline. Innkeepers began to combine their trade with others, such as farming. Due to Wetherby's troubled economic circumstances, its population grew slowly in comparison to the populations of industrial market towns in the region, such as Skipton. The Leeds *Intelligencer* went so far as to describe the town as 'backwards'. Apart from breweries and milling, few industries developed. However, a range of shops and crafts distinguished the town from nearby rural villages, and its markets remained important, allowing Wetherby to retain prominence in the region (Unwin 1987: 102).

By the 1860s, Wetherby's role as a centre of local administration began to develop. The creation of a direct railway line improved transportation between Leeds, Wetherby, and Harrogate, which sparked growth within the town. New residential property was created, and businesses were revived (Unwin 1987: 122). Although Wetherby offered various occupations, agriculture was still the primary employment at this time. As a result, there was much poverty in some parts of Wetherby when employers laid off workers in the winter. The Carlton Gilbert Union was responsible for the region's poor from 1782 until 1861, when the Union was disbanded and Wetherby became the centre of the region's NPL Union.

The NPL was adopted later in Wetherby than in Skipton, Ripon, or Great Ouseburn. Like Ripon and Great Ouseburn, Wetherby was reluctant to adopt the NPL, possibly because it already had a firmly established system of relief as part of a Gilbert Union. In contrast to the previously mentioned Unions, though, Wetherby's reluctance was also related to its poor economic circumstances, which prevented the construction of a new workhouse. Prior to Wetherby's adoption of the NPL, the aforementioned Carlton Gilbert Union had operated two workhouses in the Wetherby region. Early maps depict one in Stone Dene on North Street, Wetherby, and another near Kirk Deighton, north of Wetherby. Both buildings were converted for domestic use when the Gilbert Union was disbanded. Wetherby NPL Union was established on 15 February 1861. It was administered by 21 Guardians, representing nineteen parishes, who immediately sought plans for a new workhouse. The ideals of the NPL were to be embedded within the built form, and as in Great Ouseburn, existing workhouse buildings were deemed unsuitable for NPL purposes. It appears early tenders were considered too extensive and expensive. The Guardians finally settled upon a workhouse design by J.B. and W. Atkinson, who were also responsible for the designs of Great Ouseburn and Pateley Bridge Workhouses. Wetherby Workhouse was constructed in 1863, with a capacity of 60 inmates (*The Builder*, 9/5/1863, 340).

Available Sources

The most detailed report on Wetherby Union Workhouse was made by the RCHME in 1991, prior to site's conversion to residential housing (RCHME 1991e). Although the report is brief, it provides valuable details regarding buildings and interior plans that have since been demolished or substantially altered. Platt's 1930 report records how the building was used towards the end of the NPL era, which gives substantial evidence concerning original room-use. Cartographic evidence and extracts from *The Builder* are vital in determining the phasing of the site and how the external space was used. Unfortunately, no local archive evidence remains relating to the workhouse or the administration of the Union. However, the census records are very revealing: from 1891, paupers were recorded as patients rather than pauper inmates. This is interesting as no other West Yorkshire workhouse in the case study area record their inmates as patients. Despite the lack of documentary evidence, Wetherby is an essential case study. Its continually developing design and turbulent economic history provide unique insight into how the NPL was implemented within West Yorkshire.

Description of the Building

Wetherby Union Workhouse is located on the Great North Road, west of the town centre, and just a short distance from the main road (fig 4.3). Access is gained through the rear of the building. Use of the site may be understood in six phases, the first three of which encompass its use as a workhouse (fig 4.4-5). The first phase began with the construction of the main building and vagrants' wards in 1863. Inmate population grew slowly but steadily during this phase, and the demands on the workhouse soon exceeded the available facilities. This outcome was typical of rural workhouses in the region. To accommodate increased numbers, the vagrants' wards were extended in 1896. Thus began phase two, during which the workhouse operated on a significantly larger scale than originally intended. During this phase, new scientific knowledge and a heightened sensitivity to the needs of the infirm led to the perception of a need for a separate facility for treatment of the sick. An infirmary for this purpose was added in 1906, marking the start of phase three, a turning point in the history of the site (fig 4.5). During phase three, the focus of the workhouse shifted dramatically from the mainstream inmate population to the infirm. Attitudes toward the sick and the treatment they received developed drastically, and the addition of an infirmary radically improved the facilities for this pauper class. By the end of the NPL era, however, Platt deemed Wetherby Workhouse 'on a whole not a satisfactory institution'. He suggested the Guardians shut down Wetherby Workhouse and relocate its inmates to nearby Tadcaster. In 1930, use of the site as a workhouse came to an end, and phase four of the site's history began. The institution came under the control of the West Riding County Council and was renamed Wharfedale Lawn. Despite Platt's suggestions, it remained in use for the care of elderly women and the mentally handicapped. In 1948, the site was renamed Wharfe Grange Hospital and became part of the National Health Service, marking the start of a fifth phase in the site's history (fig 4.6-7). With the closure of the hospital in 1993 began the sixth and current phase of the site's existence. Much of the original site has been demolished, and the remaining buildings have been converted for residential use.

Main House Block

Erected at the start of phase one, the main block is constructed from coursed stone and has slate roofs (fig 4.8-10). The predominantly two-storey, south-facing T-plan building spans eleven bays, which terminate in gabled cross-wings. Both the front and side façades are ornamented with gothic detailing in the form of shaped finials, and the front façade features an arched central entrance, reached via a series of stone stairs. The large, mullioned windows allow a significant amount of natural light into the building. Although Wetherby Workhouse clearly adopted a similar style to that

of Great Ouseburn Workhouse, its subtle ornamentation reflects an attention to detail not evident in the initial phase of Great Ouseburn Workhouse. The extra expense sanctioned by the Guardians may reflect the renewed inspiration in Wetherby in the 1860s related to improving economic growth.

Interior

In relation to the previous workhouses mentioned, the facilities for the Guardians and Master at Wetherby were more in keeping with those at Ripon and Skipton Unions than those at Great Ouseburn, where the facilities were much more basic (fig 4.11-4.12). In the centre of the ground floor was the Master's accommodation, which consisted of an office, a dining-room, and a sitting-room. The central area was also occupied by the Guardians' Boardroom, which featured two fireplaces, a separate bathroom, and a small waiting-room with a flagged floor. Although there were many similarities in the initial designs of Great Ouseburn and Wetherby Workhouses, the better facilities for the Guardians and Master suggest that the importance of displaying civic grandeur was greater in Wetherby, possibly due to the large number of people passing through the coaching town in the nineteenth century. Storerooms for the inmates' clothes and linens were located near the boardroom.

In its plan and the degree to which its inmates were segregated, Wetherby was almost identical to Great Ouseburn Workhouse, reflecting their relatively similar socioeconomic conditions. The central area divided the block, the male accommodation to the east and the female accommodation to the west. During phases one and two, the floors were boarded, and the walls were painted throughout. Heat was provided only by open fireplaces (Platt 1930: 34). A central corridor ran throughout the building, with staircases against the side walls of each cross-wing (RCHME 1991e: 2). Separate staircases permitted a level of segregation; the male and female inmates occupied opposite ends of the building. The staircases show that segregation by gender, as advocated by the NPL, was a priority from the very inception of the workhouse in Wetherby.

Ground-floor accommodation for the male inmates included a tailor's shop, two dayrooms, and a sanitary annex featuring two W.C.s. There was no bathroom for male inmates, so they used the bath in the vagrants' ward, suggesting there was a breakdown of the hierarchical stigmatisation of workhouse inmates (Platt 1930: 34). The ground-floor women's wing included a dayroom, which by 1930 was used as a nursery; a sanitary annex similar to that of the male wing; and a bathroom, which

was reportedly also used by staff, again emphasising the breakdown of the workhouse hierarchy (Platt 1930).

The Master's bedroom and a sitting-room for the cook occupied the central area of the first floor. The male ward consisted of one sixteen-bed dormitory and one three-bed dormitory (Platt 1930: 35). The women's ward consisted of a six-bed dormitory, a three-bed dormitory, and a ten-bed dormitory, with two cots. There was also a staff bedroom in this wing, but it could only be reached via the female wards. Such enforced lack of privacy indicates the desire of the Guardians to maintain a relatively high level of surveillance of the inmates by the staff. The degree of surveillance at Wetherby is similar to that achieved at other rural workhouses in West Yorkshire.

Located in the female wing, the children's accommodation comprised two three-bed wards, one for girls and the other for boys (Platt 1930: 34). Under the Carlton Gilbert Union, the children were educated in the workhouse. By the 1860s, there were a number of educational establishments in Wetherby, and the workhouse children attended the Church school. A very public dispute over pauper children mixing with the children of the Church School highlights the stigma attached to pauperism within the Wetherby Union. The local, non-conformist Wesleyan School offered to educate the workhouse children, but its offer was dismissed, indicating that the Guardians rejected religious nonconformity (Unwin 1987: 131-136). It was decided that the children would remain at the Church School, which illustrates the Guardians' desire to integrate the children of the workhouse into society and to distance them from pauperism. The attendance of school by children whose parents were receiving out-relief was never contested, which indicates the social acceptability of relief outside of the workhouse.

Surviving documentary evidence suggests that the architects designed the main block of Wetherby Workhouse to be almost identical to that of Great Ouseburn Workhouse. However, after their initial construction, these workhouses developed in significantly different ways in terms of improving facilities and classifying inmates. Unlike Great Ouseburn, Wetherby authorised the addition of sanitary towers, which improved hygiene and health whilst providing the inmates with a higher level of comfort and dignity. Furthermore, the tailor's shop indicates that the inmates at Wetherby were trained in trades to increase their employability outside the workhouse, a strategy more in line with capitalist/industrialist Skipton than Great Ouseburn. This was likely due to the multiple industries and occupations in Wetherby, which made training inmates more desirable than in the predominantly

agricultural area of Great Ouseburn. There is no evidence of inmate training at Great Ouseburn workhouse, which suggests that Wetherby's economic and political conditions made it more accepting of the NPL, despite its previous Gilbert Union traditions. Most significantly, the census records describe all residents as 'patients' after 1891, suggesting that the able-bodied were not housed in the workhouse and received relief elsewhere. By 1891, the workhouse was operating as a hospital.

Kitchen and Dining-Room

The dining-room was extremely basic. As in Great Ouseburn Workhouse, it was situated behind the Master's area at the back of the block, could accommodate 50 inmates, and had no fireplace or central heating. The paupers' experience of the dining-room at Wetherby would have been comparable to that of paupers in Great Ouseburn Workhouse.

The kitchen (demolished) was housed in the stem of the T-plan and connected to the main building via a lower building, similar to those also found north of the kitchen, which may have provided storage. A small, single-storey building adjoined the main block and provided the washhouse and laundry. In 1930, Platt deemed this facility primitive and unsatisfactory (Platt 1930: 35). A small pantry, baking house, and boiler-house were all reportedly inadequate in size and had no water supply (Platt 1930: 34). The lack of water in such crucial areas of the workhouse indicates that expense was kept to a minimum during the NPL era and that improving conditions in the main area of the workhouse was not thought necessary. The scarce facilities reflect the Guardians' strict attitude towards economy, which would have negatively impacted the experience of the pauper.

Vagrants' Wards

In contrast to the majority of rural West Yorkshire workhouses, Wetherby opted to construct vagrants' wards during phase one of the site's development (fig 4.13-15). Clearly vagrancy was a concern for the Wetherby Guardians, who opted to remove vagrants from the town to the workhouse, away from the main population. The three-bay, T-plan vagrants' wards, erected during the initial construction of the workhouse, echo the style of the main building. The south elevation, with projecting gabled front-wings, features three small windows on the ground and first floors. Entrance was originally via the rear of the block. In the NPL era, the western block housed the female vagrants, and the eastern block housed the male vagrants (Platt 1930: 34).

During the 1896 renovation that marks the start of phase two, the male vagrants' ward was extended to the rear, and a central sanitary tower was added. The new sanitary tower was a single-storey building with four large and two small front windows (Platt 1930: 34). The extension was demolished during phase five, before the RCHME survey. Cartographic evidence indicates that a further addition to the east of the block was made sometime between 1907 and 1930, but this has also been demolished (fig 4.2-3).

Internal

Vagrants' accommodation was located on the ground floor (4.11). The male vagrants' ward included a bathroom with two baths and two W.C.s, and a heating chamber. The wards, featuring boarded floors and painted walls, accommodated up to 38 vagrants. Each ward had a sanitary annex and featured a waiting-room and a small dayroom. There was no general dayroom, so inmates ate their meals in the main wards (Platt 1930: 34). In contrast to the Unions discussed previously, Wetherby does not appear to have provided any single-cell accommodation. This may be related to the early construction of the vagrants' wards, at a time when separate cells were not common, and to the desire of Guardians to keep the initial cost of the workhouse low.

Staff rooms adjoined the vagrants' blocks and included a bedroom for the gateman, which featured a concrete floor but had central heating and an open fire. The porter's accommodation was on the first floor and consisted of a sitting-room, bedroom, and W.C. (fig 4.12). A series of outbuildings was connected to this block, including a wood-chopping shed, a wood-sawing shed, and a store for inmates' clothing (Platt 1930: 34). The Guardians located the vagrants near the staff quarters and work-related area to increase control and reemphasise the importance of work ethic.

Accommodation for female vagrants was in the opposite block, which consisted of a dayroom with a tiled floor and central heating, a bathroom, and an external W.C. Centrally heated dormitories included a three-bed association ward with one cot. The first floor provided a bedroom for the night nurse and a storeroom. The inclusion of central heating and a cot in the female vagrants' ward suggests that either female vagrants were considered to deserve better facilities than the men or that this space had come to be used for another purpose. The outbuilding that originally adjoined this block was a paint shop. A number of small exercise yards were also attached to the vagrants' wards (Platt 1930: 34).

Infirmary Block

Like Great Ouseburn Union, Wetherby Union wished to avoid the expense of an infirmary. That Wetherby Union went so long without an infirmary suggests that the sick were in receipt of out-relief there. By 1900, the town's administrators had already identified disease as a serious concern in the region, as reflected in the construction of an isolation hospital at Sicklington in 1895 (Unwin 1987: 152). The infirmary (demolished) was constructed in 1905, at the start of phase three, at a cost of £2000 (*The Builder* 10/6/1905). Located south of the original workhouse, the infirmary centred on a two-storey central block with single-storey wings either side (fig 4.4.16-4.17). Three rooms deep, the central block featured a two-storey bay window on its front. Access was gained at the rear of the block through the kitchen, and stairs in the centre provided access to the rooms on the first floor. Across the front of the building ran a veranda, which had been glazed in by 1993. Verandas were also constructed at Ripon and Skipton, where modern ideas concerning ventilation and treatments were implemented. Phase-four additions include a porch and a block at the southeast corner (RCHME 1991e: 3).

Internal

The infirmary's central area provided administrative space (fig 4.18). This space includes a kitchen and a larder on the ground floor and nurses' accommodation on the first floor, which included a sitting-room, bathroom, bedroom, and clothing store (Platt 1930: 35).

The floors throughout the infirmary were boarded except for those in the lavatories and bathrooms, which were tiled. Central heating and hot water had been installed by 1930. These facilities were only available in the infirmary and the male vagrants' wards and were not installed into the main workhouse building. It was not uncommon for a workhouse infirmary to offer better facilities than the workhouse itself, but that the vagrants' block was maintained to a higher standard than the main block is unusual and may suggest this area was more frequently used than the main block by the end of the NPL era.

Male and female patients were accommodated in separate wings. The male accommodation consisted of a nine-bed ward and a two-bed ward, and a sanitary tower provided W.C. facilities. The female facilities, in the opposing wing, were identical, except the two-bed ward was used as a maternity ward. A dayroom in the male wing, which was heated by an open fire, was also used by female inmates and as a surgical room. The multiple uses of rooms suggest the plan of the infirmary

was inadequate and that, as a result, levels of segregation were reduced. Ineffective segregation clearly violated the regulations devised by the NPL. This option indicates the inefficiency of the workhouse and the limited space available for inmates within the workhouse. The female dayroom, located in the female wing, appears only to have been used by female inmates. Although the infirmary was relatively new and in good repair, Platt still considered it inadequate. In an attempt to keep down costs, the Guardians had allocated minimal resources, but Platt's survey suggests their frugality no longer reflected official public consensus as to requisite standards of care.

Conclusions

Wetherby did not experience the economic growth of neighbouring towns like Ripon and Skipton, so the expense of adopting the NPL did not initially appeal. Furthermore, because Wetherby was part of the Carlton Gilbert Union (like neighbouring Great Ouseburn Union), it was not obliged to adopt the NPL and could continue to relieve the poor under its existing system. As the majority of workers in the area were in seasonal employment, poor relief was only needed in the winter months, so it was likely the old system of out-relief was deemed sufficient. Even once Wetherby adopted the NPL in the 1860s, out-relief continued. In 1913, there were reportedly 264 paupers in the Union, of which only 75 were living in the workhouse (Unwin 1987: 154). This is probably due to the Guardians' desire to keep the rates down. Providing a workhouse for 264 inmates would have been far more costly than relieving paupers in their own homes. Census records confirm that the able-bodied were not relieved in the workhouse after 1891, as only 'patients' were recorded as residing in the workhouse. The stigma of pauperism was reduced by the continuation of out-relief as paupers were not immediately associated with the workhouse.

Keeping the cost of the NPL down appears to have been a priority of Wetherby Union. Like that of Great Ouseburn Workhouse, Wetherby's design reveals cost to be a driving factor. Initial designs were deemed too expensive, and the approved workhouse was very basic, with only fireplaces to provide heat. In the dining-room, there was no heat at all. This would have made conditions for the inmate exceptionally unpleasant in the winter months. Platt's report in 1930 indicates that conditions improved very little over the course of the NPL era, which suggests that attitudes towards the poor did not progress as they did in Ripon and Skipton. Wetherby Workhouse was very similar architecturally to the workhouse at Great Ouseburn since they were both designed by the same architects. Like Great Ouseburn, Wetherby was initially designed without an infirmary. Although many Unions added an infirmary some time after the initial construction of the workhouse, the

addition of an infirmary at Wetherby was unusually late. The delay was most likely due to cost. The building eventually constructed clearly never met the needs of the Union. Rooms were shared by men and women, preventing segregation. In 1930, only 25 years after its initial construction, Pratt described the building as completely inadequate, a further indication that the building failed to meet the needs of the infirm. The building remained in use for the mentally handicapped after the NPL was abolished, which suggests that the insane were kept in the workhouse during the NPL rather than being sent to the local asylum. This would have been less costly than sending patients to the asylums and thus provides a further indication of the Union's desire to keep the rates low, even at the cost of inmate welfare. The workhouse was designed to be basic in order to discourage paupers from seeking relief, and it remained primitive throughout the NPL era.

In contrast to the infirm, vagrants were provided for in the initial workhouse design. This is surprising as the NPL did not provide for vagrants in the 1860s, and many West Yorkshire workhouses did not initially provide vagrants' wards. Vagrancy was a noted problem within the town, and the initial plan of the workhouse accounted for vagrants, but the planned accommodation was not sufficient. The facilities had to be extended in 1896, and the workhouse became more involved with the vagrant class of pauper than originally intended. Like Skipton, high staff surveillance throughout the wards suggests that vagrants were considered a problematic class of pauper. The Guardians' desire to remove this class of pauper from the town highlights the stigma associated with vagrancy and the need to remove vagrants from society.

The stigma of pauperism is especially evident in Wetherby Union in comparison to neighbouring Unions, such as Great Ouseburn. Although national attitudes towards the poor began to evolve in the second half of the nineteenth century, as seen in Ripon and Skipton, this does not appear to have been the case in Wetherby. The attitude toward pauper children, for instance, as reflected in the attempt to exclude them from the local school, suggests that even in the case of the 'more deserving' poor, Wetherby's attitudes did not progress. This contrasts greatly with the more sympathetic attitude other Unions had towards children. Conditions remained basic primarily due to the Union's desire to keep the rates at low as possible, a reaction to the stagnant economic situation in the area. The lack of facilities indicates a high level of relief was received outside of the workhouse, particularly in the winter months, when agricultural work was limited.

The initial plans of these workhouses were almost identical, but subtle differences in style and development suggest Wetherby had a more conscientious attitude than Great Ouseburn. Firstly, the facilities for staff were more substantial, which reflects a higher regard for those employed in the workhouse. Secondly, the Guardians showed greater concern for modernising sanitary facilities, which improved the health and comfort of able-bodied inmates. Thirdly, Wetherby made greater improvements of facilities for those in the main workhouse. Finally, the infirmary was far more substantial than that found at Great Ouseburn. For example, Wetherby's infirmary adopted advances in medical treatment, such as separate sanitary facilities and ventilation, which Great Ouseburn infirmary did not. In contrast, Great Ouseburn adopted an infirmary of domestic design and appearance. Such subtly different features distinguish Wetherby Workhouse from its neighbour and illustrate how a detailed, interdisciplinary analysis reflects important differences between workhouses.

Case Study Five: Pateley Bridge Union Workhouse

Pateley Bridge is situated on the River Nidd, in the Nidderdale Valley, on the edge of the Yorkshire Dales. Farming, small-scale mining, and home textile production occupied residents for centuries. The natural landscape dramatically shaped economic life in the area. The region's topography limits agricultural activity; however, the topography did provide a natural water source for a domestic textile industry, which mainly produced cotton and flax. Mining and quarrying developed as a successful second industry in the valley due to the prevalence of natural resources and improvements in technology that enabled their extraction (Jennings 1992: 17). Much of the existing village was built during the nineteenth century, when Pateley Bridge prospered as a small textile centre in conjunction with a local lead-mining industry. The Yorke and Metcalfe families owned much of the land in and around Pateley Bridge and were the main instigators of its development. Both families were heavily involved in the building of houses, textile mills, breweries, railways, and roads, and they both assisted in establishing the Pateley Bridge Union soon after the passing of the NPL (Burgess 2003: 128).

Prior to the implementation of the NPL, rates levied in each township funded the provision of paupers with necessities such as fuel, clothing, the means to make a living, and the resources to maintain their houses (Jennings 1992: 366). The children, elderly, and infirm were given money and supplies to stay in their homes, which suggests that the OPL workhouse was not a central part of poor relief in Pateley Bridge. Those classed as mentally ill were the most likely to be institutionalised, which indicates that funds for indoor relief were reserved for those who could not care for themselves and required specialised attention. In contrast to other areas of the country, there is no evidence that Pateley Bridge Union applied anything like 'the workhouse test' to separate the deserving poor from the idle, instead rejecting indoor relief almost universally, housing only the most helpless cases. Although out-relief was clearly the preferred method of providing for the poor, each township had a poorhouse where paupers could reportedly go to look after each other (Jennings 1992).

Pateley Bridge constructed a workhouse in 1746. Other workhouses were constructed in the area around the same time. Britwith and Darelly, for example, shared a workhouse constructed in 1754. It would appear these early workhouses were predominately used to house the poor most in need, and little attempt was made to force inmates to work (Jennings 1992: 367). These houses were often directed by a Master who, interestingly, was himself a pauper. Although authority and power were not imposed by an outside Master instilled with institutional authority, comparable control of the

inmates may have been achieved through the administration of discipline and surveillance by 'one of their own'.

Attempts were made to provide the poor receiving out-relief with work. In Stonebeck Down, for instance, four cotton looms were bought for the poor, and in Bishopside, moorland was given to the poor to cultivate (Burgess 2003: 128; Jennings 1992: 367). Low wages rather than unemployment caused the majority of able-bodied paupers to request relief. By 1832, Pateley Bridge had adopted the Speenhamland System, which supplemented the low wages of working paupers with money levied from the poor rate.

Other than the OPL workhouse, few institutions are known to have existed in Pateley Bridge prior to the NPL—with one possible exception: an area of Pateley Bridge named 'Bedlam' is thought to refer to the site of a local asylum (Burgess 2003: 128). Although facilities for the mentally ill were provided in the workhouses of other rural towns and villages in West Yorkshire, none of the case studies discussed in this thesis provided a separate facility for the mentally ill before the passing of the NPL or unionisation. The possible existence of an asylum-type facility in Pateley Bridge anticipates the unusually specialised care it provided for those most in need during the NPL. Specialised provisions may have been established in Pateley Bridge as a result of its location a substantial distance from the Wakefield or York asylums. It would have been a quite costly to remove the mentally ill to these distant establishments, so a local institution may have been considered a more suitable (economical) option. However, it is seriously questionable whether the treatment of mentally ill inmates in Pateley Bridge would have been comparable to the modern standards of care offered in bigger institutions.

Other available relief for the poor included one-off donations from charities and bequests. Although such charity was common, it was open to abuse and was often used to subsidise poor-rates rather than to relieve the poor directly. The fact that the poor-rates required subsidisation implies that not everyone in the area contributed to poor-rates. Lack of financial support from local residents may suggest why the systems in place for the treatment of paupers were breaking down in Pateley Bridge and the surrounding region by the early nineteenth century whereas in other areas, such as Ripon, OPL systems persisted for decades. Throughout the eighteenth century, the cost of the poor throughout the region rose steeply. Jennings attributes the rising number of poor and increasing demands for relief to the enclosure of the land, population growth, and most significantly, the depression in the textile and lead industries after war with France in 1815 (Jennings 1992: 367).

The NPL was enacted immediately in Pateley Bridge, presumably because Pateley Bridge was not in a Gilbert Union, which complicated the unionisation of surrounding Unions such as Great Ouseburn. The Pateley Bridge Union was formed on 15 February 1837 and was administered by seventeen elected Guardians from ten parishes (Higginbotham 2006a). Like the Guardians of many newly formed Unions in the West Riding, those at Pateley Bridge resisted the need to construct a new workhouse. Instead, the existing workhouse in Pateley Bridge was extended. This vernacular building survives and has been converted into a residential dwelling. Despite Pateley Bridge's adoption of the NPL, it appears that workhouse still played a minimal role in relieving the Union's poor, which kept the rates low. Individual parishes were left to make accommodation arrangements for paupers locally, on a contract basis, as required (Jennings 1992: 369).

Although Pateley Bridge adopted the NPL and maintained a workhouse, numbers in the workhouse remained low. In 1832, there were only 17 inmates in the workhouse; this number rose to 36 in 1841. In 1851, the figure stood at just 32, and in 1861, the workhouse only accommodated a small number of elderly paupers, a few women and their children, and a couple of orphans (see Appendix 4). Such figures indicate that out-relief remained the preferred method of relieving the poor. The Guardians implemented various strategies to minimise the use of the workhouse and keep rates to an absolute minimum. During the depression of the 1840s, for example, the Guardians employed many of the unemployed in community projects and in one instance even financed a family's immigration to America (Jennings 1992: 370). Rather than admit children to the workhouse, the Guardians sent child paupers to Leeds to attend the Moral and Industrial Training School (PBG 9/1/1878).

Although Pateley Bridge had unionised, the Guardians clearly did not conform to all aspects of the NPL. There is no evidence to suggest entry into the workhouse was compulsory, which reflects that PLC guidelines regarding the intended role of the workhouse were not enforced. As in other workhouses across the country, scandals were rife. In 1841, the workhouse Master was accused of drunkenness and subsequently dismissed. His successor was also dismissed, for incompetence, the following year. The next Master was also discharged, for 'drunkenness, peculation, and other irregularities' (Burgess 2003: 130). This rapid turnover of staff illustrates the serious difficulty the Guardians had in employing suitable staff for the workhouse, a theme that was to reoccur throughout the NPL era at Pateley Bridge (Jennings 1992: 369). The Rev. T.N. Stoney of Pateley Bridge brought the ineptitude of the Guardians to the attention of the PLC by writing a letter relating an incident in which a workhouse inmate had died falling out of a local beer house, drunk. Stoney's Letter led to an

investigation of the Union's practices. Further instances of corruption were then uncovered, involving three successive Union clerks. Ralph Holgate was the first, accused of 'grossly immoral conduct'. The second was dismissed for being bankrupt and the third for vanishing without a trace (Jennings 1992: 370). It was not uncommon for a NPL Union to struggle to employ appropriate staff, but the Pateley Bridge Union appears to have struggled more than most. This may have been due to the isolated location of the Union and the poor condition of the workhouse.

Despite the rising cost of the region's poor, the rates levied by the Union remained low, suggesting that local charities continued to provide a large amount of poor relief. Although Pateley Bridge was quick to adopt the NPL, embedded traditions and methods of relieving the poor (such as out-relief) remained firmly in place. The Guardians continually struggled to collect the poor-rates from surrounding areas, as those whose occupation was mining were exempt (Jennings 1992: 367), and many just simply refused to pay. Such serious financial constraints would have prevented the NPL from ever being enacted completely in the Pateley Bridge Union, even if the Guardians had wanted to enact it. Ultimately, it was the paupers who suffered, as the Union could only provide limited relief.

The PLB was deeply concerned about the limited institutional facilities at Pateley Bridge, where reportedly the existing workhouse could only accommodate 50 inmates. The Guardians were continually asked to provide a more suitable facility (PBGM 7/8/1858). Guidelines on segregation were ignored, which greatly concerned the LGB. The NPL recommended strict segregation to control inmates and prevent the spread of pauperism. In Pateley Bridge, men and boys were reportedly sharing beds (PBGM 21/8/1858). Not only did such circumstances reduce institutional control over inmates, but the LGB believed children could be negatively influenced by adult paupers who did not uphold capitalist values. The separation of children from adults was thus deemed paramount if poverty levels were to be reduced in the future. Furthermore, there were not separate exercise yards, a concern dismissed by the Guardians, who argued that in a small Union such as Pateley Bridge, 'There is not the same occasion for classification of adults and children of the same sexes as in larger Unions ...' (PBGM 7/12/1861). Clearly the Guardians of Pateley Bridge did not see the need to apply the segregation rules outlined in the NPL. Allowing inmates of different ages to mix within the workhouse suggests that, unlike other Unions, Pateley Bridge did not feel that pauperism was 'infectious' or that mixing adults and children would encourage immoral behaviour. The Guardians appear to have believed that such rules were only applicable in larger urban Unions where poverty and pauperism had a different meaning and a different perceived cause. The Guardians reported

repeatedly that they did not have the funds to build a more extensive workhouse in order to more effectively segregate inmates and that such a workhouse was, in the first place, an unnecessary expense. Correspondingly, they consistently voted against the construction of a new building. This was not dissimilar to neighbouring Unions, including Ripon, Great Ouseburn, and Wetherby where workhouses were built much later than originally intended by the NPL. However, these areas took much longer to unionise than Pateley Bridge and built new workhouses just after they had adopted the NPL. In contrast, it took the Pateley Bridge Guardians 25 years after they had adopted the NPL to agree on a new workhouse.

Change came with the appointment of Charles Carr as the chair to the Board of Guardians after the death of John Yorke, whose policies Carr had continually opposed. Carr's demand for a new workhouse facility prevailed, and in 1862-3, a Union workhouse was erected opposite St. Cuthbert's Church to the design of John and William Atkinson, who also designed the workhouses at Wetherby and Great Ouseburn. By the time the workhouse was built, the cost of poor relief and the growing number of poor had probably begun to cause resentment amongst some of those paying poor-rates. As in many other Unions, this ultimately resulted in tougher restrictions on those receiving relief and the construction of a workhouse.

In 1914, the LGB demanded improvements be made to the workhouse, but the Guardians refused to pay. Instead, the Pateley Bridge Workhouse closed, and its inmates were transferred to the workhouse at Ripon. The Pateley Bridge Union did not entirely cease to exist, however. It still operated out-relief for the area, and the vagrants' wards remained in use until 1939 as a stop for those 'tramping' from the Skipton and Ripon areas. The cost of the poor and levying the poor-rates was a constant struggle for the Pateley Bridge Union. Numerous entries in the Guardians' Minutes refer to townships not paying their rates to the Union. It is therefore not surprising that the workhouse building was continually neglected. The Union even faced bankruptcy on several occasions.

Available Sources

Spanning from 1837 to 1888, the archive record for Pateley Bridge Workhouse is relatively substantial in comparison to that of other rural workhouses and provides many details as to how the Union was administered over time. Little of the remaining fabric, however, has previously been recorded. The RCHME (1996c) report is especially brief in comparison to the reports on other rural workhouses in

the case study area and provides little information. Pateley Bridge is not referred to in RCHME workhouse publication. Unfortunately, due to the early closure of the workhouse, the interior layout was converted for alternative use before Platt's 1930 survey, which consequently refers only occasionally to use of the site as a workhouse. As a result, use of the interior of the site during the NPL can be reconstructed only partially, based on the archive records and the surviving plan. As with other sites in West Yorkshire, OS maps enable a reconstruction of the landscape surrounding the workhouse and the division of exercise yards. A few local historians published short articles on Pateley Bridge in the nineteenth century; these have been valuable in providing a context for the workhouse.

Description of Building

The building is on the edge of the town, towards the top of the valley in which Pateley Bridge is situated (fig 5.1-3). This location places the building in an elevated and dominant position above the town. The building faces not toward the town but toward the parish church. Consequently, access is gained via King Street, thus closely associating the building with religion. This may be a functional decision, but it could also be an attempt to use religious ideology to influence the behaviour of the pauper. The close location to the church associates the workhouse with morality, education, and reform, all of which were important facets of the NPL.

The site has developed over five phases. The beginning of phase one was marked with the construction of the main workhouse building in 1862-3 (fig 5.4). The workhouse continued to operate within one building even though the number of vagrants in the area was rising. Many methods were employed to relieve vagrants outside of the workhouse, but eventually a separate vagrants' ward facility became a priority. The addition of a vagrants' ward in 1877 marks the start of phase two. A reoccurring theme of the Pateley Bridge case study is the Guardians' reluctance to maintain or improve the workhouse buildings. Such reluctance led to the closure of the workhouse in 1914, which began the third phase of the site's history. During phase three, the building was used for the administration of various public services, as a WWI prisoner of war camp, and as accommodation for workers on the Scar Dam Project (Platt 1930: 27). As the building was converted for each of these new uses, much of the interior plan from the workhouse era was altered. After the war, the use of the building entered its fourth phase as an administrative centre for local council and other organisations, such as the water board. This phase saw further alteration of the interior of the building to create suitable office space. The final development of the building, phase five, saw the

main building converted into the Nidderdale Museum and the vagrants' wards into commercial and residential dwellings. Despite its varied history, external changes to the buildings have been minimal, and much of the original fabric remains. There have been no additions, and only small alterations and minor repairs are evident. The internal layout of both buildings, on the other hand, has undergone substantial alteration, and much of the interior plan from phase one has been lost.

Main Building

Similarly to Great Ouseburn and Wetherby Workhouses, the main building, constructed from stone, adopts a classical style, featuring little ornamentation and a slate roof (fig 5.5-5.8). Although it was designed by the same architects as Great Ouseburn and Wetherby Workhouses, its plan differs. Great Ouseburn and Wetherby conform to T-plans whereas Pateley Bridge adopts an H-plan. It spans seven bays and terminates with two-bay projecting cross-wings. Built into the hillside, the building faces south, out of the valley, such that the front façade stands two storeys in height while the rear extends to three storeys. The main entrance is a panelled wooden door located on a porch in the centre of the south façade and flanked on either side by sash windows. The general lack of windows in this façade is interesting, as the other two workhouses have large windows that permit a substantial amount of natural light. For the ground floor, there are only two windows, set within plain stone lintels, on either of the porch. This minimal fenestration is repeated on the first floor. This economical choice makes the interior space very dark. Only one window is featured in the east gable-end, and it has been filled in. In comparison to Great Ouseburn and Wetherby, Pateley Bridge adopted an especially simple and unadorned style. The style of the workhouse created an unwelcoming and desolate atmosphere, which would have evoked depression in any pauper inmate entering the workhouse. In addition to its intended ideological function, the plain style of the workhouse served a practical function, too: it avoided unnecessary expense. The prioritisation of economy may imply that the Guardians of this Union, unlike those of Skipton and Ripon, for example, saw the workhouse as a functional requirement of the NPL rather than as an opportunity to display their civic pride and authority.

The west end of the H-plan represents a contrast to the rest of the building in that it includes decorative features. Stone cornices frame its façade, and it features a projected centre. The separate entrance into the west elevation is reached via a series of stone stairs and is much grander than the main workhouse entrance, featuring a fanlight and stone columns. Large and small windows are surmounted by ornate cut-stone lintels. The ornamentation of this façade promotes the status of

this space over the rest of the building, indicating that in phase one this area of the building was used by the Guardians. The Guardians' area was further elevated by the planting of shrubberies in the grounds and gardens surrounding the boardroom (PBGGM 22/8/1864). The physical designation of the Guardians' space through the variation in architectural style distinguishes this workhouse further from Great Ouseburn and Wetherby Workhouses. The Guardians at Pateley Bridge clearly wanted to convey their presence and power within the workhouse and to the outside community. Although the role of the workhouse in this Union was minimal (see Appendix 4), the role of Guardian was a respected position much sought after. Anyone passing the workhouse would have felt the Guardians' presence.

As the workhouse is built into the hill, the rear of the main block stands three storeys in height, and the basement level becomes the ground floor. This twelve-bay elevation features four entrances across the bar of the 'H' and two entrances on either end. There appears to have been a low level of segregation in the exercise yards, which were located to the rear of the building. OS Maps dating from 1893 indicate that the area to the rear of the workhouse was divided into five exercise yards. One would have been used by the vagrants' wards and the other four by the workhouse. It is likely that the able-bodied male and female inmates would have had separate exercise yards, with the other two being used by infirm men and women. As there are only four inmate exercise yards, the children most likely shared the exercise yards of the elderly, as was the case at neighbouring Unions, such as Skipton. Unlike Ripon and Skipton, however, which implemented strict segregation by providing separate exercise facilities for each inmate class, Pateley Bridge kept segregation to a minimum. The limited level of segregation in the exercise yards at Pateley Bridge may indicate that segregation was also limited within the workhouse building. As no separate facilities were ever built, the able-bodied, sick, elderly, and children would all have been housed within the same building.

Internal

The LGB considered the workhouse to be in bad repair, which resulted in its closure in 1914. Platt describes the sanitary fittings as especially unsatisfactory and notes that the building was lit by gas whereas many other Unions had installed electricity by this time. On a whole, the complex was considered 'very primitive' (Platt 1930: 27). Examples of primitive facilities can be found in the Guardians' Minutes. For example, it was reported that no facility had been provided for the drying of clothes in the receiving wards. The Guardians' answer to this problem was to light a fire (PBGGM 18/5/1878). This was far from ideal and would have created a dismal environment for the inmates.

The Guardians clearly did not regard the workhouse as a primary source of relief as out-relief was still being offered and numbers in the workhouse remained low. The Union's poor economic conditions led to the continuation of traditional methods of relief that did not raise the poor-rates, which the surrounding population struggled to pay in the first instance. Limited facilities in the workhouse would also have made it difficult for staff to undertake their job efficiently. It is unsurprising that the Guardians struggled to employ reliable staff committed to caring for the poor.

The original corridors remain, running the entire length of the building. It appears that efforts were made at the time of its construction to achieve the levels of segregation recommended by the PLC. As at Great Ouseburn and Wetherby Workhouses, doors were placed within the corridors and passages and between the various wings of the workhouse (PBGGM 5/12/1863). The first floor originally contained the dormitories, but by phase three it was in use by the various committees. Flooring throughout the first floor was wood whereas that on the ground was stone. The interior fixtures, especially the flooring, are similar to those at Great Ouseburn and Wetherby Workhouses.

During phase three, part of the workhouse basement was used as a temporary vagrants' ward. Platt describes the entire area as very damp with cold flagged floors (Platt 1930). The basement included a recreation room, which was used on Sundays and featured a flagstone floor, lime-washed walls, and a small fireplace. There were also two additional wards, each containing five plank beds. As at Great Ouseburn, receiving wards do not appear to have been a priority. This suggests that physically making a pauper aware of his/her situation through his/her entry into the workhouse was not deemed necessary. The routine of initiating inmates into the workhouse regime did not feature as prominently in Pateley Bridge as at Skipton and Ripon Workhouses. The Guardians did not enforce the stigma of pauperism upon the able-bodied as suggested by the NPL.

Platt notes that the accommodation provided within the main institution block was worse than the accommodation in the vagrants' wards themselves. If the basement area is reflective of conditions throughout the building, then conditions within this workhouse were extremely poor. The Union's limited workhouse maintenance and poor finances sometimes verging on bankruptcy suggest that the local communities did not want to pay for the workhouse. Other forms of relief continued to be offered, presumably in the same manner as prior to the adoption of the NPL. The Guardians' treatment of the able-bodied suggests attitudes towards the poor did not harden over time in Pateley Bridge as they did in other regions, and out-relief was still preferred.

In 1903, local resident Mr. Casmeay rented a portion of the building. Casmeay occupied two rooms in the basement, one on the ground floor, and two on the first. He made a number of alterations to the internal plan, including the conversion of the original dining-room to an elementary school for local children (Platt 1930). In other areas of West Yorkshire, these facilities would have been provided by the Poor Law Union. A local charity providing schooling for the children is another example of the Union keeping the rates down by relying on local philanthropy, a tradition long embedded in the region.

Vagrants' Wards

There were no vagrants' wards at Pateley Bridge Workhouse prior to 1877. Vagrants were accommodated in lodging houses or at the local police station, despite the continual condemnation of such accommodation by the sanitary officer (PBGGM 5/7/1873; 18/11/1876). In an attempt to avoid expenditure on a vagrants' ward, it is noted in the Guardians' Minutes that a local police officer was appointed assistant Relieving Officer. It was then he who enforced the labour test and assigned accommodation, which cost less than the provision of a purpose-built vagrants' ward and—because the police officer had the power and authority of the law behind him—allowed for greater control over vagrants. However, amongst criticisms of the system was the fact that male and female vagrants were relieved in the same place, which ignored the concept of segregation (PBGGM 25/8/1877). Only when the police station was full were the female vagrants taken to a lodging house in town (PBGGM 21/4/1877). Continual complaints from the PLB concerning the facilities provided for vagrants and the considerable yearly increase in the number of vagrants seeking relief led to the eventual construction of a separate vagrants' ward at the workhouse.

The provision of suitable vagrants' wards was the subject of continual debate between the Guardians and the LGB. The minutes indicate that correspondence addressing the issue began as early as 1873. The LGB hindered the Union's expansion plans by failing to sanction the appropriate funds (PBGGM 3/6/1876). The plans were considered too extravagant. The fact that the LGB did not approve the Guardians' plans suggests that despite their reluctance to expand, the Guardians had proposed a facility fit to purpose. Once the decision had been made to accommodate vagrants in the workhouse, female and child vagrants were allowed to be accommodated in the receiving wards of the workhouse building until the vagrants' ward had been completed (PBGGM 8/9/1877). After 40 years of the NPL, the construction of a vagrants' ward indicates that the Pateley Bridge Guardians finally agreed to relieve vagrants and provide suitable, segregated accommodation. It seems likely the

Guardians did not regard this as part of their job because traditionally they had relieved only the local poor, but the vagrants were considered a class not worthy of relief.

The vagrants' ward is located northwest of the main building. It consisted of two blocks parallel to each other, conjoined by the east elevation, and featured a semi-basement and a ground floor (Platt 1930: 27) (fig 5.9-10). The vagrants' ward adopts a similar form to the main building, constructed from stone with a slate roof and gabled to the east side. The gables feature oculi within pointed relieving arches, and the windows have shouldered lintels, unlike the windows elsewhere in the building, which have flat heads. Entrance is gained via the west elevation. The style of the elevation is similar to that of the west elevation of the main building. The west elevation of the vagrants' ward consists of seven bays with two doors centred on a window. A stone staircase provides access to two entrances, one for male inmates and the other for female inmates.

The north elevation features eleven bays, with two entrances into the semi-basement to the east, one of which is blocked. These entrances would have provided access for vagrants into the exercise yards. A series of five windows on the west side of the northern elevation indicates where the stone-breaking cells were located. The eleven windows on the ground floor would have provided the only form of light to the wards. The block to the north is much shorter than that to the south, but it is constructed in a similar style.

An external shelter was constructed in the vagrants' yard so that the vagrants could continue stone-breaking or wood-chopping even in wet weather, thus contributing toward their cost to the Union (PBG 11/10/1884). Vagrants could not leave the vagrants' ward in wet clothes, so the shelter was constructed more to minimise the burden to the Union than to provide a comfort to the vagrants themselves.

Internal

The ground floor contained the Master's accommodation, which was comprised of bedrooms, a sitting-room, an office, and a bathroom, each of which featured boarded floors, sash windows, and painted or papered walls. This implies that even the Master would not take accommodation in the workhouse building. The location of the Master in the vagrants' wards as opposed to the main building is unique in the entire case study area. This dramatically reduced his control within the institution.

Accommodation for the vagrants was considered very primitive (Platt 1930: 27). A corridor ran through the ground floor of the building. Ten single cells branched off this corridor for the use of male vagrants. These cells consisted of boarded floors, lime-washed walls, and planks for beds. By 1930, this area was heated by hot pipes. However, there was no form of artificial light. The adoption of the single-cell system suggests that controlling the vagrant population was a priority for the Guardians; however, vagrants quickly became the most common inmate class housed in the institution. In 1930, 30 vagrants were being relieved by the workhouse. Either all were located in the vagrants' wards, which would have made this area extremely overcrowded, or some were housed in the workhouse. An eight-bed association ward, of similar construction, was also provided for the male vagrants, but in this ward they had to sleep on the floor. Accommodation for female vagrants consisted of a two-bed ward located on the same corridor as the men's and finished in a similar fashion. The only sanitary accommodation consisted of two baths and three lavatories, which men and women had to share; the workhouse clearly failed to conform to segregation rules (Platt 1930: 27). No dayroom was provided for the vagrants, so they consumed their dietary allowance, bread and gruel, in the cells (PBGM 3/5/1879). Evidently the Guardians did not regard accommodation for the vagrants as a priority. In comparison to previous vagrants' wards discussed, the vagrants at Pateley Bridge experienced especially basic facilities. It is obvious that little regard was given to their well being.

The semi-basement featured a boiler-heated dayroom with a flagged stone floor and lime-washed walls. The remaining space was occupied by a coal house, a storeroom, five stone-breaking cells, a wood-chopping shed, and a washhouse, which contained a gas boiler but no water. In the 1930s, when Platt surveyed the building, 3 women and 30 male vagrants were in residence for that night. Despite the LGB's recommendation that female vagrants be accommodated in the workhouse when possible, at Pateley Bridge, female vagrants clearly continued to be housed in overcrowded vagrants' wards at the end of the NPL era. (The three women Platt records shared two beds [Platt 1930: 28].)

Conclusion

Like Skipton, Pateley Bridge was not part of a Gilbert Union prior to the NPL, nor did it have an organised relief system for the poor prior to 1834. Instead, relief appears to have been granted on a case-to-case basis. The lack of an organised system made it easier for the PLC to unionise Pateley Bridge than neighbouring Unions. However, the financial limitations of its small, rural economy made it difficult for the commissioners to enforce the construction of a NPL workhouse. The Guardians were reluctant to construct a new workhouse because the local economy was unable to support the

cost. The local population often refused to pay the poor-rates at all, which suggests that NPL relief of the poor was unpopular. The economic circumstances of the region meant that once a workhouse was commissioned, it was extremely limited by budget constraints.

Economy is reflected in the choice of a plain classical style and simple H-plan. Like that of Great Ouseburn, the architectural style of Pateley Bridge reflects limited finances rather than an attempt to deter the poor from seeking relief through an intimidating building. Economising the design of the workhouse meant that the building failed to conform to a number of NPL ideals. For example, all classes of inmate were housed within the same block, segregation was limited to gender, and control appears to have been minimal. For a number of years, the Master, whose central position in other workhouses was crucial to maintaining control, did not even reside in the workhouse at Pateley Bridge. The evidence suggests that conditions in the workhouse were primitive in comparison to the workhouses discussed previously and that the Guardians were reluctant to undertake any maintenance work.

The basic building and minimal maintenance meant that paupers residing in the Pateley Bridge Workhouse experienced very poor conditions. For example, the building's design meant that little natural light was gained from the north or east elevation, which made for especially dark rooms. Furthermore, heat was only sourced from open fireplaces, which were not located in every room. The Guardians' Minutes frequently refer to the requests of the PLC for building improvements, but these were largely ignored, suggesting that conditions only got worse with time. The impoverished state of the workhouse made the lives of the inmates incredibly depressing and miserable. However, census records indicate that there were never more than 33 inmates in the workhouse (usually fewer), and the workhouse closed earlier than any other in West Yorkshire, so few inmates were ever subjected to its harsh conditions.

The majority of paupers were relieved outside of the workhouse. Children were sent to schools, such as the Leeds Moral and Industrial Training School, or orphanages, or they were apprenticed, if possible. The workhouse was never used to relieve large numbers of children. The highest number to be recorded in a year was seven (see Appendix 4). The able-bodied were also kept out of the workhouse, through out-relief, public works programs, and emigration. Those who required specialised care were sent to specialised institutions. The mentally ill, for instance, were sent to Menston Asylum. Keeping inmate numbers down was evidently a priority for the Guardians.

Although the NPL workhouse was the administrative centre of Pateley Bridge Union, the Guardians clearly did not consider it central to NPL relief.

The NPL workhouse played a minimal role in relieving the paupers of Pateley Bridge. As a result, standards within the workhouse were not maintained, and for its few inmates, conditions worsened throughout the NPL era. The small, rural population could not financially support a functioning NPL workhouse. Traditional relief patterns continued, new relief strategies developed, and the majority of paupers did not experience the workhouse at all. The role of the workhouse as laid out by the NPL was never realised in Pateley Bridge.

Case Study Six: Wharfedale Union Workhouse

Wharfedale Union Workhouse was located in Otley, an industrial market town on the edge of the Yorkshire Dales, north of Leeds. Prior to industrialisation, farming and cottage industries provided local employment (Morgan 2002: 30). Due to its location on the edge of Leeds, Bradford, and the Yorkshire Dales, Otley has always had a dynamic combination of commerce and social activity (Horton-Fawkes cited Morgan 2002: 8). The town embraced industrialisation and improvements in agriculture, which attracted workers to the area; the population of the town doubled between 1800 and 1860.

Like Skipton, up-and-coming Otley developed many industries, including iron works, tanneries, corn mills, printing works, paper mills, and flax mills. Improving transportation made it possible for the town to transport goods quickly and cheaply to nearby cities and beyond, so industry thrived. Increased industry and agricultural activity, in conjunction with a rising population, led to the development of two markets in Otley during the nineteenth century. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, a growing sense of civic order led local authorities to commission grand civic buildings befitting an aspiring Victorian society. In 1885, an order was passed to remove the markets from the streets. The removal of street markets dramatically improved living conditions and increased pedestrian and vehicular access to the town (Morgan 2002: 34). Otley's aspirations to increase its national prominence prompted the construction of a new, innovative workhouse for its poor.

Prior to the NPL, parishes in the Wharfedale region from Ilkley to Collingham were part of a large Gilbert Union, formed in 1818 and centred on Carlton, south of Otley. Parishes within the Carlton Gilbert Union shared a number of small workhouses throughout the area, including those at Green Cross and Dennison Hill (Walker 1974: 70). The PLC sought to disband this arrangement, as it had disbanded other Gilbert Unions within Yorkshire, so as to implement the new, unionised system.

The Wharfedale NPL Union formed on 15 February 1861. Twenty-two Guardians representing eighteen parishes administered the Union. A central workhouse, larger than those of the Carlton Gilbert Union, was needed to serve the number of parishes within the Union. However, a NPL workhouse was not constructed for ten years, presumably due to issues of cost and the ingrained tradition of relieving the able-bodied poor in their homes. A long tradition of Gilbert Union relief was

evidently hard to break. The Carlton Gilbert Union lasted longer than any other, and when it disbanded, its parishes did not rush to provide NPL institutions. Eventually (1871-1873), a new workhouse was constructed on Newell Carr Road, on a site acquired from the Fawkes Estate. Designed by C.S. and A.J. Nelson, who also designed Bramley Workhouse (North Leeds), the building could accommodate 100 inmates plus approximately 60 vagrants. The new workhouse cost the Union the relatively large sum of £15,000. However, shortly after it opened, it required additions costing a further £1,400. The need for alterations after so short a period suggests that in the early years of the Union, the Guardians underestimated the amount of indoor-relief needed, presumably planning to continue out-relief to keep workhouse numbers down. The Guardians' apparent reluctance to adopt the guidelines for the provision of workhouse relief suggests that the Guardians resisted NPL ideals. By the time Wharfedale Workhouse was constructed, the NPL had evolved from the initial 1834 act. LGB guidelines regarding the provision of facilities for the sick were evolving and modernising, and increasingly Unions were urged to provide certain categories of inmate classes with specialised care outside of the workhouse. The Guardians at Wharfedale were working within different historical and social contexts from the Skipton Guardians in 1838. The impact of different contexts is clearly evident in the varying architecture of the two workhouses.

Available Sources

In light of current plans to develop the site, Jacobs Babtie completed a condition survey, which examines aspects of its development history and original features (Jacobs Babtie 2005). Although the buildings are currently derelict, access to the interiors is limited due to significant amounts of asbestos. Babtie's survey provides some of the unavailable internal detail although its purpose is not to record the architectural features of the building but to assess its condition. The RCHME produced a report on the building in 1991 that provides some basis for reconstructing the history of the site, but unfortunately no original plans remain to document the different phases of the site's development (RCHME 1991f). Platt's 1930 survey details the state of the site at the end of the NPL era, which is useful given that no archival evidence relating to the administration of the workhouse survives; the Guardians' Minutes have been lost. Many of the building's nineteenth-century developments are recorded in *The Builder*, which has been a valuable source for this site. O.S. maps give insight as to the development of the building, the location of the exercise yards, and the extent to which inmates were segregated by gender and class.

Description of the building

The workhouse is approached via the main road heading north from the town centre (Newell Carr Road), and it now shares its grounds with a new hospital (fig 6.1-2). Although the site is now incorporated into the outskirts of the town, the cartographic evidence indicates that it was initially quite isolated from the populated area. Access is gained directly from the main road through an entrance block, so the interior is only visible upon entry into the complex proper.

Since its inception, the site has seen three distinct phases of use. Phase one began in 1871 with the construction of the main workhouse building, the original infirmary, and the entrance block (fig 6.3). In contrast to those of earlier workhouses in West Yorkshire, the facilities at Wharfedale appear to have met the needs of sick paupers initially. However, as in other Unions in the region, the growing number of infirm paupers placed increasing demands upon the workhouse. The Guardians resisted development until 1907, when a new infirmary was constructed, which marks the beginning of phase two. The expansion of the workhouse's role in relieving the sick with a new infirmary suggests a shifting emphasis. Paupers most in need of physical care were becoming a priority to the Guardians. Phase three began with the site's conversion to a hospital in 1930, which affirms this change in values (fig 6.4). The transfer of the hospital patients to a new, separate facility on the same site (and the resultant dereliction of the original workhouse buildings) marks the start of phase four of the site's development. The site is still derelict; however, plans for its redevelopment for residential use will see the site enter its fifth phase.

Entrance Block

The single-storey entrance block, built at the start of phase one, was constructed from stone with a slate roof in the Gothic Revival style, like several other buildings on the site (fig 6.5-6). Access to the site is gained through a carriage entrance that separates the block into two ranges. The east elevation, which faces onto the road, has numerous stone embellishments and carvings, particularly around the gables, eaves, and the arched entrance, either side of which are two stone capital columns. Originally, an iron gate filled the entrance (*The Builder* 14/6/1873: 462) (fig 6.7). The major projections have groups of three windows set below a decorative roundel whereas the minor projections feature one or two windows. The roof has hipped and gable-end sections that intersect with the main pitched roof construction. The original building had stone eave brackets, which are not evident on the north wing added in 1927 (RCHME 1991f: 4). Phase-three additions to the entrance block include several single-storey, flat-roofed, 1970s additions (Jacobs Babbie 2005). In contrast to

the Unions discussed previously in this thesis, Wharfedale Workhouse adopts an elaborate style in keeping with that of urban workhouses such as Leeds and Bradford. Like that of Skipton, Wharfedale's style reflects its Guardians' desire to create a building reflective of civic grandeur and pride in the Union's provision for the poor.

Internal

The entrance block featured the Guardians' Boardroom, the porter's lodge and office area, the receiving wards, and the vagrants' wards (*The Builder* 14/6/1873: 462). Most rooms are interconnected, but some areas can only be accessed externally. During the NPL era, the office was used by the porter and adjoined by a waiting-room used by visitors as well as entering vagrants. Surveillance of this area was undertaken by the porter, who occupied rooms by the arched entrance, including a living-room, kitchen, office, and bathroom.

During phases one and two, this block also accommodated the vagrants' ward and the task sheds. Due to its location on the boundary of the complex, occupants of this area were strictly segregated from the permanent inmates of the workhouse. The treatment of vagrants at Wharfedale reflects the town's stereotypical values toward this category of pauper. As in most West Yorkshire workhouses, the vagrants were regarded as the lowest of pauper classes, and their association with workhouse inmates was kept to a minimum.

Accommodation for female vagrants consisted of a three-bed receiving ward with an open fireplace, a bathroom containing one bath and a lavatory, and an external W.C. There was a further six-bed association ward, used for both sleeping and eating, that had boarded floors, an open fire, and lime-washed walls. In connection with this ward were a bathroom, a lavatory, and two outside W.C.s. The space designated for male vagrants was much larger and included an eleven-bed ward and a thirty-two bed ward, as well as a dayroom. There were also eight separate cells used to accommodate unruly male vagrants. Sanitary provisions included three internal W.C.s, three urinals, and two baths (Platt 1930). Like other Unions, Wharfedale regarded male vagrants as more of an issue than female vagrants. However, the workhouse provided only eight separate cells, which would not have substantially aided the level of control over the 60 vagrants in the ward. Control over this pauper class appears to have been a low priority. Because the workhouse did not provide a substantial number of separate cells, the porter was crucial in maintaining order amongst the vagrants.

The vagrants were usually admitted into the workhouse at 6 p.m. They were given a bath and a meal, and after a night's rest they spent the day doing task work, such as picking oakum for making mats. They were released the following morning with a packet of bread and cheese (Walker 1974: 73). Vagrants were not allowed into the workhouse if they had any money or tobacco, so they used to secret any that they had in cracks in a wall just outside the workhouse gates until their departure the next day (Walker 1974: 73). The Guardians evidently expected the vagrants to be completely destitute if they were to receive relief in the vagrants' wards. This policy was obviously ineffective as it was so easily undermined by the ingenuity of the vagrants. The porter must have been aware of such deceit for it to have been recorded, which suggests that rules relating to the level of destitution were not firmly enforced. Unfortunately, Wharfedale Workhouse census records do not indicate the number of vagrants in the workhouse. Platt provides the only record of vagrant numbers, noting that in 1930, the wards accommodated 51 male and 6 female vagrants. The vagrants' wards were full, which suggests that vagrants were a continuing issue, and over-crowding was common, as in Skipton and Ripon.

Main Building

Like the main buildings at Great Ouseburn and Wetherby Workhouses, the two-storey, stone main building of Wharfedale Workhouse adopts a T-plan (fig 6.8-10). Although the plan adopted by Wharfedale Workhouse was not uncommon, the modern pavilion plan was increasingly adopted by modernising urban Unions. The principal elevation faces south and embraces the Gothic style, being heavily ornamented with stone embellishments and carvings, particularly around the gables, eaves, and tower. The bar of the T-plan forms the front façade, which ends in gabled cross-wings. A centrally placed projected entrance provides the primary access route to the building. A series of small steps leads to the pointed arched doorway, which is flanked on either side by carved columns and two single-storey bay windows, above which are three sets of Italianate casement windows. Two pairs of sash windows set on stone sills and surmounted by stone lintels feature on either side of the entrance. The gable-ends feature triplets of sash windows on the ground floor and Italianate-style windows on the first floor. These are surmounted by a decorative oriel in the pitch of the gable. Either side of the central projection is a further projection, which housed the communication stairs between floors. These feature simple rectangular windows on the ground floor and arched windows on the first. Each projection has a segmental-headed doorway set within the return wall. In the NPL era, these provided male and female inmates with separate access routes to the first floor. Although Ripon and Wharfedale Workhouses adopt very different styles, they are alike in that they both adopt

unnecessary embellishments. The inclusion of decorative ornamentation is in stark contrast to the classical styles adopted by neighbouring workhouses like Skipton, Great Ouseburn, Wetherby, and Pateley Bridge. This thesis argued in relation to the Ripon case study that the Ripon Guardians chose to adopt an Elizabethan style to associate the building with charitable almshouses. The development of Wharfedale Union suggests its Guardians may have been similarly motivated. Census records indicate that the majority of inmates were elderly, which supports the suggestion that the Guardians used decorative ornamentation to evoke images of institutional care (see Appendix 4). The style of Wharfedale Workhouse can clearly be more closely associated with urban NPL institutions and infirmaries than smaller neighbouring NPL Unions and their workhouses.

The north elevation is much plainer in style than the south elevation, but the door porches are similar to those at the front of the building. The stem of the T-plan projects from the middle of this elevation. The kitchen and dining-rooms occupied this area, which consisted of a single-storey, four-bay structure lit by tall, round-headed windows. These rooms are connected to the main building by a lean-to porch, providing all-weather access between blocks.

The fenestration of each of the elevations is symmetrical, with the exception of the single-storey sections to the west and east ends. These single- and two-storey sanitary annexes are not bonded to the building, and in light of the photographic evidence, it is clear that these are later additions. Like those of Wetherby Union, Wharfedale's Guardians sought to improve sanitary facilities whenever possible as the needs of the Union increased. The inclusion of improved sanitary facilities suggests that the Guardians sought to improve the conditions of the inmates.

The ornamented tower situated above the centre of the building has a steeply pitched, slate-finished roof that comes to a truncated pyramid, with ornate timber dormer windows on all four sides at the midpoint. Babbie's investigations reveal that when the tower was originally built, in 1873, the pyramid roof rose to a point (Jacobs Babbie 2005: 25). This has since been truncated, probably due to structural failure of the timber frame. A flat roof has been added at the reduced level, with decorative railings to each side. The inclusion of a tower draws attention to the site, making the building a focal point in the landscape. The design of this building clearly added to the civic grandeur of the town, displaying its wealth, civic order, and worth as a prominent Victorian town. Once they had formally decided to construct one, the Guardians were clearly not reluctant to invest substantially in a building for the poor.

Internal

During phases one and two, the main building accommodated the core of workhouse life, including the majority of paupers and administrative facilities. The surviving interior, predominantly dating from phase three, is relatively plain in appearance by modern standards. The sole exception is the entrance hall (fig 6.11-12). As Babbie notes, this area contains more decorative features, including a plaster cornice (Jacobs Babbie 2005). Each wing of the workhouse housed separate entrances and staircases for the inmates' use, so it is unlikely inmates used the entrance hall or the central area of the workhouse to which it provided access. The elaborate decoration in the main entrance area reflects the superior position of the Master and visitors to the workhouse. The decoration clearly distinguishes the staff from the inmates and emphasises a hierarchy within the institution. The principal staircase is accessed through the main entrance in the south elevation; it has an ornate cast-iron balustrade with a wreathed, polished hardwood handrail. A central corridor, with an original stone floor, runs west to east from the central foyer and stairs (fig 6.13-14). At ground-floor level, the single-storey sanitary extensions at either end can be accessed either internally via the central corridor or externally via a separate entrance.

During phase one, it appears that even though the inmates were allocated separate areas of the workhouse, they still lived within close proximity. This was a reality of all T-plan workhouses. The implications of proximity in Wharfedale were similar to those identified in relation to the T-plan workhouses discussed previously. Because the small size and T-plan layout of the building allowed paupers the proximity within which to hear or catch a glimpse of family members through a door or window, the possibility of total segregation was limited.

Platt's survey provides a detailed description of the main building's plan in 1930, by which time many of the infirm had been moved from the main workhouse to the old infirmary. The centre of the ground floor provided the Master's accommodation, which included an office, sitting-room, and lavatory and was finished with boarded floor, painted walls, and fireplaces (Platt 1930: 37). The central foyer allowed for the division of inmates into the two wings of the building based on gender. The elderly were accommodated in the front portion of the building, while the able-bodied were located in the rear rooms, and the children were placed in the end rooms (*The Builder* 14/6/1873: 461) (fig 6.15-16).

Accommodation for male inmates consisted of three dayrooms, a tailor's shop, a lavatory containing twenty basins, a bathroom with three baths, and numerous stores. An external entrance to the south of the building provided access to the exercise yards, which contained five W.C.s (Platt 1930: 37). In the exercise yards, male inmates chopped wood that was then sold to the public, which created income for the Union (Walker 1974: 73). Like similarly industrialising towns, Wharfedale sought to uphold capitalist values by providing inmates with work and the possibility of learning new skills.

The women's facilities were similar to the men's, comprising a dayroom, a lavatory, a bathroom with two baths, and a sewing room. A nursery and separate bathroom for the children were also located in the female wing. This wing was supervised by a general assistant and Matron, each of whom occupied a dayroom. All the rooms were finished in a similar style, with painted walls and boarded floors. Open fires were the predominant source of heat, which Pratt described in 1930 as 'wholly inadequate' (Platt 1930: 36). Although Platt describes these facilities as inadequate, the sanitary provisions for the able-bodied inmates at Wharfedale are far better than those of any other workhouse discussed previously. In Skipton, for instance, it was reported in 1930 that there was just one toilet for 50 inmates, and at Great Ouseburn there was no bath. Inmates in Wharfedale Workhouse experienced more comfortable facilities than those of many of the neighbouring Unions.

The stem of the T-plan formed the dining-room, which accommodated up to 80 inmates. The tall windows, resembling those used in ecclesiastical buildings, permitted large amounts of natural light into the room; indeed, the dining-room was also used as a chapel. Religion and moral education seem to have been an important part of life within the workhouse, reflecting the Guardians' desire to promote a strong work ethic, especially to younger paupers who they feared might be influenced negatively by their adult counterparts. Two fireplaces heated this space, which was finished with plastered, painted walls that were ornamented by a dado. The heat, light, and finish in this room provided a significant amount of comfort in comparison to the dining-rooms of Great Ouseburn, Wetherby, and Pateley Bridge Workhouses (fig 6.18-19). The kitchen, pantry, and scullery were placed logically next to the dining-room, which also provided a sitting-room for the cook. The female inmates may have been responsible for cleaning, baking, and the laundry in this area of the workhouse (Walker 1974: 73). The employment of female inmates in the kitchen and/or laundry was not uncommon in West Yorkshire workhouses and would have reduced the required number of employed staff. No general servants were ever recorded to have worked in the workhouse, so the daily routine of female inmates likely included many of these tasks.

The first floor was segregated based on gender, with separate staircases providing access to each wing. A central corridor ran east to west, providing direct access to the facilities. The male wing consisted of one eleven-bed, three seven-bed, and two two-bed dormitories (fig 6.17). There was one W.C. on the landing, for use only at night, and a storeroom. The area was supervised by the Master, who was provided with a bedroom and personal lavatory. Providing the Master with separate accommodation within the ward enabled a high level of inmate surveillance. The Master clearly had a higher level of control over the inmates than the vagrants. The greater attention given to inmates emphasises the hierarchy between the vagrants and inmates; more regard was given to inmates than vagrants. Accommodation for the female inmates was similar, consisting of an eleven-bed, a nine-bed, and a three-bed dormitory and a nursery with three beds and four cots. The female wing also contained two staff bedrooms, which could only be reached through the female dormitory (Platt 1930: 37). The presence of two members of staff in this wing of the workhouse allowed a higher level of control over female inmates than that wielded over male inmates, but it also indicates a higher level of care. The facilities and staff in the main building of the workhouse go beyond those of many West Yorkshire workhouses. Despite Platt's negative comments at the end of the NPL era, it seems the Guardians at Wharfedale sought to provide inmates with facilities and staff of a higher quality than those of neighbouring rural workhouses. This display of paternalism suggests attitudes towards poverty were not entirely negative and that the ideals of the Gilbert Union were still evident in the NPL workhouse.

The Infirmary

The original infirmary, constructed north of the site at the start of phase one, is a two-storey stone building with a slate roof (fig 6.20). Its primary façade features two entrances separated by a set of double sash windows and six bays either side of the entrances. The entrances are reached by a short run of stone steps that provided separate access for male and female patients during the NPL era. Like those at Ripon, the two entrances are too close together to have allowed for the enforcement of exterior segregation, but they do indicate that segregation was maintained within the building. Decorative and corbel stonework was used around the entrance and eaves, matching that on the main building.

The east and west elevations both feature single-storey projections and a series of stone stairs providing access to the first floor. Two extensions to the building were made in the 1930s, during phase three.

Internal

In contrast to every other rural workhouse discussed in this thesis, Wharfedale included a separate infirmary in the initial workhouse design. Wharfedale Workhouse was built during the 1870s, a period in which medical advances promoted and encouraged the inclusion of separate workhouse infirmaries. The Guardians at Wharfedale evidently valued the inclusion of a medical facility despite its cost. The Wharfedale infirmary was described in *The Builder* as ‘... upwards of 140 ft long. In the centre of this block are the necessary officers’ and administrative rooms, and on each side respectively are the male and female wards, the whole being well lighted and ventilated with windows on both sides’ (*The Builder* 14/6/1873: 461). This description suggests that the design integrated advances in the designs of medical buildings to include features such as Nightingale wards and ventilation. Such attention to detail suggests the Guardians regarded treatment of the sick as a priority of the Union. Each wing featured one ward, a dayroom, and a bathroom on each floor (RCHME 1991f: 5). At the beginning of phase two, patients were moved to the new infirmary, and the elderly were then accommodated in this building.

Room allocation and facilities were altered to accommodate the needs of the elderly. The ground floor featured a four-bed ward, a lavatory, and a dayroom for men, all of which had boarded floors, painted walls, and central heating. An engineer used the ground-floor ward in the other wing. He attended the block and was provided with a sitting-room and kitchen. It was reported that his whole family lived in the block and that his child slept in a screened-off section of the first-floor female ward (Platt 1930: 38). Accommodation on the first floor consisted of a six-bed male ward and a ten-bed female ward. The old infirmary was supervised by both the engineer and a night nurse, who had a separate room (Platt 1930: 39). The designation of a block and the employment of specialised staff for the elderly illustrates that their needs were widely recognised and their care was a growing priority of the Union. However, the census records indicate that there were more elderly housed in the workhouse than could have been accommodated in the specialised block, which suggests that some elderly inmates were relieved in the main workhouse building. Clearly a substantial amount of indoor-relief was focused on the elderly, suggesting that the Guardians prioritised institutional care for those they deemed most in need and unable to care for themselves; indoor relief for the able-bodied was kept to a minimum. The Guardians’ preferential treatment of the most vulnerable paupers reflects the original Gilbert Union priorities, which clearly influenced Wharfedale’s interpretation of the NPL.

New Infirmary

The new infirmary to the west of the main building was designed by W.H. Herbert Marten of Ilkley to accommodate 70 patients (*The Builder* 12/1/1907: 41). Its construction (1905-7) marks the beginning of the site's second phase. The building adopted a similar style to the original workhouse buildings. The infirmary consisted of three separate two-storey buildings (fig 6.21-23). The entrance to each block is located beneath a balcony with a French window supported by bold stone brackets. The windows are mainly sash and are set on stone sills with moulded lintels. Bay windows on the ground floor of the east and west elevations provide light to the larger rooms. The roofline features a variety of gables, with tiled pyramid roofs on the two sanitary towers. Wharfedale infirmary adopts an ornamented style more decorative than that of any other workhouse infirmary discussed in Part Two. The attention to detail reflected in such a style suggests the Guardians aimed to emphasise progressive modernisation and enlightened attitudes towards medical care through a more extravagant architectural style.

The number of additions and alterations to this block indicate the ever-changing demands placed upon hospital buildings as the field of medicine progressed. It is likely that Wharfedale Union, like many others, was always attempting to catch up with advances in hospital planning. Many additions were made post-NPL. For example, the addition of two single-storey corridors to link all three buildings together dates to the 1920s and 1960s. The east elevation currently features a complex arrangement of balconies, ramps, steel fire-escape stairs, building returns, ceramic-tile-clad turrets, and bay windows. The fenestration of the west elevation (now partially demolished) is similarly complex. The sanitary and lift towers have been extended from the west elevation post-NPL.

Internal

During the NPL era, the male wards were in the north range and the female wards in the south, and the central block provided staff accommodation and other facilities (fig 6.24). The walls were generally plastered and painted. Central heating and electric light provided a level of comfort not commonly found in rural workhouse infirmaries. (The infirmaries of Great Ouseburn and Pateley Bridge, for example, provided limited heat and few modern conveniences). The growing population and the aspiring development of Wharfedale led to the provision of adequate facilities for its sick. Each block had an entrance hall from which a corridor provided access to the various areas of the building. In phase two, the central block also featured the dining-room and kitchen for nurses and a personal sitting-room for the head nurse. Wharfedale Union employed a number of nurses; two

permanently resided in the workhouse to care for the sick. As at other Unions, qualified nurses were clearly valued by the Guardians as they did not rely on untrained staff or inmates. There was also an operating room, reportedly featuring relatively modern equipment. There is no mention of an operating theatre in any other rural workhouse infirmary, which highlights once again the progressive attitude of the Guardians towards the sick. The investment in modern facilities may suggest that the infirmary was a facility not just for workhouse inmates but for the general public as well. It was not uncommon for poorer members of society residing outside the workhouse to use NPL infirmary facilities towards the end of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. If the general poor were using this facility, it would explain why the sick were not recorded in the census records: they were not residents. The first floor contained a two-bed isolation ward and another two-bed ward with a W.C. (Platt 1930: 38).

The blocks to the north and south were similar to one other. Each block featured on each floor a sixteen-bed ward with polished wooden floors, central radiators, and a sanitary annex. A dayroom, a number of storerooms, a duty kitchen, and a bathroom also featured on the ground floor. On the second floor, there were two further two-bed wards and a labour ward, all offering direct access to the sanitary annexes (Platt 1930: 38).

Conclusion

Wharfedale Workhouse was one of the last NPL workhouses built in West Yorkshire. Like Wetherby, Wharfedale was part of the Carlton Gilbert Union, which supported numerous workhouses and OPL facilities. As part of a Gilbert Union, Wharfedale was not obliged to adopt the NPL and continued to relieve the poor under its existing system for decades. The development of industrial activity in the early to mid-nineteenth century created employment in the town, so the existing system was probably adequate to address the relatively low poverty rate at that time. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the town's population had increased dramatically, and once the Gilbert Union had been dissolved, a NPL workhouse became a more viable option. The NPL had evolved since it first passed in 1834, and attitudes towards poverty had inspired new forms of workhouse accommodation. By the 1870s, workhouse designs often met the specific needs of different pauper classes, such as the sick, vagrants, and children. Wharfedale Workhouse was thus designed to a different set of ideals than workhouses like Skipton, which was constructed 35 years earlier.

Emphasising the progressive modernism of Wharfedale Workhouse appears to have been a priority for the Guardians. The plan and style of the workhouse illustrate that the Guardians sought to adopt contemporary architectural designs and styles. The elaborate Gothic style clearly added an element of civic grandeur to the town whilst displaying the wealth and civic order of the Union. The plan of the workhouse demonstrates the implementation of improved design ideals. The provision of separate buildings for certain pauper classes right from phase one of development shows Wharfedale's willingness to finance more expensive accommodation for the poor in order to ensure specialised care in keeping with modern medical standards. The separate plan and elaborate Gothic style adopted by Wharfedale Workhouse created a modern image of improvement and progress more like that of an urban infirmary than a rural workhouses.

Although the plan and style of Wharfedale Workhouse illustrates the evolution of the NPL, control and segregation remained prominent goals. Providing separate blocks for sick, vagrant, and elderly inmates created a high level of segregation amongst these classes. However, the children and able-bodied continued to be relieved in the same block. The number of children in the workhouse fell dramatically after 1881, suggesting they were relieved outside of the workhouse whenever possible. Control was maintained in all blocks through gender segregation and the establishment of permanent staff quarters. The inmates were closely supervised by staff located throughout the buildings rather in a central location. Although there is a very clear distinction between staff and inmate, control appears less important than care. A number of specialised nurses were employed to care for the sick and elderly inmates. Relatively high levels of control over long-term inmates contrast sharply with the far lower levels of control maintained over vagrants. A single porter was charged with up to 60 vagrants. Although there were single cells, the majority of vagrants were housed in large wards where only minimal control could be maintained. Like other West Yorkshire workhouses, Wharfedale appears to have paid little regard to the vagrant class. The attention of the Guardians was firmly focused upon those inmates most in need of care.

Accordingly, providing care for the sick and elderly inmates appears to have been a main focus of the workhouse. Advances in medical science were incorporated into the initial plan of the workhouse. Wharfedale Workhouse is the only example in the case study area of a workhouse that included an infirmary in phase one. That care of the sick remained a high priority is reflected in the construction of a new infirmary during phase two. The inclusion of facilities such as an operating theatre and a labour ward made Wharfedale's infirmary far superior to others in the region. As a developing town,

Wharfedale must have warranted such facilities, which are likely to have been used by the general population, not just paupers, suggesting a lack of stigma surrounding pauper medical facilities. The role of the NPL was clearly developing in Wharfedale to include the wider community, going beyond the original intentions of the act.

Rural Conclusions

The case studies presented in this section demonstrate that rural West Yorkshire workhouses were not only influenced by national trends promoted by the NPL but also by pre-NPL relief traditions. The introductory sections of the Part-Two case studies collectively illustrate how traditional OPL relief methods combined with economic, political, and social contexts to impact NPL workhouse provisions. The case studies reveal that regional variation often shaped the experience and identity of paupers. Within rural West Yorkshire, workhouses adopted a number of different locations, plans, and styles, which in many cases aimed to convey the Guardians' values and often subtly reflect the underlying influences of complex regional contexts. Part Two argues that the workhouse was a mechanism of both care and control. The buildings' architectural designs demonstrate varying levels of surveillance and segregation, which influenced aspects of workhouse life from religion to diet. This research demonstrates that as the NPL developed through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, workhouse paupers experienced more or less specialised treatment depending on their pauper classification. The case studies reveal that a pauper's treatment was largely influenced by regional contexts, which in turn were continually influenced by modernising standards of care and developing perceptions of poverty. Classifications were based predominantly on gender, age, and able-bodiedness, but within these classifications, the case studies indicate that further classifications refined the status of paupers and created a social hierarchy within the workhouse.

Complicating National Typologies: Variations in Location, Style, and Plan

Location:

Part Two argues that the choice of workhouse location influenced significantly the position of the marginalised pauper in relation to local society. The location of the case study sites suggests that a pauper's physical journey to the workhouse started the process of institutionalisation and imposed social status upon the pauper even prior to his/her entry into the workhouse. Within the case study area, there was little variation in the location of workhouses in relation to population centres. Typically, workhouses were located in isolated positions away from mainstream populations. In keeping with this national trend, Skipton, Pateley Bridge, Wetherby, Wharfedale, and Great Ouseburn Workhouses were all situated at a considerable distance from the centres of population at the time of their construction. The secluded locations of these buildings physically removed paupers to the margins of society. Some were more isolated than others. For example, Great Ouseburn used the site

given for its previous workhouse, which was significantly distanced from any settlement, and Wharfedale needed space for its large, modern construction, so it opted for a site away from the settlement centre. Skipton, Wetherby, and Pateley Bridge, on the other hand, were built right on the edge of towns. Their physical locations clearly indicated their prominence, through elevated positions that provided an image of dominance and authority whilst serving as a reminder to the townspeople of the consequences of pauperism and highlighting the social stigmatisation of poverty. On occasion, the functionality and practicality of a workhouse's location proved more important than ideological concerns, with subversive ends. In Ripon, inmates were not isolated from society or physically removed from civilisation. Instead, the Guardians opted for a more functional location near Ripon's centre. In contrast to the isolated position of many workhouses, Ripon Workhouse was integrated into the townscape and within close proximity of other civic buildings. The choice of Ripon Workhouse's location was primarily functional: Ripon's poorhouse had always been located in the town, so the Union built its workhouse on the same site. However, it can be argued that the workhouse's physical proximity to the town centre functioned symbolically: its physical accessibility led to its institutional approachability. This conclusion is further supported by Ripon Union's Guardians' Minutes, which imply that the Union's administration was strongly influenced more by paternalistic OPL traditions than by harsh NPL policy. Ripon's paupers did not experience the ostracism from society that paupers of neighbouring Unions did.

Style:

This thesis demonstrates that style reflects regional contexts and attitudes towards poverty and facilitates the institutional confinement of paupers, but stylistic choices also respond to regional and national architectural traditions. Rural workhouses in West Yorkshire adopted a number of different styles. Four of the six case studies conform to traditional, classical styles, in keeping with popular, Dickensian notions of the workhouse. For example, Skipton, the first workhouse to be constructed in West Yorkshire, exploited this connotation in its dominant, authoritative, plain classical style, which associated the workhouse with the derogatory images propagated in the media. In adopting this style, Skipton conformed to national trends of its time. It was a developing industrial town of growing prominence and status, in line with national development, which explains its adoption of idealistic workhouse architecture. However, not all buildings designed in the classical style reflected such ideals deliberately. Wetherby, Pateley Bridge, and Great Ouseburn regarded functional and economic considerations as their primary objective.

Ripon Workhouse demonstrates how the style of a workhouse could influence pauper identity. The connotations of its Elizabethan style contrast with the intimidating evocations of the Classical style adopted by other workhouses in the region, such as Skipton, Wetherby, Pateley Bridge, and Great Ouseburn. Unlike these other workhouses, Ripon was an established town prior to industrialisation. As a result, archival evidence indicates Ripon had a tradition of charitable giving to the poor, so its workhouse resembles earlier almshouses. Part Two argues that the association of Ripon's style with almshouses evokes images of charity and philanthropy. The image of Ripon Workhouse and extracts from the documentary evidence suggest that ultimately the stigma of pauperism associated with this workhouse was less than that experienced by the paupers of, for instance, Skipton.

Part-Two analysis of workhouse styles in rural West Yorkshire reveals that stylistic difference often correlated with civic aspirations. A third style of rural West Yorkshire workhouse emerges alongside Classical and Elizabethan styles towards the end of the nineteenth century: the Gothic style adopted by Wharfedale Workhouse. Wharfedale Workhouse was the last workhouse built in West Yorkshire, and investigations of this workhouse suggest it was largely influenced by the progressive attitudes of modernising, urban towns in their concepts of improvement, progress, and medicalisation. Part Two argues that Wharfedale's style aimed to display its civic grandeur as a developing town whilst displaying the civic order and medicalisation of the PLU. By the 1870s, care of sick paupers was an increasing priority. By adopting a style associated with urban infirmaries, Wharfedale may have offered paupers an enlightened version of a nineteenth-century NPL building, evoking images of care and progressive treatment.

Style also varied within a given workhouse complex and reflected differing levels of institutional power and changing institutional priorities between buildings and over time. For example, at Skipton, the original infirmary was given more ornamentation than the main building. This differentiated the sick from the rest of the paupers, elevating their position within the institution. At Pateley Bridge, the Guardians' area was clearly elevated from the rest of the building through its ornamentation and style; the Guardians evidently wished to promote their position in the workhouse as well as to the surrounding community. This research proposes that the specialised architectural style adopted by workhouse buildings was a permanent reminder to the paupers as to where control within the Union lay. Throughout Part Two, it is argued that the Guardians intentionally used differences in style to make paupers aware of their place within the social hierarchies of the workhouse institution.

Plan:

Comparatively low populations, varying levels of unemployment, and differing phases of NPL development led to varying levels of sympathy toward paupers between Unions and over time. As a result, this research reveals, West Yorkshire workhouses adopted a range of plans much more complex than previous typologies account for. The RCHME describes plans as model, corridor, or pavilion and does not account for changes in plan over time. In fact, there are many overlaps within the RCHME classifications, and workhouses evolved significantly over several decades to include separate facilities based on the prioritisation of their inmates. Of all the West Yorkshire workhouses, Skipton is the one that fits most neatly into the RCHME typology because in its initial phase it adopted a model plan. Over its seven phases of later development, however, it develops a separate infirmary, vagrants' wards, and a block for the children and elderly. These changes, which are not noted in national typologies, reflect developing attitudes towards pauperism, which improved the lives of some inmates, but not others.

The examples of Ripon and Wharfedale complicate workhouse plan typologies from their initial construction. The RCHME would class them both as corridor plans, but they included separate blocks for certain classifications of paupers, which is a feature traditionally associated with the pavilion plan. Furthermore, despite similar RCHME classification and plans, they were used very differently. At Ripon, there were separate blocks in phase one for vagrants and children, and the rest of the workhouse inmates were in the main workhouse building. At Wharfedale, the workhouse had separate blocks for the vagrants and the sick, and children were kept in the main block. As discussed in Part Two, the priorities of these Unions differed, and as a result, pauper experience and identity also differed. Though both Unions isolated vagrants, children were a bigger priority in Ripon, which reflects the paternalistic attitude of the Union toward its paupers, arguably a remnant of its history of charitable giving. In contrast, Wharfedale's prioritisation of the sick most likely reflects its ambition toward a modernised institution comparable to those of urban infirmaries, a reflection of its location on the outskirts of the expanding city of Leeds.

Regional contexts led to differences in use unaccounted for by national typologies. Despite adopting the same general workhouse plan as Ripon, Great Ouseburn, and Wetherby, Wharfedale is distinctive in the extent and condition of its facilities. For example, sanitary facilities at Wharfedale were numerous in comparison to those at Great Ouseburn, Wetherby, and Ripon, reflecting again Wharfedale's uniquely advanced prioritisation of care for the sick. Through a detailed analysis of the

architectural improvements (influenced by modernising building regulations) of rural West Yorkshire workhouse plans, Part Two argues that in some Unions some paupers' experiences of similar workhouse plans improved over time whereas those of others did not. For example, at Wetherby, sanitary provisions were improved during several phases, but those at Great Ouseburn remained the same throughout the NPL.

Mechanisms for Control and Care: Surveillance, Segregation, and Specialisation

The NPL workhouse was intended as a mechanism for control for all pauper classifications. Investigation into rural West Yorkshire workhouses reveals that surveillance, segregation, control, and power were implemented through the manipulation of interior architectural features and strategic architectural choices, which aimed to ensure a successful workhouse regime. However, surveillance and segregation were implemented to different extents dependent on the workhouse plan, its date of construction, and the Guardians' values. All rural West Yorkshire workhouses evolved throughout the NPL era, specialising facilities for certain pauper classes. Differing experiences of segregation, surveillance, and specialised treatment drastically altered the inmate experience from one workhouse to the next, which caused instances of resistance particularly amongst the vagrant class.

Surveillance:

The case studies demonstrate that visual and aural surveillance were important mechanisms for control in rural workhouses. Practically, a small workhouse was physically easier to survey. The positioning of staff and the strategic placement of windows were two main architectural methods that aided surveillance and thus increased institutional control. Staff were centrally placed and/or dispersed throughout the workhouse. The porter, who was placed at the front of the workhouse or in a separate lodge at the front of the site, was positioned to survey inmates before they even entered the workhouse at Ripon, Wharfedale, and Skipton.

Once inside the workhouse, the inmates were predominantly surveyed by a centrally placed Master. Only Skipton used windows to achieve this level of surveillance, which reflects its embracing of the early NPL value of deterrence that later workhouses chose not to adopt as priorities evolved. The high-level surveillance used in early rural West Yorkshire workhouses emphasised paupers' institutionalisation as advocated by the NPL. Skipton's central hub was an icon of institutionalisation

and provided a continual reminder to paupers of their powerlessness and the prison-like nature of their 'care'.

Post-1850 workhouses did not use central hubs to aid surveillance; instead, they placed staff strategically throughout the workhouse. Workhouses adopting corridor plans, such as Ripon, Wharfedale, Great Ouseburn, and Wetherby placed the Master in the centre of the workhouse. Wharfedale and Wetherby also dispersed specialised staff throughout the complex. However, the same architectural strategies were vastly different in the actual surveillance they enabled due to the varying sizes of the workhouses and the varying number of staff employed. Thus, the impact of surveillance on pauper experience and identity varied. In smaller workhouses, such as Great Ouseburn and Pateley Bridge, it was always feasible to keep a close eye on paupers, and many Guardians' Minutes books refer to paupers by name, thus demonstrating a close association between staff and inmates in these smaller workhouses. Furthermore, surveillance was sometimes used not for control but to provide better care. In the case of the elderly, children, and sick, designated and sometimes professionally trained staff provided these inmates a level of care and surveillance more specific to their individual needs, as at Ripon, and Wharfedale and later at Skipton and Wetherby. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates that the experience of surveillance differed based on a pauper's classification and over time. In post-1850 workhouses, segregation had become a more prominent mechanism of control than surveillance, but surveillance continued to be used in specific instances, within the vagrants' wards, for example, where vagrants reportedly rebelled against their situation and treatment (see Part Four).

Segregation:

Part Two demonstrates that segregation by gender and age was a key method of control within early rural West Yorkshire workhouses. Strict segregation of inmates was largely inspired by national trends and the recommendations of the NPL. Workhouses in rural West Yorkshire generally identified with national values regarding segregation. The rural case studies show that segregation promoted civic control, but it was also intended to prevent the spread of the perceived immoral behaviour of able-bodied paupers by separating them from those pauper classes deemed vulnerable to corruption, such as children. However, in rural West Yorkshire, whether a Union had a history of traditional OPL relief, the size of its workhouse, and its particular economic contexts strongly impacted how and to what extent inmates were segregated. For example, in many ways Great Ouseburn continued as a Gilbert Union during the NPL, providing indoor relief only to the most vulnerable, and Pateley Bridge

provided minimal indoor relief, helping only those truly destitute. The number of pauper classes institutionalised within the workhouse impacted the level of segregation within the building. Although Unions uniformly valued segregation by gender, values toward segregation of other classes varied between Unions and over time.

Workhouses in the case study areas included architectural features that enhanced segregation, such as internal partitioning, separate stairwells, high windows within the fenestration, use of frosted glass, and high external exercise-yard walls. The Part-Two rural workhouses consistently segregated paupers by gender, ensuring there was no contact between male and female inmates in the workhouse. However, within the male and female areas of the workhouse, the extent to which pauper classes were segregated was limited. For example, at Wetherby, a pauper class in the general workhouse was allocated a specific room, but it was one to which other inmates of the same gender may have had access. Skipton's model plan allowed for more segregation because of the separate blocks of its courtyard plan, so it also segregated inmates by age. Apart from Ripon, rural West Yorkshire workhouses often allowed contact between elderly women and children of both genders and sometimes between elderly men and boys. The case studies indicate that children were very strictly segregated from able-bodied adults, who were considered a corrupting influence. The fact that children were allowed contact with the elderly suggests that old age was considered a cure for the immorality deemed to motivate pauperism among the able-bodied.

The Unions' decision to institutionalise some paupers and not others impacted the experience of segregation within the workhouse. In Great Ouseburn, Wetherby, Ripon, and Pateley Bridge, very few able-bodied paupers were institutionalised. Despite the NPL's desire to segregate pauper families in the workhouse, it is unlikely this was a common reality in West Yorkshire. At Great Ouseburn, for instance, the workhouse was reserved predominantly for orphaned children and sick, elderly, or mentally ill paupers who could not be supported by their families outside the workhouse.

Segregation within gendered wards appears to have been limited within rural West Yorkshire workhouses. The lack of privacy in desegregated areas was likely a dehumanising experience for institutionalised paupers. However, this thesis argues that limited segregation beyond gender may also have created a community amongst those pauper classes interacting. In examples like Great Ouseburn, where inmates were predominantly elderly, children, and sick, communal wards provided

minimal segregation, creating a sense of shared space and experience; this was definitely not an intention of the NPL.

Within the case study area, workhouses adapted their architecture to enable segregation in different blocks as values evolved over the NPL era. For example, Wharfedale provided a block for the elderly from 1907, and increasingly the sick were removed from the main workhouse building to a separate infirmary. Segregation of inmates was thus simplified as pauper classes were removed from the main workhouse building over the course of NPL. Although segregation was simplified, it was also increased through the addition of separate blocks constructed for pauper classes, such as the sick and elderly, who were increasingly accommodated separately in additional facilities on or off site.

Specialisation:

Part Two demonstrates that the development of workhouse facilities throughout the nineteenth century reflects the evolution of regional attitudes towards poverty. Industrialisation and capitalist growth changed the social dynamic of West Yorkshire. Improved medical knowledge and the desire to modernise inspired alterations and additions to workhouse facilities. However, many areas were limited by their financial resources and decreasing populations. Nonetheless, the legacy of Gilbert Unions combined with modernising national trends to inspire rural West Yorkshire Unions to develop more specialised facilities in the later years of the NPL.

Architectural manifestations of specialisation in rural West Yorkshire workhouses included the construction of infirmary facilities for the sick and mentally ill and the expansion of facilities for vagrants. This thesis argues that the extent of these new facilities depended on population and settlement size. Settlements closer to urban centres were expanding throughout the NPL era whereas those further away were often decreasing in size. Therefore, rural workhouses had individual approaches to specialised facilities. Unions decreasing in size and distant from urban centres provided the least specialised facilities. For example, Pateley Bridge, the furthest from an urban centre, developed specialised buildings for only the vagrant classes. Great Ouseburn, similarly distant from Leeds and Bradford, provided specialised blocks for the vagrants and sick. Ripon chose to specialise facilities for the sick, and it had always provided separate buildings for the children and vagrants. The two most industrialising towns in the case study area, Wharfedale and Skipton, became the most specialised, constructing separate facilities for the sick, elderly, children, and vagrants. Interestingly, the facilities most commonly added to rural workhouse sites were for the sick and

vagrants, the pauper classes at the top and bottom of the pauper hierarchy of care. The sick clearly sought better facilities and treatment from the NPL whereas the vagrants were deemed wholly undeserving of care and were punished for their position in society through subjection to deprived, controlling institutions. Interestingly, the specialisation of facilities discussed in Part Two demonstrates that the evolution of NPL facilities over time supported both increased care and control.

In some cases, specialisation provided inmates with an opportunity to resist the strict control of the Guardians over inmates' daily lives. At Great Ouseburn, for example, inmates were allowed to choose a diet to suit their own needs. It was agreed that the inmates should choose their food and how much they chose to eat, instead of receiving the strict, prescribed diet of workhouse inmates elsewhere. The inmates of this workhouse clearly had an impact on the specialisation of the treatment they received. Control was thus never completely taken away from the pauper, nor was his/her identity, which allowed him/her a sense of freedom that was denied paupers in other regions. The diet of the inmates at Great Ouseburn Workhouse reveals much about its tolerant and charitable attitude towards inmates and their quality of life.

Part Two of this thesis has highlighted the significance of differences between the types of facilities provided for different pauper classes at different points in NPL history. It further points to the inadequacies of general and typological studies of workhouses that largely fail to appreciate the complexities of architectural styles and plans, workhouse use, and pauper treatment, analysis of which significantly refines our understanding of workhouse experiences. A pauper's classification and his/her designated facilities dramatically influenced his/her experience and identity, as Part Four explores in detail. In order to provide a comprehensive analysis of inmate experiences in West Yorkshire workhouses, the following section will focus on workhouses in more urban areas, further refining the themes highlighted in Part Two.

Part Three: Urban Workhouses

The diversity of West Yorkshire's urban workhouses further undermines the explanatory power of general, national approaches to the study of workhouse buildings, emphasising the wide variety of ways in which the NPL was implemented within the case study region. The NPL urged the immediate formation of Unions and the prompt construction of workhouses to relieve the able-bodied poor. Among West Yorkshire's urban areas, however, these guidelines were not adopted uniformly. Leeds and Bradford Unions were established shortly after the passing of the NPL, in contrast to rural townships, which often resisted forming Unions for decades. Because Leeds and Bradford were urban centres, the PLC likely placed particular pressure on them to Unionise and thus to set an example for surrounding areas. In contrast, Bramley and North Bierley developed on the edges of urban centres in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as Leeds and Bradford expanded into their surroundings.

Although Leeds, Bradford, and North Bierley Unions were established at different times, their workhouses were constructed within a comparatively short span of time, between 1850 and 1858, in response to a number of shared contextual factors. Firstly, industrial centres were more financially secure during the 1850s than in previous decades due to national economic stability, and they could thus afford to construct new institutions. Secondly, like rural workhouses, urban workhouses were used to promote civic order and the status of the Unions in which they were built. It was not until the 1850s that Leeds and Bradford were in a position (socially or economically) to promote their national standing through the construction of a workhouse, but in subsequent decades, Leeds and Bradford continually promoted their modernisation and national status, to a much greater extent than rural examples. Finally, despite anti-NPL sentiments in West Yorkshire and Unions' general nonconformity to NPL guidelines, the NPL and the construction of a workhouse provided urban areas a much-needed mechanism through which to offer social welfare for the vulnerable poor.

Beyond such broad similarities, however, urban Unions also experienced different economic, social, and political contexts. Bramley Union was not formed until it was required to support the expanding city of Leeds in 1862, and it did not choose to construct a workhouse until 1872, again responding to regional need and West Yorkshire's continued resistance towards indoor relief. Urban Unions industrialised at different speeds, featured working class populations of varying size, experienced differing levels of mass migration of workers, and witnessed large-scale employment or unemployment depending on unique economic conditions. For example, at the beginning of the NPL,

Leeds was already an established town whereas Bradford initially grew slowly and then sped up due to mass industrialisation during the nineteenth century. Because of the size of urban centres, they all required a more organised social welfare system than their rural counterparts, but Part Three will demonstrate that the implementation of NPL relief differed radically between urban Unions. The nature of the relief offered by Unions was decided in part by the local industrialists and entrepreneurs who acted as Guardians and had different agendas and perceptions of poverty. For example, the Guardians in Leeds opted to construct Leeds Moral and Industrial Training School whereas Bradford's Guardians initially adopted a more laissez-faire attitude toward poverty, as the case studies to follow will explore.

Whereas in rural Unions a history of relief through Gilbert Unions and a longstanding tradition of charitable giving were balanced against limited economic resources in the implementation of the NPL, in urban areas, it was more the pace of progress, the growth of capitalism, and lingering paternalism that determined attitudes toward poverty. The high populations of urban Unions rendered the accommodation of able-bodied paupers advocated by the NPL even less practical than in rural areas, so out-relief remained high. In urban Unions, indoor relief increasingly focused on the sick over the course of the NPL. Rural areas, such as Wetherby, also increasingly focused on the sick, but in urban areas workhouse infirmaries developed on a greater scale. The Unions' desire to promote civic order and modernisation led to the provision of increasingly specialised care and facilities. Like rural paupers, urban paupers were primarily classed by able-bodiedness, gender, and age. Urban pauper classes were treated differently from one another and from their rural counterparts based on their perceived 'deservingness', which as in rural Unions was determined by perceived vulnerability and responsibility for poverty. For example, children in Leeds were offered a separate school from the beginning of the NPL (LMITS) whereas the children in Bradford were provided with a school within the main workhouse building. The possibility of contamination between pauper classes is a prevailing theme in all the urban case studies.

Like rural workhouses, urban workhouses were in some ways architecturally similar to one another and in some ways different. Locations and plans were by and large in keeping with national recommendations of the time. For example, all urban workhouses were initially located in isolated areas distanced from population centres, and they were all T-plan workhouses. Workhouses in urban areas were influenced by local architectural trends and values toward poverty and consequently adopted more elaborate styles than those in rural areas. Style also differed between urban

workhouses. For example, Leeds was more paternalistic in its approach to poor relief and adopted an Elizabethan style. Bradford, on the other hand, was more severe on its poor and adopted a classical, industrialised style accordingly.

The case studies to follow inform this section's argument that although all of the urban Unions discussed in this thesis conformed to national trends in their unanimous construction of T-plan workhouses, those workhouses operated and evolved very differently. Such differences in operation among workhouses featuring the same type of architectural plan reveal the need for a more complex classification within the urban workhouse category. The Part-Three case studies reveal that workhouses on the outskirts of urban centres demonstrate common attributes that clearly differentiate them from workhouses in urban centres. This section thus argues for the creation of a new, entirely separate workhouse type: the outer-city workhouse.

Unlike rural workhouses, urban workhouses did not prioritise surveillance. Instead, control was maintained through architectural planning, segregation, and specialisation. Workhouses aspired to segregate all classes, but segregation was enforced at different levels at different times, depending on inmate and staff numbers, both of which were determined by economy. Leeds provided specialised facilities from the outset and in many ways set the precedent for other urban Unions in the region. Bradford, Bramley, and North Bierley initially provided specialised facilities only for the sick. It was not until the stabilisation of economic conditions around the turn of the century that Bradford, Bramley, and North Bierley began to develop separate, specialised facilities. No urban workhouse in the case study area ever focused its indoor relief on the able-bodied, as the NPL advised. Like that of rural workhouses, urban workhouse architecture reveals an interclass pauper hierarchy. However, the complexity of urban workhouses led to instances of a further, intra-class hierarchy, a phenomenon less apparent among rural examples.

All paupers in urban Unions initially experienced a general, mixed workhouse (apart from children in Leeds, who were the exception). At various stages of the NPL, however, urban workhouses developed separate, specialised facilities that resulted in dramatically varied experiences among paupers dependent on their classification, as Part Three will explore in depth. In contrast, for those in outer-city workhouses, experience of the workhouse altered very little during the NPL era. The case studies to follow will consider how and why certain classes of pauper in certain workhouses achieved greater privilege and improved care over the course of the NPL while others did not.

Case Study Seven: Leeds Union Workhouse

The City of Leeds dominates the landscape of central West Yorkshire. Its population during the nineteenth century far exceeded that of nearby Bradford or Wakefield. Leeds was an agricultural market town in the Middle Ages, but it became a merchant town in the seventeenth century as a result of developments in trade and manufacturing. Natural transport links via the River Aire and the early construction of the Aire and Calder Navigation in 1699 created one of the first inland ports, which encouraged further industrial growth (Bateman 1986: 100). Migrants seeking work in the town drove the population from 10,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century to 30,000 by its end (Bateman 1986; Hey 2005: 336). In the eighteenth century, Leeds began to establish itself as an industrial centre, growing more rapidly than any other Yorkshire town (Hey 2005: 288). Textile manufacture was the most prominent industry, but other trades also expanded, for example, brick works, printing, and dress making. Such a variety of trade provided many opportunities for employment. The lower classes were supported by paternalists from the middle and upper classes who provided facilities such as almshouses and schools for those most in need (Thornton 2002: 91). Due to continuing industrial developments and relatively low unemployment, the final decades of the century were characterised by expansion and optimism.

During the nineteenth century, further developments in manufacturing, improved transportation links, and unprecedented population growth transformed Leeds into a large industrial city. The textile industry dominated in the first half of the nineteenth century. Just over 100 mills employed 10,000 workers in 1838 (Thackrah 1979: 13). However, Leeds was influenced by industrially diverse surroundings, with textiles to the west, coal mining to the south, and agriculture to the north and east, which supported and encouraged a number of secondary industries, including tanning and carpet production (Bateman 1986 100; Hey 2005: 348). The completion in 1848 of a railway network linking Leeds with important regions such as Manchester, Hull, and London inspired further investment in the town (Thornton 2002: 123; Hey 2005), including the construction of numerous warehouses, offices, and civic buildings in the town centre. To display their wealth, mill owners commissioned magnificent architecture, such as the elaborate Egyptian design of Marshall's Temple Mill in 1840 (Giles 1992). Many workers from surrounding rural areas continued to migrate to Leeds. Workers also began to come from further afield, from agricultural areas in the south of England, for example, and from Ireland, where famine caused mass poverty and emigration (Feldman 2000). A

'boom town' of the industrial revolution, Leeds had established itself as the region's urban centre by the mid-nineteenth century, with a population of 101,343 in 1851 (Hey 2005: 336; Thackrah 1979: 13).

The construction of visually striking civic buildings, such as the town hall (1858), market halls (1858), a corn exchange (1868), and a post office (1896), reflected Leeds's successful industrialisation and growth. These buildings added grandeur and a sense of pride to the townscape. In 1858, Queen Victoria described Leeds and its town hall as a 'stirring and thriving seat of English industry embellished by an edifice not inferior to those stately palaces which still attest to the ancient opulence of commercial centres in Italy and Flanders' (Thackrah 1979: 19).

Leeds continued to grow rapidly throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and gained city status in 1893. Although traditional industries like the wool trade began to decline, the diverse nature of Leeds's industry and its acceptance of new technologies meant that new enterprises were always emerging, such as shoemaking and clothing manufacturing. While Leeds was affected by short-term depressions, the economy generally remained stable (Thackrah 1979: 20). Because of ever-increasing employment opportunities and natural growth, the population had risen to 172,023 by 1901 (Hey 2005: 385; Thackrah 1979: 19).

Leeds's dramatic population increase strained the city's resources. Poverty was more prevalent and noticeable in Leeds than in other rising industrial centres in West Yorkshire, such as Sheffield, Bradford, or Wakefield, because of the sheer number of low-paid factory workers living in Leeds. The lower classes were packed into back-to-back dwellings with little running water or sanitation. Records indicate that within a boot-and-shoe yard, 340 people lived in 57 rooms. Air was polluted by smoke from thousands of chimneys, and streets were grimy (Hey 2005: 340; Thornton 2002: 133; Yeadell 1986). Dickens goes as far to describe Leeds as 'a beastly place, one of the nastiest places I know' (Dickens cited Thackrah 1979: 32). Poor standards of accommodation and hygiene led to serious health issues and a high death-rate amongst the lower classes. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Thackrah suggests there was complacency amongst the middle and upper classes regarding squalor and poverty (Thackrah 1979: 29; Thornton 2002: 133). During the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, as attitudes towards poverty evolved, Leeds set a precedent for NPL provisions outside London.

The Evolution of the Workhouse System

A workhouse was constructed in 1638, primarily for the use of the aged, infirm, and those with low wages (Anderson 1980; Higginbotham 2006a: 111; Thornton 2002: 71). Although the workhouse was open only intermittently during the seventeenth century, it was opened permanently in 1738 to address the needs of the rapidly expanding population (Anderson 1980: 75). Like many eighteenth-century workhouses, Leeds Workhouse intended its inmates to work in return for their relief. However, the workhouse quickly became more of a shelter for the infirm, the aged, and orphaned children (Anderson 1980: 88). In 1741, the outbreak of disease (probably small pox or another contagious disease) killed a quarter of the workhouse population. The resulting public backlash prompted improvements in quality and efficiency (Anderson 1980: 88-9). The Master was to receive high wages, as it was believed this would encourage appropriately qualified men to apply for the position, and Masters were dismissed if deemed unsuitable (Anderson 1980: 86). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the OPL Committee began to consider the needs of different inmate classes. The mentally ill, for example, were sent to specialised institutions, such as Wakefield Asylum. Workhouse children also received special attention. The younger ones were nursed by staff, and the older children were apprenticed as soon as possible. Workhouse conditions further improved under the OPL for children when the OPL committee realised bad conditions did not encourage productive, employable children. They were segregated from other inmates and taught to read and write in the mornings and a craft or trade in the afternoon. The blind were even taught to play the violin (Anderson 1980: 100). The OPL Committee sought to reduce the dependence of the poor upon the state in the long run. Because of the general efficiency of its poor relief, Leeds Workhouse had little debt during the 1820s and 1830s, in contrast to many other workhouses in England (Anderson 1980: 88).

The OPL committee had established a system to provide for the paupers of Leeds prior to the NPL. The majority of OPL rates levied in Leeds were spent on out-relief. The workhouse was often overcrowded, and the giving of out-relief was cheaper than housing all paupers in the workhouse. The Guardians provided work for those paupers receiving out-relief. For example, paupers were lent spinning wheels by the Guardians to earn their own living. Like those of other areas of West Yorkshire, Leeds's OPL system was also supported by private charity (Anderson 1980: 98).

Leeds refused to adopt the NPL and had a prominent anti-NPL movement. In 1837, the election of the Board of Guardians ended in chaos and rioting (Fraser 1970). OPL relief systems were considered more suitable to the economic climate of Leeds than those advocated by the NPL, which were deemed impossible to implement and completely inappropriate (Anderson 1980: 93). Although its economy was generally stable, Leeds experienced periods of high unemployment during which more people relied on relief. As a result, pauperism was less stigmatised in Leeds than in towns unaccustomed to such fluctuations. Not only did the NPL fail to provide a suitable alternative to established relief systems, but civic pride in Leeds meant the township aimed to solve its own social issues without the help of central government (Anderson 1980: 93). The PLC asserted its authority in 1844 by replacing the OPL committee with the Leeds Guardians and gradually OPL facilities were replaced.

Available sources

To enable its continuing use as one of Leeds's main hospitals, the former Leeds Union Workhouse has undergone numerous developments. Crucially for this study, however, many buildings from the workhouse era survive, and because Leeds Workhouse was a large structure of significant interest, plans were recorded in *The Builder*. (The originals do not survive. The only recent survey of Leeds Workhouse was undertaken by the RCHME (1991a). This ten-page report documents the remaining buildings and surviving key architectural features. The report focuses on the exterior appearance of the most prominent surviving buildings, including the industrial school, main workhouse building, infirmary buildings, and Nurses' Home. Less prestigious buildings, such as the vagrants' wards, were not included.

The surviving documentary evidence consists of minutes from the Guardians' meetings. In contrast to the Guardians' Minutes from rural workhouses, which were rarely preserved in full, the Leeds Workhouse Guardians' Minutes survive almost intact from 1844 to 1929, and provide considerable insight. Also, because Leeds Workhouse operated on such a large scale, there is more secondary literature relating to the history of the Poor Laws in Leeds than in the rural areas of West Yorkshire. Anderson (1980), for instance, provides a comprehensive account of Poor Law relief in Leeds under the OPL, and Belford and Howard (1989) offer a pictorial account accompanied by commentary on the site's history as a hospital. Both of these accounts provide crucial context data for the analysis of Leeds Workhouse. They also highlight the significance of these buildings to the local community. The public involvement in preserving the site's history has resulted in the survival of photographs of

workhouse buildings and inmates, which add to our understanding and interpretation of the site. The census data for this workhouse is divided into the workhouse, infirmary, and school. The 1891 census is most revealing because it notes inmates' exact classifications. This information suggests that few able-bodied paupers were accommodated in the workhouse at the end of the nineteenth century.

Description of the building

Leeds Union's NPL buildings are located on Beckett Street, which was originally on the outskirts of Leeds (fig 7.1). At a significant height, overlooking the town, the workhouse buildings dominated the surrounding landscape. The scale of the site gave it a domineering presence; its grandeur highlights the civic pride of the Guardians of an industrialising town marking its prominence and modernism. By the end of the nineteenth century, the town had expanded, and the NPL institution was integrated into the centre of town, surrounded by speculative workers' housing (fig 7.2-3).

Use of the site during the NPL era can be divided into seven phases. Phase one began with the construction of the Leeds Moral and Industrial Training School (LMITS) in 1848 (fig 7.4). Completed in 1848, the school was located on Beckett Street on the outskirts of town (Bedford and Howden 1989: 2). At this time, a workhouse was not included in the NPL facilities in Leeds. Instead, the Guardians focused on facilities for pauper children. The Guardians' prioritisation of a school over a workhouse demonstrates that the Guardians deemed the prevention of pauperism through education crucial to reducing poverty in Leeds. The Guardians sought long-term solutions to poverty rather than reducing numbers seeking relief in the short term.

The ever-increasing population of the town resulted in more poor seeking relief. Greater demands on the OPL workhouse and its deteriorating condition throughout the 1850s led to plans for a new workhouse (1858), which marks the beginning of phase two of the site's use. This phase began with the addition of the main workhouse building, infirmary (now demolished), and chapel, all of which were designed by William Perkin and Elisha Backhouse, who had designed the Ripon Union Workhouse four years earlier (as well as Leeds prison). The workhouse opened in 1861 and could accommodate 784 paupers of all classes. As was the case elsewhere in West Yorkshire, the numbers of sick seeking relief continued to rise throughout this phase, and further facilities were soon required.

At the start of phase three, medical facilities on the site began to improve with the construction of an imbecile block (1862) (fig 7.5). In 1869, the neighbouring Carlton and Berwick-in-Elmet Gilbert Unions disbanded, which led to the re-organisation of NPL Unions in the Leeds area. As a result, the Leeds Board of Guardians replaced the Leeds Guardians as administrators of the workhouse. The aims and priorities of the Union were reassessed, and facilities for the sick developed substantially thereafter. This was followed by the construction of a new infirmary (1872) (now demolished) and the Medical Officer's House (1875) (now demolished). An increasing number of sick caused administrative difficulties, so in 1878 the workhouse and infirmary were separated to create the first Poor Law Infirmary outside of London, marking the beginning of phase four.

During phase four, facilities for the sick continued to develop. Parts of the industrial school were converted for use as an infirmary in 1883 and 1887. The addition of a Nurses' Home to the site (1893) further indicates the Guardians' desire to improve medical facilities. Although the workhouse was extended (1896) and a new laundry constructed (1899) during this phase, additions to the existing medical facilities continued to take priority, which indicates that the number of sick continued to rise.

Care for the sick continued to evolve during phase five (fig 7.6). Beginning in 1900, a new infirmary, mortuary, and imbecile wards were constructed, and additions to the nurses' block were made. The Guardians also began to pay greater attention to the workhouse inmates and vagrants during phase four. A vagrants' ward was constructed in 1901, indicating this pauper class was still a concern in Leeds. The number of paupers housed in the workhouse increased. A receiving ward (1905) and three residential blocks (1908) were constructed during this phase.

During the twentieth century, the site developed into one of the nation's largest medical facilities. Phase six began with the start of WWI, when the site began to operate as a medical hospital, and the remaining inmates were transferred to Hunslet Union. After the war, the LGB permitted the Guardians to continue using the infirmary facilities for training medical students, which brought contemporary concepts in medical practice to the workhouse. Ultimately, this drastically improved the treatment for pauper patients in Leeds compared to those in other workhouse infirmaries. In 1925, the site entered its seventh phase when the infirmary was renamed St. James's Hospital and opened to all residents of Leeds (Bedford and Howden 1989: 18). At the end of the NPL in 1930, responsibility for administering the site was transferred to the Public Assistance Committee. By 1934,

St. James Hospital was the largest district hospital in Britain. Administrative control was passed on to the City of Leeds Health Committee.

Since the site became a hospital, the NPL buildings have either been extended or demolished. Phase eight began with the creation of the NHS in 1948, and facilities continued to develop. The next big change, marking the beginning of phase nine, came in 1960, when St. James's was incorporated into the University of Leeds Teaching Hospital. Further building commenced, and some nineteenth-century buildings were demolished. As medical care continues to evolve, the site continues to adapt to suit its changing purpose. In 1997, a museum documenting the evolution of medicine opened in the newly converted original workhouse building, which was renamed the Thackeray Museum.

External Grounds

The landscape surrounding the workhouse buildings altered significantly during the NPL era because attitudes towards the segregation of inmates evolved, and building use changed. During the first phase of its existence, external space was highly segregated (fig 7.7). The areas in front of the buildings have always been landscaped and included lawns and trees. The less austere approach to the Leeds Workhouse buildings conveys a sympathetic feeling towards poverty, like that displayed in Ripon Workhouse. The designed landscape, especially the walkway to the infirmary building, added to the civic grandeur of the site. Early OS maps indicate that walls divided the space behind the workhouse buildings into separate exercise yards for each class of inmate, controlling their movement and action. Walls varied from solid, seven-foot walls to lower walls surmounted by railings (LGM 10/3/1858). Inmates considered a contaminating threat to workhouse life, such as the able-bodied and vagrants, were detained behind solid walls; those considered more deserving of relief, such as the children and elderly, were able to exercise in yards from which views were not restricted.

The play areas behind the industrial school also divided children by age and gender. In the early years of the workhouse, segregation was clearly an important aspect of workhouse life. However, the area surrounding the infirmary does not feature any segregated yards. Evidently, segregating the infirm was not a priority, which reflects the Guardians' prioritisation of inmate treatment over control in the case of some pauper classes.

The first-revision O.S. maps from 1893 reveal the evolution of the Guardians' attitudes towards external space (fig 7.8). While the space outside the workhouse and vagrants' buildings continued to

be separated strictly, in other areas of the site, the level of segregation was reduced. The walls dividing the area behind the industrial school and those surrounding the infirmary were removed. The Nurses' Home and the imbecile block were separated from the rest of the complex by trees instead of walls. This use of segregational markers other than walls illustrates the Guardians' desire to keep the site open and limit the use of typical institutional features.

O.S. maps from 1924 (fig 7.9) show still fewer divisions. Only one yard was provided for each wing. The reduced segregation reflects the changing function of the building from a mixed workhouse to a home for the infirm and elderly.

The landscape continued to change in line with the modernisation of the site. As the town began to encroach upon the site, the site ceased to expand. Railings and walls were built, some of which survive.

Graveyard

Paupers in Leeds received superior treatment in death than those of other Unions. Anderson notes that under the OPL system, discussions relating to burial were numerous in comparison to discussions of other workhouse issues (Anderson 1980: 109). During the NPL, the Guardians provided paupers with marked graves, an uncommon gesture of respect. Elsewhere in the country, inmates who died in the workhouse were sent back to their parish for burial, and paupers were often buried in unmarked graves (Morrison 1999: 99). Leeds's seemingly generous treatment of paupers in death may result from the proximity of Beckett Street Cemetery, which was opposite the workhouse building. The cemetery opened in 1845 to solve overcrowding in the city's churchyards. It was one of the nation's earliest corporation cemeteries, reflecting the innovative ambitions of Leeds's precedent-setting civic leaders. As a widely visited public place, the cemetery attracted people from all classes of society, which meant the workhouse was seen by higher classes of visitors than would otherwise have been exposed to NPL buildings. The prominent position of the NPL site in relation to the cemetery thus may have influenced the Guardians' stylistic choices, in that it gave them an opportunity to display Leeds's status and civic pride on a greater scale.

Victorian burial practices reinforced the social hierarchies of life in death. Enormous shame was attached to pauper burials. In Beckett Street Cemetery, the cost of burial plots and memorials varied. The poorest graves are located at the bottom of the hill and around the boundary walls. It was not

uncommon for paupers of differing families, ages, and genders to be buried in the same plot (Barnard 1990: 34). In her publication, Barnard highlights grave 6631, where 38 people are buried in one 12-foot-deep grave. Thirty-one of the buried paupers are children and babies (Barnard 1990: 34-35). The front and back of the plain headstones lists the date, name, and age of dead, but it has no further inscription (fig 7.10). Uneven ground surrounds the headstones; the land has subsided due to the number of bodies buried below (fig 7.11).

Industrial school

Phase one began with the construction of The Leeds Moral and Industrial Training School (LMITS) in 1848, illustrating that the Leeds Guardians intended to prevent poverty and improve the lives of child paupers from its outset (fig 7.12). Although the NPL prioritised the treatment of able-bodied adult paupers, Leeds Guardians clearly defied this legislation by prioritising new buildings for the education of pauper children. The construction of industrial schools was not common; however, other northern cities, such as Manchester and Liverpool, also constructed pauper schools in the 1840s (Morrison 1999: 138). This suggests paternalistic attitudes towards pauper children were more pronounced in northern industrial cities where poor living and working conditions increased the numbers of pauper children. The Leeds Guardians believed it was their responsibility to educate pauper children to prevent those who 'might otherwise become prey of the abandoned and the profligate' (Pennock 1986: 134). The Industrial Schools Act, which enabled magistrates to remove problem children to Industrial schools, challenged the general principles on which LMITS was based. The Leeds Guardians rejected the act as it was 'injurious to the spirit of the school' (LGM 15/5/1857). The refusal of the Industrial School to accept the act not only demonstrates the limited power of the authorities over the Guardians but also the considered importance of separating children from pauperism.

The design of the Industrial School was crucial in conveying the Guardians' attitudes and values. The Guardians used the exterior and interior design of the school 'to banish from the minds of the inmates all idea that the institution partakes in any degree of the character of the workhouse' (Leeds Intelligencer 17 Oct 1846). The school was designed by William Perkin and Elisha Backhouse, who also designed Ripon Workhouse and Leeds prison, in similar styles. The exterior of the school conveys both the paternalistic attitude of the Guardians toward poor children and the corresponding civic importance of education. Its external appearance was intended to assert the civic pride of the city. In contrast to the classical, utilitarian style of contemporary workhouse buildings, the school adopts a

grand Elizabethan style evoking images of earlier charitable institutions and reflecting a greater attention to aesthetics.

The building's exterior style aimed to inspire civic order and improvement through its architectural detail. The three-storey building is constructed of red brick with stone detailing and has a Welsh slate roof (fig 7.13). The main entrance is through an arched doorway surmounted by a fanlight in the central block in the east elevation. Above the entrance is a stone reading 'Moral and Industrial Training School 1848'. The school's name clearly states the Guardians principles. A 3-storey, 16-pane window above the entrance provides light to the stairwell beyond. Three-storey bay windows either side of the entrance are flanked by stone, octagonal turrets and are surmounted by Dutch gables. Either side of the central block is a nine-bay wing. Like the central block, the end bay of both wings feature bay windows, octagonal turrets, and Dutch gables, which feature a small window light. Bays two to eight feature windows with stone surrounds. Bay one differs slightly, featuring a rounded French-styled window, which would have provided access to balconies that have since been removed. Some windows feature stained glass, presumably 1930s in date. A parapet along the roofline centres on a Dutch gable over bay five. Ornamental ridge tiles cap the roof, which features four chimneys of varying date for each wing.

Numerous modern additions to the south elevation obscure the original fenestration. Additions include a footbridge from the second storey to a new building. The style of the west elevation has been simplified although the windows still feature stone surrounds. The south end of the elevation has been rendered, which conceals the original fabric and alterations. However, the numerous window styles and sizes used in this elevation suggest many alterations have been made. The north end of the elevation features modern additions, which also obscure much of the original fabric. Like the south elevation, the north elevation features three bays and windows with stone surrounds. Although the main elevation retains its original appearance modern additions have clearly altered the appearance of the other elevations and the central range and rear building have been demolished. A date-stone (1904) signifies the beginning of these alterations when much of the school was converted for use as an infirmary.

Interior

The interior plan was intended to reflect the Guardians' priorities and in turn shaped the day-to-day experience of the children (fig 7.14-16). Originally the building conformed to a courtyard plan with a

central range. The plan of the building reflects the importance of segregation by gender to the Guardians. The boys were located in the north wing and girls in the south wing. The allocation of rooms indicates further segregation based on age. The children were divided into the following age groups: two to six years, six to ten years, and ten to sixteen years (Pennock 1986: 138). However, the census records indicate that some female inmates remained in the school for longer (see Appendix 4). They may have helped with the care of younger children when work was not found for them elsewhere. Allowing inmates to remain at the school illustrates the Guardians' desire to prevent their return to pauperism.

Main Block

The location of staff at LMITS contributed to the Guardians' authority. Staff numbers fluctuated over the years, but generally the Guardians employed a Master, Matron, nurse, porter, cook, servant, laundress, seamstress, and a number of teachers (see Appendix 4). As in Skipton Workhouse, the Master occupied the central area (fig 7.17-18). This arrangement maintained segregation and control over the children. The Master was allocated an office and a sitting-room, suggesting that he received visitors and socialised in the school. The teachers' common room and stairs to the first floor were also located in the central block. The centrality of staff within the building facilitated access throughout the school.

Employing effective staff appears to have been a continual problem for the Guardians. Poor pay and demanding conditions drove staff to desperate measures. The first three Masters were dismissed for drunkenness, fighting, and generally ineffective behaviour (Pennock 1986: 140). Teachers were also reprimanded for beating children and drunkenness. Staff turnover was high, and the Guardians' Minutes report staff dismissals on several occasions (LGM 28/10/1863; 27/4/1892).

Religion appears to have been a crucial part of the children's education and daily routine. The school chapel was also located in the central block, and a chaplain was immediately appointed after the school's opening (LGM 7/6/1848). Examples of religion in the children's daily routine included the ringing of the six o'clock bell every evening to signal boys to prayer and hymn recital. Such activities were overseen by the schools staff, and if the children were well behaved they would be given a bible. Religious activities were not just observed in the chapel but also in the dormitories, presumably because the chapel was too small. There is little indication that children attended the workhouse chapel once it was constructed, which suggests strict segregation was maintained

between the school and the workhouse site. Provisions were also made for non-Anglican children. Catholic children were sent to St. Marys Orphanage, suggesting that the Guardians respected the differing religious needs of the children (LGM 9/8/1871).

The children spent the majority of their time in the wings of the school. Although the wings of the main block were similar in plan, room-use differed. The ground floor of the girls' wing featured a clothing store, a bathroom, and a dayroom where they would have undertaken activities such as sewing. The ground floor of the boys' wing also featured a dayroom and bathroom, but other rooms included a dairy and larder. The dayrooms were a particularly contentious issue amongst staff, as having over 100 boys occupying a room for several hours created a foul odour not good for their health. Each wing featured a separate staircase, which provided access to the first floor and second floors (Allen cited Pennock 1986: 169).

The Guardians' enthusiasm for education is reflected in the educational facilities they provided. Elementary education was provided in the schoolrooms located on the first floor. Schooling reportedly took place in the morning. Rooms featured equipment such as maps and books, including the *History of England* (LGM 27/10/1857). Some children were part of the school band, which occasionally performed for audiences outside of the school and were permitted to attend concerts. By 1880, many Unions were choosing to send pauper children to the local Board School, which reduced costs and integrated the children into society. Leeds Guardians followed this trend, and the children remaining in the Industrial School were sent to the local Board School (Pennock 1986: 144). The Guardians aimed to conceal the children's pauper identity through the provision of everyday clothing and by allowing the children to walk themselves to school (Humble cited LGM 22/7/1885).

Facilities on the second floor included dormitories for boys and two for girls. Each dormitory had a room for a teacher, which allowed thorough surveillance and control of the children. Each wing had a W.C. Stores were located in the central area between the wings.

Central range

The central range connected the main block to the rear block. The kitchen, scullery, dining hall, and infants' schoolroom were located within the range. The kitchen and dining facilities reveal further acts of defiance against the NPL. The diet of the children of American pickled pork was reportedly unauthorised by the LGB (LGM 24/9/1873). The Guardians appear to have cared little for many of the PLC's recommendations, and intervention from central government was not appreciated. As

Guardians, they took their paternalistic role and civic duties very seriously, believing they knew what was best for the children.

Education also involved outdoor and extracurricular activities, privileges not enjoyed by other inmates or poor children outside LMITS. The range divided the playground between the two blocks, dividing the boys' and girls' exercise yards. The outer walls of the courtyard plan created a covered walkway, so the children could exercise in the rain. Exercise was evidently an important aspect of the children's daily routine and included activities such as cricket (LGM 24/5/1871). The children were taken on extended walks outside of the school twice a week. Allowing children out of the school reiterates the Guardians' attitude of disassociating the school with the workhouse; the children were not to be regarded as inmates. As the school became more established, further trips were organised to places such as Harewood House and the theatre (LGM 31/12/1873). Education clearly went beyond that delivered in the school, and the children would have greatly benefitted from these experiences, which many poor children in Leeds never had. In 1922, the children were permitted to attend a holiday camp for pauper children (LGM 10/5/1922). Facilities for the children under the NPL improved greatly in comparison to those provided for other pauper classes. However, reports of the children's outings in the Guardians' Minutes reveal that control over the children was not always maintained. On several occasions reports were made to the Guardians of the children's poor behaviour on excursions. The moral education provided by the school clearly broke down on these occasions in acts of rebellion by the children against the values of the school. Evidently the children did not always consider themselves privileged.

Rear Block

The two-storey rear block of the courtyard plan featured rooms for the infants and workrooms where the children took part in industrial activities. The central area, which divided the boys' and girls' wings, was used for an infant schoolroom and dayroom. Separating the infants from the other children protected the 'innocent' from the influence of the older children. The infant Master and Mistress's sitting-room were also located in this area. Separate staff for this class of children also provided them with extra care, as there were never many children of this class resident in the school (see Appendix 4).

The ground-floor wings of the rear block were used for the industrial training of the children, which aimed to promote future self-sufficiency. The majority of the girls' wing was used as a washhouse.

The girls participated in domestic duties around the school and sewing. These skills enabled many girls to work in services once of age to gain employment. Located in the boys' wing were a shoe-making workshop, and a tailor's workshop, as well as a bake house and a flour store that could also be used as workshops. Industrial training for the boys provided them with skills to enter many trades in Leeds, and the Guardians' Minutes frequently mention the apprenticeship of children. The Guardians continued to monitor the children once they were apprenticed, suggesting that the well-being of the children was more important than providing a living.

The health of the children was also a priority for the Guardians. An infirmary was located on the first floor of the rear wing. The employed of qualified nurses suggests the Guardians demanded a high quality of care for sick children. Outbreaks of sickness were damaging to other children and the reputation of the school. One Guardian even rented private lodging for children outside the city, which improved recovery, whereas children with specific mental illnesses were sent to specialised institutions (Pennock 1986: 141). Improvements were also made to the building. For example, stone flags were replaced with boards to prevent the children developing chilblains (Allen papers cited Pennock 1986: 169). Changes to the interior of the building suggest that health was considered key to the success of the school.

The removal of children from the Industrial School to other facilities was gradual. As in neighbouring Unions, apprenticeships were sought. In some cases, children were sent to Canada, and others entered the scattered home scheme. In 1883, the expansion of infirmary facilities incorporated parts of the Industrial School's rear block. Further expansion in 1887 meant that the number of children in the institution halved and the remaining children were housed in the main building of the school (see Appendix 4; LGM 25/7/1888). Plans to modernise the infirmaries facilities meant that in 1902 the entire school was converted to an infirmary, and the remaining 87 children left the workhouse for the newly opened Roundhay Children's Home. In keeping with the initial intentions of the Industrial School, the Leeds Guardians sought to completely disassociate the children from the NPL.

General Workhouse Buildings

The Guardians did not construct a new workhouse immediately after the passing of the NPL. They considered the new LMITS and the continually improved OPL workhouse facilities adequate for Leeds's paupers. Demands upon the Union from its continually growing population drew pressure from the PLB to construct a new workhouse. As a result, the Guardians commissioned a new

workhouse in 1858. Located on the same site as the LMITS, the institution included a general workhouse building, an infirmary, and a chapel (*The Builder* 8/1/1858: 47). The general workhouse conformed to early NPL values in that most classifications of pauper were accommodated in the main workhouse building.

Constructed between 1858 and 1861, the new workhouse emulated the style of the LMITS, equally displaying Guardians' attitudes toward poverty. Fronted by railings and landscaped gardens, the workhouse assumed an image of civic order (fig 7.19). The Elizabethan-styled, three-storey T-plan workhouse was constructed from red brick, with stone detailing and a slate roof. The building focuses on a three-bay central projection (fig 7.20-21). The centrally placed entrance, set within an elaborate stone surround with small windows either side, provides the main access route into the building. Above the entrance, a large, double Romanesque window set within a stone frame provides light for the staircase behind. Elaborate three-storey bay windows feature either side of the entrance. The rooms located in this area of the workhouse were of higher status, accommodating the Guardians and staff. The roofline is particularly decorative. Featuring a balustrade parapet and Dutch gables, the building rises into a domineering tower with corner turrets and finials. Internal staircases and landings awkwardly cross windows to preserve the symmetrical style of the external elevations, highlighting the importance of aesthetics to the Guardians. The highly ornamental style of the building differs from the classical styles used in contemporary rural workhouses in West Yorkshire. The date-stone is in Roman numerals, evoking the order associated with Roman civilisation to emphasise Leeds's status as a rapidly developing town.

As in most NPL workhouses, the segregation of inmates by classification influenced architectural design. The majority of inmates were housed in the 14-bay wings either side of the central projection (fig 7.22). The wings separated the inmates by gender, with men in one wing and women in the other. In the east elevation, each wing has entrances in bays two, six and thirteen, which provided separate access into the workhouse for different classes of paupers. In both wings, bays six and seven project from the main building. Breaks in the brickwork suggest these bays were added later to provide extra sanitary facilities for the wards. Such additions would have improved conditions within the workhouse.

The walls and glass of the north elevation refine the segregation of paupers introduced by the two-wing design. The north elevation, to the rear of the building, is unsurprisingly less ornate than the

other elevations, as the public were unlikely to see this area of the workhouse (fig 7.23). In contrast to the south elevation windows, the north elevation windows sit on brick sills and are surmounted by tapered headers. Originally, opaque glass was used in the ground-floor windows to prevent one class of inmate from seeing another (LGM 10/3/1858). Breaks in the stone work indicate where the walls segregating the exercise yards were positioned to divide inmates' external space. Entrances were placed along the elevation, providing separate access for different classes of inmates. The building stands on an uneven gradient, so staircases provide access to some entrances. The extremely worn stairs serve as a permanent reminder of the sheer number of inmates who moved in and around this building during the NPL era (fig 7.24). After the end of the NPL era, sanitary towers were crudely added to bays eight and thirteen of the west wing of the north elevation (fig 7.25). The east wing also features additional sanitary towers but in different locations.

Architectural features were used to provide a basic level of comfort within the building. The fourteenth bays of the south elevation are single-cell, three-storey additions that overlap awkwardly the architectural detailing of the east and west elevations (fig 7.26-27). The tall, thin windows used within these extensions suggest these were also extended sanitary facilities (fig 7.28). The central bays of the three-bay east and west elevations feature an entrance set within an elaborate stone surround with two small window lights either side. A twelve-panelled window spanning two storeys is situated above the entrance and provided maximal natural light into the internal corridor. Such windows do not feature in other West Yorkshire workhouses. The Leeds Guardians paid particular attention to finer details of design in order to maximise the building's efficiency, rather than economising the design at the expense of the paupers.

Post-NPL alterations to the building as a whole include mostly additions from when it was converted into a museum. Many windows have been blocked due to internal alterations. The most obvious extension is the lift shaft to the rear of the building.

Internal

As a general workhouse, the main building accommodated all pauper classes. To accommodate 800 inmates and staff, the Guardians had to design the workhouse strategically to maintain segregation between inmate classifications. The central area of the workhouse, which housed administrative facilities, was highly decorated in the 1870s, using ornamental tiles and colourful paint colours, such as a red and gold (fig 7.29-31). The ground floor featured an office for the porter, who received

inmates into the workhouse and managed the vagrant class. The Master's office may have also been located here. The Guardians' Boardroom was located on the first floor. Reportedly, the Guardians also had a tearoom and ordered brass plates to designate their area of the building (LGM 24/4/1861). Clearly the Guardians aimed to highlight the importance of their status through their central position in the workhouse and their comfortable, elaborately decorated facilities, which were dramatically superior to those of Guardians in any other workhouse in the case study area. The Master's and Matron's accommodation included bedrooms and sitting-rooms. Most likely located on the second floor, the Master's accommodation separated male and female inmates, indicating that division by gender was crucial to maintaining control within the workhouse. As in LMITS, the central location of the staff and the Guardians physically displayed their power within the institution.

The elderly, sick, able-bodied, children, mentally ill, and vagrants were all housed within the same building, but the workhouse was planned deliberately to maintain segregation. Because the needs of each pauper class varied, planning segregated accommodation entailed various measures. Male and female inmates were separated into two wings. These wings had wooden or stone floors and were heated by open fires. There is evidence in the surviving stairwells of paint on brickwork, which was probably typical of the decoration of inmate areas of the workhouse (fig 7.32-33). Other features, such as strategically placed, iron-railed gates, prevented inmates from moving freely around the building. Such features increased control within the building and stopped inmates 'going to bed on Sunday afternoons', which was not permitted (LGM 10/6/1874). The Guardians regarded segregation as an important priority, so much so that they refused to act on the LGB's recommendation to place doors between male and female wards in case of fire (LGM 5/6/1889). Pauper classification remained crucial to the organisation of the workhouse.

The exception to such strict segregation and classification was the accommodation for married elderly couples, which was located in the two-storey block to the rear of the workhouse. Although this was nationally not uncommon, there are no known examples of married couples' accommodation in the case study area. Clearly the Guardians privileged inmates based on their classification, so inmates deemed more deserving received more comfortable and less segregated facilities. That the Guardians provided couples accommodation for the elderly suggests the workhouse also assumed the role of a home for the elderly, which was not an original intention of the NPL.

Inmates deemed more deserving received privileges that were not granted to the able-bodied. The infirm and elderly, of which there were a significant number, had dayrooms, wards, and sanitary facilities separate from other pauper classes. They were also allowed out of the workhouse once a fortnight to go to Roundhay Park, and the Master provided them with buns, tea, and coffee (LGM 19/8/1885). The Guardians frequently debated whether the elderly should be allowed out of the workhouse. However, the majority of Guardians felt it an important privilege, and it was never denied, presumably because the elderly were considered unwilling victims of poverty. The elderly were also granted entertainment in the workhouse and occasionally accompanied the workhouse children to the theatre (LGM 24/2/1886; 12/11/1890; 3/2/1892). Associating the activities of the elderly with those of children suggests that values towards these pauper classes were similar and that the elderly were not considered an immoral influence over the vulnerable children.

Like the elderly, the able-bodied were separated entirely from other pauper classes, and their experiences differed. On entering the workhouse, the able-bodied were numbered and dressed in a workhouse uniform (LGM 19/5/1858; 26/8/1863). Instances of the Guardians purchasing second-hand clothes for the inmates reflect the degradation of this pauper class (LGM 24/11/1897). The personal identity of the inmate was removed. In contrast to smaller, rural workhouses, the vast workhouse of urban Leeds rarely recorded individual inmate cases. The lowly status of the able-bodied was further defined in instances such as the conversion of the labour yard for temporary sleeping accommodation for able-bodied men (LGM 7/12/1898). These conditions were particularly harsh and contrasted greatly with those of the elderly and infirm.

Work was a large part of the able-bodied inmates' daily routine. Common tasks for women included domestic tasks, laundry duties, and oakum-picking (LGM 21/8/1861). Men undertook general maintenance tasks, oakum-picking, woodcutting, and were even employed to build the workhouse (LGM 7/11/1858; 3/11/1883). On occasion, the Guardians were selectively sympathetic to inmates unable to work outside of the workhouse and found certain inmates more meaningful tasks than oakum-picking (LGM 3/11/1883). For example, some able-bodied women worked in the offices and were distinguished from other able-bodied inmates in that they were provided with better quality clothing (LGM 24/1/1872). Sometimes domestic chores meant women worked in other areas of the workhouse, such as LMITS, which reduced the level of segregation between children and able-bodied women (LGM 15/4/1863). It is likely that domestic chores involving movement around the workhouse complex were reserved for more trustworthy inmates deemed to be of decent character.

Trusted able-bodied men were also given important tasks, such as ambulance driving (LGM 9/10/1887). Clearly the Guardians deemed these able-bodied inmates more worthy and respectable than others in their pauper class. The different work and responsibility granted to these able-bodied paupers created a separate hierarchy within this pauper class.

Although the able-bodied were generally regarded as the least-deserving inmate class and were strictly segregated, the Guardians made small exceptions for families that entered the workhouse together. The Guardians allowed parents and children to meet for one hour on Tuesdays, for instance (LGM 15/11/1871). These strictly regulated, supervised meetings emphasise the Guardians' power and control within the institution while highlighting the severely ordered routine of the inmates' workhouse experience. Family connections were also maintained in that some children were accommodated in the workhouse rather than being sent to LMITS. Primarily under the care of the Matron or elderly inmates, children under the age of two also remained in the workhouse. Although in general the workhouse was heavily segregated, the aforementioned allowances for individual families demonstrate the importance of family values to the Guardians.

The Guardians considered plans for separate inmate facilities only one year after the workhouse was opened. It had quickly become evident that a general workhouse was not suitable for all pauper classes. Despite the inclusion of an infirmary in the initial workhouse plan, mentally ill paupers for whom there was no space in the County Asylums were accommodated in the main workhouse building. Leeds accommodated some of the Union's mentally ill patients in the OPL workhouse. This tradition continued in the NPL era. However, the increasing number of mentally ill paupers seeking relief from the Union strained resources in the workhouse. The need for a specialised facility that could provide treatment comparable to that in local asylums became crucial. In 1862, a separate 'lunatic ward' was constructed to permanently remove mentally ill paupers from the workhouse.

Unusually, vagrants were initially housed with the permanent inmates in the main workhouse. Segregated into male and female wards, the vagrants experienced significantly worse conditions than able-bodied paupers. On entering the wards in the evening, vagrants were provided with wooden planked beds and gruel (LGM 26/6/1861; 15/2/1893). In the morning, vagrants worked for three hours, from seven to ten, before their release from the vagrants' wards. Tasks included corn-grinding, stone-breaking, digging arable land, sawing timber, and removing rubbish (LGM 1/5/1861; 18/9/1872). Such conditions demonstrate the lowly position of the vagrants in the pauper hierarchy.

Vagrants were deemed morally misguided, so local missionaries came to the workhouse to provide them with religious instruction, cards, and books (LGM 30/5/1888). Traditionally, vagrants were regarded as beyond reform, so the missionaries' interest in the vagrants, in Leeds at this time, like missionaries entering nineteenth century navy camps (Morris 1994), reflects a new enthusiasm for religion and a new sense of social responsibility within the middle and upper classes.

As in the case of the able-bodied, a hierarchy existed within the vagrant class. For work, vagrants were divided into two classes based on their physical condition. Inmates in class two undertook three times more work than those of class one. Deemed least deserving of relief, the class-two paupers were placed firmly at the bottom of NPL inmate classifications. The Guardians' distinction between individual inmates and their preferential treatments of certain individuals created unique experiences of the workhouse, beyond the differences associated with general pauper classifications.

The history of the development of specialised facilities suggests that in the 1890s, the main workhouse building was to accommodate the able-bodied, elderly, and vagrants. However, in reality, it accommodated mostly elderly inmates and those infirm and mentally ill patients who could not be accommodated in the designated specialised facilities due to overcrowding. The workhouse was adapted to accommodate this overflow. In 1895, the married couples' accommodation was modified into wards for the infirm (LGM 20/11/1896). As in previous phases, the Guardians underestimated the need for specialised facilities, failing to anticipate Leeds's rapid population growth.

The workhouse housed very few able-bodied inmates in these years. Many able-bodied paupers were offered out-relief or encouraged to emigrate. Large portions of the Guardians' Minutes relate to the giving of out-relief to such paupers (LGM 1887). The 1891 census, the only census to record the basic classification of inmates, states that out of 387 inmates, only 30 were classed as able-bodied. The few able-bodied inmates admitted to the workhouse probably had some form of disability but did not require the level of care administered in asylums or the 'Lunatic block' and were capable of undertaking certain jobs, so they were not officially classified as infirm or mentally ill. A photograph from Belford and Howard (1989) entitled 'able-bodied paupers' depicts individuals with physical attributes often associated with disability (fig 7.34). Such discrepancies reflect the inadequacies of the classification system.

Dining-Room and Kitchen

The dining-room and kitchen were located behind the main workhouse building. Constructed of brick with a slate roof, the original buttressed, six-bay building was later extended to eleven bays, probably due to the increasing number of inmates in the workhouse (fig 7.35-36). Each bay features a large Venetian window, which would have provided a substantial amount of natural light into the dining-room. Entrance to the dining-room is gained through bay two in both the east and west elevations. Presumably these separate entrances allowed inmates of different classes to enter at their designated time without compromising segregation. The kitchen was located below the dining hall, partially underground. Many of the kitchen's features remain in situ as little of this space has been used since the NPL. An internal staircase provides access into the dining-room above. Within the kitchen, a central corridor provides access to several cold stores and preparation rooms (fig 7.37-39). Finished with glazed white tiles and slate surfaces, the kitchen area is especially dark. The kitchens were overseen by the cook, who mostly received help from workhouse inmates. Such working conditions were challenging as one person was responsible for feeding 800 inmates, so quality clearly was never a priority. The *Guardians' Minutes* record several instances of inmates complaining about the quality of food. However, no action was ever taken (LGM 15/11/1893).

Workhouse Extension Blocks

The huge expansion of facilities across the workhouse site during phase five included the addition of three new residential workhouse blocks. Late nineteenth-century workhouse additions in West Yorkshire were generally less ornate and more functional than earlier constructions. In Leeds Workhouse, though not as ornate as the original workhouse building, the new blocks adopted a similar style, suggesting that retaining the architectural style and prominence of the original workhouse was still a priority for the *Guardians*, despite the added cost. The two three-storey, red-brick buildings constructed in 1908, one to the east of the main building (fig 7.40-42) and one to the west (fig 7.43-45), are almost identical. The entrance, set within a stone surround with small window lights and a dated stone pediment, is located in the projected central bay. The first- and second-floor windows above the entrance also feature stone surrounds in the classical style. A brick parapet with stone detailing ornaments the roof line. Either side of the central bay are the wings, which differ in that the north block features eight-bay wings and the south block six-bay wings. The large windows within stone surrounds provide substantial natural light into the wards. By the early twentieth century, the type and quality of glass, which determined the amount of natural light let into the building, was crucial due to the high levels of industrial population in Leeds (LGM 23/1/1929). Every

other bay features an external chimney stack, with ornamental stone brackets. One gable-end of each building features a three-storey bay window. The north-facing Dutch gable faces out of the complex. Evidently in the parts of the building that were visible to the passing public, the Guardians continued to present their values through the building's ornamentation and style. Adopting a similar design to blocks one and two, with stone detailing and Dutch gables, the third block, constructed in 1909, featured four storeys and a basement. The building was connected to the northern block via a three-storey extension.

Although the plan of these buildings was basic, heat, light, and ventilation facilities indicate developments in architectural designs of the early twentieth century, which ultimately improved inmates' experiences. The internal design of the buildings included basic open wards either side of the central staircase; all were well ventilated. Electric lighting was installed, and heat was provided via fireplaces and probably additional hot-water pipes (LGM 8/3/1905).

Sanitary towers were located in separate blocks attached to the rear of the buildings. The building constructed in 1909 also featured numerous workshops (fig 7.46-7). Maintenance of this rapidly expanding site demanded onsite workmen. It was more economical for the Guardians to employ full-time knowledgeable employees than to outsource the required labour as needed because maintenance of such a large site was a daily challenge.

The construction of new wards and the development of attitudes toward accommodated paupers improved inmates' general experience of NPL relief. As the number of able-bodied in the workhouse in the 1890s was so low, it is likely that these buildings were used to accommodate the elderly. Increasingly, the Guardians talk of inmates in general rather than distinguishing between different pauper classes. Treats and entertainment were increasingly offered to all inmates, which suggests the inmates in the workhouse were not considered undeserving of relief. In one instance, the inmates were taken to Temple Newsam for tea and on returning to the workhouse were given tea and chocolate (LGM 26/6/1929). By the end of the NPL era, attitudes toward workhouse inmates had evolved dramatically from those that had informed the early NPL.

The Chapel

The ornamented chapel illustrates that religion was a high priority for the Leeds Guardians. The moral guidance of inmates through religious teaching was an integral part of workhouse life. It was

unusual for a workhouse to feature a separate chapel because most workhouses adapted the dining-room for religious services (Morrison 1999: 99). The majority of separate workhouse chapels were commissioned by donors, and few chapels strayed from established, economical Gothic styles (Dixon and Muthesius 2001: 110, Morrison 1999: 127-130). The Leeds Guardians were the only Guardians in West Yorkshire to commission a separate chapel. In contrast to national trends, the chapel assumes an elaborate design clearly differentiating it from other buildings on the site (fig 7.48).

Evidently the Guardians wished to display the civic pride and status of the PLU and highlight how central the institution was in relieving the paupers of Leeds. Constructed during phase two, the chapel was included in the initial plan of the workhouse. The chapel is located between the main workhouse building and the industrial school as it was intended for use by workhouse inmates and school children. While conforming to a rough cruciform plan, the chapel's style was influenced by the 1840s rediscovery of Byzantine and Romanesque architectural styles. Constructed of red, blue, and yellow brick with stone and tile detailing, the chapel embraces the increasing colour of high Victorian polychromy, which was also inspired by Byzantine churches and Arab buildings (Dixon and Muthesius 2001: 22) (fig 7.49). Entrance to the chapel is gained through a pair of round-headed doors set within a stone recess (fig 7.50), through the tower in the east elevation, or through the vestry, which is located in the southwest corner (fig 7.51-2). The building features numerous sets of Romanesque windows and a Welsh slate roof (fig 7.53). The chapel has two towers (fig 7.54). While both towers adopt a similar style to the main body of the building, the rounded tower attached to the east elevation adopts an Italianate style, which is further decorated with ornamental stone columns and carved capitals. In contrast, the square tower attached to the west elevation adopts a Gothic style, featuring a pointed roof and clock. This fusion of fashionable styles provides the site with a unique focal point.

A high level of ornamentation continues inside the chapel. Red, white, and black bricks are used within structure of the nave, which is furnished with two rows of pews (fig 7.55-6). Beyond the nave is the chancel and apse. In the late nineteenth, Robert Thompson, the 'mouse man', designed the wooden interior of the chapel, which features carvings of his iconic mouse. A pair of arches within the nave led to the transepts (fig 7.57-8). False walls have since separated these areas to provide storage space.

Although the NPL respected inmates' religious preferences, in Leeds, Anglican services dominated religious practice in the workhouse through much of its early history. The church could not hold all of the inmates, so presumably classes of inmates would have attended services separately. Services at the OPL workhouse were given by an Anglican preacher. Despite the NPL stating that the Guardians should not influence an inmate's chosen religion, a local priest's request to offer inmates Catholic services was initially rejected (LGM 30/4/1845). However, the national revival of Catholicism and non-conformism in the nineteenth century caused attitudes to soften slightly. In 1847, the Guardians allowed Catholic preachers into the Industrial school (LGM 10/11/1847), but there is no evidence of Catholic services taking place in the workhouse chapel, and Catholic inmates were not permitted to attend Catholic services outside of the workhouse. Although the Guardians' decision to retain an Anglican preference prevailed, the increasing number of Irish inmates promoted Catholicism. In 1898, a Catholic instructor was appointed in the school, indicating the evolution of attitudes towards this faith and the Guardians' acceptance of the religious needs of all inmates (LGM 23/11/1898).

Infirmary Buildings

Numerous infirmary buildings were constructed on the workhouse site during the NPL era, illustrating the Guardians' aim to improve pauper health by modernising methods of care. The first infirmary building was constructed during phase two as part of the initial workhouse complex (fig 7.59). The original infirmary adopted a similar style to the main workhouse building. The three-bay central block, with a central entrance and Italianate windows surmounted by a Dutch gable, was flanked by four-bay wings. The east and west elevations also featured Dutch gables, and a decorative parapet ornamented the roof line. Chimneys either side of the central block suggest that each ward was heated by a single fireplace, which would have provided scarce heating nonetheless superior to that in the larger wards in the main workhouse building. Smaller windows within the fenestration suggest each ward featured separate sanitary facilities, each used by fewer inmates than those in the main workhouse. Segregation by gender was maintained, with women in one wing and men in the other. As was typical of workhouse infirmaries of this period, inmates were cared for by a few untrained nurses and able-bodied inmates. The role of the nurses included bathing the inmates on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The infirmary's small size, limited accommodation, and basic routine of bathing inmates only twice a week suggests care within the infirmary was limited. Many workhouses built at this time did not have separate infirmaries at all. The inclusion of a separate infirmary in the initial workhouse phase at Leeds indicates the Guardians' desire to separate the sick from the healthy workhouse inmates.

As numbers in the workhouse increased, so did the number of sick seeking relief from the Union. Within ten years, plans for a new infirmary were in place. Original plans devised by the Guardians included separate pavilions, external sanitary annexes, and numerous sunlights (LGM 18/5/1870; *The Builder* 28/5/1870: 432). By 1870, pavilion hospitals were widely advocated in hospital planning, so the Leeds Guardians' desire to build an infirmary based on these designs highlights their forward thinking and planning. However, advisers to the PLB rejected the plans because such facilities were not deemed necessary. The Guardians abandoned their ideals and opted for a single infirmary building (*The Builder* 13/4/1872: 289). The outdated thinking of the central PLB hindered the advance of some NPL workhouses; attitudes towards pauperism had not evolved nationally.

Adopting the PLB's recommendation of a single building, the Guardians constructed the new infirmary in 1872 (demolished 1972) (fig 7.60). Photographic records show the three-storey building centred on a gabled, four-bay central block with 10-bay wings either side, each featuring three chimneystacks. Adopting a Gothic style, the building was constructed from brick with sandstone dressings and was surrounded by a small, landscaped garden. Entry was gained through the central block, above which stood a statue of Queen Victoria. The Guardians still aspired to display Leeds's civic pride through the architecture. Doorways in each wing provided separate access for male and female patients and thus maintained segregation by gender. Within the infirmary, the central block housed accommodation for the nurses, chaplain, and dispenser; ward sculleries; a hoist; and separate staircases to the wards (*The Builder* 13/4/1872: 289). The kitchen was located in a separate block within a courtyard behind the building and was connected to the main infirmary via a corridor. Such facilities completely separated the infirmary from the workhouse, so the site had progressed into three entities: the school, the workhouse, and the infirmary.

The internal plan of the infirmary suggests the Guardians attempted to follow the principles of pavilion hospitals as much as the PLB permitted. The patients' accommodation separated men and women into two wings. Each wing was divided into nine compartments, each of which was divided into three suites on each floor. Polished birch bedsteads were placed in pairs between the windows, accommodating a total of 216 inmates (LGM 4/2/1874). Dividing patients into separate suites rather than providing long wards like other workhouse infirmaries implies the Guardians aimed to achieve the isolation provided by pavilion buildings as much as possible within a single building. The suites were all interconnected by large, double doors, and there were dayrooms at the end of every ward.

The walls were to be coloured dark from the floor to the window (LGM 2/9/1874). This was intended to be practical, but to the patients, the colour scheme affirmed the institutional nature of the building.

Facilities within the wards suggest the moral and physical wellbeing of inmates was a crucial concern of the Guardians. 'Framed texts of scriptures' were placed on the ward walls, emphasising the importance of religion within the institution, even for inmates who could not attend services (LGM 15/10/1873). Other comforts, such as chairs, blankets, and rugs, were issued to the infirmary, providing comfort beyond that offered in the workhouse (LGM 4/2/1874). At some point speakers and a wireless were installed into the infirmary, which, as noted by a Leeds newspaper, '...might have been regarded in the days of Bumble as a serious breach of discipline' (Howden and Bedford 1989: 8). The newspaper's remarks draw upon Dickens' stereotypical portrayal of earlier Victorian workhouses to provide a contrast to the comparatively comfortable conditions in Leeds infirmary. Separate sanitary facilities were provided for each ward, and each suite also had a double stove and ventilation. Clearly attitudes towards this pauper class quickly progressed after the passing of the NPL, reflected in the level of comfort permitted within the infirmary.

The Guardians' interest in the treatment of the sick led to the provision of a permanent residence for the Union's Medical Officer. Commissioned in 1875, the Medical Officer's house was located southwest of the industrial school (fig 7.61). Constructed from brick with a small amount of stone detailing, the double-fronted house (now demolished) assumed an L-plan. The role of the Medical Officer was evidently central to the successful treatment of sick inmates, and the house provides a visual representation of his importance to the Union. The Medical Officer was responsible for the sick in the school and the workhouse. Initially, he only had eight unqualified staff carrying out his duties, which hampered the effectiveness of his work. However, his position within the workhouse expanded as the infirmary facilities and nursing staff improved.

The rapid expansion of Leeds and the increasing number of poor led to several extensions of the NPL buildings in quick succession (fig 7.62). Census records indicate that the infirmary was constantly overcrowded, and facilities were stretched (see Appendix 4). Extensions to the 1872 infirmary were planned as early as 1877 (*The Builder* 9/3/1877: 256). Designed by C.R. Chorley, the additional infirmary accommodation provided 139 new beds to be arranged in a U-shape building located behind the original infirmary (demolished). The number of sick now out-numbered the number of

able-bodied inmates in the workhouse (see Appendix 4). Administration of the two institutions must have caused complications, as in 1878 the infirmary was separated from the workhouse, creating the first Poor Law Infirmary outside of London. When they were moved to the infirmary, the sick were disassociated from the workhouse, which dramatically reduced the stigma attached to sick paupers and the infirmary buildings. It was popularly believed that sickness was a significant cause of poverty, so the Guardians' improvement of the general health of Leeds's paupers may have been intended to reduce poverty in the long term, like the LMITS. The establishment of Leeds's Infirmary highlights the innovative thinking of the Leeds Guardians. By 1914, still only 10% of Unions had created separated Poor Law Infirmaries (LGB, 43rd annual report, 1914). As in their establishment of LMITS, in creating a separate infirmary, the Leeds Guardians demonstrated their ability to break with tradition to improve the lives of paupers in Leeds beyond those in comparable urban Unions.

In the 1880s, the focus of the site moved further towards the treatment of sick paupers, and facilities designated for sick inmates continued to expand. A visitor to the infirmary at this time commented, 'I would remind the Guardians of the ever growing need of beds for the sick. Last night there was not a single bed to spare on the male side, and on the female side there were two spare beds, both of them in the Lying-in Ward, at the same time about nine or ten infirmary patients were being accommodated in the dormitory at the main building (women's side)' (LGM 11/1/1983). This report indicates the main building was still accommodating sick paupers, even though separate infirmary buildings had been provided. The average stay in 1884 was 100 days, which would obviously have strained facilities (Belford and Howard 1989: 8). In 1883, the infants' section of the industrial school was adapted to be used as lying-in wards for the infirmary. The infants were moved to the main school building. Further sections of the school were converted for infirmary use in 1887. The Guardians' Minutes from this period record that sick paupers were given treats similar to those given to the children, affirming the dissociation of the sick from the main workhouse population (LGM 25/7/1888). Developments in the treatment of the sick echoed developments in the treatment of children. Initially, children and LMITS were the focus of the site, but children were increasingly moved away from the workhouse to specialised facilities as ideals toward childcare evolved. Likewise, as ideals toward healthcare evolved, the infirm became the Guardians' focus and were increasingly removed to specialised facilities, albeit on the same site as the workhouse. Hunslett Union deemed Leeds Infirmary so successful that it transferred its sick inmates to Leeds (LGM 14/10/1890).

In the early 1900s, the continuing rise in the infirm population of the workhouse resulted in the massive expansion of facilities (fig 7.63). Prior to expansion, three infirmary buildings, the rear block of LMITS, and other makeshift facilities in the main workhouse block accommodated 707 inmates (see Appendix 4). Although the infirmary was administratively separated from the workhouse in 1878, sick paupers continued to reside in other workhouse buildings. By 1904, LMITS children had been removed to specialised facilities, so the rear block of the former LMITS was demolished, and three new infirmary buildings were built in its place (fig 7.64-5). Designed by Thomas Winn and Sons, the new buildings accommodated 505 paupers. The new buildings combined with the three existing infirmary buildings enabled all infirm paupers to be removed from the workhouse and the school to specialised facilities. Rather than increasing the number of beds, the Guardians chose to improve care for sick paupers.

A date-stone in the main elevation of the former LMITS building indicates that the expansion began with the demolition of the rear block of the former LMITS. Externally, the most significant change to the main building was the addition of balconies, which have since been removed. French windows and bay windows were added to the central projection. The main block was converted for its new administrative purpose through the addition of an entrance hall, committee room, Matron's quarters, quarters for the assistant Medical Officer, and servants' bedrooms on the upper floors (*The Builder* 19/5/1900: 497). The wings were used as wards. Receiving wards were on the ground floor, and general wards were upstairs (fig 7.66). Proper sanitary blocks were added at the rear of each wing (*The Builder* 19/5/1900: 497). Two new, three-storey blocks were constructed behind the school. *The Builder* reports the blocks included receiving and serving rooms, male sick wards (186 beds), sick and venereal wards (183 beds), male venereal wards (20 beds), maternity wards (26 beds), an infectious diseases ward for 10 males and 20 females, children's wards (60 beds), and an operating theatre. Other blocks included a kitchen, stores, and mortuary, which were all located between the infirmary buildings (*The Builder* 22/10/1904: 423). In 1922, an additional dining-room was approved by the LGB, subject to the inclusion of central heating (LGM 11/10/1922). Electricity was supplied throughout, which created conditions superior to those offered elsewhere (Howden and Bedford 1989: 8). By recommending the inclusion of electricity, the LGB encouraged the Union to improve standards, reflects evolving national ideals towards pauperism. In 1906, when the final NPL infirmary opened, Leeds Infirmary was the largest facility outside of London, with accommodation for over 1000 patients managed by 84 qualified staff. Due to post-NPL developments, few of these buildings survive, and those that do are obscured by later extensions.

The innovative nature of the Leeds Guardians prevailed during the NPL era. The Guardians were hailed as ‘... having provided for the sick and infirm under their charge in a manner so thorough and up to date that few like Authorities will be able to challenge comparison’ (*The Yorkshire Daily Observer* 30/3/1906). The opening of the final NPL infirmary was celebrated with a dinner in the workhouse dining-room for 200 guests from all of Leeds’s public institutions (Belford and Howard 1989: 11). The Guardians’ celebration of their achievements in the workhouse reflects their genuine pride in the facilities they provided for Leeds’s poor. However, not everyone agreed with the Guardians’ perceived generosity. In his toast at the dinner, the Lord Mayor warned the Guardians against ‘extravagance’ (Bedford and Howden 1989: 11). The mayor’s concern emphasises the Leeds Guardians’ modern and novel attitudes, which were firmly embedded in the buildings they commissioned.

The abolition of the NPL led to further developments in medical facilities on the site. In 1925, Leeds Workhouse Infirmary became St. James’s Hospital. The site continued to develop under the NHS and was incorporated into the University of Leeds teaching hospital in 1970. Each of these phases entailed redevelopment, construction, and demolition of buildings. The evolution of the site during these phases reflects advances in medical technology and the continuing innovation of the Leeds Guardians.

Lunatic Blocks

Traditionally, the Leeds Guardians sent mentally ill paupers to the county asylum, but these were generally oversubscribed, so the new workhouse constructed in 1862 at the beginning of phase two provided separate accommodation for the mentally ill in the main workhouse building (LGM 21/5/1845; 17/9/1845; 29/9/1847). Accommodating the mentally ill in a separate facility in the same building as the workhouse both created an association and distinguished between the mentally ill and the poor. While the shared building emphasised their mutual poverty and ostracism from mainstream society, upholding different standards between facilities destigmatised mental illness in comparison to pauperism. The mentally ill undertook tasks such as sewing and laundry duties and attended church twice a week, on Sundays and on Tuesday evenings. Further privileges included receiving friends in the airing courts (LGM 29/10/1862). Their daily routine suggests that although accommodation was insufficient, the mentally ill were nonetheless cared for.

Despite the Guardians' attempt to provide specialized facilities for mentally ill paupers, the demand on in-house facilities was too great. A separate facility for the mentally ill was crucial to improving the quality of their lives in the workhouse. In 1862, at the start of phase three, plans were made to construct a separate lunatic ward. This block aimed to relieve the overcrowded County Asylum at Wakefield and provide a better quality of care for the mentally ill remaining in the workhouse. Located next to the phase-one infirmary and surrounded by a small garden, the Lunatic Ward assumed a similar style to the earlier infirmary. The ten-bay, two-storey block is red brick, with stone dressings and a slate roof featuring Dutch gables and a parapet (fig 7.67-8). The entrance, located in the south elevation, led to a central corridor that ran the length of the building, with wards either side that could accommodate 62 inmates.

In 1864, the PLB compiled a favourable report on ward conditions. Overall, it praised the workhouse for its treatment of mentally ill paupers. The Master and Matron were particularly well-praised. The mentally ill continued to receive special treatment, including fortnightly entertainment in the wards (LGM 17/5/1871). The Guardians also suggested that the mentally ill be provided with beer, which they believed would promote good health, but the PLB rejected this request, as it considered beer an unnecessary expense (LGM 12/6/1872). However, visits from family continued, and inmates were occasionally granted a short period of leave from the workhouse to go home (LGM 28/9/1864).

However, the PLB report also highlights the difficulties faced by staff in the ward (LGM 17/5/1871). An employed nurse supported by six inmates ran the wards. These inmates received better clothing and food for their work, which elevated their status in the pauper hierarchy (LGM 28/9/1864). The nurses worked from 6.30 am till 7.30 pm, but could also be called upon out of those hours if necessary. On one occasion the nurse was attacked and almost overpowered by three inmates (LGM 17/5/1871). The amount of work for just one qualified member of staff was enormous, so it is unsurprising that employing nurses was difficult or that pauper death-rates remained high. The fact that the PLB condoned conditions in the Lunatic Ward despite inadequate staffing and high pauper death-rates suggests their criteria for assessing ward conditions were very misguided. Nationally, orderliness and hygiene were valued over medical treatment.

The number of mentally ill paupers continued to increase, and by 1871, specialised facilities were again overcrowded, and the mentally ill were once again housed in the main workhouse building and infirmary (see Appendix 4). Nonetheless, conditions were still considered adequate. The LGB report

notes that inmates 'were kept clean in their person, and tidy in their dress' (LGM 19/3/1890), reflecting that values regarding the treatment of the mentally ill in the workhouse had not evolved, despite improved understanding regarding the needs of the mentally ill housed in County Asylums.

By the end of the century, though, medical advances from nearby county asylums, such as High Royds, on the outskirts of Leeds, spread to the workhouse, and existing facilities were called into question. The Guardians' Minutes from 1896 record that mentally ill paupers were being housed in the school, the infirmary, general wards in the workhouse, and in their designated Lunatic Ward, which was at the time accommodating 76 patients rather than 62 (LGM 22/1/1896).

A new 'lunatic' block, consisting of three separate wards connected by a corridor, was constructed in 1900, at the start of phase four, behind the workhouse, near the north boundary wall (fig 7.69-70). Now demolished, the predominantly brick building featured bay windows and stone detailing, and a parapet ornamented the slate roof, which featured numerous decorative chimneys. Most buildings added to workhouse sites around the turn of the century assumed plainer, more economical styles than earlier buildings, prioritising function over image. However, the style of the lunatic block at Leeds is similar to that of earlier buildings on the site, suggesting display of civic order and grandeur remained an important part of design. The Guardians appreciated the impact of architectural style on pauper experience, so their choice of an Elizabethan-style building reflects their sympathetic attitude toward mentally ill paupers.

The provision of a new specialised facility improved the experience of the mentally ill in the workhouse, but the new block did not compare to the extravagant curative facilities offered in county asylums constructed around the same time. Local county asylums included ballrooms and theatres as part of treatment and featured extensive, landscaped grounds. In contrast, the workhouse lunatic block provided basic facilities. The new ward was necessary to accommodate the overflow of patients from county asylums, but it was never intended as a long-term alternative to local asylum treatment and could never have housed all of the Union's mentally ill. After constructing the lunatic block, Leeds Union still paid for 500 of its mentally ill paupers to be accommodated in county asylums (LGM 8/5/1901).

The construction of a fully equipped, independent asylum on the workhouse site would have been unprecedented nationally. Workhouse inmates were meant to be transient. The Guardians cured the

infirm and encouraged the able-bodied and children to improve their employability, seeking ultimately to remove them from the NPL relief system. The creation of an asylum would have resulted in inmates residing permanently on the site, thus changing the dynamic of the institution. This was a progression even the innovative Guardians of Leeds were unwilling to make.

The building's plan was strategic, allowing for further future extensions as needed, which suggests that the Guardians expected the number of mentally ill paupers to continue to increase. The central block was used for administrative purposes and included an entrance block, waiting-room, receiving wards, padded cell, dining-room, and apartments for staff. Male and female patients were divided into the two-storey wings, which featured external fire escapes. The connecting corridors were wide enough to be used as dayrooms (*The Builder* 8/2/1896). Later alterations to the building suggest the Guardians' predictions of increasing numbers of this pauper class were correct (fig 7.71-2).

In 1910, plans were made for an additional floor for the two-storey wings. Five verandas and two smaller, two-storey extensions were also added (OS map 1906; 1915/16). An additional two-storey dining hall, featuring bay windows and a hipped roof, was made in 1923 (*The Builder* 5/10/1923: 545). All additions were of brick and had stone detailing.

Nurses' Home

Employing reliable, qualified, experienced nursing staff in workhouse infirmaries was a nationwide difficulty for Guardians (*The Hospital* 3/11/1894: 85). Nurses preferred to work in voluntary hospitals, where pay and conditions were better. The Leeds Union infirmary relied on untrained pauper nurses, as qualified nurses were reluctant to work for the Union. By 1880, improving standards of medical care was a definite priority of the Guardians. In 1881, the infirmary buildings accommodated 400 inmates, but there were only 14 nurses (see Appendix 4). To solve staff shortages, the Leeds Guardians decided to train their own nurses, reflecting their ambitious and serious attitude towards improving medical treatment received by paupers. Like the Guardians of Skipton Union, the Leeds Guardians built a Nurses' Home to attract them to work for the Union. However, the unprecedented scale of the Nurses' Home in comparison to those of other West Yorkshire Unions suggests that the Leeds Guardians took this provision far more seriously than other Unions in the case study area.

Constructed in 1893-4, the Nurses' Home aimed to encourage 40 nurses into the employment of the Union through its modern style and plan (*The Builder* 23/12/1893: 475). The original building assumed an E-plan with a single-storey central block and two two-storey wings. The main entrance

was located in the west elevation, facing away from the workhouse complex. The building's orientation shielded and disassociated the nurses from the rest of the workhouse, thus providing them with an elevated position reflective of their qualifications and professionalism. Constructed from red brick with stone detailing and a Welsh slate roof, the building suggests the Guardians wished to continue the style of earlier workhouse buildings and maintain stylistic standards (a tradition continued in the design of the lunatic block in 1900). The Guardians' desire to employ quality staff is reflected in the stylised building of quality.

The expansion of the infirmary meant more staff were required. As a result, an additional storey, designed by Thomas Winn, was added to the building in 1903. The extension is sympathetic to the original style but includes more ornamental features, such as turrets on the gable-ends. Captured in an early photograph, the building's extensions are obvious (fig 7.73-77). The Guardians valued professional nursing staff more highly than ever and expressed their values through architecture.

The L-plan extension made in 1923 was relatively sympathetic to the building's original style, though slightly simplified (fig 7.77-8). Constructed from brick with stone detailing, this block ranged from three to four storeys. The upper storeys were located in the roof space. In the principal elevation, a stone porch with a semi-circular headed doorway and flanking windows provides entrance to the building.

As the hospital facilities expanded, so did the Nurses' Home. The third extension was made after the NPL was abolished. Constructed from brick, with stone sills and a flat roof, the extension rendered the building a double H-plan. This five-storey extension is very utilitarian in comparison to earlier extensions. Rather than an expression of cultural values, this extension emphasises its function, typically of post-war institutional architecture.

Internal

Within the home, single rooms, sanitary facilities, and recreational rooms were provided for the nurses' use (fig 7.79-80). Accommodation for two Matrons was located in the central block, which included a bedroom and adjoining sitting-room. Two further sitting-rooms, one for trained nurses and one for probation nurses, provided a communal area (fig 8.81-82). Other recreational facilities included a tennis court at the front of the building, where tournaments were organised for the staff (LGM 14/9/1898) (7.83). Although they worked 12-hour days and cared for up to 70 patients, life for

the nurses of Leeds Union did not centre solely on work (Pennock 1986: 171). Unlike other workhouses in the case study area, Leeds provided social activities to boost morale amongst staff.

The rear wing of the central block featured the kitchen, dining-room, and scullery. Accommodation for 38 nurses was located in the two wings. Fixtures, such as staircases, were highly ornamental in comparison to those in the workhouse or infirmaries (fig 7.84-85). The end of each wing featured a bathroom with a W.C. and lavatories. The corridors were fireproofed and led to external iron fire escapes at the end of each wing (fig 7.86-87).

The first extension (1903) added more nurses' rooms to the wings. The kitchen and dining-room were also enlarged, to accommodate the larger number of occupants. The space on the ground floor was used as a dining hall, and a kitchen was added to the second floor (*The Builder* 9/5/1903). *The Builder* also records smaller additions, such as the inclusion of more lavatories and a covered walkway from the Nurses' Home to the infirmary. The 1923 extension increased facilities further and included a comfortable new sitting-room featuring an inglenook fireplace. This room is currently used as the NHS boardroom. All these additions improved the lives of nurses working for the Union and illustrate the Guardians' continued attempts to encourage good nursing practice in the infirmary.

The substantial 1933 extension provided an additional three wings. All wings had bedrooms opening off a central corridor, with stairs towards the outer ends, which housed bathrooms and toilets for each floor.

Receiving Wards

Many Unions built separate wards for receiving inmates at the entrance of the workhouse site. Leeds, however, did not build separate receiving wards until 1904 (phase four) (fig 7.88-9). Prior to 1904, inmates were received in the workhouse because most facilities were housed in the main building. After the construction of the main workhouse extensions, the infirmary, and the new lunatic block, however, it was more efficient to receive inmates in a designated ward on entry to the site and then to send them to the appropriate building.

Thomas Winn and Sons designed the Italianate neo-classical receiving wards (demolished in 1975). The only surviving images of the building are published in Belford and Howard's publication (1989). Located at the entrance to the site, the wards were brick with ornamental stone features around the

windows, arch, and tower. The ornate tower added to the aesthetic grandeur of the institution and signified the continuing civic pride associated with public buildings in Leeds. The receiving wards featured a wing either side of an arched entrance that provided access to the workhouse site. A bay window above the entrance provided the porter with a view of all approaches to the workhouse gate. The elevations either side of the entrance featured four square-headed windows in stone surrounds on the first floor. The ground-floor fenestration differed slightly in that the east wing featured one triplet and one double-window, the west wing a triplet window and a door.

The two wings provided separate accommodation for male and female inmates while they waited categorisation. Each ward featured separate dayroom facilities and dormitories for children. The divisive plan of the receiving wards suggests that classifying and segregating inmates on their arrival was still a priority of the Guardians at the beginning of the twentieth century. For the able-bodied and children, at least, the separation of families was still a reality of workhouse life.

Laundry

The laundry was a crucial part of maintaining cleanliness, a Victorian ideal advocated strongly by the Leeds Guardians, and laundry facilities were continually updated to serve the ever-expanding workhouse complex. The laundry building was located behind the workhouse and underwent major redevelopment in 1899 as part phase-four developments of the workhouse buildings (fig 7.90). Demolished during phase seven, the brick building was designed by Thomas Winn, with a white-glazed brick interior, and was lit by skylights. Glass panels divided the interior space (*The Builder* 15/4/1899: 376) (fig 7.91). Inmates traditionally helped employed laundresses in the workhouse laundry, which provided them with an occupation and reduced the cost to the Union.

Vagrants' Wards

The gradual dispersal of facilities across the site included the construction of separate vagrants' wards in 1901, which removed vagrants from the main workhouse building (fig 7.92). The new building and its facilities confirm that the vagrants were considered the least worthy pauper class. The vagrants' wards are located at the bottom of the site, a considerable distance from other buildings. The wards face out of the complex and have their own entrance, separating this building entirely from the rest of the workhouse. The ward is fronted by railings where the vagrants lined up waiting to be admitted. The physical location of the vagrants within the complex reiterates their lowly position in society and within the NPL.

Traditionally considered immoral and disruptive, the vagrants were strictly controlled and segregated by the plan of the building. Located in the central, single-storey, red-brick wards are two entrances, which provided separate access for male and female vagrants (fig 7.93). Large, tiled signs reading 'Casual Wards', 'Male' and 'Female' provide a permanent reminder of the wards' intended use. The two-storey, gabled block north of the entrances features a bay window and a separate entrance, the style of which separates this area from the rest of the building. This area provided accommodation for the Relieving Officer. His separate, more stylised space denotes his status and authority, which increased his power and control within the wards.

The plan of the wards strongly dictated the experience of the vagrant according to his or her gender or level of deservingness. Men and women entered through different entrances into separate receiving and examination rooms, which were finished with glazed bricks and boarded floors (*The Builder* 26/7/1901). These wards were overseen by staff in a centrally located observation room that allowed them to track the vagrants from the receiving wards to their allocated accommodation. Close surveillance of this pauper class was deemed necessary to maintain order, partly due to popular stereotypes of vagrants as disruptive. An office for the Relieving Officer was also located in this area.

Unlike the Elizabethan-style buildings on the complex, the vagrants' ward presents an image of dominance and control, clearly identifying vagrants as the least trustworthy and least deserving pauper class. South of the main entrance block are the remains of small windows, which were placed high in the fenestration to prevent inmates from seeing out of the wards (fig 7.94). The small size and high placement of the windows suggests single-cell accommodation. Numerous alterations to the two-storey blocks attached to the rear of the front range make it difficult to analyse the development of the building (fig 7.95). However, many of these alterations are post-NPL in date. Larger triplet windows set within gabled projections suggest where the dayrooms were located in the original plan (fig 7.96).

In keeping with national trends, accommodation varied widely among vagrants, and work was an important part of daily life. Both the male and female vagrants' wards featured lavatories, bathrooms, sitting, and living-rooms. Thirty single-occupancy accommodation cells and twenty low-occupancy stone-breaking cells with concrete floors were provided for male inmates (*The Builder* 26/7/1901). Workshops behind the vagrants' wards indicate that work did not always take place in

cells (fig 7.97-8). The cells were most likely reserved for more problematic inmates that warranted a higher degree of control. In contrast to the 50 male cells, only 20 cells were allocated to female vagrants. However, the women's ward included an association ward for 'better classes of poor women and children' (*The Builder* 26/7/1901).

As in other pauper classes, such as the able-bodied, hierarchies were created among vagrants based on perceived deservingness. At the lowest end of the vagrants' hierarchy were male vagrants, who were accommodated and worked in their single cells. Male vagrants perceived as more deserving, based on factors such as age or reputation, were also accommodated in single cells, but they worked in communal sheds, a privilege associated with a degree of trust. Some women (probably younger, single women with no children) were also accommodated in single cells and may have undertaken work. The *Guardians' Minutes* record women performing tasks such as oakum-picking, which typically took place in either the cells or in communal dayrooms (LGM 21/6/1861). 'Better classes of poor women and children' were accommodated in communal wards and dayrooms.

The popular conception of vagrants as more willingly impoverished than other paupers and the more refined distinction between vagrants with different social circumstances influenced the architectural plan of the vagrants' wards, which provided different facilities and different levels of control and surveillance dependent on status. Although the classification of pauper inmates impacted their lives after leaving the workhouse (the infirm were cured, children were educated and apprenticed, the able-bodied were employed, etc.), the classification of vagrants had no impact on their position within society after leaving the workhouse. Vagrants entered and left as vagrants.

Conclusion

Leeds transformed during the nineteenth century into a thriving industrial city inspired by innovative local leaders craving modernisation, civic order, and success. Progressive attitudes toward poverty and the extensive, specialised relief of paupers reflected these ideals. Uniquely, Leeds Union had divided institutional relief into three separate institutions by the 1870s. The workhouse, industrial school, and infirmary provided the core of Leeds's NPL relief. These wide-ranging facilities and the early date of their construction demonstrate the pioneering nature of the Leeds Guardians and their propensity to provide specialised, separate facilities. The Guardians' desire to specialise and modernise facilities led to progressive architectural developments throughout the site's history, including its current phase of use.

From its outset, Leeds Union opted to construct specialised facilities. Unlike other West Yorkshire Unions, in which the first NPL building was a general workhouse, Leeds constructed an industrial school (LMITS) before a general workhouse. Leeds's decision to distinguish between children, who were deemed deserving, and other paupers so early in its NPL history created a distinct hierarchy amongst recipients of relief, one that became more complex in later phases. The construction of LMITS granted children the chance to improve their lives through work, education, and the removal of poverty's perceived negative, immoral, and contagious influences and stigma. The reformatory and preventative goals of the institution illustrate the value placed on removing paupers from the NPL system in the long term and the overriding ambition to promote the civic order and pride of Leeds as a rapidly developing industrial city. These aims are reflected in the geographical location and architectural style of LMITS. Typical of early NPL institutions, LMITS was positioned away from the centre of town but in a prominent area of the city next to the corporation graveyard. Its grand, Elizabethan style reflected the Guardians' aspirations of civic pride and paternalism. Like other early NPL buildings, LMITS adopted a courtyard plan, which promoted segregation by age and gender. The plan also facilitated education, religion, and industrial activity, illustrating the importance of morality, civic order, and work ethic to the Guardians.

The style and plan of Leeds Workhouse bear similarities to those of surrounding rural workhouses, but the site is distinguished by its specialisation, larger scale, and heightened attention to stylistic detail. Like Ripon, Leeds Workhouse assumes an Elizabethan style echoing that of nearby LMITS. The general workhouse's style displays the Guardians' paternalistic attitudes toward poverty. Large Dutch gables, balustrade parapets, stone detailing, a domineering tower, and the building's substantial size clearly distinguish Leeds Workhouse stylistically from those in rural areas. Typical of mid-nineteenth century NPL workhouses, Leeds Workhouse adopted a T-plan, like that of the rural workhouses in Great Ouseburn, Wetherby, and Wharfedale. Accommodating the majority of pauper classes within a single building entailed a complicated arrangement of facilities, which enabled the Guardians to vary treatment between different classes of pauper. Unlike Great Ouseburn and Wetherby, where initially all inmates were housed in the same building, Leeds, like Wharfedale, provided separate accommodation for the sick and, uniquely, for children, as previously discussed.

The reformatory, paternalistic attitudes toward pauperism the Guardians displayed in the construction of LMITS evolved during the NPL era as the Union became more sensitive to the plight of

paupers, resulting in specialised treatment and accommodation for other classes of pauper as well as for children. The inclusion of a separate infirmary for the sick in the initial workhouse plan indicates that the Guardians always prioritised the treatment of some pauper classes over others. Constructed soon after the opening of the workhouse, facilities for the mentally ill provided this pauper class specialised treatment as well. Despite this provision of specialised facilities, the expansive size of Leeds and the continual rise in pauper numbers led to frequent overcrowding, which made effective separation impossible. Due to the difficulty of segregating pauper classes within existing buildings, the Guardians gradually increased the number of separate on-site facilities. The vagrants were removed from the main workhouse to a separate building, away from the main workhouse complex, in 1901. By this time, new infirmary facilities and blocks for the mentally ill left the original workhouse primarily for the use of the elderly and infirm.

Separation of facilities and segregation of paupers strengthened inter-class hierarchies and also created intra-class hierarchies. Amongst the able-bodied and vagrants, distinctions arose based on gender, ability to work, age, and other factors. Leeds's paternalism combined with its unprecedented scale to refine class distinctions on a level never before seen in West Yorkshire workhouse history. Nuances at this level reflect the utter inadequacy of broad typologies in explaining workhouse use, pauper experience, and change over time.

Control through surveillance is traditionally a major focus of institutional studies; however, the T-plan adopted by many workhouses, nationwide, throughout the 1850s and 1860s, was not conducive to complete surveillance when constructed on a large scale. Narratives focusing on surveillance are thus not entirely appropriate and somewhat misguided in relation to large, urban workhouses like Leeds. Little work has been undertaken regarding T-plan workhouses, so they have often been inadequately distinguished within national-scale studies in which surveillance is assumed to be important. Large, urban, T-plan workhouses are actually controlled more through segregation than through surveillance, which though not strictly enforced by class was very strictly enforced by gender, age, and wellness.

The extensive scale of Leeds's T-plan made universal surveillance unfeasible, so the workhouse focused its surveillance upon children and vagrants, classes at opposite ends of the pauper hierarchy. Staff were located centrally and throughout LMITS and the vagrants' ward constructed during phase four. The placement of staff within these buildings heightened the ability of staff to survey inmates

constantly, which ultimately increased the level of institutional control over these pauper classes. However, the Guardians surveyed these pauper classes for different reasons. In the children's case, the Guardians aimed to maintain a level of paternalistic care whilst upholding the standards and reputation of the Union. In contrast, heightened surveillance and control over the vagrants created a prison-like atmosphere in the wards, which was intended to prevent poor behaviour and immoral activity.

Although early NPL guidelines urged Unions to relieve able-bodied paupers in the workhouse, this recommendation was as inapplicable to West Yorkshire's urban Unions as it was to rural ones. Rural areas of West Yorkshire continued to grant out-relief as they had under OPL Gilbert Unions. Urban Unions like Leeds also granted out-relief, for a variety of reasons. The large scale of the city and the dramatic variability of employment levels made universal able-bodied accommodation unfeasible. It was impractical to provide a workhouse large enough to accommodate the number of able-bodied paupers in need of relief during times of mass unemployment when the building would be virtually empty the rest of the time. Like rural West Yorkshire workhouses, Leeds thus granted out-relief to the majority of able-bodied paupers. While the occasional mention of able-bodied paupers in the Guardians' Minutes suggests their sporadic presence in the workhouse, the 1891 census records very few able-bodied inmates. The uncertain status of the able-bodied in the workhouse at this time demonstrates how far Leeds Workhouse had come from the initial aims of the NPL, once again undermining the explanatory power of typologies that fail to account for changing use over time.

Case Study Eight: Bramley Union Workhouse

Because of its rapid growth in the early nineteenth century, Leeds expanded into surrounding areas to include parishes such as Bramley, Gildersome, Armley, and Wortley. Most of these parishes had OPL workhouses, but figures suggest they were used very little (Higginbotham 2006b). However, as part of Leeds's reorganisation of its NPL relief system, Bramley Union was created to serve west Leeds and Pudsey. Formed in 1862, Bramley Union adopted Leeds Union's attitudes toward different pauper classes, but it implemented relief on a much smaller scale. Bramley was less affluent than Leeds city centre, so its rates were by necessity lower, and it was unable to finance the specialisation or maintenance of substantial facilities. Completed in 1872, Bramley Union workhouse was designed by C.S. and A.J. Nelson, who designed Wharfedale Workhouse the same year. While these two workhouses assumed different styles, the general plans and facilities were comparable. Because they were both outer city workhouses, they had many of the same attitudes and values toward paupers and similar available resources. They were similar in their provision of specialised care for the infirm and in their subsequent development. Although Bramley Workhouse was initially intended for all classes of pauper, later development of the site focused on provisions for the sick and elderly.

Available sources

Although all of the Bramley Workhouse buildings survive, previous studies of the site are very limited. The NMR holds the most substantial record, which includes a brief buildings description and photographic record (RCHME 1991b). The report generally focuses on external features and thus offers few interpretations of the site's function. However, photographs included in S.T. Anning's publication provide unique insight into the buildings' interior fabric shortly after the establishment of the NHS.

The archival evidence from the Bramley Union is fragmentary in its survival. The only remaining Minutes from the Guardians' meetings date from 1901 to 1925, but they are significantly less detailed than those from the Leeds Guardians' Minutes. Detailed entries in *The Builder* provide crucial information regarding the initial phase of the workhouse, giving insight into the initial aims of the Guardians. The site's subsequent additions, such as later ancillary buildings, are also recorded. Census data records the number of people accommodated in the workhouse over the course of the NPL; it was never fully occupied. O.S. maps provide evidence regarding the evolution of the site, the exercise yards around the workhouse, and its landscaped gardens.

Description of the building

Bramley Workhouse is located on Green Hill Road, in Armley, west Leeds (fig 8.1). Surrounded by iron railing set into low walls, the site is accessed via a gateway featuring carved stone posts. Set back from the main road, within landscaped grounds, the workhouse extends the civility of public architecture in Leeds to its surrounding areas through its subtle style. The site has evolved over six phases, during which care for sick paupers was prioritised. The construction of the main workhouse building, receiving wards, porter's lodge, and infirmary ward, in 1871-2, marks the beginning of phase one (fig 8.2). Although plans for further infirmary buildings were made in 1871, the infirmaries were not completed until 1895. The delay was likely due to financial issues and debates as to the necessity of extended facilities. The eventual completion of the infirmary ward and administrative block marks the start of phase two and reflects the Union's desire to improve medical facilities. Expanding workhouse facilities led to a need for improved ancillary buildings. Phase three began in 1899 with the construction of a new laundry (fig 8.3). During this phase, other facilities were also improved, such as the boiler-house. The Guardians' provision for sick paupers expanded in the early twentieth century, reflecting the Guardians' evolving attitudes towards the prioritisation of this pauper class. The start of phase four was marked by the construction of two new infirmaries and extensions to the Nurses' Home, sometime after 1906. Although the exact date these buildings were constructed is unknown, their construction certainly provided the foundation for the site's future as solely a medical facility. Around 1925, at the beginning of phase five, the workhouse became a designated infirmary under the charge of the Leeds Guardians. The site was renamed St. Mary's Infirmary, which removed its association with the workhouse. As a facility dedicated to medical treatment, the site was transferred to the NHS in 1948, marking the beginning of phase six. The NHS currently uses the site for various administrative purposes.

Porter's Lodge

The position of the porter at the entrance of the site allowed him to monitor those entering and exiting. Constructed as part of the phase-one development, the porter's lodge is a small, single-storey, brick building with stone detailing and a slate roof (fig 8.4). Originally the plan of the building was a cross-plan. The building's principal elevation features a bay window, and access is gained via a doorway set within an arched frame. Access was also gained through the rear elevation, but this was blocked during a later phase. Each elevation features large sash windows, which permitted the maximum amount of natural light into the building. Within the building, the lobby provides access to two main rooms, which provided working and living space for the porter and portress.

Receiving Wards

The location of the porter also placed him within close proximity of the receiving wards. The porter supervised the initiation of inmates into the workhouse or the short stay of the vagrants in the vagrants' wards. Located next to the porter's lodge on the site's main access road, the receiving and vagrants' wards are separate from the main workhouse building, like those at Wharfedale Union. In keeping with the style of the workhouse complex, the single-storey receiving ward is brick, with stone detailing and a slate roof (fig 8.5). The wards centre on an entrance flanked by ornamental stone columns and Moorish heads with alternating stone and brick blocks, set within a projecting gable capped with a decorative finial (fig 8.6). The twelve-bay wings either side of the central entrance are almost identical. Each wing has a large gabled projection featuring triplet windows ornamented like the entrance (fig 8.7). Other windows in the main elevation have stone sills and lintels, while those to the rear of the building are brick.

Inmates entered the receiving wards and were bathed, dressed in the workhouse uniform, and assigned a class, which determined the area of the workhouse in which they were to be accommodated. The wings were segregated into male and female wards. Dayrooms for paupers to use before they entered the workhouse were located in the areas behind the triplet windows. Sanitary annexes were located to the rear of the building. The Guardians' Minutes continually record the dilapidated state of the wards. In 1909, for example, the Guardians' Minutes report that an inadequate boiler resulted in intermittent hot water provision in the receiving wards (BGM 7/6/1909). Such conditions made for a grim entry into the institution, forewarning new inmates of the deprivation to come.

In contrast to long-term inmates, vagrants remained in wards away from the main population of workhouse. Like in many West Yorkshire workhouses, such as Leeds, Wharfedale, Ripon, and Pateley Bridge, the location of the vagrants in Bramley enforced their lowly position within the NPL and prevented their perceived potential influence upon other inmates.

Because Bramley lacked Leeds's financial resources, it was unable to accommodate vagrants as efficiently. There is no evidence of single-cell accommodation, which suggests vagrants were housed in large wards that architecturally imposed less control than single cells (*The Builder* 25/5/1872) (fig 8.8). Unlike the main workhouse, which was never fully occupied, the vagrants' wards continually operated beyond their intended capacity. Overcrowding reduced institutional control over vagrants

(BGM 31/1/1910; 14/11/1919). On an evening in 1919, 88 vagrants were reportedly accommodated in the wards: a number no single porter could control. Also due to overcrowding, men were accommodated in female wards, which undermined segregation (BGM 9/8/1920). Ultimately, these lapses of control resulted in incidents of vagrant resistance. On one occasion, for example, vagrants reportedly destroyed clothing and caused disturbances (BMG 7/6/1909).

Despite the general condemnation of vagrants, members of the public actively aimed to improve their lives and morals. As in Leeds, charitable missionaries donated books for vagrants (BGM 15/12/1919). Such donations are not recorded in more rural vagrants' wards, suggesting that charitable groups brought optimism to towns peripheral to industrial cities, believing that educating vagrants would improve society. The fact that the Guardians admitted missionaries suggests an ambition to improve vagrants' characters and thus reduce their burden on Bramley's NPL relief.

Main Workhouse Building

The main workhouse building is the focal point of the site due to its centrality and high-level ornamentation. Bramley's stylistic features are less elaborate than those of other urban workhouses, but they nonetheless reflect the Guardians' pride and status, which was typical of West Yorkshire outer-city workhouses, such as Wharfedale. *The Builder* notes that 'influential people' attended a meal in the dining hall to celebrate the opening of the workhouse, indicating its perceived significance as an institution (*The Builder* 25/5/1872).

The two-storey brick building with decorative stone detailing conforms to a T-plan. It focuses on an elaborate, three-bay, projected central block (fig 8.9). The entrance is located in the central bay, with carved stone columns and a Moorish arched head (fig 8.10). The central bay ascends three storeys to a tower, which draws further attention to building, marking its dominance within the surrounding landscape. A surviving 1944 photograph depicts the original clock tower, which has since been truncated for safety reasons, like that of Wharfedale Workhouse (fig 8.11). Either side of the entrance is a bay window surmounted by a double window.

Inmates were divided by gender into two wings (fig 8.12-13). The twelve-bay wards either side of the central block end in three-bay, projected, gabled cross-wings. A gabled projection is featured in bay six of each wing, providing access into the building. Multiple entrances provided separate access for

different inmate classes into the workhouse and into their designated exercise yards, enforcing effective segregation.

The north and south elevations are dissimilar, suggesting that at some point in the evolution of the site, the two wings came to serve different purposes. The south elevation features five bays and a central entrance (fig 8.14). In contrast to the south elevation, the north elevation features three bays and a two-storey, external projection with an entrance (fig 8.15). The external projection provided an alternative to the central entrance in accessing the first floor, enabling greater segregation in the north wing than in the south.

The twelve-bay east wing is almost identical to the twelve-bay west wing, featuring sanitary towers in bays three and seven (fig 8.16). Brickwork clearly indicates the blocking of doorways and a large window on the first floor, so it is likely these towers were originally staircases or entrances into the workhouse (fig 8.17). The tower in bay seven of the east wing remains in its original form, with a doorway surmounted by a large window, which suggests other towers were also initially used this way. As in Leeds Union Workhouse, the rear of the building is less ornamented than the main elevation. Far less stone detailing is used. For example, tapered stretchers are used to form window lintels.

The external fabric indicates that the position and height of exercise yard walls varied, suggesting that segregation was not uniformly maximised. Scar marks on external walls to the rear of the building are particularly high in the elevation (fig 8.18). Tall walls blocked vision between yards, reflecting strict segregation. Strictly segregated yards were likely used by able-bodied inmates, who were traditionally regarded as requiring more control. Marks on the east elevation reveal that walls at the front of the building were low and probably featured railings, which permitted a view out of the institution. Children or the elderly, who were generally considered more deserving and were often granted superior facilities, most likely used these exercise yards. Within the case study area, Bramley Union is the only workhouse to place exercise yards at the front. Emphasising confinement and exposing workhouse life to outsiders, frontal exercise yards provided potential inmates visual deterrence and control, an early aim of the NPL. Other West Yorkshire workhouses more contemporaneous to the original NPL rejected frontal exercise yards, but Bramley lacked the lengthy history of poor relief other Unions had. Its identity was in many ways defined by the NPL, so it struggled between adherence and dissent in defining its regional and national identity.

Internal

Like Leeds Workhouse, Bramley Workhouse was designed to accommodate several pauper classes. The main entrance provided access to the central area of the workhouse, which accommodated the staff. This area accommodated the Master, Matron, cook, and laundress.

Like most nineteenth-century West Yorkshire institutions, the workhouse maintained a high level of control over its staff. Records report that the laundress once missed her train back to the workhouse after visiting her mother. She telephoned the Master, and her explanation was considered satisfactory. '[...] I was satisfied that she had not wilfully missed the train and I told her to stay with her mother for the night, and return first train in the morning which she did' (BGM 7/6/1903). In another case, the Master had to ask the Guardians for permission to have guests (BGM 9/8/1920). The Guardians limited the social lives of workhouse staff because staff absence reduced control over inmates. The Guardians' Minutes do document annual entertainments for staff, comparable to those offered in rural West Yorkshire workhouses but minimal in comparison to events organised for nurses at Leeds, for example (BGM 31/1/1910).

A cantilevered, stone staircase with cast-iron balusters connected the main entrance hall to the first floor, which housed the boardrooms and clerk's offices (fig 8.19). Like the Guardians in other West Yorkshire workhouses, the Bramley Guardians were centrally located within building, their central position reflective of their overriding authority.

As Bramley Union opted for a mixed workhouse building, children, the elderly, and the able-bodied were separated into different areas of the same building, although they were segregated by gender. The wings of the workhouse accommodated 144 inmates, females in the west wing and males in the east (*The Builder* 25/5/1872). A corridor ran centrally through the building, off which were various dayrooms and dormitories (fig 8.20). The ground floor accommodated the elderly and children. The able-bodied and married couples' accommodation was on the first floor, with separate access stairs leading to the external exercise yards and dining-room (*The Builder* 25/5/1872) (fig 8.21). Open fireplaces heated these rooms. Hot-water pipes later supplemented fireplaces, and gas lighting provided artificial light. Interestingly, like Leeds Workhouse, Bramley offered accommodation for elderly married couples, reflecting similar attitudes towards these paupers. The Bramley and Leeds Guardians shared the opinion that the elderly were not always responsible for their pauperism and

consequently disregarded the need for strict segregation. The privilege of shared accommodation made the experience of the workhouse less isolating.

Unlike Leeds Workhouse, Bramley Workhouse accommodated all paupers in the same basic conditions regardless of perceived deservingness, and the Guardians' Minutes state that facilities were in constant need of repair or replacement. The Guardians were continually repairing lights, heating, and sanitary facilities in wards for the elderly and able-bodied (BGM 8/11/1909; 31/1/1910; 28/4/1924; 26/5/1924; 1/9/1924). Even when facilities were beyond repair, the Guardians attempted to repair them (BGM 1/9/1924). Throughout 1924, the Guardians debated the installation of electricity, but nothing was done. Keeping the cost of the workhouse to a minimum was a huge concern of the Guardians. As a result, inmates often endured insufficient wards lacking basic amenities.

The dilapidated state of workhouse decoration also worsened conditions. A designated workhouse inspection committee suggested the Guardians change the decor, as the colour scheme was 'dingy and depressing' (BGM 1/9/1924). Other West Yorkshire workhouses, such as Ripon and Leeds, often employed inmates to repaint workhouse wards. At Bramley Union, such work is rarely mentioned in the minutes and was generally contracted to local tradesmen (BGM 15/7/1901), which suggests few inmates were capable of undertaking work and that the majority of able-bodied were granted out-relief. The documentary evidence referring to workhouse conditions and maintenance suggests the reality of conditions in Bramley Workhouse was far worse than in neighbouring Leeds, largely due to economic constraints.

Like facilities, entertainment and gifts for the inmates in the Bramley Workhouse were distributed equally among all classes of pauper (BGM 7/9/1909; 13/3/1920). For example, the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress visited on Christmas day in 1924 and presented each woman and child with a chocolate box, and each man with tobacco (BGM 5/1/1924). In one instance, only 95 inmates visited the theatre, but those that did not attend were unable (BGM 9/2/1920). On one occasion, children received ice cream sandwiches from the female Guardians (BGM 29/9/1924), but such gifts were not frequent. In the majority of West Yorkshire Unions, gifts were presented to the workhouse by the local, affluent middle and upper classes. The comparatively small number of gifts at Bramley may reflect the working-class demographics of outer Leeds.

By the end of the NPL era, many West Yorkshire workhouses had developed substantial specialised facilities for certain pauper classes. Some workhouses had entirely removed children from the workhouse, for instance, but Bramley had not. In Bramley, local children's homes accommodated some pauper children, but many remained in the workhouse (BGM 6/8/1924). Likewise, in the case of the elderly, attendants were employed to care for some elderly paupers in their homes, while the majority remained in the workhouse (BGM 28/4/1924).

Able-bodied paupers received out-relief in greater numbers. The original workhouse plan only accommodated ten male and ten female able-bodied paupers, which suggests out-relief was the primary source of relief for this pauper class. The Guardians even allowed able-bodied inmates to leave the workhouse to seek work (BGM 31/1/1910). However, like children and the elderly, the able-bodied were not entirely removed from the workhouse until it became an infirmary in 1925.

Dining-Room and Kitchen

Several activities took place in the workhouse dining-room, including eating, entertainment, and religious services. The dining-room forms the stem of the T-plan, to the rear of the workhouse building. Like other phase-one buildings, the dining hall was brick with limited stone detailing and a hipped slate roof (fig 8.22). The tall, five-bay building was accessed through a porch at the workhouse end with doorways into both exercise yards, which maintained segregation. Like other workhouse dining halls, Bramley's dining hall was also used as a chapel, and its large, round-headed windows lent it a slightly ecclesiastical style. Religion was a crucial part of the inmates' workhouse experience. The Guardians drafted services for the inmates, which were aimed to uphold the morals of the Union (BGM 17/6/1901). Letting Wesleyans perform an operetta in the dining-room suggests that the Guardians also permitted services from non-conformist religions and attempted to support the religious needs of the inmates (BGM 15/5/1924).

The kitchen and stores are attached to the dining hall at the end furthest from the workhouse (fig 8.23-24). Although similar in construction, the kitchen is much lower in height than the dining-room. The seven-bay building features a plain, central entrance and three small windows either side, placed high in the fenestration. The height of the windows prevented sight in or out of the building. Both male and female inmates worked in the kitchen, but separate entrances were provided, which suggests they worked at different times, to maintain segregation.

Infirmary Buildings

Like Leeds and Wharfedale Workhouses, Bramley Workhouse included an infirmary building in the initial design of the workhouse site, which indicates the Guardians regarded caring for sick as a crucial role of the workhouse. However, the original infirmary was not entirely completed during phase one. Only part of the plan was constructed, suggesting that the Guardians were debating the necessity of an extensive facility in light of economic considerations. Such debates highlight that in the 1870s, cost was still vital in determining the level of specialised facilities with which inmates were provided, even in urban West Yorkshire infirmaries.

The infirmary is positioned behind the main workhouse building, which gave the sick a level of privacy denied to other pauper classes within the workhouse. The phase-one infirmary assumes a similar style to other phase-one buildings. The orientation of the infirmary, facing out of the complex, adds to its isolation from the workhouse. The two-storey, twenty-one-bay building features a plain, central projection in the northwest elevation, which housed the staff and administrative area of the infirmary. Either side of the central projection is a sanitary tower (fig 8.25). Usually sanitary towers are located behind the building, but in Bramley they are more ornamental, set oblique to the building with a pyramid roofs and two taller windows per floor in the outward-facing elevations. To the rear of the building, external space was provided for patients, from which patients entered the infirmary through Moorhead arched entrances at either end of the southeast elevation (fig 8.26-27).

The interior of the building divided paupers by gender and illness. Staircases at the far end of each ward provided access between floors (fig 8.28). The infirmary accommodated 22 male patients and 16 female patients, with a lying-in ward for five patients in the female wing. Separate wards were provided for six female and six male 'imbeciles' (*The Builder* 25/5/1872). Like Leeds Union, Bramley Union provided facilities to house mentally ill paupers in order to relieve overcrowded local asylums. Mentally ill paupers accommodated in the workhouse were likely those regarded as least likely to disrupt the routine of workhouse life. As noted in relation to Leeds Workhouse, the presence of mentally ill paupers in the workhouse infirmary reflects their ambiguous status within the NPL and the variable provision of specialised facilities.

One permanent nurse oversaw the infirmary's 55 patients. At Leeds Union, inmates capable of work supported the nurses who cared for the sick. Its lack of official staff suggests Bramley did the same. The nurse's role was nonetheless extremely demanding, but in contrast to the many Unions that had

a high turnover of nursing staff, Bramley Union retained its nurses. Nurse Ann Greaves, for example, appears on two consecutive census records. Despite the constraints the Union's finances placed on facilities and treatment, the loyalty of the Union's staff suggests morale remained high.

For Leeds Union, facilities for sick paupers became a priority in the late nineteenth century. Bramley Union followed Leeds's example. At the start of phase two, extra sanitary facilities were added to both ends of the existing block, indicating the Guardians' understanding of improved medical practises. Such provisions drastically improved cleanliness within the wards and provided additional privacy for patients. Also at the start of phase two, the infirmary was extended to completion according to the original 1871 plans. The Guardians' decision to complete the original plan suggests they now required more extensive facilities. The new infirmary wing and administrative block comprised the site's largest addition. The Guardians prioritised improvements for the sick, as new facilities were not added to the main workhouse block. The emphasis on facilities for the sick may reflect increasing numbers of sick entering the workhouse in the last quarter of the nineteenth century compared to other pauper classes. Nationally, workhouses during this period were increasing their medical facilities in line with improvements in hospital planning (Morrison 1999; Richardson 1998).

The infirmary facilities now assume a pavilion H-plan centred on the administrative block from which covered walkways provide access into the existing and new infirmary buildings. Constructed in 1895, the second infirmary building is similar in style to the phase-one buildings, but with some architectural elaborations (fig 8.29-30). The two-storey brick building with stone detailing focuses on a five-bay central block that projects to the front and rear of the building, with nine-bay wings either side. The gabled projection features the main entrances (fig 8.31). A pointed arch of alternating brick and stone blocks and a date-stone ornament the window above the entrance. The only infirmary on the site to include a date-stone, this infirmary reflects a departure from the initial aims of the workhouse and a new focus on treatment of the sick.

The Guardians continued to display their attitude towards the sick through the stylised buildings and architectural harmony of the site. In the nine-bay wings, all windows feature stone sills and lintels, but bay five features a pyramid roofed bay window, which would have provided additional light to the dayrooms. The southwest elevation features three sanitary annexes, offset from the building and styled identically to those in the first infirmary (8.32).

In many ways, Bramley conformed to national trends in hospital planning, including patient segregation. The plan of the infirmary conformed to that of a traditional pavilion hospital. The central block featured separate kitchens, offices, general rooms for staff, and likely a labour ward mentioned in the *Guardians' Minutes* (BGM 26/8/1901). A central staircase provided access between floors for staff. Each wing housed general wards and featured a stone staircase at its gable-end. The north wing had two sanitary annexes, each featuring a bathroom, W.C., and sluice room; the south wing had only one sanitary annex. The discrepancy reflects how the wards were used during the NPL. That there were two sanitary towers for the north ward suggests it was subdivided to provide private accommodation and/or to separate patients by type of illness. The south ward, with only one sanitary tower, was probably a traditional long nightingale ward.

The two-storey administrative block, placed centrally between the two infirmary wards, also assumes a style similar to that of the phase-one buildings (fig 8.33). Predominantly brick, with some stone detailing and moulded decorative bricks around the roofline, the administrative block features three bays and a central entrance. The main entrance, set within an arched, stone surround, leads into the central hallway. The administrative block also provided accommodation for nurses and other medical staff.

The administrative block was extended to the rear in 1906, mid-phase three, to accommodate the increasing number of nurses needed to support the infirmary (*The Builder* 27/10/1906: 493). Many Unions provided accommodation for their nurses to encourage staff to work under the demanding circumstances of the workhouse. However, this extension assumes a simple style compared to that of the Nurses' Home at Leeds Union Workhouse or even those of some rural workhouses, like Skipton. The plain style of the Nurses' Home reflects that although the *Guardians* had progressed in their expectations as to staff quality, economy remained a priority.

Covered walkways between buildings improved access within the complex for staff (fig 8.34). Timber posts set within a low wall support the pitched roof of the covered walkway. Although these walkways were originally open, they have since been glazed.

Around the same time Leeds Workhouse significantly expanded its infirmary, Bramley Union also expanded its medical facilities, but it did so on a much smaller scale. O.S. maps indicate that two new

infirmary buildings were constructed during phase four, between 1906 and 1915. One infirmary is located east of the main building, the other to the west.

Typical of contemporaneous infirmary buildings, the two-storey infirmary east of the workhouse has a five-bay projecting central block similar in style to those of the two previous infirmaries (fig 8.35). The main entrance is flanked by window-lights in the central block of the principal façade. Stairs within this area provided access between the wards and space for small offices and storage rooms. Six-bay wings either side of the entrance block provided ward-space for patients. Two entrances per wing provided access to the grounds behind the infirmary. The grounds were completely secluded from the workhouse, disassociating the patients from the workhouse inmates. The infirmary includes covered areas similar to those at Skipton Union, which enabled patients to benefit from fresh air (fig 8.36-37). A tower provided each ward with sanitary facilities. The irregular fenestration of the towers suggests they were extended at some point. In comparison to the east infirmary, the west infirmary is much smaller and plainer in design. The eight-bay, red-brick building features stone sills and a slate roof (fig 8.38-39). The entrance is in the end bay of the south elevation, and the north elevation features a central sanitary tower (fig 8.40). The extremely simple design of this building reflects the Union's limited funds and is typical of late-NPL buildings in its focus on function.

Despite the Union's investment in new infirmary buildings for sick paupers, conditions remained inadequate and inferior to those in Leeds. For example, in the male hospital, there was no flushing water in the W.C. and joints in the heating system were leaking, and the supply of water in the female hospital was described as 'needing attention' (BGM 7/7/1924; 1/9/1924). Other instances of inadequate facilities include a lack of running water in the female wing, into which water had to be carried from the outside yard. The roof also collapsed in places due to escaping steam (BGM 28/4/1924). Such inefficiencies were continually reported in the Guardians' Minutes, throughout the year, which suggests the Guardians did not have the funds or inclination to fix them.

Although the Guardians' Minutes acknowledge the need to refurbish the entire workhouse complex, the 'comfort' of the inmates was always reported as 'satisfactory' (BGM 12/5/1924; 21/7/1924). This seeming contradiction suggests that the Guardians deemed a low degree of comfort appropriate to the needs of paupers. It is likely the Guardians regarded the provision of basic essentials, such as a qualified staff, and superficial luxuries, including a piano in the dayroom and hired entertainers 'for

the pleasure of all patients', as compensatory for the building's poor condition (BGM 6/8/1924; 1/9/1924).

However, for some patients, infirmary conditions were unbearable. The police once dragged from the canal a workhouse infirmary patient who had tried to kill himself because he was so 'fed up' with his NPL experience (BGM 29/9/1924). Dissatisfaction was likely exacerbated by the proximity and consequent knowledge of the newly developed Leeds Infirmary, which gave cause for paupers to particularly resent their treatment. The obvious contrast between the experience of paupers in Leeds and that of paupers in Bramley illustrates the complete failure of the NPL ambition to provide uniform relief nationwide.

Laundry

The increasing number of inmates in the new infirmaries strained existing workhouse resources, so improvements were made to ancillary buildings, such as the laundry. Constructed during phase three, the surviving laundry has an 1899 date-stone (fig 8.41-2). A 1915 O.S. map indicates that the single-storey brick building, with some carved stone detailing, was extended into an L-plan during phase four (fig 8.43). Unlike the kitchen building, which features small windows, the laundry building features numerous large windows. Its location in the female exercise yards suggests that the laundry only employed female paupers, so segregation was not an issue. Workhouse laundries were usually designed functionally and economically, but Bramley's laundry features some surprising, unique ornamental detailing. For example, the date-stone is located on a shaped chimney stack with carved stone detailing and moulded patterned tiles. Another unique feature is a carved stone triplet window located next to the main entrance, which has had a doorway beneath it. In including such detail, the Guardians may have intended to present an image complementary to that of the extended infirmary, which was constructed around the same time.

Boiler-House

Like the laundry, the boiler-house was improved during phase three to support the expanded infirmary. According to O.S. maps, the surviving boiler-house was constructed between 1888 and 1901. The single-storey, brick structure has two gabled ranges and is located behind the main workhouse building, close to the male exercise yards (fig 8.44-45). Numerous alterations have been made to the building to meet the site's changing needs since phase five. Windows have been blocked and doorways added. Internally, the boiler occupies the majority of the building; however, there is

also a small pump room and store. Bramley is one of the few West Yorkshire workhouses with an intact boiler-house chimney. In contrast to its stylised façade and landscaped gardens, the workhouse chimney provides a stark reminder the harsh, industrial nature of workhouse buildings.

Conclusion

Bramley Union encompassed a gradually industrialising area on the outskirts of Leeds. Although Bramley was inspired by Leeds's innovative modernisation, the Union was financially restricted. Unlike Leeds, which offered large-scale facilities, Bramley offered smaller facilities reflective of its economic context. Bramley exhibits similarities to other outer-city workhouses, such as Wharfedale. Both Unions were ambivalent toward specialisation. They were both inspired to focus on facilities for the sick, like nearby city workhouses, but lacked the resources to provide specialised facilities for all pauper classes. Bramley accommodated all paupers apart from the infirm in a single building throughout the NPL, which complicated the enforcement of NPL guidelines. As an outer-city workhouse on the edge of urban and rural regions, Bramley Union negotiated influences from both. Over the course of the NPL, Bramley experienced thwarted innovation, partial modernisation, limited specialisation, and limited provision of separate, off-site facilities.

In response to its conflicting urban and rural influences, Bramley Workhouse defaulted to national trends, adopting a traditional location, plan, and style that proved wholly inadequate to the needs of the Union's paupers. Located on the outskirts of Leeds, the workhouse's position in the landscape was mostly functional and reflected the Guardians' conflicting aims of reform, deterrence, and punishment. Like several West Yorkshire workhouses, Bramley was isolated to dissociate it from the main population and to emphasise the status of inmates as outsiders not conforming to society's ideals. The workhouse's close proximity to Leeds exposed Bramley's paupers to alternative NPL provision not available to them, which emphasised that their fate was determined by forces completely outside their control.

Like Wharfedale's, Bramley's plan reflects the Guardians' vexed relationship to urban modernisation and rural paternalism, negotiating economic constraints with a belief in the possibility of cross-contamination between pauper classes. Like its location, the workhouse's T-plan conforms to national trends of its time. The basic plan provided inmates with only basic care.

The style of the workhouse reflects the desire to maintain economy while also presenting an image of civic order. The style of Bramley Workhouse evokes a daunting image similar to those evoked by rural case studies. Whereas rural workhouses stood out in isolated landscapes, however, suburban workhouses stood out among poverty-stricken, uniform low-cost housing. Bramley's style extended Leeds's civic pride to the suburbs. The building's low-level ornamentation reflects the Guardians' desire to project civic order and pride, but not on the same scale as Leeds. It also distinguishes Bramley from the majority of rural workhouses, including Skipton, Wetherby, and Pateley Bridge, which adopted plain, classical styles. Low-level ornamentation was reserved for areas of the workhouse on view to the public; the rear of the workhouse is much more austere. The surviving building reflects a starker contrast between public and private areas of the complex than in any other case study, an architectural reflection of the unique ambivalence between economy and modernisation experienced by Bramley's Guardians.

Like Leeds, Bramley was unable to implement universal surveillance effectively due to its large-scale T-plan, so segregation was a significant mechanism of control. The workhouse initially accommodated the majority of pauper classes in a single building, but inmates were separated when possible. Strict segregation was not always implemented in practice, however, largely due to economic circumstances and unpredictably variable workhouse demographics. Segregation was enforced strictly by gender and illness; however, segregation between the able-bodied, elderly, and children was more sporadic. Lapses in segregation may have sometimes enabled families to stay intact, but they also limited privacy.

Although Bramley's Guardians were inspired by the modern, specialised facilities provided by urban Unions, they were limited financially, like rural workhouses, so the provision of separate facilities for all pauper classes was unfeasible given the scale of the site. Other than extensions to the infirmary, no specialised facilities were ever constructed on the site or elsewhere. Unlike the majority of West Yorkshire workhouses, Bramley never entirely removed any pauper class from the workhouse to a separate facility. Within the case study area, the lack of specialised and/or separate facilities even at the end of the NPL era is unusual, even among rural areas, and resulted in substandard relief compared to that provided by neighbouring Leeds, which offered highly specialised care, or at rural workhouses, which offered more out-relief. (In Ripon, for example, the able-bodied were not accommodated in the workhouse.)

In contrast to Leeds's complicated pauper hierarchies, Bramley's lack of specialised or separate facilities resulted in only a very basic class hierarchy. The Guardians prioritised care for the sick, but all the rest of the inmates were treated very similarly. As in all West Yorkshire workhouses, the transient nature of the vagrants placed them firmly at the bottom of the pauper hierarchy in Bramley. Neither the architectural evidence nor the documentary evidence suggests that there were any complex class hierarchies. The impact of such a basic social hierarchy on an individual pauper depended on where he/she would have fallen within a more refined hierarchy within the region.

Economic considerations largely determined conditions at Bramley Workhouse. As a result, conditions generally remained poor. The Guardians' Minutes feature numerous entries relating to poor facilities. Paupers in outer-city workhouses like Bramley had a worse experience of the NPL than those in urban or rural workhouses.

Bramley Workhouse is unique among rural and urban case studies in West Yorkshire in its unchanging treatment of paupers and its comparative lack of specialisation. Within the RCHME typology, the workhouse is a classic T-plan of its time. Since the model fails to account for change over time, however, it fails to identify Bramley's lack of change as unique. It also fails to recognise that T-plans in large-scale contexts were not functioning in accordance with NPL ideals surrounding surveillance, segregation, and other mechanisms intended for the control and care of paupers.

Case Study Nine: Bradford Union Workhouse

Bradford sits on the edge of the Pennines in a valley of Airedale, west of Leeds. Initially, it developed much more slowly than neighbouring Leeds. Bradford's general population grew gradually from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. Although the woollen trade supplemented the region's agricultural economy during these years, the area did not industrialise significantly (James 1990: 14). By 1750, Bradford had become the administrative centre of the dale, but it remained no more than a small cluster of buildings. Comparable to that of a rural country town, its population in 1780 was just 4,506 (Hey 2005: 336; James 1990: 22).

From the mid-eighteenth century, Bradford rose in prominence. New transportation links in the second half of the eighteenth century improved access to nearby coal fields and ports, which attracted new industrial investors to the region. Whereas the south had a long, deep-seated tradition of agrarianism, the north embraced industrialisation and associated changes in culture and technology. Bradford industrialists thrived in this progressive climate. Focusing solely on the production of worsted textiles, industrialists were soon experts in their trade (James 1990: 26). By the mid-nineteenth century, Bradford had become the international centre of worsted textiles.

Although mechanisation of the worsted industry was slow, once the industry had mechanised, new multi-process mills transformed Bradford into a major industrial town. The number of merchants increased from 5 in 1822 to 157 in 1861. As a result of industrial development, new commercial centres were created, such as markets and piece halls. Bradford's commercial centres became key trading points for the whole of West Yorkshire's textile industry, including that of Leeds. Mass industrialisation encouraged migration from all over England, parts of Ireland, and Germany. The influx of immigrants had a wide-ranging cultural impact. Jewish immigrants from Germany, for example, constructed a collection of elaborate commercial Victorian buildings east of the city, 'Little Germany' (Ashworth 1982; Roberts 1977). As a result of mass immigration, by 1861, over 40% of merchants were foreign. The population of Bradford increased by 50% every decade from 1811 to 1851, illustrating the rapidity of the town's growth (Hey 2005: 336). Although Bradford's population reached 52,493 in 1851, Leeds remained the largest town in West Yorkshire, with a population of 101,343—almost twice that of Bradford (Hey 2005: 337).

Mechanisation of industry, depressions in trade, and the replacement of male labour with women and children in the factories led to high unemployment amongst men and dire conditions amongst the working classes. Bradford's swift development left little time for town planning, which led to the construction of inadequate housing and slums (Hey 2005: 350; Kenzie 1989). Basic sanitary facilities and running water were lacking in many areas, and many people lived in squalor. Cellar dwellings consisting of a single room were common and described as 'perfectly savage' (*The Chronicle* cited James 1990: 83). Many working-class families lived in back-to-back housing, which was slightly better. The industrial population caused heavy smog and foul smells throughout the city, creating unsavoury living conditions. Many people suffered from poor health, and there were regular outbreaks of disease. Life expectancy between 1839 and 1841 was only 18.96 years (James 1990: 87).

Bradford's squalor and deprivation caused intense conflict between industrialists and their workforce (James 1990: 36). Discontent with their situation, Bradford workers initiated numerous strikes and riots in the 1830s and 1840s, supporting factory reforms, anti-poor-law movements, and Chartism. The town developed a reputation for radicalism (Hey 2005: 421; James 1990: 43; Wright 1987).

Successful trade in the 1850s ensured regular wages and high employment for the workforce. As an international centre of trade, Bradford pursued architecture to reflect its success and rival that of Leeds. Civic buildings, such as St. George's Hall (1851-53), the concert Hall, numerous restaurants, and substantial accommodation, presented images of civic order. Local architects Lockwood and Mawson designed numerous public buildings, including the Exchange (1864), the Victoria Hotel (1867), the town hall (1873), and markets, amongst many more (Hey 2005: 398). The use of local sandstone and the Italianate style of these buildings created a recognisable fashion throughout Bradford.

The middle classes realised that improving the lives of the working classes was essential to the maintenance of social stability and industrial productivity. Paternalism emerged amongst mill owners, such as Sir Titus Salt, who created an entire industrial community next to his mill. Paternalists regarded the physical and moral integrity of the workforce as their responsibility. Many supported schools, religious teaching, housing schemes, sick clubs, hospitals, almshouses, and leisure facilities (James 1990: 56; Reynolds 1983). The creation of a Borough Council in 1847 aimed to strengthen the town's independence and improve living conditions. A police force was established to

reduce crime, and regulations concerning housing provisions, water supply, and the sewage system improved local quality of life (James 1990: 56).

For the majority of the working classes living in Bradford, however, conditions remained poor, and depression in the 1870s caused further economic and social decline. The city's continual focus on one trade meant that a depression in 1874 significantly impacted the city. New generations inheriting factories from their fathers sought high society that Bradford could not offer, and many removed their money from the town (James 1990: 58). Others lacked experience and disregarded changes in fashion, which meant merchants went elsewhere for goods, and tariffs placed on English goods in foreign countries meant that exports on which Bradford relied so heavily were no longer competitive. The progressive, innovative generation had passed, and Bradford no longer had the technical expertise to improve industry (James 2005: 50-51). Reduced profits led to a decline in social paternalism and lower wages for the working class, which resulted once again in strikes and riots. These circumstances prompted the creation of Bradford's Labour Party, which supported the working classes and trade unionism politically (Jowitt and Taylor 1980).

Bradford was designated a city in 1893, and by the end of the nineteenth century, it still dominated the textile industry in West Yorkshire. However, other trades had also been established, and labourers were increasingly involved in building or engineering (Hey 2005: 396). Population growth had stabilised in 1901, and generally working conditions and wages had improved (James 1990: 110). Industrialisation created similar concerns in Bradford as in Leeds, including mass migration, pollution, large-scale planning, and developing civic infrastructure, but the economic, social, and political histories of the two cities vary greatly, emphasising diversity within the region.

Evolution of the Poor Law

Under the OPL, paupers of Bradford and nearby towns were supported by several workhouses and out-relief. The earliest known workhouse in Bradford was constructed in 1738 at Barkers End, east Bradford. It was rebuilt in 1790 to accommodate 74 inmates. Eden's 1797 report describes Bradford Workhouse as a 'convenient, airy situation at a little distance from the town. There are 74 inmates, mostly old women, old men and children' (Eden 1797 cited Higginbotham 2006b). These demographics suggest that the majority of able-bodied paupers were granted out-relief. As a form of out-relief, Bradford Workhouse issued workhouse coins during the national coin shortage in 1812 for use in local shops. Some workhouses, such as Pudsey, required inmates to work. However, accounts

from Calverley-cum-Farsley and Pudsey record the purchase of tobacco, dried fruit, sugar, veal, beef, and tea, which suggests more generous provisions than those offered by NPL workhouses. Such extensive allowances ultimately caused a financial strain upon these workhouses (King 1997b).

Like Leeds, Bradford Union formed immediately after the passing of the NPL, but many Bradford residents resisted the NPL. The working classes disrupted early Guardians' meetings with fierce anti-Poor-Law street protests, and on one occasion the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner Alfred Power was attacked (Ashworth 1982). Working class campaigners became so violent that on several occasions police from London and the Cavalry from Leeds were called to disperse the mob and restore order. In one instance, over 5,000 protestors armed with stones were eventually dispersed by troops with muskets. The middle class also campaigned against the NPL because they feared the national centralisation of power. They believed that government interference in local policy would result in a loss of local power and that the Guardians would become 'puppets' of Westminster (Ashworth 1982: 86). However, the swift and uncompromising enforcement of the NPL caused violent protests to lose momentum.

Nonetheless, Bradford Union's negativity toward the NPL continued, so initially its relief remained diverse, despite the aims of the NPL. Administered by twenty Guardians from twenty different parishes, Bradford Union was based in Bradford and covered a population of roughly 94,621 (Hey 2005). Although administered from Bradford, the Union did not build a central workhouse. Instead, several OPL workhouses remained in operation although the PLC continually condemned them as inadequate. In 1840, the degenerative state of the Union's workhouses left just two OPL workhouses in operation. Located in Bradford and Idle, they accommodated just 260 paupers in total (Ashworth 1982: 87). The PLC's initial disorganisation and lack of control allowed the Bradford Guardians to manipulate the NPL to its own ends. The PLC agreed that 'the entire and absolute authority of deciding whether any person should receive outdoor relief or should be relieved by admission to any poor house or workhouse of the union' would be determined by the Guardians (*Bradford Observer* 2/2/1837 cited Ashworth 1982). As a result, the Guardians continued to offer out-relief to roughly 90% of paupers, which directly contradicted the aims of the NPL.

Trade depressions throughout the 1840s increased pressure on Bradford's NPL resources. The Union was forced to focus its attention on the numerous unemployed able-bodied, and out-relief increased. The PLC continually criticised the unregulated nature of relief in Bradford Union, and while they

conceded to the giving of out-relief, they ordered that an out-relief test be introduced in 1842 (Ashworth 1982: 87). Paupers were to be put to work for the Union to test their need for out-relief. Although the PLC aimed to regulate the relief procedures in Bradford, loopholes enabled the Guardians to continue granting largely unregulated relief based on individual need. However, trade depression in 1846-8 strained the Union's resources to an extent that the PLC's recommendations were difficult to ignore, and Bradford began to administer out-relief tests in earnest. During this depression, 900 men worked on 6 out-relief test sites. However, due to the Guardians' lack of selectivity and the sheer number of applicants, many paupers were not tested prior to relief (Ashworth 1982: 88).

Concentrating on relief for the able-bodied resulted in the neglect of other pauper classes. The sick were attended by two low-paid medical officers responsible for 20,000 people, and no effort was made to improve the situation (Ashworth 1982: 89). Like able-bodied paupers, the infirm were assessed prior to relief. Only once a pauper's destitution was confirmed would his/her health be considered. The Union had not traditionally provided significant relief for the sick. In keeping with national trends, Bradford's paupers regarded the NPL as humiliating and a last resort. Few sick paupers were prepared to have their level of destitution established in order to receive medical relief. As a result, few sought medical treatment from the Union. Those who were relieved were often given money to seek treatment from other sources, such as Bradford Infirmary or local apothecaries, because it was more cost effective than providing medical facilities in the OPL workhouses (Ashworth 1982: 89; Firth 2001).

The financial strain on the Union caused by the 1840s depression, the influx of migrants, the spread of fever, and an increasing number of vagrants sparked numerous debates amongst Guardians concerning workhouse facilities. The PLC and the Bradford Guardians advocated a new workhouse, which was strongly opposed by the Guardians from the outer townships, who refused to finance a workhouse that would be predominantly used by Bradford's paupers (Ashworth 1982: 92). To successfully administer the Union, the industrial town of Bradford formed its own Union, and the outer townships, originally part of Bradford Union, formed the new North Bierley Union in 1848 (Ashworth 1982: 92).

The separation of Bradford from surrounding regions allowed it to make progressive decisions wholly concerning its own welfare. The Union's reorganisation coincided with economic improvements that

reduced numbers seeking relief and increased the Union's finances. On agreeing to commission a new workhouse, the Guardians debated suitable workhouse designs. The Guardians wanted a plan that would best accommodate all pauper classes, was financially within budget, and allowed for future extension (*Bradford Observer* 3/1/1850; 21/2/1850). The Guardians' decision to opt for an extendable plan indicates that they expected workhouse numbers to increase as Bradford evolved into an industrial city. Such forward thinking echoes that of the Leeds Guardians in their plans for an extendable 'imbecile block', emphasising their shared regional contexts.

Two potential workhouse plans were considered. The first was designed by J.B. and W. Atkinson, responsible for workhouses in Pateley Bridge, Wetherby, and Great Ouseburn, and the second by local architects Lockwood and Mawson. After several debates among the Guardians, Lockwood and Mawson's design was chosen. Their plan was £2,000 less than Atkinson's and could be extended. In addition to economic considerations, segregation proved a deciding factor. Atkinson's design meant all inmates entered the dining-room to get to their respective wards whereas in Lockwood and Mawson's plan, inmates of different pauper classes had separate entrances to the dining-room and separate passages and staircases to their respective dormitories. Lockwood and Mawson's plan was also considered 'more open and much less like a prison', suggesting the Guardians aimed to disassociate the design from early NPL workhouses (*Bradford Observer* 21/2/1850). The Guardians considered this plan 'the best plan for every practical purpose' (*Bradford Observer* 21/2/1850).

Despite having chosen the plan, the Guardians continued to argue with the PLB regarding facilities. For example, the PLB stated a shelter should be provided for the children playing outside when it is raining, which 'met with laughter from the Guardians'. Guardian Pollock remarked that he did not have such facilities for his own children (*Bradford Observer* 18/4/1850). The Guardians' attitude was strongly focused on economy and necessity (*Bradford Observer* 11/4/1850). The PLB's suggested improvements would have increased the cost of the workhouse, so the Guardians agreed to ignore them. The Guardians' resistance of the PLB suggests the PLB still lack sufficient power to fully control the Unions, so the Guardians' decisions prevailed.

The new workhouse buildings significantly improved relief, but they also regulated pauper experience more directly. The new workhouse was constructed in Little Horton between 1850 and 1851. Bradford Workhouse adopted the distinctive Italianate style of Lockwood and Mawson's earlier buildings, such as Saltaire. White's 1854 directory describes the workhouse as 'a spacious,

handsome, and admirably arranged building, and stands upon 14 acres of land purchased at the cost of £4,000. It has room for about 350 inmates, and attached to it is a spacious infirmary' (*Whites directory* 1854).

Unlike neighbouring Leeds, where on-site facilities were expanded, Bradford began to provide certain categories of pauper with specialised facilities outside the main workhouse from the beginning of the twentieth century. This project began with the pioneering provision of cottage homes for the elderly at Daisy Hill, northwest Bradford. Bradford is the only West Yorkshire workhouse to have implemented such a project. The momentum for modernisation and improvement at the turn of the century significantly impacted the new city of Bradford's NPL relief. This innovative scheme provided accommodation in comfortable buildings within landscaped grounds, which were deliberately not institutional in their appearance. Care was provided by a superintendent who had separate lodgings on the site. Strategies for removing children from the workhouse also emerged during this period. Several children's homes were established, which permanently removed many children from the workhouse (Morrison 1999). Facilities for children were further specialised in 1912 with the creation of Thackley Home for 'delicate' children. Removing the elderly and children from the workhouse spared them the stigma associated with pauperism. The design of the site gave the elderly and children a level of independence and a sense of dignity not possible in the workhouse.

The specialisation of medical facilities also reflects the Bradford Guardians' innovation. In 1903, Bradford Union constructed Eastby Sanatorium for the treatment of tuberculosis, one of the first facilities of its kind to be constructed by a PLU (RCHME 1991d). Patients were assessed at the main workhouse before transfer to the sanatorium. In 1925, the facility focused on providing relief for boys with tuberculosis and was renamed Eastby Sanatorium and School. The last hospital constructed by the Bradford Union was Bowling Park Institution. In its provision of care for geriatric cases, Bowling Park demonstrates the continuing importance of specialisation to the Guardians.

New facilities were also constructed for the able-bodied. In 1901, only 74 inmates in the original workhouse were classed as able-bodied. A large number of able-bodied paupers continued to receive out-relief, so the able-bodied relieved in the workhouse represented a group considered truly undeserving by the Guardians. In 1910, the Guardians opted for the construction of a new workhouse, designed by Fred Holland and located at Daisy Hill (RCHME 1991c). The few able-bodied paupers at Bradford were transferred to the new workhouse, which left the original workhouse for

use as an infirmary. The removal of able-bodied inmates to Daisy Hill reflects the Guardians' continuing belief that this pauper class should be segregated from mainstream society.

Available sources

Considering Bradford Workhouse is still used as a NHS hospital, the site has undergone remarkably few major alterations. Although a couple of significant additions have been made, and a few NPL buildings have been demolished, most of the exterior fabric of the surviving NPL buildings remains intact, and the original plan remains in places. The NMR holds the most substantial record of the site, but it is quite brief compared to RCHME records (RCHME 1983). The buildings report was made much earlier than those produced as part of the RCHME publication, and it focuses on the main building and entrance lodge. Other buildings on the site were largely ignored, which is typical of past research objectives which prioritised buildings of architectural merit. The limitations of the NMR report highlight the need to apply current recording strategies to workhouse buildings before future developments are made.

The documentary records for this site are substantial compared to those of rural workhouses or even Leeds, in some instances. For example, *The Builder* records alterations and additions to the site, which is especially useful for understanding the development of ancillary buildings that have been modernised or demolished. The *Bradford Observer* records aspects of the decision-making process behind the choice of workhouse plan, and the Guardians' Minutes are complete from 1837 to 1930. Despite a relatively complete archival record, however, the minutes themselves are not as illuminating as those of Leeds Union. They are much less detailed, and after 1900, when Bradford's NPL facilities were separated over several sites, references to pauper classes or anecdotal cases are sparse. The censuses for this site, though, are unusually revealing. For example, in the 1901 census, inmates were categorised by their workhouse classifications, 'the infirm', 'hospital', and 'general', which gives a unique insight into real workhouse numbers. This record reveals how few able-bodied inmates were housed in the workhouse and that overcrowding in the infirmary wards meant the elderly were sometimes housed in the able-bodied wards.

The continuing use of Bradford's NPL buildings throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has resulted in their designation as buildings of historic significance. Interest in the history of these buildings has led to several publications relating to Bradford's NPL. Gary Firth has produced a general publication highlighting this interest, entitled *Bradford's Charity and the Public Purse: A History of*

Bradford Hospitals from 1780. This publication provides a general overview of the site's known medical history. Ashworth's publication 'The Treatment of Poverty', in *Victorian Bradford*, provides an in-depth guide to poverty in nineteenth-century Bradford. Ashworth's work provides crucial context material for this case study.

Description of the building

Bradford Workhouse is located on Little Horton Lane. The building was originally placed in a 14-acre field, and the Guardians suggested that once the workhouse was built the remaining grounds should be used by locals for pleasure walks (*The Builder* 9/6/1851: 379) (fig 9.1). Though distanced from the city centre, the pleasure grounds suggest the Guardians did not aim to isolate the workhouse from society. Like Leeds, Bradford positioned its workhouse to display its civic pride and order to the public, who were drawn to the pleasure grounds.

During the NPL era, the workhouse site developed over four phases. The construction of the main workhouse, an entrance block, an infirmary, and workshops, in 1851, marks the start of phase one (fig 9.2). Although the main workhouse accommodated the majority of paupers, the Guardians acknowledged the need for specialised care for sick paupers, so they included a separate infirmary in the initial workhouse design, like Leeds, Bramley, and Wharfedale Unions.

Initially, Bradford focused on accommodating the able-bodied, but it soon shifted its attentions to the treatment of the sick. In the 1860s, Bradford's rapidly increasing population and stable economic condition encouraged the Guardians to develop infirmary facilities. Cartographic evidence indicates that four infirmary buildings were added to the site after the 1860s; their construction marks the beginning of phase two. Paupers treated in these new buildings received specialised medical care. Specialised facilities for the sick and mentally ill became increasingly central to NPL relief in Bradford. In 1870, three out of five inmates were unable to attend Christmas dinner due to sickness (*Bradford Observer* 27/12/1870 cited Ashworth 1982). In 1872, the Guardians invested in a new 'imbecile' ward. In 1892, a female imbecile ward was added.

To support the substantially enlarged workhouse, new staff and ancillary buildings were required. Phase three began with construction of a Nurses' Home in 1897 (fig 9.3). The Nurses' Home aimed to encourage and accommodate the increasing number of nurses needed to work in the workhouse's

infirmery buildings. The boiler-house was also improved during phase three, to improve heat efficiency throughout the workhouse.

Significant increases in Bradford's population placed further demands on the workhouse's infirmaries. Phase four began with the construction of a new infirmery building in 1904. This was followed by further extensions to existing infirmery buildings and the construction of children's and maternity hospitals in 1905. Other additions included a new hospital for male paupers in 1906. To support the considerable additions to the site, the boiler-house and chimney were again improved. During this phase, the site firmly established itself as an infirmery, and all paupers but the infirm were removed to facilities in other areas of Bradford.

After the NPL was abolished in 1930, marking the beginning of phase five, the site continued to be used for medical treatment and was renamed St. Luke's Hospital. Alterations, additions, and demolitions of NPL buildings during this phase were necessary in order to continue the site's modernisation. The majority of NPL buildings are now derelict; however, the main workhouse building is used as offices for Bradford's NHS.

Entrance Block

Constructed at the beginning of phase one, the entrance block (now demolished) admitted all inmates and visitors. Directly in front of the main workhouse building, the entrance block was constructed from stone with a hipped slate roof, and consisted of a two-storey central block flanked by single-storey wings (fig 9.4). The three-bay central block featured a central, archivolt-archway entrance set within a stone surround (fig 9.5). During phase one, a gate was inserted within the archway so that the porter could control admission to the site (BFGM 31/8/1870). Similarly styled single windows were placed either side of the entrance, while the first floor featured paired-windows. Further ornamentation included stone bands and moulded cornices. The ten-bay, single-storey west range featured arched windows and a gabled projection in bay four. Originally, the east range was similar to the west. In the early twentieth century, however, the wing was adapted for administrative purposes, so additional square windows for extra light were added in bays one, two, and four (fig 9.6). Like the majority of West Yorkshire workhouses, to economise, Bradford simplified elevations not visible to the public. The rear of the building is less ornate, featuring smaller, square-headed windows and no stone embellishments (fig 9.7). Numerous ventilation lights have been inserted into the roof. Their differing sizes and styles suggest they were added in several stages. Although some

ridge lights were inserted during the NPL era, others were inserted later. Photographic evidence indicates several single-cell additions were made to the rear of the entrance block.

The porter controlled the flow of visitors, inmates, and vagrants in and out of the workhouse. As in Skipton, Ripon, and Wharfedale, the porter's accommodation was located on ground floor of the central block, in the rooms either side of the central arch. His centrality in the building allowed him access to the receiving wards, vagrants' wards, and the aforementioned workhouse gate, which he locked at nine p.m. (BFGM 29/8/1855). The porter sent inmates to the receiving wards and vagrants to the vagrants' ward, highlighting their comparative transience. In the receiving wards, inmates were 'stripped and clothed with dresses belonging to the Union' (BFGM 4/7/1851). A designated uniform suggests it was important for the Guardians to create a sense of civic order in the workhouse through the cleanliness and respectability of the inmate image. Once their classification was decided, the inmates were moved to the corresponding area of the workhouse.

In contrast to workhouse inmates, vagrants remained in the entrance block. Unlike at Leeds Workhouse, where vagrants were initially housed in the main workhouse, at Bradford Workhouse, the style of the entrance block suggests vagrants were accommodated in the entrance block wings, which prevented them from entering the main workhouse complex. National guidelines recommended that vagrants enter the wards in the evening and be washed immediately, to prevent the spread of disease and generally create a healthier environment (Tanner 1999). Like other West Yorkshire workhouses, Bradford did not enact such measures, and vagrants received little attention or understanding. Bradford's vagrants used galvanised iron pads to clean their feet, but baths were reportedly unused (BFGM 14/7/1869). Cleanliness of this pauper class was not a priority for the institution. Only vagrants arriving before 8:00 p.m. were given supper, which emphasises their lowly position within the institution. The morning after their arrival, vagrants entered the yard to the rear of the entrance block to complete their allocated tasks, which included stone-breaking (BFGM 5/4/1865). The only vagrants toward whom the Guardians showed any sensitivity were children who entered the workhouse alone. In the case of unaccompanied children, the Guardians opted to detain the children in the workhouse until the next Guardians' meeting. This decision reflects the paternalistic nature of the Guardians and their optimism regarding the reformation of vagrant children.

The Bradford Guardians' general distaste for vagrants was equalled by the vagrants' general distaste for the relief they received. Vagrants continually rebelled against the NPL's control. The Guardians' Minutes record incidents of vagrants breaking doors, and the Guardians were forced to raise the walls surrounding the vagrants' yards by two feet to prevent vagrants escaping before they had completed their work (BFGM 2/8/1865). The raising of the walls reflects the tension between the attempted control of the Guardians over this rebellious pauper class and the resistance of the vagrants of their strictly regulated treatment.

Unlike the Guardians at Leeds, who immersed themselves centrally within the workhouse, the Bradford Guardians chose to separate themselves from the main areas of workhouse life. Their facilities included offices and a boardroom, which were located on the first floor of the entrance block. The Guardians were generally gentlemen, manufacturers, tradesmen, or merchants, not from the working classes (BFGM 16/4/1852; 22/4/1853; 18/4/1877). Elected Guardians from the rising middle and upper classes of rapidly expanding industrial towns such as Bradford, Leeds, Skipton, and Wharfedale aimed to promote their newfound status through their civic employment. The Guardians communicated their status by decorating the boardroom with wallpaper, paint, and varnished fixtures and fittings (BFGM 21/5/1852). Such decorations were not repeated elsewhere in the workhouse, illustrating the Guardians' status. Later decorations included Guardians' portraits, which were hung on the boardroom walls to be 'preserved as a permanent record' (BFGM 20/2/1901).

Main Workhouse building

Bradford's workhouse adopts an almost stereotypical workhouse style, but in contrast to the plain, classical, rural workhouses in the case study area, Bradford Workhouse does include some ornamental features and decoration. While the style of Bradford Workhouse was intended in part to promote civic order, it also reflects the Guardians' desire for economy. Located directly behind the entrance block, the main workhouse building was predominantly hidden from the main road. The pauper entered through the archway in the entrance block, and the vast institution was revealed slowly, maximising the initial impact of institutional power and control (fig 9.8). In contrast to the Elizabethan style of Leeds, which evoked paternalism and philanthropy, the classical, Italianate design of Bradford Workhouse evokes daunting impressions of dominance, stereotypical of early NPL workhouses (fig 9.9). The three-storey, sandstone building conforms to an elongated H-plan (fig 9.10-11). The bar of the H-plan centres on a three-bay projection, with six bays either side ending in cross-wings. The central projection of the north elevation features an arched entrance set within a square,

stone surround. The ground floor of the projection features large, square-headed windows either side of the entrance. In contrast, the first storey features three archivolt, arched windows connected by a stone, string course. The second storey features triplets of arched windows either side of a single arched window. Only the centre window of the triplet is glazed, which suggests the window was intended purely for external decoration, not for privileging the interior space it could have illuminated. Further decoration includes a small, square tower with a pyramid roof, which surmounts the projection.

Like Leeds Workhouse, Bradford Workhouse reflected early NPL values in that the majority of pauper classes were accommodated in the same block. Inmates were divided by gender into the ranges either side of the central projection. The ranges feature square-headed windows on the ground and second floors. In contrast, the first storey features archivolt, arched windows linked by a stone string, identical to those in the central projection. The north elevation features an entrance in each wing. These provided separate access for male and female inmates.

The external arrangement of the building was carefully strategised to enable high-level segregation of access and accommodation. The cross-wings of the H-plan provided additional accommodation for several pauper classes (fig 9.12-13). Almost identical, the cross-wings feature five-bay gable-ends projecting north and south. The three central bays of the north elevation project from the building and feature archivolt, arched windows and a decorative, ashlar balcony at first-storey level. In contrast to the ornamented north elevation, the south elevation features square-headed windows and a central entrance that provided inmates access to the exercise yards. Adopting the same style as the north elevation, the outward-facing, eleven-bay elevation centres on a three-bay gabled projection (fig 9.14-15). A centrally positioned entrance provided access to the exercise yards. The number of entrances within the ranges suggests that at least four pauper classes were accommodated in each range.

Internal

Like Leeds Workhouse, Bradford Workhouse initially accommodated the majority of pauper classes in one workhouse building. Although Bradford Workhouse was half the size of Leeds Workhouse, its Guardians still had to strategically plan the building to maintain segregation amongst the 360 paupers (*The Builder* 9/6/1851: 379).

The main entrance leads to a lobby area, which is plastered and features deep skirting-boards and ornamental cornices (fig 9.16). Initially, the entrance lobby featured multiple offices and led directly to the dining-room through a single exit. However, during phase five, the area adjoining the dining-room was opened up, incorporating exterior walls into the interior, blocking windows, and adding a false roof (fig 9.17).

The staircases nearest the central lobby provide access to the central area of the first floor (fig 9.18-19). The remaining fabric suggests there were five rooms in this area, including one large room with large windows and a fireplace. The central area of the first floor is plastered, painted, and entirely segregated from the rest of the building, suggesting the Master and Matron were accommodated here. In contrast to the Master's facilities at Leeds, which were connected to the workhouse wards, the Master's facilities at Bradford were enclosed, restricting his surveillance of the inmates' wards and thus limiting his control over inmates' workhouse experience.

The Guardians sought to maintain control in the workhouse by employing an effective Master; however, conditions in the workhouse did not attract capable staff, and initially, the Guardians were unable to find a suitable candidate. A Master was suspended in 1851 for habitual drunkenness and immoral conduct (BFGM 26/12/1851), and the following Master and Matron were dismissed in 1852, for incompetence (BFGM 7/12/1852). The employment of Robert Snell Williams in 1856 indicates the extent and forceful nature of the institutional control the Guardians were seeking (BFGM 16/9/1856). Williams's previous employment included working for Preston Police and being a candidate for Leeds Gaol governor (Ashworth 1982: 97). The employment of a Master with experience in prison management reflects the Guardians' ambition for strict order and control. Despite this ambition, however, the Guardians failed to maintain constant staff control in the long term. Masters after Williams were accused of drunkenness, amongst other inadequacies (BFGM 17/11/1884; 11/3/1885). The Bradford Guardians' difficulty in employing reliable Masters and Matrons is more in keeping with the experiences of rural workhouse Guardians than urban ones. This may be a consequence of the suddenness of Bradford's city status as compared to the relative stability of urban Leeds, for example.

The interior decor differentiates between staff and pauper areas of the workhouse. In contrast to the decorated entrance lobby, the central corridors feature stone floors and painted brickwork walls. The corridors have altered very little since the NPL era (fig 9.20-22). Windows permitted a limited amount of natural light into the corridors. They were placed high within the internal walls to prevent

inmates in the dormitories and dayrooms from seeing inmates in the corridor. Many of these windows have been blocked. Although gas and later electric lighting illuminated the corridors, they were very gloomy. Rooms are located either side of the corridor. Modifications during various phases have enlarged some rooms and reduced the size of others. As a result, there are numerous doorway styles and several blocked doorways. The remaining fabric suggests little to no improvement of living conditions in the main workhouse building during the NPL era.

Paupers were highly segregated at Bradford. Broken brickwork suggests that during the NPL, partitions were placed at strategic intervals along the corridors to completely separate the end ranges from the body of the workhouse building. The partitions created small, dark spaces, reached via complicated access routes, which would have disorientated paupers, generating insecurity and vulnerability. The partitions were removed after the NPL, but even the remaining fabric evokes a trace of this sense of alienation.

Although inmates were strictly segregated by class, the basic classification system failed to account for the complexities of pauper identity. Some paupers met the criteria for more than one class of inmate, which complicated the enforcement of segregation. The Guardians' Minutes report one occasion on which a boy was found in the men's dormitory (BFGM 21/7/1869). Although his age classified him as a child, his occupation as a shoemaker prior to entry into the workhouse also classified him as an able-bodied worker. The Guardians ruled that his presence in the able-bodied ward was not appropriate, reinforcing the illusory distinction between childhood innocence and able-bodied labour, a hypocritical gesture in the context of an industrial city that relied heavily on child labour.

The main body of the workhouse was divided over three floors into various dormitories, dayrooms, sanitary facilities, and storerooms. The ground floor features two long wards either side of the entrance lobby. These wards were likely used as dayrooms. Each wing had a separate, stone staircase providing access to all floors (fig 9.23). Doorways within the stairwells provided access to the exercise yards behind the building. On the first floor, a central area for staff divided the central corridor into two wards. Typically, the first floor featured dormitories. Surviving brickwork suggests each wing had four rooms. However, additional doorways in the east wing suggest it was later divided into eight rooms. Exposed brickwork indicates that the building's original plan has been altered. It is unclear when these alterations occurred, but they were likely associated with the transfer of the able-

bodied, elderly, and children to specialised facilities in the early twentieth century. The plan also altered during phase six, when the building was converted into offices.

Conditions for the able-bodied were poor, which caused unrest. Many of the able-bodied were dissatisfied with their treatment. The Guardians' Minutes record several cases of inmates absconding from the workhouse (BFGM 28/11/1851; 23/1/1852; 13/7/1864). During the NPL era, the able-bodied were accommodated in large wards in the main block, where provisions and privacy were limited, and segregation was strict. As in other West Yorkshire Unions, the able-bodied were regarded as the least deserving pauper class, and as such, they were relieved in basic conditions. Due to their perceived unworthiness, the able-bodied rarely received entertainment or treats like other pauper classes.

The basic treatment and facilities for the able-bodied reflect the Guardians' wariness of this pauper class, which they exhibited more openly than other West Yorkshire Guardians. In Bradford, it was feared that poverty resulted in criminality or that poverty and criminality were closely associated. Within the able-bodied wards, placards naming local offenders were displayed to deter inmates from immoral activities. For example, one placard highlighted the case of John Yeoman who was 'sentenced to a month's imprisonment in Wakefield House of Correction for obtaining relief by false representation' (BFGM 21/10/1853). Although the Guardians deliberately opted for a workhouse that was 'more open and much less like a prison', they nonetheless associated able-bodied pauperism with criminality. The Guardians used Bradford Workhouse as a mechanism to prevent the poor from committing crimes.

Work, also intended to improve character, was a significant aspect of the able-bodied pauper's daily routine. The Guardians' Minutes frequently mention the provision of work for able-bodied inmates. Generally, men were employed in physically laborious tasks, such as stone-breaking (BFGM 12/12/1851; 2/9/1863). However, the professional skills of able-bodied paupers were often utilised. In one instance, the Master was asked to identify inmates who might be useful in workhouse repairs (BFGM 4/8/1869). An inmate was once employed to maintain the workhouse boiler, and on another occasion, one male and one female inmate were employed as workhouse nurses. As at Leeds, inmates with jobs requiring responsibility were granted privileges denied to other paupers in their class, such as better uniforms or wages (BFGM 13/9/1865; 21/1/1853). However, inmates given paid work in the workhouse did not always value their 'improved' position. Joshua Nicholl, for example,

the inmate in charge of the boiler, did not return after a leave of absence and was docked one month's pay (BFGM 3/1/1866). Unlike the Guardians, the inmates did not always regard their 'elevated' position in the workhouse as a privilege.

Although some able-bodied inmates were housed in the workhouse, many more received out-relief. In 1852, there were 245 paupers in the workhouse, and 2,026 received out-relief. By 1901, the number of able-bodied paupers accommodated in the workhouse had decreased to just 74. In some instances, the Guardians found inmates permanent employment outside the workhouse. Several female inmates entered positions as domestic servants, for example (BFGM 10/9/1852; 4/5/1864). In other cases, able-bodied potential inmates were removed from the Union altogether. In the 1850s, for instance, some Irish paupers who had migrated to the town seeking work were sent back to Liverpool for deportation (BFGM 31/5/1854).

The Guardians designated the workhouse an infirmary in the early twentieth century, and all able-bodied inmates relocated to a new workhouse in 1913 (BFGM 1/5/1901; 22/1/1913). That the Guardians continued to force some able-bodied paupers to enter the workhouse for relief suggests that the stigma of able-bodied pauperism persisted in Bradford longer than in surrounding Unions, likely a consequence of Bradford's generally thriving industry, which led the Guardians to judge unemployment more severely. The treatment of the able-bodied in Bradford after 1913 is reminiscent of the treatment of vagrants by rural workhouses, suggesting a parallel status in the NPL hierarchy.

Although alterations have been made to the second floor of the workhouse, there is no evidence to suggest that this floor was ever divided like the ground and first floors. Instead, it was divided into a series of dormitories. Although two staircases provide separate access to this area, there is no other evidence of segregation.

Whereas Leeds and Bramley Workhouses constructed numerous sanitary towers in response to modernising hygiene standards, Bradford Workhouse did not. *The Builder* suggests that sanitary facilities were located throughout the building, a report supported by the remaining fabric. Integrating sanitary facilities into the main body of the workhouse suggests that the Guardians were not influenced by improving architectural knowledge concerning health and hygiene. The lack of additional sanitary towers also illustrates that improvements to the main workhouse building were

minimal, reflecting the Guardians' desire for economy. Some W.C.s were located in the exercise yards. *The Builder* describes the use of a mechanical device in the external W.C.s that prevented two paupers from entering at any one time (*The Builder* 9/6/1851: 379). This restricted paupers' freedom of movement to ensure surveillance and control, inhibiting private contact between paupers and reflecting the Guardians' general distrust of inmates.

Doorways in the front and rear of the workhouse provided access into the cross-wings. A cross-plan corridor with an octagonal centre divides the area into several rooms. Three rooms and a stone staircase open off the central octagon (fig 9.24-27). The size of these rooms suggests they were used for storage. The area features painted brickwork and stone floors throughout. Like the main range, the cross-wings were also partitioned to maintain segregation and have undergone complicated alterations. The remaining fabric suggests that the areas on the north side of the building, facing out of the workhouse complex, were initially divided into three or four spacious rooms, which were all heated with by open fireplaces and benefitted from the large triplet windows. These conditions were superior to those in the main body of the workhouse, which suggests the cross-wings were reserved for inmates considered more deserving of relief and less responsible for their poverty, such as the elderly or children. The rooms to the rear of the range conform to a similar plan.

Although the elderly were segregated from other pauper classes and were accommodated in a more comfortable area of the workhouse, one of few further distinctions between the elderly and able-bodied was that the elderly received entertainment, both inside and outside of the workhouse, whereas the able-bodied did not. Inside the workhouse, elderly inmates were entertained by bands in the dining-room. Outside of the workhouse, the elderly were invited by local societies, such as the committee of Great Horton, to attend exhibitions or take part in excursions to view the Christmas decorations (BFGM 9/11/1870; 2/2/1876; 30/5/1900). The inclusion of elderly inmates in local society suggests attitudes toward this pauper class were generally more understanding and compassionate than the varied attitudes exhibited toward able-bodied paupers.

In 1901, plans were made to construct a series of cottage homes for Bradford's elderly paupers (BFGM 20/2/1901). These homes removed the elderly entirely from the workhouse and provided dignified accommodation. No longer did poor workhouse facilities punish this pauper class. Bradford was one of the first Unions to establish a system of cottage homes for the elderly. In contrast to Leeds, where the Guardians largely developed facilities on the original workhouse site, Bradford

constructed several specialised facilities on new sites, away from the original workhouse. The disassociation of the elderly from the workhouse distanced them from the stigma attached to early NPL buildings. After 50 years of unchanging treatment, the NPL experience of the elderly was transformed by the new facilities.

Children's workhouse experience was characterised primarily by education. Ashworth describes the NPL education of workhouse children in Bradford as a drastic improvement upon the limited instruction they received in OPL workhouses (Ashworth 1982). The Guardians employed a schoolmaster and schoolmistress to teach the children subjects including history and geography. The quality of teaching was improved through the purchase of books and maps for the schoolroom (BFGM 4/11/1853; 22/11/1854). Soon after the opening of the workhouse in the 1850s, inspector of schools Thomas Browne recorded 'good schools in the workhouse for both boys and girls' (Anderson 1982: 94). Unlike their attitude towards other pauper classes, the Guardians' attitude toward children was progressive. Although the NPL dictated that workhouse conditions should be inferior to those of the poorest labourer outside the workhouse, Bradford Guardians did not apply this guideline to education. In many cases, workhouse children received better education than the independent poor (Anderson 1982: 94). From 1885, the Guardians employed an industrial trainer intended to improve the employability of workhouse children on their departure from the workhouse (BFGM 9/9/1885; 9/12/1885). Despite this and other educational and industrial-training measures, Bradford's facilities for children remained inferior to those offered at the purpose-built industrial school at neighbouring Leeds Workhouse. Bradford's unstable early nineteenth-century economy rendered such a facility unfeasible.

The treatment of children in Bradford reflects their privileged status amongst paupers. Like other West Yorkshire workhouses, Bradford endeavoured to maintain workhouse children's health. Healthy children were less likely to incur additional expense and more likely to leave the workhouse employable. The medical officer was permitted to alter the children's diets to improve their health, and the Guardians ordered extra bathtubs for the children's wards to ensure hygiene and cleanliness (BFGM 6/6/1855; 27/6/1855; 3/10/1855). Also in keeping with regional trends, Bradford removed children from the workhouse whenever possible, either through adoption, emigration, apprenticeship, transfer, or out-relief. On one occasion, the Guardians financed the removal of a blind child to a designated facility, and the minutes record several cases of children leaving the workhouse

to start apprenticeships in the textile and ironworking industries (BFGM 11/6/1852, 15/2/1839; 11/10/1839; 5/7/1854; 30/8/1854).

Care for the mentally ill was less sophisticated. Like Leeds Union, Bradford Union provided accommodation for the mentally ill for whom there was no space in the county asylum. Frequent mentions of the mentally ill in the Guardians' Minutes suggest they demanded a significant amount of attention. Prior to the construction of separate facilities, the mentally ill were housed in the main workhouse building. At Leeds Union, progressive attitudes toward care for the mentally ill motivated the Guardians to provide separate facilities in 1862. At Bradford, however, the Guardians' Minutes do not mention separate, specialised facilities for the mentally ill until 1879. Prior to that point, the Guardians improved provisions for the mentally ill in the workhouse, but care continued to focus on the cleanliness and comfort of inmates rather than their treatment, as reflected in the purchase of items such as combs and brushes (BFGM 2/5/1866). The Guardians adopted many of the Commission on Lunacy's suggestions, such as papering the walls, boarding floors, and providing books, papers, and games (BFGM 2/5/1866).

Although such improvements reflect concern for the mentally ill, the Guardians' Minutes record major lapses in the care for this pauper class in the early years of the NPL. Insufficient staffing pressurised nurses into mistakes and cruelties (BFGM 1/4/1869). Visiting committees report major overcrowding in the workhouse wards. The workhouse provided only 122 beds, 47 for males and 75 for females, but at one point the workhouse accommodated 135 inmates (*The Builder* 9/6/1851: 379). In an attempt to maintain control over such a large number of inmates, staff sometimes took crude, drastic measures. In one instance, staff placed nails in the floors to prevent inmates from escaping and to maintain segregation (BFGM 13/12/1865). On another occasion, an assistant nurse was accused of negligence and lack of control over the mentally ill inmates in her care. The Master reports that 'many of them have become filthy, both in their clothing and bedding' and urges that 'these poor creatures shall be strictly attended to, both with respect to kindness and cleanliness' (BFGM 3/1/1866). Such incidents suggest the workhouse was completely inadequate to the needs of the mentally ill.

Dining-Room and Kitchen

Like Bramley's, Bradford's dining-room provided an area for eating, religious services, and occasional entertainment. The dining-room formed the stem of the workhouse's T-plan. Constructed of brick

with a slate, hipped roof, the single-storey, nine-bay building was accessed internally from the entrance hall and externally through doors in the east and west elevations (fig 9.28-29). Like many workhouse T-plans, Bradford's T-plan allowed separate access for male and female inmates and thus maintained segregation. Like Bramley's, Bradford's dining hall featured large windows high in the elevation, permitting natural light but preventing inmates inside the dining-room from seeing out (fig 9.30). However, it did not adopt the ecclesiastical style of Bramley's dining-room.

Like the main workhouse, the interior of the dining-room is very plain. The walls are plastered, like those of other workhouse areas. The roof remains open with roof lights, which provided substantial natural light (fig 9.31). There is no evidence of ornamentation, and the room was heated solely via an open fireplace, like the other inmate areas of the workhouse (*The Builder* 9/6/1851: 379).

The kitchen was located southeast of the dining-room (now demolished). Since women traditionally worked in workhouse kitchens, the exercise yards nearest the kitchen were likely designated for use by women, in order to maintain segregation. Since the NPL, all internal evidence of the kitchen has been removed, as has the wall separating the kitchen from the dining-room.

Staff employed in the workhouse required accommodation. Census records state there were four cooks, three general servants, four labourers, and three 'tramp' Masters in 1901 (see Appendix 4). The accommodation of staff other than the Master and Matron, nurses, and porter is largely undocumented in West Yorkshire workhouses. At Bradford, however, the remaining fabric provides a basis for speculation. A two-storey, stone building is located at the far end of the kitchen and dining-room (fig 9.32). Like the attachment to the laundry, it is domestic rather than institutional in appearance, which suggests both of these buildings provided accommodation for workhouse employees. There is no evidence of the use of domestic architecture to distinguish staff from inmates at any other workhouse in the case study area. Bradford's unique architectural design removed some employees from the institution and spared them institutionalisation.

Infirmery Buildings

In a town such as Bradford, poor sanitary conditions encouraged the spread of disease amongst the working classes (Ashworth 1982: 93). During the 1840s, so many of Bradford's poor died of cholera or diarrhoea that burial grounds were full (BFGM 15/6/1849). If unrestricted, the number of sick paupers seeking relief would have increased beyond the Union's control, so initially the Guardians

strictly regulated the giving of out-relief or indoor relief to the sick. Prior to the construction of a NPL workhouse, the Guardians actively discouraged the Medical Officers from relieving the infirm by giving them a fixed salary rather paying them by case (Ashworth 1982). Some sick were relieved in OPL workhouses, but the Guardians could not be seen to provide relief better than that offered to the independent poor in Bradford Infirmary.

Despite the Guardians' reservations, plans for the new workhouse included a separate infirmary. The original infirmary was located behind the main workhouse building (now demolished) (*The Builder* 9/6/1851: 379). Little is known of this first infirmary building as no plans, photographs, or documentary records survive. Compared to OPL workhouse provisions for the sick, a specialised facility must have improved conditions for those who received relief from the Union, but Bradford Workhouse's infirmary provisions remained inferior to those of neighbouring Leeds Workhouse. Indeed, on one occasion, the Guardians' Minutes record the transfer of an inmate from Bradford to Leeds for treatment (BFGM 13/6/1855).

Dramatic population growth and increasing demand for treatment of the sick forced the Guardians to reassess their treatment of this pauper class. By the late 1850s, Bradford's economy had stabilised, which improved the financial position of the Union and thus allowed the Guardians to develop provisions. To improve treatment, the Guardians appointed a Medical Officer for workhouse cases in 1857 (Ashworth 1982: 95). However, it was years before new buildings were constructed.

Bradford's medical facilities transformed at the start of phase two, when four new pavilion infirmary buildings were added (fig 9.33). The development of new medical facilities shifted the focus of workhouse provisions toward the sick. The Guardians' Minutes indicate that the number of sick inmates being admitted to the workhouse continued to increase throughout the 1870s (BFGM 1870-1880). Attitudes towards the sick were strongly influenced by Joseph Leeson, the workhouse medical officer, who advocated the assessment of patients based on individual need rather than following a uniform policy. He further stated that the sick warranted 'medical attention, good food and clothes, comfortable surroundings, and careful nursing', adding, '[P]atients in my infirmary possesses these' (MH12/14737 J Leeson to the PLB 31/3/1869). The large new infirmary buildings demonstrate Bradford's improving medical practice, which enhanced the sick pauper's NPL experience.

Designed by Lockwood and Mawson, the four phase-two infirmary buildings are located behind the main workhouse. They adopt an Italianate style similar to that of the workhouse and are constructed from stone, with ashlar dressings, string courses, and a slate roof with ashlar chimneys. All first-floor archivolts windows are identical to those of the main workhouse building except those of the sanitary towers, which feature turret windows. The sanitary towers differ subtly from one another, suggesting they were not all constructed at the same time. However, it is unclear in what order they were built.

The central two pavilion wards are identical in style and plan. Adopting the style of the main workhouse building, the three-storey, west-facing stone buildings centre on a three-bay central projection with eleven-bay wards either side (fig 9.34-37). The main entrance of each pavilion is located in the west-facing central projection and set within a stone surround. An external sanitary tower for each wing is attached to the east elevation. The pavilion wards did not feature any windows in the north or south elevations, and some of those in the east and west elevations have been blocked as part of post-NPL alterations. The sloping gradient of the site means the building is partially elevated over an exposed, rusticated basement that features large, arched windows and doors. The large, open interior suggests this area was used for storage or as workshops. Offices and a central staircase that provides access between floors occupy the central area of the building. Male and female patients were divided into the wards either side of the central block. The size of these wards suggests they could accommodate large numbers of patients.

Segregating paupers in the infirmary and lunatic ward by gender was a priority for the Guardians. Scarring on the external walls and evidence of removed railings suggests the area between the infirmaries was divided. The height of the scarring suggests the wall obstructed vision between the yards. Cartographic evidence confirms that the area was divided in two, maintaining the segregation by gender of those capable of walking and exercise (fig 9.33). The Guardians' Minutes also record the commissioning of a wall between the infirmary and the lunatic ward, to form a distinct yard (BFGM 9/8/1865). Since the NPL, a large, iron structure has been constructed, linking each floor of the two pavilions.

Architectural differences between the four pavilion wards, though subtle, suggest they had different uses. Like the central two pavilions, the two outer blocks also conform to pavilion plans, but they differ in size and design. Now demolished, the block furthest west conformed to an L-plan (fig 9.33).

The surviving east block features a large doorway in the north elevation surmounted by a fan-light window set within a stone surround (fig 9.38). The gable-ends feature ornamental triplet windows (fig 9.39). Although the evidence cannot confirm which pauper class occupied which block, certain distinctions are documented. *The Builder* records the construction of an 'Imbecile block' in 1879 (fig 9.40) and a separate building for female 'imbeciles' in 1892, confirming that the mentally ill were separated from the physically infirm (LGB 1880 XXVI.I 402 cited RCHME 1983).

As at Leeds Workhouse, the mentally ill were accommodated in a separate area of the workhouse with specialised staff. Although the most severe cases of mental illness were still referred to the county asylums, many continued to receive relief in the workhouse. By 1900, mentally ill inmates were treated to entertainments, such as performances by the *Temperance Band* and *Punch and Judy* shows (BFGM 30/5/1900). Both Leeds and Bradford provided separate facilities and entertainment for the mentally ill, but accommodation differed substantially. Leeds's ornamental, Elizabethan E-plan, which was segregated from the workhouse site by landscaped gardens, was a more separate institution than Bradford's pavilion accommodation, which was part of the main workhouse complex and architecturally indistinguishable from the other infirmary buildings.

Despite the extended facilities for the sick and mentally ill, doubts remained amongst professionals and the poor as to the adequacy of the system. As the *Guardians* had anticipated, phase-two developments rendered treatment for the sick in the workhouse superior to that available to Bradford's independent poor. It was far more likely that a sick individual would recover in the workhouse than outside it, considering the conditions the majority of paupers faced outside the workhouse. The Medical Officers campaigned for patients from a wider section of society, regardless of their level of poverty, to be moved to the workhouse for medical treatment (Ashworth 1982: 96). However, many of Bradford's poor preferred to stay at home rather than enter the workhouse. Large numbers of the poor did not judge the Bradford Union by its specialised facilities but regarded the workhouse as a symbol of humiliation and defeat (Ashworth 1982: 96). By the end of the nineteenth century, many Medical Officers had become disillusioned by the system. The *Guardians' Minutes* record the resignation of numerous Medical Officers, which suggests the demands of the position were too great for some (BFGM 1899). Although the *Guardians* had dramatically increased and improved medical provisions on the workhouse site, the new facilities did not encourage all sick paupers to enter the workhouse for treatment, nor did it inspire commitment amongst the Medical Officers to Bradford Union.

The turn of the century inspired a national fervour for progress and modernisation, which sparked change throughout the workhouse site. The Guardians removed children, the able-bodied, and elderly paupers to separate facilities on different sites and designated the workhouse a pauper hospital, marking the beginning of phase four. Four new pavilions were added to the site during this phase: one to the east, in 1904; two to the west, in 1905 (now demolished); and one to the rear, in 1906. The new hospital blocks reinforced the site's new function as a hospital and disassociated it from the stigmas of its workhouse past.

The style of the new workhouse buildings suggests a desire to emulate modern Leeds Union. The first phase-four pavilion, to the east of the site, launched the transformation of the site from a workhouse to a pauper hospital. A date-stone on the building's gable-ends proclaimed the site's new function. In its large size and modern style, the T-plan, three-storey, stone building renounced the early NPL perception of the workhouse and freed it of its negative connotations (fig 9.41-44). The most significant architectural difference between phase-two and phase-five infirmary buildings is the use of Dutch gabling. The 1904 infirmary features decorative Dutch gables similar to those used at Leeds Union workhouse. Facing west, the building features a five-bay central projection with single, double, and triplet windows and a large embellished stone entrance. The 15-bay wings either side of the central entrance are more ornate than the earlier infirmary elevations, featuring archivolt windows on the first and second floors and decorative cast-iron fire escapes.

The Guardians' efforts to modernise the site are further illustrated through the improvement of conditions within the infirmary. The east elevation of the 1904 pavilion features large sanitary towers offset from the building, which are reached by short corridors similar to those at Bramley Union. The size and position of the sanitary towers drastically improved hygiene within the wards. Conditions were further improved by the inclusion of ventilation shafts in every fourth bay and the large window-lights in the gable-ends.

The Guardians continued to transform the site through the construction of three additional hospital blocks between 1905 and 1906. Segregation was always a high priority of the Guardians, and the creation of new hospital blocks continued this trend. Specialised blocks for men, children, and maternity cases reflect an improved understanding of medical science. Although the surviving pavilion behind the workhouse conforms to the plan and style of earlier pavilions, featuring a four-bay central projection with eight-bay wards either side and rear sanitary towers (fig 9.45-46), the two

hospital blocks at the front of the site (both now demolished) assumed an entirely different style. Three photographs survive to give an impression of these buildings (fig 9.47-48). Their foregrounded location made them highly visible to the passing public. Interestingly, unlike the first phase-four pavilion, they emulated the style of neighbouring Leeds Union workhouse, where attitudes towards deserving pauper classes appear always to have been more charitable and paternalistic. The building featured Dutch gables, which gave it an Elizabethan style. The two-storey, stone buildings also featured a stone that read 'B.U.H.', for Bradford Union Hospital. Their style and location demonstrate the Guardians' intention to de-stigmatise the site and remodel it as a hospital (fig 9.49-50).

Like at Leeds, the mentally ill were never intended to reside in the workhouse for long, and the 'imbecile' blocks provided by the workhouse were not supposed to replace the county asylums. However, in contrast to the Leeds Guardians, who continued to invest in facilities for the mentally ill on the workhouse site, the Bradford Guardians again displayed their early twentieth-century innovation by commissioning the Bowling Park Colony for 'lunatics' and the 'feeble-minded' in 1912 (BFGM 13/12/1912). The Bradford Guardians recognised the need for a separate facility specialising in the treatment and care of this pauper class. The removal of the mentally ill from the workhouse in 1912 meant the site was solely used by the sick. Bradford's separation of its NPL institutions onto separate sites before 1930 represents the Guardians' truly ambitious policy, which was not repeated anywhere else in the case study area.

Nurses' Home

The significant improvement of medical facilities during phase two included the employment of full-time nurses for sick and mentally ill patients. Despite the initial NPL workhouse aim to only provide facilities inferior to those available to the independent poor, in the 1860s the Bradford Guardians appointed qualified staff in the workhouse infirmaries. Increased facilities for the sick meant more nurses were required. As a result, Bradford constructed a Nurses' Home in 1897.

Like many workhouse Nurses' Homes, Bradford's was intended to inspire and attract nurses to work for the Union through its architectural grandeur (fig 9.51). Like Leeds's, the home was located away from other workhouse buildings and positioned to face away from the workhouse complex, towards the city centre. The orientation and location of the Nurses' Home were intended to disassociate the building and its inhabitants from the institution and reflect their privileged status within the workhouse.

The design and ornamentation of the building further emphasise the intention of the Guardians to attract nurses to work in the workhouse infirmaries. The nine-bay, three-storey stone building assumes an E-plan. It consists of a main block with a series of connected projections to the rear, and it is connected to a wing either side. The principal elevation centres on bay five, which features an arched entrance surmounted by decorative stonework with the letters 'NH' (Nurses' Home), with a bay window either side lighting the nurses communal rooms behind (fig 9.52-53). Decorative stonework is repeated above the second-floor window. Further decorative features include stone-string courses, detailed keystones, and window surrounds. bay windows on the second floor ornament the roofline.

The turn-of-the-century expansion of medical facilities led to an increased need for qualified staff. Like Leeds, Bradford appointed additional nurses and trainee nurses to improve and modernise medical treatment in the infirmaries (see Appendix 4). To accommodate them, additions were made to the Nurses' Home. The rear of the main building has several projections that have been added during various phases. Although straight joints indicate that elements of the rear projections are additions, there is little architectural evidence indicating when these additions occurred. The surviving fabric suggests the rear of the building initially featured a two-storey, five-bay projection with a small, central gable in the north elevation and a hipped roof. The west elevation features a second-floor central bay window, similar to those used in the principal elevation. A single-storey addition has been added to the east elevation, with an entrance through the north elevation. A three-storey sanitary annex offset from the main building has been added to the southwest corner of the main building and enlarged in two stages. Two external fire escapes have also been added (fig 9.54).

The two two-storey wings were initially identical; however, windows in the north wing have been enlarged (fig 9.55-58). The five-bay wings are less ornate than the main building, featuring plain, square-headed windows. A sanitary tower is positioned between bays three and five of the outer elevation and features an arched gable with round, stone finials either side. The west elevations feature a two-storey bay window capped with a ornamental pediment whereas the east elevations feature large triplet windows and parapets in keeping with the principal elevation of the main building. These wings are connected to the main building via a two-storey, glazed passageway.

Boiler-House/Laundry

Throughout the urban case studies previously discussed, workhouse ancillary buildings were continually modernised to accommodate the needs of the expanding workhouse. Bradford Workhouse was no exception. Records from *The Builder* and surviving photographs show that from the 1860s, Bradford's boiler-house, like Bramley's, featured a tall, circular, sandstone chimney similar to those used at nearby factories, an architectural similarity inviting a dark comparison (fig 9.59).

Like Leeds's, Bradford's laundry facilities evolved as the site expanded. Earlier laundry buildings were replaced by the surviving laundry building in phase three. The single-storey, brick building features three long, gabled cells running east to west, which are crossed at the west end by a further three gabled cells running north to south (fig 9.60). Numerous windows and doors of varying sizes are positioned in all elevations to provide a large amount of natural light and access into the interior. Many of these windows and doors have been altered to accommodate large laundry machinery or to suit the building's current use as a file store and offices.

Conclusions

Bradford's focus on textiles placed it at the mercy of economic fluctuations, by which its turbulent development was characterised. The initial aims of the NPL did not suit Bradford's cultural context. As in other northern industrial cities, when unemployment was high, the workhouse could not accommodate the number of able-bodied who required relief. Conversely, when unemployment was low, a substantial workhouse was not needed. As at Leeds, in the majority of cases, offering out-relief was more feasible than forcing the able-bodied to enter the workhouse. Like other urban workhouses, such as Leeds, Bradford initially prioritised care for the sick and children, pauper classes deemed more deserving of relief. However, unlike Leeds, Bradford was slow to modernise and did not consider new ways to relieve the poor until the early twentieth century. Although facilities for the sick developed throughout the NPL, facilities for other classes evolved very little, due to non-interventionist attitudes, economic constraints, and existing non-Poor-Law relief measures. By the early twentieth century, however, Bradford's separate, specialised, off-site facilities surpassed the specialised, on-site facilities at Leeds.

Despite the NPL's inadequacy to Bradford's needs, like Bramley, Bradford defaulted to national trends in strategising location, plan, and style. Like Leeds and Bramley, Bradford adopted a traditional

approach to the workhouse's design; tellingly, however, it evolved very differently from its urban and suburban neighbours.

Like Leeds, Bradford's workhouse location on the outskirts of the city was mostly functional. It isolated the workhouse from the population centre and served as a reminder to inmates of their socioeconomic plight. Bradford also conformed to national trends in its choice of a plan, but unique regional needs and intended uses motivated a variation on the T-plan. Like the Bramley Guardians, the Bradford Guardians wanted to maintain economy, but they also believed in the possibility of cross-contamination between pauper classes, so they sought segregation in a nonetheless general, mixed workhouse. Unlike Leeds's or Bramley's, Bradford's T-plan included cross-wings at the gable-ends. The cross-wings enabled more effective segregation and the varying of accommodation in terms of comfort, control, etc. Strict segregation meant the pauper experience was carefully controlled. Families were completely separated, and no allowances were made for special cases such as married couples.

Bradford Workhouse adopted a regional style developed by local architects Lockwood and Mawson. The style was in keeping with Bradford's other civic buildings and with grand local industrial complexes, such as Saltaire. Less elaborate than Leeds, Bradford Workhouse maintained a more traditional, economical, classical style, which promoted the Union's civic order, enforced control over paupers, and asserted the social status of its administrators. Styled similarly to Saltaire, the workhouse was closely associated with industrialism and its social and political connotations. For the pauper, the austere, industrial surroundings of the workhouse were dehumanising, emphasising the status of its inhabitants as cogs within the mechanism of industry.

As with other West Yorkshire T-plans, surveillance was not a high priority. Like Leeds and Bramley, Bradford was controlled primarily through segregation, which was strictly enforced by class and facilitated by the building's cross-wings. Ultimately, the complete removal of pauper classes from the main workhouse building completely negated the need for surveillance in relation to control.

Segregation was always a priority of the Guardians, but only the sick and children received specialised provisions at the beginning of the NPL. Attitudes towards specialisation evolved at the end of the nineteenth century into the belief that all pauper classes were entitled to special care. The turn of the

century sparked changes in the NPL facilities in Bradford Union. Like Leeds, Bradford had encroached on its workhouse site by the twentieth century, proving the inadequacy of the size and suitability of existing workhouse facilities to the needs of deserving paupers. Paupers were systematically removed by class to separate, specialised, off-site facilities, leaving the workhouse exclusively for the accommodation and treatment of the sick. Although Leeds initially led the way in innovative care, the firm establishment of Bradford as a city around the turn of the century launched a period of rapid modernisation. Paupers entering Bradford's NPL system in the beginning of the twentieth century had a drastically different experience from paupers in any other workhouse in the case study area. Bradford's poor were completely segregated by pauper class and spread across sites all over the city, a stark contrast to the general, mixed workhouse with which the NPL began. Such specialisation reflects Bradford's destigmatisation of pauperism.

Like Bramley, Bradford operated a very basic inter-class hierarchy, with the sick at the top and vagrants at the bottom. Though the cross-winged T-plan strictly segregated inmates, only a slight variation in the standard of living was evident between different pauper classes. Children were slightly less privileged than the sick at Bradford. Although they were granted special provisions, they were not granted separate facilities within the workhouse. Within the hierarchy, all other paupers were placed below the children. There appears to have been little differentiation between facilities for the elderly, able-bodied, and married couples. As at Bramley, no intra-class hierarchies developed. After the total separation of facilities on separate sites at the beginning of the twentieth century, all previous hierarchies became completely meaningless.

Bradford always provided superior facilities to Bramley, and after its twentieth-century overhaul, it came to surpass neighbouring Leeds as well. Although Bradford was quite similar to Leeds in the conditions to which it subjected its paupers, the two Unions differed significantly from one another in the rate and extent to which they developed specialised facilities. That Bradford is unique even among its fellow urban T-plans illustrates once again the importance of exploring the architectural diversity of NPL workhouses by region.

Case Study Ten: North Bierley Union Workhouse

Within the initial NPL administration, parishes surrounding Bradford were part of Bradford Union. However, Bradford expanded rapidly during the 1830s, so relieving the poor under the original system became increasingly difficult. Bradford Guardians sought the construction of a new workhouse in the town, but the Guardians from Bradford's surrounding settlements refused to fund a workhouse that would not benefit their respective parishes. Disputes amongst the Guardians resulted in the reorganisation of poor relief in Bradford and the outer parishes. North Bierley Union was established in 1848 to serve the parishes surrounding Bradford, just as Bramley Union would later be established to serve the parishes surrounding Leeds (Ashworth 1982). Both were situated on the outskirts of prospering industrial towns, North Bierley and Bramley Unions had similar ambitions and experienced similar constraints. North Bierley Union adopted a similar workhouse plan and style to Bradford, but it was unable to finance modern or progressive facilities. The North Bierley Union workhouse was constructed in 1855, shortly after Bradford Workhouse. Designed by the same architects, Lockwood and Mawson, the workhouses are similar in size and design, reflecting similar priorities regarding segregation and specialisation. Like Bramley and Bradford workhouses, North Bierley Workhouse was intended initially to house all pauper classes, but later developments focused on provisions for the sick.

Available Sources

Although most NPL buildings on the site survive, no comprehensive survey of North Bierley Workhouse has been made. The NMR holds a good photographic record of site, but no written report was made, suggesting this site was not considered an important case study in the original RCHME survey (1991g). Because the buildings are now used by a Muslim school, access to the site has been restricted, so the photographic record is crucial to understanding the site's development and interior fixtures and features.

There are two main documentary sources for North Bierley Union. Unlike the three workhouses discussed previously in this section, North Bierley Union is recorded in Platt's 1930 report. Platt provides a detailed description of the main buildings, including room-use and condition, at the end of the NPL era. The Guardians' Minutes are patchy, but unlike the minutes for Bramley Union, they span the entire NPL era, giving a broad impression of workhouse administration. Local newspapers record

some workhouse developments, such as the construction of new buildings, and give an interesting insight into public perceptions of the NPL and workhouse.

Description of the building

North Bierley Union surrounded Bradford, which meant there was no logical or mutually convenient location for the workhouse. Eventually, the Guardians agreed to locate the institution in Clayton, near Horton Bank Reservoir. Reached via a very steep road, the workhouse is positioned high above the town, which inspired a visiting commissioner to describe it as ‘the Siberia of the North Bierley Union’ (MH12 21/8/1856) (fig 10.1). Many Guardians were dissatisfied with the workhouse’s location, which may partly explain the site’s limited expansion over the NPL era.

The site’s use evolved in six main phases, over the course of which facilities focused increasingly on the sick. The beginning of phase one was marked by the construction of the main workhouse building, porter’s lodge, infirmary, and laundry (fig 10.2). Like all urban workhouses in West Yorkshire, North Bierley was initially intended to accommodate all pauper classes apart from the sick. The sick were accommodated in a separate infirmary behind the main workhouse building.

Marked by the extension of medical facilities, phase two began with the construction of a new infirmary in 1878, a development echoing contemporaneous phase-two changes in other urban workhouses. Later phase-two additions included the conversion of the original infirmary for the accommodation of ‘imbecile’ paupers and various additions to the boardroom.

Migrant workers flocked to North Bierley as they did to the other industrial cities of West Yorkshire, and those unable to find work often resorted to vagrancy. Although the Guardians invested primarily in facilities for the sick, some funds were allocated for the accommodation of vagrants. In the 1890s, phase three began with the construction of additional vagrants’ wards (fig 10.3). Towards the end of phase three, the Guardians’ attention returned to the sick. Like most Unions, North Bierley attempted to attract nurses to the workhouse by providing accommodation. A Nurses’ Home was added to the site around 1900. A further infirmary was added to the site in 1905 and included a separate mortuary. To administer the increasing number of patients a new receiving was also constructed in 1905 (*The Builder* 7/10/1905: 372).

The start of phase four in 1909 was marked by the erection of a new boardroom, which emphasised Guardians' civic importance within the Union. The modernisation of medical facilities included the construction of a phthisis block in 1910, which was later designated an isolation block (*The Builder* 18/6/1910: 711). The Nurses' Home was also extended. The Guardians modernisation of the site included the removal of the children from the main workhouse to a separate children's block in 1911.

The end of the NPL and the transfer of the building to the East Morley Guardians in 1930 mark the beginning of phase five, but no major building works were carried out during this phase. Phase six began with the site's integration into the NHS in 1948. Surprisingly, despite 50 years of subsequent use by the NHS, the site underwent no major building works, which may again be a result of the site's poor location. Like many other West Yorkshire workhouses, North Bierley Workhouse was sold by the NHS in the 1990s, marking the beginning of phase seven. The site was converted for its current use as a school. Many of the workhouse buildings survive although interior alterations have been made (fig 10.4-10.5).

Entrance Block

A two-storey, stone entrance block, similar in style to that of Bradford Workhouse, was constructed directly in front of the workhouse building at the beginning of phase one. The entrance block features a five-bay central block, which centres on an archway set within a stone surround, with two archivolt-windows either side. Small wings either side of the central block feature projected, triplet-archivolt-windows on the ground floor and double-archivolt-windows on the first floor. The first floor features a central window with double windows either side (fig 10.6-10.7).

A RCHME photograph depicts a contrast in the stonework between the ground and first-floor elevation, which suggests the first floor was an extension. Indeed, *The Builder* records the addition of the first floor in 1909 to serve as a new boardroom (*The Builder* 6/11/1909). The Guardians held an opening ceremony for the new boardroom, intended to publicise the modernisation of the site. A local newspaper reports:

The work really marks the completion of a much larger scheme of a general character, the object of which was to bring the entire institution at Clayton up to date [...] The need for a larger Board Room had been felt for a number of years, and in deciding to lift the centre portion of the offices, a happy idea was struck, for not only has it provided the necessary

accommodation in a handsome new Board Room, but it has had the effect of giving an imposing appearance to the building (*Bradford Daily Telegraph* 05/10/1909).

The report of a 'handsome', 'imposing' new boardroom, 'up to date' with national trends exposed the Guardians' status and ambition and the modernity of the Union to the local population.

Internal

The entrance block provided accommodation for the porter, who controlled the admission of visitors and inmates into the receiving wards (now demolished) and of vagrants into the vagrants' wards. The porter's accommodation spread over two floors. A sitting-room, scullery, and larder were located on the ground floor. The first floor featured two bedrooms and a bathroom. Both bedrooms featured boarded floors and were heated by open fireplaces (Platt 1930: 50). In the porter's lodge, a dining-room with a concrete floor and open fireplace was provided for use by all staff members (Platt 1930: 50).

A workhouse visitor first entered the enquiries office, which had a flagged floor and an open fireplace. Then, he or she waited for admittance to the workhouse in the waiting-room, which featured a wooden floor and central heating (Platt 1930: 50).

The clerk and Guardians administering the workhouse enjoyed comfortable surroundings in stark contrast to those workhouse inmates endured. The clerk and Guardians occupied the area north of the central arch. The clerk's office was located off a central, tiled hallway that featured central heating. The office itself was heated via an open fireplace and featured boarded floors. Stairs in the central hallway provided access to a committee room.

The elevated, strategic position and comfortable conditions of the 1909 boardroom reinforced the dramatic contrast between Guardians and inmates and emphasised the control of the Guardians over pauper experience. The RCHME survey includes illuminating photographs of the boardroom, which featured tiered chairs around the room and a pair of chairs at the far end for the chairman and clerk (fig 10.8-9). Tiered chairs provided a physical expression of the Guardians' power, affording them a sense of importance and asserting their control over inmates. Ornamental cornices, detailed plastering, and a glass dome expressed their civic status and power within the Union. Whereas for the Guardians, the features of the boardroom heightened their authority and affirmed their identity, the impact on paupers was exactly opposite. Paupers entering the boardroom faced a daunting

physical manifestation of institutional dominance and intimidation. Coming before the Guardians in the physical context of the boardroom enacted a symbolic subordination of paupers.

Receiving Wards

After being granted relief in the workhouse, as at Bradford and Bramley, North Bierley's inmates entered the receiving wards before being placed in their designated area of the workhouse. Initially a single receiving block was located north of the entrance block (now demolished). As workhouse numbers increased a second receiving ward was constructed in 1905; this shall be discussed later in the case study (*The Builder* 7/10/1905: 372).

Vagrants' Wards

Like Bradford's, North Bierley's vagrants' wards (now demolished) were at the front of the workhouse. OS maps and Platt's 1930 report indicate that the wards were attached to the entrance block. Additions to the vagrants' wards were made throughout the NPL era. Economy was the primary concern in the accommodation of vagrants. While in the wards, vagrants received only one pint of hot gruel, broth, soup, or tea (NBGM 23/12/1885). Although the Guardians discussed the creation of a labour colony to find 'employment for the destitute unemployed' (NBGM 18/5/1904), vagrants' wards were more economical and thus remained open until the end of the NPL era.

Like the Guardians of Bradford and Leeds Workhouses, North Bierley's Guardians sought to segregate male and female vagrants, which increased control over the wards and segregation between classes (NBGM 12/5/1909). The Guardians even discussed the possibility of segregating vagrants waiting to enter the workhouse, but they failed to devise a feasible method (NBGM 12/5/1909).

The male vagrants' wards were located south of the entrance block. A central corridor through the male vagrants' wards provided access to utility rooms and accommodation. Utility facilities included a clothing store, drying room, and bathroom with two baths and one lavatory. Nineteen cells with iron beds were allocated to male vagrants.

Guardians throughout the region shared similar perceptions of female vagrants as undeserving of special treatment. Like many West Yorkshire Unions, including most notably Skipton, North Bierley accommodated female vagrants in the vagrants' wards until the end of the NPL era, despite the LGB's recommendation that they be moved into the workhouse building (Fowler 2007). Smaller than the

male wards, the female vagrants' wards were also located south of the entrance block. A central corridor provided access to three cells and a bathroom. Like many West Yorkshire vagrants' wards, the female wards featured extremely basic facilities with no artificial light or heat and flagged floors throughout.

Main Workhouse Building

Like the entrance block, the three-storey, T-plan main workhouse building was constructed from stone and adopted a style similar to that of Bradford Workhouse (fig 10.10-13). The entrance is located within a three-bay, gabled projection with a central entrance set within a detailed stone surround. The ground floor and second floor feature archivolt-windows whereas the first floor features square-headed windows. Single-cell projections flank the central block, either side of which are eight-bay wings. Two-storey extensions have been made to the gable-ends of the workhouse building.

Internal

Like most T-plan workhouses, North Bierley housed the majority of pauper classes in the main workhouse building. The workhouse was originally designed to accommodate 400 inmates (Kelly's Directory 1983: 82). The entrance to the workhouse led into a central hallway with a wooden floor, which provided access to numerous rooms. The ground floor of the central block featured a retiring room for the Guardians and accommodation for the Master and Matron, including a kitchen, sitting-room, dining-room, and W.C. The first floor featured further accommodation for the Master and Matron, including two bedrooms, another sitting-room, and another W.C. Four bedrooms, for other staff members, were located on the second floor.

In the early workhouse years, the Guardians' intentions were divided between maintaining strict control in the workhouse and maintaining a level of compassion for the destitute. As at Bradford, the Guardians struggled to appoint a suitable Master and Matron. In the early years of the workhouse, the Master and Matron were forced to resign as a result of their 'misconduct' (NBGM 16/6/1859). The later appointment of Baxter Barker, who had previously been employed as a jailor and deputy to the Governor of York Castle (MH 26/1/1860), indicates the Guardians sought a power figure to control workhouse life. However, he was dismissed shortly after his appointment for cruelty to an inmate, keeping his children in the workhouse without permission, disobeying Guardians' orders, and poor management (NBGM 9/8/1860).

Unlike city-centre workhouses, outer-city workhouses did not provide substantial specialised facilities away from the original workhouse. North Bierley was no exception. Typically, economic constraints and consequent debates as to the necessity of extensive facilities inhibited its development. Like Bramley Workhouse, North Bierley Workhouse continued throughout the NPL era to house all pauper classes but the sick and mentally ill, who were accommodated in separate blocks.

Facilities and conditions varied between different areas of the main workhouse building. The wings either side of the central block featured wards for the inmates. On the ground floor, a central corridor with a flagged floor ran the length of the building. The male side of the workhouse featured four dayrooms with flagged floors and open fireplaces and one dayroom with a wooden floor, an open fireplace, and central heating. The ground-floor female wards also featured dayrooms, but by 1930 some had been converted into two four-bed wards and one ten-bed ward (Platt 1930). Unlike the male wards, the female wards featured boarded floors, central heating, and open fireplaces. Utility rooms included a general store and tailor's shop.

Most of the dormitories for male and female inmates were located on the first and second floors. Two separate staircases in each wing provided access between floors. The male accommodation consisted of a 24-bed, a 15-bed, a 9-bed, and two 10-bed wards, which were surveyed by staff who were allocated two bedrooms. Sanitary facilities included a bath, two W.C.s and a sink (Platt 1930).

Female accommodation was significantly less than that provided for male inmates, which suggests the Guardians expected less demand for relief from women or provided out-relief more liberally. A dayroom, a sewing room, a ten-bed ward, and six W.C.s were located in the female wing. Like the male ward, the female ward was supervised by staff, who were accommodated in three staff bedrooms.

The second floor featured substantial accommodation for male inmates. Accommodation included a 20-bed, a 14-bed, and a 9-bed ward. Only one W.C. was provided, extremely inadequate to the wards' needs. As on the first floor, the female ward featured less accommodation than the male ward. Accommodation for the female inmates included two ten-bed wards sharing one W.C. and bath (Platt 1930).

Although the plan was designed to enable strict segregation and control, documentary evidence indicates that segregation and control were not always maintained in practice. A report by workhouse inspectors in 1860 states that doors between wards were unlocked, and inmates were able to move freely around the workhouse (NBGM 31/5/1860). Such freedom undermined the effectiveness of architectural mechanisms for control. The Guardians' Minutes note that on one occasion a single female inmate became pregnant while in the workhouse (NBGM 24/7/1860). The minutes also report inmates absconding from the workhouse and several instances of inmates destroying workhouse uniforms (NBGM 1/12/1859; 8/4/1903). Such incidents of inmate protest and rebellion reflect major lapses in segregation and authority.

The facilities and privileges the Guardians at North Bierley granted able-bodied inmates were similar to those offered to Bramley's able-bodied. Both Unions provided substantial out-relief. Inmates were allocated work based on ability, sometimes discharged from the workhouse to look for work, and employed on local projects, such as road-building (NBGM 14/6/1905; 30/5/1883). The Guardians' foremost priority in relation to able-bodied paupers was securing employment for them. Although on one occasion the Guardians' Minutes record a performance by the Bradford Vocal Union (NBGM 27/4/1887), the able-bodied rarely received such entertainment. The Guardians did not deem the able-bodied deserving of any diversion from workhouse routine and the quest for employment. Like Bramley, North Bierley altered its treatment of able-bodied paupers very little over the course of the NPL. At the end of the NPL, North Bierley still required some able-bodied paupers to enter the workhouse to receive relief. In 1930, the workhouse accommodated 74 able-bodied paupers (Platt 1930).

From the outset, North Bierley prioritised care for the elderly. Elderly paupers were housed within the main workhouse building, but the Guardians' Minutes indicate they received more attention and better treatment. As in the majority of West Yorkshire workhouses, the elderly were separated into wards away from the able-bodied (NBGM 28/5/1863). Like the Leeds Guardians, the North Bierley Guardians provided elderly married couples with private accommodation (NBGM 29/9/1897). These wards featured special fixtures, such as wooden handrails to ease their access around the ward (NBGM 28/5/1863). Rocking chairs were provided for the elderly women, to make them more comfortable in the dayrooms (NBGM 3/8/1865). In contrast to the able-bodied, the elderly regularly received entertainments, reflecting their perceived deservingness. In one instance, the elderly were

even permitted to leave the workhouse to be entertained at the houses of local residents (NBGM 24/7/1895).

The Guardians' attitudes towards the elderly evolved throughout the nineteenth century. In 1908, workhouse regulations were changed to allow the elderly more privileges, and the workhouse increasingly assumed the role of an old people's home. The new regulations allowed the elderly to leave the workhouse to spend a day or weekend with friends or for daily walks, as long as they were back in time for meals (NBGM 14/1/1908). They were no longer forced to wear the workhouse uniform, and their meals were served in the dayrooms instead of the general dining-room. Further entertainments were provided in the form of daily newspapers, drafts, dominoes, and tobacco for the smokers. Provisions for this pauper class far exceeded those of the able-bodied class.

The Guardians ultimately sought to remove the elderly permanently from the workhouse. As early as 1900, the Guardians' Minutes record debates regarding the provision of a separate facility for the elderly (NBGM 9/5/1900). No action was taken at this time, but the Guardians reviewed the elderly pauper's accommodation again in 1911. They visited Bradford Union's Daisy Hill Cottage Homes for the elderly, which were an inspirational example of modernised care for this pauper class (NBGM 29/3/1911). Despite the Guardians' inquiries into separate facilities for the elderly, however, North Bierley Union could not finance or justify such facilities. A substantial number of elderly paupers remained in the workhouse until the end of the NPL (see Appendix 4).

Like the elderly, workhouse children were permitted privileges not granted to the able-bodied. Entertainments included trips to Morecambe Bay by rail, attendance of the Royal Yorkshire Jubilee, and visits to the pantomime, amongst others (NBGM 18/8/1864; 26/10/1887; 2/1/1901). In the workhouse, children were provided with toys (NBGM 15/8/1888).

Like those of many West Yorkshire workhouses, the children of North Bierley Workhouse were educated to improve their employability. Bradford's children were educated in the workhouse whereas the children in North Bierley Workhouse were generally sent to the local school (NBGM 1/3/1850; 29/8/1888; 18/10/1893). The Union also appointed a schoolmistress (NBGM 9/2/1860) for children unable to attend school for any reason, but Browne, a visiting inspector, regarded this provision as 'amounting to nothing', suggesting he considered in-house education facilities negligible (Ashworth 1982: 94). Finding the children employment remained the Guardians' priority. Boys were

apprenticed at the age of ten if they passed their exams and otherwise at age 14 (NBGM 3/2/1886; 26/9/1888). In 1893, the Guardians transferred the children who had been attending local schools to Clayton Board School (NBGM 18/10/1893).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Guardians were enquiring into alternative accommodation for children. Like attitudes towards the elderly, attitudes towards the children had evolved at North Bierley, as they had at Bradford. The Guardians' Minutes record instances of children boarding out in the local community (NBGM 11/10/1899). In 1911, the Guardians decided to provide separate facilities for workhouse children, but unlike the Bradford and Leeds Guardians, who opted to remove children from the workhouse site entirely, the North Bierley Guardians just removed children from the main workhouse building to a separate block on site (NBGM 25/10/1911).

Dining-Room and Kitchen

Like those of Bramley and Bradford Workhouses, North Bierley's dining-room provided a venue for numerous activities. The seven-bay dining-room, which formed the stem of the workhouse's T-plan, featured boarded floors (fig 10.14). By the end of the NPL, it also featured central heating and a stage (Platt 1930: 51). The addition of a stage suggests the dining-room was used for entertainments.

Like Bramley and Bradford, North Bierley likely used its dining-room for religious services. The Guardians' Minutes from the early twentieth century indicate that the North Bierley Guardians did not at that time enforce one principal religion. Instead, they accommodated the variety of inmates' religious needs. Catholic, Protestant and non-conformist ministers were appointed to the Union, and children were allowed to leave the workhouse to attend the local non-conformist chapel and Sunday school (NBGM 21/5/1902; 19/1/1912). The inclusion of several religions suggests the Guardians felt religion was a fundamental aspect of the inmate's workhouse experience, whatever his/her religious preference.

The kitchen, located beyond the dining hall, featured a tiled floor and was considered by Platt to be 'well arranged' (Platt 1930) (fig 10.15-10.16). However, on several occasions during the NPL, workhouse visitors and inmates complained about the workhouse diet. In 1860, a workhouse inspector reported 'food lying about very improvidently', noting that 'the waste which must accrue from such confusion must be considerable'. He further observed 'large quantities of oatmeal and flour porridge congealed' and 'a piece of beef [...] which had apparently become stale and green'

(NBGM 31/5/1860). In 1864, the Guardians' Minutes note in relation to mentally ill paupers that 'dietary, though improved, is still on too low a scale, and the high rate of mortality continues' (NBGM 10/11/1864). The Guardians advised that the issue be referred to the Medical Officer for rectification. Lapses in workhouse diet often resulted from the negligence of an unfit Master (NBGM 23/1/1862).

Provisions such as diet improved when the site modernised in the early twentieth century. Guardians sometimes used dietary treats to reward inmates they deemed deserving. In one case, a Guardian provided female inmates with ham and sweets (NBGM 21/3/1906). Porridge and treacle replaced bread and margarine, and additional meat was provided for main meals (NBGM 1/5/1918). A bakehouse, grocery store, engine house, mechanic's house, washhouse, laundry, and boiler-house were also located in the vicinity of the kitchen.

Infirmary

Like other urban West Yorkshire workhouses, North Bierley included an infirmary in its initial design. Located behind the workhouse building, the infirmary block initially provided accommodation for sick and mentally ill paupers. Constructed from stone with a slate roof, the two-storey building features a seven-bay principal façade with projecting gables at either end (fig 10.17). Adopting a plain style, the entrance is through a small doorway in the principal elevation, which is flanked by single windows with stone sills and lintels. Two sanitary annexes have been added to the principal elevation, and numerous two-storey additions are located to the rear of the building (fig 10.18).

Like Leeds's, North Bierley's facilities were incapable of accommodating the number of mentally ill in need of institutional relief. Because county asylums were oversubscribed, some mentally ill paupers were placed in the workhouse. Like other sizable workhouses on the outskirts of town, such as Wharfedale and Bramley, North Bierley had not constructed an entirely separate facility for the mentally ill. Initially, those mentally ill paupers not transferred to the county asylum were accommodated in the infirmary, and when possible, those considered 'harmless idiots' occupied empty rooms in the main workhouse building, which suggests a sub-classification amongst mentally ill paupers (NBGM 25/1/1849; 5/6/1861). Facilities for the mentally ill in the workhouse were far from ideal. In some instances, two male patients even shared the same bed (NBGM 10/11/1864). Like those of many West Yorkshire workhouses, North Bierley Union's early attempts to accommodate the mentally ill resulted in overcrowding and a lack of specialised facilities and staff.

In light of the 1862 Lunacy Act Amendment Act and the PLB's recommendations regarding lunacy in 1864, the Guardians were 'desirous to carry out every provision of the act' and took measures to improve the workhouse experience for the mentally ill (NBGM 10/11/1864). The outside areas used by this pauper class were considerably extended, and trees were planted to provide proper walks for the inmates. The wards were also extended to provide more accommodation. Within the wards, tables, books, and illustrated and pictorial periodicals were provided for the inmates' entertainment. When the Master considered it appropriate, inmates were given light work (in the laundry, for example) to occupy their time (NBGM 10/11/1864; 29/1/1902).

Like other West Yorkshire regions, North Bierley witnessed a continual increase in the number of mentally ill paupers seeking accommodation through the Union during the NPL. After the construction of a new infirmary in 1878, the original infirmary was designated solely for mentally ill paupers. Mentally ill paupers were segregated by gender into separate wards. The entrance provided access to a central hallway, which featured a flagged floor and a door to the staffroom. Male accommodation on the ground floor featured a dining-room, bathroom, and four-bed ward. Female accommodation consisted of a duty kitchen, a bathroom, two dayrooms, and an attendant's bedroom. The first-floor male accommodation featured a twelve-bed ward, an eleven-bed ward, and two staff bedrooms. In contrast, the first-floor female accommodation featured smaller wards. A ten-bed, two six-bed, a four-bed, and a two-bed ward, as well as five W.C.s, were provided for female inmates (Platt 1930 52). Open fireplaces were the only source of heat.

In the late nineteenth century, the Guardians specialised on-site facilities for the mentally ill, but they continued to remove mentally ill paupers to the county asylum whenever possible (NBGM 25/7/1894; 7/8/1895). The Guardians employed trained staff to attend the wards (NBGM 6/12/1883), but when the West Yorkshire Asylums Committee proposed the transfer of 'chronic harmless lunatics from the County Asylum to the workhouse', the Guardians objected strongly. They stated that the Union 'opposed any scheme in extension of the system of treating imbeciles and lunatics in the workhouse' (NBGM 17/3/1897). Increasing the number of mentally ill in the workhouse would have strained resources and thus compromised the specialisation of the mentally ill inmate's experience.

The Guardians' resistance toward increasing the number of mentally ill paupers in the workhouse suggests both economic concerns and some measure of compassion for mentally ill paupers. That the Guardians became more sympathetic to the mentally ill in the early twentieth century is

supported by entries in the Guardians' Minutes documenting gestures of kindness and consideration. In 1901, for example, the wards were painted in 'cheerful colours' (NBGM 25/9/1901), and in 1903, mentally ill inmates were granted a leave of absence at Christmas to visit their families. In 1910, female 'imbeciles' were entertained at a former Guardians' home (NBGM 16/12/1903; 3/8/1910).

Second Infirmary

In 1878, overcrowding of the original infirmary motivated the Guardians to construct a new infirmary and mortuary (fig 10.19-10.20), which marks the beginning of phase two. Similar in style to the main workhouse, the two-storey stone infirmary features nineteen bays. A stone-surround entrance, ground-floor archivolt-windows, and stone string-courses ornament the building. The building focuses on a central block with wings either side (fig 10.21-10.22). The wings feature gable projections in bay two. Breaks in the brickwork indicate extensions have been made to the east and west gable-ends, but the exact date of these extensions is unknown. The fenestration suggests that the four sanitary annexes to the rear of the building were also added in several stages as the building was modernised in keeping with hospital planning (fig 10.23-10.24).

The internal arrangement of the second infirmary was typical of West Yorkshire workhouse infirmary buildings of its time. The main entrance provided access into the central block's hallway, which featured a stone floor and provided access to a series of service rooms. The ground floor of the central block featured the duty kitchen, storeroom, Medical Officer's office, and the nurses' sitting and dressing room. On the ground floor, patients were divided amongst wards in the wings either side of the central block. Wards included a twelve-bed, a nine-bed, four four-bed, and one one-bed ward. The majority of wards had separate sanitary annexes but only one bath.

A staircase in the hallway provided access to the first floor, which was divided into two wings, within which large, open wards inhibited privacy and segregation based on illness. One wing featured a 21-bed ward and a five-bed ward with a separate side-ward for one patient. This arrangement was repeated in the second wing, which featured a 22-bed ward and a four-bed ward with a separate room for a single patient. Each ward featured a sanitary annex, which provided a good level of hygiene. The building did not feature central heating, but all rooms had open fireplaces, and in the large wards these were supplemented by stoves. Floors were boarded throughout.

Male Receiving Ward

Increased medical facilities resulted in the creation of a new receiving ward to administer male patients on entry into the workhouse. The receiving ward south of the entrance block was constructed in 1905, at the same time as the second infirmary (*The Builder* 7/10/1905: 372). The single-storey, T-plan, stone building adopted a similar style to the rest of the workhouse site. Entrance was gained via a central entrance set within a stone surround with a single window either side (fig 10.25).

In keeping with the modernisation of the site, the building featured wooden floors throughout and mosaic tiles were used in the bathrooms. However, the building continued to be heated via open fire places rather than more modern methods such as hot-water pipes, thus illustrating the Guardians' continued economy. Accommodation consisted of a four-bed ward, a waiting-room, and a clothing store (Platt 1930: 52).

Third Infirmary

As part of the Guardians' general renovation of the workhouse in the early twentieth century, they constructed a third infirmary behind the second infirmary in 1905. Like neighbouring Bradford, North Bierley extended its facilities for the sick as part of its broader modernisation of NPL relief in the early twentieth century. The modern architectural style of the new infirmary building visualises its role in this process. The two-storey, stone building focuses on a three-bay central projection featuring two entrances either side of a large window (fig 10.26-10.27). The entrances provided separate access into the wings. The ten-bay wings featured square-headed windows. The front façade featured a sanitary annex in bay seven, and the rear elevation featured additional sanitary towers. Decorative, cast-iron balconies enabled sick paupers to take air (fig 10.28).

The infirmary's internal architectural features further indicate the Guardians' attempt to create a new, modern image for the workhouse, dissociating it from the earlier stigmas associated with pauperism. The central area of the infirmary featured administrative accommodation. A duty kitchen and a nurses' office with a glass screen were located centrally to enable complete observation of the wards (fig 10.29). The central area was decorated with ornamental, colourful tiles and stain-glass windows, and wood-block flooring was used throughout the infirmary (fig 10.30-10.32). Each wing featured a 24-bed ward, a 1-bed isolation ward, and a dayroom. Each wing also featured a sanitary tower.

Two staircases with cast-iron balustrades provided access from the central block to the first floor. The first-floor plan almost mirrored the ground-floor plan, in that each ward featured a 24-bed ward, a 1-bed isolation ward, and a sanitary annex. The central area featured a five-bed, a four-bed, and a three-bed ward. A service kitchen and linen store were also located in the central area. Unlike previous infirmaries, the new infirmary featured central heating in the central block and corridors. Central stoves and open fireplaces heated the main wards.

Despite the Guardians' improvement of facilities, conditions remained inadequate. The Guardians' Minutes record one instance when an infirmary wall had to be demolished because it was in such poor repair (NBGM 26/7/1905). In 1908, a patient went so far as to complain directly to the LGB regarding the poor treatment of patients in the workhouse infirmary (NBGM 29/4/1908). In contrast, Bradford had become a designated infirmary by this time, focusing entirely on treatment of the sick and offering far superior facilities. Just as Bramley's proximity to Leeds may have exacerbated its inmates' resentment of their poor treatment, North Bierley's proximity to Bradford may likewise have made its inmates feel particularly hard done by.

Platt's 1930 report records the reorganisation of the infirmaries such that the second infirmary accommodated men, and the third infirmary accommodated women (Platt 1930). New facilities in the female infirmary included a maternity-and-labour ward, a two-bed lying-in ward, and a four-bed, three-cot ante-natal ward. By the end of the NPL, like Bramley, North Bierley had largely evolved into an infirmary facility. However, efforts to improve and develop infirmary provisions were continually hindered by the need to provide for other pauper classes still accommodated on the same site.

Children's Home/Hospital

Like several of the workhouses in the case study area, North Bierley offered a separate facility for the treatment of children. In North Bierley, plans for a children's home resulted from the evolution of attitudes toward the accommodation of child paupers around the turn of the century. The home, for which plans were drawn in 1911, was located southwest of the site, away from main workhouse, isolating its inhabitants from the mainstream workhouse population.

Initially the Children's Home was intended simply to remove children from the main workhouse building, but as the overall focus of the workhouse site shifted toward treatment of the sick, the focus of the Children's Home shifted as well. As more and more children were boarded out, apprenticed,

etc., on-site facilities for children became increasingly devoted to serving the sick. Platt reports in 1930 that the building had been designated a hospital. He further notes that it was 'occupied almost entirely by Mental Defective children' (Platt 1930: 53). The Children's Hospital was the on-site facility best equipped for the care of 'Mental Defective' children, and their predominance in the building likely resulted from the permanence of their condition. Consequently, sick children who were not mentally ill were likely accommodated in the general infirmaries.

North Bierley's Children's Hospital is the only documented facility in the case study area designated predominantly for mentally ill children. The building's name (Children's Hospital) does not accurately reflect its use, which calls into question the actual use of other children's facilities on workhouse sites in the region. Platt's record is the only indication North Bierley's Children's Home was devoted to the mentally ill. None of the other urban workhouses in the case study area are included in Platt's 1930 survey because they were all infirmaries by the end of the NPL, so it remains unknown where and how the mentally ill children of other Unions were accommodated.

The majority of the building was one storey. Staff rooms included a scullery, storeroom, duty room, and larder. Accommodation included a 13-cot ward, a 14-cot ward with an open veranda, a 16-bed ward, and several bathrooms, all of which featured wooden floors and central heating. Provisions for children outside of the wards included a dayroom with a flagged floor and an open fireplace. Since the end of the NPL, the Children's Hospital has been demolished.

Nurses' Home

Due to the construction of the second infirmary in 1878, the Union required more nursing staff. Like Leeds, Bramley, and Bradford, North Bierley decided to provide a Nurses' Home to attract new staff. OS maps indicate the Nurses' Home was constructed around 1900. However, the exact date is unknown. Although more extensive than Bramley's, North Bierley's Nurses' Home was not as elaborate as Leeds's or Bradford's. Located at the rear of the workhouse site, the three-storey, 16-bay, simply styled Nurses' Home was extended several times during the NPL (fig 10.33).

The Guardians sought qualified nurses. Nurses reportedly went to Bradford for training (NBGM). However, the Nurses' Home basement featured a lecture room and a quiet room, which had central heating and two open fireplaces. The inclusion of these rooms suggests the nurses also received some instruction within the workhouse.

A Sister Nurse supervised the nurses. The Guardians assigned her a central position within the Home, which supported her role as administrator and overseer of the nursing staff and allowed her to survey and control the behaviour of the other nurses in order to uphold the Union's standards of medical care. Her accommodation was located on the ground floor off the central hallway of the Nurses' Home and consisted of a private sitting-room and bedroom. Her privileged situation reflects an intra-staff hierarchy like that at Leeds and other Unions.

Staff accommodation in general featured a higher level of comfort than inmate accommodation. Facilities for the nurses on the ground floor consisted of a sitting room and dining-room with central heating and open fireplaces. Meals for the nurses were prepared in the kitchen by the cook, who was provided with a private sitting room, storerooms, and a bedroom. Accommodation for the nurses consisted of 12 bedrooms on the ground floor and 27 bedrooms on the first floor. The building featured sanitary towers and bathrooms dispersed throughout the building. Most of the nurses' bedrooms had central heating, and some had open fireplaces as well. Wooden floors featured throughout the building (Platt 1930).

Conclusion

Like Wharfedale and Bramley, North Bierley was an outer-city workhouse. It was constructed to support NPL relief in the city of Bradford. Like other fringe workhouses, it was limited in its economic resources but attempted to modernise its infirmary facilities in keeping with the workhouses of larger industrial cities. Unlike the other urban case studies, North Bierley did not become an infirmary before the end of the NPL, likely due to its geographic distance from the centre of Bradford (in contrast to Bramley, for instance, which was quite near its urban centre). North Bierley modernised to a similar extent, on a similar scale, and at a similar pace to Bramley. Both Unions demonstrated ambition but ultimately executed their ambition inadequately.

Like the urban workhouses discussed previously, North Bierley embraced NPL guidelines regarding location, plan, and style. In the nature of its operation and its evolution over time, however, it is unique, once again asserting the diversity of examples in the case study area.

The unusual geography of the Union complicated the aims that typically informed a Union's choice of location. Because North Bierley surrounded Bradford, there was no obvious, mutually accessible location for the workhouse. In constructing the workhouse at Clayton, the Guardians sought isolation

and practical efficiency, but they achieved only the former. Because the workhouse was nearer some population centres than others, the physical move to the workhouse was more dramatic and isolating for those paupers who had further to travel.

North Bierley conformed to national trends in workhouse planning in its choice of a T-plan, and as with other T-Plans, a single building housed the majority of pauper classes in segregated areas. North Bierley's plan was more like Leeds's and Bramley's than Bradford's in that it lacked cross-wings. As with the other urban, T-plan workhouses, universal surveillance was unfeasible, so the Guardians sought to implement control through segregation by class. However, economy and necessity were the predominant influences on design choice, as at Bramley, and segregation was comparably sporadic.

North Bierley adopted the same regional style as Bradford, in keeping with the area's other civic buildings and industrial sites. Like Bradford's, North Bierley's style reflected economy, civic control. Stylistic features like its elaborate boardroom emphasised the status of its administrators. North Bierley adopted a classical style with instances of ornamentation, like Bradford's, but on a lesser scale, reflective of its financial constraints.

Like other urban and outer-city Unions, North Bierley recognised and valued the fact that the sick, mentally ill, and children needed specialised provisions. In the initial workhouse plan, the sick were granted separate facilities on the workhouse site. In subsequent phases, further facilities for the sick were added, as were facilities for the mentally ill and children. Unlike Bramley and Bradford, North Bierley did not take specialisation to the point of dedicating the entire site to treatment of the sick before the end of the NPL.

Although inmates were segregated by class, the workhouse operated a very basic pauper hierarchy: sick, children, everyone else, vagrants. Like Bradford and Bramley, and in contrast to Leeds, North Bierley did not develop an extensive inter-class hierarchy system. Only among children did a clear inter-class distinction emerge: the 'Mental Defective' children received specialised care.

North Bierley crucially supports the arguments put forward over the course of the urban section of this thesis. The site ultimately focused on the sick, but it also continued to provide accommodation for all pauper classes throughout the NPL, a combination unique to outer-city workhouses in the case study area. Indeed, North Bierley bears many similarities to Bramley and Wharfedale. The three

workhouses were roughly the same size, featured the same plan, suffered from the same pressures to modernise/specialise under economic constraints, and ultimately only developed infirmary facilities. The paupers of all three workhouses experienced facilities inferior to those offered at nearby inner-city workhouses. In its commonalities with Bramley and Wharfedale, it affirms the outer-city workhouse as a unique workhouse type.

At the same time, North Bierley differs in subtle but meaningful ways from its fellow outer-city workhouses. It lacked the facility for the elderly provided at Wharfedale and featured a designated building for children, unlike either Wharfedale or Bramley. In its unique use of a T-plan and its unique interpretation of national guidelines, it affirms the regional difference traced throughout this thesis and undermines the validity of broad, general typologies for understanding workhouse buildings.

Part Three Conclusion

In contrast to the rural areas of West Yorkshire discussed in Part Two, the urban areas of West Yorkshire were pressured by the PLC to unionise immediately after the passing of the NPL. Despite resistance, Leeds and Bradford Unions formed in 1837. Upon the expansion of Leeds and Bradford into surrounding areas, North Bierley and Bramley Unions were formed, in 1848 and 1862, respectively, to support Leeds and Bradford in their NPL relief. Despite their prompt unionisation, Leeds, Bradford, and North Bierley did not construct NPL workhouses until the stabilisation of the local economy in the 1850s. Bramley followed in 1872. This chronology presents a stark contrast to those of rural areas, which either unionised immediately after the passing of the NPL and constructed a workhouse straight away (like Skipton) or continued to operate under OPL Gilbert Unions until as late as the 1870s (like Wharfedale). This research suggests that neither urban nor rural Unions truly conformed to NPL aims, and their varied origins set them off on very different evolutionary paths.

Complicating National Typologies: Variations in Location, Style, and Plan

Location:

The locations of the workhouses defined as urban in Part Three reveal a more complex typology of workhouse types than urban-centre and outer-city workhouses. The case studies presented in Part Three reveal that urban Unions in West Yorkshire were, like rural Unions, primarily influenced by national trends in their choice of workhouse location. Leeds, Bramley, and North Bierley were all initially isolated from population centres, which this thesis argues removed the problem of poverty physically to the outskirts of society. The analysis of urban workhouse locations reveals two distinct workhouse types. Workhouses of the first type, including Leeds and Bradford, were located in close proximity to urban centres and achieved locational prominence through their proximity to significant urban features (a corporation graveyard in Leeds's case and pleasure grounds in Bradford's case). Workhouses of the second type, including Bramley and North Bierley, were located in outer-city areas and were isolated due to their semi-rural location on the outskirts of urban centres.

Like rural workhouses, urban workhouses socially marginalised paupers through their physical location. The process of institutionalisation thus began with the pauper's journey to the workhouse. The physical process of seeking relief at an outer-city workhouse was far more significant, especially in the case of North Bierley, than the physical process undertaken by of paupers' relieved at urban

workhouses. At Leeds and Bradford, for instance, low-cost housing encroached increasingly upon the workhouse sites, reducing the isolation of the workhouse from mainstream society. The close proximity of outer-city workhouses to those in urban centres meant paupers in outer-city workhouses were likely aware of the superior facilities of those urban centres and the comparative disadvantages of their outer-city position.

Style:

The urban and outer-city case studies demonstrate that style was an important method whereby the Guardians sought to convey their attitudes towards poverty and the NPL. The styles of all the urban and outer-city workhouses reflect the region's growing urbanisation and industrialisation. They also reflect the influence of established regional architects and their unique architectural styles. The varying extents to which Unions were influenced by such factors led to diversity in their choices of style. For example, Leeds was heavily influenced by urbanisation and valued modernisation and reform whereas Bradford was deeply affected by its industrial context and capitalist values. Although outer-city workhouses were exposed to cultural contexts similar to those of workhouses in urban centres, outer-city workhouses faced greater economic constraints than their urban counterparts, which impacted the workhouses' architectural styles.

The workhouses discussed in Part Three point to linkages between the civic and commercial evolution of a town and its choice of workhouse style. The Leeds and Bradford case studies suggest that Guardians of workhouses in urban centres sought to emphasise their contribution to national developments in poor relief through their choice of architectural style. Bradford and North Bierley opted for the same architect and adopted a similar classical, industrial style promoting dominance, authority, and order. In contrast, Leeds adopted an Elizabethan style with extensive ornamentation, which this research argues may have promoted both paternalism and modernisation.

The outer-city workhouses of Bramley and North Bierley cannot be associated with a distinct style although in some ways their choice of architectural style and elaborateness mirrors elements of both urban and rural examples. For instance, North Bierley and Bramley assume some aspects of ornamentation in an attempt to reflect the aspirations of neighbouring urban Unions. However, outer-city workhouses also retain economy, like those in nearby rural Unions, by adopting plain exteriors in unseen areas, presumably for economic reasons. Many parallels can be drawn between Bramley, North Bierley, and Wharfedale. Part Two discusses the attempts made by Wharfedale

Union to associate its workhouse with modern urbanisation, which parallels arguments made in Part Three regarding the stylistic choices of North Bierley and Bramley. In this respect Wharfedale could also be classed as an outer-city workhouse, but unlike Bramley and North Bierley, Wharfedale derived from a Gilbert Union context and tradition. Their proximity to vast urban workhouses clearly had a significant impact on the architectural design of these smaller outer-city institutions.

Part Three argues that the impact of workhouse style on a pauper's experience was largely determined by whether he/she entered an urban-centre or outer-city workhouse. This research suggests that the style of all urban workhouses expressed notions of civic authority and grandeur, but beyond that similarity, styles varied significantly based on regional context. Leeds's style, for example, evokes that of a hospital or infirmary, which potentially diminished the stigmas associated with relief for Leeds's paupers. In contrast, the scale of outer-city workhouses likely created a pauper experience that paralleled more closely that of a rural pauper than an urban one.

Plan:

Diversity amongst the architectural plans adopted by the workhouses discussed in Part Three exposes the differing workhouse experiences of paupers from one Union to the next. Leeds, Bradford, Bramley, and North Bierley all adopted corridor plans in their initial workhouse designs. However, the scale of the design varied dependent on population size, the extent of fluctuations in unemployment, and financial resources. The plans adopted in the case study area largely reflect the Unions' belief that idleness was contagious; strict segregation between pauper classes was deemed highly desirable. All the urban and outer-city case studies adopted T-plan workhouses (albeit of varying scales); however, Bradford differed from the others in its inclusion of cross-wings. A detailed analysis of the T-plans reveals they were used in dramatically different ways and suggests that the Guardians were sensitive to paupers' perceived vulnerability. For example, in Leeds, vagrants were housed in the main workhouse building whereas at Bradford they remained in the entrance block. Additional partitions and staircases created numerous separate areas at Bradford whereas at Leeds, Bramley, and North Bierley, corridors remained largely undivided. At North Bierley, dayrooms were converted to wards during periods of overcrowding, and women were allocated substantially less accommodation than men.

Over time, the Guardians began to reconsider the extent to which paupers were responsible for their poverty and attempted to provide more appropriate facilities. For example, from the 1860s, the sick

received specialised blocks in all urban and outer-city workhouses. As the plans of urban workhouses evolved throughout the NPL to suit the region's changing needs, gradually more and more pauper classes were removed to separate buildings. In contrast, outer-city workhouse plans did not develop to the same extent, and often the majority of pauper classes remained in the original workhouse building. The provision of separate facilities for certain pauper classes at certain times at some workhouses but not at others undermines any generalisation concerning how a T-plan workhouse was used or who actually experienced it at any given point in NPL history.

Mechanisms for Control and Care: Surveillance, Segregation, and Specialisation

Part Three reveals that, like rural West Yorkshire workhouses, urban workhouses implemented surveillance, segregation, and specialisation to shape paupers' experiences of the workhouse. Workhouse architecture varied across the region and over time. Surveillance, segregation, and specialisation were deployed to radically different extents influenced by evolving attitudes towards poverty relating to national and regional contexts. Differing extents of segregation, surveillance, and specialisation resulted in drastically differing pauper experiences.

Surveillance:

Case studies discussed in Part Three lacked the architectural mechanisms for surveillance adopted by early NPL workhouses. This research demonstrates that the central positioning of staff was the only mechanism for the enforcement of surveillance. However, the evidence presented in Part Three suggests that levels of surveillance varied between pauper classes. At Leeds, for instance, more staff were located in the children's and vagrants' wards, which resulted in a higher level of observation and control over these paupers. Outer-city workhouses had the added advantage of being smaller than their urban counterparts, which meant that although their architectural design was similar to that of urban workhouses, staff were able to survey inmates to a greater degree. The earliest workhouse in urban West Yorkshire was not constructed until the 1850s, by which time initial model plans, which promoted extensive surveillance, had mostly been replaced with T-plan workhouses, which appear to have relied heavily on segregation to control inmate behaviour. Lack of surveillance provided inmates with a level of privacy not granted by previous workhouse designs. Increased privacy enabled inmates to resist the workhouse regime; instances of inmates absconding, hiding in the workhouse, and avoiding designated work were reported at all the workhouses discussed in Part Three.

Segregation:

The construction of T-plan workhouses by all urban West Yorkshire Unions meant all inmate classes were initially housed in a single building, so segregation was deemed crucial to maintaining order and preventing the spread of idle habits to paupers perceived as vulnerable. The Part-Three case studies demonstrate that urban workhouses strictly maintained segregation by means of architectural features including internal partitioning, separate stairwells, strategically placed windows, frosted glass, and high external exercise-yard walls. Bradford's cross-wings enabled even greater segregation within the main workhouse building. In contrast to Leeds, Bradford anticipated growth and housed more pauper classes in one building for longer.

Despite architectural similarities, the case studies demonstrate that the enforcement of segregation varied enormously between Unions. For example, Bradford's complex system of segregation meant paupers were isolated from one another to a greater extent than those of other urban West Yorkshire workhouses. Leeds and Bradford exhibited a higher level of control over pauper experience through segregation than North Bierley or Bramley, where despite architectural features paupers nonetheless experienced great freedom of movement around the workhouse. Inmates at North Bierley experienced such unlimited movement that on one occasion a female inmate became pregnant whilst in the workhouse, which indicates that the realities of segregation substantially undermined architectural mechanisms of control.

Archival evidence suggests that strict segregation was not always maintained between certain pauper classes. At Leeds and North Bierley, for example, separate accommodation was provided for married couples, a facility not offered by other workhouses. It can be argued that the desegregation of married couples in such facilities reveals the empathy of the Leeds Guardians and their sensitivity towards more vulnerable paupers.

Specialisation:

Over the course of the NPL era, facilities at the urban Unions in the case study area evolved and adapted to increasing industrialisation, capitalist growth, advances in medical science, and an increasing desire to destigmatise pauperism for the more vulnerable pauper classes. All the Unions discussed in Part Three modernised facilities for the sick to some extent in the decades of the NPL. However, a Union's adoption of specialised facilities for other pauper classes varied depending on its perception of that class's deservingness. For example, Leeds valued education and opted to provide

an industrial school for pauper children before building a general NPL workhouse. In contrast, Bradford's choice of building an NPL workhouse for all pauper classes suggests they valued economy above social concerns. Most likely due to demand and comparatively few economic constraints, Leeds and Bradford developed specialised facilities far beyond those offered in outer-city workhouses, where economy hindered progress. At Leeds, the Guardians chose to develop on-site facilities for the sick, mentally ill, and vagrants, removing them to separate facilities on the workhouse site. In contrast, facilities altered little for the majority of pauper classes at Bradford until separate specialised facilities were built on separate sites, at which point all pauper classes were removed from the original workhouse site. Outer-city workhouses lacked architectural mechanisms for specialisation and primarily developed facilities for the sick. Archival evidence from Bramley and North Bierley indicates they were always attempting to improve facilities in line with those of urban centres, but economic factors significantly influenced the extent to which they could do so.

Specialisation of facilities dramatically altered the workhouse experience for some paupers, but not all. For example, at Bradford, the elderly and children were removed from the workhouse facility whereas the sick entered specialised facilities on the workhouse site. At Leeds, children were removed from the workhouse site, but all other pauper classes remained and were designated specialise blocks. In contrast, vagrants continued to be punished for their poverty through harsh workhouse conditions and treatment. At Leeds, a separate block was constructed to enable greater control over the vagrant class and to regulate their institutional routine around work. Outer-city workhouses specialised workhouse facilities exclusively for the sick; in fact, by the end of the NPL, outer-city workhouses were practically hospitals. However, it can be argued that specialisation of facilities for the sick at outer-city workhouses was detrimental to the experience of paupers remaining in the general mixed workhouse building and excluded them from individual attention. In contrast to the able-bodied at Leeds and Bradford, whose ambiguous status called into question the extent to which they were actually present in the workhouse, able-bodied paupers in outer-city workhouses continued to receive relief in the workhouse until the last decade of the NPL. Investigation of Bramley and North Bierley Workhouses reveals that their paupers received only the most basic care, a particularly depressing condition for inmates considering they were most likely aware of the better facilities at workhouses in urban centres just a few miles away.

Part Four

Life in the West Yorkshire Workhouse: Defined by Gender, Age and Able-Bodiedness

This thesis has demonstrated that workhouse architecture enforced the categorisation of paupers, generating different experiences of the NPL. Influenced by the diverse historical contexts outlined in Part One, the West Yorkshire workhouses explored in Parts Two and Three offered a variety of workhouse accommodation, enforced inconsistent levels of segregation and surveillance, provided differing kinds and quality of treatment, and imposed several types of work. As a result, the elderly, children, able-bodied, mentally ill, and vagrants all experienced the workhouse differently depending on the priorities of the local Guardians. Even within a given category of pauper, in fact, experience might have differed radically from one Union to another. (Even the able-bodied, for whom the NPL was originally intended, received very different treatment between workhouses.) As a result, the majority of West Yorkshire workhouses developed a complex pauper hierarchy over the course of the NPL era. It is important to note, however, that this was not always the case. Pateley Bridge differed very little in the accommodation and treatment it offered its paupers, so a very limited pauper hierarchy developed there. At Great Ouseburn, all inmates received entertainment, regardless of their gender, age, or able-bodiedness. In such cases of apparent lack of differentiation, there may have only been one or two classes of pauper, such as the sick or the elderly, actually living in the workhouse, so uniform treatment of inmates in the workhouse does not necessarily indicate equal treatment across pauper classes. In contrast to the comparative lack of differentiation among paupers at Pateley Bridge and Great Ouseburn, at Skipton, Wharfedale, Leeds, and Bradford, for example, architectural analysis and documentary research reveal clear distinctions in the treatment and experience of paupers dependent on their workhouse classification. The most obvious distinctions in West Yorkshire workhouses are based firstly on gender, secondly on age, and thirdly on able-bodiedness.

Gender

All inmates at all workhouses were classified first and foremost by gender. Traditionally, men were held more responsible than women for not only their own poverty but for that of their families. As a result, men undertook predominantly industrial tasks in the workhouse, as seen at Skipton, Leeds, and Bradford, for example. However, small, rural workhouses demonstrated a greater degree of understanding of the unique circumstances that often surrounded men's poverty and looked at cases

individually rather than stereotyping. At Great Ouseburn, for example, individual out-relief cases are recorded at the end of the minutes for every Guardians' meeting. Due to the number of applicants for relief in urban areas, individual cases are not recorded in the same detail, if at all. However, at the outer-city workhouses of Bramley and North Bierley, the archives note that men were granted permission to leave the workhouse to seek work, which implies the Guardians prioritised finding employment for these men over enforcing total institutionalisation in return for relief.

The case studies reveal that women's position in the NPL was determined almost exclusively by their marital/maternal status (Cody 2000). Indeed, women of the NPL era were punished for unconventional marital and maternal practices, even though their circumstances were often outside their control. In the case study area, unmarried or widowed women were more likely to be forced to live in the workhouse than married women in families, who often received out-relief. The evidence does not indicate whether changes in status were acknowledged within the workhouse classification. Census data for West Yorkshire workhouses reveal that, generally, fewer women entered the workhouse than men, so less accommodation was provided for women, particularly in the vagrants' wards. Women's work in the workhouse reflects contemporary concepts of femininity. Accordingly, unlike men, women undertook domestic work while in the workhouse, an enforcement of their idealised, domestic role in society more broadly. In the rural areas of Ripon, Great Ouseburn, and Wharfedale, women's accommodation was improved over men's. In Great Ouseburn, for example, stone floors were replaced with boarded ones for added comfort. The enhancement of women's accommodation suggests the Guardians may have been more sympathetic toward women paupers. Such enhancement was not paralleled in urban case studies. However, the women of all West Yorkshire workhouses, regardless of marital/maternal status, were more likely to receive charitable gifts from middle-class donors than men. On the whole, the workhouse system encouraged conformity with a middle-class ideal of gender that represents a stereotyped norm rather than a practiced reality.

Age

Male and female inmates were further categorised by age in to the categories of children, elderly, and adults. Children in West Yorkshire workhouses received more specialised treatment than other pauper classes. In most instances, the Guardians employed schemes to remove children from the workhouse and the NPL system. Education was regarded as fundamental to a child's successful future. Uniquely among the case studies, Leeds built an industrial school, which removed children

from the workhouse. This institutional facility provided education and industrial training, which aimed to prevent long-term pauperism. The case study reveals that the Leeds Guardians fought strongly against the NPL to remove children from the perceived negative influences of pauperism. The Guardians' rejection of the Industrial Schools Act, which would have allowed criminal children into the industrial school, confirms their paternalistic attitude toward poor children. The Guardians acted to prevent criminal children from contaminating the perceived morality of the institution. As discussed in Part Three, the school's architectural design arguably inspired civic order and improvement, which attracted the support of neighbouring rural Unions, who occasionally opted to send suitable children to the school. Still, it is important to note that despite the innovation of the Leeds Guardians in providing an industrial school, facilities were far from perfect. Overcrowding, poor staffing, and rebellious behaviour plagued the institution, and facilities were constantly being reassessed and improved.

Despite the lack of an industrial school in other urban and outer-city workhouses in the case study area, schooling and education featured significantly in the children's workhouse routine. In fact, workhouse children received a better education than many non-workhouse children, who often worked in the local factories of industrialising towns and did not frequently attend school. In Bradford, for example, the Guardians' Minutes note that workhouse children were probably receiving a better education than their counterparts outside the workhouse. Ultimately, Bradford, Bramley, and North Bierley aspired to aims similar to those of Leeds and, accordingly, appointed schoolmistresses. Like Leeds, Bradford's Guardians also appointed an industrial trainer, which was a preventative measure against long-term poverty. Despite the lack of specialised facilities for children, poor children in Bradford's urban areas received significantly better education than they had prior to the NPL. The increasing number of specialised teaching staff at Bradford suggests the prioritisation of education increased over the course of the NPL. The economic constraints of outer-city workhouses are again reflected in the educational provisions offered by outer-city workhouses for pauper children. Although the Guardians employed schoolmistresses and sent suitable children to the local school, at times school inspectors found provisions negligible, especially at North Bierley.

Like the urban examples, Skipton, Ripon, Great Ouseburn, Wetherby, and Pateley Bridge all appointed a schoolmistress at some point. Schoolmistresses provided children with an education and a higher level of personal care than other workhouse inmates received. In addition to the employment of a schoolmistress, at Great Ouseburn, Wetherby, and Ripon, children also attended the local school,

were apprenticed, or were sent to specialised institutions, such as LMITS. Such provisions had always been available in some rural areas, such as Ripon, Great Ouseburn, and Pateley Bridge. The tradition of providing education for the poor emerged from rural charities and the priorities of Gilbert Unions, which were well established in rural regions under the OPL. NPL educational schemes illustrate the continued importance of reintegrating children into society and making them self-sufficient. Ultimately, education aimed to remove the stigma of pauperism for this pauper class and to present them to society as worthy individuals.

Children were further distinguished from other pauper classes in the way they were treated in the workhouse. In all the case studies, children received special treats, such as toys, and went on excursions away from the workhouse. Some case studies note instances of children receiving specialised healthcare. At LMITS, children were allocated a specialised infirmary within the industrial school. At Bradford, the medical officer was permitted to alter children's diets to improve their health and order extra bathtubs to improve hygiene. Examples of specialised medical attention for children are also noted in some of the rural case studies, where documentary evidence records children leaving the workhouse to receive specialised health care. For example, Great Ouseburn's children went to Harrogate to see the dentist. By maintaining the children's health, the Guardians rendered them more employable. High standards of physical wellness thus advanced the institution's aim of preventing long-term pauperism.

Although mentally ill children are relatively invisible in workhouse architecture, the interdisciplinary approach to the urban workhouse offered in Part Three illuminates the plight of mentally ill children in the workhouse. In addition to providing a children's infirmary, Leeds provided specialised facilities (a rented holiday cottage) for mentally ill children. North Bierley's children block, built in 1911, provides the only other example of specialised facilities for mentally ill children. This research raises questions regarding the treatment of the mentally ill and their presence in the workhouse more generally that beg further research. However, the available evidence suggests that, when necessary, the Guardians provided separate facilities for these children, acknowledging their increased needs and vulnerability. Separating the children from the mainstream workhouse population also prevented the 'moral contamination' of children and the disruption of order in the workhouse.

Although there were similarities in the treatment of children among rural and urban West Yorkshire workhouses, children's accommodation also varied widely from one Union to the next. As previously

discussed, children at Leeds were not accommodated in the workhouse. Instead, they entered LMITS and were eventually transferred to a children's home located away from the workhouse site. In contrast, in Bradford, North Bierley, and Bramley, children were initially accommodated in the main workhouse building. Eventually, all three workhouses devised schemes to remove children from the workhouse. At Bradford, children's homes were erected throughout the city, and a specialised children's home was constructed for 'delicate children'. However, despite the attempt to introduce such schemes at outer-city workhouses, outer-city children remained in the workhouse until the end of the NPL. This is yet another indicator of the economic constraints facing the Guardians of outer-city workhouses.

Accommodation for workhouse children in rural areas varied to a greater extent than in urban areas, possibly due to greater variation between Unions in terms of economy, culture, and embedded OPL traditions. Ripon, for example, was the only workhouse to provide separate accommodation for children in the initial workhouse design, reflecting the Union's paternalistic nature and accurate expectations of pauper need. Similarly, at Great Ouseburn, high-quality, more comfortable accommodation was reserved for the children. This is likely due to the Union's previous Gilbert Union status. Developing NPL ideals in Skipton led to the construction of a separate block in 1928, much later than in surrounding Unions. During the later years of the NPL, rural workhouses found children alternative accommodation to the workhouse whenever possible. Examples of children boarding out or emigrating are found at all Unions in the case study area. Children's removal from the workhouse was a priority for all Unions, and very few children resided in workhouse at the end of the NPL era.

Although the NPL workhouse was intended to accommodate primarily the able-bodied, in reality the majority of workhouse inmates in West Yorkshire were elderly. The majority of the Unions discussed in Part Two were previously part of Gilbert Unions, in which care focused predominantly on the most vulnerable, who were mostly elderly. In contrast, the urban Unions discussed in Part Three incorporated such large populations that housing all able-bodied paupers was always impractical, so workhouse accommodation was reserved for the elderly and other more vulnerable pauper classes. It has been argued throughout this thesis that in the case study area the elderly were deemed less responsible for their poverty than the able-bodied and were treated accordingly. Like the children, the elderly frequently received gifts and treats inside the workhouse and were provided with comfortable accommodation.

The Part-Two case studies demonstrate that in rural regions, the tradition of caring for the elderly was deeply embedded in the region's poor relief and continued under the NPL. For instance, Great Ouseburn removed the elderly to the workhouse if it was felt they could not look after themselves, and the Union generally accommodated large numbers of elderly paupers. Ripon and Wetherby had ceased housing the able-bodied by the end of the NPL, so facilities were largely used by the elderly. Accommodating fewer pauper classes meant that small, rural workhouses were able to provide more specialised facilities for the elderly within the original workhouse building. For the elderly who had worked all their lives, entering the workhouse due to old age may have seemed unjust, but as previously suggested, they often had the opportunity to create communities within the workhouse due to lax segregation.

Like rural Unions, urban Unions demonstrated greater compassion for the elderly than for other pauper classes in the workhouse. The Guardians' Minutes of all the urban case studies mention elderly inmates more frequently than, for example, the able-bodied. Uniquely amongst the case studies, the Part-Three examples of Leeds, Bramley, and North Bierley provided separate accommodation for elderly married couples. The privacy granted in married couples' accommodation allowed a higher level of dignity amongst paupers and elevated their status within the workhouse. The provision of married couples' accommodation for the elderly reflects the middle-class view of their status as deserving of privilege. As in its allocation of domestic work to women, the workhouse thus provides a lens for viewing middle-class social norms. Although Bradford did not provide married couples' accommodation, it did provide a superior quality of ward for the elderly than for the able-bodied. Architectural evidence from the elderly wards at Bradford indicates that the elderly accommodation was significantly lighter, more spacious, and better heated than other areas of the workhouse. Mentions of fixtures and furniture in the Guardians' Minutes also suggest greater attention was given to the needs of the elderly. For example, at North Bierley, rocking chairs were provided to improve the comfort of inmates, and at Bramley, instead of high walls, low-level railings were used in the exercise yards, which provided the elderly inmates' exterior space with a superior aesthetic.

Unlike other inmate classes, the elderly in urban and outer-city workhouses were permitted to leave the workhouse, which diminished their institutionalisation. For example, Leeds and North Bierley permitted elderly inmates to leave the workhouse to see friends. North Bierley allowed them to leave for the day provided they returned for dinner or, on occasion, for the entire weekend. Elderly

inmates were also allowed to attend events outside of the workhouse. Elderly inmates at Leeds, for example, accompanied children on theatre visits. At Bradford, documentary evidence reveals elderly inmates attended local events and were associated with local society, and at North Bierley, elderly inmates were invited into the homes of locals for tea. By integrating the elderly into local society, urban Unions reduced the institutionalisation of this pauper class.

This research argues that over the course of the NPL, facilities for the elderly not only improved but also became increasingly specialised and separated. In larger workhouses in industrialising towns, such as Wharfedale and Skipton, separate blocks provided the elderly with privileged treatment similar to that offered in smaller workhouses. In Skipton, a block was converted for use by the elderly in 1928, and in Wharfedale, the old infirmary was designated solely for use by the elderly. The number of elderly in the region was clearly growing, likely due to the availability of improved medical treatment, which meant that more accommodation was required. There was also a growing sense of social responsibility for this vulnerable pauper class, which prompted the construction of specialised accommodation. Separating the elderly from the main workhouse building provided them with a level of dignity and independence not previously granted in the general workhouse building, harkening back to the values of OPL society.

Like rural Unions, urban Unions improved accommodation for the elderly over the course of the NPL. For example, Leeds's architectural evolution indicates that several new blocks were constructed at the beginning of the twentieth century; archival and census data suggest they were used primarily for the elderly. Leeds's new facilities featured improved lighting, heating, ventilation, sanitary facilities, and dayrooms. This research suggests that during the early twentieth century Leeds increasingly assumed the role of a home for the elderly. Despite Bradford's initial lack of separate facilities, its endeavour to modernise and specialise facilities at the beginning of the twentieth century resulted in the innovation of Daisy Hill, cottage homes for the elderly. The specialisation and separation of facilities for the elderly in urban centres reflect a re-evaluation of the cultural function of the workhouse and the status of the elderly therein. The paternalism of early twentieth-century Guardians and the corresponding attitude toward the institutionalisation of the elderly harkens back to pre-NPL values and emulates the aspirations of local icons of industrialism, such as Sir Titus Salt, who built almshouses for ex-workers (Reynolds1983).

Outer-city workhouses did not evolve to the same extent as their urban neighbours. Neither Bramley nor North Bierley specialised or separated facilities for the elderly, who continued to be accommodated in the general workhouse building until the end of the NPL. North Bierley did attempt to improve existing facilities for the elderly. Low-level hand rails were fitted to ease their access around the workhouse. Elderly inmates at North Bierley were no longer made to wear the workhouse uniform and took their meals away from other workhouse inmates in the privacy of their designated dayrooms. However, huge inadequacies in the elderly inmates' accommodation continued at these outer-city workhouses. Overcrowding caused conditions and hygiene to worsen. At North Bierley, some dayrooms were converted into wards to cope with the numbers of inmates. The Guardians' Minutes at both North Bierley and Bramley suggest the Guardians were powerless to alter conditions due to significant economic constraints. Although the North Bierley Guardians visited Bradford's cottage homes at Daisy Hill and aspired to similar facilities, they could not make such ventures economically viable. Ultimately, the workhouse experience for the elderly at outer-city workhouses was significantly inferior to that of elderly inmates at Bradford and Leeds.

Able-Bodiedness

One nationally contentious issue was whether to force the able-bodied poor into the workhouse, as the NPL had originally intended, or to offer them out-relief in their homes, as was the case in many regions before the NPL. Within West Yorkshire, whether paupers were relieved in or out of the workhouse varied greatly from one region to the next. Documentary evidence suggests that all Unions supported some out-relief cases. Traditionally, some regions had always relieved their poor at home. For example, Great Ouseburn, Wetherby, and Wharfedale were previously part of Gilbert Unions, which did not house the able-bodied in the workhouse. In the urban areas of Leeds and Bradford, fluctuations in employment due to broad economic changes made institutionalising the large numbers of unemployed able-bodied impossible during times of economic depression but completely unnecessary when trade was good and unemployment was low. As a result, the case studies discussed in Part Three highlight various forms of out-relief throughout the NPL. The established tradition of out-relief was hard to break and continued long after the adoption of the NPL. In Unions with more paternalistic values, such as Ripon, Leeds, and Great Ouseburn, emphasis was placed on the family unit, and the giving of out-relief maintained paternalistic values. For areas such as Pateley Bridge, Wetherby, and outer-city Unions, cost was always a driving factor. It was more cost effective to relieve paupers in their homes than to house them in the workhouse, which ultimately promoted the giving of out-relief. Out-relief was often supported by local charities and the

private assistance of paupers by friends and family. At both Bramley and North Bierley Unions, men were permitted to leave the workhouse to seek work, suggesting that their institutionalisation was not entirely a condition of their relief and that securing employment for the unemployed was the Unions' ultimate goal. In Wetherby Union, figures imply that there were always more out-relief cases than paupers in the workhouse, which was probably true of most Unions.

Unions such as Bradford, North Bierley, and Pateley Bridge sometimes implemented schemes to prevent the able-bodied from entering the workhouse. The Guardians even devised policies to reduce the cost of out-relief paupers to the Union. These schemes employed able-bodied paupers in public works programmes, such as road building, and at Pateley Bridge, the Guardians funded one entire family's emigration to Canada to reduce the long-term burden on the Union.

Ripon, Wetherby, and Pateley Bridge ceased to house the able-bodied poor decades before their closure. Institutional provision within these workhouses was focused on classes of pauper in need of care, such as the sick, and the Union continued to provide out-relief. The workhouse was clearly not used to deter the able-bodied from seeking relief, and out-relief was preferred.

Nonetheless, urban and outer-city workhouses continued to accommodate small numbers of able-bodied paupers throughout the NPL. However, the extent to which they did so is highly debateable. From the limited archival evidence recording the presence of the able-bodied in the workhouse, it is evident that in 1891 Leeds only housed 30 able-bodied inmates. Bramley only ever provided accommodation for 10 able-bodied men and 10 able-bodied women. North Bierley recorded 74 able-bodied inmates at the end of the NPL, and Bradford removed able-bodied inmates to a new, separate facility in the early twentieth century.

Thus, although able-bodied inmates consistently represent a relatively small proportion of inmates housed in the workhouse, the accommodation of able-bodied inmates appears to have varied widely between Unions. Rendering still more complicated the attempt to understand the treatment of the able-bodied in West Yorkshire are examples that call into question the clear-cut classification suggested by NPL policy. In Bradford, for example, the late, twentieth-century provision of a separate workhouse facility, which blurred the distinction acknowledged in earlier decades between able-bodied paupers and vagrants. The two classes shared the new facility. Most likely, the Union continued to grant out-relief on a case-to-case basis and reserved the institutional provision for

paupers deemed least deserving of relief, a category into which able-bodied paupers (vagrants or not) now fell. In other Unions, other classifications became similarly blurred. In North Bierley and Leeds, for example, the distinction between able-bodied and physically or mentally disabled paupers became unclear. In North Bierley, work was allocated on the basis of ability, which suggests not all inmates were 'able-bodied' in the traditional sense of the word. At Leeds, a photograph of inmates classified as able-bodied depicts paupers whose 'ability' is questionable. One pauper, for instance, holds a crutch.

Given the diversity of capabilities amongst 'able-bodied' inmates in this period, it is unsurprising that their experience of the NPL and of institutional control varied widely. The varied work with which inmates were provided, for example, illustrates this diversity of experience. In rural areas, such as Skipton and Wetherby, workrooms were provided for tailoring and sewing. The inclusion of these workrooms provided an opportunity for inmates to learn a skill, which made them more employable in local textile industries. This reflects that Skipton and Wetherby held the objective of reform as a priority. In industrialising Skipton, inmates work can be linked explicitly to the perceived future capitalist contribution of workhouse inmates within a developing town. In contrast to Skipton and Wetherby, Great Ouseburn and Pateley Bridge did not provide inmates with a new trade. Instead, inmates were employed in tasks relating to the upkeep of the workhouse, decorating and chopping wood, for example. Training may have been unfeasible given the predominantly elderly and infirm population of Great Ouseburn Workhouse, but the lack of training may also reflect its local agricultural economy, for which new, industrially skilled workers were not required like they were in more industrial areas, such as Skipton.

Analysis of case studies in urban and outer-city areas illustrates a more complex work arrangement amongst able-bodied inmates than existed in rural workhouses. Like Skipton and Wetherby, the Part-Three case studies employed inmates in industrious tasks and in workhouse maintenance. However, more 'useful' inmates were designated for more challenging tasks, such as clerical work or managing the boiler-house. These inmates were granted additional benefits, which included the provision of day clothes in place of the workhouse uniform and small monetary allowances. This thesis argues that by rewarding and trusting certain inmates to undertake specialist tasks, distinctions emerged amongst able-bodied paupers, which created a hierarchy based on status. However, not all paupers appreciated their elevated status. At Bradford, paupers still opted to abscond from the workhouse

and took advantage of their granted liberties given the opportunity, suggesting that the Guardians' perception of reward and status did not always concur with pauper opinion.

In examples where it is certain able-bodied inmates were housed in the workhouse at times, there are clear differences in treatment between workhouses. In rural workhouses, variations in sanitary facilities would have drastically affected hygiene levels in the able-bodied wards. At Skipton, for example, sanitary facilities were limited compared to the more extensive facilities at Wharfedale. Low hygiene levels were further exacerbated by overcrowding. The wards at Ripon were initially overcrowded, which resulted in inmates sharing beds. These inmates would have experienced very limited privacy as their workhouse experience completely stripped them of their personal space.

Able-bodied inmates of urban and outer-city workhouses shared many of the experiences of those in rural workhouses; however, the scale of urban workhouse architecture reduced the presence of individual within the institution. Overcrowding was continually a problem at Leeds, which resulted in the erection of temporary accommodation for the able-bodied in the labour yards, a sharp contrast to the accommodation provided for the elderly and children. The case studies suggest that due to larger wards and higher inmate numbers, individual privacy was significantly reduced amongst able-bodied inmates in urban workhouses in comparison to those in smaller, rural workhouses. Inmates continually rebelled against inadequate facilities and controlling treatment. For example, at Bradford, records show that inmates attempted to escape the workhouse, and at Leeds, inmates were caught hiding in their beds.

To increase control over large numbers of able-bodied paupers, urban workhouses adopted specific architectural features. Leeds Workhouse opted to erect iron bars to restrict inmates' movement. The inclusion of such architectural features, reflecting measures associated with prisons and punishment, no doubt added to the institutionalised experience for the able-bodied pauper. Whereas previous studies of the workhouse have assumed that such features were predominantly ideological in motivation, this research reveals that they often served a practical purpose as well. Despite Bradford's attempts to adopt an architectural style that deliberately disassociated the workhouse from prison architecture, the placing of placards discouraging inmates from crime and immoral activity suggests they still very much associated the pauper with unlawful behaviour. Parallels to the prison system are further evidenced in the use of an inmate numbering system and a workhouse uniform, which removed all personal identity and individuality.

Unlike the experience of the able-bodied, the experience of the infirm transformed during the NPL. Part Two demonstrates that the year in which a rural workhouse was constructed largely determined the separateness of the facilities it offered the sick. For instance, Wharfedale included an infirmary in phase one, but this was not constructed until the 1870s, at a similar time to other infirmaries in West Yorkshire. Separate facilities for the sick developed through the region, starting in the 1870s. Wharfedale, Ripon, and Skipton all constructed separate infirmary blocks within a decade. These are the three largest settlements in the rural case study area, and their populations demanded more extensive, specialised facilities like those developing in urban centres. The extent of facilities depended very much on the size and location of the Union. Pateley Bridge, for example, being remote in its location, did not build a separate infirmary. Although Pateley Bridge provided a designated nurse, sick inmates continued to be housed in the workhouse throughout the NPL. The diversity of provisions for the infirm in rural Unions attests to the inadequacy of even regional generalisations regarding the treatment of a given pauper class.

In contrast to the rural Unions discussed in this thesis, the urban Unions discussed in Part Three all included a separate infirmary in their initial workhouse designs. The Part-Three case studies suggest that the Guardians immediately recognised the importance of medical facilities and prioritised separate, somewhat specialised facilities for the sick, accordingly. At both outer-city and urban workhouses, the infirmary was located behind the general workhouse, away from other pauper classes. Physically separating the sick from the other pauper classes afforded them a level of privacy not granted to other workhouse inmates. The workhouse attended to the physical comfort of the sick through the provision of items such as rugs, blankets, and books. Evidence from the Guardians' Minutes at Leeds indicates that the sick inmates' moral wellbeing was promoted through the hanging of scriptures on the infirmary ward walls. Despite the provision of separate facilities for the sick in urban and outer-city workhouses, infirmaries encountered problematic issues similar to those of general workhouse buildings. For example, staff shortages and inadequacies continually compromised inmates' treatment. At Leeds, the infirmary adopted an identical paint scheme to the general workhouse, which still very much associated the sick with the main workhouse and reminded patients of their institutionalisation and pauperism. All the case studies in Part Three suggest infirmary facilities were overcrowded from the outset. Bradford suffered from overcrowding, so it transferred patients to Leeds Workhouse. Such actions may reflect the region's traditional relief methods, which maintained the sick on out-relief and sourced medical facilities outside of the workhouse. At Bramley, despite plans for an extensive workhouse infirmary, the full plan was never

fully realised, arguably for economic reasons but also due to debates over necessity in less populated areas.

Late nineteenth-century advances in medical science and a growing population inspired rural workhouses to extend their medical facilities. (Workhouses thus provide a lens through which to interpret changing attitudes toward health.) This second region-wide spate of infirmary-building, towards the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, saw the addition of infirmary facilities in some of the small, rural Unions. Ripon, Skipton, Wharfedale, Wetherby, and Great Ouseburn all built infirmaries during this period, but they adopted very different architectural styles. For example, Wharfedale constructed a large, modern, pavilion-style hospital. Because of its expanding, industrialising nature, Wharfedale needed more substantial facilities than smaller areas and was influenced in its provision by nearby urban centres, such as Leeds. In contrast, Ripon, Skipton, and Wetherby built single pavilion blocks reflecting their smaller population sizes and need to retain economy. Great Ouseburn chose to build a small infirmary, almost domestic in its appearance, reflecting the traditional architecture associated with almshouses and past Gilbert Union traditions.

Infirmaries were continually altered to keep up with modern medical practices. Infirmary buildings in rural areas were always struggling to achieve modern standards and alleviate overcrowding, so Unions built new sanitary towers and extended ward space. The rear of Wharfedale infirmary demonstrates this point particularly well, with its additional sanitary towers, balconies, and connecting corridors.

In contrast, Great Ouseburn did not make major alterations to its infirmary buildings. Great Ouseburn needed to retain economy and could not commission extensive facilities. Despite the primitive provisions of Great Ouseburn infirmary, infirm inmates received better treatment in this specialised facility than they had in the main workhouse building or in their homes. The provision of a separate facility maintained their dignity and improved overall hygiene and sanitary conditions in the workhouse.

In urban and outer-city workhouses, the second phase of workhouse development increased existing provisions to an even greater degree. The workhouses discussed in Part Three all increased facilities for the sick more than those for any other pauper class. As previously mentioned, facilities for the

sick were constantly severely overcrowded. Although nationally facilities for the sick were increasingly prioritised, in urban and outer-city areas in the case study region, the demand for facilities made new infirmaries a necessary addition to the workhouse plan rather than solely a reflection of the Guardians' desire to improve provisions. Despite national trends in infirmary building from 1870, infirmary provisions at Leeds were still hindered by the desire of the PLB to prevent facilities out-classing those available to the working poor. Leeds's innovative pavilion design for a new infirmary was firmly vetoed by the PLB, which resulted in the construction another infirmary that was quickly outdated. However, institutional growth at Leeds resulted in the administrative division of the infirmary and workhouse in 1878, which created the first workhouse infirmary outside of London. Infirmary developments at Leeds were unique within the case study area and provide a further example of Leeds breaking from NPL practices despite the efforts of the PLB.

Urban infirmaries constructed in the latter half of the nineteenth century were larger than their predecessors. They improved hygiene and treatment, and they continued to be stylised in keeping with original workhouse architecture. In urban areas, particularly Bradford, Medical Officers petitioned for improved surroundings, comfort, diet, and the need for individualised treatment. Bradford's Medical Officer also campaigned for the admittance of a wider section of society, so as to prevent long-term pauperism and improve the city's health. Although not on the same scale, infirmary facilities at outer-city workhouses expanded at a similar time to those in urban centres. Whilst facilities for the sick paupers in outer-city workhouses improved to include more sanitary provisions, better heat, and more light, facilities for other pauper classes altered very little. Throughout this period, workhouses, particularly in outer-city areas, increasingly focused on the sick, assuming the role of a NPL infirmary.

Guardians at Leeds and Bradford had to balance improved facilities with maintaining a gap between provisions for paupers and those for the employed poor. Therefore, overcrowding persisted, and Leeds's Guardians record instances of the sick still being housed in the general workhouse. The sick poor resisted NPL medical facilities in the workhouse despite the fact that in Bradford, for instance, they were more likely to recover in the workhouse than in other available facilities. Paupers' reluctance to embrace workhouse infirmaries likely fuelled the disillusionment of the Union's Medical Officers reflected in the high turnover of medical staff at Bradford.

The development of infirmary facilities indicates a move away from original NPL values toward a focus on medical facilities. The medicalisation of workhouse facilities meant that large numbers of institutionalised paupers were sick, and in extreme cases, such as Wetherby, all indoor relief was reserved for the sick. Changing the emphasis of workhouse facilities from accommodating several pauper classes with varying needs to focusing on the sick and modernising medical care altered the dynamic of the workhouse. The extent of medicalisation varied, but advanced facilities like those at Wharfedale even included an operating theatre. Over the course of the NPL era, paupers' expectations of and demands on workhouse medical facilities increased as industrialisation and population growth led to new kinds of health problems and work-related injuries (Hey 2005). In some cases, paupers were appreciative of workhouse facilities. Skipton's Guardians recorded letters of thanks from inmates after their treatment in the infirmary. The inclusion of new medical facilities meant that for the first time, the workhouse was opened up to the poor seeking curative care, not just to those seeking general relief. As a result, new demographics began to seek care in the workhouse. Facilities were continually overcrowded, staff were overstretched, and subsequently, patient care suffered, especially in Unions such as Ripon, where severe overcrowding completely discouraged staff from working for the Union.

In urban Unions, the twentieth century sparked an extensive and innovative building program of medical facilities, which sought to alleviate the severe overcrowding that had thwarted the effectiveness of workhouse infirmaries throughout the nineteenth century. Leeds continued to construct infirmary buildings on the original workhouse site, which soon boasted the largest infirmary outside of London. Bradford also continued to develop facilities on the original workhouse site, but due to the removal of all other pauper classes to separate institutions elsewhere in Bradford, the site came to be used solely as an infirmary. The adoption of an Elizabethan style, similar to Leeds's, but including the letters BUH (Bradford Union Hospital), arguably indicates Bradford's desire to remove the stigmas associated with the workhouse and reinvent the site as a medical facility. The infirmary illustrated the city's modernisation and progress to the passing public and the city's poor. The archival evidence indicates that several neighbouring workhouses transferred sick inmates to Leeds's and Bradford's infirmaries, suggesting, unsurprisingly, that their own facilities could not match those in urban centres.

Unsurprisingly, not all civic leaders supported the rapid expansion of medical facilities in urban workhouses. Many still saw the investment in NPL facilities as an incentive for pauperism. As noted in

Part Three, the Mayor of Leeds warned against 'extravagance' and urged caution. Evidently, tension was emerging yet again amongst the middle and upper classes regarding relief measures for the poor and the causes of poverty. Tension amongst the governing classes fuelled and informed the debates later published in the Minority and Majority reports on welfare reform.

Although outer-city Unions expanded medical facilities throughout the NPL era, albeit on a smaller scale, economic constraints hampered attempts to parallel the radical improvements achieved in urban Unions. As a result, infirmary buildings at Bramley adopted plain, functional styles reflective of the Union's primary needs. Attempts were made to provide patients with comforts, such as books, music, etc. At North Bierley, improvements were made to the infirmary's decorative schemes, which this research suggests aspired to the new image of modernisation that was adopted by infirmaries in urban centres. However, these provisions cannot have compensated for the infirmary's many inadequacies. Archival evidence from both North Bierley and Bramley Unions record instances of leaking roofs, insufficient water supplies, and overcrowding. North Bierley's *Guardians* even recorded an occasion on which a section of the infirmary was demolished because it was unsafe. It is likely inmates resented the treatment they received in these workhouses, especially when they could easily compare it to the far superior facilities at nearby Bradford and Leeds. The extent of inmate dissatisfaction is clearly evident in an instance of inmate suicide at Bramley and of inmate complaints to the LGB at North Bierley. These instances highlight inmates' increasing expectation of NPL medical provisions by the early twentieth century. The initial intention of the NPL to provide uniform relief across the country was clearly not achieved in the case study region.

Over the course of the NPL, the number of mentally ill paupers accommodated in the workhouse increased despite several Lunacy Acts advocating alternative solutions and the construction of five substantial county asylums in West Yorkshire. The economic limitations of small rural workhouses made it difficult for them to finance facilities to care for potentially disruptive mentally ill paupers, so many were transferred to county asylums. The *Guardians'* Minutes from Skipton and Great Ouseburn, for example, document such transfers. However, all the case studies record instances of mentally ill paupers remaining in the workhouse. It is likely paupers who remained in the workhouse were not severely mentally ill, so their position in the NPL became ambiguous as they moved back and forth between the asylum and workhouse. The movement of mentally ill inmates between these two institutions indicates that the *Guardians* refined their methods of classification as a result of improved diagnosis and increased inmate numbers. Accommodating these paupers in the workhouse

strained resources. No doubt they demanded more attention than other pauper classes, as there were no specific specialised facilities for the mentally ill in rural workhouses. The Guardians' Minutes of rural Unions occasionally record the receipt of letters from the Guardians of other rural Unions nearby requesting the accommodation of mentally ill paupers. Such requests were always refused, indicating the inadequacy of rural workhouses to the needs of the mentally ill and the Guardians' desire to keep them out the workhouse.

Urban Unions struggled to facilitate large and ever-increasing numbers of mentally ill paupers throughout the NPL era. Although all four case studies discussed in Part Three financed the accommodation of mentally ill paupers in nearby county asylums, all four also integrated facilities for the mentally ill into the general, mixed workhouse building or the infirmary. Asylums were continually overcrowded and a more expensive option for NPL Unions, so often less disruptive inmates remained in the workhouse. At Leeds, the mentally ill undertook light work and were allowed to receive friends whilst in the workhouse. At Bradford, documentary evidence points to a focus on cleanliness and comfort. The early workhouse experiences of the mentally ill, as documented through their architectural provision and in the Guardians' Minutes, suggest that neither treatment nor cure was the primary institutional goal. The misguided focus of provisions for the mentally ill reflects a broader lack of understanding regarding the needs of this pauper class.

The Guardians' inadequate understanding of mental illness resulted in many inefficiencies, inadequacies, and even cruelties in the workhouse, which blighted the experiences of mentally ill paupers. The overcrowding of facilities, for instance, was experienced at all workhouses discussed in Part Three. At North Bierley, the mentally ill reportedly shared beds. Overcrowding also impacted the effectiveness of staff. Often one unqualified, overworked staff nurse monitored large numbers of mentally ill in the general workhouse. At Bradford, staff used methods including nails in the floor to maintain control, order, and segregation amongst a particularly challenging group of inmates. Because the Guardians did not understand mental illness, mortality rates amongst the mentally ill were high, particularly at Bradford and North Bierley Workhouses. In the early years of workhouse development, in urban and outer-city locations of West Yorkshire, provisions for the mentally ill suggest a complete lack of appreciation of this pauper class's needs. As the NPL evolved in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the numbers of mentally ill continually increased, the Guardians of urban and outer-city workhouses had to quickly reassess the treatment and provisions granted to this pauper class.

In 1862, legislative amendments concerning provisions for the mentally ill appear to have prompted a change in how the urban Unions of the case study area approached mental illness. Although Unions continue to transfer inmates to county asylums, Leeds (1862), Bradford (1870s), and North Bierley (1878) commissioned separate facilities for the mentally ill. Archival evidence from North Bierley indicates that the whole workhouse experience was improved, not solely the workhouse building. The exterior grounds were extended to include more trees and proper walks for the mentally ill. All workhouses record the purchase of provisions including books, pictures, entertainment. When deemed appropriate by workhouse staff, mentally ill inmates were employed in light work. At Leeds, the mentally ill were also permitted to leave the workhouse for short or weekend visits to family and friends. As this unusual privilege suggests, the challenges of relieving the mentally ill inside the workhouse resulted in an entirely different workhouse experience for this pauper class. A greater number of mentally ill paupers moved in and out of the workhouse, whether to homes or to other institutions, with greater frequency than the paupers of any other pauper class. Regardless of the new facilities, inadequacies in the treatment of the mentally ill endured. The Guardians' Minutes at Leeds indicate that incompetence amongst staff continued, death rates remained high, and overcrowding persisted. Although the Guardians' Minutes report poor conditions in wards for the mentally ill, reports from the PLB on provisions for the mentally ill in Leeds were favourable. Discrepancies in the archival record highlight just how low expectations regarding the NPL treatment of the mentally ill were.

Unions in urban centres increased facilities for the mentally ill again in the early twentieth century, which was most likely prompted by developments in asylum design and patient treatment, the reorganisation of workhouse provisions during this period, and the ever-increasing number of mentally ill. Despite the pressures of overcrowding in workhouse facilities, asylums continued to send harmless, chronic patients back to the workhouse. The primary problems facing NPL Unions in urban centres were the sheer number of mentally ill paupers seeking relief, the permanence of a mentally ill pauper in the NPL system, and the expense of providing specialised accommodation suitable for this pauper class. The workhouse was initially intended to be a deterrent against poverty, and in the later years of its history, a centre for treatment and cures. Both of these functions targeted a transient group. The mentally ill, conversely, required permanent care and thus undermined the intended short-term function of the institution. The architectural evidence from Leeds and Bradford indicates that the two Unions took very different approaches to mental illness, suggesting their perceptions of the needs of the mentally ill differed significantly. Leeds opted to construct a separate

facility on the original workhouse site. Continuing the site's original, Elizabethan style, the building assumed a domestic, almost homely character. The adoption of this style aligned its sentiments regarding the treatment of the mentally ill with those of nearby institutions such as The Retreat (York), where a domestic environment was thought to sooth troubled patients (Edington 2007). Although Leeds anticipated the continued increase of mentally ill and made allowances for future extensions, the Union continued to accommodate 500 mentally ill paupers in the local county asylums. Providing a more extensive workhouse facility for the mentally ill than that provided in the early twentieth century drastically altered the dynamic of the institution. It may be that because the Bradford Guardians wished to avoid a dramatic change in the dynamic of their facility that they opted to remove many of the mentally ill accommodated in Bradford Workhouse to a separate, specialised facility.

The case studies discussed in Parts Two and Three reveal that the position of the mentally ill within the NPL system was extremely complex. The development of facilities in urban areas, especially, suggests that the classification of the mentally ill was not uniform across the case study area and was left largely to the interpretation of the Union. As a result, the mentally ill residing in the workhouse endured particularly harsh conditions in the early years of the NPL, when knowledge of mental illness was particularly poor and staff struggled to cope with demand. However, as medical knowledge increased in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, workhouses in urban areas appear to have attempted to treat the mentally ill in more appropriate facilities. Workhouse facilities were still somewhat limited in comparison to the extensive county asylums. However, whether the nature of inmates' treatment was better in the large, purpose-built county asylum or in the smaller, purpose-built workhouse warrants investigation raises a series of profoundly interesting questions for future study.

The Workhouse and Vagrancy

Perceived as least deserving of NPL relief, the vagrants' lowly and temporary position in the workhouse meant they were not classified in the same way as more permanent inmates. Throughout Parts Two and Three, vagrants—the pauper class most at odds with middle-class values—are highlighted as continually receiving the most basic workhouse facilities, and their treatment and experience placed them permanently at the bottom of the pauper hierarchy. Despite their lowly position, vagrants in the case study area were the focus of numerous regional NPL schemes, which led to a variety of NPL experiences for the vagrant class across West Yorkshire. The case studies

indicate that the architectural plans of vagrants' wards were crucial to gaining control over the vagrant classes. However, not all Unions employed architectural methods of control, an indication of the diverse array of attitudes towards vagrants and their treatment within the case study area.

In rural regions, accommodation, treatment, experience, and status of vagrants varied even more dramatically between Unions than for other pauper classes. Ripon, Wetherby, and Wharfedale included vagrants' wards in their initial workhouse designs. This reflects their respective dates of construction or the corresponding status of vagrants within the towns. Ripon, an established town, had a history of vagrancy. Similarly, Wetherby attracted vagrants as a coaching town and from neighbouring cities. As Wetherby expanded, vagrancy proved even more of an issue, so the workhouse was used to remove vagrants from the centre of population. The late construction of Wharfedale in 1871 included a vagrants' ward, which reflects developments in policy on vagrancy and the role of the workhouse. Skipton, Great Ouseburn, and Pateley Bridge added a vagrants' ward to the workhouse complex in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The NPL sought to provide facilities for vagrants, and expanding industrial towns, such as Skipton, recognised the need to remove disruptive paupers from the town centre. In contrast, more rural settlements such as Pateley Bridge believed vagrancy was not the Union's responsibility and did not want the economic expense of a vagrants' ward. As a result, the Pateley Bridge Guardians actively resisted the provision of facilities for vagrants until 1877, and even then areas of the workhouse were converted for vagrants in addition to the construction of an entirely separate facility. The extension of vagrants' accommodation in the expanding settlements of Skipton, Wharfedale, Ripon, and Wetherby suggests vagrancy was an increasing social problem during the NPL era throughout West Yorkshire and that it was increasingly prioritised by the Guardians, accordingly. As late as 1927, Ripon extended its vagrants' wards, suggesting this pauper class was still very much an issue and primary concern of the Guardians.

All urban and outer-city workhouses included a vagrants' ward in the initial workhouse design, suggesting that the Guardians of these Unions always acknowledged their responsibility for the vagrant class, unlike those of rural Pateley Bridge, for example. Bradford, Bramley, and North Bierley all included separate vagrants' wards in their initial workhouse designs. In all instances, the vagrants' wards were located at the front of the workhouse complex and were controlled by the porter. Evidently, it was important to separate the vagrants from the permanent workhouse inmates in order to prevent the 'contamination' of the 'deserving' paupers in the main workhouse by the perceived

immoral tendencies of the vagrant class. The locations of the wards in urban areas, like those of rural wards, represent the vagrants' temporary position in the NPL system. In contrast to other urban areas, Leeds made the unusual decision to initially accommodate the vagrants in the main workhouse building. Evidently, the Leeds Guardians were not so concerned with mixing the temporary vagrant classes with the permanent inmates. It is likely the Guardians felt the enormity of Leeds Workhouse, in comparison to the modest size of other Part-Three workhouses, made it possible to successfully accommodate the vagrants in the main building alongside other inmate classes. The sheer scale of the Union thus diluted the impact of the NPL ideal.

Like medical facilities, vagrants' facilities in urban Unions were transformed in the early twentieth century. In 1901, the Leeds Guardians opted to build a separate vagrants' ward, distanced from the main workhouse on the edge of the workhouse perimeter. In keeping with the momentum of innovation experienced at Bradford in the early twentieth century, the vagrants appear to have moved from the workhouse site, presumably to the new facility for the able-bodied poor. The evolution of facilities for vagrants reveals their continual presence and the increasing burden they placed upon NPL resources. Although Bramley and North Bierley only made alterations and small additions to their vagrants' wards over the course of the NPL, they considered alternative relief options for vagrants. The Guardians' Minutes from North Bierley record the discussion of a labour colony to alleviate the pressure of vagrancy, but no action was taken, likely due to the Union's financial situation.

Through the rural case studies, two distinct architectural designs emerged, which significantly impacted the vagrants' workhouse experience in differing ways. The experience of vagrants ranged from complete isolation (in the separate cells at Skipton and Ripon) to a total lack of privacy (in large communal wards like those at Pateley Bridge and Wetherby). Single cells lacked any form of light, and the architecture severely restricted inmate movement, which increased institutional control in the vagrants' ward. In contrast, the large, communal wards featured large windows and gas lighting, but they were often overcrowded, which created unsanitary, unpleasant, and dehumanising conditions. Large, open wards offered less architectural control, so they relied heavily on the surveillance of staff placed strategically within the wards, as at Great Ouseburn and Wetherby. Despite the ideals of control and surveillance, the choice between open-ward and separate-cell accommodation was mostly influenced by economy, as at Wetherby, for example.

Architectural and cartographic evidence suggest all urban and outer-city workhouses featured separate- cell accommodation, which was intended to maximise control, segregation, and surveillance over this pauper class more than any other. North Bierley also tried to segregate men and women as they queued to enter the wards, but could not find an architectural solution to this problem. The architecture employed to accommodate vagrants reflects the disruptive, immoral stereotypes associated with this pauper class. Like rural workhouses, urban workhouses provided vagrants with very basic facilities. Vagrants at Leeds, for example, slept on wooden boards, and the Bradford archival record reveals a complete lack of cleanliness in its vagrants' ward. These facilities may nonetheless have been regarded as superior to the alternative of sleeping unsheltered, especially in the winter months. Overcrowding also affected the effectiveness of architectural control in the vagrants' wards. In Bramley, for instance, segregation broke down when men were accommodated in the female wards. Such basic facilities and poor conditions, unsurprisingly, caused resentment amongst vagrants. All of the Part-Three case studies record instances of rebellion and resistance from vagrants, including the destruction of clothing, ward doors, and vagrants escaping before completing allocated work. Such gestures of resistance may reflect the tension between controlled conditions of the workhouse and the vagrants' comparatively 'free' movement outside.

The architectural plan imposed a clear hierarchy upon vagrants based on their gender and physical fitness. Men were accommodated in single-cell accommodation whereas women were accommodated in larger wards. Evidently, men were regarded as more troublesome and required stricter control. Entries in the Guardians' Minutes at Great Ouseburn indicate that female accommodation was improved. Although conditions for female vagrants were poor, the fact that their environment was improved suggests that women's experiences were not as controlled or as inhumane as men's. Children entering the wards were also granted a separate status by some of West Yorkshire's Guardians. For example, at Skipton, the Guardians chose to prevent child vagrants from leaving the vagrants' wards on Sundays. At Bradford, unaccompanied children were detained in the general workhouse instead of the vagrants' ward. The Guardians' attempts to offer a form of moral guidance to child vagrants still fell short of offering them full NPL relief. Occasionally, the Guardian's Minutes record instances of vagrants improving their position in the workhouse. Case studies in Part Two, for example, such as Ripon, employed a 'tramp major' to oversee the wards, which would have maintained economy and kept the vagrants to themselves. At Skipton, vagrants were employed in the gardens, showing that at times vagrants were trusted beyond the level of trust traditionally invested in their pauper class and employed in more constructive tasks than, for

instance, stone-breaking. In contrast to the workhouses discussed in Part Two, workhouses in Part Three reveal that amongst larger numbers of vagrants a more complex classificatory system was required. In these case studies, the amount and type of work demanded of a vagrant was dependent on his/her physical fitness and gender. The varying types of work demanded of vagrants suggest that despite the harsh conditions of their accommodation the Guardians empathise with the more vulnerable vagrants.

The treatment and facilities provided for vagrants often directly defied NPL policy. For example, in 1904, the LGB recommended that the workhouse house female vagrants in the general building. However, throughout West Yorkshire, Unions continued to construct separate vagrants' wards for women and children away from the main workhouse buildings. In contrast to national trends, the number of vagrants in West Yorkshire continued to increase throughout the NPL era, and sympathy for vagrants remained low. In the early twentieth century, the increased level of architectural control employed in Leeds and the completely separate, segregated facilities created at Bradford fuelled the stigmas surrounding vagrancy when, for most pauper classes in the workhouse, attempts were being made to eradicate the stigmas associated with pauperism and NPL facilities. Despite the transformation of facilities in urban workhouses, the vagrants' experience throughout West Yorkshire altered very little during the NPL era.

Despite the lowly public opinion of workhouse vagrants, missionaries requested permission to enter the vagrants' wards at Leeds and Bramley. The presence of missionaries in the vagrants' wards may indicate that not all of society regarded vagrants as beyond or 'undeserving' of rehabilitation. It may also suggest that vagrants were regarded as so removed from mainstream society as to be prime subjects for missionary endeavour. The missionaries, most likely motivated by their perceived social responsibility toward this pauper class, provided the vagrant classes with moral education and actively encourage vagrants' reintegration into respectable society. Their efforts suggest at this at this point in time, in this particular region, vagrants were regarded as potentially redeemable. In contrast to these endeavours, however, Unions employed increasingly harsh methods of accommodation, suggesting that despite a few exceptions, the issue of vagrancy predominantly worsened.

Employment in the Workhouse: Administration and Staff Specialisation

Although inmates were employed in the maintenance of the workhouse, staff were employed to undertake specific roles and work. All workhouses employed a residential Master and Matron, who were supported in their role by cooks, porters, general servants, schoolmistresses, and nurses, amongst others. Although not all workhouse staff resided in the workhouse, those employees who were allocated workhouse accommodation received superior facilities to inmates. However, the extent of these provisions related largely to an employee's occupation and varied drastically from one Union to the next. This thesis argues that variations in staff provisions enacted a hierarchy of status amongst workhouse staff that was firmly established and embedded within the NPL system. While those in influential positions, such as the Master, enjoyed privacy and liberty, those at the lower end of the staff hierarchy shared single rooms and on occasion used inmates' facilities. Like inmates, staff were controlled by the institution. Lower status staff often worked long hours in challenging conditions, which resulted in high staff turnover and numerous staffing inadequacies. Although conditions generally improved as workhouses expanded and Guardians demanded more qualified, specialised staff, conditions for some staff altered very little over the course of the NPL era.

As discussed throughout Parts Two and Three, the location of staff within the workhouse was a crucial aspect of institutional surveillance and control, but it also reflected their status. For example, in West Yorkshire workhouses, the Master was always centrally located, reflecting his position of authority. In the early example of Skipton, the Master was located conspicuously, in a central hub visibly signifying his elevated power. In urban workhouses, the Master was centrally located in the T-plan, physically segregating inmates. Despite the central location of the Master at smaller workhouses, such as Great Ouseburn, his minimal accommodation did not make his presence as visually obvious, which lessened his authoritative position.

Specialised staff were also granted more privileged locations, separated from the main workhouse. The porter, for instance, was located in the entrance block and was responsible for controlling admissions. At Bramley, the porter was allocated an entirely separate Porter's lodge, suggesting that this role was afforded particular prestige here. Nurses were increasingly provided with separate, often architecturally elaborate Nurses' Homes, symbols of their professionalism in increasingly medicalised institutions. Often these facilities were built to encourage nurses to work in the workhouse and to prevent high staff turnover.

Not all workhouse employees were accommodated in separate areas of the workhouse. Instead, some workhouse staff were integrated into the main workhouse building near the inmates for whom they were responsible. Schoolteachers at Leeds, for instance, were allocated bedrooms near the children's wards. Although this increased institutional control over the children, it granted staff very little privacy, and their close proximity to their charges meant they were essentially always working.

Like the location of workhouse staff, the extent of staff facilities and privacy also reflected an employee's role and status within the workhouse. The extent of the Master's facilities was largely determined by the scale of the Union, the Guardians' institutional values, and the Union's economic constraints. In larger, rural workhouses, the Master and Matron were allocated extensive accommodation, which included a dining-room and bedrooms. At Ripon, only two Masters and Matrons served between 1854 and 1922. Clearly, the Guardians at Ripon created a constructive working environment for the Master and Matron. A long-serving Master and Matron created stability within the workhouse for both staff and inmates. Not all workhouses provided the Master and Matron with substantial, separate accommodation. The Master's and Matron's accommodation at smaller workhouses, such as Great Ouseburn and Pateley Bridge, was closely integrated with inmates' accommodation, which afforded the Master less privacy, but the lesser extent of their facilities also meant they had less personal space. Unlike Ripon, Pateley Bridge could not retain a Master, and several were dismissed. It is likely the poor facilities and conditions of work at Pateley Bridge did not encourage experienced and capable staff like those attracted by larger settlements.

Like larger rural workhouses, urban workhouses afforded the Master and Matron several rooms, which significantly separated their work space from their private space. The facilities in the Master's and Matron's quarters clearly distinguished them from the rest of the workhouse. Both Bradford and Leeds, for instance, provided large, open fireplaces and elaborate architectural details such as cornices and wall paper. However, despite efforts to provide the Master and Matron with comfortable facilities, Bradford and North Bierley struggled to employ proficient or reliable personnel. The Guardians' Minutes record several examples at both Unions of Masters' and Matrons' dismissals for unacceptable behaviour. At North Bierley, for example, a Master was dismissed for cruelty and directly disobeying Guardians' orders. Such behaviour may reflect the Guardians' employment criteria. Bradford experienced periods of regional unrest throughout the nineteenth century, so the Guardians at both North Bierley and Bradford sought Masters with experience in

prison management. However, the dismissal of these Masters attests to the Guardians' ambivalence between care for and control of the region's poor.

Aside from the Master's and Matron's facilities, staff facilities varied between Unions and correlated to employee status. In rural workhouses, a limited staff hierarchy emerged, drawing distinctions based on workhouse roles. General staff, such as the porter, cook, schoolmistresses, and laundress, were all granted better quality rooms than inmates, but these were not comparable to those of the Master and Matron. As previously discussed, in the majority of workhouses (especially those of Part Two), accommodation for general staff was integrated amongst the inmates' accommodation. At Wharfedale, for instance, staff bedrooms were located through the general wards, and at Great Ouseburn the labour master was located in the vagrants' wards. Like at Great Ouseburn, at Wetherby, staff shared facilities with inmates and were dispersed throughout the workhouse. As a result, differentiation between inmates' and staff's space was minimal. The workhouses' trying conditions and lack of privacy severely diminished staff's sense of self-worth and motivation, which likely caused the high staff turnover experienced by these workhouses throughout the NPL.

In contrast, facilities for workhouse porters employed in larger rural workhouses clearly distinguished them from staff in the main workhouse building. In Skipton, Ripon and Wharfedale, the porter was granted separate facilities, including an office, bedroom, and general living space, in the entrance block. The distinction of the porter from other staff reflects his complex role in the broader aims of these Unions. As well as overseeing admissions into the workhouse and the vagrants' wards, the porter was involved inmate training programs. At Ripon, for instance, the Guardians advertised for a porter who was skilled in industrial tasks to teach inmates.

A more complex staff hierarchy developed in urban Unions because they required a substantial number of staff. However, there are similarities between staff facilities in rural and urban workhouses. For example, both rural and urban workhouses integrated staff accommodation in the inmates' wards although staff accommodation was distinguished from inmate accommodation through increased architectural details. The porter in urban workhouses, like those in larger rural examples, was granted more facilities than the general staff, which increased his level of privacy and status, reflecting his significant position in the workhouse routine. The only workhouse in the case study area to provide completely separate facilities for the porter was Bramley. At Bramley, the

porter was provided with an entirely separate porter's lodge, so here the importance of the porter's role is directly reflected in his architectural provision.

The case studies reveal that workhouse staff who resided in the workhouse were, like inmates, largely under the institutional control of the Master and Guardians. Long working hours and residing in the workhouse meant the lives of workhouse staff were closely connected to their work. At Bramley, for instance, the laundress had to ask permission to remain away from the workhouse overnight, demonstrating the level of control the workhouse had over employees' personal lives. In some cases, employees' families lived in the workhouse, so their entire domestic social lives were contained within the institution. (That families of staff often lived in the workhouse reveals a class of workhouse inhabitants who were neither staff nor inmates.) Workhouse staff were clearly institutionalised by their employers.

Increasing Staff Specialisation

Throughout the NPL, Guardians sought increasingly specialised nursing staff to attend to the specific needs of the sick. During the early years of the NPL, urban Unions, including Leeds, for example, employed one nurse and trained able-bodied pauper inmates to undertake nursing tasks. Despite the expansion of Leeds's infirmary facilities, which accommodated 400 paupers by 1880, the workhouse only employed 14 nurses. Owing to the conditions of work, the Guardians' Minutes of all West Yorkshire Unions stress the difficulties of employing experienced nursing staff. Nurses opted when possible to work in voluntary hospitals, where the pay and conditions were considerably better than in the workhouse, so their employment at the workhouse was usually short-lived. However, exceptions occurred, illustrating the importance of individual personalities in the running of the workhouse. At Bramley, for instance, one nurse was employed to care for 55 patients, a ratio characteristic of the unreasonable conditions nurses generally sought to avoid. However, this nurse was undeterred; census data indicates that the nurse remained in position for decades. Evidently, Bramley was able to retain staff despite poor conditions, suggesting staff morale in the institution remained high.

Due to the increasing medicalisation of workhouses and the adoption of medical advances, Unions increasingly sought trained staff. The case studies demonstrate that in West Yorkshire two approaches were adopted by Guardians to solve the problems in workhouse nursing: training programmes and Nurses' Homes. Leeds and Bradford developed their own training programmes

rather than relying on nurses' receiving training elsewhere. Training schemes reflect the scale of Leeds's and Bradford's institutional demands. Although the smaller scale of outer-city workhouses meant training nurses was not as viable, North Bierley's Guardians sent their nurses to Bradford to receive additional training and maintained a small lecture room in the workhouse for additional on-site training. The urban case studies suggest that training programmes increased nurses' professionalism, which accordingly increased their sense of worth and status.

Qualified, professional nurses sought respectable accommodation reflective of their position, and Unions aimed to attract experienced nurses to the workhouse through the provision of Nurses' Homes. The elevated status of professional nurses was displayed through the separate, comfortable facilities with which they were provided. The designation of separate facilities completely disassociated the nurses from the inhabitants of the workhouse. At Leeds and Bradford, for instance, the Nurses' Home faced away from the workhouse and featured numerous architectural ornamentations. Nurses were given individual bedrooms and access to recreational facilities, which at Leeds also included a tennis court. For workhouse nurses, life did not focus on workhouse duties, like it did for staff accommodated within the workhouse. As medical facilities expanded, so did Nurses' Homes, their scale reflecting the size of the institution for which they were constructed. Later extensions aimed to improved facilities. For example, at Leeds and Bramley, covered walkways were erected between buildings to protect the nurses from adverse weather, and at Bradford more recreational facilities, such as common rooms, were added.

Although outer-city workhouses provided separate Nurses' Homes, not all outer-city Nurses' Homes matched the superior facilities offered to nurses at Leeds and Bradford. At Bramley, for instance, the nurses' accommodation adopted a plain architectural style and was located at the centre of the workhouse site. Furthermore, the nurses' accommodation shared a block with administrative facilities, so it did not entirely separate the nurses from workhouse activities. Such accommodation reflects the continuing economic constraints of outer-city workhouses. Since Bramley bordered on Leeds, nurses may have commuted from the city rather than moving into the workhouse. At North Bierley, conversely, nurses had no choice but to live on site due to the continually isolated location of the workhouse.

Like Bramley and North Bierley, Wharfedale was located close to an urban centre, and it approached nursing in a similar way to its fellow outer-city workhouses. Wharfedale's nurses were provided with

a sitting room, dining-room, and kitchen, with additional facilities for the head nurse. Wharfedale's nurses' provision reflects its position between rural and urban traditions, clearly influenced by modernising urbanism and medical advances.

The increasing number of qualified nurses in urban workhouses resulted in a chain of command based on qualification and experience. Nursing staff were overseen by a head nurse, who was granted additional facilities, such as a private sitting room, which afforded her an increased level of privacy and comfort. In larger Nurses' Homes, such as those at Bradford and Leeds, nurses were also distinguished from probationary nurses, who were granted separate common rooms and kitchens. Providing separate facilities created a clear hierarchy of status amongst nursing staff, which may have encouraged quality in the work of nurses motivated to gain promotions and additional benefits.

Unlike large, urban workhouses, small, rural workhouses could not justify the expense of training nurses, so they relied on attracting qualified staff. In rural Unions, the extent and nature of the workhouse largely dictated the number of nursing staff employed. Once an infirmary was added to the workhouse, residential nurses were employed. Great Ouseburn and Pateley Bridge, small workhouses, employed a single nurse who was responsible for the care of all the workhouses sick. Like in early urban Unions, the nurse was supported by able-bodied inmates. Whereas Pateley Bridge and Great Ouseburn accommodated their nurses in the workhouse, Wetherby provided separate accommodation for the night nurse above the vagrants' wards. Larger Unions with more substantial infirmary facilities, such as Ripon, Skipton, and Wharfedale, required additional nurses. Skipton eventually provided an entirely separate Nurses' Home to attract experienced staff to the workhouse, but its facilities were reportedly in poor condition. In contrast, Ripon accommodated nurses in the infirmary or children's block, and they had to share sanitary facilities with inmates, which offered a complete lack of privacy and comfort. Records from the Guardians' Minutes indicate that Unions in rural areas struggled to employ qualified, experienced nurses throughout the course of the NPL. The Marquise of Ripon employed temporary Nightingales because no nurses would work in the infirmary. Often the limited number of staff was required to care for large numbers of sick and mentally ill paupers, which created an extremely challenging and stressful working environment. Furthermore, rural workhouse nurses were not permitted the same luxuries as those in urban Unions. Therefore, rural Unions did not attract the best staff.

Workhouse Guardians

Within the workhouse, the Guardians' Boardroom provided a clear physical display of the Guardians' power, status, and institutional authority while also providing a symbol of pauper subordination. The Guardians of all workhouses discussed in this thesis distinguished the boardroom from the rest of the workhouse and elevated their social status through the architectural ornamentation of their facilities. However, the extent of ornamentation varied hugely between Unions and largely depended on the Guardians' extravagance. For example, at Great Ouseburn, the Guardians opted for simple mouldings and plastering, which was a decor scheme not repeated elsewhere in the workhouse. In contrast, the Pateley Bridge Guardians opted for a completely separate block, which was highly ornamented compared to the rest of the workhouse, faced away from the main institution, and provided the Guardians with an entirely separate entrance. In this instance, the architectural style of the Guardians' area completely separated it from the main workhouse and visibly elevated the Guardians' status. The nature of the space created for the Guardians determined their visibility in the workhouse and the extent to which their status was displayed to the wider public.

The location of the workhouse boardroom reflects aspects of the Guardians' institutional goals. As demonstrated in the Part-Two and Part-Three case studies, West Yorkshire workhouses either integrated the Guardians' facilities into the main workhouse building or located them in the separate, and somewhat isolated, entrance block. Although urban Guardians, such as those at Leeds, integrated their facilities into the main workhouse, they marked their areas with heightened external ornamentation, such as bay windows and parapets. Bradfords' Guardians also distinguished their areas from the main workhouse, but they did so by locating their facilities in the entrance block. Though less elaborate, the architectural features designating the Guardians' Boardroom at Bradford nonetheless reflected the Guardians' pride and status. The new entrance block at North Bierley (1909), which incorporated an imposing new boardroom for the Guardians, further supports the idea that outer-city Unions had aspirations similar to those of urban centres. North Bierley's new boardroom presented early twentieth-century modernisation and ambition to the local population.

Issues regarding the architectural location of the Guardians in urban Unions were mirrored in rural areas. However, the extent of Guardians' facilities mostly reflects the scale of the Union's workhouse. In some rural workhouses, the Guardians were located in the entrance block, which had the functional purpose of improving communications between the Guardians and other administrative staff, including the porter, who was in close proximity. As at North Bierley, at Skipton the Guardians'

facilities were relocated to a new entrance block, which potentially elevated their position and status by physically removing them from the main workhouse building. By locating the Guardians' rooms at the entrance to the site, the Guardians' institutional authority was immediately conveyed to approaching inmates, asserting the regulatory power of the workhouse. Great Ouseburn's and Pateley Bridge's Guardians were located at the front of the workhouse, with a separate entrance for themselves and additional interior entrance for inmates. Although due to economic constraints they were located in the main workhouse building, the Guardians' separate entrance emphasised their position of authority.

The Guardians' civic ambitions were further communicated through the architectural elaborations commissioned for the Guardians' space. All boardrooms at rural workhouses were well lit and heated with open fireplaces. Alterations were made throughout the NPL to include gas lighting and central heating, which improved the overall comfort of the Guardians' facilities. All boardrooms featured architectural elaborations, such as ornamental cornices. The extent to which a workhouse included such features depended upon its financial circumstances. At Leeds, the Guardians also purchased items such as brass plaques to designate their area, and at Bradford, the Guardians commissioned portraits to be hung on the boardroom walls. Outer-city workhouses also emphasised the importance of the Guardians through architectural elaborations. North Bierley, for instance, included a large glass dome in the boardroom, another example of an outer-city workhouse aspiring to nearby urban centres. The Guardians' furniture and position within the boardroom also emphasised their position of authority over inmates. North Bierley used tiered chairs, for example, to provide a physical expression of power and afford its Guardians a sense of importance.

The rural case studies reveal variations in the way the Guardians' space was used. At Ripon, for instance, the Guardians' location on the first floor of the entrance block allowed them to survey a large portion of the workhouse site, thus enabling them to observe inmate activity while ensuring their authoritative presence was felt. Uniquely, Great Ouseburn's Guardians' Boardroom was also used by inmates for entertainment and events. In this instance, the Guardians clearly opted not to differentiate between the inmates' and the Guardians' space, potentially lessening the harshness of NPL authority and retaining traditional OPL practices and attitudes. Because Great Ouseburn's inmates used their Guardians' space for entertainments, the gravity that space was afforded at other workhouses was undermined.

The case studies reveal that the Guardians' Boardroom was instrumental in conveying the Guardians' status, but it also displayed the strength and power of NPL institutions to the paupers who entered seeking relief. Although evidence regarding the identity of the Guardians in West Yorkshire is sparse, mentions in the Guardians' Minutes and local newspapers suggest that the Guardians were largely made up of the rising middle classes. At Ripon, the gentry also played an influential role in the Union. For example, the Marquis of Ripon was the longest serving chairman. The involvement of the gentry in NPL Unions was likely due to their influence over poor-rates. However, in Ripon, philanthropic wives of the gentry also influenced the giving of poor relief through husbands appointed as Guardians. After the passing of the NPL, many rural Unions continued to elect Guardians who had influenced OPL provisions in the region. The continuation of the involvement of OPL officials under the NPL meant that attitudes towards the treatment of the poor altered very little, at least initially. However, in urban areas and expanding industrial settlements, the Guardians' facilities suggest they aimed to promote their newfound status, mostly gained through industrial activity and civic employment. Arguably, the more elaborate the boardroom, the greater the impact of institutionalisation upon entering paupers. For the pauper, these rooms provided a daunting manifestation of institutional dominance, power, and intimidation.

Conclusion: Key Findings and Broader Applications

This research has shown that although the workhouse was a pivotal institution in the administration of poor relief in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was shadowed by an enormous range of other institutions that supported its relief of various classes of pauper. For example, the mentally ill moved between workhouses and asylums. Children attended board schools or industrial schools or were transferred to children's homes. The sick entered specialised NPL infirmaries, isolation hospitals, or fever hospitals and made use of dispensaries. These are just some of the many institutions the workhouse drew upon to accommodate the varied needs of the population for which it was formally responsible. A study of the workhouse in isolation is thus inevitably misguided. To understand pauper experience in its entirety, one must be sensitive to the interplay between the workhouse and these other institutions, as this thesis has shown.

The Place of the Pauper provides a methodology for approaching other institutional architecture. (Asylums, for instance, particularly lend themselves to future regionally focused, interdisciplinary archaeological analysis.) This thesis reveals the value of combining architectural analysis with

historical and documentary sources. It supports the use of documentary evidence in buildings archaeology more broadly, calling into question the traditional role of documents in historical archaeology, and it asserts the impact and value of regional study as a complement to national narratives. By approaching the workhouse in relation to *Guardians' Minutes*, newspapers, and contemporary commentary, this thesis has shown that similar architectural features and other mechanisms can have a wide variety of meanings in relation to identity and experience. Surveillance, for instance, can serve as a mechanism of both care and control, as can segregation. Entry into the workhouse itself can have vastly different implications for different classes of pauper. For the sick and elderly, for instance, it was presented as a refuge, but entering paupers may not have regarded it as such. For the able-bodied and vagrants, the workhouse was intended to serve as a deterrent, but its perception likewise varied widely. Such nuances would be overlooked by a purely architectural approach.

This thesis demonstrates the value of an interdisciplinary approach to historical archaeology by illuminating the complex interplay of buildings and people in the history of the workhouse. It exposes diversity in the built form, use, and experience of the workhouse, identifying variations within individual workhouses and between workhouses within a region, as well as changes over time. In its sensitivity to regional context and its challenge to typological approaches to architecture, it enriches our understanding not only of NPL buildings but of institutional architecture more broadly. In its attention to the impact of the workhouse on the individual, it adds depth to our knowledge of a society in transition, shedding light on pauper identity and evolving attitudes toward poverty in relation to broader social changes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, bringing a new perspective to the reality of life as a Victorian pauper.

Appendix One

Extracts from Contemporary Literary Texts

Elizabeth Gaskell *Sylvia's Lovers: Chapter 15*

'But what became on poor Nancy?' asked Sylvia.

'What should become on her or on any lass as gives hersel' up to thinking on a man who cares nought for her?' replied her mother, a little severely. 'She were crazed, and my aunt couldn't keep her on, could she? She did keep her a long weary time, thinking as she would, may-be, come to hersel', and, anyhow, she were a motherless wench. But at length she had for t' go where she came fro'--back to Keswick workhouse: and when last I heerd on her she were chained to th' great kitchen dresser i' t' workhouse; they'd beaten her till she were taught to be silent and quiet i' th' daytime, but at night, when she were left alone, she would take up th' oud cry, till it wrung their heart, so they'd many a time to come down and beat her again to get any peace. It were a caution to me, as I said afore, to keep fro' thinking on men as thought nought on me.'

Elizabeth Gaskell *Ruth: Chapter 11*

"Thank you; this Welsh air does make one hungry. Mrs. Bradshaw is paying poor old Maggie's rent, to save her from being sent into the workhouse.

Charles Dickens *Bleak House: Chapter 10*

It is, however, the possession, and the only possession, except fifty shillings per annum and a very small box indifferently filled with clothing, of a lean young woman from a workhouse (by some supposed to have been christened Augusta); who, although she was farmed or contracted for, during her growing time, by an amiable benefactor of his species resident at Tooting, and cannot fail to have been developed under the most favourable circumstances, "has fits" — which the parish can't account for.

Charles Dickens *A Christmas Carol: Stave 1, Marley's Ghost*

'At this festive season of the year, Mr. Scrooge,' said the gentleman, taking up a pen, 'it is more than usually desirable that we should make some slight provision for the Poor and Destitute, who suffer greatly at the present time. Many thousands are in want of common necessities; hundreds of thousands are in want of common comforts, sir.'

'Are there no prisons?' asked Scrooge.

'Plenty of prisons,' said the gentleman, laying down the pen again.

'And the Union workhouses?' demanded Scrooge. 'Are they still in operation?'

'They are. Still,' returned the gentleman, 'I wish I could say they were not.'

'The Treadmill and the Poor Law are in full vigour, then?' said Scrooge.

'Both very busy, sir.'

'Oh! I was afraid, from what you said at first, that something had occurred to stop them in their useful course,' said Scrooge. 'I'm very glad to hear it.'

Charles Dicken *Little Dorrit*: Chapter 12

There was old people, after working all their lives, going and being shut up in the workhouse, much worse fed and lodged and treated altogether

Charles Dickens *Oliver Twist*: Chapter 17

Noah Claypole ran along the streets at his swiftest pace, and paused not once for breath, until he reached the workhouse-gate. Having rested here, for a minute or so, to collect a good burst of sobs and an imposing show of tears and terror, he knocked loudly at the wicket;

Charles Dickens *Pickwick Papers*: Chapter 42

'Oh,' said Mr. Pickwick, much relieved by this explanation; 'I understand you. You have pawned your wardrobe.'

'Everything--Job's too--all shirts gone--never mind--saves washing. Nothing soon--lie in bed--starve--die--inquest--little bone-house--poor prisoner--common necessaries--hush it up--gentlemen of the jury--warden's tradesmen--keep it snug--natural death--coroner's order--workhouse funeral--serve him right--all over--drop the curtain.'

Charlotte Bronte *Jane Aye*: Chapter 28

"Well, I would rather die yonder than in a street or on a frequented road," I reflected. "And far better that crows and ravens--if any ravens there be in these regions--should pick my flesh from my bones, than that they should be prisoned in a workhouse coffin and moulder in a pauper's grave."

Appendix Two

Poor Laws and Poor Law Amendments

An Act for the Relief of the Poor 1601.

Be it enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, That the Churchwardens of every Parish, and four, three or two substantial Housholders there, as shall be thought meet, having respect to the Proportion and Greatness of the Same Parish and Parishes, to be nominated yearly in *Easter* Week, or within one Month after *Easter*, under the Hand and Seal of two or more Justices of the Peace in the same County, whereof one to be of the *Quorum*, dwelling in or near the same Parish or Division where the same Parish doth lie, shall be called Overseers of the Poor of the same Parish : And they, or the greater Part of them, shall take order from Time to Time, by, and with the Consent of two or more such Justices of Peace as is aforesaid, for setting to work the Children of all such whose Parents shall not by the said Churchwardens and Overseers, or the greater Part of them. be thought able to keep and maintain their Children: And also for setting to work all such Persons, married or unmarried, having no Means to maintain them, and use no ordinary and daily Trade of Life to get their Living by : And also to raise weekly or otherwise (by Taxation of every Inhabitant, Parson, Vicar and other, and of every Occupier of Lands, Houses, Tithes impropriate, Propriations of Tithes, Coal-Mines, or saleable Underwoods in the said Parish, in such competent Sum and Sums of Money as they shall think fit) a convenient Stock of Flax, Hemp, Wool, Thread, Iron, and other necessary Ware and Stuff, to set the Poor on Work : And also competent Sums of Money for and towards the necessary Relief of the Lame, Impotent, Old, Blind, and such other among them being Poor, and not able to work, and also for the putting out of such Children to be apprentices, to be gathered out of the same Parish, according to the Ability of the same Parish, and to do and execute all other Things as well for the disposing of the said Stock, as otherwise concerning the Premises, as to them shall seem convenient:

II. Which said Churchwardens and Overseers so to be nominated, or such of them as shall not be let by Sickness or other just Excuse, to be allowed by two such Justices of Peace or more as is aforesaid, shall meet together at the least once every Month in the Church of the said Parish, upon the *Sunday* in the Afternoon, after Divine Service, there to consider of some good Course to be taken, and of some meet Order to be set down in the Premises ; and shall within four Days after the End of their Year, and after other Overseers nominated as aforesaid, make and yield up to such two Justices of Peace, as is aforesaid, a true and perfect Account of all Sums of Money by them received, or rated and sessed and not received, and also of such Stock as shall be in their Hands, or in the Hands of any of the Poor to work, and of all other Things concerning their said Office, and such Sum or Sums of Money as shall be in their Hands, shall pay and deliver over to the said Churchwardens and Overseers, newly nominated and appointed as aforesaid ; upon Pain that everyone of them absenting themselves without lawful Cause as aforesaid from such Monthly Meeting for the Purpose aforesaid, or being negligent in their Office, or in the Execution of the Orders aforesaid, being made by and with the Assent of the said Justices of Peace, or any two of them before-mentioned, to forfeit for every such Default of Absence or Negligence twenty Shillings.

III. And be it also enacted, That if the said Justices of Peace do perceive, that the Inhabitants of any Parish are not able to levy among themselves sufficient Sums of Money for the Purposes aforesaid ; That then the said two Justices shall and may tax, rate and assess, as aforesaid, any other of other Parishes, or out of any Parish, within the Hundred where the said Parish is, to pay such Sum and Sums of Money to the Churchwardens and Overseers of the said poor Parish, for the said Purposes, as the said Justices shall think fit, according to the Intent of this Law : And if the said Hundred shall not be thought to the said Justices able and fit to relieve the said several Parishes not able to provide for themselves as aforesaid ; then the Justices of Peace, at their General Quarter-Sessions, or the greater

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Number them, shall rate, and assess as aforesaid, any other of other Parishes, or out of any Parish within the said County, for the Purposes aforesaid, as in their Discretion shall seem fit.

IV. And that it shall be lawful, as well for the present as subsequent Churchwardens and Overseers or any of them, by Warrant, from any two such Justices of Peace as is aforesaid, to levy as well the said Sums of Money and all Arrearages, of everyone that shall refuse to contribute according as they shall be assessed, by Distress and Sale of the Offenders Goods, as the Sums of Money or Stock which shall be behind on any Account to be made as aforesaid, rendering to the Parties the Overplus, and in Defect of such Distress, it shall be lawful for any such two Justices of the Peace, to commit him or them to the common Gaol of the County, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize, until payment of the said Sum, Arrearages and Stock: and the said Justices of Peace or any of them, to send to the House of Correction or common Gaol, such as shall not employ themselves to work, being appointed thereunto as aforesaid: and also any such two Justices of Peace to commit to the said Prison every one of the said Churchwardens and Overseers, who shall refuse to account, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize, until he have made a true Account, and satisfied and paid so much as upon the said Account shall be remaining in his Hands.

V. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Churchwardens and Overseers, or the greater Part of them, by the Assent of any two Justices of the Peace aforesaid, to bind any such Children as aforesaid to be Apprentices, where they shall see convenient, till such Man-child shall come to the Age of four and twenty Years, and such Woman-child to the Age of one and twenty Years, or the Time of her Marriage ; the same to be as effectual to all Purposes as if such Child were of full Age, and by Indenture of Covenant bound him or her self. And to the Intent that necessary Places of Habitation may more conveniently be provided for such poor impotent People ; Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for the said Churchwardens and Overseers, or the greater Part of them, by the Leave of the Lord or Lords of the Manor, whereof any Waste or Common within their Parish is or shall be Parcel, and upon Agreement before with him or them made in Writing, under the Hands and Seals of the said Lord or Lords, or otherwise, according to any Order to be set down by the Justices of Peace of the said County at the General Quarter Sessions, or the greater Part of them, by like Leave and Agreement of the said Lord or Lords in Writing under his or their Hands and Seals, to erect, build and set up in fit and convenient Places of Habitation, in such Waste or Common, at the general Charges of the Parish or otherwise of the Hundred or County as aforesaid, to be taxed, rated and gathered in Manner before expressed, convenient Houses of Dwelling for the said impotent Poor ; and also to place Inmates or more Families than one in one Cottage or House ; one Act made in the one and thirtieth Year of her Majesty's Reign, intituled, *An Act against the erecting and maintaining of Cottages*, or any Thing therein contained, to the contrary notwithstanding : Which Cottages and Places for Inmates shall not at any Time after be used or employed to or for any other Habitation, but only for Impotent and Poor of the same Parish, that shall be there placed from Time to Time by the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor of the same Parish, or the most Part of them, upon the Pains and Forfeitures contained in the said former Act made in the said one and thirtieth Year of her Majesty's Reign.

VI. Provided always, That if any Person or Persons shall find themselves grieved with any Sess or Tax, or other Act done by the said Churchwardens, and other Persons, or by the said Justices of Peace ; that then it shall be lawful for the Justices of Peace at their General Quarter Sessions, or the greater Number of them, to take such Order therein as to them shall be thought convenient ; and the same to conclude and bind all the said Parties.

VII. And be it further enacted, That the Father and Grandfather, and the Mother and Grandmother, and the Children of every poor, old, blind, lame, and impotent Person or other poor Person not able

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to work, being of a sufficient Ability, shall, at their own Charges, relieve and maintain every such poor Person in that Manner, and according to that Rate, as by the Justices of Peace of that County where such sufficient Persons dwell, or the greater Number of them, at their General Quarter Sessions shall be assessed ; upon Pain that every one them shall forfeit twenty Shillings for every Month, which they shall fail therein.

VIII. And be it further hereby enacted, That the Mayors, Bailiffs, or other Head Officers of every Town and Place Corporate and City within this Realm, being Justice or Justices of Peace, shall have the same Authority by Virtue of this Act, within the Limits and Precincts of their Jurisdictions, as well out of Sessions, as at their Sessions, if they hold any, as is herein limited, prescribed and appointed to Justices of the Peace of the County, or any two or more of them, or to the Justices of Peace in their Quarter-Sessions, to do and execute for all the Uses and Purposes in this Act prescribed, and no other Justice or Justices of Peace to enter or meddle there : and that every Alderman of the City of *London* within his Ward, shall and may do and execute in every Respect so much as is appointed and allowed by this Act to be done and executed by one or two Justices of Peace of any County within this Realm.

IX. And be it also enacted, That if it shall happen any Parish to extend itself into more Counties than one, or Part to lie within the Liberties of any City, Town, or Place Corporate, and Part without, that then, as well the Justices of Peace of every County, as also the Head Officers of such City, Town or Place Corporate, shall deal and intermeddle only in so much of the said Parish, as lieth within their Liberties, and not any further : And every of them respectively within their several Limits, Wards, and Jurisdictions, to execute the Ordinances before-mentioned concerning the Nomination of Overseers, the Consent to binding Apprentices, the giving Warrant to levy Taxations unpaid, the taking account of Churchwardens and Overseers, and the committing to Prison such as refuse to account, or deny to pay the Arrearages due upon their Accounts ; and yet nevertheless, the said Churchwardens and Overseers, or the most Part of them, of the said Parishes that do extend into such several Limits and Jurisdictions, shall, without dividing themselves, duely execute their Office in all Places within the said Parish, in all Things to them belonging, and shall duly exhibit and make one Account before the said Head Officers of the Town or Place Corporate, and one other before the said Justices of Peace, or any such two of them, as is aforesaid.

X. And further be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if in any Place within this Realm there happen to be hereafter no such Nomination of Overseers yearly, as is before appointed, That then every Justice of Peace of the County, dwelling within the Division where such default of Nomination shall happen, and every Mayor, Alderman and Head Officer of City, Town or Place Corporate, where such Default shall happen, shall lose and forfeit for such default five Pounds, to be employed towards the Relief of the Poor of the said Parish or Place Corporate, and to be levied as aforesaid, of their Goods, by Warrant from the General Sessions of the Peace of the said County, or of the same City, Town, or Place Corporate, if they keep Sessions.

XI. And be it also enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that all Penalties and Forfeitures, before-mentioned in this Act to be forfeited by any Person or Persons, shall go and be employed to the Use of the Poor of the same Parish, and towards a Stock and Habitation for them, and other necessary Uses and Relief, as before in this Act are mentioned and expressed ; and shall be levied by the said Churchwardens and Overseers, or one of them, by Warrant from any two such Justices of Peace, or Mayor, Alderman, or Head Officer of City, Town or Place Corporate respectively within their several Limits, by Distress and Sale thereof, as aforesaid ; or in Defect thereof it shall be lawful for any two such Justices of Peace, and the said Aldermen and Head Officers within their several Limits, to commit the Offender to the said Prison, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize till the said Forfeitures shall be satisfied and paid.

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XII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the Justices of Peace of every County or Place Corporate, or the more Part of them, in their General Sessions to be holden next after the Feast of *Easter* next, and so yearly as often as they shall think meet, shall rate every Parish to to such a weekly Sum of Money as they shall think convenient ; so as no Parish be rated above the Sum of Sixpence, nor under the Sum of a Halfpenny, weekly to be paid, and so as the total Sum of such Taxation of the Parishes in every County amount not above the rate of Two-pence for every Parish within the said County : Which Sums so taxed shall be yearly assessed by the Agreement of the Parishioners within themselves, or in Default thereof, by the Churchwardens and Petty Constables of the same Parish, or the more Part of them : Or in Default of their Agreement, by the Order of such Justice or Justices of Peace as shall dwell in the same Parish, or (if none be there dwelling) in the Parts next adjoining.

XIII. And if any Person shall refuse or neglect to pay any such Portion of Money so taxed, it shall be lawful for the said Churchwardens and Constables, or any of them, or in their Default, for any Justice of Peace of the said Limit, to levy the same by Distress and Sale of the Goods of the Party so refusing or neglecting, rendering to the Party the Overplus : And in Default of such Distress, it shall be lawful to any Justice of that Limit to commit such Person to the said Prison, there to abide without Bail or Mainprize till he have paid the same.

XIV. And be it also enacted, That the said Justices of Peace at their General Quarter-Sessions to be holden at the Time of such Taxation, shall set down what competent Sums of Money shall be sent quarterly out of every County or Place Corporate, for the Relief of the poor Prisoners of the King's Bench and Marshalsea, and also of such Hospitals and Almshouses as shall be in the said County, and what Sums of Money shall be sent to every one of the said Hospitals and Alms-houses, so as there be sent out of every County yearly twenty Shillings at the least, to each of the said Prisons of the King's Bench and Marshalsea ; which Sums ratably to be assessed upon every Parish, the Churchwardens of every Parish shall truly collect and pay over to the High Constables, in whose Division such Parish shall be situate, from Time to Time, quarterly, ten Days before the End of every quarter ; and every such Constable at every such Quarter-Sessions in such County, shall pay over the same to such two Treasurers, or to one of them, as shall by the more Part of the Justices of Peace of the County be elected to be the said Treasurers, to be chosen by the Justices of Peace of the said County, City or Town, or Place Corporate, or of others which were sessed and taxed at five Pounds Lands, or ten Pounds Goods, at the least, at the Tax of Subsidy next before the Time of the said Election to be made ; and the said Treasurers so elected to continue for the Space of one whole Year in their Office, and then to give up their Charge, with a due Account of their Receipts and Disbursements, at the Quarter-Sessions to be holden next after the feast of *Easter* in every Year, to such others as shall from Year to Year, in Form aforesaid, successively be elected Treasurers for the said County, City, Town or Place Corporate ; which said Treasurers, or one of them, shall pay over the same to the Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and Knight Marshal for the Time being, equally to be divided to the Use aforesaid, taking their Acquittance for the same, or in Default of the said Chief Justice, to the next antientest Justice of the King's Bench, as aforesaid : And if any Churchwarden or High Constable, or his Executors or Administrators, shall fail to make Payment in Form above specified, then every Churchwarden, his Executors or Administrators, so offending shall forfeit for every Time the Sum of Ten Shillings ; and every High Constable, his Executors or Administrators, shall forfeit for every Time the Sum of twenty Shillings : the same Forfeitures, together with the Sums behind, to be levied by the said Treasurer and Treasurers by way of Distress and Sale of the Goods as aforesaid, in Form aforesaid, and by them to be employed towards the charitable Uses comprised in this Act.

XV. And be it further enacted, That all the Surplusage of Money which shall be remaining in the said Stock of any County, shall by Discretion of the more Part of the Justices of Peace in their Quarter

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Sessions, be ordered, distributed and bestowed for the Relief of the Poor Hospitals of that County, and of those that shall sustain Losses by Fire, Water, the Sea, or other Casualties, and to such other charitable Purposes, for the Relief of the Poor, as to the more Part of the said Justices of Peace shall seem convenient.

XVI. And be it further enacted, That if any Treasurer elected shall wilfully refuse to take upon him the said Office of Treasurership, or refuse to distribute and give Relief or to account, according to such Form as shall be appointed by the more Part of the said Justices of Peace, that then it shall be lawful for the Justices of Peace in their Quarter-Sessions, or in their Default, for the Justices of Assize, at the Assizes to be holden in the same County, to fine the same Treasurer by their Discretion ; The same Fine not to be under three Pounds, and to be levied by Sale of his Goods, and to be prosecuted by any two of the said Justices of Peace whom they shall authorise. Provided always, That this Act shall not take Effect until the Feast of *Easter* next.

XVII. And be it enacted, That the Statute made in the nine and thirtieth Year of her Majesty's reign, intituled, *An Act for the Relief of the Poor*, shall continue and stand in Force until the Feast of *Easter* next ; and that all Taxations heretofore imposed and not paid, nor that shall be paid before the said Feast of *Easter* next, and that all Taxes hereafter before the said Feast to be taxed by Virtue of the said former Act, which shall not be paid before the said Feast of *Easter*, shall and may after the said Feast of *Easter* be levied by the Overseers and other Persons in this Act respectively appointed to levy Taxations, by Distress, and by such Warrant in every Respect, as if they had been taxed and imposed by Virtue of this Act' and were not paid.

XVIII. Provided always, That whereas the Island of *Fowlness* in the County of *Essex*, being environed with the Sea, and having a Chapel of Ease for the Inhabitants thereof, and yet the said Island is no Parish, but the Lands in the same are situated within divers Parishes far distant from the said Island ; Be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Justices of Peace shall nominate and appoint Inhabitants within the said Island, to be Overseers for the poor People dwelling within the said Island, and that both they the said Justices and the said Overseers shall have the same power and authority to all Intents, Considerations and Purposes for the Execution of the Parts and Articles of this Act, and shall be subject to the same Pains and Forfeitures, and likewise that the Inhabitants and Occupiers of Lands there shall be liable and chargeable to the same Payments, Charges, Expences and Orders, in such Manner and Form as if the same Island were a Parish : In Consideration whereof, neither the said Inhabitants, or Occupiers of Land within the said Island, shall not be compelled to contribute to the Relief of the Poor of those Parishes wherein their houses or lands which they occupy within the said Island are situated, for or by Reason of their said Habitations or Occupying, other than for the Relief of the poor People within the said Island, neither yet shall the other Inhabitants of the Parishes wherein such Houses or Lands are situated, be compelled, by Reason of their Resiency or Dwelling, to contribute to the Relief of the poor Inhabitants within the said Island.

XIX. And be it further enacted, That if any action of Trespass or other Suit shall happen to be attempted and brought against any Person or Persons, for taking of any Distress, making of any Sale, or any other Thing doing, by Authority of this present Act, the Defendant or Defendants in any such Action or Suit shall and may either plead Not guilty, or otherwise make Avowry, Cognisance or Justification for the Taking of the said Distresses, Making of Sale, or other Things doing by Virtue of this Act, alledging in such Avowry, Cognisance, or Justification, that the said Distress, Sale, Trespass or other Thing, whereof the Plaintiff or Plaintiffs complained, was done by Authority of this Act, and according to the Tenor, Purport and Effect of this Act, without any Expressing or Rehearsal of any other Matter or Circumstance contained in this present Act : To which Avowry, Cognisance or Justification, the Plaintiff shall be admitted to reply, That the Defendant did take the said Distress,

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made the said Sale, or did any other Act or Trespass supposed in his Declaration, of his own Wrong, without any such Cause alledged by the said Defendant ; whereupon the Issue in every such Action shall be joined, to be tried by Verdict of twelve Men, and not otherwise, as is accustomed in other Personal actions : And upon the Trial of that Issue the whole Matter to be given on both parties in Evidence, according to the very truth of the Same ; and after such Issue tried for the Defendant, or Nonsuit of the Plaintiff after Appearance, the same Defendant to recover treble Damages, by reason of his wrongful Vexation in that Behalf, with his Costs also in that Part sustained, and that to be assessed by the same Jury, or Writ to enquire of the Damages, as the same shall require.

XX. Provided always, That this Act shall endure no longer than to the End of the next Session of Parliament.

(Transcription by Higginbotham 2001)

Appendix Two
The Poor Law Amendment Act 1834

A.D.1834.

4° & 5° GULIELMI IV.

C.76. 705

C A P. LXXVI.

An Act for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in
England and Wales. [14th August 1834.]

‘ WHEREAS it is expedient to alter and amend the Laws relating to the Relief of poor Persons in
England and Wales: Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and
with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present
Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That it shall be lawful for His Majesty, His
Heirs and Successors, by Warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, to appoint Three fit Persons to be
Commissioners to carry this Act into execution, and also from Time to Time, at pleasure, to remove
any of the Commissioners for the Time being, and upon every or any Vacancy in the said Number of
Commissioners, either by Removal or by Death or otherwise, to appoint some other fit Person to the
said Office; and until such Appointment it shall be lawful for the surviving or continuing Commis-
sioners or Commissioner to act as if no such Vacancy had occurred.

Appointment
and Removal of
Commissioners.

II. And be it further enacted, That the said Commissioners shall be styled “The Poor Law Com-
missioners for *England and Wales:*” and the said Commissioners, or any Two of them, may sit, from
Time to Time as they deem expedient, as a Board of Commissioners for carrying this Act into execu-
tion; and the said Commissioners acting as such Board shall be and are hereby empowered, by
Summons under their Hands and Seal, to require the Attendance of all such Persons as they may think
fit to call before them upon any Question or Matter connected with or relating to the Administration
of the Laws for the Relief of the Poor, and also to make any Inquiries and require any Answer or
Returns as to any such Question or Matter, and also to administer Oaths, and examine all such Persons
upon Oath, and to require and enforce the Production upon Oath of Books, Contracts, Agreements,
Accounts, and Writings, or Copies thereof respectively, in anywise relating to any such Question
or Matter; or, in lieu of requiring such Oath as aforesaid, the said Commissioners may, if they think
fit, require any such Person to make and subscribe a Declaration of the Truth of the Matters respecting
which he shall have been or shall be so examined: Provided always, that no such Person shall be
required, in obedience to any such Summons, to go or travel more than Ten Miles from the Place of
his Abode: Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be deemed to extend to
authorize or empower the said Commissioners to act as a Court of Record, or to require the Production
of the Title, or of any Papers or Writings relating to the Title of any Lands, Tenements, or Here-
ditaments not being the Property of any Parish or Union.

Style of Com-
missioners;
who may sit as
a Board with
Power to sum-
mon and exam-
ine Witnesses,
and call for Pro-
duction of
Papers, on Oath;

or to substitute
a Declaration
for an Oath;

but not to in-
quire into any
Title.

III. And be it further enacted, That the said Commissioners shall cause to be made a Seal of the
said Board, and shall cause to be sealed or stamped therewith all Rules, Orders, and Regulations made
by the said Commissioners in pursuance of this Act; and all such Rules, Orders, and Regulations, or
Copies thereof, purporting to be sealed or stamped with the Seal of the said Board, shall be received
as Evidence of the same respectively, without any further Proof thereof; and no such Rule, Order, or
Regulation, or Copy thereof, shall be valid, or have any Force or Effect, unless the same shall be so
sealed or stamped as aforesaid.

To have a Com-
mon Seal, and
Rules, &c. pur-
porting to be
sealed to be re-
ceived as Evi-
dence.

IV. And be it further enacted, That the said Commissioners shall make a Record of their Pro-
ceedings, in which shall be entered in Writing a Reference to every Letter received, from whence, its
Date, the Date of its Reception, and the Subject to which it relates, and a Minute of every Letter
written or Order given by the said Commissioners, whether in answer to such Letters received or
otherwise, with the Date of the same, and a Minute of the Opinion of each of the Members of the
Board of Commissioners, in case they should finally differ in Opinion upon any Order to be given or
other Proceeding of the Board; and such Record shall be submitted to One of His Majesty's Principal
Secretaries of State once in every Year, or as often as he shall require the same.

Commissioners
to record their
Proceedings.

V. And be it further enacted, That the said Commissioners shall, once in every Year, submit to
One of the Principal Secretaries of State a general Report of their Proceedings; and every such
general Report shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within Six Weeks after the Receipt of
the same by such Principal Secretary of State, if Parliament be then sitting, or if Parliament be not
sitting then within Six Weeks after the next Meeting thereof.

Commissioners
to make a
general Report
to the Secretary
of State yearly;

VI. And be it further enacted, That the said Commissioners shall from Time to Time, at such Times
as any One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State shall direct, give to the Principal Secretary
of State requiring the same such Information respecting their Proceedings, or any Part thereof, as the
said Principal Secretary of State shall require.

and to report
to Secretary of
State when re-
quired.

VII. And be it further enacted, That the said Commissioners shall and they are hereby empowered
from Time to Time to appoint such Persons as they may think fit to be Assistant Commissioners for
carrying this Act into execution, at such Places and in such Manner as the said Commissioners may direct,
and to remove such Assistant Commissioners, or any of them, at their Discretion, and on every or any
Vacancy in the said Office of Assistant Commissioner, by Removal or by Death or otherwise, to appoint,
if they see fit, some other Person to the said Office: Provided always, that it shall not be lawful for
the said Commissioners to appoint more than Nine such Assistant Commissioners to act at any one
Time, unless the Lord High Treasurer, or the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury for the Time
being, or any Three or more of them, shall consent to the Appointment of a greater Number.

Power to ap-
point Assistant
Commissioners;
and to remove
same.

Not more than
Nine to be ap-
pointed without
Consent of
Treasury.

VIII. And

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Commissioners not to sit in Parliament.	VIII. And be it further enacted, That no Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner appointed as aforesaid shall during his Continuance in such Appointment be capable of being elected or sitting as a Member of the House of Commons.
Commissioners to appoint Secretary, Assistant Secretary or Secretaries, Clerks, and other Officers.	IX. And be it further enacted, That the said Commissioners may and they are hereby empowered from Time to Time to appoint a Secretary, Assistant Secretary or Secretaries, and all such Clerks, Messengers, and Officers as they shall deem necessary, and from Time to Time, at the Discretion of the said Commissioners, to remove such Secretary, Assistant Secretary or Secretaries, Clerks, Messengers, and Officers, or any of them, and to appoint others in their Stead: Provided always, that the Amount of the Salaries of such Secretary, Assistant Secretary or Secretaries, Clerks, Messengers, and Officers shall from Time to Time be regulated by the Lord High Treasurer, or the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, or any Three or more of them.
Appointment of Commissioners, &c. limited to Five Years.	X. And be it further enacted, That no Commissioner to be appointed by His Majesty, nor any Assistant Commissioner, Secretary, or other Officer or Person to be appointed by the said Commissioners, under and by virtue of the Provisions of this Act, shall continue to hold his respective Office or exercise any of the Powers given by this Act for a longer Period than Five Years next after the Day of the passing of this Act, and thenceforth until the End of the then next Session of Parliament; and from and after the Expiration of the said Period of Five Years, and of the then next Session of Parliament, so much of this Act as enables His Majesty to appoint any Commissioner or Commissioners shall cease to operate or have any Effect whatever.
Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners to take Oath.	XI. And be it further enacted, That every Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner to be appointed from Time to Time as aforesaid shall, before he shall enter upon the Execution of his Office, take the following Oath before One of the Judges of His Majesty's Courts of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or One of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer; (that is to say,
Form of Oath.	‘ I <i>A. B.</i> do swear, That I will faithfully, impartially, and honestly, according to the best of my Skill and Judgment, execute and fulfil all the Powers and Duties of a Commissioner [or Assistant Commissioner, as the Case may be,] under an Act passed in the Fifth Year of the Reign of King <i>William</i> the Fourth, intituled [<i>here set forth the Title of this Act.</i>]
Notification of Appointment of Commissioners to be sent to Clerks of the Peace, and published.	And the Appointment of every such Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner, together with the Time when and the Judge or Baron before whom he shall have taken the Oath aforesaid, shall be forthwith published in the <i>London Gazette</i> ; and a Notification of such Appointment and of the taking of such Oath shall from Time to Time be sent, under the Hands and Seal of the said Commissioners, to the Clerk of the Peace of every County in <i>England</i> and <i>Wales</i> , who shall and is hereby required as soon as conveniently may be to cause the same to be advertised once in some Newspaper published or circulated in such County; and such Notification as aforesaid shall be kept and preserved by such Clerk of the Peace with the Records of such County.
Commissioners may delegate Powers to Assistant Commissioners, and revoke them.	XII. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners to delegate to their Assistant Commissioners, or to any of them, such of the Powers and Authorities hereby given to the said Commissioners (except the Powers to make General Rules) as the said Commissioners shall think fit; and the Powers and Authorities so delegated, and the Delegation thereof, shall be notified in such Manner, and such Powers and Authorities shall be exercised at such Places, for such Periods, and under such Circumstances, and subject to such Regulations as the said Commissioners shall direct; and the said Commissioners may at any Time revoke, recall, alter, or vary all or any of the Powers and Authorities which shall be so delegated as aforesaid, and notwithstanding the Delegation thereof, may act as if no such Delegation had been made; and the said Assistant Commissioners may and are hereby empowered to summon before them such Persons as they may think necessary for the Purpose of being examined upon Oath (which Oath such Assistant Commissioners are hereby empowered to administer) upon any Question or Matter relating to the Poor or their Relief, or for the Purpose of producing and verifying upon Oath any Books, Contracts, Agreements, Accounts, and Writings, or Copies of the same, in anywise relating to such Question or Matter, and not relating to or involving any Question of Title to any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments not being the Property of any Parish or Union, as such Assistant Commissioners may think fit, but so that no such Person shall be required, in obedience to any such Summons, to go or travel more than Ten Miles from the Place of his Abode; provided nevertheless, that in lieu of requiring such Oath as aforesaid the said Assistant Commissioners may, if they think fit, require such Person to make and subscribe a Declaration of the Truth of the Matters respecting which he shall have been or shall be so examined; and all Summonses and Orders made by any such Assistant Commissioner in pursuance or exercise of such delegated Powers and Authorities shall be obeyed, performed, and carried into effect by all Persons as if such Summons or Order had been the Summons or Order of the said Commissioners, and the Breach, Nonobservance, or Nonperformance thereof shall be punishable in like Manner.
Assistant Commissioners may summon Persons and examine them upon Oath; or a Declaration may be substituted for an Oath.	XIII. And be it further enacted, That if any Person, upon any Examination under the Authority of this Act, shall wilfully and corruptly give false Evidence, he shall be deemed guilty of Perjury, and if any Person shall make or subscribe a false Declaration, he shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer the Pains and Penalties of Perjury; and if any Person shall wilfully refuse to attend in obedience to any Summons of any Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner, or to give Evidence, or shall wilfully alter, suppress, conceal, destroy, or refuse to produce any Books, Contracts, Agreements, Accounts, and Writings, or Copies of the same, which may be so required to be produced before the said
Persons giving false Evidence guilty of Perjury. Refusing to attend, &c. guilty of Misdemeanor.	Commissioners

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Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners, every Person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a Misdemeanor.

XIV. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, in any Case where they see fit, to order and allow such Expences of Witnesses, and of attending the Production of any Books, Contracts, Agreements, Accounts, or Writings, or Copies thereof, to or before the said Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners, as such Commissioners may deem reasonable, to be paid as follows; that is to say, out of the Poor Rates of the respective Parish or Union which in the Opinion of the said Commissioners shall be interested or concerned in such Attendance or Production respectively in all Cases in which such Witnesses shall not go or travel more than Ten Miles from the respective Parish or Union which shall be interested or concerned as aforesaid, and in all other Cases the Expences so ordered or allowed shall be deemed as Part of the incidental Expences attending the Execution of this Act, and be paid accordingly.

Reasonable Expences of Witnesses to be paid, and by whom.

XV. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act the Administration of Relief to the Poor throughout *England* and *Wales*, according to the existing Laws, or such Laws as shall be in force at the Time being, shall be subject to the Direction and Control of the said Commissioners; and for executing the Powers given to them by this Act the said Commissioners shall and are hereby authorized and required, from Time to Time as they shall see Occasion, to make and issue all such Rules, Orders, and Regulations for the Management of the Poor, for the Government of Work-houses and the Education of the Children therein, and for the Management of Parish poor Children under the Provisions of an Act made and passed in the Seventh Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, intituled *An Act for the better Regulation of Parish poor Children of the several Parishes therein mentioned within the Bills of Mortality*, and the superintending, inspecting, and regulating of the Houses wherein such poor Children are kept and maintained, and for the apprenticing the Children of poor Persons, and for the Guidance and Control of all Guardians, Vestries, and Parish Officers, so far as relates to the Management or Relief of the Poor, and the keeping, examining, auditing, and allowing of Accounts, and making and entering into Contracts in all Matters relating to such Management or Relief, or to any Expenditure for the Relief of the Poor, and for carrying this Act into execution in all other respects, as they shall think proper; and the said Commissioners may, at their Discretion, from Time to Time suspend, alter, or rescind such Rules, Orders, and Regulations, or any of them: Provided always, that nothing in this Act contained shall be construed as enabling the said Commissioners or any of them to interfere in any individual Case for the Purpose of ordering Relief.

Administration of Relief to the Poor to be under Control of the Commissioners; who are to make Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Poor, and Administration of the Laws for their Relief, &c.

Commissioners may suspend or alter Rules, &c.

XVI. And be it further enacted, That no General Rule of the said Commissioners shall operate or take effect until the Expiration of Forty Days after the same, or a Copy thereof, shall have been sent, signed and sealed by the said Commissioners, to One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and if at any Time after any such General Rule shall have been so sent to such Principal Secretary of State His Majesty, with the Advice of His Privy Council, shall disallow the same or any Part thereof, such General Rule, or the Part thereof so disallowed, shall not come into operation, if such Disallowance be notified to the said Commissioners at any Time during the said Period of Forty Days, but if such Disallowance be made at any Time after that Period, such Disallowance shall, by One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, be notified to the said Commissioners, and from and after such Disallowance shall have been so notified then such General Rule, so far as the same shall have been so disallowed, shall cease to operate, subject however and without Prejudice to all Acts and Transactions under or in virtue of the same previously to such Disallowance having been so notified.

General Rules to be submitted to Secretary of State 40 Days before coming into operation.

If disallowed by King in Council during the 40 Days, not to come into operation.

If disallowed afterwards.

General Rules to be laid before Parliament.

XVII. And be it further enacted, That all General Rules for the Time being in force at the Commencement of every Session of Parliament, and which shall not previously have been submitted to Parliament, shall from Time to Time, within One Week after the Commencement of every such Session, be laid by One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State before both Houses of Parliament.

Rules, Orders, &c. to be sent to Overseers, &c. before they shall come into operation.

Publicity to be given to Rules, &c. in manner directed by Commissioners.

XVIII. And be it further enacted, That a written or printed Copy of every Rule, Order, or Regulation of the said Commissioners shall, before the same shall come into operation in any Parish or Union, be sent by the said Commissioners, by the Post, or in such Manner as the Commissioners shall think fit, sealed or stamped with their Seal, addressed to the Overseers of such Parish, the Guardians of such Union or their Clerk, and to the Clerk to the Justices of the Petty Sessions held for the Division in which such Parish or Union shall be situate; and such Overseers, Guardians, or their Clerk, and Clerks to the Justices aforesaid, are hereby required to keep and preserve, notify and give Publicity to, such Rules, Orders, and Regulations, in such Manner as the said Commissioners shall direct, and also to allow every Owner of Property or his Agent, or any Rate-payer, in every such Parish or Union, to inspect the same at all reasonable Times, free of any Charge for such Inspection, and to furnish Copies of the same, being paid for such Copies at and after the Rate of Three-pence for every Folio of Seventy-two Words, and to allow Copies or Extracts thereof to be taken on being paid for so doing after the Rate of Three Halfpence for every Folio of Seventy-two Words; and in case any such Overseer, Guardian, Clerk, or Clerk to the Justices, to whom such Rules, Orders, or Regulations, or Copies thereof, shall be sent as aforesaid, shall neglect to keep and preserve, notify and give Publicity to the same in the Mode prescribed or directed by the said Commissioners, or shall refuse such Inspection, or to furnish or allow such Copies thereof to be taken as aforesaid, every Person so offending shall for every such Offence be subject and liable to a Penalty not exceeding the Sum of Ten Pounds nor less than Forty Shillings, to be recoverable in the same Manner as any Penalties are by this Act directed to be recovered: Provided also, that if any such Rule shall after the same shall have come

Penalty on Overseer, &c. neglecting to give Publicity, &c.

into

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Disallowance of Rule to be notified in like Manner.

No Inmate of a Workhouse obliged to attend any Religious Service contrary to his Religious Principles, &c.

Orders or Regulations of Assistant Commissioners to be approved and sealed by Commissioners.

Powers of 22 G. 3. c. 83. 59 G. 3. c. 12. and of all other Acts relating to Workhouses, and to borrowing Money, to be exercised under Control of Commissioners, and be subject to their Orders.

Commissioners, &c. to be entitled to attend local Boards and Vestry; but not to order the building or hiring of Workhouses, except under Limitations.

No Additions or Alterations to be made to the Rules contained in the Schedule to 22 G. 3. c. 83. or in any other Act until confirmed by Commissioners.

Commissioners empowered to order Workhouses to be

into operation be disallowed in manner herein before mentioned, or revoked by the said Commissioners, then and in every such Case the said Commissioners shall send, by the Post, or in such Manner as they shall think fit, to every Parish or Union affected by the said Rule, Notice of such Disallowance or Revocation; such Notice of Disallowance or Revocation to be addressed, kept, preserved, notified, and publicly inspected, and Copies thereof furnished or allowed to be taken, in such and the same Manner and subject to the same Penalties as are herein before mentioned respecting the Rules, Orders, and Regulations of the said Commissioners.

XIX. And be it further enacted, That no Rules, Orders, or Regulations of the said Commissioners, nor any Bye Laws at present in force or to be hereafter made, shall oblige any Inmate of any Workhouse to attend any Religious Service which may be celebrated in a Mode contrary to the Religious Principles of such Inmate, nor shall authorize the Education of any Child in such Workhouse in any Religious Creed other than that professed by the Parents or surviving Parent of such Child, and to which such Parents or Parent shall object, or, in the Case of an Orphan, to which the Godfather or Godmother of such Orphan shall so object: Provided also, that it shall and may be lawful for any licensed Minister of the Religious Persuasion of any Inmate of such Workhouse, at all Times in the Day, on the Request of such Inmate, to visit such Workhouse for the Purpose of affording Religious Assistance to such Inmate, and also for the Purpose of instructing his Child or Children in the Principles of their Religion.

XX. And be it further enacted, That no Order or Regulation made by any Assistant Commissioner shall be in force unless and until the same shall have been adopted by the said Commissioners, and sealed or stamped with their Seal, and thereupon every such Order or Regulation shall be considered as made by the said Commissioners; and that no Rule, Order, or Regulation of the said Commissioners, except Orders made in answer to the Statements and Reports herein-after authorized to be made by Overseers or Guardians to the said Commissioners, shall be in force until the Expiration of Fourteen Days after a written or printed Copy of the same shall have been sent by the said Commissioners, sealed or stamped, and addressed as lastly herein-before is mentioned.

XXI. And be it further enacted, That, except where otherwise provided by this Act, all the Powers and Authorities given in and by a certain Act of Parliament passed in the Twenty-second Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, intituled *An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor*, and in and by a certain other Act passed in the Fifty-ninth Year of His said late Majesty, intituled *An Act to amend the Laws for the Relief of the Poor*, and all Acts for amending such Acts respectively, and also all the Powers and Authorities given by every other Act of Parliament, general as well as local, for or relating to the building, altering, or enlarging of Poorhouses and Workhouses, and to the acquiring, purchasing, hiring, holding, selling, exchanging, and disposing thereof, or of Land whereon the same may have been or may hereafter be erected, and of preparing such Houses for the Reception of poor Persons, and the dieting, clothing, employing, and governing of such Poor, and the raising or borrowing of Money for any of the Purposes aforesaid, and for repaying the same, and all Powers of regulating and conducting all other Workhouses whatsoever, and of governing, providing for, and employing the Poor therein, and all Powers auxiliary to any of the Powers aforesaid, or in any way relating to the Relief of the Poor, shall in future be exercised by the Persons authorized by Law to exercise the same, under the Control, and subject to the Rules, Orders, and Regulations of the said Commissioners; and the said Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners respectively, and every of them, shall be entitled to attend at every parochial and other local Board and Vestry, and take part in the Discussions, but not to vote at such Board or Vestry: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to give the said Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners any Power to order the building, purchasing, hiring, altering, or enlarging of any Workhouse, or the purchasing or hiring of any Land at the Charge or for the Use of any Parish or Union, save and except so far as such Powers are expressly given by this Act.

XXII. And whereas by the said Act made and passed in the Twenty-second Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Third it is (among other Things) enacted, that the Rules, Orders, and Regulations specified and contained in the Schedule thereunto annexed should be duly observed and enforced at every Poorhouse or Workhouse to be provided by virtue of the said Act, with such Additions as should be made by the Justices of the Peace of the Limit wherein such House or Houses should be situate, at some Special Session, provided that such Additions should not be contradictory to the Rules, Orders, and Regulations established by that Act, and provided that the same should not be repealed by the Justices at their Quarter Sessions of the Peace; and it is expedient that such Additions, or other Rules, Orders, or Regulations, under that or any local or other Act, should not in future be made without the Sanction of the said Commissioners: be it therefore enacted, That no Additions or Alterations shall hereafter be made to or in the Rules, Orders, and Regulations contained in the Schedule to the said recited Act, and no Rules, Orders, and Regulations shall hereafter be made under the Authority of the said recited Act, or of any Act made for altering, amending, or extending the same, or any local or other Act, relating to Poorhouses, Workhouses, or the Relief of the Poor, until the same shall have been submitted to and approved and confirmed by the said Commissioners; and that the same, when so confirmed, shall be legally valid and binding upon all Persons; and no Justice or Justices shall have Power to repeal the same.

XXIII. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, and they are hereby empowered, from Time to Time when they may see fit, by any Writing under their Hands and Seal, by and with the Consent in Writing of a Majority of the Guardians of any Union, or with the Consent

Consent of a Majority of the Rate-payers and Owners of Property entitled to vote in manner hereinafter prescribed, in any Parish, such last-mentioned Majority to be ascertained in manner provided in and by this Act, to order and direct the Overseers or Guardians of any Parish or Union not having a Workhouse or Workhouses to build a Workhouse or Workhouses, and to purchase or hire Land for the Purpose of building the same thereon, or to purchase or hire a Workhouse or Workhouses, or any Building or Buildings for the Purpose of being used as or converted into a Workhouse or Workhouses; and, with the like Consent, to order and direct the Overseers or Guardians of any Parish or Union having a Workhouse or Workhouses, or any Buildings capable of being converted into a Workhouse or Workhouses, to enlarge or alter the same in such Manner as the said Commissioners shall deem most proper for carrying the Provisions of this Act into execution, or to build, hire, or purchase any additional Workhouse or Workhouses, or any Building or Buildings for the Purpose of being used as or converted into a Workhouse or Workhouses, or to purchase or hire any Land for building such additional Workhouse or Workhouses thereon, of such Size and Description, and according to such Plan, and in such Manner as the said Commissioners shall deem most proper for carrying the Provisions of this Act into execution; and the Overseers and Guardians to whom any such Order shall be directed are hereby authorized and required to assess, raise, and levy such Sum or Sums of Money as may be necessary for the Purposes specified in such Order, by such Powers, Ways, and Means as are now by Law given to or vested in Churchwardens and Overseers or Guardians of the Poor for purchasing or hiring Land, or for building, hiring, and maintaining Workhouses for the Use of the Poor in their respective Parishes or Unions, or to borrow Money for such Purposes under the Provisions of this or any other Act or Acts.

built, hired, altered, or enlarged, with Consent, &c.

XXIV. And be it further enacted, That for the better and more effectually securing the Repayment of any Sum or Sums of Money which may be borrowed for the Purposes aforesaid, with Interest, it shall be lawful for the said Overseers or Guardians to charge the future Poor Rates of such Parish or Union with the Amount of such Sum or Sums of Money: Provided always, that the Principal Sum or Sums to be raised for such Purposes, whether raised within the Year or borrowed, shall in no Case exceed the average annual Amount of the Rates raised for the Relief of the Poor in such Parish or Union for Three Years ending at the Easter next preceding the raising of such Money; and that any Loan or Money borrowed for any of the Purposes aforesaid shall be repaid by annual Instalments of not less than One Tenth of the Sum borrowed, with Interest on the same, in any One Year.

Sums to be raised for Purposes of building Workhouses to be charged on Poor Rates; not to exceed One Year's Amount of Poor Rates.

XXV. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, and they are hereby empowered, without requiring any such Consent as aforesaid, by any Writing under the Hands and Seal of the said Commissioners, to order and direct the Overseers or Guardians of any Parish or Union having a Workhouse or Workhouses, or any Building capable of being converted into a Workhouse or Workhouses, to enlarge or alter the same, according to such Plan and in such Manner as the said Commissioners shall deem most proper for carrying the Provisions of this Act into execution; and the Overseers or Guardians to whom any such Order shall be directed are hereby authorized and required to assess, raise, and levy such Sum or Sums of Money as may be necessary for the Purposes specified in such Order, by such Powers, Ways, and Means as are now by Law given to or vested in Churchwardens and Overseers or Guardians of the Poor for altering, enlarging, and maintaining Workhouses for the Use of the Poor in their respective Parishes or Unions: Provided always, that the Principal Sum or Sums to be raised for such Purposes, and charged upon any Parish, shall not exceed in the whole the Sum of Fifty Pounds, nor in any such Case exceed One Tenth of the average annual Amount of the Rates raised for the Relief of the Poor in such Parish for the Three Years ending at the Easter next preceding the raising of such Money.

Power to order Workhouses to be altered or enlarged, without Consent, &c.

Sums to be raised for such Purposes not to exceed One Tenth of One Year's Rates, or 50l.

XXVI. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, by Order under their Hands and Seal, to declare so many Parishes as they may think fit to be united for the Administration of the Laws for the Relief of the Poor, and such Parishes shall thereupon be deemed a Union for such Purpose, and thereupon the Workhouse or Workhouses of such Parishes shall be for their common Use; and the said Commissioners may issue such Rules, Orders, and Regulations as they shall deem expedient for the Classification of such of the Poor of such united Parishes in such Workhouse or Workhouses as may be relieved in any such Workhouse, and such Poor may be received, maintained, and employed in any such Workhouse or Workhouses as if the same belonged exclusively to the Parish to which such Poor shall be chargeable; but notwithstanding such Union and Classification, each of the said Parishes shall be separately chargeable with and liable to defray the Expence of its own Poor, whether relieved in or out of any such Workhouse.

Parishes may be united by Commissioners.

Each Parish chargeable for its own Poor.

XXVII. And be it further enacted, That in any Union which may be formed under this Act it shall be lawful for any Two of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace usually acting for the District wherein such Union may be situated, at their just and proper Discretion, to direct by Order under their Hands and Seals, that Relief shall be given to any adult Person who shall from Old Age or Infirmary of Body be wholly unable to work, without requiring that such Person shall reside in any Workhouse: Provided always, that One of such Justices shall certify in such Order of his own Knowledge, that such Person is wholly unable to work, as aforesaid; and provided further, that such Person shall be lawfully entitled to Relief in such Union, and shall desire to receive the same out of a Workhouse.

Justices may order out-door Relief to aged and infirm Persons wholly unable to work.

XXVIII. And be it further enacted, That when any Union of Parishes for the Administration of the Laws for the Relief of the Poor shall be proposed to be made or shall be made under the Provisions of this Act, it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, and they are hereby required from Time to

When a Union of Parishes shall be proposed, Commissioners

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to inquire the Expence of Poor belonging to each Parish for Three Years preceding.

Power for taking future Averages.

The like Provision in Unions effected under Local Acts of Incorporation. 22 G. 3. c. 83.

Power for taking future Averages.

Time, by such Means and in such Manner as they may think fit, to inquire into and ascertain the Expence incurred by each Parish proposed to form Part of such Union for the Relief of the Poor belonging to such Parish, whether such Relief shall have been given in or out of any Workhouse, for the Three Years ending on the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* next preceding such Inquiry, and thereupon the said Commissioners shall proceed to calculate and ascertain the annual average Expence of each Parish for that Period; and the several Parishes included or proposed to be included in such Union shall from the Time of effecting the same contribute and be assessed to a common Fund for purchasing, building, hiring, or providing, altering, or enlarging any Workhouse or other Place for the Reception and Relief of the Poor of such Parishes, or for the Purchase or renting of any Lands or Tenements, under and by virtue of the Provisions of this Act, or for such Union, and for the future upholding and maintaining of such Workhouses or Places aforesaid, and the Payment or Allowance of the Officers of such Union, and the providing of Utensils and Materials for setting the Poor on work therein, and for any other Expence to be incurred for the common Use or Benefit or on the common Account of such Parishes, in the like Proportions as on the said annual Average of the said Three Years such Relief had cost each such Parish separately, until such Average shall be varied or altered as herein-after provided: Provided always, and the said Commissioners are hereby authorized, if they shall so think fit, but not otherwise, from Time to Time, either upon the Application of the Guardians of such Union or of the Overseers of any Parish forming Part of the same, or without such Application, to cause a like Inquiry and Calculation to be made and Average ascertained for the Three Years ending on the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* next preceding such Inquiry; and from and after the ascertaining of any such Average, or of any succeeding Average, the respective Parishes of such Union shall contribute and be assessed to the common Fund thereof, for the Purposes aforesaid, in the Proportions which the Expence of such Parishes shall be found to have borne to each other during such Period upon the Average which shall have been so last ascertained, until a like Inquiry shall be again made, and a new Average and Proportion ascertained for the future Assessment of such Parishes.

XXIX. And whereas in divers Unions formed under the said recited Act made and passed in the Twenty-second Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Third, intituled *An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor*, or under Local Acts of Incorporation, the whole of the Expence, as well of upholding the united Workhouses therein as of maintaining and relieving the Poor of the respective Parishes of such Unions, is assessed upon such Parishes in the respective Proportions fixed at the Period when such Unions were formed, and in others a Part of such Expences is so levied, and a Part subjected to Variations at stated Periods: And whereas some of the Parishes of such Unions have contributed and still continue to contribute, as their fixed Proportion of the general Fund, a Sum much larger and others a Sum much less than the actual Expence incurred for the Relief of the Poor belonging to them respectively; for Remedy thereof be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, as soon as conveniently may be after the passing of this Act, to cause an Inquiry to be made and an Account rendered, as far as it may be practicable to render the same, by the Visitors, Directors, Acting Guardians, or other Officers of such Parishes or Unions respectively, of the Expence incurred for the Relief of the Poor belonging to each Parish within any such Union, whether such Poor shall have been relieved in or out of such Parish respectively, or in or out of any united Workhouse, and whether such Expence has been paid by the general Fund of such Union or the parochial Funds of any of the Parishes thereof, or by any private Rate, or general Subscription in lieu of a Rate among the Rate-payers of any such Parish, and whether passed through the Books or paid under the Control of the Managers or Officers of such Union, or not, for the Period of Three Years ending on the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, including therein a due Proportion of the Expence of maintaining the united Workhouses and Establishment of such Union, calculated according to the actual Expence otherwise incurred for the Relief of the Poor belonging to each such Parish; and the average annual Amount of such Expence shall be deemed and taken to have been the annual Expence incurred by such Parish on account of its Poor, notwithstanding such Parish may have contributed a greater or smaller Sum than such annual Average to the general Funds of the Union during such Period; and such annual Average, so ascertained as aforesaid, shall, if the said Commissioners shall see fit, and to such Extent only as they may direct, be deemed and taken as the fixed Proportion to be contributed and paid by each such Parish respectively towards a common Fund for the future hiring, maintaining, and upholding, repairing, altering, or enlarging of any Workhouse, and the renting of any Land used by such Union at the passing of this Act, and for the purchasing, building, hiring, maintaining, upholding, repairing, altering, or enlarging of any new Workhouse or Workhouses, or other Place for the Reception and Relief of the Poor belonging to the Parishes of such Union, and for the renting or Purchase of any Lands or Tenements under or by virtue of the Provisions of this Act, and the Payment or Allowance of any Officers of such Union, and the providing of Utensils or Materials for setting the Poor on work therein, and for any other Expence to be in future incurred for the common Use or Benefit of such Parishes, and in addition to the Cost or Proportion of Cost of the Poor of such Parishes who shall be maintained or relieved in or out of any Workhouse of such Union, for which each such Parish shall in future be charged separately; any Provision or Enactment in the said recited Act or in any such Local Acts to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided always, and the said Commissioners are hereby authorized, if they see fit, but not otherwise, upon the Application of the Guardians of any such last-mentioned Union, or of the Overseers

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Overseers of any Parish forming Part of the same, or without such Application, from Time to Time to cause an Inquiry and Calculation to be made, and Average ascertained, for the Three Years ending on the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* next preceding such Inquiry, of the Expence incurred by each such Parish, as well in respect of its Contribution to such common Fund as of the Cost or Proportion of Cost of its Poor which shall have been maintained or relieved in or out of any Workhouse of such Union during such Period of Three Years; and from and after the ascertaining of such Average or of any succeeding Average the respective Parishes of such Union shall contribute and be assessed to the common Fund thereof, for the Purposes of which such common Fund is herein-before declared to be applicable, in the Proportions which the Expence of such Parishes shall be found to have borne to each other during such Period, upon the Average which shall have been so last ascertained, until a like Inquiry shall be again made, and a new Average and Proportion ascertained for the future Assessment of such Parishes to such common Fund: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any Parishes already formed or hereafter to be formed into a Union for the Purposes of Settlement or rating, or where the annual Assessment is directed to be indifferently proportioned between the several Parishes composing such Union.

XXX. And for facilitating the Inquiries directed by this Act, be it enacted, That unless and until they shall be proved to the Satisfaction of the said Commissioners to be incorrect, the Returns made to Parliament of the Sums expended for the Relief of the Poor of any Parish for the last Three Years previous to the passing of this Act shall be deemed to be the actual Expence incurred by each such Parish respectively during that Period for the Purposes aforesaid, and on account of the Poor belonging to such Parish respectively, and shall be taken as the Ground on which such Averages shall be calculated and ascertained.

XXXI. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act so much of the said recited Act made and passed in the Twenty-second Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Third, intituled *An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor*, as provides that no Parish, Township, Hamlet, or Place which shall be situate more than Ten Miles from any Poorhouse or Workhouse to be provided under the Authority of that Act shall be permitted to be united for the Purposes therein mentioned with the Parishes, Townships, Hamlets, and Places which shall establish such Poorhouse or Workhouse as therein mentioned, and as limits the Class or Description of Persons who shall be sent to such Poorhouse or Workhouse; and so much of a certain Act made and passed in the Fifty-sixth Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty King *George* the Third, intituled *An Act to repeal certain Provisions in Local Acts for the Maintenance and Management of the Poor*, as repeals all Enactments and Provisions contained in any Act or Acts of Parliament since the Commencement of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the First, whereby any Parish, Township, or Hamlet at a greater Distance than Ten Miles from any House of Industry or Workhouse shall thereafter be empowered or authorized to become Contributors to or to take the Benefit of such House of Industry or Workhouse; shall be and the same is hereby repealed.

XXXII. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, from Time to Time, as they may see fit, by Order under their Hands and Seal, to declare any Union, whether formed before or after the passing of this Act, (except when united for the Purposes of Settlement or rating,) to be dissolved, or any Parish or Parishes, specifying the same, to be separated from or added to any such Union, and, as the Case may be, such Union shall thereupon be dissolved, or such Parish or Parishes shall thereupon be separated from or added to such Union accordingly; and the said Commissioners shall in every such Case frame and make such Rules, Orders, and Regulations as they may think fit for adapting the Constitution, Management, and Board of Guardians of every such Union, from or to which there shall be such Separation or Addition as aforesaid, to the altered State of the same, and every such Union shall after any such Alteration be constituted, managed, and governed as if the same had been originally formed in such altered State; and in case any Union shall be wholly or partially dissolved as aforesaid, then the Parishes constituting, or, in case of a partial Dissolution, separated from any such Union, shall thenceforth be subject to be re-united, or united with other Parishes or Unions, or otherwise dealt with according to the Provisions of this Act as the said Commissioners shall think fit: Provided always, that in every such Case the said Commissioners shall and they are hereby required to ascertain the proportionate Value to every Parish of such Union of the Workhouses or other Property held or enjoyed by such Union for the Use of the Poor or Benefit of the Rate-payers therein, and also the proportionate Amount chargeable on every Parish in respect of all the Liabilities of such Union existing at the Time of such Dissolution or Alteration of the same, and the said Commissioners shall thereupon fix the Amount to be received, or paid or secured to be paid, by every Parish affected by such Alteration; and the Sum to be received, if any, by such Parish, shall be paid, or, as the said Commissioners shall direct, be secured to be paid, to the Overseers or Guardians of the same, for the Benefit of such Parish, and in diminution of the Rates thereof and of the Expence attending such Alteration; and the Sum to be so paid or secured to be paid by every such Parish shall be raised, under the Direction of the said Commissioners, by the Overseers or Guardians of such Parish, or charged on the Poor Rates of such Parish, as the said Commissioners may see fit, and shall be paid or secured for the Use and Benefit of the Union from which the same Parish shall have been so separated, or of the Persons or Parishes otherwise entitled thereto, as the Case may be: Provided always, that no such Dissolution or Alteration of the Parishes constituting any such Union, nor any Addition thereto as aforesaid, shall in any Manner prejudice, vary, or affect the Rights or

Parliamentary Returns to be Evidence of actual Expence of Poor to each Parish.

Repeal of 22 G. 3. c. 83. s. 5., and 56 G. 3. c. 129. Part of s. 1. restraining Parishes from contributing to Workhouse at a greater Distance than 10 Miles; and of 22 G. 3. c. 83. s. 29. limiting Class of Persons to be sent to Workhouse.

Power to dissolve, add to, or take from any Union;

and thereupon to make such Rules as may be adapted to its altered State.

Rights and Interests of Parishes, and Claims on them, to be ascertained and secured.

Dissolution or Alteration not to affect Rights Interests

Appendix Two

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of Third Parties, nor take place without the Consent of Guardians of Parish.

United Parishes may be One Parish for Purposes of Settlement.

Union may be One Parish for Purpose of rating, with Consent of Guardians.

Agreement or Counterpart for such rating to be deposited with Clerk of the Peace.

Guardians to ascertain and assess Value of Property.

Rates grounded on such Assessment to be allowed as Poor Rates.

In such Cases all Expenditure for the Poor to be in common.

Interests of Third Persons, unless such Third Persons, by themselves or their Agents, shall consent in Writing to such Dissolution or proposed Alteration or Addition; and that no such Dissolution, Alteration, or Addition shall take place or be made unless a Majority of not less than Two Thirds of the Guardians of such Union shall also concur therein; and in every such Case, when the said Majority of the Guardians of such Union shall so concur in such proposed Alteration, the Terms on which such Concurrence shall have been given, if approved by the said Commissioners, shall be binding and conclusive on the several Parishes of such Union.

XXXIII. And be it further enacted, That in any Union already formed or which may hereafter be formed in pursuance of or under the Provisions of this Act it shall and may be lawful for the Guardians elected by the Parishes forming such Union, by any Writing under the Hands of all such Guardians, to agree, subject to the Approbation of the said Commissioners, for or on behalf of the respective Parishes forming such Union, that for the Purposes of Settlement such Parishes shall be considered as One Parish; and in such Case such Agreement, having been first signed by the said Guardians, shall be signed and sealed by the said Commissioners, and One Part thereof shall be deposited with the said Commissioners, and a Counterpart or Counterparts thereof, signed by the said Guardians, and signed and sealed by the said Commissioners, deposited with the Clerk of the Peace of the County, Riding, Division, District, or Liberty in which the Parishes of such Union shall be respectively situate; and the said Clerk of the Peace shall and is hereby required, upon the Receipt of such Agreement, or Counterpart or Counterparts thereof, to file the same with the Records of such County, Riding, Division, District, or Liberty; and from and after the depositing of the same as aforesaid the said Agreement shall for ever thereafter be binding on each of such Parishes, and shall not be revoked or annulled; and the Settlement of a poor Person in any one of the Parishes of such Union shall be considered, as between such Parishes, a Settlement in such Union, and the Expence of maintaining, supporting, and relieving every such poor Person, and all other Expences of maintaining, supporting, and relieving the Poor to which any one of such Parishes shall be liable after the depositing of such Agreement, Part or Counterpart as aforesaid, or of ascertaining, litigating, or adjudging the Settlement of any poor Person in any of such Parishes, shall form Part of the general Expences and be paid out of the common Funds of such Union: Provided always, that wherever such Agreement is entered into as aforesaid the Rate or Proportion of Contribution to such common Funds to be thereafter paid by each of the Parishes of such Union shall be ascertained and fixed in like Manner as in and by this Act is provided for in Cases where any Union of Parishes is made or proposed to be made under the Provisions thereof, and shall not be subject to further Variation.

XXXIV. And be it further enacted, That where the Parishes of any Union shall be situate within the same County, Riding, Division, District, or Liberty, under the Jurisdiction of the same Justices of the Peace, it shall and may be lawful for the Guardians elected by the Parishes forming such Union, by any Writing under the Hands of all such Guardians, to agree, with the Approbation of the said Commissioners, for or on behalf of the respective Parishes for which they shall so act as Guardians, that, for the Purposes of raising in common the necessary Funds for the Relief of the Poor of such Union, such Parishes shall be considered One Parish; and in such Case such Agreement, having been first signed by the said Guardians, shall be signed and sealed by the said Commissioners, and One Part thereof deposited with the said Commissioners, and a Counterpart or Counterparts thereof, signed by the said Guardians, and signed and sealed by the said Commissioners, deposited with the Clerk of the Peace of the County, Riding, Division, District, or Liberty, Counties, District or Districts, in which the said Parishes of such Union shall be situate; and the said Clerk or Clerks of the Peace shall and is and are hereby required, upon the Receipt of such Agreement, Part or Counterpart, to file the same with the Records of such County, Riding, Division, District, or Liberty, or Counties, District or Districts, and from and after the depositing and filing of such last-mentioned Agreement or Counterpart the same shall be for ever binding upon such Parishes, and shall not be revoked or annulled.

XXXV. And be it further enacted, That from and after such depositing and filing of the said Agreement, Part, or Counterpart, the said Guardians shall, under such Regulations as the said Commissioners shall in that respect prescribe, proceed to ascertain and assess the Value of the Property in the several Parishes of such Union rateable to the Relief of the Poor, and to cause to be made such Surveys and Valuations of the said Property, or any Part thereof, as may be necessary from Time to Time, to make a fair and just Assessment upon the said united Parishes in respect of such Property so rateable as aforesaid; and all Rates grounded on every such Valuation or Assessment shall be made, allowed, published, and recovered in such and the same Manner as Rates for the Relief of the Poor are now by Law made, allowed, published, and recovered; and the Rate-payers shall have the like Power of Appeal against such last-mentioned Rates as any Persons now have against Rates made for the Relief of the Poor.

XXXVI. And be it further enacted, That from and after any such common Rate shall have come into operation the Proportions of Contribution fixed at the Period of uniting such Parishes, or existing at the Time of such last-mentioned Agreement for a common Rate, shall wholly cease; and all Expenditure in respect of the Poor of such Union, or chargeable in any way on the Poor Rates of the respective Parishes thereof, shall be deemed and be the common Expenditure of such Union, and be chargeable upon and paid out of the common or general Fund to be raised upon such Parishes under such common Rate, according to the Valuation or Assessment of the rateable Property in such Parishes so ascertained, confirmed, and allowed by the said Justices from Time to Time in manner herein-before provided.

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provided: Provided always, that the Expence of every such Valuation shall at all Times be a Charge on the common Rate of such Parishes: Provided always, that in case any Parish of any Union, at the Period of entering into such Agreement for the Purposes of Settlement or a common Rate, shall not be represented by a Guardian elected solely by such Parish, such Parish shall not be bound by any such Agreement, unless a Majority of the Owners of Property and Rate-payers in such Parish, entitled to vote in the Manner provided by this Act, shall, by their Votes in Writing, testify their Assent to such Agreement in such Form as the said Commissioners shall prescribe; and in case such Assent shall not be so given, such Parish shall be wholly omitted from such Agreement, and be liable to pay such Proportion only of the common Assessment as it was bound to pay upon the forming of the Union of such Parishes.

XXXVII. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act no Union or Incorporation of Parishes shall be formed under the Provisions of the said Act made and passed in the Twenty-second Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Third, without the previous Consent of the said Commissioners, testified under their Hands and Seal.

XXXVIII. And be it further enacted, That where any Parishes shall be united by Order or with the Concurrence of the said Commissioners for the Administration of the Laws for the Relief of the Poor, a Board of Guardians of the Poor for such Union shall be constituted and chosen, and the Workhouse or Workhouses of such Union shall be governed, and the Relief of the Poor in such Union shall be administered, by such Board of Guardians; and the said Guardians shall be elected by the Rate-payers, and by such Owners of Property in the Parishes forming such Union as shall in manner herein-after mentioned require to have their Names entered as entitled to vote as Owners in the Books of such Parishes respectively; and the said Commissioners shall determine the Number and prescribe the Duties of the Guardians to be elected in each Union, and also fix a Qualification without which no Person shall be eligible as such Guardian, such Qualification to consist in being rated to the Poor Rate of some Parish or Parishes in such Union, but not so as to require a Qualification exceeding the annual Rental of Forty Pounds, and shall also determine the Number of Guardians which shall be elected for any One or more of such Parishes, having due Regard to the Circumstances of each such Parish: Provided always, that One or more Guardians shall be elected for each Parish included in such Union; and such Guardians, when so elected, shall continue in Office until the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* next following their Appointment or until others are appointed in their Stead, and on such Twenty-fifth Day of *March*, or if that Day should fall on a *Sunday* or *Good Friday* then on the Day next following, or within Fourteen Days next after the said Twenty-fifth Day of *March* in every Year, such Guardians shall go out of Office, and the Guardians for the ensuing Year shall be chosen; and in the event of any Vacancy occurring in such Board by the Death, Removal or Resignation, or Refusal or Disqualification to act of any elected Guardian between the Periods of such first and the next and any subsequent annual Election, or in case the full Number of Guardians shall not be duly elected at such subsequent Election of Guardians for the Time being, the other or remaining Members of the said Board shall continue to act until the next Election, or until the Completion of the said Board, as if no such Vacancy had occurred, and as if the Number of such Board were complete; and every Justice of the Peace residing in any such Parish, and acting for the County, Riding, or Division in which the same may be situated, shall be an *ex officio* Guardian of such united or common Workhouses, and shall, until such Board of Guardians shall be duly elected and constituted as aforesaid, and also, in case of any Irregularity or Delay in any subsequent Election of Guardians, receive and carry into effect the Rules, Orders, and Regulations of the said Commissioners; and after such Board shall be elected and constituted as aforesaid every such Justice shall *ex officio* be and be entitled, if he think fit, to act as a Member of such Board, in addition to and in like Manner as such elected Guardians: Provided always, that, except where otherwise ordered by the said Commissioners, and also except for the Purpose of consenting to the Dissolution or Alteration of any Union or any Addition thereto, or to the Formation of any Union for the Purposes of Settlement or rating, no *ex officio* or other Guardian of any such Board as aforesaid shall have Power to act in virtue of such Office except as a Member and at a Meeting of such Board; and no Act of any such Meeting shall be valid unless Three Members shall be present and concur therein: Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall prevent such Owners and Rate-payers from re-electing the same Persons or any or either of them to be Guardians for the Year next ensuing, nor from electing as a Guardian any Person who may already have been chosen as a Guardian of any other Parish.

XXXIX. And be it further enacted, That if the said Commissioners shall, by any Order under their Hands and Seal, direct that the Administration of the Laws for the Relief of the Poor of any single Parish should be governed and administered by a Board of Guardians, then such Board shall be elected and constituted, and authorized and entitled to act, for such single Parish, in like Manner in all respects as is herein-before enacted and provided in respect to a Board of Guardians for united Parishes: and every Justice of the Peace resident therein, and acting for the County, Riding, or Division in which the same is situated, shall be and may act as an *ex officio* Member of such Board.

XL. And be it enacted, That in all Cases of the Election of Guardians under this Act, or wherever the Consent of the Owners of Property or Rate-payers in any Parish or Union shall be required for any of the Purposes of this Act, except when otherwise expressly provided for in this Act, the Votes of such Owners and Rate-payers shall be given or taken in Writing, collected, and returned, in such Manner as the said Commissioners shall direct; and in every such Case the Owner, as well as the Rate-payer, in respect of any Property in such Parish or Union, shall be entitled to vote, and the Owner

Expence of Valuation. Proviso for Consent of Parishes not represented by Guardian.

No Union to be so formed without Consent of Commissioners.

Constitution and Election of Board of Guardians for Unions.

No Guardian to have Power except at a local Board, unless otherwise directed by the Commissioners. Guardians may be re-elected.

The like for single Parishes.

At Elections of Guardians Votes to be taken in Writing, and Owners as well as Occupiers to vote.

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Owner shall have the same Number and Proportion of Votes respectively as is provided for Inhabitants and other Persons in and by an Act made and passed in the Fifty-eighth Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty King *George the Third*, intituled *An Act for the Regulation of Parish Vestries*, and in and by an Act to amend the same, made and passed in the Fifty-ninth Year of His said late Majesty; and the Rate-payers under Two hundred Pounds shall each have a single Vote; and the Rate-payers rated at Two hundred Pounds or more, but under Four hundred Pounds, shall each have Two Votes, and the Rate-payers rated at Four hundred Pounds or more, shall each have Three Votes; and the Majority of the Votes of such Owners and Rate-payers which shall be actually collected and returned shall in every such Case be binding on such Parish; and for the Purpose of ascertaining the Number of Votes to which each such Owner shall be entitled, the aggregate Amount of the Assessment for the Time being of any Property belonging to such Owner in such Parish, or on any Person or Persons in respect of the same, to the Poor Rate, shall be deemed to be and be taken as the annual Value of such Property to such Owner; and where any such Owner shall be the *bona fide* Occupier of any such Property, he shall be entitled to vote as well in respect of his Occupation as of his being such Owner: Provided always, that it shall be lawful for any Owner from Time to Time, by Writing under his Hand, to appoint any Person to vote as his Proxy; and every such Appointment shall remain in force until revoked or recalled by such Owner; but no Owner shall be entitled to vote, either in Person or Proxy, unless he shall, previous to the Day on which he shall claim to vote, have given a Statement in Writing of his Name and Address, and the Description of the Property in the Parish as Owner whereof, or Proxy for the Owner whereof, he claims to vote, and if such Proxy, the original or an attested Copy of the Writing appointing him such Proxy, to the Overseers of such Parish; and the said Overseers are hereby required to enter in the Rate Books of such Parish, or in some other Book to be from Time to Time provided for that Purpose, the Names and Addresses of the Owners and Proxies who shall send such Statements, and the Assessment of the Rate for the Relief of the Poor of the Property in respect whereof they respectively claim to vote: Provided also, that every Person who shall not vote, or who shall not comply with the Directions to be made by the said Commissioners for the giving, taking, or returning of Votes, shall be omitted in the Calculation of Votes, and considered as having had no Vote on the Question whereon he might have voted: Provided also, that no Person shall be deemed a Rate-payer, or be entitled to vote, or do any other Act, Matter, or Thing as such, under the Provisions of this Act, unless he shall have been rated to the Relief of the Poor for the whole Year immediately preceding his so voting or otherwise acting as such Rate-payer, and shall have paid the Parochial Rates and Assessments made and assessed upon him for the Period of One whole Year, as well as those due from him at the Time of so voting or acting, except such as shall have been made or become due within the Six Months immediately preceding such voting or acting: Provided always, that in Cases of Property belonging to any Corporation Aggregate, or to any Joint Stock or other Company, no Member of such Corporation, or Proprietor of or interested in such Joint Stock or other Company, shall be entitled to vote as such Owner in respect thereof; but any Officer of such Corporation, Joint Stock, or other Company, whose Name shall be entered by the Direction of the governing Body of such Corporation or Company in the Books of the Parish, in the Manner herein-before directed with respect to the Owner of Property, shall be entitled to vote in respect of such Property in the same Manner as if he were the Owner thereof.

XLII. And be it further enacted, That all Elections of Guardians, Visitors, and other Officers, for the Execution of any of the Powers or Purposes of the said recited Act made and passed in the Twenty-second Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty King *George the Third*, intituled *An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor*, or any Local Act of Parliament relating to Poor-houses, Workhouses, or the Relief of the Poor, or any Act to alter or amend the same respectively, shall hereafter, so far as the said Commissioners shall direct, be made and conducted according to the Provisions of this Act: Provided always, that it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, if they shall so think fit, from Time to Time, with the Consent of the Majority of the Owners of Property and Rate-payers of any Parish, or of any Union now existing or to be formed under the Provisions of this Act, to alter the Period for which the Guardians to be appointed under the Provisions of this Act for such Parish or Union, or any of them, would under the Provisions of this Act hold Office, for such other Period or Periods as to the said Commissioners, with such Consent as aforesaid, shall seem expedient, and also to make such Alterations in the Number, Mode of Appointment, Removal, and Period of Service of the Guardians, or any of them, of any Parish, or of any Union now existing or to be formed under the Provisions of this Act, as to the said Commissioners, with such Consent as aforesaid, shall seem expedient.

XLIII. And be it further enacted, That the said Commissioners may and are hereby authorized, by Writing under their Hands and Seal, to make Rules, Orders, and Regulations, to be observed and enforced at every Workhouse already established by virtue of the said recited Act made and passed in the Twenty-second Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty King *George the Third*, intituled *An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor*, or any General or Local Act of Parliament, or hereafter to be established by virtue of such Acts or of any of them, or of this or any other Act of Parliament relating to the Relief of the Poor, for the Government thereof, and the Nature and Amount of the Relief to be given to and the Labour to be exacted from the Persons relieved, and the Preservation therein of good Order, and from Time to Time to suspend, alter, vary, amend, or rescind the same; and make any new or other Rules, Orders, and Regulations, to be observed and enforced as aforesaid,

58 G. 3. c. 69.

Scale of Voting.

Votes may be given by Proxy.

No Rate-payer to vote unless rated One Year.

Elections of Guardians, Visitors, and other Officers under the Act 22 G. 3. c. 83. or any Local Act to be made according to the Provisions of this Act.

Commissioners may make Rules, &c. for present or future Workhouses, and vary Bye Laws already in force or to be made hereafter.

aforesaid, as they from Time to Time shall think fit, and to alter, at their Discretion, any of the Rules, Orders, and Regulations contained in the Schedule to the said recited Act, and also to alter or rescind any Rules, Orders, and Regulations heretofore made in pursuance of the said recited Act, or any Local Act of Parliament relating to Workhouses or the Relief of the Poor; and that all Rules, Orders, and Regulations to be from Time to Time made by the said Commissioners under the Authority of this Act shall be valid and binding, and shall be obeyed and observed as if the same were specifically made by and embodied in this Act; subject, nevertheless, to the said Power of the said Commissioners from Time to Time to rescind, amend, suspend, or alter the same: Provided always, that if any such Rule, Order, or Regulation shall be, at the Time of issuing the same, directed to and affect more than One Union, the same shall be considered as a General Rule, and subject and liable to all the Provisions in this Act contained respecting General Rules.

XLIII. And be it further enacted, That where any Rules, Orders, or Regulations, or any Bye Laws, shall be made or directed by the said Commissioners to be observed or enforced in any Workhouse, it shall and may be lawful for any Justice of the Peace acting in and for the County, Place, or Jurisdiction in which such Workhouse shall be situate, to visit, inspect, and examine such Workhouse at such Times as he shall think proper, for the Purpose of ascertaining whether such Rules, Orders, Regulations, or Bye Laws are or have been duly observed and obeyed in such Workhouse, as well as for such other Purposes as Justices are now authorized to visit Workhouses under and by virtue of a certain Act made and passed in the Thirtieth Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled *An Act to empower Justices and other Persons to visit Parish Workhouses or Poor-houses, and examine and certify the State and Condition of the Poor therein to the Quarter Sessions*; and if in the Opinion of such Justice such Rules, Orders, Regulations, or Bye Laws, or any of them, have not been duly observed and obeyed in such Workhouse, it shall be lawful for such Justice to summon the Party offending in such respect to appear before any Two Justices of the Peace to answer any Complaint touching the Nonobservance of such Rules, Orders, Regulations, and Bye Laws, or any of them, and upon Conviction before such Two Justices of the Party so offending such Party shall forfeit and be liable to such Penalties and Punishments as are herein-after prescribed and provided against Parties wilfully neglecting or disobeying the Rules, Orders, or Regulations of the said Commissioners: Provided always, that where no such Rules, Orders, Regulations, or Bye Laws shall have been directed by the said Commissioners to be enforced and observed in the Workhouse of any Parish, nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to restrain or prevent any Justice of the Peace, Physician, Surgeon, or Apothecary, or the Officiating Clergyman of any Parish, from visiting such Workhouse, and examining and certifying the State and Condition of the same and of the Poor therein, in such Manner as they or any of them are authorized to do in and by the said last-recited Act.

XLIV. Whereas the Jurisdiction of certain Cities, Boroughs, and Corporate Towns is not always co-extensive with the Parish in which it exists; be it therefore enacted, That every House or Building which shall be erected, purchased, or hired as and for a Workhouse, together with all Premises and Appurtenances thereto belonging, and the Land or Lands occupied therewith, shall be deemed and held to be within and subject to the local Jurisdiction of such incorporated City, Borough, or Town to which they may respectively belong, though the same may be situated in such Part of the respective Parishes as may not be within the chartered Boundaries thereof.

XLV. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall authorize the Detention in any Workhouse of any dangerous Lunatic, insane Person, or Idiot, for any longer Period than Fourteen Days; and every Person wilfully detaining in any Workhouse any such Lunatic, insane Person, or Idiot, for more than Fourteen Days, shall be deemed guilty of a Misdemeanor: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any Place duly licensed for the Reception of Lunatics and other insane Persons, or to any Workhouse being also a County Lunatic Asylum.

XLVI. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, as and when they shall see fit, by Order under their Hands and Seal, to direct the Overseers or Guardians of any Parish or Union, or of so many Parishes or Unions as the said Commissioners may in such Order specify and declare to be united for the Purpose only of appointing and paying Officers, to appoint such paid Officers with such Qualifications as the said Commissioners shall think necessary for superintending or assisting in the Administration of the Relief and Employment of the Poor, and for the examining and auditing, allowing or disallowing of Accounts in such Parish or Union, or united Parishes, and otherwise carrying the Provisions of this Act into execution; and the said Commissioners may and they are hereby empowered to define and specify and direct the Execution of the respective Duties of such Officers, and the Places or Limits within which the same shall be performed, and direct the Mode of the Appointment and determine the Continuance in Office or Dismissal of such Officers, and the Amount and Nature of the Security to be given by such of the said Officers as the said Commissioners shall think ought to give Security, and when the said Commissioners may see Occasion, to regulate the Amount of Salaries payable to such Officers respectively, and the Time and Mode of Payment thereof, and the Proportions in which such respective Parishes or Unions shall contribute to such Payment; and such Salaries shall be chargeable upon and payable out of the Poor Rates of such Parish or Union, or respective Parishes, in the Manner and Proportions fixed by the said Commissioners, and shall be recoverable against the Overseers or Guardians of such Parish or Union, or Parishes, by all such Ways and Means as the Salaries of Assistant Overseers or other paid Officers of any Parish

Rules, &c. affecting more than One Union to be deemed General Rules.

Justices empowered to see Bye Laws enforced, and to visit Workhouses, pursuant to 30 G. 3. c. 49.

The Power given to Justices, &c. to visit Workhouses reserved where Commissioners Rules, &c. are not in force.

Buildings taken for Workhouses to be within the Jurisdiction of the Place to which they belong, though situated without

No Lunatic, insane Person, or dangerous Idiot, to be detained in Workhouse more than 14 Days.

Commissioners may direct Overseers and Guardians to appoint paid Officers for Parishes or Unions; and fix their Duties, and the Mode of Appointment and Dismissal, and the Security; and regulate their Salaries.

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or Union are recoverable by Law: and all such Payments shall be valid, and shall be allowed in the Accounts of the Overseers or Guardians paying the same.

Overseers, &c. to pass Accounts quarterly.

XLVII. And be it further enacted, That every Overseer, Treasurer, or other Person having the Collection, Receipt, or Distribution of the Monies assessed for the Relief of the Poor in any Parish or Union, or holding or accountable for any Balance or Sum of Money, or any Books, Deeds, Papers, Goods, or Chattels relating to the Relief of the Poor, or the Collection or Distribution of the Poor Rate of any Parish or Union, shall once in every Quarter, in addition to the annual Account now by Law required, and where the Rules, Orders, and Regulations of the said Commissioners shall have come in force, then as often as the said Rules, Orders, and Regulations shall direct, but not less than once in every Quarter, make and render to the Guardians, Auditors, or such other Persons as by virtue of any Statute or Custom, or of the said Rules, Orders, or Regulations, may be appointed to examine, audit, allow, or disallow such Accounts, or in default of any such Guardian, Auditor, or other Person being so appointed as aforesaid, then to the Justices of the Peace at their Petty Sessions for the Division in which such Parish or Union shall be situate, a full and distinct Account in Writing of all Monies, Matters, and Things committed to their Charge, or received, held, or expended by them on behalf of any such Parish or Union, and if thereunto required by the Justices, Guardians, Auditors, or other Persons authorized in that Behalf, shall verify on Oath the Truth of all such Accounts and Statements from Time to Time respectively, or subscribe a Declaration to the Truth thereof, in manner and under the Penalties in this Act provided for Parties giving false Evidence or refusing to give Evidence under the Provisions of this Act; and all Balances due from any Guardian, Treasurer, Overseer, or Assistant Overseer, or other Person having the Control and Distribution of the Poor Rate, or accountable for such Balances, may be recovered in the same Manner as any Penalties and Forfeitures are recoverable under this Act: Provided nevertheless, that no such Proceeding shall exonerate or discharge the Liability of the Surety of any such Treasurer, Overseer, Assistant Overseer, or other Person as aforesaid.

Recovery of Balances.

Surety not to be discharged.

Masters of Workhouses and Parish Officers to be under Order of Board, and removable by them.

XLVIII. And be it further enacted, That the said Commissioners may and they are hereby authorized and empowered, as and when they shall think proper, by Order under their Hands and Seal, either upon or without any Suggestion or Complaint in that Behalf from the Overseers or Guardians of any Parish or Union, to remove any Master of any Workhouse, or Assistant Overseer, or other paid Officer of any Parish or Union whom they shall deem unfit for or incompetent to discharge the Duties of any such Office, or who shall at any Time refuse or wilfully neglect to obey and carry into effect any of the Rules, Orders, Regulations, or Bye Laws of the said Commissioners, whether such Union shall have been made or such Officer appointed before or after the passing of this Act, and to require from Time to Time the Persons competent in that Behalf to appoint a fit and proper Person in his Room; and that any Person so removed shall not be competent to be appointed to or to fill any paid Office connected with the Relief of the Poor in any such Parish or Union, except with the Consent of the said Commissioners under their Hands and Seal: Provided always, that no Person shall be eligible to hold any Parish Office, or have the Management of the Poor in any way whatever, who shall have been convicted of Felony, Fraud, or Perjury.

Contracts not to be valid unless conformable to the Rules of Commissioners.

XLIX. And be it further enacted, That any Contract which shall be entered into by or on behalf of any Parish or Union, for or relating to the Maintenance, Clothing, Lodging, Employment, or Relief of the Poor, or for any other Purpose relating to or connected with the general Management of the Poor, which shall not be made and entered into in conformity with the Rules, Orders, or Regulations of the said Commissioners in that Behalf in force at the Time of making and entering into the same, or otherwise sanctioned by them, shall be voidable, and if the said Commissioners shall so direct, shall be null and void; and all Payments made under or in pursuance of any Contract not made and entered into in conformity with such Rules, Orders, or Regulations, at any Period after the said Commissioners shall have declared the same to be null and void as aforesaid, shall be disallowed in passing the Accounts of the Overseer, Guardian, or other Officer by whom such Payments shall have been made.

Repeal of 45 G. 3. c. 54. as to Contracts.

L. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act a certain Act made and passed in the Forty-fifth Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled *An Act to amend an Act made in the Ninth Year of King George the First, for amending the Laws relating to the Settlement, Employment, and Relief of the Poor, so far as the same respects Contracts to be entered into for the Maintenance and Employment of the Poor*, shall be and the same is hereby repealed: Provided always, that nothing in this Act contained shall extend or be construed to extend to affect or make void any Bond or other Security which shall have been entered into or given before the passing of this Act, under or in pursuance of the Provisions of the said Act hereby repealed.

The Penalty imposed by 55 G. 3. c. 137. on Persons having the Management of the Poor being concerned in any Contract extended to Persons appointed under this Act.

LI. And be it further enacted, That so much of a certain Act made and passed in the Fifty fifth Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled *An Act to prevent poor Persons in Workhouses from embezzling certain Property provided for their Use; to alter and amend so much of an Act of the Thirty-sixth Year of His present Majesty as restrains Justices of the Peace from ordering Relief to poor Persons in certain Cases for a longer Period than One Month at a Time; and for other Purposes therein mentioned, relating to the Poor*, as inflicts a Penalty on Persons having the Management of the Poor if concerned in providing or in any Contract for the Supply of any Goods, Materials, or Provisions for the Use of any Workhouse or Workhouses, or otherwise for the Support or Maintenance of the Poor for their own Profit, and all Remedies for the Recovery of such Penalties, shall apply and the same are hereby extended and made applicable to every Commissioner, Assistant Commissioner, Guardian,

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Guardian, Treasurer, Master of a Workhouse, or other Officer to be appointed under the Provisions of this Act.

LII. And whereas a Practice has obtained of giving Relief to Persons or their Families who, at the Time of applying for or receiving such Relief, were wholly or partially in the Employment of Individuals, and the Relief of the able-bodied and their Families is in many Places administered in Modes productive of Evil in other respects: And whereas Difficulty may arise in case any immediate and universal Remedy is attempted to be applied in the Matters aforesaid; be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, by such Rules, Orders, or Regulations as they may think fit, to declare to what Extent and for what Period the Relief to be given to able-bodied Persons or to their Families in any particular Parish or Union may be administered out of the Workhouse of such Parish or Union, by Payments in Money, or with Food or Clothing in Kind, or partly in Kind and partly in Money, and in what Proportions, to what Persons or Class of Persons, at what Times and Places, on what Conditions, and in what Manner such Out door Relief may be afforded; and all Relief which shall be given by any Overseer, Guardian, or other Person having the Control or Distribution of the Funds of such Parish or Union, contrary to such Orders or Regulations, shall be and the same is hereby declared to be unlawful, and shall be disallowed in the Accounts of the Person giving the same, subject to the Exceptions herein-after mentioned: Provided always, that in case the Overseers or Guardians of any Parish or Union to which such Orders or Regulations shall be addressed or directed shall, upon Consideration of the special Circumstances of such Parish or Union, or of any Person or Class of Persons therein, be of Opinion that the Application and enforcing of such Orders or Regulations, or of any Part thereof, at the Time or in the Manner prescribed by the said Commissioners, would be inexpedient, it shall be lawful for such Overseers or Guardians to delay the Operation of such Orders or Regulations, or of any Part thereof, for any Period not exceeding the Space of Thirty Days, to be reckoned from the Day of the Receipt of such Orders or Regulations; and such Overseers or Guardians shall, Twenty Days at the least before the Expiration of such Thirty Days, make a Statement and Report of such special Circumstances to the said Commissioners; and all Relief which shall be given by such Overseers or Guardians, before an Answer to such Report shall have been returned by the said Commissioners, if otherwise lawful, shall not be deemed unlawful although the same shall have been given contrary to such Orders or Regulations, or any of them; but in case the said Commissioners shall disapprove of such Delay, or think that for the future such Orders or Regulations ought to come into operation, notwithstanding the special Circumstances alleged by such Overseer or Guardian, it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners, by a peremptory Order, to direct that from and after a Day to be fixed thereby such Orders and Regulations, or such Parts or Modifications thereof as they may think expedient and proper, shall be enforced and observed by such Overseers and Guardians; and if any Allowance be made or Relief given by such Overseers or Guardians after the said last-mentioned Period, contrary to any such last-mentioned Order, the Amount of the Relief or Allowance so given shall be disallowed in the Accounts of the Party giving the same: Provided also, that a quarterly Report of all such Cases as shall occur in any Quarter shall, at the End of every such Quarter, be laid by the said Commissioners before One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State: Provided also, that in case the Overseers or Guardians of any Parish or Union in which such Orders or Regulations shall be in force shall depart from them or any of them in any particular Instance or Instances of Emergency, and shall within Fifteen Days after every such Departure report the same and the Grounds thereof to the said Commissioners, and the said Commissioners shall approve of such Departure, or if the Relief so given shall have been given in Food, temporary Lodging, or Medicine, and shall have been so reported as aforesaid, then and in either of such Cases the Relief granted by such Overseers or Guardians, if otherwise lawful, shall not be unlawful or subject to be disallowed.

LIII. And be it further enacted, That an Act passed in the Thirty-sixth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, intituled *An Act to amend so much of an Act made in the Ninth Year of the Reign of King George the First, intituled 'An Act for amending the Laws relating to the Settlement, Employment, and Relief of the Poor,' as prevents the distributing occasional Relief to poor Persons in their own Houses, under certain Circumstances and in certain Cases;* and so much of an Act made and passed in the Fifty-fifth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, intituled *An Act to prevent poor Persons in Workhouses from embezzling certain Property provided for their Use, to alter and amend so much of an Act of the Thirty-sixth Year of His present Majesty as restrains Justices of the Peace from ordering Relief to poor Persons in certain Cases for a longer Period than One Month at a Time, and for other Purposes therein mentioned relating to the Poor,* as extends the Period for which occasional Relief may be ordered by any Justice or Justices to poor Persons at their own Homes; and so much of the said Act made and passed in the Fifty-ninth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, intituled *An Act to amend the Laws for the Relief of the Poor,* as empowers any Justice or Justices to order Relief in certain Cases for a limited Time, or in Cases of urgent Necessity, or in Cases where Parishes are under the Management of Guardians, Governors, or Directors appointed by Special or Local Acts, or in Cases where Parishes have not a Select Vestry, shall be and the same are hereby repealed.

LIV. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act the ordering, giving, and directing of all Relief to the Poor of any Parish which, according to the Provisions of any of the said recited Acts, or of an Act passed in the First and Second Years of the Reign of His present Majesty, &c.

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Majesty, &c.

Commissioners to regulate the Relief to able-bodied Paupers and their Families out of the Workhouse.

Relief contrary to their Regulations to be disallowed:

But Overseers may delay the Operation of such Regulations under special Circumstances, and make Report thereof to Commissioners.

If Commissioners disapprove of Delay, they may fix a Day from which all such Relief shall be disallowed.

Cases of Emergency.

Repeal of
36 G. 3. c. 23.
55 G. 3. c. 137.
s. 3 & 4. and
59 G. 3. c. 12.
s. 2 & 5.

No Relief to be in future given, except by Board of Guardians.

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1 & 2 W. 4. c. 60. Majesty, intituled *An Act for the better regulating of Vestries, and for the Appointment of Auditors of Accounts in certain Parishes in England and Wales*, or of this Act, or of any Local Acts, shall be under the Government and Control of any Guardians of the Poor, or of any Select Vestry, and whether forming Part of any Union or Incorporation or not, (but subject in all Cases to, and saving and excepting the Powers of, the said Commissioners appointed under this Act,) shall appertain and belong exclusively to such Guardians of the Poor or Select Vestry, according to the respective Provisions of the Acts under which such Guardians or Select Vestry may have been or shall be appointed; and it shall not be lawful for any Overseer of the Poor to give any further or other Relief or Allowance from the Poor Rate than such as shall be ordered by such Guardians or Select Vestry, except in Cases of sudden and urgent Necessity, in which Cases he is hereby required to give such temporary Relief as each Case shall require, in Articles of absolute Necessity, but not in Money, and whether the Applicant for Relief be settled in the Parish where he shall apply for Relief or not: Provided always, that in case such Overseer shall refuse or neglect to give such necessary Relief in any such Case of Necessity to poor Persons not settled nor usually residing in the Parish to which such Overseer belongs, it shall and may be lawful for any Justice of the Peace to order the said Overseer, by Writing under his Hand and Seal, to give such temporary Relief in Articles of absolute Necessity, as the Case shall require, but not in Money; and in case such Overseer shall disobey such Order, he shall, on Conviction before Two Justices, forfeit any Sum not exceeding Five Pounds which such Justices shall order: Provided always, that any Justice of the Peace shall be empowered to give a similar Order for Medical Relief (only) to any Parishioner, as well as Out-Parishioner, where any Case of sudden and dangerous Illness may require it; and any Overseer shall be liable to the same Penalties as aforesaid for disobeying such Order; but it shall not be lawful for any Justice or Justices to order Relief to any Person or Persons from the Poor Rates of any such Parish, except as herein before provided.

Any Justice may give Order for Medical Relief in dangerous Illness.

Masters of Workhouses and Overseers to keep Registers.

LV. And be it enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act the Master of every Workhouse, or such other paid Officer of the Parish or Union as the said Commissioners may direct, shall, on such Day and in such Form as the said Commissioners shall appoint, take an Account of, and register in a Book to be provided at the Expence of the Parish or Union to which such Workhouse shall belong, and to be kept specially for that Purpose, the Name of every poor Person who shall on such Days be in the Receipt of Relief at or in such Workhouse, together with such Particulars respecting the Families and Settlement of every such poor Person, and his and their Relief and Employment, as the said Commissioners shall think fit; and in like Manner, on such Day as the said Commissioners shall appoint, the Overseer of the Poor of every such Parish shall register in a Book to be provided and kept as aforesaid, the Name of every poor Person then in the Receipt of Relief in such Parish out of the Workhouse, together with such Particulars respecting the Family and Settlement of every such poor Person, and his and their Relief and Employments, as the said Commissioners shall think fit; and after such Account shall have been so taken and registered as aforesaid a similar Register and Account shall be kept by the like Persons respectively of all Persons who shall receive Relief at or in or out of a Workhouse, when and as often as such Relief shall be granted.

Poor Persons liable for Relief to Wife or Children.

LVI. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act all Relief given to or on account of the Wife, or to or on account of any Child or Children under the Age of Sixteen, not being blind or deaf and dumb, shall be considered as given to the Husband of such Wife, or to the Father of such Child or Children, as the Case may be, and any Relief given to or on account of any Child or Children under the Age of Sixteen of any Widow shall be considered as given to such Widow: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall discharge the Father and Grandfather, Mother and Grandmother, of any poor Child, from their Liability to relieve and maintain such poor Child in pursuance of the Provisions of a certain Act of Parliament passed in the Forty-third Year of the Reign of Her late Majesty Queen Elizabeth, intituled *An Act for the Relief of the Poor*.

43 Eliz. c. 2.

Husband liable to maintain Children of Wife born before Marriage.

LVII. And be it further enacted, That every Man who from and after the passing of this Act shall marry a Woman having a Child or Children at the Time of such Marriage, whether such Child or Children be legitimate or illegitimate, shall be liable to maintain such Child or Children as a Part of his Family, and shall be chargeable with all Relief, or the Cost Price thereof, granted to or on account of such Child or Children until such Child or Children shall respectively attain the Age of Sixteen, or until the Death of the Mother of such Child or Children; and such Child or Children shall, for the Purposes of this Act, be deemed a Part of such Husband's Family accordingly.

Such Relief as Commissioners may direct to be considered as Loan.

LVIII. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act any Relief, or the Cost Price thereof, which shall be given to or on account of any poor Person above the Age of Twenty-one, or to his Wife, or any Part of his Family under the Age of Sixteen, and which the said Commissioners shall by any Rule, Order, or Regulation declare or direct to be given or considered as given by way of Loan, and whether any Receipt for such Relief, or Engagement to repay the same, or the Cost Price thereof, or any Part thereof, shall have been given or not by the Person to or on account of whom the same shall have been so given, shall be considered and the same is hereby declared to be a Loan to such poor Person.

Power to Justices to attach Wages in Hands of Master or Employer.

LIX. And be it further enacted, That in all Cases where any Relief shall have been given by way of Loan, or where any Relief, or the Cost Price thereof, shall be treated as a Loan, under the Rules, Orders, and Regulations of the said Commissioners, or the Provisions of this Act, it shall be lawful for any Justice, upon the Application of the Overseers or Guardians of the Parish or Union providing such Relief, and upon Proof of the same having been given to or on account of any such Person, his Wife or Family

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Family as aforesaid, and of the same, or any Part thereof, still remaining due, to issue a Summons, requiring such Person as well as the Master or Employer of such Person, or some Person on his Behalf, to appear before any Two Justices, at a Time and Place to be named in such Summons, to show Cause why any Wages due, or which may from Time to Time become due, from such Master or Employer, should not be paid over, in whole or in part, to such Overseers or Guardians, and if no sufficient Cause be shown to the contrary, or if such Person, or some one on his Behalf, shall not appear on the Return of such Summons, then the said Justices shall, by Order under their Hands, direct the Master or Employer for the Time being from whom any Wages shall be due or from Time to Time become due or payable to such poor Person, to pay, either in one Sum or by such weekly or other Instalments as the said Justices shall in their Discretion think fit, taking into consideration the Circumstances of such poor Person and his Family, out of such Wages, to such Overseers or Guardians, the Amount of such Relief, or so much thereof as shall from Time to Time be due or unpaid; and the Payment to and Receipt of any such Overseer or Guardian shall be a good Discharge to such Master or Employer for so much of any such Wages as shall be so paid by virtue of any such Order; and if any such Master or Employer shall refuse or neglect to pay to the Overseer or Guardian producing any such Order the Money thereby directed to be paid, according to the Terms of such Order, and at the Periods thereby fixed for such Payment, the same may be levied and recovered, and the Payment thereof from Time to Time enforced against such Master or Employer, in such and the like Manner as Penalties and Forfeitures are recoverable under this Act.

Mode of Proceeding against Masters for Recovery thereof.

LX. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act so much of an Act passed in the Forty-third Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled *An Act for consolidating and amending the several Laws for providing Relief for the Families of Militiamen in England when called out into actual Service*, as directs Overseers of the Poor, by Order of some One Justice of the Peace, to pay to the Family of any Person serving or enrolled as a ballotted Man, Substitute, hired Man, or Volunteer in the Militia of England, a weekly Allowance, or as authorizes any Justice or Justices to order such Allowance to be paid under the Rules and Conditions in the said recited Act provided, or as in any way discharges such ballotted Man, Substitute, hired Man, or Volunteer from the Liability to maintain or repay the Costs of Maintenance of his Family or any Part thereof, or as prevents such Families or any Part thereof from being removable to their Place of legal Settlement, or sent to any Workhouse, by reason of their receiving any Allowance or being chargeable, shall be and the same is hereby repealed.

Repeal of so much of 43 G. 3. c. 47. as requires Relief to be given to Wives and Families of Substitutes, hired Men, or Volunteers of Militia.

LXI. And be it further enacted, That from and after the Period at which any Rule, Order, or Regulation of the said Commissioners shall come into Operation for the binding of poor Children Apprentices, in addition to such Assent or Consent, Order or Allowance of Justices, as are now required by Law, such Justices or any One Justice are and is hereby authorized and required to examine and ascertain whether the Rules, Orders, or Regulations of the said Commissioners then in force for the binding of poor Children Apprentices have been complied with, and to certify the same at the Foot of every such Contract or Indenture, and of the Counterpart thereof, in such Form and Manner as the said Commissioners by such Rules, Orders, or Regulations may direct, and until so certified no such Contract or Indenture of Apprenticeship shall be valid: Provided nevertheless, that nothing in this Act, or in any Rule, Order, or Regulation of the said Commissioners, shall affect the Jurisdiction of any Justices of the Peace over any Master or Apprentice during the Period of Apprenticeship.

Justices to certify that Rules of Commissioners have been complied with in binding poor Children Apprentices.

LXII. And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the Rate-payers in any Parish, and such of the Owners of Property therein as shall, in manner herein-before mentioned, have required their Names to be entered in the Rate Books of such Parishes respectively as entitled to vote as Owners, assembled at a Meeting to be duly convened and held for the Purpose, after public Notice of the Time and Place of holding such Meeting, and the Purpose for which the same is intended to be held, shall have been given in like Manner as Notices of Vestry Meetings are published and given, to direct that such Sum or Sums of Money, not exceeding Half the average yearly Rate for the Three preceding Years, as the said Owners and Rate-payers so assembled at such Meeting may think proper, shall be raised or borrowed as a Fund, or in aid of any Fund or Contribution for defraying the Expences of the Emigration of poor Persons having Settlements in such Parish, and willing to emigrate, to be paid out of or charged upon the Rates raised or to be raised for the Relief of the Poor in such Parish, and to be applied under and according to such Rules, Orders, and Regulations as the said Commissioners shall in that Behalf direct: Provided always, that no such Direction for raising Money for such Purpose as aforesaid shall have any Force or Effect unless and until confirmed by the said Commissioners, and that the Time to be limited for the Repayment of any Sum so charged on such Rates as aforesaid shall in no Case exceed the Period of Five Years from the Time of borrowing the same: Provided also, that all Sums of Money so raised as last herein-before mentioned, and advanced by way of Loan, for the Purposes of Emigration, or such Proportion thereof as the said Commissioners shall by any Rule, Order, or Regulation from Time to Time direct, shall be recoverable against any such Person, being above the Age of Twenty-one Years, who or whose Family, or any Part thereof, having consented to emigrate, shall refuse to emigrate after such Expences shall have been so incurred, or having emigrated shall return, in such and the like Manner as is herein-before provided with respect to Relief, or the Cost Price of Relief, given or considered to be given by way of Loan to any Person, his Wife or Family.

Justices Power reserved as between Master and Apprentice.

Power to Owners and Rate-payers to raise Money on Security of Rates for Purposes of Emigration.

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Overseers may apply to Commissioners of Exchequer Bills under Act 57 G. 3. c. 34. for Advance of Money.

Repeal of Settlement by Hiring and Service.

No Settlement incomplete under Hiring and Service to be completed.

No Settlement acquired without paying Poor Rate;

nor by being apprenticed in the Sea Service;

nor by Possession longer than the Person shall inhabit within 10 Miles thereof.

Repeal of Acts relating to Liability and Punishment of putative Father, and Punishment of Mother of illegitimate Children.

Securities and Recognizances for Indemnity of Parishes against Children likely to be born Bastards to be null and void.

Persons in Custody for not giving Indemnity to be discharged.

Mother of illegitimate Chil-

LXIII. And be it further enacted, That where it shall be lawful, under the Provisions of any of the herein recited Acts, or of any Local Act, or of this Act, to raise or borrow any Sum or Sums of Money for the Purpose of purchasing, building, altering, or enlarging any Workhouse or Workhouses in any Parish or Union, or for purchasing Land whereon to build the same, or for defraying the Expences of the Emigration of poor Persons having Settlements in any Parish, and being willing to emigrate, it shall be lawful for the Overseers or Guardians of such Parish or Union, with the Consent of the said Commissioners, to be testified under their Hands and Seal, to make Application for an Advance of any Sum necessary for any such Purposes to the Commissioners appointed under an Act made and passed in the Fifty-seventh Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, intituled *An Act to authorize the Issue of Exchequer Bills, and the Advance of Money out of the Consolidated Fund, to a limited Amount, for the carrying on of Public Works and Fisheries in the United Kingdom, and Employment of the Poor in Great Britain, in manner therein mentioned*, and of any Act or Acts passed for amending or continuing the same; and the said Exchequer Bill Loan Commissioners are hereby empowered to make such Advances, upon any such Application as aforesaid, upon the Security of the Rates for the Relief of the Poor in such Parish or Union, and without requiring any further or other Security than a Charge on such Rates.

LXIV. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act no Settlement shall be acquired by Hiring and Service, or by Residence under the same, or by serving an Office.

LXV. And be it further enacted, That no Person under any Contract of Hiring and Service not completed at the Time of the passing of this Act shall acquire, or be deemed or adjudged to have acquired, any Settlement by reason of such Hiring and Service, or of any Residence under the same.

LXVI. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act no Settlement shall be acquired or completed by occupying a Tenement, unless the Person occupying the same shall have been assessed to the Poor Rate, and shall have paid the same, in respect of such Tenement, for One Year.

LXVII. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act no Settlement shall be acquired by being apprenticed in the Sea Service, or to a Householder exercising the Trade of the Seas as a Fisherman or otherwise, nor by any Person now being such an Apprentice in respect of such Apprenticeship.

LXVIII. And be it further enacted, That no Person shall be deemed, adjudged, or taken to retain any Settlement, gained by virtue of any Possession of any Estate or Interest in any Parish, for any longer or further Time than such Person shall inhabit within Ten Miles thereof; and in case such Person shall cease to inhabit within such Distance, and thereafter become chargeable, such Person shall be liable to be removed to the Parish wherein previously to such Inhabitaney he may have been legally settled, or in case he may have subsequently to such Inhabitaney gained a legal Settlement in some other Parish, then to such other Parish.

LXIX. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act so much of any Act or Acts of Parliament as enables any single Woman to charge any Person with having gotten her with any Child of which she shall then be pregnant, or as renders any Person so charged liable to be apprehended or committed, or required to give Security, on any such Charge, or as enables the Mother of any Bastard Child or Children to charge or affiliate any such Child or Children on any Person as the reputed or putative Father thereof, or as enables any Overseer or Guardian to charge or make Complaint against any Person as such reputed or putative Father, and to require him to be charged with or contribute to the Expences attending the Birth, Sustentation, or Maintenance of any such Child or Children, or to be imprisoned or otherwise punished for not contributing thereto, or as in any way renders such reputed or putative Father liable to Punishment or Contribution as such, or as enables Churchwardens and Overseers, by the Order of any Two Justices of the Peace, confirmed by the Sessions, to take, seize, and dispose of the Goods and Chattels, or to receive the annual Rents or Profits of the Lands of any putative Father of Bastard Children, and so much of any such Act or Acts as renders an unmarried Woman with Child liable as such to be summoned, examined, or removed, or as renders the Mother of any Bastard liable as such to be imprisoned or otherwise punished, shall, so far as respects any Child which shall be likely to be born or shall be born a Bastard after the passing of this Act, or the Mother or putative Father of such Child, be and the same is hereby repealed.

LXX. And be it further enacted, That every Security given or Recognizance entered into by any Person or Persons, or his or their Surety, before the passing of this Act, or to indemnify any Parish or Place as to any Child or Children likely to be born a Bastard or Bastards, whereof any single Woman shall be pregnant at the Time of the passing of this Act, or to abide and perform such Order or Orders as might have been made touching such Child or Children, pursuant to an Act made and passed in the Eighteenth Year of the Reign of Her said late Majesty Queen Elizabeth, concerning Bastards begotten and born out of lawful Matrimony, shall be and the same are hereby declared null and void; and every Person who shall at the Time of the passing this Act be in Custody upon the Commitment of any Justice or Justices for not having given such Security or entered into such Recognizance shall be discharged (upon the Application of such Person) by any One of the Visiting Justices of the Gaol in which such Person shall be in Custody under any such Commitment.

LXXI. And be it further enacted, That every Child which shall be born a Bastard after the passing of this Act shall have and follow the Settlement of the Mother of such Child until such Child shall attain

attain the Age of Sixteen, or shall acquire a Settlement in its own Right, and such Mother, so long as she shall be unmarried or a Widow, shall be bound to maintain such Child as a Part of her Family until such Child shall attain the Age of Sixteen; and all Relief granted to such Child while under the Age of Sixteen shall be considered as granted to such Mother: Provided always, that such Liability of such Mother as aforesaid shall cease on the Marriage of such Child, if a Female.

LXXII. And be it enacted, That when any Child shall hereafter be born a Bastard, and shall by reason of the Inability of the Mother of such Child to provide for its Maintenance become chargeable to any Parish, the Overseers or Guardians of such Parish, or the Guardians of any Union in which such Parish may be situate, may, if they think proper, after diligent Inquiry as to the Father of such Child, apply to the next General Quarter Sessions of the Peace within the Jurisdiction of which such Parish or Union shall be situate, after such Child shall have become chargeable, for an Order upon the Person whom they shall charge with being the putative Father of such Child to reimburse such Parish or Union for its Maintenance and Support; and the Court to which such Application shall be made shall proceed to hear Evidence thereon, and if it shall be satisfied, after hearing both Parties, that the Person so charged is really and in Truth the Father of such Child, it shall make such Order upon such Person in that respect as to such Court shall appear to be just and reasonable under all the Circumstances of the Case: Provided always, that no such Order shall be made unless the Evidence of the Mother of such Bastard Child shall be corroborated in some material Particular by other Testimony to the Satisfaction of such Court: Provided also, that such Order shall in no Case exceed the actual Expence incurred or to be incurred for the Maintenance and Support of such Bastard Child while so chargeable, and shall continue in force only until such Child shall attain the Age of Seven Years, if he shall so long live: Provided also, that no Part of the Monies paid by such putative Father in pursuance of such Order shall at any Time be paid to the Mother of such Bastard Child, nor in any way be applied to the Maintenance and Support of such Mother.

LXXIII. And be it enacted, That no such Application shall be heard at such Sessions unless Fourteen Days Notice shall have been given under the Hands of such Overseers or Guardians to the Person intended to be charged with being the Father of such Child of such intended Application; and in case there shall not, previously to such Sessions, have been sufficient Time to give such Notice, the hearing of such Application shall be deferred to the next ensuing General Quarter Sessions: Provided always, that whenever such Application shall be heard, the Costs of the Maintenance of such Bastard Child shall, in case the Court shall think fit to make an Order thereon, be calculated from the Birth of such Bastard Child, if such Birth shall have taken place within Six Calendar Months previous to such Application being heard; but if such Birth shall have taken place more than Six Calendar Months previously to such Application being heard, then from the Day of the Commencement of Six Calendar Months next preceding the hearing of such Application: Provided also, that if upon the hearing of such Application the Court shall not think fit to make any Order thereon, it shall order and direct that the full Costs and Charges incurred by the Person so intended to be charged in resisting such Application shall be paid by such Overseers or Guardians.

LXXIV. And be it enacted, That if such Person so intended to be charged shall not appear by himself or his Attorney at the Time when such Application shall come on to be heard before such Court, according to such Notice, such Court shall nevertheless proceed to hear the same, unless such Overseers or Guardians shall produce an Agreement under the Hand of such Person to abide by such Order as such Court shall make thereon without the hearing of Evidence by such Court: Provided always, that such Court may, notwithstanding such Agreement, require that Evidence shall be given in support of such Application, if it thinks fit, before such Order is made.

LXXV. And be it enacted, That whenever such Overseers or Guardians shall have determined to make such Application as aforesaid it shall be lawful for One Justice of the Peace, at the Request of such Overseers or Guardians, to summon the Person so intended to be charged with being the Father of such Bastard Child to appear before him; and if such Justice shall be satisfied that such Person has any Intention to abscond or keep out of the way, in order to avoid the Consequences of such Application, such Justice may require such Person to enter into a Recognizance to appear and answer thereto, and, in case such Person shall refuse or neglect to enter into such Recognizance, may commit such Person to the Gaol or House of Correction of the County, Riding, or Division within which such Parish shall be situate, until he shall enter into such Recognizance, or until such Application shall be heard.

LXXVI. And be it enacted, That if at any Time after the Expiration of One Calendar Month after an Order shall have been made in pursuance of such Application it shall appear to One Justice, upon the Oath of any One of such Overseers or Guardians, that the Payments directed to be made by such Order have not been made according thereto and are in arrear, it shall be lawful for such Justice or any other Justice by Warrant under his Hand and Seal to cause such putative Father of such Bastard Child to be brought before Two Justices of the Peace; and in case such putative Father shall refuse or neglect to make Payment of such Sum of Money as shall appear to such Justices to be due from him under such Order, together with the Costs of Apprehension, it shall be lawful for such or any Two Justices to proceed to recover such Sum and Costs by Distress and Sale of the Goods and Chattels of such putative Father, or by attaching the Wages of such putative Father for the Recovery of such Sum and Costs, in the same Manner as Wages may be attached under the Provisions of this Act.

LXXVII. And

dren bound to maintain the same.

Court of Quarter Sessions, on Application of Overseers, &c. may make an Order on putative Father of Child for its Support.

Monies paid not applicable to Support of Mother.

No Application to be heard without Fourteen Days previous Notice.

If Application be heard, Costs may be calculated from Birth of Bastard Child, if within Six Months.

In the Event of Party charged not appearing, Court may nevertheless enter into the Case.

Party summoned, if suspected of intending to abscond, may be required to enter into a Recognizance for his Appearance.

When Payments get into arrear, putative Father may be proceeded against by Distress or Attachment of Wages.

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No Person employed in Administration of Poor Laws to furnish, for his own Profit, Goods or Provisions given in Parochial Relief.

Sums payable under 43 Eliz. c. 2. s. 7. by Relations of poor Persons, how recoverable.

No Person to be removed till after Notice of his being chargeable has been sent to the Parish to which Order of Removal is directed. Such Person may be removed if Order submitted to; but not in case of Appeal.

In case of Appeal the Overseers to have Access to such poor Person touching his Settlement.

Grounds of Appeal to be stated in Notice.

Parish losing Appeal to pay such Costs as Court may direct.

Party making frivolous or vexatious Statement to pay Costs.

LXXVII. And be it further enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any Person hereafter to be appointed in any Parish or Union to any Office concerned in the Administration of the Laws for the Relief of the Poor, or for any Person who after the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-five shall fill any such Office, to furnish or supply, for his own Profit or on his own Account, any Goods, Materials, or Provisions ordered to be given in Parochial Relief, or to furnish or supply any Goods, Materials, or Provisions for or in respect of the Money ordered to be given in Parochial Relief to any Person in such Parish or Union; and every Person holding such Office shall, on Conviction before any Two Justices of the Peace, be subject to a Penalty of Five Pounds for such Offence, one Half of which Penalty shall be paid to the Informer, and the other Half in aid of the Poor Rates of such Parish or Union.

LXXVIII. And be it further enacted, That all Sums of Money which shall be assessed by any Justices of the Peace on the Father, Grandfather, Mother, Grandmother, Child, or Children of any poor Person, for the Relief or Maintenance of such poor Person, under or by virtue of the Provisions of a certain Act passed in the Forty-third Year of the Reign of Her late Majesty Queen *Elizabeth*, intituled *An Act for the Relief of the Poor*, or of any Act to amend the same, or of this Act, and all Penalties and Forfeitures to which any Person so assessed by such Justices for such Relief or Maintenance shall be liable for any Default in paying the same by virtue of the Provisions of any of the said recited Acts or of this Act, shall be recoverable against every Person so assessed or charged in like Manner as Penalties and Forfeitures are recoverable under the Provisions of this Act.

LXXIX. And be it further enacted, That from and after the First Day of *November* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four no poor Person shall be removed or removable, under any Order of Removal from any Parish or Workhouse, by reason of his being chargeable to or relieved therein, until Twenty-one Days after a Notice in Writing of his being so chargeable or relieved, accompanied by a Copy or Counterpart of the Order of Removal of such Person, and by a Copy of the Examination upon which such Order was made, shall have been sent, by Post or otherwise, by the Overseers or Guardians of the Parish obtaining such Order, or any Three or more of such Guardians, to the Overseers of the Parish to whom such Order shall be directed: Provided always, that if such Overseers or Guardians as last aforesaid, or any Three or more of such Guardians, shall by Writing under their Hands agree to submit to such Order, and to receive such poor Person, it shall be lawful to remove such poor Person according to the Tenor of such Order, although the said Period of Twenty-one Days may not have elapsed: Provided also, that if Notice of Appeal against such Order of Removal shall be received by the Overseers or Guardians of the Parish from which such poor Person is directed in such Order to be removed within the said Period of Twenty-one Days, it shall not be lawful to remove such poor Person until after the Time for prosecuting such Appeal shall have expired, or, in case such Appeal shall be duly prosecuted, until after the final Determination of such Appeal.

LXXX. And be it enacted, That the Overseers or Guardians of the Parish giving such Notice of Appeal, or their Attorney, or any other Person authorized by them, shall, until such Appeal shall have been heard and decided, at all proper Times have free Access to such poor Person for the Purpose of examining him touching his Settlement; and in case it shall be necessary for the more effectual Examination of such Person that he should be taken out of the removing Parish, such Overseers or Guardians shall be permitted to remove him therefrom for the Time which may be necessary for that Purpose: Provided always, that the Expence of such Removal, and of his Maintenance during the same, shall be defrayed by the appellant Parish.

LXXXI. And be it further enacted, That after the First Day of *November* One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, in every Case where Notice of Appeal against such Order shall be given, the Overseers or Guardians of the Parish appealing against such Order, or any Three or more of such Guardians, shall, with such Notice, or Fourteen Days at least before the first Day of the Sessions at which such Appeal is intended to be tried, send or deliver to the Overseers of the respondent Parish a Statement in Writing under their Hands of the Grounds of such Appeal; and it shall not be lawful for the Overseers of such appellant Parish to be heard in support of such Appeal unless such Notice and Statement shall have been so given as aforesaid: Provided always, that it shall not be lawful for the respondent or appellant Parish, on the hearing of any Appeal, to go into or give Evidence of any other Grounds of Removal, or of Appeal against any Order of Removal, than those set forth in such respective Order, Examination, or Statement as aforesaid.

LXXXII. And be it further enacted, That upon every such Appeal the Court before whom the same shall be brought shall and may, if they think fit, order and direct the Parish against which the same shall be decided to pay to the other such Costs and Charges as may to such Court appear just and reasonable, and shall certify the Amount thereof; and in case the Overseers of the Poor of the Parish liable to pay the same shall, upon Demand, and upon the Production of such Certificate, refuse or neglect to pay the same, the Amount thereof may be recovered from such Overseer in the same Manner as any Penalties or Forfeitures are by this Act recoverable.

LXXXIII. And be it further enacted, That if either of the Parties shall have included in the Order or Statement sent as herein-before directed any Grounds of Removal or of Appeal which shall in the Opinion of the Justices determining the Appeal be frivolous and vexatious, such Party shall be liable, at the Discretion of the said Justices, to pay the Whole or any Part of the Costs incurred by the other Party

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Party in disputing any such Grounds, such Costs to be recovered in the Manner herein-before directed as to the other Costs incurred by reason of such Appeal.

LXXXIV. And be it further enacted, That the Parish to which any poor Person whose Settlement shall be in question at the Time of granting Relief shall be admitted or finally adjudged to belong shall be chargeable with and liable to pay the Cost and Expence of the Relief and Maintenance of such poor Person, and such Cost and Expence may be recovered against such Parish in the same Manner as any Penalties or Forfeitures are by this Act recoverable: Provided always, that such Parish, if not the Parish granting such Relief, shall pay to the Parish by which such Relief shall be granted the Cost and Expence of such Relief and Maintenance from such Time only as Notice of such poor Person having become chargeable shall have been sent by such relieving Parish to the Parish to which such poor Person shall be so admitted or finally adjudged to belong: Provided always, that no Charges or Expences of Relief or Maintenance shall be recoverable under a suspended Order of Removal unless Notice of such Order of Removal, with a Copy of the same, and of the Examination upon which such Order was made, shall have been given within Ten Days of such Order being made to the Overseers of the Poor of the Parish to whom such Order is directed.

LXXXV. And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners and they are hereby empowered, from Time to Time as they may think fit, to require from all Persons in whom any Freehold, Copyhold, or Leasehold Estate, or any other Property or Funds belonging to any Parish, and held in Trust for or applicable to the Relief of the Poor, or which may be applied in diminution of the Poor Rate of such Parish, shall be vested, or who shall be in the Receipt of the Rents, Profits, or Income of any such Estate, Property, or Funds, a true and detailed Account in Writing of the Place where such Estate may be situate, or in what Mode or on what Security such other Property or Funds may be invested, with such Details of the Rents, Profits, and Income thereof, and of the Appropriation of the same, and of all such other Particulars relating thereto, as the said Commissioners may direct and require; and such Statement or a true Copy thereof shall, under the Regulations of the said Commissioners, be open for the Inspection of the Owners of Property and Rate-payers in such Parish: Provided always, that nothing herein-before contained shall apply to any Funds raised from Time to Time by the voluntary Contributions of the Inhabitants of any Parish.

LXXXVI. And be it further enacted, That no Advertisement inserted by or under the Direction of the said Commissioners in the *London Gazette* or any Newspaper, for the Purpose of carrying into effect any Provisions of this Act, nor any Mortgage, Bond, Instrument, or any Assignment thereof, given by way of Security, in pursuance of the Rules, Orders, or Regulations of the said Commissioners, and conformable thereto, nor any Contract or Agreement, or Appointment of any Officer, made or entered into in pursuance of such Rules, Orders, or Regulations, and conformable thereto, nor any other Instrument made in pursuance of this Act, nor the Appointment of any paid Officer engaged in the Administration of the Laws for the Relief of the Poor, or in the Management or Collection of the Poor Rate, shall be charged or chargeable with any Stamp Duty whatever.

LXXXVII. And whereas by an Act passed in the Twenty-second Year of the Reign of King George the Third, intituled *An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor*, the Visitor and Guardian of the Poor of any Parish, Township, or Place which shall adopt the Provisions of the said recited Act are authorized thereby to borrow Money at Interest, for the Purposes mentioned in the said Act, and to secure such Money by a Charge upon the Poor's Rates of such Parish, Township, or Place, in Sums not exceeding Fifty Pounds each, in a certain Form contained in the Schedule to the said Act, or to that or to the like Effect, and which Security is directed and allowed to be assigned by Indorsement on the Back thereof in a certain Form also contained in the said Schedule, or to that or to the like Effect: And whereas Doubts have arisen touching the Liability of such Securities as aforesaid, and the Assignments or Transfers thereof, to Stamp Duty, and it is expedient to remove the same; be it therefore enacted and declared, That no Bond or other Security at any Time heretofore or to be at any Time hereafter made or entered into in pursuance of the said recited Act, nor any Assignment or Transfer thereof, shall be charged or chargeable with, or be deemed to be or to have been subject or liable to, any Stamp Duty whatsoever; any thing in any Act contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

LXXXVIII. And be it further enacted, That the said Commissioners shall and may receive and send by the General Post, from and to Places within the United Kingdom, all Letters and Packets relating solely and exclusively to the Execution of this Act, free from the Duty of Postage, provided that such Letters and Packets as shall be sent to the said Commissioners be directed to the "Poor Law Commissioners" at their Office in *London*, and that all such Letters and Packets as shall be sent by the said Commissioners shall be in Covers, with the Words "Office of Poor Law Commissioners, pursuant to Act of Parliament passed in the Fifth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King *William* the Fourth," printed on the same, and be signed on the Outside thereof, under such Words, with the Name of such Person as the said Commissioners, with the Consent of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, or any Three or more of them, shall authorize and appoint, in his own Handwriting, (such Name to be from Time to Time transmitted to the Secretaries of the General Post Office in *London* and *Dublin*,) and be sealed with the Seal of the said Commissioners, and under such other Regulations and Restrictions as the said Lords Commissioners, or any Three or more of them, shall think proper and direct; and the Person so to be authorized is hereby strictly forbidden so to subscribe or seal any Letter or Packet whatever, except such only concerning which he shall receive the special Direction of his superior

Costs of Relief to be paid by Parish to which poor Persons belong.

Relief under suspended Order not to be recoverable unless Notice sent of such Order.

Power to call for and publish Accounts of Trust and Charity Estates.

Advertisements, &c. not liable to Stamp Duty.

Bonds and Securities made pursuant to 22 G. 3. c. 85., and Assignments thereof, exempted from Stamp Duty.

Letters to and from Board of Commissioners to be free of Postage, if sent conformable hereto.

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superior Officer, or which he shall himself know to relate solely and exclusively to the Execution of this Act; and if the Person so to be authorized, or any other Person, shall send, or cause or permit to be sent, under any such Cover, any Letter, Paper, or Writing, or any Enclosure, other than what shall relate to the Execution of this Act, every Person so offending shall forfeit and pay the Sum of One hundred Pounds, and be dismissed from his Office; One Moiety of the said Penalty to the Use of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and the other Moiety to the Use of the Person who shall inform or sue for the same, to be sued for and recovered in any of His Majesty's Courts of Record at Westminster for Offences committed in England, and in any of His Majesty's Courts of Record in Dublin for Offences committed in Ireland, and before the Sheriff or Stewartry Court of the Shire or Stewartry within which the Party offending shall reside, or the Offence shall be committed, for Offences committed in Scotland; and if any Letter, Paper, or Writing, or other Enclosure, shall be sent under Cover to the said Commissioners, the same not relating solely and exclusively to the Execution of this Act, they are hereby strictly required and enjoined to transmit the same forthwith to the Secretary of the Post Office in London, with the Covers under which the same shall be sent, in order that the Contents thereof may be charged with the full Rates of Postage.

Letters sent under Cover not relating solely to the Business of the Act to be transmitted to Post Office to be charged.

LXXXIX. And be it further enacted, That all Payments, Charges, and Allowances made by any Overseer or Guardian, and charged upon the Rates for the Relief of the Poor, contrary to the Provisions of this Act, or at variance with any Rule, Order, or Regulation of the said Commissioners made under the Authority of this Act, shall be and the same are hereby declared to be illegal, any Law, Custom, or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding; and every Justice of the Peace is hereby required to disallow as illegal and unfounded all Payments, Charges, or Allowances contrary to the Provisions of this Act, or to any such Rule, Order, or Regulation of the said Commissioners, which shall be contained in any Account of any Overseer of the Poor or Guardian which shall be presented for the Purpose of being passed or allowed: Provided always, that no Allowance by any Justice shall exonerate or discharge such Overseer or Guardian from any Penalty or legal Proceeding to which he may have rendered himself liable by having acted contrary to the Rules, Orders, and Regulations of the said Commissioners, or to the Provisions of this Act.

Payments contrary to this Act to be disallowed.

XC. And be it further enacted, That the leaving of any Summons authorized to be issued by any Commissioner, Assistant Commissioner, or Justice of the Peace, under this Act, at the usual or last known Place of Abode of the Party to whom such Summons shall be directed, shall in every Case be deemed good and sufficient Service of such Summons.

Service of Summons.

XCI. And be it further enacted, That so much of an Act made and passed in the Sixth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Fourth, intituled *An Act to repeal the Duties payable in respect of the Spirits distilled in England, and of Licences for distilling, rectifying, or compounding such Spirits, and for the Sale of Spirits, and to impose other Duties in lieu thereof, and to provide other Regulations for the Collection of the said Duties, and for the Sale of Spirits, and for the warehousing of such Spirits without Payment of Duty for Exportation*, as provides that if any Master or Officer of any Workhouse shall sell, use, lend, or give away, or knowingly permit or suffer any Spirits to be sold, used, lent, or given away, in any such Workhouse, or brought into the same, other than and except such Spirits as shall be prescribed or given by the Prescription and Direction of a Physician, Surgeon, or Apothecary, and to be supplied in pursuance of such Prescriptions from the Shop of some Apothecary, every such Master or such other Officer shall for every such Offence forfeit One hundred Pounds, and for the Second like Offence lose his Office; and so much of the said last mentioned Act as provides that no Person shall carry or bring, or attempt to endeavour to carry or bring, any Spirits, except to be used in the way of Medicine, into any Workhouse, under the Pain of being imprisoned for every such Offence for any Time not exceeding Three Months; and also so much of the said last-mentioned Act as provides that every Master and chief Officer of every Workhouse shall procure One or more Copy or Copies of the Clauses in the said Act mentioned to be printed or fairly written and hung up in one of the most public Places in the Workhouse, and renew the same from Time to Time, so that it may be always kept fair and legible, on pain of forfeiting the Sum of Ten Pounds for every wilful Default; or as enables any Justice of the Peace to demand a Sight of such Copy so hung up in some public Place, to convict such Master or Officer of such Default; shall be and the same is hereby repealed.

Repeal of so much of 6 G. 4 c. 80. as relates to Prohibition of Spirituous Liquors in Workhouses.

XCII. And be it further enacted, That if any Person shall carry, bring, or introduce, or attempt or endeavour to carry, bring, or introduce, into any Workhouse now or hereafter to be established, any spirituous or fermented Liquor without the Order in Writing of the Master of such Workhouse, it shall be lawful for the Master of such Workhouse, or any Officer of the same acting under his Direction, to apprehend or cause to be apprehended such Offender, and to carry him or her before a Justice of the Peace, who is hereby empowered to hear and determine such Offence in a summary Way; and upon Conviction thereof the Party so offending shall forfeit and pay any Sum of Money not exceeding Ten Pounds for every such Offence, as such Justice may direct; and in default of Payment of the Penalty hereby imposed such Justice may and is hereby required to commit such Offender to the Common Gaol or House of Correction for the District in which such Workhouse shall be situate for any Space of Time not exceeding Two Calendar Months, unless such Penalty shall be sooner paid.

Penalty on Persons introducing spirituous Liquors into Workhouses.

XCIII. And be it further enacted, That if any Master of a Workhouse shall order any spirituous or fermented Liquor to be carried, brought, or introduced into any Workhouse, except for the domestic Use of himself or of any Officer of the said Workhouse, or their respective Families, or except by and under

Penalty on Masters of Workhouses allowing Use of

under the written Authority of the Surgeon of such Workhouse, or of any Justice visiting the same, or of the Guardians of such Workhouse, or in conformity with any Rules, Orders, or Regulations of the said Commissioners; or if any such Master or any other Officer of any Workhouse shall carry, bring, or introduce into such Workhouse, or sell, use, lend, or give away therein, or knowingly permit or suffer to be carried, brought, or introduced, or sold, used, lent, or given away therein, any spirituous or fermented Liquor, contrary to the Rules, Orders, and Regulations of the said Commissioners; or shall punish with any corporal Punishment any adult Person in such Workhouse, or confine any such Person for any Offence or Misbehaviour for any longer Space of Time than Twenty-four Hours, or such further Space of Time as may be necessary in order to have such Person carried before a Justice of the Peace; or shall in any way abuse or ill-treat, or be guilty of any other Misbehaviour, or otherwise misconduct himself towards or with respect to any poor Person in such Workhouse; every such Master or Officer of a Workhouse so offending shall for every such Offence, upon the Complaint of the Overseers or Guardians of the Parish or Union to which such Workhouse shall belong, or of any such poor Person, and upon Conviction of such Offence before any Two Justices, forfeit and pay such Sum of Money, not being more than Twenty Pounds, as such Justices may direct; and in default of Payment of the Penalty hereby imposed such Justices may and are hereby required to commit such Offender to the Common Gaol or House of Correction for the District in which such Workhouse shall be situate for any Space of Time not exceeding Six Calendar Months, unless such Penalty shall be sooner paid: Provided always, that if at the Time when any such Master or Officer of a Workhouse shall be so convicted of any such Offence there shall be due to him any Sum of Money or Salary in respect of his Employment as such Master or Officer of such Workhouse, or upon any Balance of Account from the Overseers or Guardians of the Parish or Union to which such Workhouse shall belong, it shall be lawful for such Justices, upon the Application of such Overseers or Guardians, by Order in Writing under their Hand to direct that such Sum of Money, Salary, or Balance, so far as the same shall extend, or a sufficient Part thereof, shall be retained and applied for the Use of such Parish or Union by such Overseers or Guardians, in Payment or part Payment of any such Penalty; and such Order shall be a good and valid Discharge to such Overseers or Guardians for so much Money as may by such Order be directed to be so retained and applied against the Claim or Demand of the Master or other Officer of such Workhouse in respect of any such Sum of Money, Salary, or Balance.

spirituous Li-
quors, or ill-
treating poor
Persons, or
misconducting
himself.

Power for Jus-
tices to order
Salaries, &c.
to be stopped, and
applied towards
Payment of
Penalties.

XCV. And be it further enacted, That the Master of every Workhouse shall cause One or more Copy or Copies of the Two preceding Clauses to be printed or fairly written, and hung up in One of the most public Places of such Workhouse, and renew the same from Time to Time, so that it be always kept fair and legible, on pain of forfeiting the Sum of Ten Pounds for every wilful Default.

Masters to hang
up Copies of
Two preceding
Clauses in
Workhouse.

XCVI. And be it further enacted, That in case any Overseer, Assistant Overseer, Master of a Workhouse, or other Officer of any Parish or Union, shall wilfully disobey the legal and reasonable Orders of such Justices and Guardians in carrying the Rules, Orders, and Regulations of the said Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners, or the Provisions of this Act, into execution, every such Offender shall, upon Conviction before any Two Justices, forfeit and pay for every such Offence any Sum not exceeding Five Pounds.

Penalties on
Overseers and
other Officers
disobeying
Guardians.

XCVII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That no Overseer shall from henceforth be liable to any Prosecution or Penalty for not carrying into execution any illegal Order of such Justices or Guardians, any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

No Overseer to
be prosecuted
for not executing
illegal Orders.

XCVIII. And be it further enacted, That if any Overseer, Assistant Overseer, Master of a Workhouse, or other paid Officer, or any other Person employed by or under the Authority of the said Guardians, shall purloin, embezzle, or wilfully waste or misapply any of the Monies, Goods, or Chattels belonging to any Parish or Union, every such Offender shall, besides and in addition to such Pains and Penalties as such Person so offending shall, independently of this Act, be liable to, upon Conviction before any Two Justices, forfeit and pay for every such Offence any Sum not exceeding Twenty Pounds, and also Treble the Amount or Value of such Money, Goods, or Chattels so purloined, embezzled, wasted, or misapplied; and every Person so convicted shall be for ever thereafter incapable of serving any Office under the Provisions of this or any other Act in relation to the Relief of the Poor.

Penalty on
Overseers, &c.
purloining, &c.
Goods, &c. 20*l*.
and Treble the
Value of Goods
purloined.

XCVIII. And be it further enacted, That in case any Person shall wilfully neglect or disobey any of the Rules, Orders, or Regulations of the said Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners, or be guilty of any Contempt of the said Commissioners sitting as a Board, such Person shall, upon Conviction before any Two Justices, forfeit and pay for the First Offence any Sum not exceeding Five Pounds, for the Second Offence any Sum not exceeding Twenty Pounds nor less than Five Pounds, and in the event of such Person being convicted a Third Time, such Third and every subsequent Offence shall be deemed a Misdemeanor, and such Offender shall be liable to be indicted for the same Offence, and shall on Conviction pay such Fine, not being less than Twenty Pounds, and suffer such Imprisonment, with or without hard Labour, as may be awarded against him by the Court by or before which he shall be tried and convicted.

Penalty on
Persons wilfully
disobeying
Rules, Orders,
and Regula-
tions.

XCIX. And be it further enacted, That all Penalties and Forfeitures by this Act inflicted or authorized to be imposed for any Offence against the same shall, upon Proof and Conviction of the Offences respectively before any Two Justices, either by the Confession of the Party offending, or by the Oath of any credible Witness or Witnesses, (which Oath such Justices are in every Case hereby fully authorized to administer,) or upon Order made as aforesaid, be levied, together with the Costs attending the Information, Summons, and Conviction, by Distress and Sale of the Goods and Chattels of the Offender

Forfeitures,
Costs, and
Charges may be
levied by Dis-
tress and Sale.

726 C.76. 4° & 5° GULIELMI IV. A.D.1834.

Offender or Person liable or ordered to pay the same respectively, by Warrant under the Hands of the Justices before whom the Party may have been convicted, or, on Proof of such Conviction, by a Warrant under the Hands of any Two Justices acting for the County, Riding, or Division (which Warrant such Justices are hereby empowered and required to grant); and the Overplus (if any), after such Penalties and Forfeitures, and the Charges of such Distress and Sale, are deducted, shall be returned, upon Demand, unto the Owner or Owners of such Goods and Chattels; and in case such Fines, Penalties, and Forfeitures shall not be forthwith paid upon Conviction, then it shall be lawful for such Justices as aforesaid to order the Offender or Offenders so convicted to be detained and kept in safe Custody until Return can be conveniently made to such Warrant of Distress, unless the Offender or Offenders shall give sufficient Security, to the Satisfaction of such Justices as aforesaid, for his or their Appearance before such Justices on such Day or Days as shall be appointed for the Return of such Warrant of Distress, such Day or Days not being more than Seven Days from the Time of taking any such Security, and which Security the said Justices as aforesaid are hereby empowered to take by way of Recognizance or otherwise; but if upon the Return of such Warrant it shall appear that no sufficient Distress can be had thereupon, then it shall be lawful for any such Justices as aforesaid, as the Case may be, and they are hereby authorized and required, by Warrant or Warrants under their Hands, to cause such Offender or Offenders to be committed to the Common Gaol or House of Correction of the County, Riding, or Place where the Offender shall be or reside, there to remain, without Bail or Mainprize, for any Term not exceeding Three Calendar Months, unless such Penalties and Forfeitures, and all reasonable Charges attending the same, shall be sooner paid and satisfied; and the Penalties and Forfeitures, when so levied, shall be paid to or for the Use of the Parish or Union where such Offence shall have been committed, to be applied in aid of the Poor Rate of such Parish or Union.

In what Manner to be applied.

Owners, Rate-payers, &c. may be competent Witnesses.

Justices may proceed by Summons for the Recovery of Penalties.

Satisfaction recoverable for special Damage, but Distress not unlawful for Want of Form in the Proceedings.

Plaintiff not to recover for Irregularity, if Tender of Amends be made.

Appeal to the Quarter S.s-sions against Order of Justices within Four Calendar Months after Cause of Complaint, &c.

Fourteen Days Notice in Writing to be given, &c. and Recognizance to be entered into.

C. And be it further enacted, That no Owner of Property, Rate-payer, or Inhabitant of any Parish or Union shall be deemed an incompetent Witness in any Proceeding for the Recovery of any Penalty or Forfeiture inflicted or imposed for any Offence against this Act, notwithstanding such Penalty or Forfeiture, when recovered, shall be applicable in aid of the Poor Rate of such Parish or Union.

CI. And be it further enacted, That in all Cases in which any Penalty or Forfeiture is recoverable before the Justices of the Peace under this Act it shall and may be lawful for any Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner, or any Justice, to whom Complaint in Writing shall be made of any such Offence, to summon the Party complained against to appear before any Two Justices, and on such Summons the said Two Justices may hear and determine the Matter of such Complaint, and on Proof of the Offence convict the Offender, and adjudge him to pay the Penalty or Forfeiture incurred, and proceed to recover the same.

CII. And be it further enacted, That where any Distress shall be made for any Sum of Money to be levied by virtue of this Act the Distress itself shall not be deemed unlawful, nor the Party making the same be deemed a Trespasser, on account of any Default or Want of Form in any Proceedings relating thereto, nor shall the Party distraining be deemed a Trespasser *ab initio* on account of any Irregularity which shall afterwards happen in making the Distress, but the Person aggrieved by such Irregularity may recover full Satisfaction for the special Damage in an Action on the Case: Provided always, that no Plaintiff shall recover in any Action for any Irregularity, Trespass, or wrongful Proceedings, if Tender of sufficient Amends shall be made, by or on behalf of the Party who shall have committed or caused to be committed any such Irregularity, Trespass, or wrongful Proceedings, before such Action shall have been brought; and in case no such Tender shall have been made it shall and may be lawful for the Defendant in any such Action, by Leave of the Court where such Action shall depend, at any Time before Issue joined, to pay into Court such Sum of Money as he shall see fit, whereupon such Proceedings or Orders and Judgment shall be had, made, and given in and by such Court as in other Actions where the Defendant is allowed to pay Money into Court.

CIII. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That if any Person or Persons shall find himself, herself, or themselves aggrieved by any Order or Conviction of any Justice or Justices, where such Person or Persons shall be convicted in any Penalty or Penalties exceeding Five Pounds, or if any Person shall find himself aggrieved by any Order made under the Provisions of this Act on such Person as the putative Father of any Bastard Child, it shall be lawful for such Person or Persons to appeal to any General or Quarter Sessions of the Peace to be held in and for the County, Riding, or Division in which such Order shall have been made or Conviction taken place within Four Calendar Months next after the Cause of Complaint shall have arisen, or if such Sessions shall be held before the Expiration of One Calendar Month next after such Cause of Complaint, then such Appeal shall be made to the next following Sessions, either of which Court of Sessions is hereby empowered to hear and finally determine the Matter of the said Appeal, and to make such Order therein as to them shall seem meet; which Order shall be final and conclusive to and upon all Parties; provided that the Person or Persons so appealing shall give or cause to be given at least Fourteen Days Notice in Writing of his, her, or their Intention of appealing as aforesaid, and of the Matter or Cause thereof, to the Respondent or Respondents, and within Five Days after such Notice shall enter into a Recognizance before some Justice of the Peace, with sufficient Securities, conditioned to try such Appeal at the then next General Sessions or Quarter Sessions of the Peace, which shall first happen, and to abide the Order of and pay such Costs as shall be awarded by the Justices at such Quarter Sessions or any Adjournment thereof; and such Justices, upon hearing and finally determining such Matter of Appeal, shall and may, according to their Discretion,

tion, award such Costs to the Party appealing or appealed against as they shall think proper; and their Determination in or concerning the Premises shall be conclusive and binding on all Parties to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever.

CIV. And be it further enacted, That no Action or Suit shall be commenced against any Commissioner, Assistant Commissioner, or any other Person for any thing done in pursuance of or under the Authority of this Act until Twenty-one Days Notice has been given thereof in Writing to the Party or Person against whom such Action is intended to be brought, nor after sufficient Satisfaction or Tender thereof shall have been made to the Party aggrieved, nor after Three Calendar Months next after the Act committed for which such Action or Suit shall be so brought; and every such Action shall be brought, laid, and tried where the Cause of Action shall have arisen, and not in any other County or Place; and the Defendant in such Action or Suit may plead the General Issue, and give this Act and any special Matter in Evidence, at any Trial which shall be had thereupon; and if the Matter or Thing shall appear to have been done under or by virtue of this Act, or if it shall appear that such Action or Suit was brought before Twenty-one Days Notice thereof given as aforesaid, or that sufficient Satisfaction was made or tendered as aforesaid, or if any Action or Suit shall not be commenced within the Time before limited, or shall be laid in any other County than as aforesaid, then the Jury shall find a Verdict for the Defendant therein; and if a Verdict shall be found for such Defendant, or if the Plaintiff in such Action or Suit shall become Nonsuit, or suffer a Discontinuance of such Action, or if, upon any Demurrer in such Action, Judgment shall be given for the Defendant therein, then and in any of the Cases aforesaid such Defendant shall have Costs, Charges, and Expences as between Attorney and Client, and shall have such Remedy for recovering the same as any Defendant may have for his or her Costs in any other Case by Law.

CV. And be it further enacted, That no Rule, Order, or Regulation of the said Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners, or any of them, shall be removed or removable by Writ of Certiorari into any Court of Record, except His Majesty's Court of King's Bench at Westminster; and that every Rule, Order, or Regulation which shall be removed by Writ of Certiorari into the said Court of King's Bench shall nevertheless, unless and until the same shall be declared illegal by that Court, continue in full force and virtue, and be obeyed, performed, and enforced, in such and the same Manner, and by such and the same Ways and Means, as if the same had not been so removed.

CVI. And be it further enacted, That no Application shall be made for any Writ of Certiorari for the Removal of any such Rule, Order, or Regulation, except to the Judges when sitting in the said Court, nor unless Notice in Writing shall have been left at the Office of the said Commissioners at least Ten Days previous to such Application being made, and in which Notice shall be set forth the Name and Description of the Party by or on behalf of whom and the Day on which it is intended to make such Application, together with a Statement of the Grounds thereof; and thereupon it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners to show Cause in the first instance against such Application, and the Court may, if it shall so think fit, forthwith proceed to hear and determine the same upon the Grounds set forth in such Notice.

CVII. And be it further enacted, That previous to any Writ of Certiorari being issued the Party or Parties applying for the same shall enter into a Recognizance, with sufficient Sureties, before One of His Majesty's Justices of the Court of King's Bench, or before a Justice of the Peace of the County or Place in which such Person shall reside, in the Sum of Fifty Pounds, with Condition to prosecute the same, at his or their Costs and Charges, with Effect, without any wilful or affected Delay, and in default thereof, or in the event of such Rule, Order, or Regulation being deemed legal, to pay the said Commissioners their full Costs, Charges, and Expences, to be taxed according to the Course of the said Court of King's Bench; and if the said Rule, Order, or Regulation, so removed by the said Writ of Certiorari into the said Court of King's Bench, shall be declared legal by the said Court, the Commissioners entitled to such Costs, within Ten Days after Demand made of the Person or Persons who ought to pay the said Costs, upon Oath made of the making such Demand and Refusal of Payment thereof, may recover the same in the same Manner as any Penalties and Forfeitures are recoverable under this Act.

CVIII. And be it further enacted, That if upon the Hearing of the Application the Court shall order a Writ of Certiorari to issue for bringing up any such Rule, Order, or Regulation, and the same, being brought into Court, shall be quashed as illegal, the said Commissioners shall forthwith notify the Judgment of the Court to all Unions, Parishes, or Places to which such Rule, Order, or Regulation shall have been directed, and the same shall from the Time of receiving such Notice respectively be deemed and taken to be null and void to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever: Provided that such Judgment shall not have the Effect of annulling any Contracts made in pursuance or upon the Authority of any such Rule, Order, or Regulation which at the Receipt of such Notice respectively shall have been executed by either of the contracting Parties: Provided also, that no Person shall be liable to be prosecuted, either by Indictment or by Civil Action, for or in respect of any Act done by him before the Receipt of such Notice, under the Authority and in pursuance of such Rule, Order, or Regulation.

CIX. And be it further enacted, That in the Construction of this Act the Word "Auditor" shall be construed to mean and include every Person, other than Justices of the Peace acting in virtue of their Office, appointed or empowered to audit, control, examine, allow, or disallow the Accounts of any Guardian, Overseer, or Vestrymen relating to the Receipt or Expenditure of the Poor Rate; the

Limitation of Actions.

Defendant may plead the General Issue.

Costs.

Rules, &c. to be removable by Certiorari to Court of King's Bench; and to continue in force until declared illegal.

As to the Application for Writ of Certiorari.

Commissioners may show Cause.

Recognizances to be entered into.

If Rule be declared legal, Commissioners to be entitled to Costs.

If Rules are quashed, the same to be notified.

Proviso for existing Contracts.

No Person to be answerable until Receipt of Notice.

Interpretation Clause.

Words "General Rule" shall be construed to mean any Rule relating to the Management of the Poor or to the Execution of this Act which shall at the Time of issuing the same be addressed by the said Commissioners to more than One Union, or to more Parishes or Places than One not forming a Union, or not to be formed into or added to a Union under or by virtue of such Rule; the Word "Guardian" shall be construed to mean and include any Visitor, Governor, Director, Manager, Acting Guardian, Vestryman, or other Officer in a Parish or Union, appointed or entitled to act as a Manager of the Poor, and in the Distribution or ordering of the Relief to the Poor from the Poor Rate, under any General or Local Act of Parliament; the Words "Justice or Justices of the Peace" shall be construed to include Justices of the Peace of any County, Division of a County, Riding, Borough, Liberty, Division of a Liberty, Precinct, County of a City, County of a Town, Cinque Port, or Town Corporate, unless where otherwise provided by this Act; the Word "Oath" shall be construed to include the Affirmation of a Quaker, Separatist, or Moravian; the Words "Orders and Regulations" shall be construed to mean and include any Rule, Order, Regulation, or Bye Law relating to the Management or Relief of the Poor, or the Execution of this Act, which at the Time of issuing the same shall be addressed, directed, or applied to any One Parish or Union, or to any Number of Parishes which have been or by virtue of any Order shall be constituted a Union or added to a Union; the Word "Officer" shall be construed to extend to any Clergyman, Schoolmaster, Person duly licensed to practise as a Medical Man, Vestry Clerk, Treasurer, Collector, Assistant Overseer, Governor, Master or Mistress of a Workhouse, or any other Person who shall be employed in any Parish or Union in carrying this Act or the Laws for the Relief of the Poor into execution, and whether performing One or more of the above mentioned Functions; the Word "Overseer" shall be construed to mean and include Overseers of the Poor, Churchwardens, so far as they are authorized or required by Law to act in the Management or Relief of the Poor, or in the Collection or Distribution of the Poor Rate, Assistant Overseer, or any other subordinate Officer, whether paid or unpaid, in any Parish or Union, who shall be employed therein in carrying this Act or the Laws for the Relief of the Poor into execution; the Word "Owner" shall be construed to include any Person for the Time being in the actual Occupation of any Property rateable to the Relief of the Poor, and not let to him at Rack Rent, or any Person receiving the Rack Rent of any such Property, either on his own Account or as Mortgagee or other Incumbrancer in possession; and the Words "Rack Rent" shall be construed to mean any Rent which shall not be less than Two Thirds of the full improved net annual Value of any Property; the Word "Parish" shall be construed to include any Parish, City, Borough, Town, Township, Liberty, Precinct, Vill, Village, Hamlet, Tithing, Chapelry, or any other Place, or Division or District of a Place, maintaining its own Poor, whether parochial or extra-parochial; the Word "Person" shall be construed to include any Body Politic, Corporate, or Collegiate, Aggregate or Sole, as well as any Individual; the Word "Poor" shall be construed to include any Pauper or poor or indigent Person applying for or receiving Relief from the Poor Rate in *England or Wales*, or chargeable thereto; the Words "Poor Law," or "Laws for the Relief of the Poor," shall be construed to include every Act of Parliament for the Time being in force for the Relief or Management of the Poor, or relating to the Execution of the same, or the Administration of such Relief; the Words "Poor Rate" shall be construed to include any Rate, Rate in Aid, Mulct, Cess, Assessment, Collection, Levy, Ley, Subscription, or Contribution raised, assessed, imposed, levied, collected, or disbursed for the Relief of the Poor in any Parish or Union; that the Words "General Quarter Sessions" shall extend to and be construed to include General or Quarter Sessions, or Adjournment thereof, for any County, Division of a County, Riding, Borough, Liberty, Division of a Liberty, Precinct, County of a City, City, County of a Town, Cinque Port, or Town Corporate, unless where otherwise provided by this Act; the Word "Union" shall be construed to include any Number of Parishes united for any Purpose whatever under the Provisions of this Act, or incorporated under the said Act made and passed in the Twenty-second Year of His late Majesty King *George the Third*, intituled *An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor*, or incorporated for the Relief or Maintenance of the Poor under any Local Act; the Words "united Workhouse" shall be construed to mean and include any Workhouse of a Union; the Word "Vestry" shall be construed to mean any open, customary, or Select Vestry, or any Meeting of Inhabitants convened by any Notice such as would have been required for the assembling of a Meeting in Vestry, at which Meeting any Business relating to the Poor or the Poor Rate shall be transacted or taken into consideration, so far as such Business is concerned; the Word "Workhouse" shall be construed to include any House in which the Poor of any Parish or Union shall be lodged and maintained, or any House or Building purchased, erected, hired, or used at the Expence of the Poor Rate, by any Parish, Vestry, Guardian, or Overseer, for the Reception, Employment, Classification, or Relief of any poor Person therein at the Expence of such Parish; and wherever in this Act, in describing any Person or Party, Matter or Thing, the Word importing the Singular Number or the Masculine Gender only is used, the same shall be understood to include and shall be applied to several Persons or Parties as well as one Person or Party, and Females as well as Males, and several Matters or Things as well as one Matter or Thing, respectively, unless there be something in the Subject or Context repugnant to such Construction.

22 G. 3. c. 83.

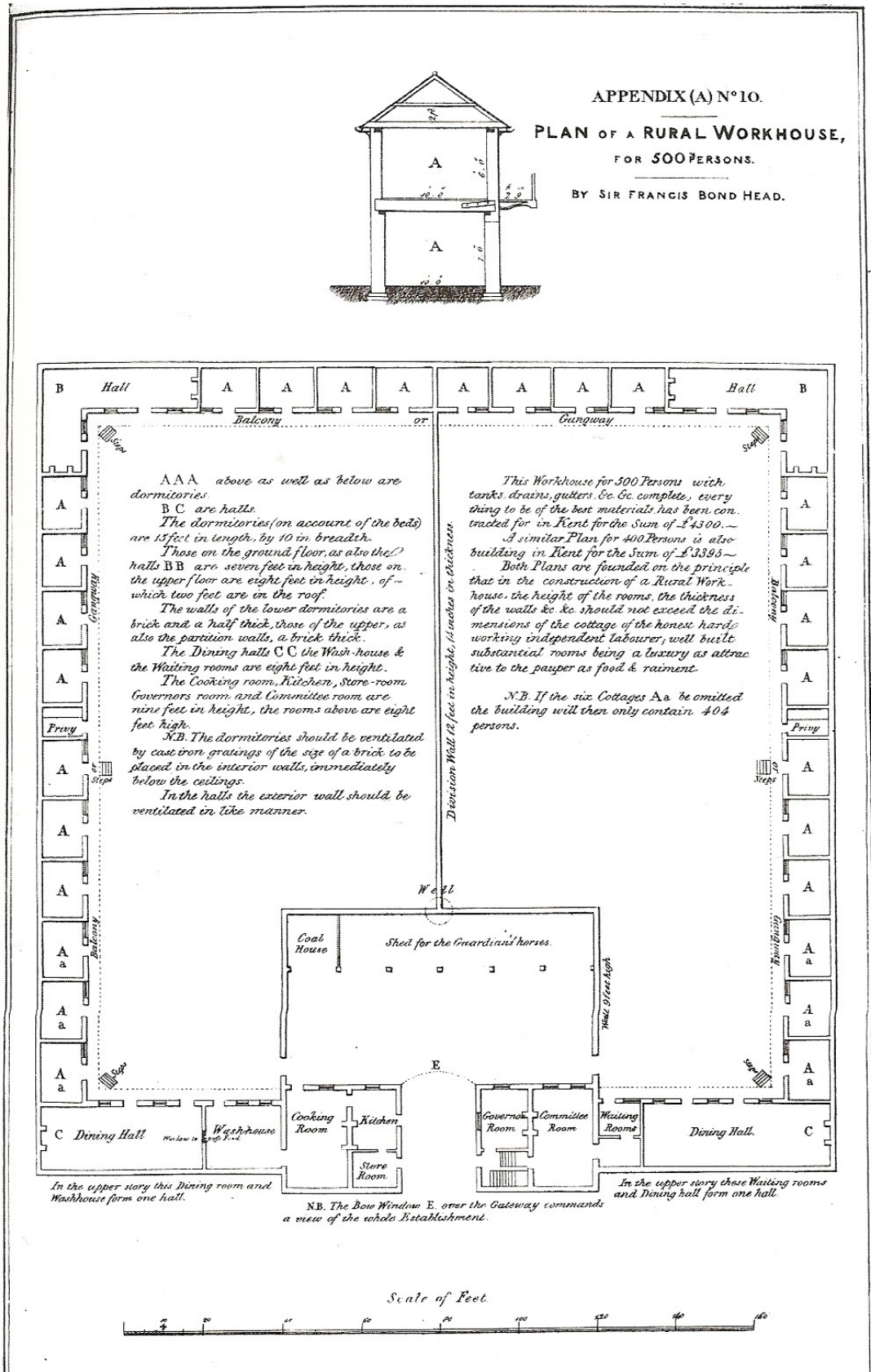
Act may be amended this Session.

CX. And be it further enacted, That this Act may be altered, amended, or repealed in this present Session of Parliament.

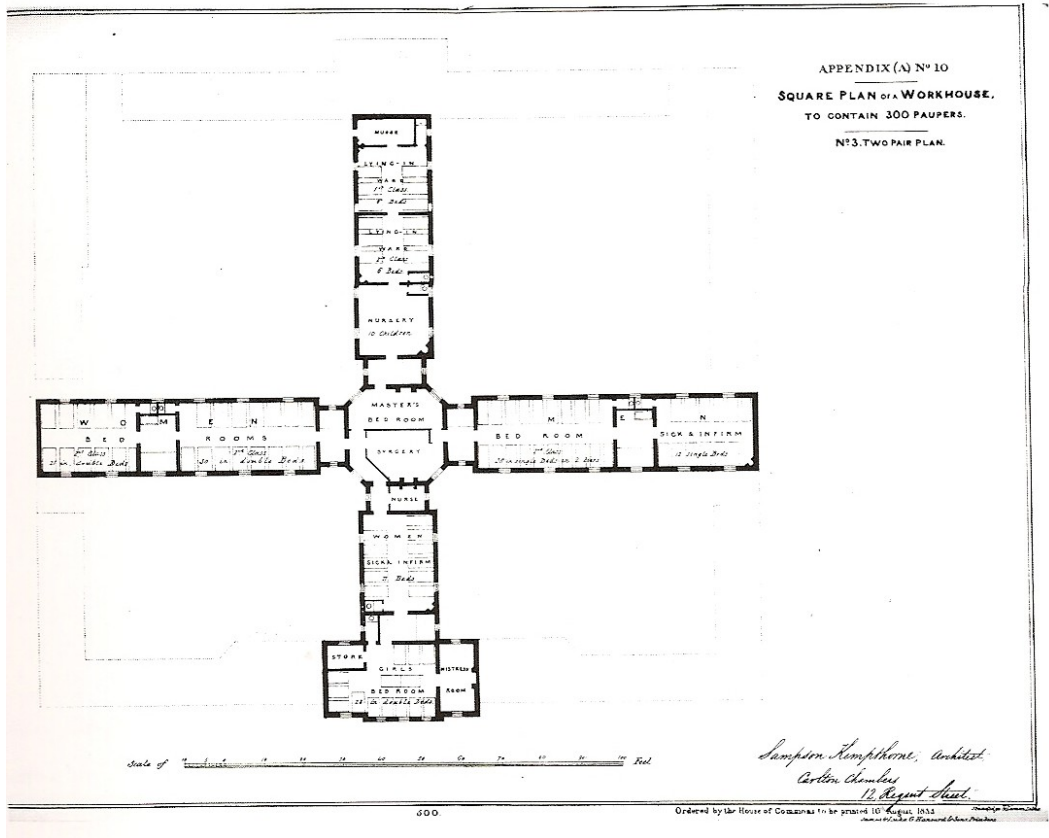
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Appendix Three

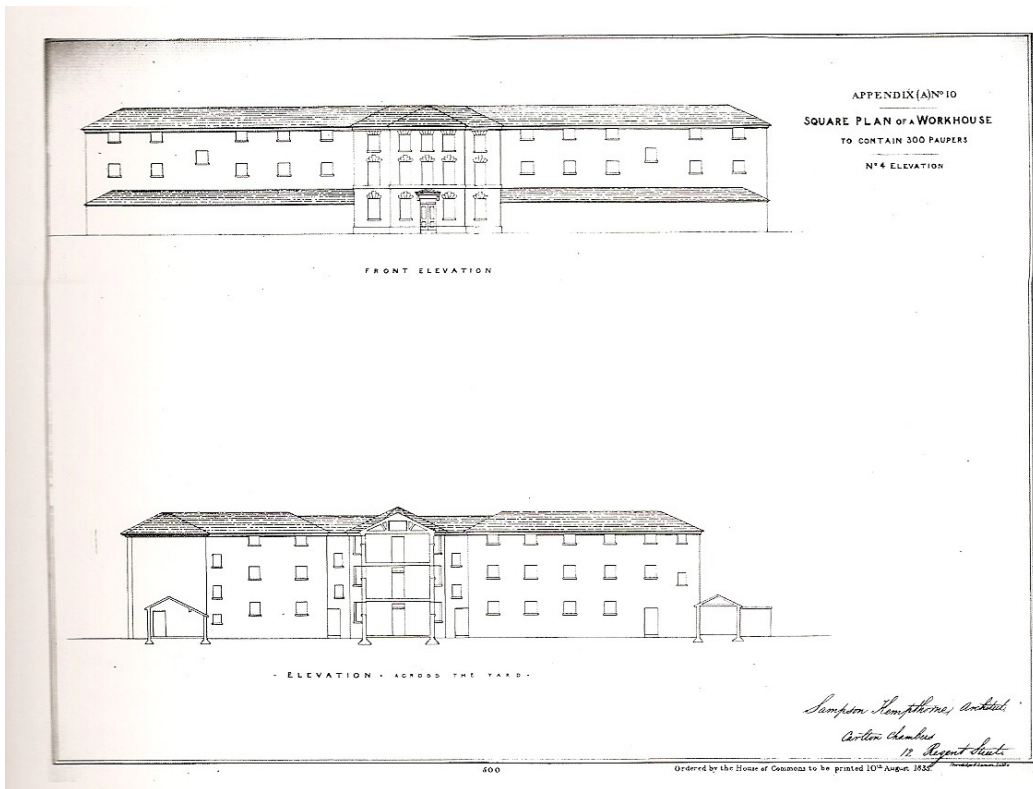
Model Plans issued by the Central Poor Law Authority



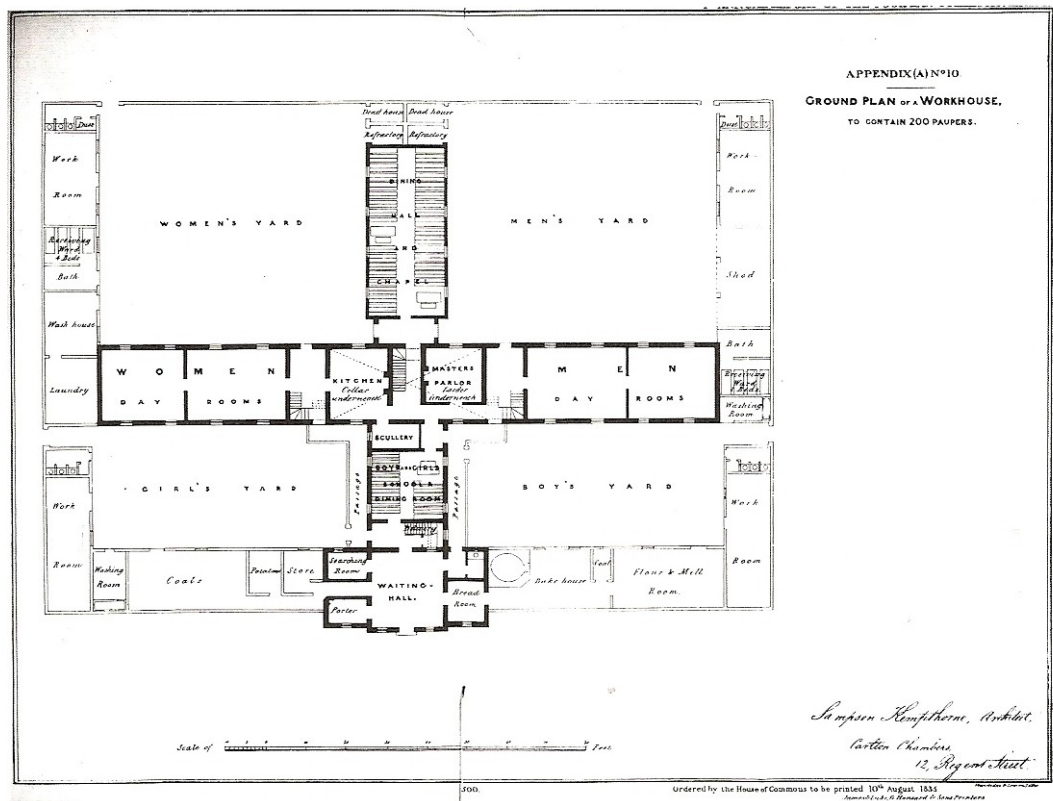
'Plan of a Rural Workhouse for 500 persons', Ground Plan, by Sir Francis Head (Morrison 1999: 221)



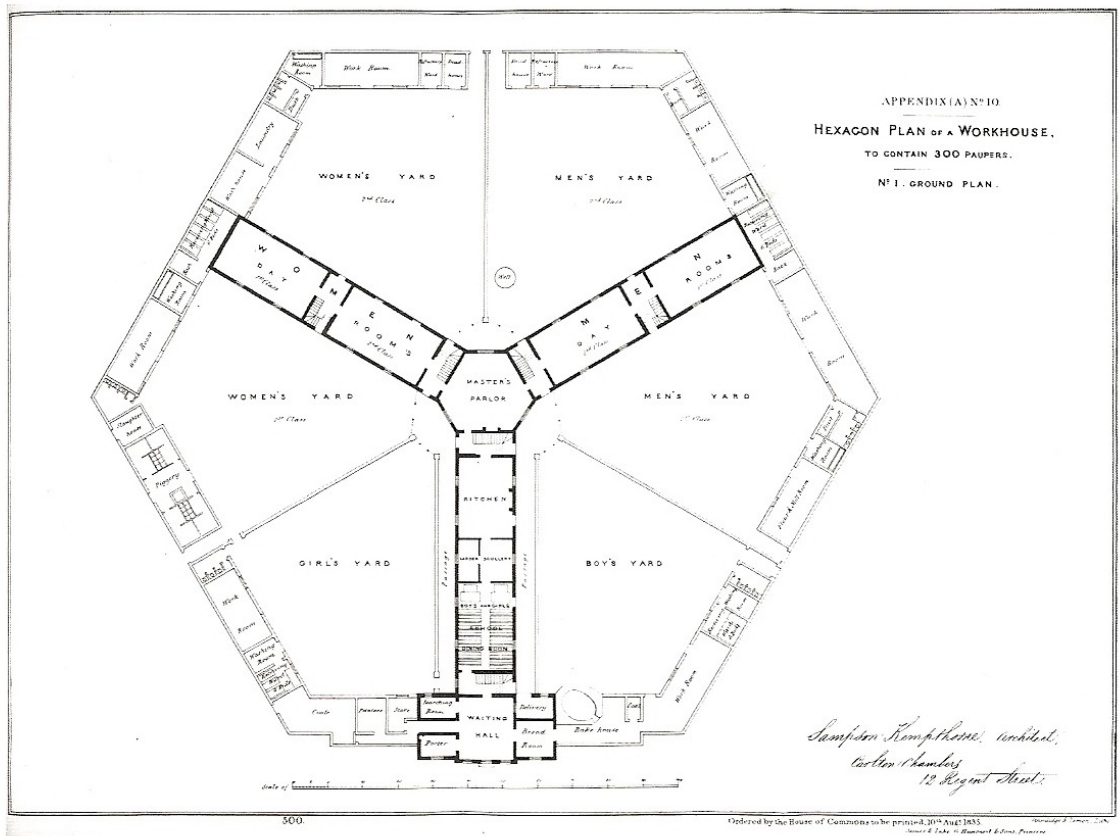
'Square Plan of a Workhouse to Contain 300 Paupers', Second Floor Plan, by Sampson Kempthorne (Morrison 1999: 223)



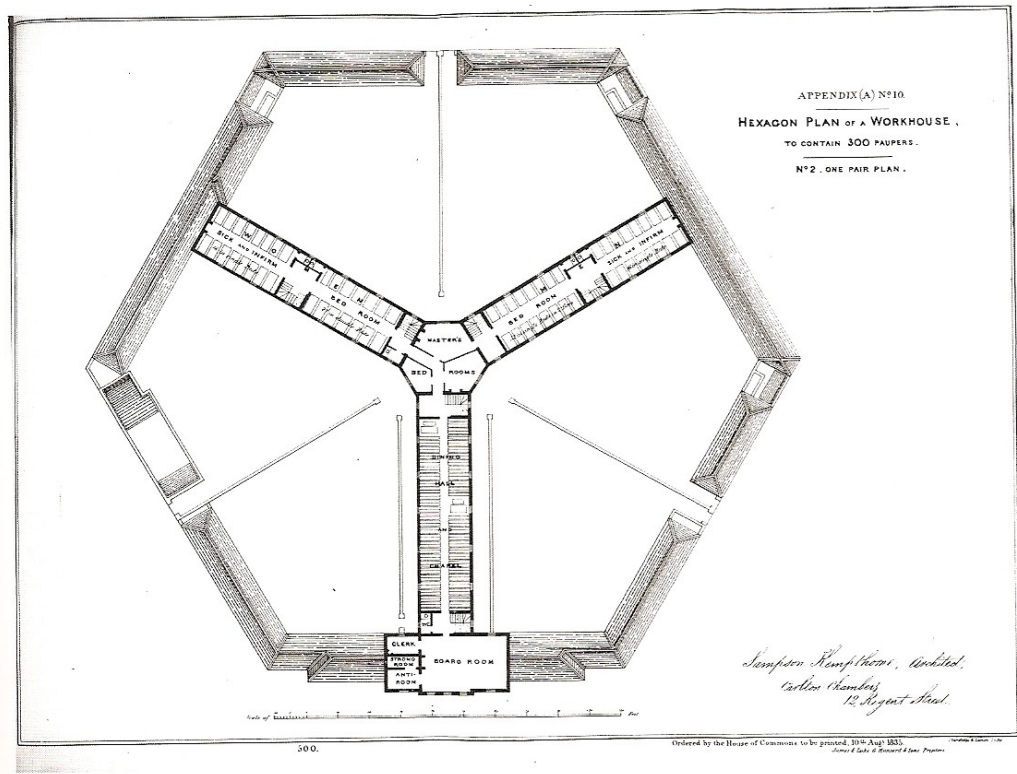
'Square Plan of a Workhouse to Contain 300 Paupers', elevations, by Sampson Kempthorne (Morrison 1999: 223)



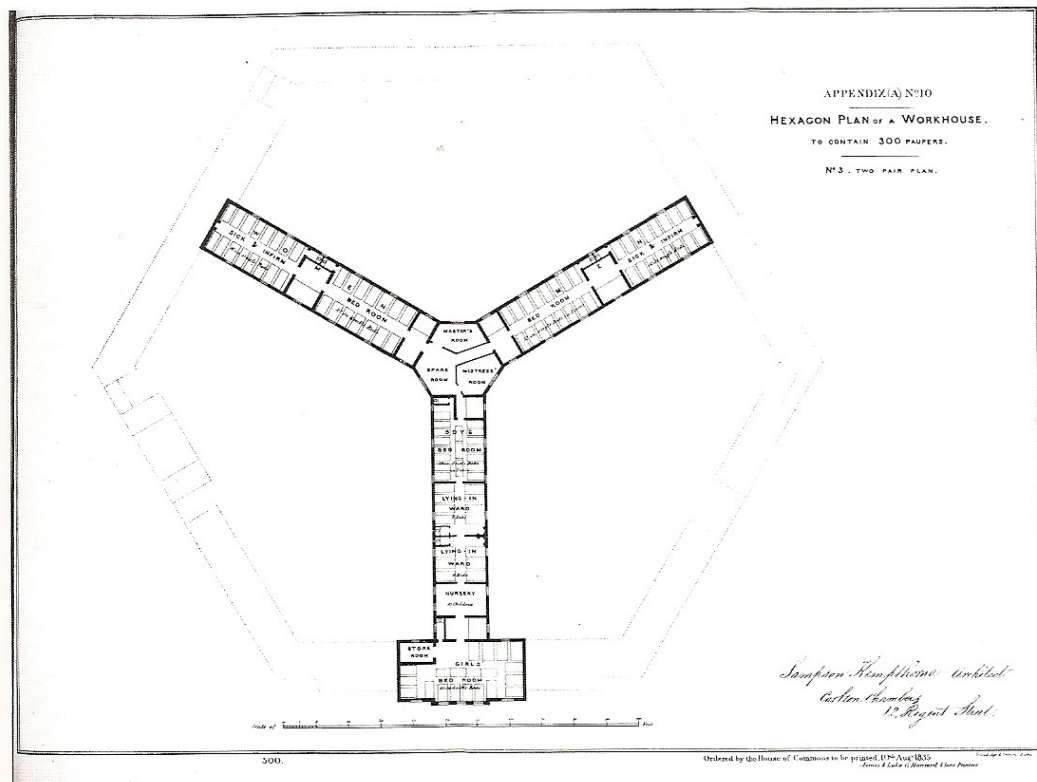
'Ground Plan of a Workhouse to Contain 200 Paupers', by Sampson Kempthorne (Morrison 1999: 224)



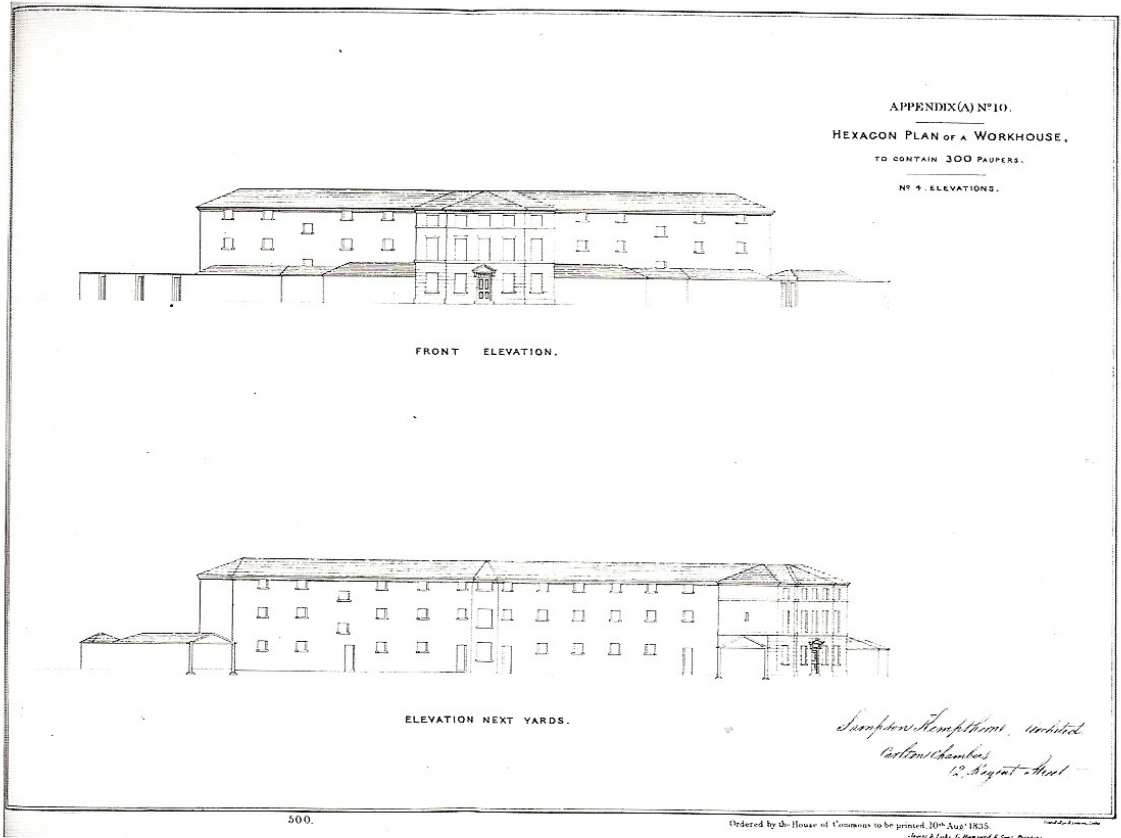
'Hexagon Plan of a Workhouse to Contain 300 Paupers, ground floor plan, by Sampson Kempthorne (Morrison 1999: 224)



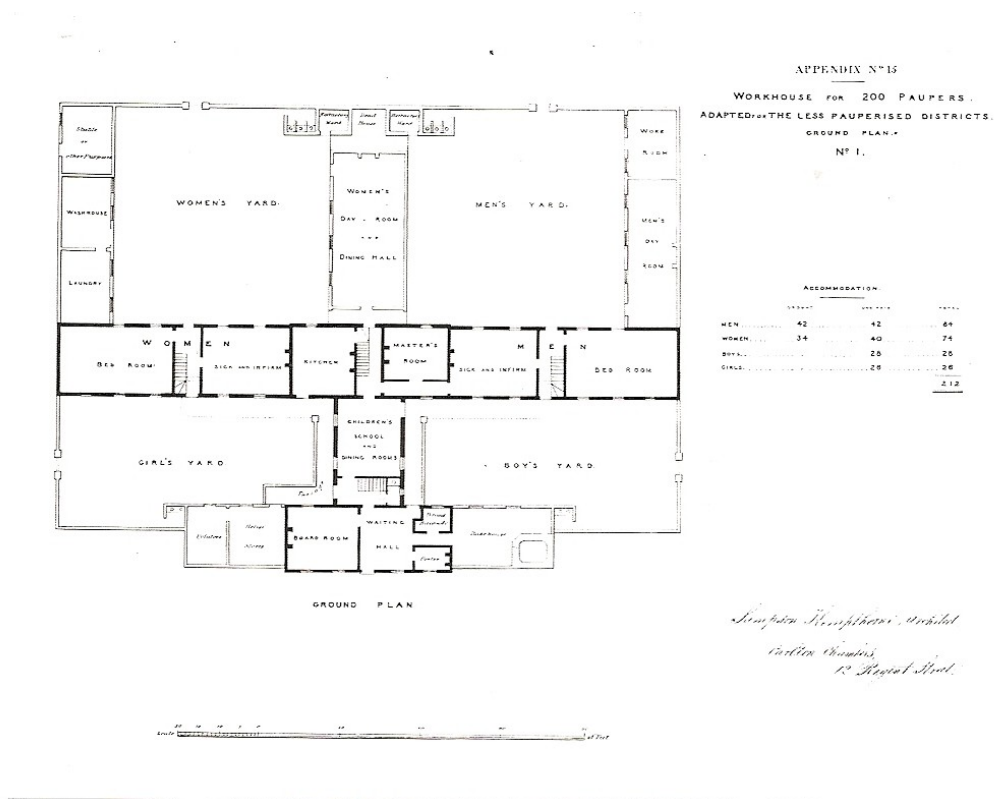
'Hexagon Plan of a Workhouse to Contain 300 Paupers, first floor plan, by Sampson Kempthorne (Morrison 1999: 225)



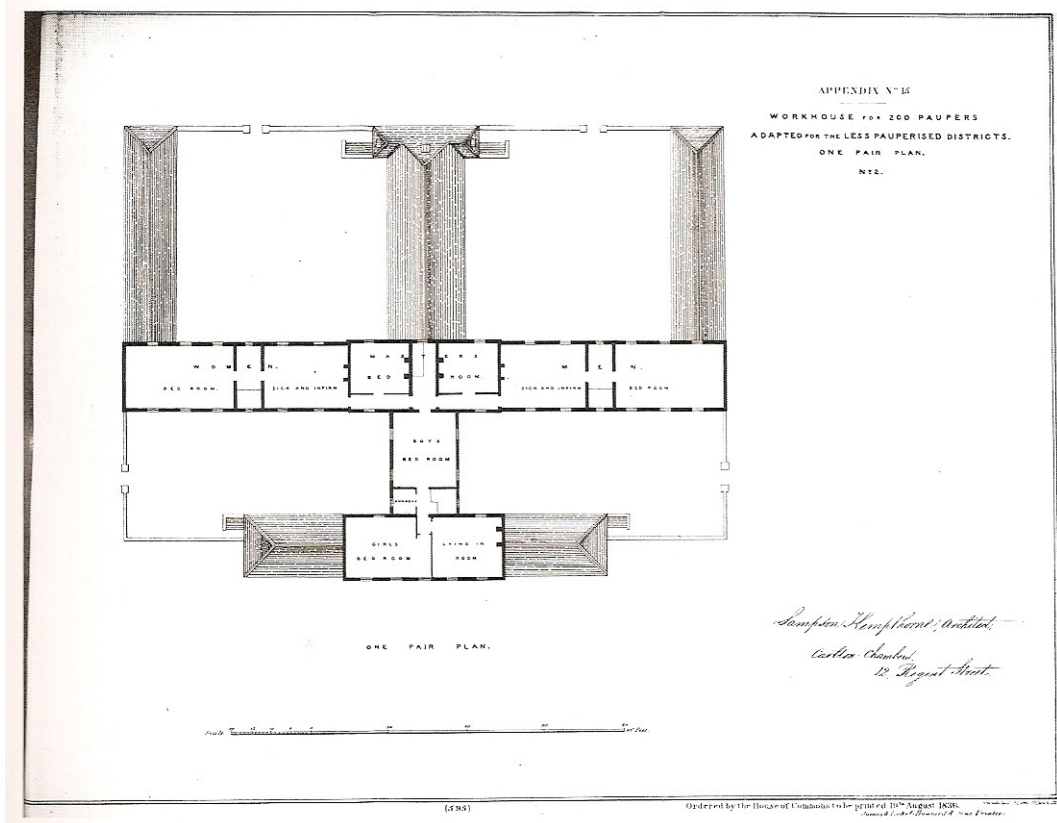
'Hexagon Plan of a Workhouse to Contain 300 Paupers, second floor plan, by Sampson Kempthorne (Morrison 1999: 225)



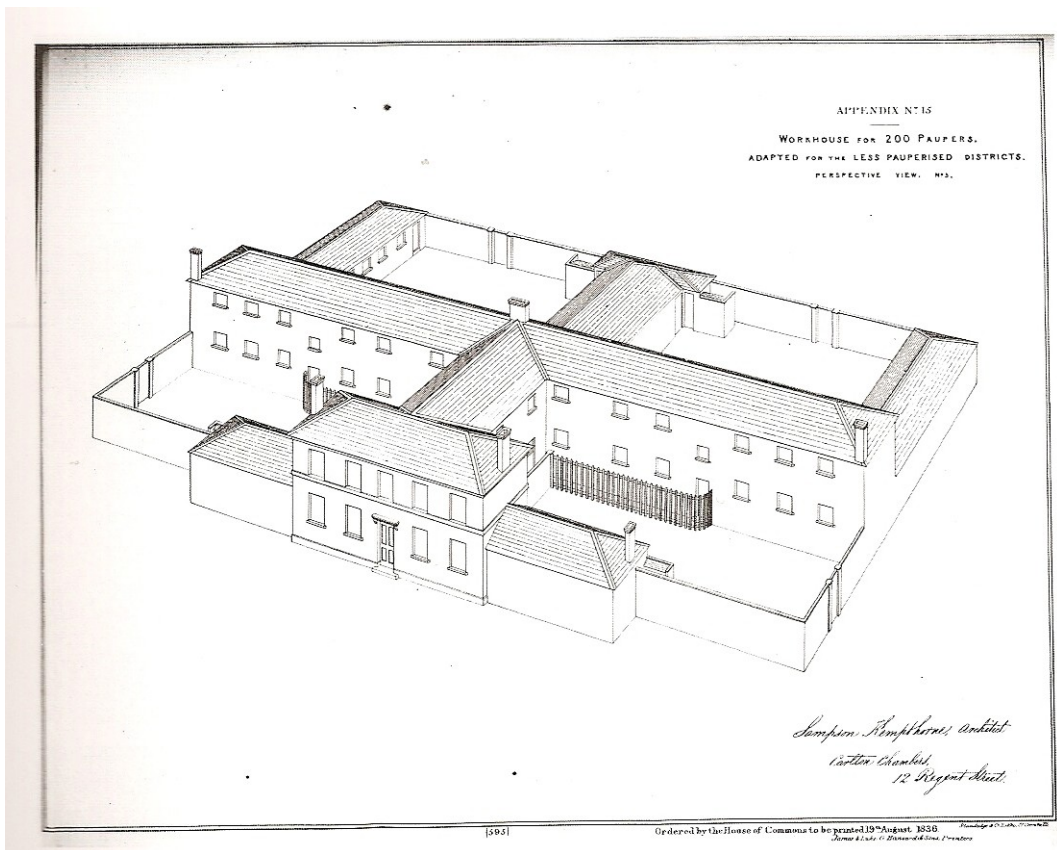
'Hexagon Plan of a Workhouse to Contain 300 Paupers, elevations, by Sampson Kempthorne (Morrison 1999: 226)



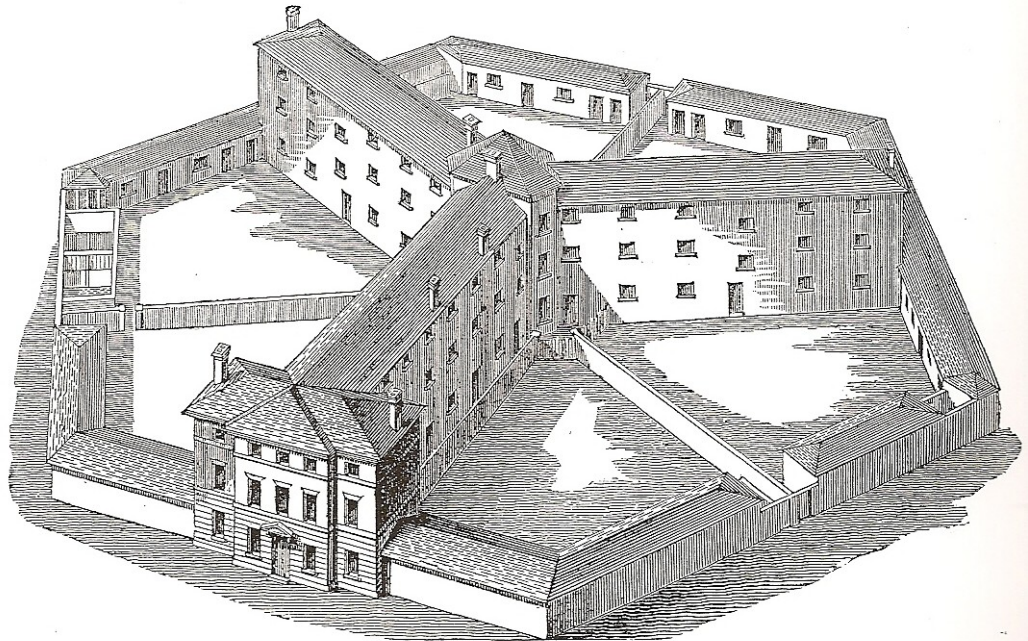
'Workhouse for 200 Paupers Adapted for the less pauperised districts'. Ground floor plan, by Sampson Kempthorne (Morrison 1999: 226)



'Workhouse for 200 Paupers Adapted for the less pauperised districts'. First floor plan, by Sampson Kempthorne (Morrison 1999: 227)



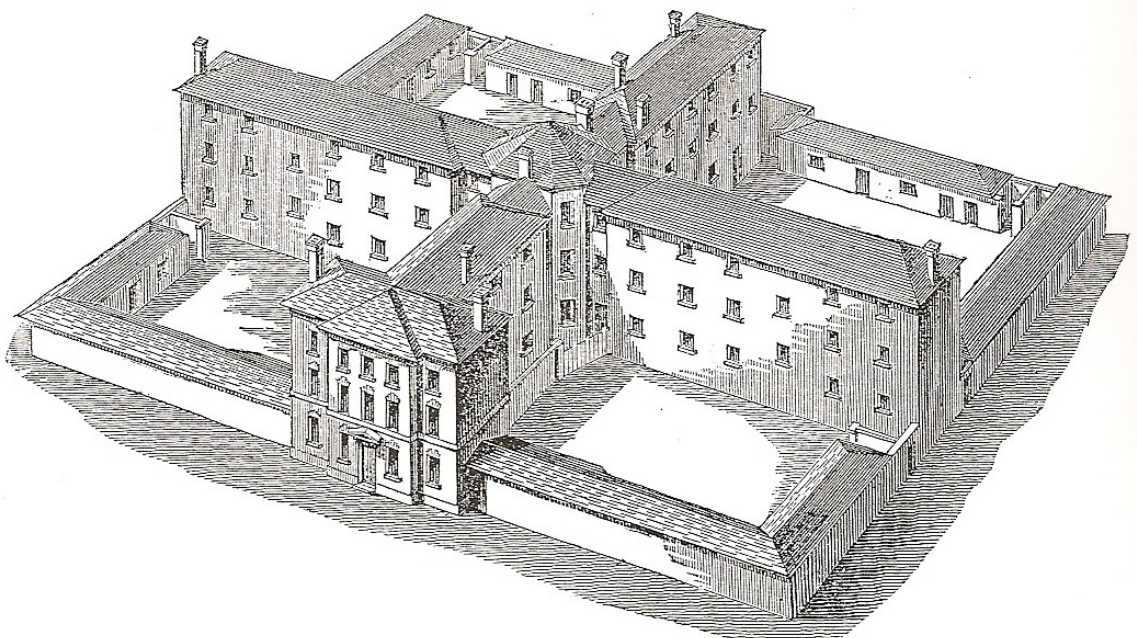
'Workhouse for 200 Paupers Adapted for the less pauperised districts'. Perspective view, by Sampson Kempthorne (Morrison 1999: 227)



PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF A WORKHOUSE FOR 300 PAUPERS. (E.)

SAMPSON KEMPTHORNE, Architect,
CARLTON CHAMBERS, 12, REGENT STREET.

Perspective view of a 'hexagon'-plan workhouse. Taken from the small format editions of the 1st and 2nd Annual Reports of the Poor Law Commission. (Morrison 1999: 228)



PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF A WORKHOUSE FOR 300 PAUPERS. (F.)

SAMPSON KEMPTHORNE, Architect,
CARLTON CHAMBERS, 12, REGENT STREET.

Perspective view of a 'Square'-plan workhouse. Taken from the small format editions of the 1st and 2nd Annual Reports of the Poor Law Commission. (Morrison 1999: 228)

Appendix Four

Census Data

Skipton Union Workhouse

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1930
Able Bodied Male	13	17	22		26			31
Able Bodied Female	20	12	15		20			27
Sick Men		26						46
Sick Women		9						44
Infirm Men	9		11		25			25
Infirm Women	1		8		18			13
Orphans								
Children	24	9	11		39			10
Maternity								2
Imbecile								
Lunatic								
Weak Minded								
Idiot								
Dementia								
Epileptic								
Casual Men			2		11			46
Casual Women								7
Casual Children								
Receiving Ward Men								
Receiving Ward Women								
Total	67	73	69		139			251
Staff		3	3	5	6			
Master					1			
Matron					1			
Nurse					1			
Porter					1			
Cook								
General Servant					1			
School Mistress					1			
Labour Master								
Laundress								
Master's Family								

Ripon Union Workhouse

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1930
Able Bodied Male		8	18	26	18	34	26	
Able Bodied Female		6	14	8	13	17	12	
Sick Men								
Sick Women								
Infirm Men		6	24	25	20	17	21	
Infirm Women		3	7	7	9	3	9	
Orphans					30			
Children		14	25	33		21	13	
Maternity								
Imbecile				9	8		4	
Lunatic				1	1		1	
Weak Minded							1	
Idiot				3	1	8		
Dementia								
Epileptic								
					6			
Casual Men					1			
Casual Women					3			
Casual Children								
Receiving Ward Men								
Receiving Ward Women								
		37	88	112	110	92	87	
Total								
	2	2	5	6	3	5	8	
Staff								
	1	1	1	1		1	1	
Master	1	1	1	1		1	1	
Matron				1	1	1	1	
Nurse			1	1	1	1	1	
Porter				1	1	1	1	
Cook			1					1
General Servant								1
School Mistress								
Labour Master								
Laundress			1	1				1
Master's Family			1	3				

Great Ouseburn Union Workhouse

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1930
Able Bodied Male	11	10	5	4	18	11	18	
Able Bodied Female	12	15	7	13	11	12	8	
Sick Men								10
Sick Women								6
Infirm Men	16	15	10	13	4	11	15	22
Infirm Women	5	9	5	4	11	3	6	14
Orphans					2			
Children	15	19	24	20	26	22	19	
Maternity								4
Imbecile					10			
Lunatics								
Weak Minded								
Idiots								
Dementia								
Epileptic								
Casual Men								16
Casual Women								4
Casual Children								
Receiving Ward Men								
Receiving Ward Women								
Total	59	68	51	54	81	59	66	76
Staff	3	3	4	6	4	5	7	
Master	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Matron	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	
Nurse				1	1	2	1	
Porter								
Cook								
General Servant	1							
School Mistress			1	1	1	1		
Labour Master								1
Laundress								2
Master's Family		1	1	2				

Wetherby Union Workhouse

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1930
Able Bodied Male				11	8			
Able Bodied Female				9	10			
Sick Men						16	12	9
Sick Women						9	3	2
Infirm Men				9	11	16	10	24
Infirm Women				1	4	6	5	13
Orphans								
Children				28	26	4	5	
Maternity								
Imbecile					1			
Lunatic					1	1		
Weak Minded								
Idiot				5				
Dementia								
Epileptic								
Casual Men					11		5	40
Casual Women					2		1	3
Casual Children							2	
Receiving Ward Men								
Receiving Ward Women								
Total				63	74	52	43	91
Staff				3	3	3	5	
Master				1	1	1	1	
Matron				1	1	1	1	
Nurse				1		1	1	
Porter								
Cook							1	
General Servant					1			
School Mistress								
Labour Master							1	
Laundress								
Master's Family					1	1		

Pateley Bridge Union Workhouse

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1930
Able Bodied Male				2	12	3	6	
Able Bodied Female				3	3	3	7	
Sick Men								
Sick Women								
Infirm Men				6	8	8	5	
Infirm Women				2		2	4	
Orphans								
Children				7	4		4	
Maternity								
Imbecile				2	6	2		
Lunatic								
Weak Minded								
Idiot								
Dementia								
Epileptic								
Casual Men								30
Casual Women								3
Casual Children								
Receiving Ward Men								
Receiving Ward Women								
Total				22	33	18	26	33
Staff				4	4	3	3	
Master				1	1	1	1	
Matron				1	1	1	1	
Nurse				1	1	1	1	
Porter								
Cook								
General Servant				1	1			
School Mistress								
Labour Master								
Laundress								
Master's Family								

Wharfedale Union Workhouse

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1930
Able Bodied Male					14		26	36
Able Bodied Female					23		14	27
Sick Men								38
Sick Women								34
Infirm Men					15		20	18
Infirm Women					6		13	22
Orphans					3			
Children					24		8	4
Maternity								3
Imbecile							9	
Lunatic								
Weak Minded							4	
Idiot								
Dementia								
Epileptic								
Casual Men								51
Casual Women								6
Casual Children								
Receiving Ward Men								3
Receiving Ward Women								3
Total					85		94	245
Staff					2		5	
Master					1		1	
Matron					1		1	
Nurse							2	
Porter								
Cook							1	
General Servant								
School Mistress								
Labour Master								
Laundress								
Master's Family							1	

Leeds Moral and Industrial Training School

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Children		227	196	276	195	102	98
Children boys		112	94	175	122	47	60
Children girls		115	102	101	73	55	38
Boys 2-6 yrs		14	9	17	18	10	15
Girls 2-6 yrs		31	5	9	16	8	8
Boys 6-10 yrs		65	29	48	35	25	25
Girls 6-10 yrs		42	32	42	22	25	15
Boys 10-16 yrs		33	56	110	69	12	20
Girls 10-16 yrs		42	58	50	35	22	15
Boys over 16 yrs							
Girls over 16 yrs			7				
Total		227	196	276	195	102	98
Staff		16	20	21	12		6
Master		1	1	1	1		1
Matron		1	1	1	1		1
Nurse		2	3	3			
Porter		2		2	2		
Cook		1	1	1	1		1
General Servant		4	3	3	1		2
School Teacher		3	4	6	4		
Laundress		1	3	2			
Kitchen Maid		1	1	1	1		
Seamstress			2	1	1		1
Messenger			1				
Stoker			1				
Master's Children					7		
Non Working Wives					1		

Leeds Union Infirmary

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Able Bodied Male							
Able Bodied Female							
Sick Men					233	201	333
Sick Women					158	203	304
Infirm Men							
Infirm Women							
Orphans							
Children					44	61	70
Maternity							
Imbecile						25	
Lunatic						46	
Weak Minded							
Idiot						7	
Dementia							
Epileptic							
Casual Men							
Casual Women							
Casual Children							
Receiving Ward Men							
Receiving Ward Women							
Total					435	543	707
Staff					15	15	66
Assistant Medical Officer					1	1	1
Assistant Matron							1
Medical Superintendent					1	1	1
Master							
Matron					1	1	1
Nurse					10	9	48
Nurse to Imbeciles						2	7
Cook					1	1	2
General Servant							4
Kitchen Maid							1
SteWard					1		
Staff's Children						3	3
Non employed wives						1	

Leeds Union Workhouse (Inmates)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Able Bodied Male			44	140	131	6	84
Able Bodied Female			59	125	125	24	82
Sick Men							
Sick Women							
Infirm Men			42	114	108	184	207
Infirm Women			31	70	60	113	83
Orphans							
Children			35	42	28	22	15
Maternity							
Imbecile				80			6
Lunatic							
Weak Minded							
Idiot				6			
Dementia							
Epileptic							
Casual Men				16	28	34	16
Casual Women					5	4	2
Casual Children					4		
Receiving Ward Men							
Receiving Ward Women							
Total			211	593	489	387	495

Leeds Union Workhouse (Staff)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Staff Total			7	20	6	18	14
Master			1	1	1	1	1
Matron			1	1	1	1	1
Assistant Master							1
Assistant Matron							1
Assistant to the Infirm						1	2
Nurse			3	3			
Nurse to Imbeciles				2			
Probation Nurses							
Porter				2	1	1	1
Porteress					1	1	1
Cook			1		1	1	1
General Servant			1	1			1
School Teacher							
Nursery Assistant							1
Laundress						2	1
Kitchen Maid							
Seamstress							
Messenger							
Stoker			1	1		1	
Dispenser of Medicine			1				
Clerk				3	1	1	
Engineer						1	1
Workman				1			
Labour Master						1	1
Labour Mistress						1	
Staff's Children				4	2	3	1
Non employed family				1		2	2

Bramley Union Workhouse (Inmates)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1918	1919	1921
Able Bodied Male						34	59	211	177	277
Able Bodied Female						26	47	77	39	102
Sick Men										
Sick Women										
Infirm Men						31	43			
Infirm Women						14	27			
Orphans										
Children						22	29	1		10
Maternity										
Imbecile						15	4			
Lunatic										
Weak Minded										
Idiot										
Dementia										
Epileptic										
Casual Men										
Casual Women										
Casual Children										
Receiving Ward Men										
Receiving Ward Women										
Total						142	209	289	216	389

Bramley Union Workhouse (Staff)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Staff Total						7	9
Master						1	1
Matron						1	1
Assistant Master							
Assistant Matron						1	
Assistant to the Infirm							
Nurse						1	3
Nurse to Imbeciles							
Probation Nurses							
Porter						1	1
Portress						1	1
Cook						1	1
General Servant							
School Teacher							
Children's caretaker							1
Laundress							
Kitchen Maid							
Seamstress							
Messenger							
Stoker							
Dispenser of Medicine							
Clerk							
Engineer							
Workman							
Labour Master							
Labour Mistress							
Staff's Children							1
Non employed wives							

Bradford Union Workhouse

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901 (pages missing ??)	
Able Bodied								
Male			55	83		145		34
Able Bodied Female			82	77		149		40
Sick Men								
Sick Women								260
Infirm Men			33	53		94		194
Infirm Women			13	30		72		104
Orphans								
Children			101	109		196		14
Maternity								
Imbecile				74				72
Lunatic			3	4		30		
Weak Minded								
Idiot								
Dementia						51		
Epileptic						29		
Casual Men				3				7
Casual Women								
Casual Children								
Receiving Ward Men								
Receiving Ward Women								
Total				433		766		725

Bradford Union Workhouse (Staff)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901 (pages missing ??)
Staff Total			7	17	17	24	66
Master			1	1	1	1	1
Matron			1	1	1	1	1
Assistant Master							
Assistant Matron				1	1		
Assistant to the Infirm							6
Nurse			2	7	2	6	9
Nurse to Imbeciles					5	7	10
Probation Nurses							11
Porter			1	1	1	1	1
Portress				1	1	1	1
Cook				1	1	1	4
General Servant							3
School Mistress			1	1	1		2
School Master			1	1	1	1	
Nursery Assistant							
Laundress				1	1	1	
Kitchen Maid							
Seamstress							
Messenger							
Stoker							
Surgeon							2
Masters clerk						1	1
Engine Master						1	1
Workman							
Staff Children/wives				1	1		7
Industrial Trainer						1	
Labour Master						1	2
Labour Mistress							2
Tramp master							1
Tramp mistress							1
Grocer							1
Barber							1
Shoe Maker						1	
Industrial Trainer						1	

North Bierley Union Workhouse (Inmates)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1930
Able Bodied Male				47	85	65	61	50
Able Bodied Female				27	21	23	40	24
Sick Men								115
Sick Women								112
Infirm Men				36	55	56	79	73
Infirm Women				11	17	18	29	24
maternity								6
Orphans								
Children				33	57	13	40	26
Imbecile					54		51	60
Lunatic				22	9	49		
Weak minded								
Idiot				28	2			
Dementia								
Epileptic								
Casual Men							2	25
Casual Women								3
Casual Children								
Receiving ward men								4
Receiving ward women								3
Total				204	300	224	302	525

North Bierley Union Workhouse (Staff)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1930
Staff					6	10	15	21
Master					1	1	1	1
Matron					1	1	1	1
Assistant Master								
Assistant Matron								
Assistant to the Infirm								
Nurse					2	4	2	6
Nurse to Imbeciles								3
Probation Nurses								
Porter					1	1	1	1
Portress						1	1	1
Cook					1	1	1	1
General Servant							4	1
School Teacher								
Children's caretaker								1
Laundress						1	1	1
Kitchen Maid								
Seamstress								
Messenger								
Stoker								
Dispenser of Medicine								
Clerk								
Engineer								
Workman								
Labour Master								
Labour Mistress								
Staff's Children						2	3	4
Non employed wives								

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BFGM 1/3 1843-1848

BFGM 1/4 1848-1851

BFGM 1/5 1851-1954

BFGM 1/6 1854-1856

BFGM 1/7 1856-1859

BFGM 1/8 1859-1861

BFGM 1/9 1861-1863

BFGM 1/10 1863-1865

BFGM 1/11 1865-1866

BFGM 1/12 1866-1867

BFGM 1/13 1867-1869

BFGM 1/14 1869-1870

BFGM 1/15 1870-1871

BFGM 1/16 1871-1872

BFGM 1/17 1872-1874

BFGM 1/18 1874-1876

BFGM 1/19 1877-1878

BFGM 1/20 1878-1879

BFGM 1/21 1879-1880

BFGM 1/22 1880-1881

BFGM 1/23 1881-1882

BFGM 1/24 1882-1883

BFGM 1/25 1883-1885

BFGM 1/26 1885-1886

BFGM 1/27 1886-1888

BFGM 1/28 1888-1889

BFGM 1/29 1889-1890

BFGM 1/30 1891-1892

BFGM 1/31 1892-1893

BFGM 1/32 1893-1894

BFGM 1/33 1894-1895	BFGM 1/34 1895-1896
BFGM 1/35 1896-1897	BFGM 1/36 1897-1898
BFGM 1/37 1898-1899	BFGM 1/38 1899-1901
BFGM 1/39 1901-1902	BFGM 1/40 1902-1903
BFGM 1/41 1903-1905	BFGM 1/42 1905-1906
BFGM 1/43 1906-1908	BFGM 1/44 1908-1910
BFGM 1/45 19010-1911	BFGM 1/46 1911-1913
BFGM 1/47 1913-1914	BFGM 1/48 1914-1916
BFGM 1/49 1916-1919	BFGM 1/50 1919-1920
BFGM 1/51 1920-1922	BFGM 1/52 1922-1925
BFGM 1/53 1925-1929	BFGM 1/54 1929-1930

Bramley Union Workhouse Guardians' Minutes (Available at West Yorkshire Archive, Leeds)

BGM PLB 1.1 (1901)	BGM PLB 1.2 (1909-1910)
BGM PLB 1.3 (1924)	BGM PLB 1.4 (1926)
BGM PLB 5.13 (1919-1921)	

Great Ouseburn Workhouse Guardians' Minutes BG/OUG (Available at North Yorkshire Archive, Northallerton)

GOGM 1/20 1898-1900	GOGM 1/26 1909-1912
GOGM 1/21 1900-1902	GOGM 1/27 1912-1924
GOGM 1/22 1902-1904	GOGM 1/28 1914-1917
GOGM 1/23 1904-1906	GOGM 1/29 1918-1922
GOGM 1/24 1906-1907	GOGM 1/30 1922-1930
GOGM 1/25 1907-1909	

Leeds Union Workhouse Guardians' Minutes (Available at West Yorkshire Archive, Leeds)

LGM PL 1.1.1 (1844 – 1845)	LGM PL 1.1.2 (1845-1846)
LGM PL 1.1.3 (1846-1847)	LGM PL 1.1.4 (1847)
LGM PL 1.1.5 (1847-1848)	LGM PL 1.1.6 (1848-1849)
LGM PL 1.1.17 (1857-1858)	LGM PL 1.1.18 (1858-1859)
LGM PL 1.1.21 (1861)	LGM PL 1.1.22 (1862)
LGM PL 1.1.23 (1862-1863)	LGM PL 1.1.24 (1863-1864)
LGM PL 1.1.33 (1871-1872)	LGM PL 1.1.34 (1872)
LGM PL 1.1.36 (1873-1874)	LGM PL 1.1.37 (1874-1875)
LGM PL 1.1.49 (1885-1877)	LGM PL 1.1.51 (1887-1888)
LGM PL 1.1.52 (1888-1889)	LGM PL 1.1.53 (1889-1890)
LGM PL 1.1.54 (1890-1891)	LGM PL 1.1.55 (1891-1892)
LGM PL 1.1.56 (1892-1893)	LGM PL 1.1.57 (1893-1894)
LGM PL 1.1.59 (1895-1896)	LGM PL 1.1.60 (1896)
LGM PL 1.1.61 (1896-1897)	LGM PL 1.1.62 (1897-1898)
LGM PL 1.1.63 (1898-1899)	LGM PL 1.1.64 (1899-1900)
LGM PL 1.1.65 (1900-1901)	LGM PL 1.1.67 (1902-1903)
LGM PL 1.1.68 (1903-1904)	LGM PL 1.1.69 (1904–1905)
LGM PL 1.1.88 (1922)	LGM PL 1.1.100 (1928-1929)
LGM PL 1.1.101 (1929)	

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NBGM 1/1 1848-1854	NBGM 1/2 1854-1858
NBGM 1/3 1858-1861	NBGM 1/4 1861-1863
NBGM 1/5 1863-1866	NBGM 1/6 1866-1869
NBGM 1/7 1869-1872	NBGM 1/8 1872-1875
NBGM 1/9 1875-1879	NBGM 1/10 1882-1886
NBGM 1/11 1886-1889	NBGM 1/12 1890-1893

NBGM 1/13 1893-1897	NBGM 1/14 1897-1900
NBGM 1/15 1900-1904	NBGM 1/16 1904-1907
NBGM 1/17 1907-1911	NBGM 1/18 1911-1914
NBGM 1/19 1914-1918	NBGM 1/20 1918-1922
NBGM 1/21 1922-1925	NBGM 1/22 1925-1929
NBGM 1/23 1929-1930	

Pateley Bridge Union Workhouse Guardians' Minutes BG/PAT (Available at North Yorkshire Archive, Northallerton)

PBGM 1 1837-1848	PBGM 8 1873-1875
PBGM 3 1853-1858	PBGM 9 1875-1880
PBGM 4 1858-1862	PBGM 10 1880-1883
PBGM 5 1862-1864	PBGM 11 1883-1885
PBGM 6 1864-1868	PBGM 12 1885-1888
PBGM 7 1868-1873	

Ripon Union Workhouse Guardians' Minutes BG/R1 (Available at North Yorkshire Archive, Northallerton)

RGM 1.1 1852-1856	RGM 1.1.2 1856-1869
RGM 1.1.3 1860-1863	

Ripon Poor Law Union *Register of Refusals of Admission BG R1 5/3*

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SGM 1.1 1906-1909

SGM 1.6 1925-1927

SGM 1.3 1911-1914

SGM 1.7 1927-1930

SGM 1.4 1914-1918