A generous helping?

The archaeology of soup kitchens and their role in post-medieval philanthropy 1790-1914

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Abstract

Philip J. Carstairs - A generous helping? The archaeology of soup kitchens and their role in post-medieval philanthropy 1790-1914.

Soup kitchens, the charitable provision of food, principally soup (often accompanied by bread), became widespread in late-eighteenth century Britain. They were not a British invention. Soup is an ancient means of relieving hunger, but the circumstances during the Napoleonic Wars and their aftermath helped form a new type of institution which has been exported worldwide as a panacea for the pangs of hunger fostered by urbanisation and industrialisation.

This thesis traces the development of this novel institution and its material culture in England. It examines the changing nature of charity and the relationship between the poor and the better off in five counties, Northumberland, Kent, Staffordshire, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, within a national context. As historical archaeology, this research is inevitably cross-disciplinary, drawing on a wide range of evidence. Archival sources for soup kitchens are sparse, but nineteenth-century local newspapers provide a rich albeit fragmentary record with which to create the background for interpreting the material culture, architecture and landscapes of charity.

Objects, structures, landscapes and patterns of behaviour shaped the performance of charity, which is interpreted through architectural and spatial analysis and the lived-experience of the participants. This study takes the existing research on institutions in new directions and challenges our concepts of what archaeological sites are. By bringing both material evidence and innovative methodologies to the study of poverty and charity, the thesis contributes to the understanding of the makeshift economy that the poor used to survive.

Soup kitchens were widespread during the long nineteenth century, feeding between 10 and 30% of the population during wintertime. Later, soup kitchens fell from grace, particularly in industrial areas and were blamed for creating the problems they sought to alleviate. In less industrial areas soup remained in the repertoire of acceptable charity. England had developed very different regional cultures of charity.

Acknowledgments:

Muriel Kirkpatrick, archaeology laboratory supervisor at Philadelphia's Temple University, phoned me one day in the late 1980s while I was at work, as an archaeologist, monitoring the construction of the Vine Street Expressway through downtown Philadelphia. Muriel said that a soup-kitchen building, a block and a half north of Vine Street, was being redeveloped, was I interested in taking a look?

After feigning comprehension of what a soup kitchen was (I had visions of 1930s bread-lines and the Hare Krishna mobile kitchens that frequented music festivals), I said I would take a look. That lunchbreak, when construction on Vine Street was paused, William Henry Jnr, and I walked north from Vine Street to Buttonwood Street. Bill, a fellow-archaeologist, was more of an architectural historian than I was, and was equally grateful to escape the noise, heat and dust of highway-construction. There stood a three-storey classically-styled brick building from the mid-nineteenth century, surmounted by a carved stone gable displaying 'THE SPRING GARDEN SOUP HOUSE'. The contractors, who were busy stripping-out the building prior to its conversion into apartments, allowed Bill and myself to carry out a rapid survey of the ground floor and take some photographs.

It is commonplace in commercial archaeology for interesting things to emerge but for there to be no time or resources to investigate them more fully. This was no different. The sketches, survey measurements and photographic negatives sat in an envelope filed under 'Future Projects' until I was working on my MA in Historical Archaeology at the University of Leicester. I was looking for a building

to survey for a module on the archaeology buildings; why not survey a soup kitchen? Without Muriel and Bill, I would never have started down this track.

My supervisors, Professor Sarah Tarlow and Professor Elizabeth Hurren, have not only kept my research on track and helped with the map-reading , but have also been a great support over the time that this project has taken to reach its conclusion (if research ever is complete). Without their guidance, I would not have arrived at this destination. My thanks also to Dr Sarah Newstead and Professor Neil Christie who have been supportive and helped out at vital moments, and to all the other faculty and staff at the School of Archaeology and Ancient History who have always encouraged me and shown an interest.

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Huge thanks are due to the many archivists, librarians, museum staff and local historians who have provided access to, and guidance through, their collections. I am also grateful to the owners of many of the buildings that once housed soup kitchens for allowing me access (there are several buildings that I could not fit into the dissertation). Particular thanks are due to Jenny Sherwood for assistance

at Berkhamsted and Professor Francis Pryor and his family for not only allowing me access to survey parts of their homes, but also providing lunch.

Thank you to Lisa K. Carothers who responded to my post on the Laing Art Gallery website with a photograph of an 1878 painting of Newcastle's General Soup Kitchen which solved the mysteries of where the building had been and where the painting had gone.

Thanks also to my family for enduring the dissertation with me and bravely trying a batch of soup made to the 1801 recipe from the Dog and Duck, aka St George's Fields, Soup Kitchen (whose remains presumably now lie in front of the Imperial War Museum). Jamie Carstairs provided me with Figure 6.19.

This research was supported by funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council through what was the Midlands3Cities Doctoral Training Partnership and is now the Midlands4Cities Doctoral Training Partnership.

'Between my finger and my thumb

The squat pen rests.

I'll dig with it.' Seamus Heaney (1991)

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The arrangement of the thesis.

When discussing soup kitchens, the thesis refers to years based on winter seasons rather than whole calendar years; 1834/35 refers to the period between October 1834 and September 1835.

Bibliographic references to published sources are in Harvard style, except for references to newspapers. Newspaper citations are abbreviated in the text with the date of publication and page; full names are listed in the relevant section of the bibliography (e.g. Illustrated London News for 23 January 1854 page 24 would appear in the text as ILN 23/1/1854: 24). Other abbreviations and terms in bold are explained in the Glossary. Archival sources are referenced by the catalogue number, prefixed with an abbreviation of the archive (e.g. BM/ASKMB refers to Bailiffgate Museum item ASKMB).

Ordnance Survey maps are taken from EDINA Digimap collection (https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/), unless stated, remain Crown Copyright and the copyright of the Landmark Information Group Limited 2022, all rights reserved, and are not listed individually in the bibliography. Population data have been derived from the original census documents which are available at http://www2.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/; population for non-census years has been interpolated on a straight-line basis.

Weights measures and monetary values (£ pounds, shillings (s. or /-) and pence (d.)) are given in imperial and pre-decimal values when discussing the original sources. Imperial measures are larger than American measures.

'Newcastle' used on its own always refers to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Newcastle-under-Lyme is always referred to as such.

Photographs by others are cited in the bibliography. All photographs and drawings not otherwise cited are by the author. All rights to the images remain with their respective owners. Several images have been redacted from the version of this dissertation made available online for copyright reasons. I am grateful to those who have given me permission to use their pictures.

1. Introduction

a. Tuesday 3rd February 1875

Unlatching the front door, thirteen-year-old Ernest Delderfield left his grandmother's cottage, quickly shutting the door behind him and pulling his jacket tightly around himself with one hand, while clutching a large jug in the other. Leaving the shelter of the buildings on King's Road, he turned east along Berkhamsted's High Street into the biting wind. He quickened his step, hurrying past the inns, shops and a bakery from where the warm smell of bread emanated. Shopkeepers arranging their window displays and preparing for the day's business stopped momentarily and peered at Ernest. Head down, he avoided their gaze. He crossed the Market Place, before cutting down Back Lane and turning into Water Street. He could see others ahead. A purposeful procession of hungry thinly-clad and poorly-shod or bare-footed men, women and children with an assortment of pots, pans, jugs and bowls was traipsing towards the canal and the railway station.

Ernest left almost no record of his own life behind. He and his grandmother were Berkhamsted natives and inmates of Berkhamsted's workhouse by 1881. Assuming he was not living there in 1875 and he was considered eligible for soup, he would have made this journey several days a week during winter along with hundreds of others of Berkhamsted's forgotten poor. The forgotten poor are at the heart of this thesis. Their life stories are untold; usually, we cannot even name them. By linking contemporary evidence such as historic maps, newspapers, diaries, literature and songs, we can recreate their journeys to soup kitchens up and down the country, re-imagine their experiences in performing a routine

crucial to survival and rediscover an unremembered institution. So, we will re-join Ernest on his way down Water Street, then an open sewer, past the brewery, gasworks and a large cesspool.

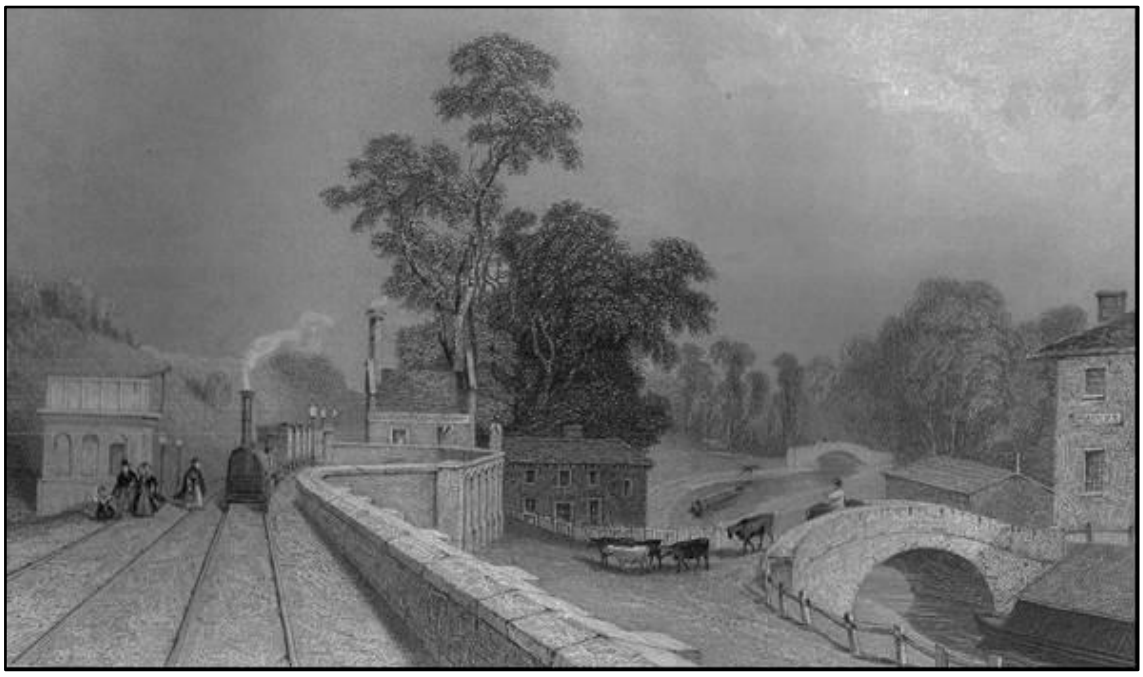


Figure 1.1. Berkhamsted Station in 1839 (left) with the Castle Hill and ruins behind; the bridge to Berkhamsted is on the right (Roscoe 1839: 64).

At the Upper Mill, the frost had deadened the stink of the normally fetid Black Ditch, the name for this part of the River Bulborne. Ernest continued across the bridge over the marginally cleaner canal, where a similar throng from Castle Street joined them (Figure 1.1). Along the quayside, workers at the timber yard warmed their hands over a brazier, ignoring the passers-by. The procession continued along the road that ran between the canal and the railway embankment above. The human river then flowed past the railway station through a narrow, dark tunnel under the railway, where the sulphurous smell of locomotive smoke lingered, before re-emerging into the daylight at the other end (Figure 1.2). The crowd found itself in the countryside. Having left the now invisible town, they still could not see the goal of their pilgrimage. They did not need divine guidance.

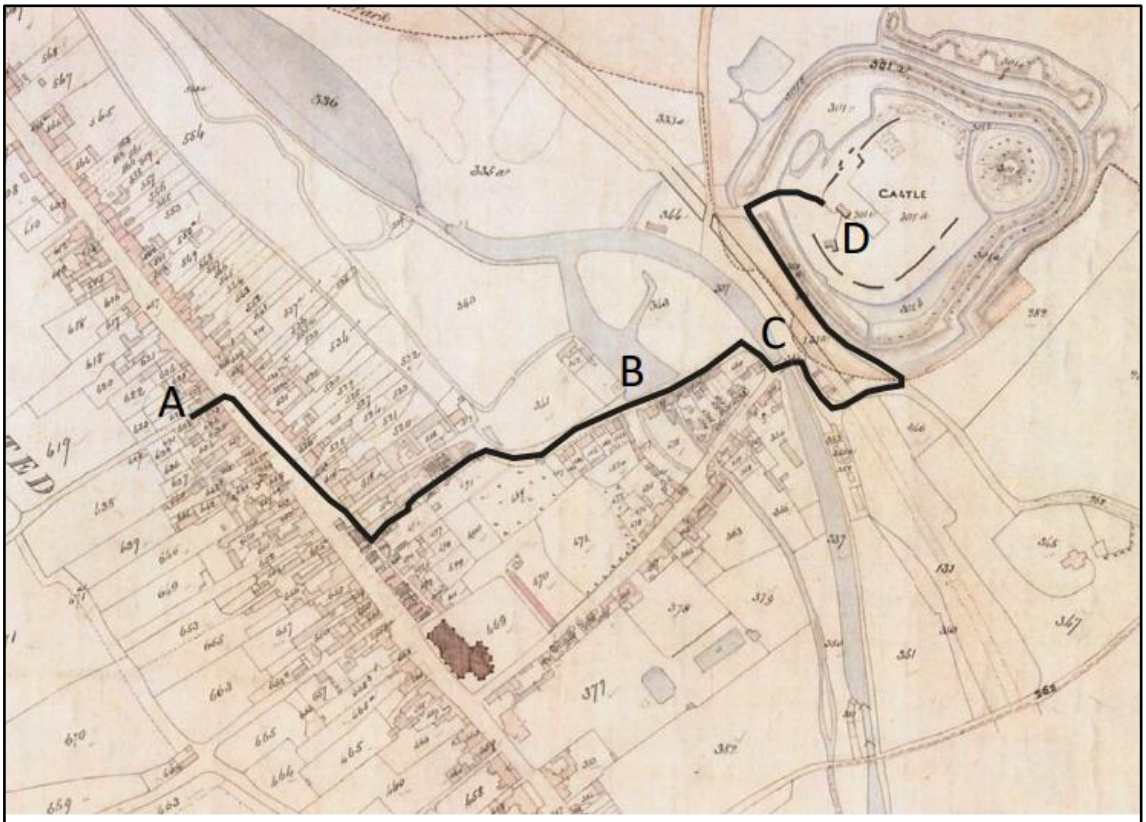
They had travelled this way many times before and if the wind was right they could follow their noses. Doubling back along the road that ran between the embankment and the Castle ramparts, hemmed in by industrial modernity and crumbling medieval magnificence, they reached the entrance to the Castle Grounds, turned into the Castle ruins and poured across the causeway over the inner moat.

Figure 1.2. On the Castle side of the railway: the bricked-up 1839 tunnel under the railway, left, and the entrance to the old station, right.

When Ernest got to the gate just beyond the ramparts, in front of a small house and adjoining keeper's cottage (Figure 1.3), there were already several hundred gathered. Ernest knew there was no point in arriving first and standing in the cold damp air because Mr Coulter, retired police-superintendent, sorted everyone alphabetically before serving. Being served later had the advantage of the soup

being slightly thicker, but being towards the front meant he could get soup sooner. Those without tickets, casuals and vagrants, jostled more anxiously, as the soup might run out before they were served. On being admitted through the gate, Ernest filed into the Soup House. At the door, Captain Hamilton checked his ticket against the list and Mr. Pethybridge took Ernest's one penny payment. Ernest then stepped forward to the counter where John Margrove took his battered jug and filled it with two pints of steaming soup. Mr. Rippon then handed him half of a quartern loaf. Ernest, somewhat overburdened, mumbled his thanks and stuffed the bread into a bag. He headed home along the same route (Figure 1.4), stopping to sip some of the soup on the way.

Figure 1.3. Berkhamsted Soup House (built 1841) on the left with the keeper's cottage to the right.



Key:
A Kings Road, B Black Ditch, C canal bridge and railway station, D the Soup House

Figure 1.4. Ernest Delderfield's imagined journey of about 1km on the 1841 Tithe Map (HALS/D5A4/19/2). Map © Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

The hoard invading Berkhamsted Castle were not the French mercenaries of the 1216 siege, but over 400 of Berkhamsted's poor. Over a quarter of the town's population regularly made the pilgrimage to the Soup House to get soup and bread, as did the charity's committee of clergy and leading tradesmen to supervise (HHG 6/2/1875: 5; BH 06/02/1875: 5).

b. Why soup kitchens?

The significance of the research

The Berkhamsted Soup House, as the soup kitchen was known, is one of the few surviving soup kitchens in England from before 1850. It has stood in the middle of Berkhamsted Castle, a scheduled ancient monument in the care of Historic England (and predecessor bodies), for nearly 100 years, and yet it remained unrecognised for what it was until this research started. Official plans identified it as 'modern' and 'wash-house', 'store' or 'ticket-office' (for the Castle).

Many doctoral studies start by saying that their research topic is much-neglected; in this case it is an understatement. In the last 50 years, only six publications have considered soup kitchens in any depth. Milano (2009) wrote a short history of a soup kitchen in Philadelphia, USA. A group of public kitchens, (these served sit-down meals not just soup) in late-nineteenth-century Lisbon, formed the subject of an MA thesis (Cordeiro 2012). Singer investigated an Ottoman *imaret* (public kitchen) in Jerusalem (Singer 2002, 2005). Early nineteenth-century soup kitchens in Manchester and London's Clerkenwell were the subject of short studies (Hindle 1975; Sutton 1996). Finally, Sherman (2001) discussed the literary treatment of poverty in late-eighteenth century soup kitchen publications. None of these studies combined archaeology with social history from below.

Being neglected does not make a topic worth studying. Soup kitchens are demonstrably important because such a large proportion of the population relied on them. During the mid-nineteenth century dramas like Berkhamsted's unfolded in nearly every town and village across England. Extrapolating from the

regional studies that follow, in some winters in the mid-nineteenth century, over two million people, at least 10% of England's population, received soup from a charitable soup kitchen. Some large urban soup kitchens served over 4,000 quarts of soup a day (ILN 9/3/1867: 18) and in late-Victorian London over 200 charitable institutions served around 100,000 meals of cooked food daily to the local adult poor (COS 1887). Between 1797 and 1801, the proportion of the country getting soup or other emergency feeding was probably even greater.

Charity

Studies on charity for the poor have been insignificant in number compared to studies of the poor laws that provided poor relief from local taxation. Research has focussed on large urban charities and donors (Prochaska 1980; Shaw 1980; Shapely 1994; Gorsky 1999). Rural charities have received limited attention (Lewis 2003; Morley 2012). Only rarely do the recipients of charity take centre stage (Lloyd 2003). Eden (1797: 465) thought that the poor law 'very imperfectly' provided for the poor and opined that private charity was necessary, superior and greater in amount. There is some support for Eden's estimate (Innes 1996: 148; Lees 1990: 259). Prochaska argued that Victorian charity was extensive and consisted of a 'massive redistribution of wealth' (1990: 357). Although making an accurate calculation of the amount of charity dispensed is difficult, it was undoubtedly important for the survival of the poor. Morris (2006: 29) found that charitable donations for the relief of poverty in 1870s London matched poor law expenditure.

Archaeological and architectural studies of charity have focussed on schools, alms-houses and hospitals (Baugher 2001; Huey 2001; Markus 1993; Spencer-Wood 2001) with De Cunzo's studies of the Philadelphia Magdelen Society being

a notable exception (1995, 2001). These studies have all been of 'total institutions' where the 'beneficiaries' of the charity were more inmates than visitors (Goffman 1961). Our archaeological understanding of the operation of other types of charity is limited.

Interdisciplinary study

To develop a fuller understanding of soup kitchens, this research will take an inter-disciplinary approach (archaeology and history, broadly speaking). The archaeological research focusses on the materiality of soup kitchens, the buildings, the landscape, the technology and the soup. The historical research uses newspapers, institutional minutes, accounts and reports, maps, drawings, photographs and paintings. Some evidence is material and documentary (soup-tickets and tokens, flyers and posters). The strength of historical archaeology is its ability to knit together the physical and the textual to create a unique fabric. It does not simply fill in gaps or illustrate the documentary evidence, it connects with the places and spaces people inhabited and experienced. It can explain how the relationships by which society was structured were negotiated and maintained.

We will explore the performance of charity, the gift of soup, the journey to get soup and the process of making soup, which were all important cultural experiences, for well-off donors and soup-recipients alike. Soup kitchens occupied a crucial intersection between rich and poor when society was undergoing significant changes. Soup kitchens are a prism through which to view social relations and the experiences of the poor.

A brief note on methodology

Identifying soup kitchen buildings was the first challenge. Only 14 soup kitchens were recorded in Historic England's database of listed buildings (Historic Environment Scotland has listed two soup kitchens); county historic environment records were no better stocked. Local archives searched by the National Archives 'Discovery' revealed 170 files (some soup kitchens had multiple files) in 17 repositories for Great Britain but these barely overlapped with Historic England's list. Few of these new discoveries had locations given and since the object was to look at the buildings, further digging was necessary. At this point historic local newspapers emerged as both a great resource and a challenge.

The British Newspaper Archive is the digitised and searchable part of the British Library's vast collection of British local newspapers from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. In the first few weeks of using the database, references to over 100 soup kitchens in Kent alone were found. At this point, the research was narrowed to cover Kent and four other counties (rather than the entire country) (Figure 1.5). Northumberland was selected as it is at the opposite end of the country to Kent and had significant industrial towns, particularly on Tyneside, and good newspaper coverage. Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire were selected as examples of southern agricultural counties with no industrial towns, and Staffordshire because it was a Midlands' county with significant industry and mining. Even with this limited sample, the dataset was large. Newspapers from before 1820 for all of England were also searched as there were fewer available.

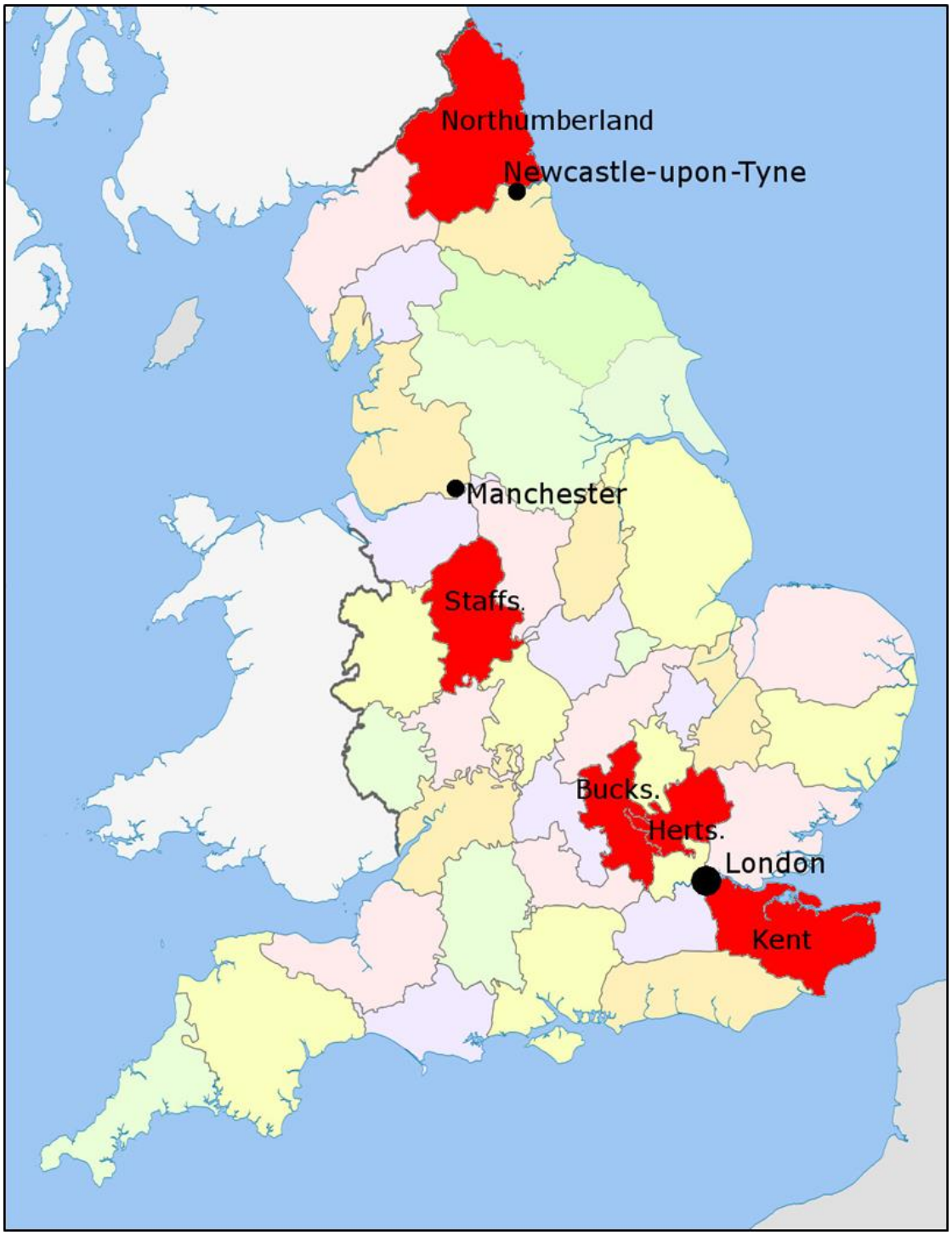


Figure 1.5. The study counties, in red, on the map of English counties in 1851 (base map: Wikipedia).

The thousands of newspaper reports of soup kitchens published within these five counties were then reviewed. Some reports consisted of one sentence such as: 'Mr W. B. Beaumont, MP, has given a donation of £20 to the funds of the Hexham

Soup Kitchen' (NC 29/12/1882: 5). Other reports filled several columns. Where evidence for the soup kitchen's location was given, historic maps, directories and other sources were used to plan fieldwork. Relevant documents in the archives for each county were identified and read. Archives were not searched exhaustively (unindexed vestry minute books, parish magazines and non-digitised newspapers will undoubtedly contain further evidence for soup kitchens). Surviving buildings were surveyed and photographed when possible. Almost all building owners were kind enough to allow access. Where appropriate, the results of these surveys are described in the text.

What becomes clear from delving into the world of soup kitchens is the great diversity of buildings and surviving evidence. Tenterden soup kitchen is no larger than a garden shed, Manchester's Philanthropic Hall has a 23m long, two-storey street frontage (Figure 7.2, Figure 7.43). We only know that Monkton, Kent, had a soup kitchen and the regard it had for the stomachs of its paupers, because newspapers reported that an unfortunate cow was hit by a train and so mutilated that it was deemed to be fit only for the soup kitchen (KG 6/1/1846: 2). In contrast, the final incarnation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne's General Soup Kitchen is a Grade 2 listed building, with a significant portion of its minute books and design drawings in the Tyne & Wear Archives, over 1,000 newspaper articles mentioning the institution, a music hall song about it and a 'fine art' painting (of its previous incarnation).

Data on most soup kitchens are at the Monkton end of the spectrum, necessitating an almost archaeological approach to the archive, collating hundreds of tiny fragments of information from very brief newspaper reports spanning a century and reassembling these into a coherent picture. It would be

unwise to assume that any soup kitchen was typical or that the soup kitchens in these five counties were accurately representative of the entire range of practice across England.

More details on the methodology and the results by county are set out in Appendices 1 and 3.

Key questions

No one seems to have questioned why the soup kitchen was in Berkhamsted Castle ruins in the first place. It was neither convenient for the poor nor the committee delivering the soup, 100 gallons of water and 100 pounds of beef had to be got there for each serving. And why soup? It took at least six hours to cook, serving took over an hour and taking away two or more pints of hot soup back to town was challenging. The absurdity of the performance (and it was a performance) was probably lost on the actors and yet it forms a springboard to this enquiry.

This research will investigate seven broad questions. These questions are multi-layered and from them further questions will follow. Why and when was soup first chosen for humanitarian relief? How do you make and dispense soup to hundreds if not thousands? Who attended soup kitchens and what role did soup play in their lives and in their survival strategies? What sort of places and buildings were chosen for soup kitchens, why and what did these locations mean to the givers and the receivers? Did soup kitchens change chronologically or regionally? What do soup kitchens tell us about charity, morality and society? How did the poor experience soup kitchens and receiving soup?

Roadmap

Seven chapters will address these questions. The first three will chart the birth, heyday and decline of the soup kitchen. This chronological account will be followed by four chapters looking at the materiality of soup kitchens at increasing scales of analysis. We start inside the soup kitchen, looking at how the material culture mediated the process of transforming charitable funds into food and delivering it. We then examine the buildings, how they were organised, designed and adapted to enable so many to be served from such a small space, before finishing with an exploration of the landscapes in which these soup kitchens operated.

Throughout the seven chapters, reference will be made primarily to evidence relating to Kent, Northumberland, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Staffordshire. Additional evidence from elsewhere will be considered, particularly in the period before 1820, for which evidence is sparse. Rather than produce a refined case study on a series of different institutions, the material has been integrated into a wider narrative to highlight their typical and unique characteristics.

Before the principal exposition, the next chapter will set out the historical and archaeological context and explain how the evidence was gathered, framed and interpreted.

2. Background

Almost all the soup kitchens encountered in this research were intended to provide charitable soup to the poor. This chapter will explore three major themes that are fundamental to the research that follows. Poverty during the long nineteenth century is the first theme. It is an area with a rich, growing historiography focussed on the poor laws but also more recently on the lives of the poor. Charity, in the guise of gifts, has been explored by anthropologists and sociologists. The material expression of poverty and charity through buildings, landscapes and objects forms the third theme. Here, archaeology, always a hybrid discipline, incorporating architectural history, historical geography, art history and artefactual studies, will come to the fore. Rope made by twisting these three strands together will be stronger than a single strand.

a. On being poor

Introduction

Poverty and hunger were new neither in 1875, nor in 1841 when Countess Bridgewater had Berkhamsted's Soup House built in one corner of her Ashridge estate. Poverty was a persistent feature of post-medieval England. Those Georgians and early Victorians wealthy enough to publish their sentiments considered poverty and inequality to be natural, inevitable and even necessary to motivate people to work through hunger (Townsend 1817: 15; Colquhoun 1806: 7; Poynter 1969: xvi; Driver 2004: 23). Neither redistribution of wealth nor increased productivity could prevent poverty so great were the numbers of poor. It was divine providence (God had created poverty to enable the rich to be charitable). The poor were poor by God's judgment, making poverty a moral

issue. It was assumed that the poor were responsible for their own poverty, unless they could prove otherwise. They needed reform so that with industry, self-discipline and obedience, they could avoid destitution and pauperism (dependence on public relief or charity) (Roberts 2004: 63ff). Paupers might be classified as deserving (of assistance) or undeserving, depending on their age, gender, ethnicity and conduct. These abstract criteria became more important as poor relief policies became discriminating and moralising during the nineteenth century (Lees 1990: 179). While dividing sheep from goats enabled relief to be used as a tool of social policy, it exposed an inconsistency: if some poor were deserving, then clearly these poor were not solely responsible for their poverty. The poor saw themselves neither as a homogenous class nor as morally responsible for their situation (Lees 1990: 154ff). Poverty simply meant having to work hard to survive; if on occasion events or age intervened, the poor believed in their entitlement to relief.

Between 1750 and 1830, enclosure and changes in apprenticeship, farm-service and employment made the labouring class more vulnerable to extreme poverty (Snell 1985). Technological change put further downward pressure on wages in many traditional occupations. Social unrest was growing; Jacobinism and the Napoleonic Wars heightened middle-class fears of revolution. Concurrently, increasing pauperism and rising poor rates alarmed ratepayers, some of whom themselves struggled to pay rates. Consistent and accurate data for relief expenditure and numbers of poor are hard to come by until after the Napoleonic Wars, so determining how real these concerns were is difficult. Certainly, relief expenditure increased rapidly during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but so did the population. Furthermore, between 1780 and 1800 grain prices

doubled while labourers' wages stagnated (Morris 1983: 99; Figure 12.1). As the poor spent most of their disposable income on bread, high food prices were life-threatening.

Relief expenditure levelled off after 1820 and pauperism declined from around 11% of the population in 1803 to around 5% in the early 1860s, 3% in 1875 and 1.7% in 1914, despite occasional temporary reversals (King 2000: 81; Snell 2006: 213-216; Williams 1981: 159). From a distance we can see that factors such as war, bad harvests, increasing food prices and recessions were driving short-term increases in pauperism. Improved agricultural production, technology and globalisation were gradually improving the lot of many. At the time increasing pauperism was interpreted by the middle class as having a moral cause, requiring a moral solution. Whereas in previous centuries poverty was seen as inevitable, there was a growing belief that it could at least be alleviated if not reduced significantly. The moral solutions materialised in the form of proposals to reform or even abolish tax-funded poor relief, and in a plethora of voluntary societies whose goal was to reform the poor, prosecute criminals and improve behaviour generally (Poynter 1969: 21ff; Roberts 2004: 17ff).

The moral economy

The declining economic position of the labouring poor in the late-eighteenth century was linked to the waning 'moral economy'. Ordinary people in the mid-eighteenth century anticipated that the market for basic foodstuffs would operate in a moral way; farmers were expected to bring their crops to local markets and sell them at a price which local people could afford, not withhold or export them in pursuit of a greater profit, until local needs were satisfied (Thompson 1991a: 193).

If shortages emerged or prices went too high, a choreographed food riot might ensue. People would seize the food and forcibly sell it at a 'fair' price. On other occasions, the crowd might descend on a farmer or miller thought to be withholding grain and liberate the supply. The magistrates then intervened to protect a fair market and set prices. The growing national trade in foodstuffs and increasing urbanisation encouraged farmers and middlemen to shun traditional markets which the authorities became increasingly unwilling to regulate (Bohstedt 1983: 133).

If the moral economy consisted only of price control and grain supply, it was fragmentary and largely symbolic by the late-eighteenth century, even in times of crisis, and its theatre of power ceased to hold the poor in its thrall (Thompson 1991a: 36, 200). Thompson's definition has been expanded to include access to employment rights, housing, charity and poor relief while maintaining its paternalistic core; hence, its demise is identified at various later points in time.

Dunkley (1979: 379) and Stone and Stone (1986: 179) concur with Thompson on timing but cite the rich's abdication of responsibility for running their communities as the cause of decline. The crisis of the 1790s is identified as the cause of the moral economy's rapid decline (Claeys 1987: 18ff). Perkin considered the 1834 poor law reforms as being the time when social relationships fundamentally shifted (1972: 183ff). Mingay (1990: 189) blamed urbanisation, industrialisation and agricultural decline as upsetting rural equilibrium in the late-nineteenth century. In contrast, Gerard (1987: 202) felt that although the moral obligation to support local communities weakened significantly in the 1880s, paternalistic charity continued during the following decades, at least in the countryside.

The moral economy was never an accurate description of reality (Himmelfarb 1984: 41, 63) but it is useful shorthand for the fundamentally paternalistic relationship between the haves and the have-nots. The new political economy of markets and slowly increasing democratisation forced it to change its focus and values, but its vestiges are still present. Paternalism was the natural order of society. Land, owned by relatively few, underpinned power over many, but required landowners to support their communities. The phrase 'property has its duties' became something of a cliché in the 1840s as paternalism was revived (Roberts 1979: 129). *Noblesse oblige* appeared magnanimous but concealed self-interest (Stone and Stone 1986: 295). In return for largesse (which was often relatively trivial), the poor were expected to display gratitude and deference. The moral economy may have survived longer perpetuated by the face-to-face local interactions more prevalent in small communities, particularly **closed parishes** (those controlled by one or two landowners) (Newby 1975: 155).

Organised charities constituted a system of voluntary poor relief without the legal or intellectual baggage (Morris 1983: 104). They adapted and institutionalised the moral economy in response to the growing social problems resulting from urbanisation and industrialisation. Whereas the rural moral economy attempted to preserve the *status quo* or recreate an imagined past, many of these urban subscription societies set about creating and perpetuating new hierarchies (Roberts 2004: 33; Morris 1983: 113).

The 'symbolic' aspect of mutual moral obligations between powerful and weak remained important and persistent through the nineteenth century. There is no doubt that paternalism and a moral economy were alive and well in Victorian England (Roberts 1979; Jones 2007: 274) and subject to a revival, until

agricultural recessions, the arrival of democratically elected county councils and the failures of the First World War exposed its weaknesses (Cannadine 2005; Girouard 1981). We will see how the moral economy affected the lives of the poor, charity and the provision of soup in the following chapters.

'A life of expedients'

Mr Okeden described the survival strategy of the poor of Dunstew, Oxfordshire, as 'a life of expedients' in his evidence to the Royal Commission investigating the poor laws in 1832 (BPP 1834: appendix A: 4). Academic interest in the poor's use of expedients has grown since Hufton (1974: 69ff) coined the term 'economy of makeshifts' in her study of the poor in eighteenth-century France. Innes (1996) and Tomkins and King (2003) developed Hufton's concept, adding resources such as charity, crime and public relief. Parts of the 'patchy, desperate and sometimes failing' makeshift economy (Tomkins and King 2003: 1) such as gleaning or exploiting forests and commons were neither expedient nor welfare, but ancient rights, albeit under threat from landowners and enclosure. An 'ecology of poor relief', encompassing the cultural and geographic aspects of the poor's subsistence strategy, might be a better concept (Hindle 2003: 65, 229; King 2018: 20).

This thesis will use the term 'makeshift economy' as it has the advantage of being widely-accepted. There are real challenges to studying the makeshift economy due to its complexity and the lack of documentary evidence for many aspects (Tomkins and King 2003: 30). The anthropological concepts of *habitus* and *taskscape* (to be discussed below) overlap with this economy, but also speak to the deeper cultural structures that shaped lives.

Significance

The makeshift economy became increasingly important for the poor as incomes from agriculture, outwork and casual employment stagnated or declined between 1790 and 1850 (Horrell and Humphries 1992: 855). Deteriorating conditions of employment and changes in public poor relief exposed the poor to potential destitution (Snell 1985). Wages fluctuated with the seasons; bad weather might mean no work. Lifecycle events such as childbirth, widowhood, old age or ill-health could transform routine poverty into a crisis (King 2000: 127; Williams 2011: 13). Economic downturns or rising food prices posed similar threats. The family of a labouring man could live at a basic level of subsistence if all the family contributed (meat was a luxury for agricultural labourers) (Burnett 1989). The gap between subsistence and hunger was as narrow as Mr Micawber's twelve pence divide between happiness and misery.

Soup kitchens were well-positioned to bridge this gap and ward off disaster for the poor, yet they are as marginal in published research as their clientele were in society. Their ubiquity indicates their significance; this study will investigate how they may have assisted the poor in navigating the shoals while avoiding poor relief.

b. The poor law economy

Relief under the poor laws was probably the largest single element of the makeshift economy and forms a distinct and well-ploughed field of study. While the poor exploited it when they could, it was usually a last resort (Broad 1999: 986). Even if most survived without regular relief from the parish, a change in the poor laws had significant repercussions for the rest of the makeshift economy,

forcing people to adapt their survival strategies. This section will focus on **outdoor relief**, the most relevant part of the poor law for soup kitchens.

The Old Poor Laws

Elizabethan Act for the Relief of the Poor 1601 consolidated the existing Old Poor Laws (**OPL**) to provide the legal framework for public relief in England until 1834. The OPL administered three main groups of paupers. It maintained the impotent 'deserving' poor (those unable to work due to disability or age), provided work for the able-bodied unemployed and their children, and punished the recalcitrant 'undeserving' vagrants (King 2000: 20). This was all paid for through poor rates, a tax levied on property within the parish. The OPL was administered at parish level by churchwardens and **overseers**. Expenditure and relief could vary greatly, even between neighbouring parishes, as relief was always discretionary (King 2000: 50). Levels of relief and eligibility criteria were not set down in legislation. By the later-eighteenth century, relief in parts of the South and East could be described as a 'mini-welfare state', with payments of cash, food, clothing, shoes, medical care, burial costs, housing or pensions (Blaug 1964: 229; Snell 1985: 105). In contrast, many areas in the industrial Midlands and North spent less and probably provided less for their poor (King 2000). Relief provided in a workhouse was referred to as **indoor relief**; if the pauper remained living in the community it was **outdoor relief**. Outdoor relief usually supplemented other sources of income until old age made recipients incapable of work; even then other family members were often expected to assist (Smith 1996: 41). This system remained in place with only limited modification until 1834. Discussion here will concentrate on the OPL after 1750.

There were over 15,000 parishes, each administering its own poor; only 1,521 parishes had populations of more than 800 (King 2000: 7). Because parishes were mostly small, and administration local, the OPL was transacted through face-to-face relationships in which pauper and overseer would have known each other, making negotiation of relief a personal matter and creating a strong sense of local identity (Snell 1985: 104; 2006: 110). If denied relief, a pauper could appeal to the magistracy who remained arbiters of poor law matters until 1834, even after other formal vestiges of their paternalistic authority had been stripped away (Dunkley 1979: 375). Magistrates were often less interested in restraining poor law expenditure than in displaying generous authority. The poor could thus exercise some agency and negotiate their rights to relief by exploiting the triangulation between themselves, the overseers and the magistrates (Hitchcock *et al* 1997: 11; Hindle 2004a: 362).

From 1662, only those 'settled' within the parish were eligible for relief (Snell 1991: 379). Anyone not settled could be forcibly removed to the parish where they were settled, if they were 'likely to become chargeable' to the parish. After the 1795 Settlement Act, a person had to apply for relief before they became removable. The rules for determining settlement were complex but usually settlement was obtained through birth, long residence or service, apprenticeship, property ownership or, for women, marriage. The parish was not *obliged* to provide relief to the settled poor. The non-settled poor could apply for relief too but application might be met with removal rather than relief. The evidence suggests that relatively few paupers were removed in proportion to the number of paupers who could have been (King 2013: 99) which may explain why many contemporaries found the effect of the settlement laws 'trifling' (Snell 1991: 399).

The OPL functioned comparatively smoothly, providing humane assistance to the needy, particularly the sick poor (King 2018), until the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Crisis and reform

Himmelfarb (1984: 18) detects a growing middle-class resentment towards poor relief, beginning after the 1750s. Ratepayers tried to control rising expenditure by denying relief to those deemed undeserving. After 1750, the value of outdoor relief for the elderly through pensions stagnated and then declined, and workhouses were resorted to more often (Smith 1996: 39). Eastwood (1994: 101) identified a shift from the more generous provision of the 1750s to greater austerity from 1780. By the 1780s the poor had lost much of the sympathy of their neighbours with the workless designated 'workshy' (Lees 1998: 20, 82, 111). As goodwill to the poor declined, the public discourse on poverty became increasingly moralistic (Eastwood 1994: 118; 1997: 128). People became less charitably disposed towards the poor and parish authorities became more parsimonious with relief (Andrew 1989: 135; Valenze 1993: 61ff). By the mid-1790s, falling agricultural wages, harvest failures, war and inflation increased poor law expenditure and pushed the OPL into crisis (Broad 1999: 1002). In response, parochial authorities experimented by providing supplementary allowances to those still working, employing, or hiring out, the unemployed at low rates of pay, and cutting doles to spread resources more thinly (Poynter 1969: 312; Snell 1985: 106-109; Broad 1999: 1006).

Reforming the country's apparently growing and potentially rebellious poor became the focus of much intellectual debate (Poynter 1969). Establishment concerns about sedition were increased by the American and French Revolutions.

Severe food shortages between 1793 and 1801 added to the crisis. After 1802, harvests improved and grain imports lowered food prices, reducing the pressure for reform. The controversy of poor relief resumed after the Napoleonic Wars, particularly in the rural south (Fraser 2009: 46; Lees 1998: 109-111). Pamphleteers renewed their denigration of the poor (Snell 1985: 111-113). Some questioned the whole basis of welfare (Lees 1998: 82). Policy shifted from subsidising food in around 1800, to make-work schemes after 1815 and then to imposing tougher workhouse regimes as high food-prices, then unemployment and finally a dependent and demoralised poor were blamed for rising rates.

The **Swing Riots** finally persuaded Parliament to introduce national poor law reforms (Kidd 1999: 14; Poynter 1969: 317). Jones has interpreted the riots as a demand for a revitalised moral economy (2007: 277, 283). Parliament moved quickly to enforce discipline rather than restore or improve subsistence rights.

In 1832 Parliament established a Royal Commission which gathered large amounts of data (which it largely ignored) to tackle the perceived problem of overgenerous overseers giving outdoor relief to lazy able-bodied men (Poynter 1969: 319). Edwin Chadwick, Jeremy Bentham's former secretary, and secretary to the Commission, provided much of the ideological input to the Commission's report, itself something of a foregone conclusion. The result was not abolition of the OPL, but reform via the Poor Law Amendment Act 1834. It, and subsequent legislation, is referred to here as the New Poor Laws (**NPL**).

The NPL took many years to implement. Twelve of the 50 most populous **poor law unions** were still not subject to it even in the late 1850s (Englander 1998: 14). Different aspects of the legislation applied, and administration varied, across

the country. Furthermore, regulations changed over time. Table 12.60 sets out the major legal changes (with their abbreviations) that are relevant to this consideration of the NPL.

Disciplining the poor

The NPL was intended to discipline the rural poor by severely restricting outdoor relief, particularly for able-bodied men. This was supposed to make labourers independent, work harder and save for slack times and old age. Discipline, in theory, was enforced by making the workhouse the only parish-funded relief available. The workhouse now provided welfare at a level below that which a labourer could attain by work; it was meant to be so unpleasant that any form of work was preferable (the less-eligibility principle) (Williams 1981: 57). Initially the NPL was rigorously enforced, particularly in the South. Officials reported a rapid fall in numbers on relief and a more deferential attitude among the poor. Although relief expenditure was declining even before the NPL due to an improving economy (Snell 2006: 213), austerity was already on the rise in the decade before the NPL.

A recession and the 'hungry forties' were the first serious test of the NPL and resulted in more flexible provision of outdoor relief. There were insufficient workhouses, which were more expensive per pauper to run than continuing with outdoor relief. In 1842, **guardians** in urban areas were allowed to provide outdoor relief to paupers who complied with a labour test (Table 12.60). Conveniently, the labour test often involved building the new workhouses. In 1844, the Outdoor Relief Prohibitory Order (**ORPO**) severely curtailed the availability of outdoor relief to the able-bodied in many rural unions. ORPO did not apply large urban areas, the Northwest, north and mid-Wales, and Cornwall,

as these areas did not have the surplus agricultural labour prevalent in the Southeast. Under ORPO guardians were still permitted to provide outdoor relief to able-bodied men in 'sudden and urgent necessity' (Snell 2006: 240). It is not clear whether this loophole was deliberately drafted to permit leniency or how much local officials exploited it. In 1852 the Outdoor Relief Regulation Order (**ORRO**) sought to claw back some of the ground by imposing a labour test on able-bodied women seeking relief and requiring half of outdoor relief to be given in kind.

The mid-century relaxation of the rules restricting outdoor relief, which Kidd refers to as 'optimism', was overturned in 1869 (Kidd 1999: 46; Snell 2006: 261). The evidence from the soup kitchen will show that all was not well for the outdoor poor in mid-century, notwithstanding optimism or leniency. One effect of the NPL was to *drive down* rural wages, not to increase them as the NPL's sponsors had predicted. The NPL neither addressed seasonal underemployment for the increasingly casualised agricultural workforce nor made any allowance for town-dwellers reliant on casual employment and subject to the vagaries of trade and developing industrialisation (Fraser 2009: 56).

Controlling the vestry

For administrators, the changes brought by the NPL were as significant. Previously, the overseers, under control of the vestry run by parish ratepayers, had made welfare decisions. Appeal had lain with the magistrates (usually major local landowners and senior clergy). Under the NPL, the magistrates were shorn of much of their role as arbiters of poor relief (Snell 1985: 118). The 15,000 parishes were amalgamated into roughly 600 unions. Ratepayers in each parish elected guardians who were responsible for administering relief. Decisions were

made at union-level by **relieving-officers** following rules imposed by central authority (King 2000: 28). Parish overseers remained empowered to distribute emergency relief-in-kind, medical assistance and relief to the casual (non-resident) poor after 1834 (Snell: 2006: 345). Guardians had some discretion about providing relief, but a series of regulations through the next three decades limited outdoor relief incrementally and chipped away at those elements of the poor law still under local control. Each union was to have a large central workhouse, although their building took longer than the **Poor Law Commissioners** anticipated.

A pauper's personal relationship with an overseer was replaced by a more impersonal one with a relieving-officer or guardian (who was more likely to come from a different parish). Appeal from the guardians was to the Poor Law Commission (replaced in 1847 by the **Poor Law Board** which in 1871 was replaced by the **Local Government Board**). The face-to-face negotiation of the relatively generous OPL (Snell 1985: 104) was replaced with less-eligibility and distant authority, although King (2000: 229) argues that in reality the administrative changes were neither disruptive nor interfered with local relationships.

Reverend Thomas Scott, JP and chaplain of Bromley College, Kent, penned *A Song of Soup* (BHC/1383/1) in winter 1836 complaining about the NPL. He had requested permission from the guardians to provide the residents of the old Bromley Workhouse with pea and beef soup. The guardians referred his request to the Poor Law Commissioners, who simply ignored it. Consequently, 'the Poor without teeth' had to 'munch bread and cheese' and could not have the comfort of warm soup on wintry days. Unions like Bromley took less-eligibility seriously;

in 1836 pea and beef soup was considered *superior* to workhouse fare whereas under the OPL beef, bread and broth had regularly been served (Craighton 1759: 11; Miller 1767: 20; IJ 7/9/1767: 1). The disempowered clergy and new guardians felt unable to act humanely. The NPL bureaucracy imposed new problems for local officials and poor alike (Snell 1985: 119).

Running in parallel with the tightening of eligibility for relief was a gradual relaxation of the settlement rules and a reform of the rating system. These changes further undermined the residual powers of significant landowners in controlling poor relief within their parishes. The 1860s also saw the growth of alternative schemes for alleviating poverty in the form of workfare and medical assistance.

The crusade

The 1860s began and ended with recessions; the first overlapping with the **Cotton Famine**. In the 1866/67 recession, London's East End poor law administration crumbled as parishes and unions could not collect enough rates to provide relief. Disorder spilled over into the West End (Stedman Jones 2013: 242). Rising poor rates (up 16% in a decade) were seen by central government as the fault of overly-liberal guardians and threatening to middle-class prosperity (Hurren 2007: 60).

Experts decreed that indiscriminate charity, pauperism and dependency on relief were responsible. In April 1869 the Society for Organising Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity (soon to be renamed the Charitable Organisation Society or **COS**) was formed to prevent the continuing moral deterioration of the poor and their corruption by overgenerous charities (Humphreys 1995: 5). The COS

was not breaking new ground; the **Mendicity Society** had been struggling to raise similar issues since the Napoleonic Wars, but had foundered in the aftermath of the Irish famine (Roberts 1991: 221; Mendicity 1819).

Paupers were allegedly becoming hardened fraudsters, adept at tricking the charitable into giving generously. Prompt action was needed to save the poor law budget from consuming the nation as expenditure on relief grew from £5,559,000 to £7,673,000 in a decade (Williams 1981: 170). George Goschen, president of the Poor Law Board, issued a memorandum to the London unions, cautioning against the increasing outdoor relief and charitable distributions (Humphreys 1995: 20; Snell 2006: 262). Responsibility for overseeing the poor law budget was transferred to the Local Government Board, a much more powerful body. So began a parallel assault on charity and outdoor relief, known as the crusade against outdoor relief (referred to here as the **crusade**). The injudicious application of the two was allegedly pauperising swathes of the lower classes (Stedman Jones 2013: 246).

Although the crisis in London's East End was the final straw, rating and settlement reforms during the previous decade laid the groundwork for the crusade. Parishes were now contributing to their union on the basis of the rateable value of their property, not their numbers of paupers. Initially the shift to union-rating may have resulted in an increase in expenditure as poorer parishes were subsidised by the richer, and ratepayers were discouraged from providing charity or employment in their own parish to limit the claims of their own poor (MacKinnon 1987: 614; Humphreys 1993: 18; Hurren 2007: 106). Ratepayers were now incentivised to cut the costs of the whole union. The crusade took several years to gather momentum as Goschen's memorandum and

the subsequent Longley Report were not wholeheartedly embraced by many unions. In 1873 the Fleming Report set about revitalising the crusade by promulgating the abolition of outdoor relief and exposing unions that dissented from this view (Hurren 2013: 24).

The crusade had a dramatic and immediate effect. Numbers receiving outdoor relief, which had been gradually declining, fell dramatically and soup kitchens, shelters and refuges opened, and agricultural trade unionism emerged (Hurren 2007: 45,113, 126; Williams 1981: 102; Kidd 1999: 53). Between 1871 and 1876, one in three outdoor relief recipients was removed from the lists; after this sharp fall, outdoor relief recipients declined more slowly in number until the 1920s (Williams 1981: 159ff; Snell 2006: 216ff, 264). Outdoor relief always was a supplement to other resources, worth only an average 2/- per week (Snell 2006: 291). Even after 1871, the majority of poor law expenditure still went on outdoor relief but there were far fewer recipients; able-bodied women were now largely excluded (Kidd 1999: 49). The crusade did not solve poverty, it merely restricted outdoor relief and stigmatised recipients further by a strategy of discouragement, discipline and disgrace (Williams 1981: 98; Lees 1990: 261). Stricter rules on eligibility and highly-moralising circulars were displayed in relieving offices and workhouses. The workhouse regime was hardened to discourage even the most destitute from seeking relief there (Mackinnon 1987: 609). The attack was on local administrators and paupers alike.

By 1893 the crusade had petered out; the expanded franchise of poor law electors meant that many of those voting were more sympathetic to those who had fallen on hard times (Hurren 2007: 52). The COS struggled to elicit co-operation between organisers of charity and poor law officials, and its provincial branches

did not always follow central orthodoxy (Humphreys 1995). Crusaders' rigid adherence to their initial views of poverty appealed less to the public, who could see it made little economic sense to incarcerate an entire family in a workhouse when a small amount of outdoor relief would have done more (Humphreys 1995: 159ff). The crusade is significant as it attacked two major elements of the makeshift economy: outdoor relief and charity. It enabled the attack on outdoor relief to adopt the moral high ground, as anyone who was denied relief could always get assistance from the COS if they were genuine (which few were found to be and such assistance was very short-term). While the impact on outdoor relief is now well-documented, we know far less about its impact on charity.

The COS wanted charities to become more efficient and 'scientific' (an idea that had been developing since the 1790s (Andrew 1989)) and curtail indiscriminate almsgiving. Charity demoralised the poor and undermined the effectiveness of the workhouse and the NPL. The COS published two major reports on soup kitchens (COS 1871, 1887), each immediately following a severe recession and unrest, demonstrating that the COS saw soup-charity as linked to disruption. The crusade set the agenda for the latter part of the nineteenth century (Hurren 2007: 1) until the recession in the mid-1890s and the work of Booth and Rowntree shifted attitudes towards greater state intervention.

As the crusade drew to an end, public assistance increased, with legislation providing for children, the unemployed, public health, housing and pensions (Snell 2006: 221) but this developed outside the poor law framework. The NPL remained harsh (the Relief Regulations Order 1911 made outdoor relief to the able-bodied illegal), ponderously slow and ill-equipped to address the hardships caused by economic downturns. While outdoor relief was never eradicated, the

NPL created a sea-change in poor law policy even if there were continuities between the OPL and NPL.

Significance

Despite voluminous research, historians are still far from unanimous about the impact of the NPL, particularly before the late-1860s. The workhouse and its oppressive regime were significant; otherwise outdoor relief remained available although the able-bodied were increasingly excluded. The NPL was as variable by locale as the OPL in many ways. King (2000: 233) has therefore stressed the need for more regional and inter-regional studies to understand better the transition to, and development of, the NPL.

Soup kitchens were potentially the last port of call before applying for outdoor relief and also will have helped relief-recipients eke out their doles. Understanding what sort of charity was available and when, indicates how well the poor law authorities were relieving local distress and how those at the margins of destitution survived. Changes in outdoor relief policy are likely to be reflected in how soup kitchens performed, and in the conduct of the poor and the charitable. The upheavals of the NPL, both in 1834 and 1869 inevitably left many hungry and having to reshape their survival strategies, but we have only limited evidence as to how they did so. Soup kitchens can shed light on how these changes were experienced.

Little work has been done to look at the relationship between poor law and charity in one locale, other than a study in Dorset (Richards 2011). To the extent that secondary sources detailing poor relief are available in the relevant areas, this study will explore that complex relationship. Chapter 4 will look at the impact of

the NPL on soup kitchens and Chapter 5 will address how the crusade affected them in the decades after 1870.

c. Charity in the long nineteenth century

Definitions

Giving to the poor was charitable, but also expressed notions of hospitality, status, and community values, and redistributed resources. It can be viewed from different perspectives. Jordan (1959) and Owen (1965) both interpreted post-medieval charity as a practical solution to current social issues, motivated by religious duty. In England, the Catholic virtue of *caritas* (neighbourly, personal and physical) was changing into philanthropy (distant, impersonal and monetary) with the arrival of Protestantism (Heal 1990: 124). Charity retained a religious orientation whereas philanthropy was more secular and humanitarian (Bremner 1994: xi; Checkland 1980: 2). Cordeiro (2012: 12ff) distinguished between humanitarian *filantropia* (philanthropy) and Christian *caridade* (charity) and concluded that Lisbon's nineteenth-century *cozinhas económicas* (public kitchens) were philanthropic but not charitable because they charged a nominal price. For Kidd (1996: 181-183) 'gifting' was a more important notion to understand than any distinction between charity and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Britain. Prochaska (1990) talked of kindness and altruism, focussing on the presumed motives of donors. Other scholars have used humanitarianism (Haskell 1985: 339) and voluntarism (Gorsky 1999: 13ff; Roberts 2004: 4) to encompass the wide range of charitable and voluntary associations that flourished in the long nineteenth century.

Hospitality and charity

Land-ownership and high social rank came with the obligation to provide hospitality to visitors and charity to the local needy (key elements of the moral economy). In theory, the first slices of meat at medieval banquets were taken by the almoner to the poor (Heal 1990: 34). The good seventeenth-century wealthy household was expected to provide 'meat, drink and lodging' to visitors, whether neighbours or strangers, rich or poor (Heal 1990: 5). Providing hospitality to the poor was gradually replaced by alms-giving, usually consisting of bread, ale, and leftover table-meat which were put into baskets and distributed (Woolgar 2011: 15). Some households prepared food specifically for the poor, often bread and herring, bacon or cheese (Moisà 2001: 83),

The knightly duty to provide for the poor waned as the Elizabethan Poor Laws took responsibility for the poor; concurrently the meaning of 'charity' shifted from 'mutual amity' (given to the Christian community) to something more like its modern meaning (giving to poor) (Heal 1990: 15, 394). The delivery of charity moved from the hall to the courtyard or gatehouse, whereas hospitality remained indoors. Van Tilborch's 1671 painting, *Tichborne Dole*, depicts the distribution of charity *outside* the house with the household participating and spectating, and the house on three sides forming the arena. This public display of charity demonstrated the family's authority and Catholic faith. When Elizabeth Cavendish, Countess Bridgewater, died in 1663, her memorial stated 'the rich at her Table daily tasted her Hospitality, the poor at her Gate her Charity' (Chauncy 1826: 489). She was married to the second Earl of Bridgewater whose Ashridge estate included Berkhamsted Castle where Charlotte Catherine Egerton, also

Countess Bridgewater and wife of the seventh Earl of Bridgewater later built Berkhamsted Soup House discussed above.

By the late-eighteenth century, hospitality and charity were at different ends of a spectrum of social obligations. The Duke of Buckingham's parties at Stowe, attended by almost everyone from the surrounding parishes, expressed the hospitable element of his role. The weekly meals he provided to local children and the wintertime soup distributions formed the charitable element. Somewhere between were regular entertainments and perquisites for tenants and estate workers. The urban poor were less fortunate, receiving the leftovers of corporate and guild feasting, and gate-doles from the nobility when resident (Heal 1990: 319). Hogarth's *Industrious Apprentice* depicts the distribution of leftovers at the door of the new master weaver, a perhaps ironic portrayal of urban generosity. Aristocratic leftovers were still considered suitable alms in the early-twentieth century (Balsan 1954: 68). Urban parochial charity, however, was usually restricted to the 'known' poor. Many corporations licensed begging and excluded undeserving outsiders.

The landed-class often distributed gifts to their local poor at Christmas and provided a feast, perhaps including a liberal supply of soup. Town corporations held similar festivities, sometimes financed by subscriptions. These were hospitable and charitable events, but only regular and repeated distributions are included in this research.

Organised charity

Charity was transformed in the mid-eighteenth century by the widespread adoption of charitable associations. These rapidly overtook testamentary

charities (established by a bequest) in importance. Their promoters and subscribers were drawn from the middle classes intent on promoting some public good (Owen 1965: 12). Charity was no longer only a means to memorialise oneself in perpetuity or speed one's soul to salvation; charity provided a recipe for solving contemporary social problems through collective activity (Haskell 1985: 357; Roberts 2004: 13). Once the middle class had the knowledge and means to solve a problem, some at least tended to assume moral responsibility for fixing it.

In the late-eighteenth century, in a climate of evangelical reform and moral concern, charities became even more focussed on social utility and effecting change (Harrison 1966: 354; Andrew 1989: 3). Charitable associations became 'scientific' and business-like, producing accounts and annual reports for their members. Charitable associations were not as readily adopted in rural areas where the landowning class, particularly women, organised most philanthropy (Hastings 1981: 128; Gerard 1987: 184).

Gifts and Mauss

Giving is ground well-trodden by anthropologists and sociologists, although less frequented by historians. Mauss (2002) found that gifts and sharing formed the totality of goods exchange in 'archaic' societies. Every gift required the recipient to accept and reciprocate. Failure to reciprocate adequately could result in loss of status, insult, social disruption, conflict and even death (Mauss 2002: 14). Gift-giving was a public spectacle, bestowing honour on the giver (Douglas 2002: xiii). The moment a gift is made, the obligation to reciprocate arises. There is no free gift that does not require a return (Jenkins 1998: 87; Douglas 2002: ix). Gifts thus entangle us in webs of obligations and counter-obligations; this reciprocity creates and maintains society, reinforcing hierarchies and social structures.

Giving has complex rules which vary cross-culturally. While similar gifts between equals may be unproblematic (Emerson 1844: 177), an immediate return of an identical gift would be tantamount to refusal of the first gift (Bourdieu 1977: 5). Delay in reciprocation may enable each gift to appear to be an inaugural act of generosity, but at some point, deferral becomes rejection (Bourdieu 1977: 171). Until reciprocation occurs, the recipient is obliged to the donor and may be expected to display gratitude. Gratitude for gifts is learnt and neither natural nor spontaneous (Visser 2008: 3); it is expressed less in more egalitarian situations and where reciprocity or sharing are almost mandatory. Gratitude may fill in for immediate reciprocation, but may also be an acknowledgment of the donor's superiority. The gift-giving cycle is open to strategic manipulation (Bourdieu 1977: 192); gifts can be refused, gratitude can be withheld or reciprocation denied.

Nowadays, many people assume a gift must be either self-interested or disinterested and altruistic (Satlow 2013: 1), yet for Mauss neither explanation was adequate (Adloff and Mau 2006: 100). For Mauss (2002: 10), the gift is a form of contract, often a collective one, supplanted in less 'archaic' societies by market-based exchange, but never entirely eradicated (Douglas 2002: xviii). Mauss's conceptualisation of the gift has strong resemblances to the reciprocity and power relations of the moral economy (Adloff and Mau 2006: 102).

Charity and Mauss

The moral economy may be readily understood in Mauss's terms, with the powerful maintaining their position through largesse. Charitable institutions introduce a greater complexity to the gift relationship. Subscription charities added to Mauss's three phases (gift, acceptance and reciprocation): they solicited gifts from the benevolent which they reciprocated with gratitude, a chance to have

a say in the distribution of charity, and publicity of the donors' good deeds. The organisers pooled the gifts and redistributed them to the beneficiaries, who may have reciprocated through gratitude, a good reference for the donors at the pearly gates and maybe reformed behaviour. By standing between the donor and the recipient, the charity perhaps loosened the direct obligations that gifts would otherwise bring.

Better to give...

Many have assumed that institutional charity operates similarly to the personal gift, securing the consent of the poor to paternalistic rule, legitimising existing power structures and demonstrating the inadequacy of the poor (Thompson 1991a: 72). Cobbett (PR 30/11/1816: 702) and Engels (2000: 109, 391) saw charity as self-interested; it prevented demands for reform while preserving the rich from guilt and contact with the poor. Organised charity in urban areas could promote social control, prevent serious unrest, and create a docile workforce (Stedman Jones 2013: 298; Bohstedt 1983: 47; Shaw 1980: 17ff). Such utilitarian and Marxist interpretations of giving are teleological. They assume rationality on the donors' part and the effectiveness of the gift, while denying that other forms of control would be cheaper and more effective (Cheal 1988: 3; Silber 1998: 140). Bread may not have bought much deference (Hindle 2003: 62).

Charity was a religious duty without which there was no route to salvation (van Leeuwen 1994: 598; Lloyd 2003: 123). This imperative may have diminished in the nineteenth century, but guilt and compassion still motivated many (Prochaska 1980: 97ff). Evangelicals, Quakers and many non-conformists maintained a strong charitable ethos throughout the nineteenth century (Roberts 2004: 112); great charity was a matter of national pride (Harrison 1966: 357).

For Quakers, many political and social activities entailed too much conviviality or required swearing an oath of office (Isichei 1970: 115), whereas charity enabled participants to influence social reform, occupy prominent public positions and discharge their religious duty. Middle-class Victorian women gravitated towards charity as one of the only empowering outlets available for social expression (Prochaska 1980: 12). Those who were otherwise excluded from elite circles could thus rub shoulders with the great and the good, network with associates and display their Christian virtues and social status (Simey 1992: 86; Morris 1983; Shapely 1998: 165).

The dichotomy between self-interest and normative duty do not reflect Mauss's understanding of interaction and reciprocation (Adloff and Mau 2006: 95). Contemporaries celebrated how charity gratified the rich, consoled the poor and enhanced social solidarity (Roberts 1991: 215). Charitable giving also had important ritual and performative aspects (Lloyd 2009: 2, 247). Charity involved socialising and conviviality through committee meetings, annual dinners and public displays of good works. Food doles and charity feasts were important in drawing participants into the experience of benevolence (Lloyd 2009: 219ff). Gifts ('tie signs') create social bonds between donor and recipient, and demonstrate a mutual recognition of the participants' social and personal identities (Goffman 1971: 194-199). Routine 'gifts' are required even to negotiate one's way along a busy street; the mutual recognition arising from giving and receiving establishes the identities of the participants (Goffman 1967). Organised charity creates layers of gift, between subscribers, organisers, recipients and the wider community.

The prestige of being seen as charitable was significant for the maintenance of elite identity. Nevertheless, organised charity was a 'minority sport' for the middle class. Half of recorded charitable subscriptions in Liverpool in 1854 were made by 700 people, at a time when there were 30,000 ratepayers (Simey 1992: 51). Only around 16,000 of Manchester's population, which grew from 316,213 in 1851 to 700,000 in 1914, were actively involved in charities during the nineteenth century (Shapely 1998: 159). Charity elevated a few to a higher moral plain. It is not clear whether these few excluded other aspiring philanthropists by hogging leadership positions, or whether charity was only important for some.

...than to receive?

Charity demonstrates inequality. Charity has the power to harm (Mauss 2002: 23, 83) and may result in anger and resentment. 'The hand that feeds us is in some danger of being bitten' (Emerson 1844: 176), perhaps because the wealthy take too much satisfaction in giving bread to the hungry. Giving food risks demeaning the recipient; the gift becomes alms and the recipient a beggar (Douglas 2003: 10). Begging was frowned upon by the middle class, artisans and tradesmen and potentially a criminal offence (Roberts 1991: 224). By the late-eighteenth century, charity and poor relief were thought by the well-to-do to undermine the poor's independence (Andrew 1989: 143). Concerns about indiscriminate charity grew further in the following century. By framing charity as damaging, the wealthy blamed the poor for humiliating themselves.

Beyond Mauss's discussion of the gift, little research has been carried out on the *recipients* of charity. The poor were capable of exercising choice and deciding when to avail themselves of charity (Lloyd 2003). Donors thought that the poor *ought* to feel shame for being dependent on charity, but we have less evidence of

the poor's views; some simply saw welfare, charity and even the workhouse as another resource to exploit when needed (Lees 1990: 83). Sometimes it may have been the best bargain available: humility was the price of survival and avoiding the workhouse (van Leeuwen 1994: 609). Brahmins and Jains have adopted elaborate rituals and linguistic guile to disguise charitable gifts and so make them safe (Parry 1989; Laidlaw 2000). Medieval Jewish tradition had eight gradations of almsgiving, with private, distant and anonymous giving ranked more highly because it preserved the recipient from shame and the feeling of personal indebtedness (Jacobs *et al.* 1925: 670; Maimonides 1979: 7.10.7-16).

Before the mid-eighteenth century, almost any charity counted as fulfilling the religious imperative, but after 1750 charity was usually reserved for the *deserving* poor (Kidd 1996: 187). If charity was deserved, then it became more of a right or had been earned and so might need less reciprocation. Payment towards the cost might alleviate the feeling that it was charity (nowadays members of the National Trust feel entirely comfortable with the pleasures of visiting a National Trust property, it does not feel like charity). The intermediation of the institution might reduce the poor's feeling of being beholden to the subscribers.

There may be no such thing as a 'free' lunch, but gifts of food might be less harmful than other gifts: food once consumed is gone. Its ***hau*** (the Maori spiritual force of a gift (Mauss 2002: 14)) would be consumed, unable to continue to cause harm. Nowadays, gifts of chocolates, wine, flowers or meals may be short-lasting in their power to create obligations because they are rapidly consumed (Visser 1999: 122).

Significance

Charity was as important as poor law relief in the makeshift economy, but is much less understood. Institutional charity grew as the moral economy declined. Food is one of the most basic human needs and a yardstick of welfare provision, making soup kitchens an ideal litmus test for measuring how charity interacted with the poor law and how the makeshift economy adapted in the face of change. The middle-class goal of improving the poor was tempered by concerns about the damaging effects of gifts. Soup kitchens became the battleground for ideological conflict between the givers and the reformers.

d. Buildings, space and landscape

The third strand of this research considers soup kitchen buildings and their fittings as material objects, embedded in the social world. Buildings have particular characteristics not shared with many other types of artefact: they occupy a (usually) permanent place in the landscape and they contain space which people occupy and use. They are both places and things. Buildings do not simply provide shelter from the elements, they shape and facilitate social life, embody social practice and affect people by regulating movement, encouraging or limiting interaction, and affecting perception through acoustics, light and smell.

Soup kitchens were simultaneously institutional buildings, industrial buildings and buildings designed for cooking. Their interior space and the exterior streetscape formed the world and the experiences of those who frequented them. Phenomenological and embodied approaches therefore become relevant to the interpretation of place and space. Finally, ideas of how people divided and

defined space are introduced; their relevance will become clear as we consider where soup kitchens were built and why.

Institutional studies

The variety of specialised institutional building greatly increased from the mid-eighteenth century (Markus 1993: 31). Prisons, asylums, hospitals, workhouses (all total institutions) and institutions of improvement (missions, schools and mechanics institutes) have attracted the most archaeological attention (Tarlow 2007: 136).

Foucault (1979) identified the nineteenth-century prison as the third stage in an evolution of state power expressed through punishment. The first stage, torture and execution, gave way to a theatrical display of punishment which in turn was replaced by enforced bodily discipline. Other institutions, he claimed, operated in the same way (Foucault 1979: 139, 233). These ideas have influenced interpretations of institutional buildings (Brodie *et al.* 2002; Casella 2001, 2007; Lucas 1999; Piddock 2007). Institutions effected bodily discipline through surveillance, using designs inspired by Bentham's **panopticon** (Foucault 1979: 195ff). The buildings separated different classes of individual and individuals from one another, and controlled movement, sensory experience and interaction. Bodily discipline through surveillance, control, isolation and repetitive action has remained the dominant narrative in institutional studies (Driver 2004: 10; Thomas 2017), although it is questionable whether it is a sufficient or the most appropriate explanation (Philo 1989: 264ff). Even total institutions were not permanently sealed. Inmates came and went; institutions were places of interaction and negotiation between inmates and staff. Foucault's conclusion that prison intentionally produced delinquency to justify strong police powers

and surveillance (1979: 272ff) is largely ignored by scholars applying his theory to other institutions. His discourse analysis is mistaken for a history of punishment, leading to criticisms that he overlooked much of the evidence for prison reform (Ignatieff 1978), focussed overly on the panopticon, which was never adopted wholeheartedly (Garland 1986: 879; Markus 1993: 123), and was too Whiggish and influenced by structuralism (Geertz 1978: 5). Williams rejects a Foucauldian analysis of the development of poor law institutions on the basis that repression, rather than reform, was the objective (1981: 143).

De Cunzo (1995, 2001), Feister (2009) and Baugher (2001: 196), have questioned whether focussing on control provides a sufficient explanation of many institutions. Studies have discussed ritual behaviour (De Cunzo 1995), identity and gender roles (Tarlow 2002), showing institutions in a different light. Recently, archaeologists have acknowledged the efforts made to improve the quality of life of workhouse inmates, and more subtle aspects of the buildings have been considered such as the sensory experiences of light, sound and decor (Newman 2014; Fennelly and Newman 2017; Allmond 2016). Siting buildings in prominent locations beyond the edges of towns (Markus 1993: 101; Newman 2014: 125) not only segregated the inmates, prevented contagion and conveyed authority, it also provided fresh air and light, and was economical.

The model of control and surveillance may be even less appropriate for institutions with permeable boundaries. There are fewer ready-made theoretical tools to deal with these permeable institutions, although Goffman's and Foucault's ideas are still relevant.

About buildings and food

Soup kitchens were one of the first outlets serving mass-produced fast-food. The image of an industrial process is not merely an analogy, some soup kitchens were located in industrial buildings or were later repurposed into factories. Ingredients went into the building where they were processed and cooked. A stream of people then entered hungry and left fed. Industrial food was manufactured on an industrial scale, with two continuous flows and processes: ingredients and people, cooking and feeding.

'Process-recording' of industrial sites shows how raw materials arrived, were processed and then exported (Malaws 1997: 76). By considering processes at soup kitchens, we can ask questions that might otherwise be unexplored. Berkhamsted's soup kitchen used 100 gallons of water for each soup boiling, but had no obvious water supply. There was a medieval well 100m away, at the other end of the Castle, or the rather muddy moat, fed by the Black Ditch, which functioned as the town's sewer. The lack of an accessible supply highlights the impracticality of the location.

Analysing a building or a landscape in terms of movement can show how people interacted, with one another and with the physical structure. The configuration of space affects social interactions and processes. Hillier and Hansen (1984) proposed a complex syntax of space to represent the way in which movement can occur between buildings and within a building. The connections between different spaces are recorded in a matrix or flow-diagram to show whether buildings that differ in outward appearance organise space similarly. Space can be described in terms of 'depth' (how many rooms you need to go through to get somewhere) or 'ringiness' (how interconnected different parts of a building are).

Social rules or physical barriers may control who had access to which parts of the space. In 'public' buildings, visitors may only access a 'shallow' part (in the case of a shop, the shop-floor); the 'deeper' parts (storerooms and offices) are reserved for the occupants (shop-workers and managers). The deeper recesses are usually associated with power. Total institutions may invert the pattern with the powerless inmates occupying the deepest and most restricted parts (Hillier and Hanson 1984: 184; Markus 1993: 17). By using matrices and architectural plans together, we can see buildings differ in terms of movement patterns and access rules. The wider landscape is also significant to understanding movement (Hillier and Hansen 1984: 82ff), but barely considered by others applying spatial analysis.

'Traditional' industrial archaeology has focussed on recording, interpreting and developing typologies of machinery and buildings (Palmer and Neaverson 1998: 3). Stratton and Trinder (1997: 51) proposed a three-fold typology for industrial buildings reflecting their qualitative aspects: sub-idiomatic, idiomatic, and flagship. Sub-idiomatic buildings are simple utilitarian structures whose form and materials are the minimum to provide what is required; they are found on back streets or screened by other buildings (although even moving a process into a building may be making a significant architectural statement). An idiomatic building displays additional design features and even architectural style, but is not innovative. Flagship buildings display a conscious effort to make an architectural statement by adopting an aesthetic design and prominent locations.

By their nature, soup kitchens will share similarities with eating establishments and domestic kitchens. Little research on kitchens in public places such as inns or eating houses has been published. Country house kitchens and breweries are

better known (Palmer and West 2016; Sambrook 1996; Sambrook and Brears 2010). Grander houses in the early modern period had separate kitchen blocks to keep dirt, smells, noise and fire away from the house. In more modest homes, the kitchen developed as a separate domestic space, moving from the hall or part of the living room to a separate outbuilding or addition during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the late-eighteenth century the kitchen was usually a separate room. In townhouses, kitchens were often put in the basement. Pennell (2016) links this separation of kitchens to the closure of domestic space identified by Johnson (1993) and the moral separations of clean from dirty (Douglas 1984) and labour from leisure.

The lived-experience of buildings and landscapes

Archaeologists usually talk about 'sites', places which past people occupied, where things happened or where archaeologists find things left behind (which are 'finds' 'artefacts' or 'antiquities'). 'Site' is an under-theorised concept in archaeology. In England, archaeological sites are recorded in a historic environment record (**HER**). HERs are used by governmental authorities for planning, development-control work and land management, so sites need to have clear and definite boundaries, just as archaeologists' excavations must have edges.

If we limit study of Berkhamsted's Soup House to its four walls, we miss a large part of the activity and experience of getting soup. The committee met elsewhere, it used the space outside to organise the queue. The process of procuring and consuming the soup took place outside the building as much as in it, in a world that was both physically and socially constituted. Most archaeologists refer to the physical part of this inhabited world as 'landscape' (Barrett 1999: 30) even if the term's conceptual unity is questionable (Thomas 1993: 20).

Buildings and landscapes are often interpreted as texts or images, laden with meaning and ideology (Glassie 1975, 2000; Daniels and Cosgrove 1988, Leone 1984). This can be problematic as it assumes that the landscape is an object with a single external viewer and viewpoint (Johnson 2010a: 121; 2012: 270; Williamson 1999). Ingold criticised these interpretations for obscuring people's practical involvement in their environment with layers of culturally constructed meaning (1993: 171). Instead Ingold recommended using 'taskscape' to understand how humans inhabit the world. The taskscape is the array of activities, daily tasks, interactions and phenomena (such as weather) that make up 'dwelling'. Dwelling gives character to a place through the experiences of being there (1993: 155ff). Landscape or place gathers meaning from the activities happening within it. The value of Ingold's phenomenological approach is that it focusses on activity and movement to interpret something apparently static (a painting or a site) through a contextual and ethnographic understanding.

Phenomenology aims to describe and understand the 'lived-experience', a goal common to most archaeologists (Johnson 2006: 126, 2012: 279). Phenomenological studies of prehistoric landscapes have relied on physical engagement with the material world to provide insights into prehistoric people's lived-experience (Tilley 2010: 30-31). Physical engagement is often made visually while walking (Bender 1992, 1998; Tilley 1994, 2004). Assuming that one's own bodily experience in today's landscape can lead to an understanding of ancient people's experience of a past landscape is likely to meet with adverse comment, however thought-provoking it may be. Tilley's work has been subject to criticism for lack of evidence and rigour, poor method, and misunderstanding of the philosophical underpinnings of phenomenology (Fleming 1999; Brück

2005; Ingold 2005; Johnson 2006; Barrett and Ko 2009; Gillings 2011). The perspective of the male able-bodied archaeologist may ignore the potentially different experiences of the taskscape had by children, women and the elderly.

Thomas, another leading proponent of archaeological phenomenology, does not rely explicitly on his own bodily experience, but instead focusses on the materiality of objects and monuments to explore how people engage with the world, whether it is holding an object or having one's movements controlled by physical structures and the landscape (Thomas 1993, 1996). The passage of time makes claims about prehistoric individuals' relationships with objects and landscapes hard to verify, even with archaeological evidence (Barret and Ko 2009: 279). Nevertheless, thinking about movement and potential experiences within a landscape and inside a building can lead to an understanding that would not otherwise be available.

Archaeologists have focussed overly on the landscapes of grand prehistoric monuments rather than the mundane (Hamilton *et al.* 2006:33, 65). Unlike Tilley who does not know whether prehistoric people actually walked along a prehistoric cursus, we know that hundreds visited Berkhamsted's Soup House and the only possible routes available to them. There are contemporary sources which can describe the environment and what we would have experienced had we been there. We might know what the weather was on a particular day, what the road was surfaced with, what clothing people had available to them and what many of the buildings around them were like. We have the recipes used by many soup kitchens; we can taste a soup very similar to theirs. The soup will not taste the 'same': our appreciation of food is formed by our cultural experience, we cannot have the same experience that someone 150 years ago had. Detailed

knowledge of context provides strength to an interpretation (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 156ff), so long as anachronism through overfamiliarity with the very recent past is avoided (West 1999: 3) and the continual process of change, particularly in the urban environment, is recognised.

Acknowledging some of the shortcomings of phenomenology, Hodder and Hutson (2003: 114) prefer an 'embodied archaeology'. The self, they argue, is formed through experience of the world. People learn through dwelling in the world, but each individual's lived-experience is inherently somewhat different from others' experiences. Shared and repeated mundane activity can generate social identity. Our interpretation becomes more reliable when we understand how activities were performed.

For Bourdieu, *doxa* (rules) prescribe the actions available to an individual, but that person's *habitus* (personal disposition, ingrained and embodied knowledge acquired through the repeated action and movement) determines their choice (Bourdieu 1977: 164-6). People acquire *habitus* through social bodily practice (Bourdieu 1977: 87ff). Bodily practice entails a dialectic between the body and space, as the individual learns through movement in and out of buildings and other places. Bodily discipline learned through physical control was the way in which Foucault (1979: 135) argued the state produced docile bodies in total institutions.

Performance can thus provide a means of interpreting buildings and landscapes and how people may have interacted with them. The metaphor of theatre has been used in archaeology to understand performance (Shanks and Pearson 2001; Thomas 1993; Johnson 1999) and in sociology to understand human interaction

and the creation of self (Goffman 1969). Theatrical metaphors are neither necessarily phenomenological nor new (Thompson 1991a: 46), but this study will use performance to develop our understanding of space in and around soup kitchens. Soup kitchens were like immersive theatre, where audience and performers exchanged positions and intermingled, only:

> 'This wide and universal theatre presents more woeful pageants than the scene wherein we play' (Shakespeare 2015: 2.1).

The physical journey underfoot, places and people passed along the way, the smells, sounds and sights, all formed part of the performance and experience. This study will be innovative in understanding the performance and experience through the places and spaces that formed the world of the soup kitchen and will explain the soup kitchen through spectacle.

Goffman's social world is a stage in which people act bodily; the stage and the body are inextricably linked (Crossley 1995: 147). People use 'impression management' in their interactions with others in theatrical terms; they present a front (a favourable image of themselves) to others through performance (Goffman 1969: 19). Performance happens in a front region before the audience; preparation for performance and relaxation afterwards happen in a back region, from which the audience are excluded. Often considerable effort is spent on creating and furnishing the front region to impress the audience; backstage may be less elaborately constructed. Backstage is where people can retire to, to save face and avoid the audience seeing through their front. Performers can be taken in by their own performance and so become the person they initially only

portrayed, the performance and the audience shape the performer's self (Goffman 1969:15).

Goffman was not explicitly a phenomenologist although his work displays the influence of phenomenologists, particularly Merleau-Ponty (Crossley 1995: 136). Public encounters are rule-governed, even if our awareness of the rules is barely conscious (c.f. *doxa*), and in deciding on their actions, individuals draw from their repertoire (c.f. *habitus*) (Goffman 1971). Goffman's work is focussed on human interaction in a modern American context, rather than on past space or materiality. He assumes that back-region interaction is somehow more 'real' than the front performance. In most interactions, the 'audience' are as much performers as the performer (the shopkeeper and the shopper are both performing) which Goffman does not fully address.

Goffman's division of dramaturgical space into front and back regions is not the only division of space which he uses. He divides civil places from back places (where shameful activity takes place) (Goffman 1971: 82); places in the asylum are out-of-bounds to inmates, surveillance space (subject to staff surveillance) or free space (Goffman 1961: 227). Access and visibility echo ideas of Hillier and Hansen and phenomenologists. Smooth functioning of asylums requires careful control of space and people who can be disruptive if in the wrong place. Goffman's sociological conception of place has a lot to offer in understanding how different people used space within and around soup kitchens to construct themselves and their social relationships.

Divided space and spaces of modernity

The landscape and architectural spaces reflect the shift from the medieval corporate community to a more individualised and private way of living. The poor were gradually moved from the great hall, where they had formerly received hospitality, to the gate where they received charity in the form of a lower class of food (above). The houses of the well-to-do became more subdivided and interior space subject to a process of closure (Johnson 1993, 2010b). Servants had formerly been treated as members of the household, but now became wage labourers; the house became a place of peer relations rather than hierarchical ones. The social hierarchy became less paternalistic and more class-based as the moral economy declined. Similar changes occurred at the grand country houses and their landscaped parks (Williamson 1995: 110). The transformation of the house was part of the profound and wide-ranging cultural change that became the Georgian Order and capitalism (Deetz 1996). The rise of capitalism and changing social relations are linked to this growing categorisation of space and of material culture and its bodily manifestations (Johnson 1996: 44ff; Tarlow 2007: 42; Harris *et al.* 2013: 190), but also to new ways of defining and using place. While this process began in the seventeenth century or earlier, it was still being played out in the nineteenth century.

In parallel, the poor were becoming increasingly segregated from the rest of society. In early-modern Europe, the segregation was often more conceptual than physical (Jütte 1994:166). Lees (1990: 93ff) has pointed to the growing marginalisation of the poor in representational media and their association (by the middle class) with dirt during the late-eighteenth century. Separation was also expressed spatially. Anthropologist Mary Douglas considered how fear of

disorder generates feelings about dirt and how exclusion can prevent discrepant things disordering society. Almost anything can become ambiguous, discrepant or dirty by being in the wrong place (Douglas 1984: 37). For Douglas, dirt is a universal category, albeit one whose content is culturally designated; pollution from dirt is structurally opposed to the pure. Sibley refined Douglas's ideas with Kristeva's psychoanalytic theory of abjection in studying modern communities in which groups become spatially marginalised and excluded (Sibley 1995: 8). Boundaries are where fear of disorder and defilement arise (Kristeva 1982: 4).

Dirt, purity and borders are not essential properties of things or places, they are subjective constructs. Dominant groups use spatial exclusion through definitions of purity and dirt, of homogeneity and heterogeneity, to reinforce social boundaries, particularly when under threat. Boundaries and borders can be ambiguous, particularly where control of space is contested and can be redefined and used by the marginalised to preserve a back space. Permeable institutions must have boundaries that are porous: people visited them but did not stay.

Spaces of transience, where people pass through but do not stay, are zones of shared anonymity where technology replaces personal interaction. Such spaces include motorways, service areas, shopping malls or airports; they are *non-lieux* ('non-place') to be contrasted with real anthropological places which have history and give people identity by relating to them and creating relations between people (Augé 2009). *Non-lieux* can offer freedom and comfort through anonymity, although refugee camps are also *non-lieux* (Augé 2009: 78) and the surveillance and control of some *non-lieux* in which Augé's traveller finds solace are found in Foucault's prison, and may be oppressive, not liberating. *Non-lieux* are a feature

of the modern world (super-modernity in Augé's terminology), although they clearly have historical antecedents like the railway station or arcade.

Not everyone in a *non-lieu* is transient; *non-lieux* can be social, accrue history and become permanent places (an airport might be a *non-lieu* to a traveller, but others work there and most airports have been permanent features in the landscape for generations). *Non-lieux* exist only to achieve a particular end and mediate relations with people but only to 'create a solitary contractuality' (Augé 2009: 94). Their existence may be as transitory as the journeys through them.

Total institutions used force, high walls and geographic isolation to exclude. By combining Lees' insights of metaphorical marginalisation with Sibley's geography, we may see how space enabled permeable institutions to maintain boundaries and purity without high walls. *Non-lieux* provide a way of understanding how places promote transience and control without exclusion.

The soup kitchen is where these different ways of conceptualising places and spaces will be tested in the following chapters, to understand the social relationships performed through giving and receiving charity.

e. Contribution and conclusion

The multi-disciplinary approach used here offers a layered perspective from multiple viewpoints. Smelling the soup is different from reading the recipe. The material evidence is qualitatively different from documentary evidence; the two are complementary. Historical archaeology enables a far wider understanding through its eclectic and cross-disciplinary approach. Buildings are not passive

architectural boxes or empty stages, landscapes are not empty spaces on maps, they are agents, scriptwriters and participants in the action.

This thesis will make a significant contribution to our knowledge of the makeshift economy. Starvation was a real risk for nineteenth-century paupers, but soup kitchens meant survival, albeit at a cost. The consequences of receiving charity need to be explored. The relationships between charity, the poor law and the COS are still poorly understood. There was an expectation that the voluntary sector would absorb any problems arising from withdrawal of outdoor relief during hard times, rather than the Poor Law (Roberts 1991: 221), although the poor were berated and could be imprisoned for asking for charity. Soup kitchens could respond to inadequate outdoor relief, but were subject to the same moral pressures as the poor law for their alleged pauperising effect. They are an ideal prism through which to view how these issues were played out.

Methodologically, this research will demonstrate the potential of using fragmentary sources like newspaper reports. A single report may be an interesting 'fact' but when grouped together reports can tell a far more nuanced story. Such material has only recently become digitally searchable.

There is much to be gained from looking at buildings and landscapes in terms of movement and taskscape. Phenomenological approaches are better suited to historical archaeology than to prehistoric studies, yet are rarely applied outside the greater prehistoric monuments. Making sense of the mundane, the transient and temporary will develop our understanding of the lived-experiences of those who waited in the cold outside soup houses for their name to be called.

Archaeological sites can include events (archaeologists have recently studied episodes such as Peterloo or the Great Exhibition (Nevell 2019; Gardner 2018)).

Total institutions have dominated historical and archaeological research on institutions, understandably, as the buildings are purpose-built and impressive, and the documentation is accessible. Historians, archaeologists and architectural historians have filled bookshelves with research on the Victorian workhouse, and yet in 1881, only 19 inmates of Berkhamsted Union workhouse inmates were Berkhamsted-born (including Ernest). In contrast, nearly 30% of the town's 4,000 residents were getting soup every winter for 50 years. Their journey, the landscape they crossed and the place and building are remarkable. Deetz (1996) drew attention to the importance of fragments of mundane objects in understanding the culture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in *In small things forgotten*; small buildings matter too. This research will show how these small apparently insignificant buildings formed the stage on which the poor and middle class constructed part of their identities, performing a script often written by others years before.

This study will begin to redress the balance in favour of largely nondescript and mostly vanished minor institutions. The assumption that all nineteenth-century charitable institutions were moral or reforming needs thorough investigation in the context of permeable institutions; how different were they from total institutions and why?

The next three chapters recount a history of the English soup kitchen. The first explores how soup kitchens were 'invented'. The second and third tell how they went from emergency famine-relief to a universal and semi-permanent feature of

the landscape of poverty, and then into a gradual decline. Soup kitchens have never disappeared; the institution has been reinvented in the age of austerity as the food-bank. We will then look at the material culture of soup kitchens, moving from the interiors outwards to the buildings and then their landscapes to show how each aspect contributes to understanding the whole. We will visit and revisit several soup kitchens as the story unfolds.

3. Early soup kitchens: 1689 to 1818

> 'Should [the soup kitchen] become a permanent system, the benefits that may result to the country are incalculable. It may create a new era in the annals of the Poor and the Nation' (HT 23/12/1799: 2).

Two years before the *Hampshire Telegraph*'s eulogy on an English soup kitchen, the *Newcastle Courant* (18/11/1797: 4) expressed hopes that Newcastle-upon-Tyne's new soup kitchen (the first time 'soup kitchen' had been used to refer to an institution) could become more permanent and extensive. The *Courant* eulogised soup and soup's principal advocate, Count Rumford. Soup was the least burdensome of any charitable provision. It could distinguish the necessitous poor from common beggars, it was good for the sick poor and it could not be 'converted into the means of intemperance'. Soup was the solution to social ills.

Nevertheless, several MPs claimed in Parliament that such establishments were 'generally considered an evil' for undermining the market economy and the poor's independence (*Times* 7/6/1800: 2; KG 10/6/1800: 3). Lord Wycombe mocked Count Rumford's 'invention of bad soup by the union of ox heads with potatoes' as not 'the noblest flight of human genius' (Wells 2011: 217). Soup was corrupting: it encouraged the poor to eat too much bread, forced up the price of ingredients, wasted the poor's time and 'put a bounty on idleness' (Buchan 1801: 13). The poor's few extant comments suggest that they did not like soup either.

Yet, relieving hunger with soup was not new; soup had been given to the poor from the medieval period onwards (Harvey 1969: 357, Walford 1878: 417). *La Soupe*, a Huguenot charity, provided soup to Huguenot refugees in London's Spitalfields between 1685 and 1741 (Gwynn 2006: 40; Vigne 2006: 82).

Newspaper reports describing emergency relief of 'beef, bread and broth' (reminiscent of the 'beef, bread and beer' of ancient hospitality) had been slowly growing in number since the mid-eighteenth century.

This chapter will show how the institution of the soup kitchen came into being at a time of dearth and how Rumford got the credit for its invention, so averting a famine (Rumford claimed to have done neither). The soup kitchen was to shape emergency relief of hunger for the next century and beyond, and was exported globally. This chapter will cover much of England, taking in examples from the study regions, before exploring the relationship between charity and the poor laws, and the nature of the gift of charitable soup in this formative period.

a. Wars with France, crisis and Count Rumford: 1793-1796

Rising food prices and declining living standards for many of the labouring poor in the late-eighteenth century were exacerbated by recessions, population growth and the war effort; rate-payers became increasingly resentful of the poor (Hills *et al* 2010: 278; Snell 1985, Lees 1998). A summer drought in 1794, followed by the third coldest winter in a century and a disastrous harvest in 1795, increased cereal prices by 50% (Stern 1964: 174; Wells 2011: 40; Brown and Hopkins 1981: 11, 55; Petersen and Jenkins 1995: 272). England's labouring poor normally spent 60-80% of their budget on their cereal-based diet (Wells 2011: 21; Davies 1795: 8). The poor could no longer afford bread. Artisans felt the pinch of hunger. Food riots began in many English towns and cities. Relief funds and soup subscriptions started up; wealthy individuals provided beef, bread and broth (Table 12.4, Table 12.5) (Bohstedt 1983: 18; Hindle 1975: 111; Burnett 1991: 53; Matchett 1822: 36). In London, Lloyd's Coffee House Relief Committee (**LCHRC**) underwrote 20

cook-shops in the poorer parishes adjacent to the City to provide cheap soup to around 2,000 people daily (Colquhoun 1797: 5). Mortality increased significantly although the causes (starvation or disease, or both) are uncertain (Wells 2011: 72; Wrigley and Schofield 1981: 213).

Despite the gloom, the *Oxford Journal* (25/7/1795: 2) published a moralistic 'Way to peace and plenty' with ten rules for the rich and eight for the poor; the rich had to attend church and make 'broth, rice-pudding &c' for the poor, who were enjoined to work hard, avoid bad company and pubs, learn to make broth and be faithful and civil to their superiors to earn their kindness. Making, giving and gratefully consuming soup were already elevated to the Decalogue. Soup was infiltrating the moral economy and promoted as an appropriate gift for the poor.

By the autumn of 1795, hunger was growing, setting the scene for Rumford's apotheosis. Rumford arrived in Britain in October 1795 (KC 16/10/1795: 3), coming from Bavaria where he had been employed to reform Munich's thousands of beggars. Rumford had rounded them up and set them to work in a workhouse, feeding them at a public kitchen, mostly on mass-produced cheap soups, cooked on thermodynamically-efficient stoves of his own design (Redlich 1971: 185; Rumford 1970: 36ff). By his own reports, Rumford was extraordinarily successful.

Rumford captured British public attention by offering a single solution to the issues of rising poor rates, declining moral standards and unemployment. He scientifically 'proved' that a labourer could live on meals of a pint and a quarter of soup (Rumford 1970: 175). (Rumford significantly underestimated how much soup was needed to sustain life (Redlich 1971: 192; Gratzer 2005: 62)). Neither

his schemes nor his recipes were adopted, but he persuaded a hesitant public that providing soup as relief was more than acceptable.

Abandoning the free market, Pitt's government organised massive imports of grain in spring 1796. A good harvest followed in the autumn and the next two years also produced reasonable harvests. Wells (2011) and Bohstedt (1983) considered the first crisis ended in late 1796, to be followed by a second distinct crisis between 1799 and 1802. The newspaper evidence suggests that there was a lull in soup kitchen activity and food prices reduced to only just below the highest prices of the previous two decades (still unaffordable for many) (Figure 12.1) (Wells 1977: 4, 2011: 55). War-related government borrowing prompted inflation and a fiscal crisis started a recession in 1797 (Hills *et al* 2010: 278; Wells 2011: 59-61).

b. 1797-1799: lingering hunger

Under the guidance of Patrick Colquhoun, stipendiary magistrate for London's East End, the LCHRC again sponsored 20 cook-shops to provide cheap soup between February and July 1797 (Colquhoun 1797: 13); others did similarly elsewhere (Bernard 1798c). Access to the LCHRC's cook-shops was strictly controlled. Once an applicant obtained a recommendation from a subscriber they needed endorsements from a 'reputable housekeeper' and the parish beadle. The cook-shop could still refuse them soup if they were 'in liquor'. Soup was sold half-price owing to the poor's propensity 'to undervalue everything they receive *gratis*' (Colquhoun 1797: 15). Only 50 family tickets were available for each cook-shop.

Larger soup kitchens opened in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Birmingham and elsewhere, inspired by Rumford, and propelled by continuing hunger amongst

the lower orders (Table 12.6) (Colquhoun 1800: 575). In London, St George's Fields public kitchen opened in February 1797 followed by the Spitalfields Soup Society in January 1798 and Clerkenwell's soup-shop in March 1798 (Bernard 1798a: 169, 221; MP 7/4/1804: 1; Pinks 1881: 117).

Spitalfields' silk-weavers and Clerkenwell's 'industrious artificers' were the target of their respective soup kitchens (Colquhoun 1799b: 5; Clerkenwell 1798: 2), not the poorest residents. Silk-weaving was in recession as wealthy consumers reduced spending on luxuries, and imported silk competed. At least half of Spitalfields' 18,271 residents were engaged in silk production and many more in the adjoining parishes. A third of Clerkenwell's population of 23,396 worked in small workshops making watches (Pinks 1881: 13; Sutton 1996). Foreign imports, often smuggled, and an influx of immigrant clockmakers put pressure on the industry (Thompson 1967: 65; Landes 1983: 263; Vincent *et al* 2015: 236). In 1797 Pitt imposed a licence fee on clockmakers and taxes on clocks and watches, triggering a collapse in the industry. Clerkenwell provided relief to around 12,300 individuals during the first winter (Pinks 1881: 117) and 15,000 individuals in 1799/1800 (General Report 1800: 7); no figures are available for Spitalfields until 1799/1800 when 22,750 (which must include people from neighbouring parishes) were fed.

What was to become Newcastle-upon-Tyne's General Soup Kitchen (the **GSK**) opened as a small affair in 1796/97 on the Excise Office Entry, feeding over 180 people (NC 18/11/1797: 4, 16/11/1799: 1), increasing to between 450 and 700 in 1798/99. This institution was probably targeted at the dockside wards where wintertime unemployment was high. *Taxations populaires* (when a crowd enforced 'fair' prices on sellers) had taken place in Newcastle's markets in 1795

(Parson and White 1827: xl) and Newcastle's **keelmen** were a querulous, tight-knit and independently-minded community.

These artisans and labourers were new to the ranks of the 'industrious poor'. Journeymen considered themselves skilled and independent, taking great pride in being contributors to the poor rate rather than its recipients (Rule 1981: 202). Respectability and access to credit were vital to earn a decent living and to be upwardly mobile. Artisans were always exposed to fluctuations in demand for their services, but the combination of recession, taxes and high food prices now reduced many to extreme poverty. The shame of charity was real: they might rather starve than 'go on the parish' (Prothero 1979: 27). Unemployed and hungry artisans and keelmen were dangerous, hence the relief effort.

c. 1799-1802: the second wave

An 'adequate' harvest in 1798 still left wheat prices higher than in any other year in the previous century except 1790 and 1795-96. An agricultural disaster followed in 1799 when cold and rain devastated crops (Wells 2011: 41). As the winter of 1799/1800 progressed, many more soup kitchens opened. Newcastle Corporation installed a kitchen at the Poultry Market on High Bridge for the GSK to sell subsidised soup to the 'less indigent poor… who might not wish to be considered as receiving the gratuitous bounty of the public' (NC 16/11/1799: 1, 28/12/1799: 1; MonM 1800: 917). High Bridge sold 44,119 quarts in its first winter and Excise Office Entry gave away about 160,000 quarts, nearly four times the previous year's total (NC 6/12/1800: 1). Having two separate kitchens prevented abuse and could preserve the dignity of those paying. Between 5 and 15% of Newcastle's population of 28,366 attended.

Spitalfields and Clerkenwell enlarged their soup boilers and constructed shelters for longer queues (Colquhoun 1799a: 2; *Times* 2/1/1800: 4, 30/1/1800: 1 1/11/1800: 1). The LCHRC raised over £10,000 from public bodies and over 500 individuals in two subscriptions in winter 1799 and spring 1800, and provided cash, potatoes and herring to 25 large London soup kitchens and 18 cook-shops for those 'unwilling to expose their distress by soliciting recommendations for tickets at soup establishments' (General Report 1800: 3). The LCHRC considered some City parishes too well-off to assist. There were at least another eight large metropolitan soup kitchens operating. The LCHRC recorded that 148,000, 17% of London's population, had received food (General Report 1800: 7). The real total was higher since no data was published for seven institutions, and almost certainly other London charities and parishes provided soup.

On 23/12/1799, the Duke of Portland, Home Secretary, sent a letter to all magistrates strongly recommending that they provide soup as relief, not bread, and attaching extracts from Colquhoun's recent manual on how to run a soup charity (Portland 1800). Soup became an officially sanctioned element of outdoor relief.

Charity was keeping many off the poor rates, but London soup kitchens had exhausted their funds by mid-March (*Times* 12/3/1800: 1, 13/3/1800: 1, 9/4/1800:1). Spitalfields' daily output of 3,000 quarts was insufficient to meet demand. People were sent away from the North District Soup House without soup (LMA/ACC/1017/1741; LMA/MISC/MSS/288/6). Charity-fatigue set in making charities dependent on fewer donors (Wells 2011: 314).

In many parishes poor rates rose, to as much as 2.5 times their 1790 levels, and vestries were unable to collect what was owed. The government bailed out bankrupt East London parishes (Wells 2011: 316, 357). Rioting started in early 1800 (Bohstedt 1983: 19; Wells 2011: 359). Government repeated earlier recommendations to economise and adulterate bread with non-wheat products, and required millers to produce only wholemeal flour (Wells 2011: 208; Sherman 2001: 43ff). It prohibited the sale of fresh bread, 'surely the most extraordinary panacea ever propounded for a starving people' (Webb and Webb 1904: 208, 212) and discouraged parishes from removing their non-settled poor (SM 21/3/1800: 2). Snell (1991: 393) nevertheless found that removal proceedings increased significantly at this time.

In June 1800, proposals to finance metropolitan soup establishments from local taxes were blocked in Parliament by the wealthy City parishes (*Times* 7/6/1800: 2, 14/7/1800: 2; DM 12/6/1800: 3; KG 11/7/1800: 4, 18/7/1800: 2). The debate revealed that the government was funding metropolitan soup kitchens through the secret service (Wells 2011: 316). .

Meanwhile, the famine proved relentless. Drought, heat and then heavy rain ruined the 1800 harvest. Bread prices doubled, the unskilled labour market collapsed and riots resumed (Wells 2011: 62, 130). Against a background of famine and governmental disarray, soup kitchens were now open almost everywhere (Table 12.7). There were 18 documented soup kitchens in the study counties that were not mentioned in local newspapers; Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire were without contemporary newspapers (Table 12.8).

Newcastle-upon-Tyne's Excise Office Entry kitchen was replaced by a larger soup kitchen at 'Egypt', on the north edge of Sandgate, where granaries had recently been constructed to store emergency grain supplies, (NC 17/7/1797: 4, 3/1/1801: 1). High Bridge and Egypt offered soup for sale three days a week at 1d per quart, opening simultaneously, perhaps to stop the poor visiting both on the same day, ending the special treatment for the 'less indigent' and free soup for the destitute.

The subscription model of charity started to break down; charities gave up investigation in the face of the immense crisis (Wells 2011: 315). The St Giles soup-house (Figure 3.1,) at Seven Dials, London, bordering a notorious Irish rookery (White 2007: 132), had a daily capacity of 1,000 gallons of soup. It now provided food to 11,853 applicants, over half of whom were children, whereas the previous year it fed only 3,632 beneficiaries there (General Report 1800: 7; Bernard 1802b: 125; Eden 1802: 159; West 1802: 16). Only a quarter of applicants had recommendations from subscribers, the rest were served at the discretion of the committee. Spending three minutes vetting each *successful* application would have taken 444 hours. Checking the eligibility of applicants was an unfulfilled ambition. At least a quarter of London's population was now receiving food relief. Similar increases were recorded in Birmingham. In Manchester and Leeds output merely doubled (Wells 2011: 305). The careful choreography of the gift-relationship dissolved in the face of crisis.

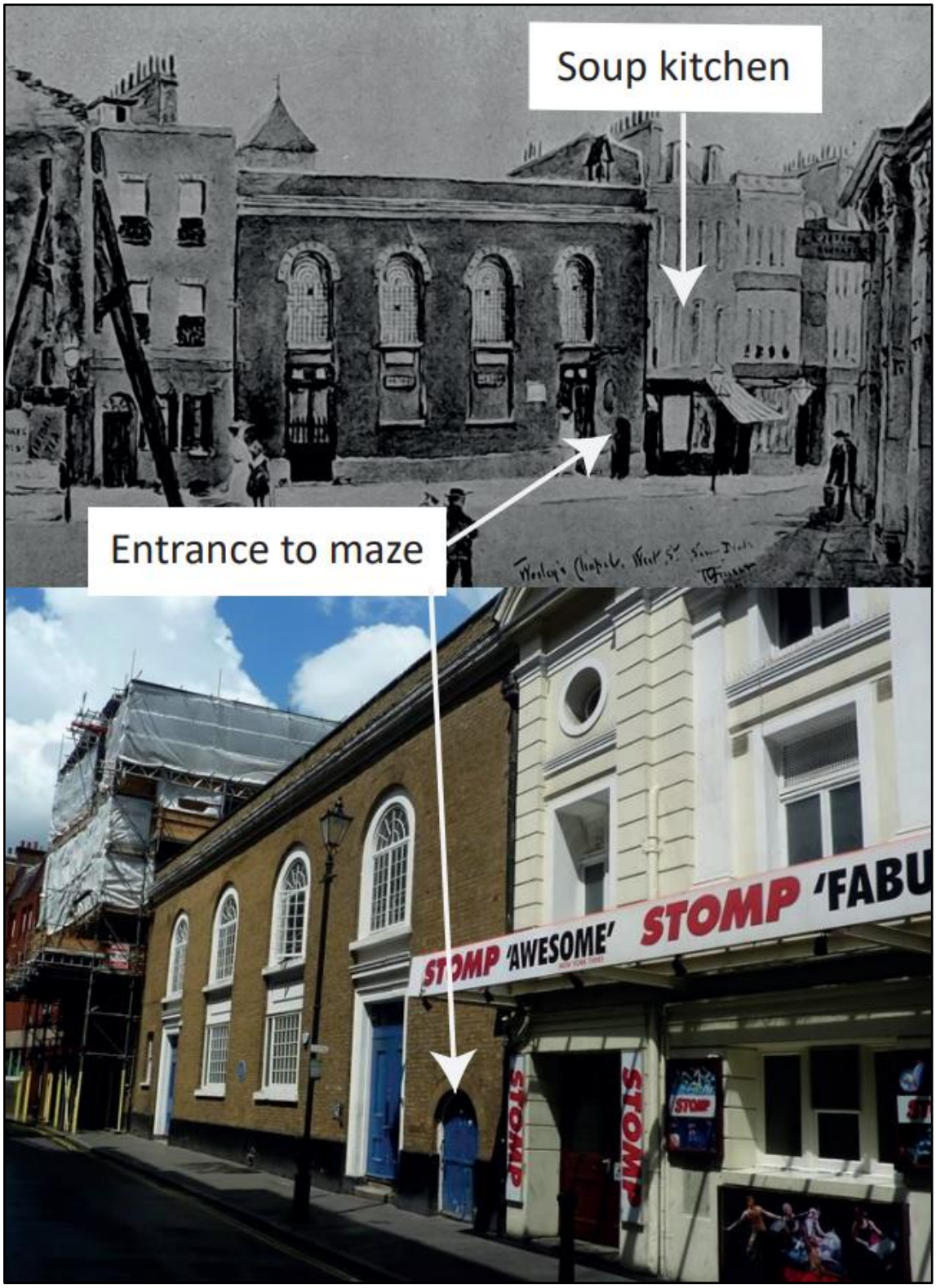


Figure 3.1. Above, the West Street Chapel in 1901 (Riley and Gomme 1914: 115); below, the Chapel today.

Soup kitchens from Amersham to Winchester provided any sort of cheap food they could, rice, potatoes and red herring. London's St Giles distributed potatoes,

cooked rice, cod, mackerel, herring, and bread adulterated with rye and maize (Eden 1802; West 1802).

The surviving evidence for this period is biased in favour of large towns, but if Buckinghamshire and Kent are typical, the small towns and villages that made up most of England suffered more.

Soup kitchens were already underway in four of Buckinghamshire's largest towns, High Wycombe, Chesham, Aylesbury and Amersham, before the Duke of Portland's letter was sent and before Buckinghamshire magistrates 'advised' local overseers and churchwardens to distribute bread adulterated with potatoes and barley, or soup, and to break the link between outdoor relief and bread-prices (OJ 1/2/1800: 3).

Amersham, a large parish with a population of 2,130 in 1801, was mostly owned by the Drake family. Its economy was based on lace and cotton manufacture (Barfoot and Wilkes 1790: 45). There were several other grand houses occupied by members of the gentry, a substantial market hall, two Baptist churches and a Quaker meeting house.

Subsidised bread had been sold to the poor during 1798 and 1799 from Amersham's Market Hall (UPKC/740/F4). This proved expensive and administratively burdensome. Many of the poor could not afford the bread or had to borrow to buy it. In late 1799 George Dillwyn, a Quaker minister, and several tradesmen formed the Amersham Soup Society to run a soup-house like their neighbours were doing in Chesham. Before 1799, Dillwyn had belonged to the same Meeting in London as William Allen (Allen 1846: 38).

The committee and overseers first argued about who should pay for the soup. While the poor rate could pay for soup for the 991 settled poor, the overseers argued that providing soup to the 230 poor not settled in the parish was unfair and would attract more outsiders. A compromise seems to have been reached whereby the poor rate financed £202 expenditure and the subscription financed the rest, some £195, (apparently including the cost of the non-settled poor). The proportion initially assessed as needing soup, 57% of the population, demonstrates how badly the community was affected. With subscribers and ratepayers contributing to the cost, two thirds of the town participated in either consuming or funding soup. When it came to the allocation of scarce resources or paying high poor rates, parish residency was a key element of identity (Snell 2006); non-residents found themselves at the bottom of the list. In Royston, Hertfordshire, poor rates provided soup for the settled poor and construction costs, whilst charity funded soup for the non-settled poor (HALS/DP87/12/1).

Up to 450 quarts of soup were served three days a week in Amersham from 7 January to 24 April 1800, in addition to 2,285 loaves of bread (UPKC 740/F2) (clearly not everyone on the list got soup). After that, rice pudding was served *gratis* instead, until the end of June 1800. The following year the committee distributed only uncooked rice; perhaps providing soup was more difficult or less popular than it had thought.

About half the soup's ingredients were purchased in London from William Allen, Quaker, chemist, merchant, philanthropist and leading member of the Spitalfields Soup Society. In normal times, rural areas furnished the London markets with produce. Now the reverse happened. Amersham Soup Society's accounts show that the imported ingredients were cheaper than local supplies but

that there were complaints regarding the damage to local trade. The traditional historiographical view that the effective functioning of the national food markets staved off disaster between 1799 and 1801 (Campbell and Ó Gráda 2011: 879) is overly optimistic.

Amersham's committee corresponded with soup kitchens in nearby High Wycombe and Chesham, and with William Allen and William Philips (secretary and founder of the Spitalfields Soup Society); it also had copies of Rumford's publications (UPKC/740). There was opposition to the soup kitchen from at least one member of the gentry and from several local shopkeepers. What happened to the Amersham Soup Society after 1801 when Dillwyn returned to America is not known. It probably disappeared when the famine subsided in 1802.

If Amersham was a typical Home Counties small town, Stowe, with a population of 311 in 1801, was a quintessential closed parish. The land and most of the surrounding parishes were owned by Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, later the first Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. Stowe House, the Duke's seat, and park were amongst the most magnificent in England. John Dayrell, vicar of Stowe, reported that Grenville was distributing soup to '800 of his poor neighbours' in early January 1800 (CBS/D22/25/59), at the height of the famine. The population of the surrounding seven parishes was only a further 1,200, so these 800 included most people from these parishes too. The numbers and the poor's willingness to travel long distances demonstrate the severity of local need. This was not a one-off incident, it was 'the practice at Stowe to provide soup during the winter to the poor' and 'beef, bread, plum pudding and beer to 540' at Christmas (WEE 25/12/1824: 4) which continued at least until the second Duke's bankruptcy in 1847 (BH 7/2/1846: 4).

Aylesbury, the principal town in Buckinghamshire, about 13 miles northwest of Amersham and 20 miles south-east of Stowe, had 3,082 residents, in 1801. Its poor were 'numerous' despite the excellence of its farmland (Barfoot and Wilkes 1793: 81). Acton Chaplin, the Clerk of the Peace for the county (Eastwood 1994: 62), wrote from Aylesbury to Scrope Bernard, MP for Aylesbury, on 1/1/1800 saying there was a plan 'to establish a soup-shop to supply the poor at this inclement time' (CBS/E/1/68). A week later, William Hervey was travelling through Aylesbury, from Stowe, where he seems to have witnessed the 800 poor receiving soup. Captain Brown of the Bucks Militia informed Hervey that the rector, the overseer and he had just sold 362 quarts of soup to 471 adults and 554 children, a third of Aylesbury's population (Hervey 1906: 433). Passing through nearby Berkhamsted, Hervey observed soup, rice pudding, potatoes and bread being distributed to the poor at Mr King's bakery.

The area around nearby St Albans was supplied with soup between 1795 and 1801 by Lord Grimston and Lady Georgiana Spencer, at Gorhambury and Holywell House, respectively; the poor reportedly came from up to seven miles away (Hervey 1906: 411; Spencer 1802: 218; HA 1/2/1879: 5). Lady Spencer supported 800-900 families in St Albans with subsidised food and collected subscriptions from the public to part-fund the project; the city had 3,038 residents in 1801. Lord Grimston's daughter, Jane, was later partly responsible for organising Berkhamsted's Soup Charity (BG 5/4/1845: 1). The proportion eligible for soup was far greater in Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire than in London.

The moral economy and poor law operated differently even in parishes very close to each other geographically. The more rural the area, the more the landowners took responsibility for relieving the poor. At Stowe, soup was the essence of

hospitality and given to 'poor neighbours' without charge; the moral economy prevailed. The Drake family supported the Amersham Soup Society but had no identifiable day-to-day involvement, and left it to the charity and vestry to argue and organise; the poor were expected to pay towards the cost of soup if they could and outsiders were less eligible. This was reforming charity with paternalistic encouragement. In industrial Tyneside, it was the merchants and corporations that took responsibility for relief, and except for a brief foray with free soup, the poor had to pay. Urban charity worried about paupers who might offer bad halfpence or convert charity into the means of intemperance (Colquhoun 1799a). The urban poor were viewed as dangerous and in a more disparaging light than their rural counterparts, who were depicted as virtuous and toiling (Barrell 1980: 5, 86).

Many village soup kitchens were short-lived and poorly administered (Wells 2011: 304); many shifted to providing basic provisions as meat soup was no cheaper than bread. Research for this thesis confirms Wells' suggestion that 10-35% of the population were receiving charitable soup, the higher figures being in the smaller towns. Many artisans who would never previously have come into contact with the poor laws other than to *pay* rates were now receiving soup. The crisis was blamed for weakening the stigma of receiving charity or poor law relief (Wells 2011: 334). The poor law was exposed as incapable of dealing with the prolonged crisis, and charity in many parts of the country was barely sufficient.

The crisis ended quietly in summer 1801 with a good harvest. Wheat and bread prices fell somewhat. The Treaty of Amiens brought a temporary cessation of hostilities between Britain and France and a boost to the economy.

d. 1802-1818

Some soup kitchens opened in 1801/02 primarily in the South. Norwich and Spitalfields continued operations, perhaps due to their association with declining textile industries, (Table 12.9). After re-opening during 1804/05 due to the high price of bread (*Times* 31/12/1804: 1), Spitalfields debated closing but decided to retain the premises (MCh 25/12/1805:1). However, many institutions closed and sold off their equipment (Table 12.10).

There were further flurries of soup kitchen activity in the next two decades corresponding with recessions in 1808, 1811-13, 1816/17 and 1819, but not in 1803-04 or 1814-15 (Figure 12.2). After 1802, cold winter weather does not correspond particularly to soup kitchen activity until 1819/20. Volcanic eruptions in 1809 and 1815 (Oppenheimer 2003: 256) caused summer cooling and dismal harvests in subsequent years. A prolonged recession from 1811 to 1813 kept soup kitchens in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead open all summer. Gateshead closed in mid-September 1812, re-opening in December, but the GSK remained open (DCRO/EP/Ga.SM12/11/16; NC 2/5/1812: 1, 5/12/12: 4). Spitalfields was also busy (*Times* 13/12/1811: 3, 20/5/1812: 3) and Manchester soup kitchens continued operating through 1812 (Hindle 1975: 103).

The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 led to significant unemployment as wartime industries closed and 350,000 demobbed troops and sailors returned home looking for work. Newcastle-upon-Tyne's keelmen struck (Uglow 2014: 634). Addington, the Home Secretary, referred to soup kitchens being well-established in Newcastle, Durham and Shields in response to food shortages

(DHC/152M/C/1816/OH/89). This severe crisis was more short-lived than the previous one as the decline in reporting in 1817/18 indicates.

e. Soup, charity and outdoor relief

The soup chosen in 1795 for famine relief was *meat* soup, not one based on peas, cereals and potatoes as advocated by Rumford. Charities repeatedly focussed on soup's meat content in their names and publications. Meat was considered a superior food because it was thought to contain more nitrogen than cereals and so could maintain the body better (Page 2021), but it was also beyond the budget of many of the poorest (Burnett 2004: 19-23). The first experiments with small cook-shops were orientated at impoverished artisans, not paupers. The major soup kitchens in Spitalfields, Clerkenwell and Newcastle-upon-Tyne only emerged when large swathes of artisans and maritime workers became seriously impoverished; the lower ranks of the poor had been getting hungrier, unnoticed, since 1793. Soup was intended to encourage artisans to down-class their extravagant diet and become more frugal (Colquhoun 1797: 5), not to provide the unskilled labourers in towns and countryside with more meat than they would normally consume. Meat soup was nevertheless a poor substitute for roast meat and porter which the Spitalfields' workers' preferred and it presented a marketing challenge, given the propaganda which contrasted the roast beef of England to French *soupe maigre*.

Before 1799, there appears to be some correspondence between cold winters and soup kitchens opening, but rising price of bread was behind soup kitchens' rapid increase in the late 1790s (Figure 12.1). . The effect of the rise was cumulative so that once it had reached a critical level, people's savings were exhausted and

economies were of no use. Once the price of bread had risen from 3d to 12d a loaf was soup seen as suitable for all. A quartern loaf would have provided around 5,000 calories for 12d (415 calories per penny); the richest soup recipes from 1800 provided around 300 calories per penny (it was only the charitable subsidy that made soup better nutritional value than bread). However, the calorie was still nearly a century away from becoming a measure of nutrition.

When soup was provided to the poorest, some soup kitchen committees organised less-stigmatising alternatives for the 'more decent families' and 'respectable and discrete individuals' (*Times* 4/1/1800: 2, 8/2/1800: 1; Blackfriars 1800; MonM 1800: 917). The LCHRC asserted that their charitable support of London soup establishments was not for the parish poor but for those of 'higher rank' (General Report 1800: 1, 10). St Giles, located in a notorious Irish slum, stopped serving soup and provided low quality foodstuffs and coal instead (West 1802). Meat soup was made to prevent artisans and able-bodied workers becoming paupers and recipients of outdoor relief.

The charitable offering of soup was not as popular as its proponents would like to have imagined. In Bristol, balladeers mocked its quality (Poole 1996: 105). A song from 1800, 'Soup-house Beggars', was clearly ironic in claiming 'there's no parish far or near that makes soup like Clerkenwell' (Cromwell 1828: 259). Handbills complained about Hitchin's soup kitchen and threatened those who supported it (LG 25/2/1800: 202). Earl Fitzwilliam's private soup kitchen in Malton, Yorkshire, was so unpopular that the poor berated its subscribers (Wells 2011: 223). Lady Palmerston's soup kitchen, designed by Rumford, upset the poor who demanded 'natural' food (Stark 2013: 62; Royal Inst 2/2/1799; Wells 2011: 224, 277). By 1812, in Birmingham a chant of 'there goes meat for the soup-

shops' was raised when dead horses were removed from the streets (Dennie 1812: 342). Demobbed soldiers and sailors took offence at the offer of soup when they wanted work; they rioted and destroyed Glasgow's soup kitchen (CM 3/8/1816: 3).

While the soup may have offended, a bigger problem was the increased scrutiny, condescension and discrimination with which outdoor relief and charity were distributed (Wells 2011: 306ff). If someone failed to attend church or was not sober or deferential, relief could be withheld. The increasingly hostile attitudes of the vestry and many rate-payers towards the parish poor (Lees 1998: 20, 82, 111) was carried over into the charitable sphere. Many overseers baulked at providing soup to non-residents; the Christian duty to relieve the poor could be pared back, with the excuse that it was someone else's responsibility. Amersham and Royston assisted the non-settled poor reluctantly. Chislehurst allowed only parish residents to buy soup even though it was paid for by a charitable subscription (BHC/P92/8/2). Dartford allowed non-residents with families to buy soup but sought to recover the cost of charity from their parishes of settlement (MA/P110/18/6). Larger urban soup kitchens were less discriminating.

The boundaries between charity and outdoor relief were blurred. Charity burdened rate-payers less since it was optional and poorer rate-payers did not need to subscribe. It allegedly pauperised the recipients less, particularly if they had to pay towards its cost. The soup was not intended to be enough to live on, to encourage the poor to remain independent and motivated (General Report 1800: 15). Subscribers could thus improve and control the poor while receiving gratitude and deference, and congratulate themselves for supposedly preserving

the poor's dignity. Soup was a utilitarian and reforming substitute for the moral economy.

The Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor (**SBCP**) initially promoted soup kitchens and Rumford's theories as these superficially corresponded with their own ideas of scientific philanthropy and individual moral reform through self-help (Poynter 1969: 85; Andrew 1989; 169). By 1802, however, the SBCP had concluded that soup kitchens infected children with vice, and obliged 'the modest and industrious poor to associate with the idle and the profligate' (Bernard 1802b: 167). Daily alms of food would ruin England as bread and circuses had ruined ancient Rome (Bernard 1802a: 28), a statement repeated by the COS seventy years later (COS 1871: 8). Those attending soup kitchens were no longer God's vehicle for the salvation of the souls of the well-to-do but assumed to be dishonest and lazy.

The new soup kitchen environment was undoubtedly humiliating, particularly for the 'industrious artificers' as they had to prove their eligibility. Those supervising soup kitchens applied the same rules to distributing soup as to outdoor relief, and at most soup kitchens, artisans were lumped together with paupers in a homogenous group whose needs were measured in quarts. Lees (1990) argued that the stigma of charity was more perceived, anticipated and imposed by middle-class authority than felt by the poor who were adept at exploiting whatever opportunities charity offered. This may have been so for those accustomed to surviving in the makeshift economy, but this was not how many of those now needing soup perceived themselves (Wells 2011: 71). If the labouring poor and artisans did not already feel stigmatised by needing charity, queuing publicly in the cold and having their time wasted will have done the trick. To

avoid the shame, men sent their wives or children to fetch soup (*Critical Review* 1800: 118), as if they were immune from shame. The experience of soup kitchens and shame was not uniquely British. Inspired by Rumford, France also took to soup kitchens, adopting a similar tone; the poor complained that the huge red and white letters of the soup kitchen signs were too visible and humiliating (Duprat 1993: 446).

Sherman (2001: 177ff) argued that there was a campaign to promote soup and that the discourse of its advocates served to dismantle the remains of the moral economy and pave the way to poor law reform. Sutton (1996) describes the soup kitchen as a Foucauldian machine producing docile bodies by humiliating and enervating the artisan soup-recipients. Industrialised charity was capitalism's replacement for the old and broken paternalistic charity (Bohstedt 1983: 95ff; Sherman 2001: 190).

Evidence for a unified campaign is limited; Rumford, Colquhoun and Bernard each had their own ideas of how to reform the poor. There was great reluctance to use soup (Wells 2011: 230). Bristol, Manchester and York only changed from traditional relief to soup in January 1799 (MM 8/1/1799, 15/1/1799: 4; BCWG 18/12/1800: 4; HAEG 4/1/1800 3). Amersham had a lengthy debate about the merits of soup and later replaced it with uncooked foodstuffs (UPKC 740/F1). After 1802, soup was not necessarily the first recourse in times of trouble.

Soup makers did not necessarily subscribe fully to reformist ideology. Committee minutes simply record an intention to relieve hunger as cheaply and easily as possible. When soup was provided, the arrangements were as makeshift and

temporary as the poor's survival strategy. Rooms were hastily added to workhouses, boilers installed and cook-shops enrolled.

London's economy, particularly in Clerkenwell and Spitalfields, did not rely on 'docile bodies' to staff large factories. Its trade was based around small interconnected workshops, run independently by home-based entrepreneurs (White 2007: 173). If soup kitchens were such an effective tool for creating a compliant workforce, why were they abandoned after 1801 almost everywhere, for over a decade? Watchmaking and silk-weaving continued unchanged in small workshops and in slow decline, to be faced by further recessions and more soup. The maze (Chapter 6) which Sutton identifies as particularly Foucaudian, was only introduced after a year at the major London soup kitchens to make distribution safer and fairer; the vast majority of contemporary soup kitchens did not have mazes.

Those organising and financing soup kitchens were not usually those who stood to benefit from a docile workforce. The Amersham Soup Society was run by an itinerant Quaker minister and local business owners (who might expect to provide supplies to the soup kitchen); although the three engaged in the grain trade might be deflecting accusations of profiteering from high cereal prices (Table 12.11). Newcastle's GSK was started by booksellers, schoolteachers and ministers (Table 12.12). The majority of the organisers in Spitalfields and Clerkenwell were Quakers, bankers and merchants, not master silk-weavers or clockmakers (Table 12.13 to Table 12.15).

Soup was industrial and impersonal. The large urban soup kitchens adopted industrial processes to produce soup and to manage people because personal

charity was impossible when feeding up to 12,000 at a time. Serving had no need for 'uttering a word' (Colquhoun 1799a: 13). It is hard to discern Foucauldian surveillance or bio-power in the fragmented, disorganised and improvisational response of local overseers and JPs to the crisis. The prevailing *laissez-faire* economics dissuaded people from intervening, particularly given the scale of the famine. Pitt's government was incapable of collecting basic agricultural or demographic statistics or monitoring the effects of its policies (Wells 2011: 325).

f. Conclusion

By 1802 hardly anyone in England was unaware of soup kitchens, having either attended one or subscribed. At least a million people (12% of England's population) probably attended soup kitchens regularly between 1799 and 1801, making soup the first national, mass-produced fast-food. In some areas the proportion receiving soup was far greater. It is remarkable that so few people fed so many with limited resources. Although we may decry the lack of humanity, the charitable response between 1795 and 1801 was greater and more organised than any previously undertaken in England.

Britain did not experience a national popular uprising during the Napoleonic Wars despite the frequent food riots. It is unclear if this was because the moral economy functioned effectively by providing soup, or because the poor were so weakened by lack of food that they could not rebel (prolonged hunger results in apathy). Rumford's 'science' endowed beef soup with mythical properties and the perceived ability to halt starvation. Yet rather than instituting a new era in the annals of the poor, 1802 saw soup kitchens' premises closed and equipment sold

or mothballed. Soup was a panacea for a major short-term crisis, but too generous once normal employment and lower prices returned.

Dunkley (1979: 374) identified 1795 as a watershed, after which increasing numbers of able-bodied men joined widows, invalids and old men on the outdoor relief rolls. It was a watershed too for soup kitchens. Soup distributions increased when large numbers of hungry poor re-emerged and when Snell (1991: 393) found removals of non-settled paupers increased (1795, 1800-01, 1809-12 and 1816). The soup kitchen served to keep the poor just above the rising waters of destitution, as a counterbalance to the hostile poor law environment as much as a supplement to outdoor relief. When future crises arose, the middle class turned to it as a panacea, as the next chapter will show.

4. 1818-1870

a. Introduction

The first two decades after the Napoleonic Wars were marked by social unrest and substantial legislative reform which affected local government, Parliamentary representation and the Poor Laws. During the mid-century, voluntary action shifted from exerting control over groups such as 'the poor' towards social improvement through education, temperance and sanitation (Roberts 2004).

Competition for work increased as demobbed soldiers returned to the workforce. Machinery reduced agricultural employment opportunities. In the Midlands and North, factories and mining provided more remunerative work. Food prices fell gradually. Peacetime brought a gradual decline in *per capita* poor relief expenditure (Snell 2006: 213). Parishes adapted their relief policies to deal with unemployment rather than food shortages by introducing workfare schemes, subsidising wages and providing allowances linked to family size rather than bread prices. In 1834, the NPL brought significant change for those on the margins of destitution with the availability of outdoor relief decreasing and the workhouse becoming a more fearful place.

This chapter will explore the burgeoning numbers of soup kitchens that this half-century of reform brought, and the regional variation in their operation. After dealing with the immediate post-war years and the implementation of the NPL from the perspective of the soup kitchen, we will look at how hungry the poor were by mid-century. Finally, we will explore the zenith of soup kitchen activity which preceded the crusade and the relationship between the poor law and soup

kitchens. When we left soup kitchens in 1818, their utility was questionable. Soup was expensive, bothersome to produce and not always well-received. So, the first section will look at soup's gradual rehabilitation.

b. 1818-1832: peace dividend

Soup kitchens continued their intermittent opening pattern after 1818. Previously, soup kitchens had usually been wintertime manifestations, even in the crisis years of 1795-1802 (Figure 4.1). Applications for poor relief also increased during winter months (Snell 1985: 20ff). With fewer daylight hours and bad weather, less outdoor work was available while additional money was needed for clothing and heating. Soup kitchens were also more likely to be reported in colder winters and recessions (Figure 12.5). Poor law expenditure declined after 1818, only to rise again during the recessions of the late 1820s, but it appears to have been less responsive to economic events than soup kitchens (Figure 12.6).

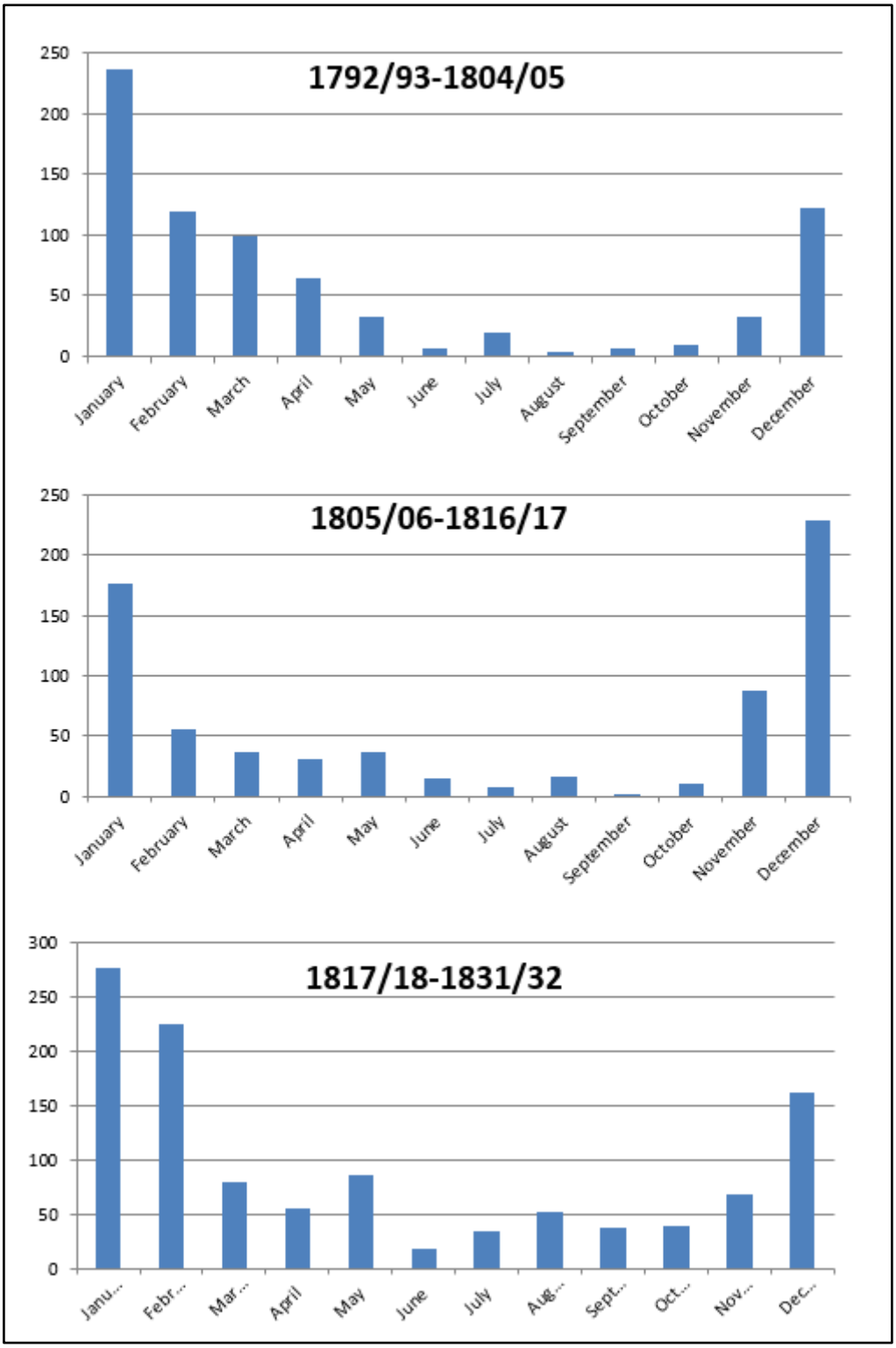


Figure 4.1. Seasonality of soup kitchen newspaper reporting 1792/93--1831/32 in English newspapers.

Study regions

In the rural parishes of Stowe and Hartwell, Buckinghamshire, landowners provided soup; (WEE 25/12/1824: 4; BG 8/1/1831: 4). Reverend Jeston reported to a Parliamentary Commission that he had been providing doles of bread, potatoes and soup to Cholesbury's poor because poor rates were hopelessly inadequate in the face of rising rural unemployment (BH 25/5/1833: 4). Sixty-six of Cholesbury's 139 residents were receiving outdoor relief and another 38 paupers were deemed to be non-resident and so ineligible. These occasional reports probably reflect a much wider practice; landowners and clergy continued to support their local communities using what was now tried and tested relief-in-kind. Only Eton in south Buckinghamshire was reported as having an institutional soup kitchen in Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire between 1802 and 1834 (WEE 19/1/1820: 4). There are no newspapers available from before 1834 for Hertfordshire and only an average of 11 issues annually between 1829 and 1835 for Buckinghamshire.

Straw-plaiting (making hats from straw) enabled women and children to generate significant income (Snell 1992: 59; Goose 1999: 58) which, alongside paternalistic charity, might have contributed to the absence of soup kitchens. Buckinghamshire additionally had lace-making (Verdon 1999: 62, 238; Horn 1974: 779, 781). Nevertheless, both counties still had high poor rates (Table 12.16).

In contrast, every Kent town with a population over 5,000 had an institutional soup kitchen except for Deal/Walmer (Table 12.17). Kent was developing a culture of soup kitchen charity which persisted into the twentieth century. Kent's poor rates were high in the 1820s reflecting the depressed agricultural economy,

insecure employment and increasing use of threshing machines, which resulted in low wages and eventually the Swing riots (Hobsbawm and Rudé 1969). Although most reported soup distributions were in towns, urban labourers 'commuted' to surrounding rural parishes for work; as late as 1880 Gravesend's poor worked in 'agricultural pursuits' and needed relief in the town's soup kitchens (GRNK 10/1/1880: 4).

Industrial areas and those with dairy and livestock farming, like Staffordshire, provided more stable and better paid farm employment (Table 12.16). Only Northumberland, Lancashire, Cumberland and Durham, and large industrial towns could match Staffordshire's low poor law spending. There were still soup distributions, during the recessions of 1819/20, 1826/27 and 1829/30. Hanley and Shelton paid the unemployed for repairing the roads, partly in soup (SA 30/12/1826: 4). In rural parishes a number of landowners also distributed soup.

Northumberland farmers paid low wages but provided job security. Strict relief policies and readily-available industrial work also kept poor rates low, (Table 12.16, Table 12.59). However, recessions still resulted in soup kitchens opening. Only Long Benton and Allendale among the settlements with populations of over 5,000 were without soup kitchens; both were mining districts. Alnwick's soup kitchen was first mentioned only in 1830 (NC 30/1/1830: 4), although Alnwick Castle's head-gardener had regularly provided leeks to the institution from 1822 (August 2006: 204; NC 13/1/1854: 8). Like Staffordshire, Alnwick's townspeople instituted workfare schemes, paying wages partly in soup rather than expose unemployed labourers to the 'demoralising effect' of outdoor relief (Loudon 1830: 590; NC 8/5/1830: 4).

Newcastle-upon-Tyne's GSK re-opened at the Poultry Market in 1819/20 and 1822/23. It was run with a stern hand by the clergy and parish officers of the four town parishes, headed by Reverend Smith, Vicar of St Nicholas. Having obtained a recommendation from a subscriber, soup-applicants had to go to the vestry for further investigation before being issued with soup-tickets; they could then buy soup for 1d a quart (TM 29/2/1820: 1). This procedure enabled the committee to reject any too freely-given recommendations. The poor still had to beg for recommendations.

The GSK openings in 1816, 1819 and 1822 followed strikes by the keelmen. The strikes were prompted by technological changes which reduced their work, and by the hostmen (those who controlled the coal trade) reneging on their contracts (Rowe 1969: 112; Moffat and Rosie 2005: 222). There had always been less dock-work during winter months as frost damaged coal, storms made collier owners reluctant to undertake risky voyages and the wagon ways from the pits to the quays became expensive to maintain (Hughes 1952: 251; Hepple 1976: 101; Ellis 2001: 6). Keelmen relied on summer earnings to tide them over the slacker times; their wives supplemented family incomes by cleaning out the keels between trips. Having been on strike during the summer, their savings were exhausted. Although the keelmen were relatively successful (on paper) in 1819, the 1816 and 1822 strikes were put down with military assistance. The landlord of the Barley Mow in Sandgate adjoining the waterfront also distributed soup following the third strike (TM 12/11/1822: 3).

After 1822, the keelmen were no longer an industrial force to be reckoned with. There were around 900 keelmen on the Tyne in 1822, 735 in 1827, when numbers stabilised before declining again in the 1840s (Fewster 2011: 182). Most keelmen

lived in the Quayside, Sandgate and Pandon districts of All Saints (Forster 1970: 12), the most overcrowded area of any British town (Ellis 2001: 13) and immediately southeast of the GSK, the All Saints Soup Kitchen (1838-55) and the Keelmen's Hospital.

Reverend Smith died in 1826; nevertheless the GSK re-opened the following winter (TM 20/2/1827: 3). After the GSK closed on 26 April 1827, Smith's successor, Reverend Dodd, paid the balance of the charity's funds into the town hutch (a large safe-deposit box) (NC 19/5/1827: 4). Shortly afterwards, the Poultry Market was demolished to make space for the new Grainger Market (Oliver 1831: 87; Sykes 1833: 301). The Corporation, as trustee of the charity, had no thought of finding replacement premises; it was summertime.

In December, William Holmes, a Quaker grocer, wine merchant and 'spirited individual' opened a 'steam soup kitchen' (NC 1/12/1827: 4; Figure 4.2). Holmes ran the soup kitchen commercially, selling soup-tickets for charitable use, leaving any investigation to the subscribers. A pint of soup was free to ticketholders or could be bought for 1d or 1½d if consumed in the 'comfortable accommodation' in the adjoining 'house'.

Figure 4.2. Undated handbill (Baglee 1971: 18), probably for Holmes' 1827 enterprise; the wording is almost identical to his newspaper advertisement. [Image redacted].

In 1828/29 the Corporation used the GSK's remaining funds to buy tickets for Holmes' enterprise (NC 31/1/1829: 1, 4). The GSK and the Corporation supported Holmes' enterprise for 13 of the following 15 years with subsidised soup costing 1d and a ticket per quart (NC 18/12/1830: 1). Almost every winter, the Mayor would convene a meeting to raise subscriptions and make arrangements with Holmes to provide soup. For much of Holmes' tenure, George Richardson and other prominent Quakers served on the committee. Holmes subscribed to the GSK as well. The GSK's committee regularly applied to the

Corporation for a grant (which was not always forthcoming) to support their operations further. While it was efficient to delegate charity, the Corporation lacked any real concern for social problems; its 'parsimony, inaction, *laissez-faire* and great complacency' were notorious (Callcott: 1984: 168, 2001: 71).

Cholera

Cholera arrived in England in Tyne & Wear in October 1831, reaching Kent within a year. The GSK and soup kitchens in North Shields and Gateshead had already been operating and a relief fund had been established in Newcastle-upon-Tyne to support maritime workers unemployed due to a miners' strike/lock-out (Bean 1971: 78; McCord 1979: 85). Cholera caused panic: it was invisible, often killing within a few hours. Subscriptions to the GSK increased significantly and Newcastle's St Nicholas Parochial **Board of Health** fitted up and opened their parish soup kitchen (NC 12/11/1831: 1), as the well-to-do attempted to minimise the risk of contagion. Despite the soup, cholera killed 544 people in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

In Northumberland, the secretary to Tweedmouth Board of Health wrote that medical intervention was difficult because 'the poor do not have the common necessities of life' but he supported the establishment of a soup kitchen like those that Boards of Health and 'medical gentlemen' had instituted in neighbouring Spittal and Berwick (NCRO/EP/79/222). Soup was credited with medicinal properties; those most vulnerable to cholera were malnourished, so salty soup may have been more beneficial to sufferers than many of the other remedies proposed. Boards of Health either ran soup kitchens or supported them in Hexham, Blyth, Newburn and Gateshead) (WCSA 19/9/1832: 1; NC 31/12/1831: 2, 14/1/1832: 1, 28/1/1832: 1; 18/2/1832: 1, 31/3/1832: 1).

All the towns with soup kitchens in Kent in 1832, except for Tunbridge Wells, reportedly had cholera outbreaks (Coulson 2004: 161). Ashford's overseers distributed soup and other food supplies from the workhouse from March 1832 to mid-April 1833 (KHLC/P10/16/7). Ashford also had a separate soup kitchen. In Staffordshire, soup kitchens opened in Tutbury, Bilston, Wolverhampton and Dudley in response to the epidemic (SA 18/2/1832: 4, 1/9/1832: 2, 15/9/1832: 4; WCSA 19/9/1832: 1). Nothing was reported in Buckinghamshire or Hertfordshire.

It soon became apparent that cholera killed mainly the poor and so it became a moral illness, caused by intemperance, depravity and squalor, with the poor as vectors, although fears of contagion persisted (Morris 1976: 85, 118; Mort 2000: 68). Cholera made it far harder for the poor to make a living, and a recession followed the epidemic. By late 1833 the epidemic had largely passed. Soup once more appeared to be a problem-solving device for healthcare and welfare crises.

Discussion

Soup kitchens nationally and in the study regions were reported more often during colder winters and recessions (Figure 12.5, Figure 12.7). The relationship with colder winters seems stronger than recession. Poor Law expenditure tracked wheat prices more closely, but was also higher during recessions (Figure 12.6). Few soup kitchens were reported and poor law expenditure fell between 1821 and 1825. The relationship between soup kitchens and wages, which stagnated, and food prices, which remained high, is not nearly as clear cut (Figure 12.3). Soup kitchens were serving a different purpose and clientele to the OPL, those who were temporarily unemployed or underemployed, and ineligible for outdoor relief. The broader economic measures adopted by economic historians do not

identify the stresses many of the poor suffered which soup kitchen data can highlight.

A significant proportion of the population was receiving soup in those areas for which there are data (Table 12.19 to Table 12.35). Landowners had traditionally supported their resident poor with charity and were increasingly reported to be distributing soup by the late-1820s. In times of growing rural poverty and unrest, this element of the moral economy was also practical: the Leveson-Gower family (significant providers of soup at Trentham, Staffordshire) considered that during the Swing riots, the family's local charitable acts provided their property with some protection from the depredations of disgruntled rural labourers (Richards 1974: 92).

While Staffordshire and the Northeast operated soup kitchens, they did so with some stringency. Kent was more enthusiastic in providing soup. Singing the praises of Newcastle-upon-Tyne's GSK as a model, Kent's *South Eastern Gazette* said 'no place with a population of 800 people ought to be without a soup kitchen' (SEG 31/1/1832: 4). Many towns in Kent followed this advice as the next section will show.

c. 1833-1850

The transition to the NPL was not uniform across the country, nor was it instantaneous. The OPL had been getting less generous since the late-eighteenth century, but the NPL was, and still is, often perceived as imposing a much harsher and, at times, inhumane regimen on paupers, although debate still continues between those who see more change from the OPL and those who see more continuity (King 2018).

Thus, McCord saw 'no evidence of a harsh regime' after 1836, when Newcastle Poor Law Union was created, describing it as 'enlightened' by contemporary standards, arguing that the reforms had little effect before the 1850s (McCord 1976: 96, 106, 1979: 90). In contrast, Long (1999) found that Newcastle's parishes followed harsh regimes before and after 1836, rigorously enforcing the workhouse test and the less-eligibility principal, with women faring badly after 1836.

Comparatively, Staffordshire spent little on poor relief yet still cut its expenditure significantly (Table 4.1). Unions in Kent initially followed instructions from the Poor Law Commissioners to prohibit outdoor relief to able-bodied poor and even denied Bromley's workhouse inmates pea and beef soup (PLC 1836: 189-206; BHC/1383/1). In some Kent unions, numbers on outdoor relief were halved. Reports spoke glowingly of the disappearance of able-bodied paupers and of crime; the poor were reportedly more deferential and the employers more charitable (the poor knew what was required to maintain their makeshift economy). The workhouse population was cut by 61%. Inspectors still complained in 1837 about the Kent guardians' practice of providing outdoor relief in hard winters (Crowther 1992: 190; KW 23/1/1838: 3). Hertfordshire reduced its poor rates by 50%, despite already being sparing with outdoor relief (PLC 1836: 272). Buckinghamshire had difficulty getting workhouses available by 1836 but still achieved a 50% reduction in spending, although the Commissioners considered more should have been cut. Reducing expenditure was equated with greater moral reform of both the labouring poor and the local poor law officers. The benign economy helped keeping rates low.

Counties	All county 1831	Average 1832-35 before unionisation	1835-6 after unionisation	All county 1840
Buckinghamshire	19.1	25.7s	11.1s*	9.4s
Hertfordshire	13.2	10.3s	4.5s**	7.2s
Kent	14.5	16.9s	9.6s***	7.2s
Staffordshire	6.6	Not available	Not available	3.7s
Northumberland	6.3	Not available	Not available	5.3s

Table 4.1. *Per capita* cost of poor relief in shillings (**s**) 1831 from Blaug (1963, 1964), other data calculated from PLC 1836: 32, 273 and PLC 1841. Population for 1832-35 based on average of interpolated population for 1832 and 1835. * For Winslow and Aylesbury Unions only; **for St Albans and Watford Unions only; *** for seven unions.

Within the study regions, the NPL was rapidly and strictly implemented. Outdoor relief to able-bodied men did not cease, but it was curtailed significantly. All the study counties except for Northumberland made significant reductions in rates *per capita*. Poor rates began to creep upwards due to the recession of 1838-40, but only to 72% of what was spent in 1834 (Figure 4.3). The lower relief counties, Northumberland and Staffordshire, struggled to maintain their low expenditure, probably because recession affected their industrial sectors more.

Figure 4.3. Annual poor relief expenditure 1834-1840 as a percentage of 1834 poor relief expenditure (data from PLC 1841: 12); (data assume population is constant).

Tyneside and Northumberland

It was not long before charity and the NPL were put to the test. In the winter of 1837/38 Tyneside saw the precursors of what became 'one of the worst economic depressions' of the century (Gurney 2015: 31). By 1839, 3,500 of Newcastle-upon-Tyne's population of 54,000 were out of work (Bean 1971: 86, Middlebrook 1968: 178).

The GSK and St Nicholas Soup Kitchen opened along with Gateshead and Gateshead Fell Soup Kitchens. Newcastle-upon-Tyne's mayor encouraged the other parishes to follow suit, which they duly did, so that:

> '...the poor who could not claim as residents in the respective parishes would derive greater benefit from the public soup kitchen' (NL 20/1/1838: 3).

The Corporation charity was first referred to as 'the General Soup Kitchen', doubtless to distinguish it from the four parish soup kitchens (NJ 24/2/1838: 2). Parochial soup was free but only available to parish residents, but the GSK charged 1d. The GSK contracted with Holmes to open the soup kitchen all morning (previously it was only open for an hour or two). The Corporation made donations to all five soup kitchens.

Although Gateshead and three of the parochial soup kitchens did not open the following two winters, which were milder, the GSK, St Nicholas and North Shields did. North Shields started raising funds to build a permanent soup kitchen to celebrate Queen Victoria's coronation (NC 8/6/1838: 1). Gateshead too raised funds in 1841 to replace its old soup kitchen at Powell's Almshouse, the town's workhouse (NCRO/SANT/BEQ/26/1/4/86), although the project was delayed for 20 years. There followed a decade in which at least nine Tyneside soup kitchens were open every winter, except 1845/46 when only Gateshead opened: the GSK did not open because there was 'good employment and prosperity' (NC 6/2/1846: 4) (Figure 4.4).

Competition for funds sparked a bitter dispute between the parochial soup kitchens and the GSK. Proposals for the 'usual' donation of £100 to the town's

soup kitchens came before the Corporation. Some councillors opposed the donation because this would subsidise rate-payers because the parish soup kitchens were giving soup to outdoor relief recipients, particularly at Byker and East All Saints Soup Kitchen in Ouseburn (NC 13/1/1843: 7). The *Newcastle Journal* (14/1/1843: 2) was excoriating and pointed out that outdoor relief payments of 1/6d or 2/- weekly, a typical amount nationally (Snell 2006: 294), were insufficient to live off, the poor rates would have to increase significantly, and applicants for relief would need to be accepted more promptly if no soup was available. Today's delays in disbursing universal credit are nothing new. St Andrew's later emphasised that its overseers and churchwardens supervised its soup kitchen and only labourers and mechanics not receiving parochial relief were eligible (NJ 4/3/1843: 3).

The following winter, the four parochial soup kitchens claimed that the GSK was undeserving of public or Corporation support as it was less charitable than they were. The parish officials visited the poor to ensure they were 'really deserving' and only provided soup to those who were *resident* in the parish, but did so gratuitously. They objected to a 'private individual' (in other words Holmes) receiving 3d for every quart delivered (2d from subscribers and 1d from the recipient) enabling him to profit (NC 22/12/1843: 6).

The GSK responded that it was better that the poor had to pay something because it preserved their independence; payment reduced complaints about the soup and reduced waste (NC 29/12/1843: 1). Nevertheless, the GSK's subscribers, 'a large proportion of the working classes making up the meeting', voted after some debate to make their soup free (NC 12/1/1844: 4). The working-class subscribers

also wanted soup to be available to non-residents; democratic charity was more liberal.

The parishes used soup to manage their poor through investigation and denying relief to non-residents. Parish soup was an extension of outdoor relief rather than charity, using the same eligibility tests, and it enabled worthies to enjoy the role of grandee notwithstanding the poor law reforms. St Nicholas parish used access to soup to coerce voters (NJ 7/2/1835: 3) (recipients of poor relief were disenfranchised, which parish soup might avert). In contrast, the GSK delegated soup-making and ticket distribution, and made soup available to all.

Tyneside's industries were dependent on immigrant labour. Irish and Scottish workers made up about 15% of Newcastle's population and nearly two-thirds of the Irish were labourers (SCPR 1855; Barke 2001: 156). They were essential to the economy but when a recession threw these immigrants out of work, outdoor relief was discretionary. They had the choice of applying for parish relief, which could be refused, leaving (willingly or unwillingly) or going hungry. Large industrial and mercantile interests who relied on the pool of labour largely escaped liability for poor rates (Englander 1998: 50), so supporting a charity like the GSK solved the problem without increasing the poor rates.

The GSK asked the Corporation for new premises and help fitting up apparatus (NC 9/2/1844: 7); Holmes' tenure as soup-maker was no longer appropriate. The Corporation duly obliged (NJ 14/12/1844), although it emphasised that support was dependent on bad weather and 'not customary but when necessary' (NC 28/12/1849: 3); charity was expedient, not part of the moral economy. Free soup, however, was not continued long at the GSK. The GSK's account book simply has

a gap after April 1827 until March 1845 when the soup kitchen was 're-established' in premises at the Manors (TWA/CHX3/2/1). Holmes had been airbrushed from the official record. Tyneside's soup kitchens remained busy into the 1850s.

The GSK and Gateshead Soup Kitchen had been regular fixtures from the start of the 1830s; it was remarked with approval that Gateshead Soup Kitchen had been open every year since the cholera epidemic (NJ 3/3/1838: 3). The winter of 1837/38, shortly after the NPL was implemented, marks the point when parish soup kitchens also opened regularly across Tyneside (Figure 4.4). The withdrawal of outdoor relief from many and an economic downturn had to be met with relief in some form. The **Chartist** protests, like one on Newcastle-upon-Tyne's Town Moor which allegedly attracted between 70-80,000 people, over half the local population (NL 30/6/1838: 4), were a reminder of the potential for disorder. Soup could solve political crises too.

For the rest of Northumberland, the only newspapers available are Newcastle-based and three years of the *Berwick Advertiser*, which show that in each of those years Berwick's soup kitchen was open. Alnwick, Berwick and Hexham follow a similar pattern to Tyneside with activity beginning in the late 1820s and increasing after 1836/37, although Morpeth and Berwick remain enigmatic (Figure 4.5).

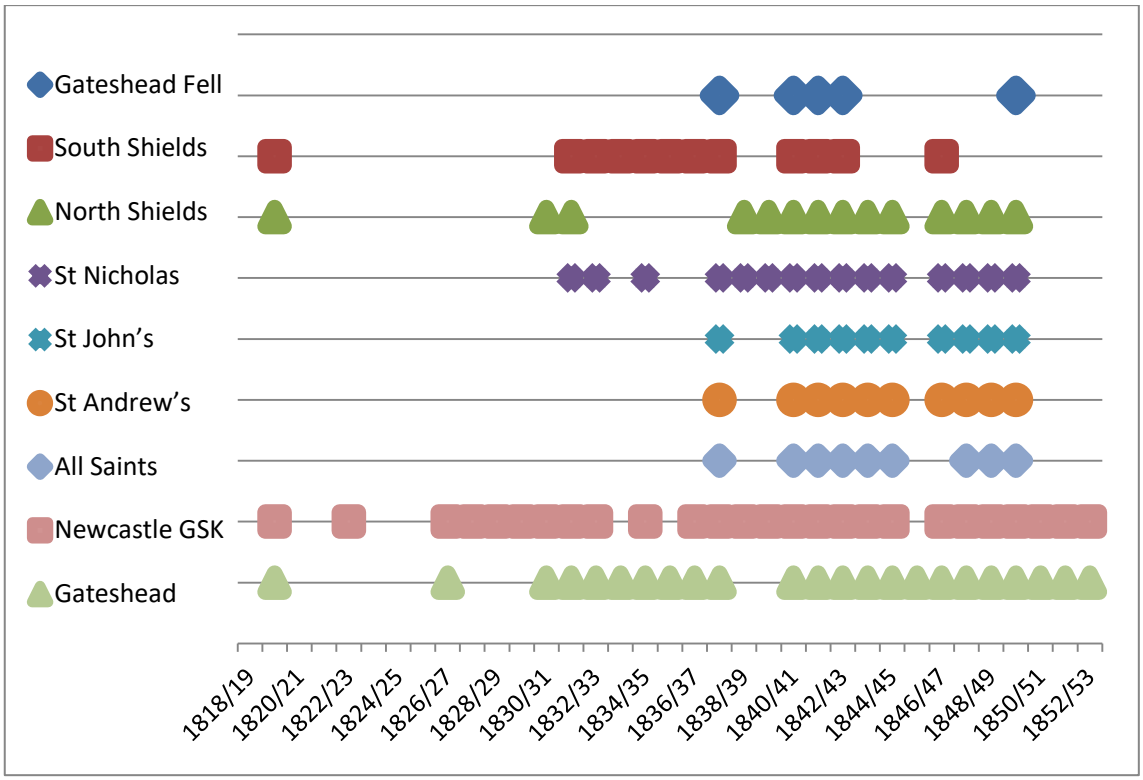


Figure 4.4. Tyneside soup kitchen openings 1818/19-1852/53.

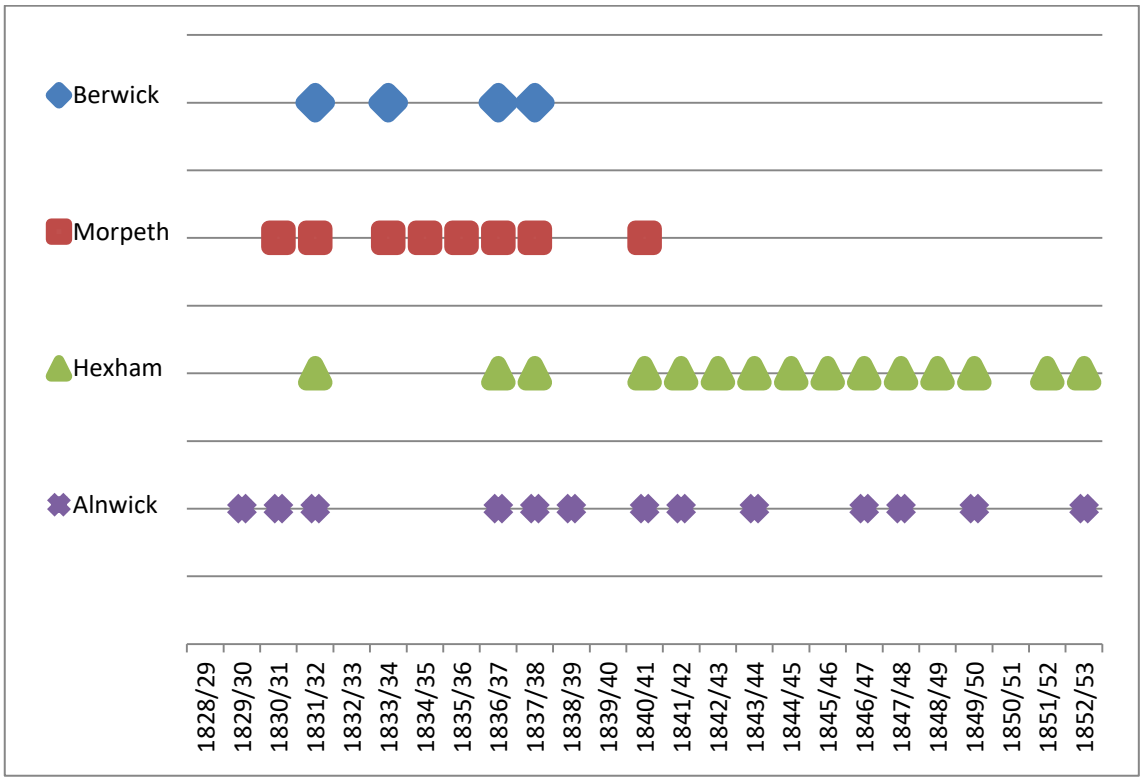


Figure 4.5. Northumberland town soup kitchen openings 1828/29-1852/3.

Staffordshire

In Staffordshire, only recessions required relief, but then soup spared 'families the pain of applying for parochial relief' (SA 5/2/1842: 3). Few soup kitchens opened at all regularly (Figure 4.6). By the late-1840s Lichfield, a market town, showed signs of a more permanent institution but nowhere had a regular soup kitchen between 1819 and 1850. No soup distributions ensued following the 1842 general strike by Staffordshire coal miners or the 1842 Potteries riots. Bilston, one of the worst affected towns in England during the second cholera epidemic (1849-51) (Thomas 2015: 55), instituted a soup kitchen. Existing facilities re-opened in Newcastle-under-Lyme and Lichfield (WCSA 14/11/1849: 4; SA 27/10/1849: 1, 6/10/1849: 4).

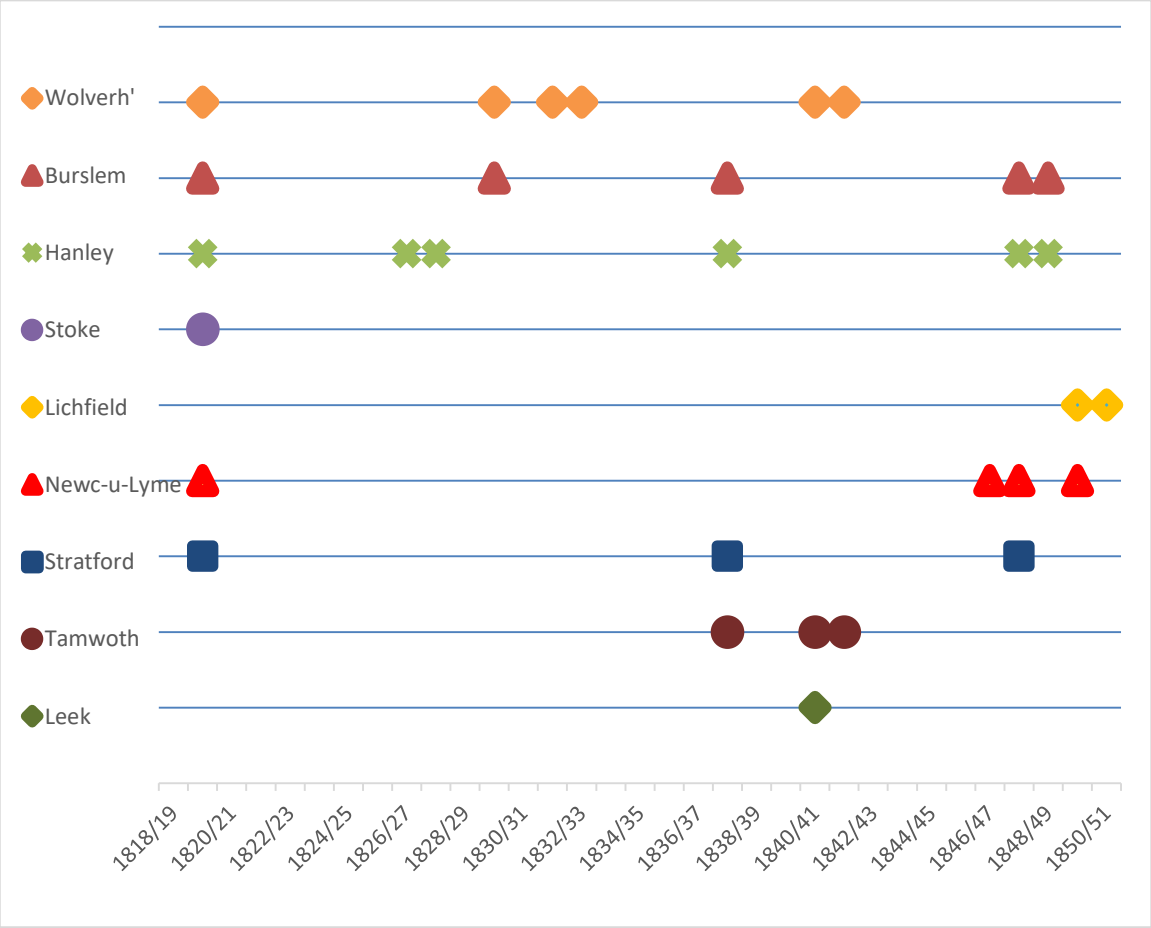


Figure 4.6. Staffordshire soup kitchen openings 1818/19-1850/51.

Kent

Roberts (2004: 141) associated this period with a proliferation of middle-class voluntary associations, each with a specialist reform agenda. In Kent there were many soup societies and soup kitchens opened regularly (Table 12.17, Figure 4.7).

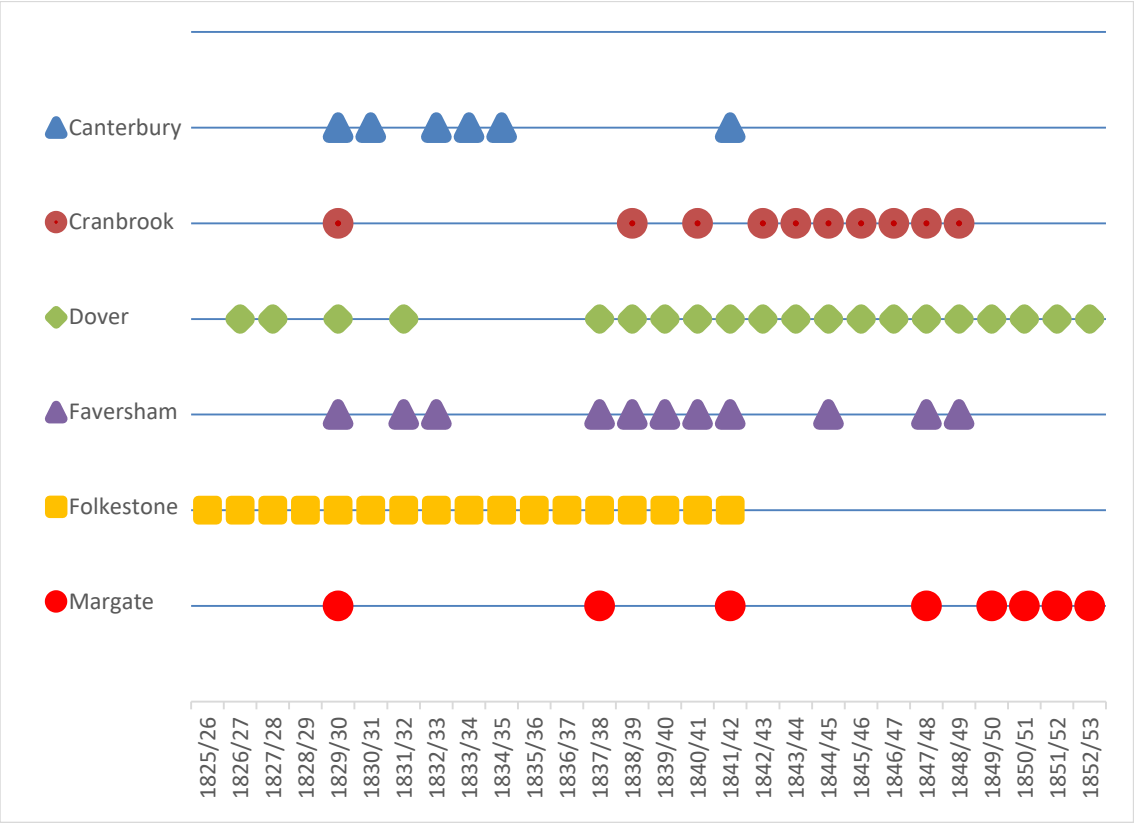


Figure 4.7. Kent town soup kitchens with more than five reported openings 1825/26-1852/53. Cranbrook was probably open between 1830 and 1839 but no annual reports survive. Folkestone claimed in 1842 to have been open for the previous 17 seasons (CJKTFG 16/1/1842: 2), but newspapers only reported on two openings; nothing further was reported until 1854.

Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire

Soup distributions were not reported in Buckinghamshire or Hertfordshire between 1832 and 1838/40. High Wycombe provided bread through a relief fund, shortly after the implementation of the NPL (WEE 3/2/1838: 4). Paper-making machinery had been smashed in Wycombe's paper-mills during the

Swing riots, so bread might have been seen as a more acceptable solution if outdoor relief was to be withheld. Subscription soup charities were almost absent from Buckinghamshire before 1853/54, except for Aylesbury, where two subscriptions were raised (BH 20/2/1841: 2; BG 13/2/1847: 4). In Hertfordshire, Miss Grimston, of Berkhamsted Place which overlooked the Castle Grounds, Lady Deacon, Reverend Crofts and others organised Berkhamsted's Soup Charity, for which Countess Bridgewater built the Soup House. It first opened in 1840/41 (BG 5/4/1845: 1; BH 3/5/1849: 6). Many navvies had stayed in the town following construction of the London and Birmingham Railway (1834-1838) and married locally (Birtchnell 1972a: 86). The cold winter of 1841 may have left them unemployed and vulnerable to removal if they claimed relief without settlement in the parish.

St Albans' mayor established a soup and bread fund during severe winter weather (HM 23/1/1841: 2). The workhouse was full to overflowing, with an extra 50 paupers using the schoolrooms as dormitories (Rothery 2016: 253). A soup kitchen is not mentioned again until 1847 when an inquest found that William Gilbert, an elderly and unemployed shoemaker, had died from 'decay of nature, accelerated by previous want' (starvation). He had been refused outdoor relief and was living off the kindness of neighbours, one of whom had given him a soup-ticket. The inquest jury were highly critical of St Albans Union for prohibiting all outdoor relief to the aged and infirm (HM 30/1/1847: 3).

Workhouse admissions in several Hertfordshire unions increased markedly in 1847 (Goose 1999: 64), when further soup kitchens were organised in the county. We know no more of Hoddesdon's soup kitchen than that it existed (HM 27/3/1847: 3). In Hertford, St. Andrew's parish had opened a soup kitchen and

All Saints and St John's parishes jointly ran another in 1841 (HM 06/03/1841: 2, 16/1/1841: 2). These re-opened in 1847, along with a soup kitchen in Brickendon (HM 23/1/1847: 2, 30/1/1847: 2).

The early 1840s were years of severe recession and 1846/47 was a very cold winter. This period also marked the beginning of the straw-plait industry's slow decline; it was particularly focussed in west and north Hertfordshire.

Discussion

Cold weather, unemployment and recessions influenced the opening of soup kitchens, not wage levels or bread price (Figure 12.4, Figure 12.9). This continued the trend identified between 1819 and 1832. The recession of the late 1830s and early 1840s marked a significant increase in the number of soup kitchens operating; many of these re-opened in the later 1840s as the impact of the long recession and the Irish famine were felt. The weather and charity were closely linked: soup kitchen organisers and newspapers continually associated opening the soup kitchen with cold weather. Much of traditional charity, clothing, fuel, blankets as well as food revolved around surviving winter weather as Good King Wenceslas knew (the carol was written in 1853). This physical and experiential aspect of past taskscapes is explored further below.

Although there is no link visible between the broad poor law statistics and soup kitchens, the NPL played an important, if indirect, role in their expansion. Before 1834, soup kitchens mitigated unemployment, particularly in winter. After 1834 the NPL struggled to deal with increasing seasonal and cyclical hunger. Its growing centralisation focussed on the union rather than the parish, creating a local power vacuum. Local charities stepped in to mediate between the

disaffected poor and central authority. Subscriptions reconciled Christian alms-giving with rational restraint and enabled the business and professional classes to associate themselves with paternalistic authority, proving their worth. In rural areas, charitable soup maintained the face-to-face aspect of philanthropic relief that the NPL had removed and it enabled the landed interests cheaply to maintain the influence which the NPL administration was disrupting (Snell 1985: 105, 117). Parish soup maintained allegiance to 'parish' for both donor and recipient which the union threatened to dissolve.

In Tyneside and parts of Kent, soup kitchens were becoming permanent fixtures in the calendar and in the landscape, but in Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire they were still a relative novelty. The arrival of better organised and more permanent charities reflected hopes that voluntary societies had of making the poor more self-reliant through charity (Roberts 2004: 143; Lees 1998: 114); some imposed discipline through eligibility restrictions parallel to poor relief. These new findings also point to growing hunger and declining Poor Law provision. The next section will demonstrate that the 'hungry forties' were not fake news promulgated by the free-trade movement in the 1900s.

d. Food, politics and the 'hungry 40s'

Many soup kitchens began to open more regularly in the 1840s. Places as far apart and different as North Shields and Cranbrook constructed new buildings. In Newcastle-upon-Tyne parishes established soup kitchens and the Corporation, normally unworried by social problems, reasserted control over the GSK. Soup was no longer an emergency standby, it was needed every winter. There had been hard times and cold winters before, during which the response had been more

muted. Why was all this happening? Greater newspaper reporting may be partly responsible, but why did newspapers report on the issue more?

Decreasing availability of outdoor relief reduced the vulnerable to the status of paupers. Many industrial workers suffered significant falls in earnings following the 1838 recession and the deeper recession of 1840-1845, which was perhaps the worst of the century (Mathias 1983: 214; Horrell and Humphries 1992: 857). They had to down-class their diet to potatoes, a food associated with the less-than-civilised Irish (Gurney 2015: 39-40). In 1842 there were strikes and food riots protesting about the erosion of traditional rights and the closure of part of the makeshift economy,

Charities catering for the **casual poor** proliferated in response (Roberts 1991: 220). Stories of starvation in the workhouse and cruelty by poor law officials such as the Andover Workhouse scandal fuelled middle-class disquiet (Jones and King 2020: 20). Hunger and poverty became topics of social and political interest; previously concerns had been about increasing poor rates. The Poor Law Commission investigated complaints and occasionally unearthed overzealous conduct by local officials but rarely evidence of malpractice (Crowther 1992: 187). The authors of the NPL resisted criticism of their progeny although statistics indicated that significant numbers were dying due to poverty and lack of food (Hamlin 1995).

Although the term 'hungry forties' was only coined in 1904 (Chaloner 1957: 3), this does not make hunger a myth (*contra* Crouzet 2013: 54). Trentmann (2009: 40) argued that the 1840s were no worse than other decades. Recession

nevertheless left many without work and therefore food. Hunger and food prices became rallying cries for the **Anti-Corn Law League** and Chartists.

Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*, featuring Scrooge's redemption through providing a paternalistic winter feast to his local poor, appeared to great acclaim in 1843. Illustrations and poetry about the hungry rural poor, particularly the starving Irish, began to appear in periodicals (Boyce 2012: 444). Hunger was portrayed sympathetically, softened to suit middle-class sensibility; the poor were shown unflatteringly but as largely unthreatening and manageable, and hunger as moderate (Lees 1998: 131). These illustrations shaped the perceptions of a readership otherwise unaware of privation and, when combined with the stories of the harshness of the NPL or the Irish famine, predisposed readers to think charitably. Illustrations of soup kitchens began appearing in the same publications (Chapter 6); they showed the poor, contained and grateful, saved by bowls of rich and tasty soup. Starvation could be staved off with minimal effort, even in Ireland. Rumford's 'science' was republished (Rumford 1847) and Soyer (whom we will meet in Chapter 6) bolstered that reassuring view with earnest authority (Soyer 1848).

Subscribers might not be able to relieve an entire parish but they could emulate traditional paternalistic charity with a £1 subscription, so striking a chord with the Chartist nostalgic agenda. Soup kitchen charity became a re-invention of the moral economy and as much about redemption of an increasingly distant middle class as it was about the poor. Charity also avoided the need to confront the NPL which was proving as incapable of coping with widespread industrial distress as the OPL had been previously. Assumptions about the causes of poverty could

continue unquestioned. It is therefore no surprise that the 1840s led to soup kitchens opening up widely once more.

How hungry were the forties?

If the forties were hungry, were they hungrier than previous decades or was it simply that middle-class attention was suddenly turned on something that had always been there?

The budgets of agricultural workers in the 1830s and 1840s were largely unchanged from 1795 (most was still spent on basic foodstuffs), whereas industrial workers spent a noticeably smaller proportion on food and had greater discretionary spending (Griffin 2018: 83). The rural poor were likely to go hungry in anything other than optimal conditions and even industrial workers experienced hunger, either in recessions or due to the temptation of pubs and beer shops (Griffin 2018: 94, 102).

Most soup kitchens kept accounts, recording ingredients and volumes of soup made, and published reports which boasted about how much beef they used and how much soup they made. These statistics were repeated in local newspapers to demonstrate that the institutions were just as deserving of subscriptions as their clientele were of soup. Statistics were increasingly being used to justify moral action to solve social problems (Roberts 2004: 158). However, interrogating the surviving statistics to determine how many people received relief is not straightforward (Appendix 1f).

How many were fed

The number of soup kitchens reported each winter in the study regions increased from an average of ten to around 20 between 1832 and 1850. Growing numbers of newspapers may be partly responsible for this. However, the proportion of the population being fed, local to each soup kitchen, increased from around 15% in the early 1830s to 20-25% in the 1840s (Figure 4.8, Table 4.2). More soup kitchens were feeding more people. The proportion of the population receiving soup during bad winters was at least as great as during the famine years of 1795-1801. In less industrial areas, up to a quarter of the population attended soup kitchens during the 1840s. The industrialised areas usually fed fewer, although in times of recession, these areas were no different from their more rural counterparts. For many, the 1840s were hungrier than much of the preceding decades (even if the small dataset means the evidence is susceptible to possible bias). Soup kitchens, nevertheless, operated only in wintertime as they continued to do up to 1914 (Figure 4.9), perhaps because cold weather was an acceptable excuse for poverty, whereas unemployment was not.

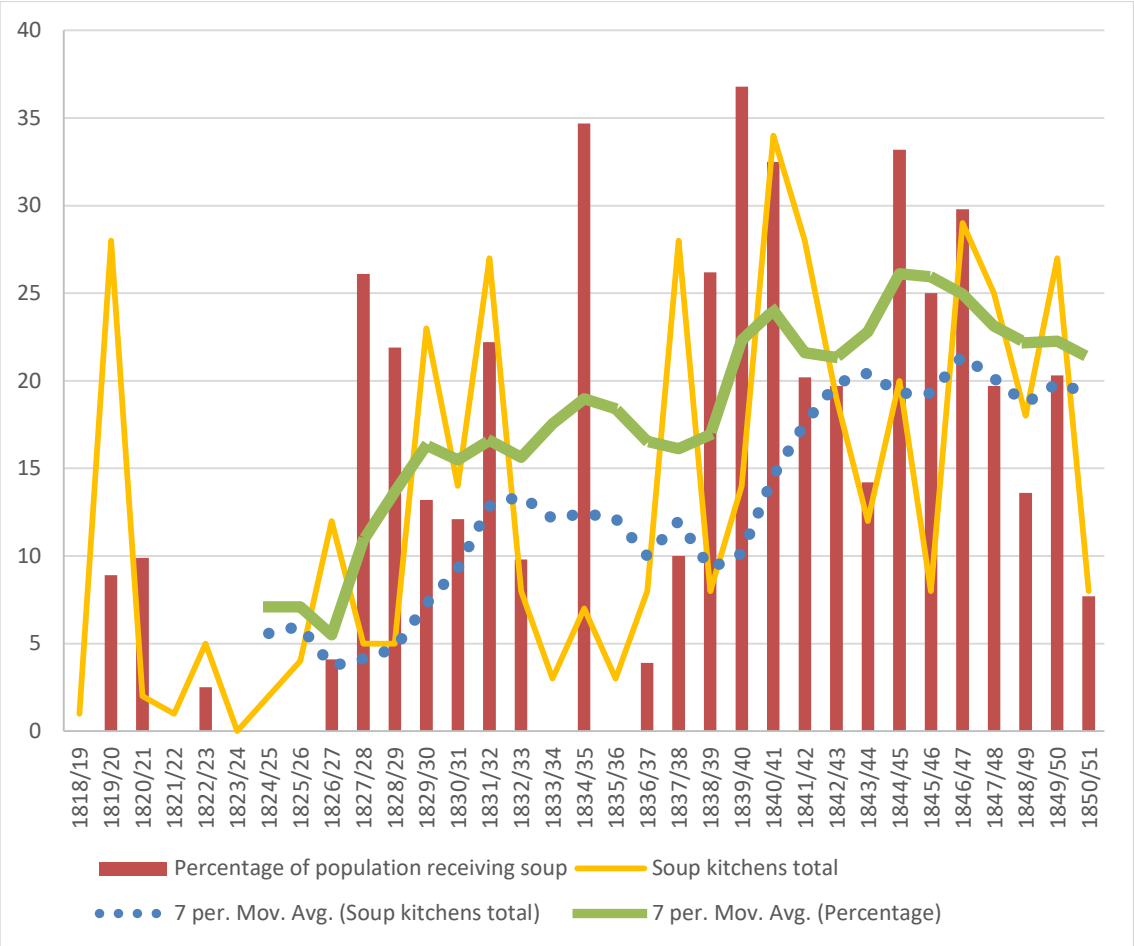


Figure 4.8. Number of soup kitchens and percentage of local population receiving soup by season in all study regions with 7 year moving averages (Table 12.19 to Table 12.33 for data).

In Newcastle-upon-Tyne the proportion receiving soup was consistently between 10 and 20% of the population for almost the entire decade except 1845/46. The proportion was often higher in St Nicholas and All Saints parishes (Table 12.29 to Table 12.31). In 1842, the numbers were 'unprecedented' (NC 21/1/1842: 4), yet they continued to rise. The decision of the Corporation to take back control of the GSK becomes more explicable: hunger became too pressing an issue for the Corporation to ignore. At the same time, All Saints and St Nicholas installed new 200 gallon boilers at their soup kitchens (NC 19/1/1844: 4).

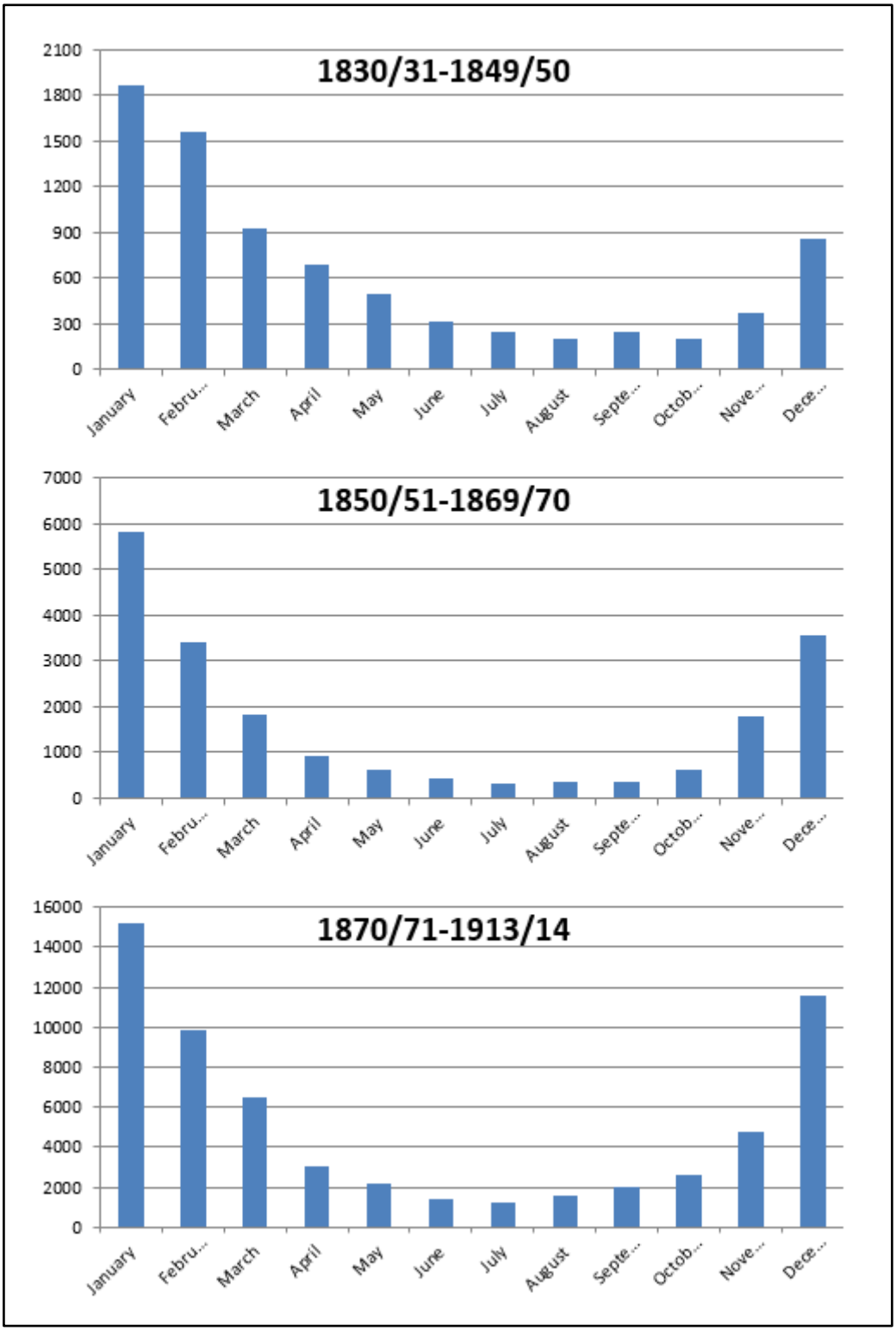


Figure 4.9. Seasonality of soup kitchen newspaper reporting 1830/31-1913/14 in English newspapers.

The numbers receiving soup in the rest of Northumberland fluctuated between around 3% and 33% (Table 12.26). Other than indicating that there were

significant problems around 1830 and in the 1840s, particularly in Hexham, the data are insufficient to identify further patterns.

In Kent, the larger towns fed a smaller proportion of their population than the small towns and villages (Table 4.2); with industry they had greater employment prospects, or were less generous. The small towns fed more people after the NPL came into effect, whereas villages were largely unchanged often because landowners continued with their existing practice of managing poverty.

Staffordshire soup kitchens opened less frequently than those in Kent, but when they were open, they fed a greater proportion of the local population (Table 4.2). This reflects the impact of recessions on industrial towns. The large-scale relief funds in the Potteries and Wolverhampton in 1827/28, 1830/31 and 1847-48 were not weather-driven. The difference between the smaller towns and the large industrial towns is less marked than elsewhere. Industrial workers were becoming more vulnerable to fluctuations in trade. Soup kitchens in Staffordshire's smaller towns seem to have opened more frequently at the end of the 1840s as workers remained vulnerable to seasonal unemployment. Josiah Spode in Stoke and Miss Birch in Brereton, a coal-mining township, were probably more generous than many great landowners, given the urban environments in which they were delivering relief. The absence of publicised rural soup distributions may be due to the relatively high level locally of farm wages and less arable farming (Table 12.59).

Very little is reported about institutional soup distribution in Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire until the 1840s when soup kitchens began to operate; then the proportion of the population being served was high.

Parish/ place	Number of cases	% of pop.
Kent large towns >6,000 1819-34	4	6.6%
Kent large towns >6,000 1834-50	5	5.8%
Kent small towns <6,000 1819-34	5	11.5-13.4%
Kent small towns <6,000 1834-50	12	24.2-27.8%
Kent villages <2,000 1819-34	6	24.1%
Kent villages <2,000 1834-50	7	26.4%
Northumberland 1819-34	1	22.1%
Northumberland 1834-50	10	14.2%
Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1819-34	6	4.2%
Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1834-50	4	16.1%
Staffordshire 1819-34 small towns<10,000	5	13.2%
Staffordshire 1819-34 large towns >10,000	5	18.3%
Staffordshire 1834-50 small towns <10,000	2	16.9%
Staffordshire 1834-50 large towns >10,000	5	18.2%
Buckinghamshire towns 1834-59 <6,000	1	41.2%
Hertfordshire towns 1834-50 <6,000	3	24.0-25.1%

Table 4.2. Proportion of population receiving soup in each county 1819-1850 (detail is in Table 12.19 to Table 12.37).

Discussion

The evidence from soup kitchens provides an important and novel yardstick to measure hunger during this period, when writers have expressed conflicting views about its extent, and contemporary sources were opaque. The hungry forties were a good deal hungrier than previous decades. Assembling fragmentary data in this way can give new perspectives on old questions. As a result of the hard times in the 1840s and soup kitchens' success in preventing a crisis, at least in England, they consolidated their position. However, they began to come under scrutiny, presaging the crusade, as the next section describes.

e. 1850-1870

After a recession in 1850-51, London's 1851 Great Exhibition heralded the start of 15 years of relative economic stability with growing GDP and the economic cycle lengthening (Hills *et al* 2010: 279). With its technological success and worldwide empire, Britain became the workshop of the world.

Nonetheless, the Cotton Famine caused widespread unemployment in Lancashire and Yorkshire; soup kitchens opened up across the region as poor law authorities struggled to provide adequate relief (Figure 12.8). Except for the Potteries, the study regions were less affected by the Cotton Famine and cold winters remained the driving force (Figure 12.9); poverty and hunger were never far away even in a strong economy. The deep recession of 1866-68 triggered a sharp disorder in London (Stedman Jones 2013: 242) and increase in reported soup kitchen activity everywhere despite a warmer winter. However, the regularity of soup kitchen activity belies undercurrents and changes in policy in

the years leading up to the crusade which are only visible when we dig below the surface.

Tyneside

At first glance, Tyneside's poor appear well-cared for: the GSK and Gateshead Soup Kitchen opened every winter from 1850/51 to 1870/71 except 1858/59. North Shields' Victoria Soup Kitchen operated slightly less frequently, but Newcastle-upon-Tyne's parish soup kitchens were hardly ever reported open. Only St Andrew's opened more than three times in 20 winters (Figure 4.10).

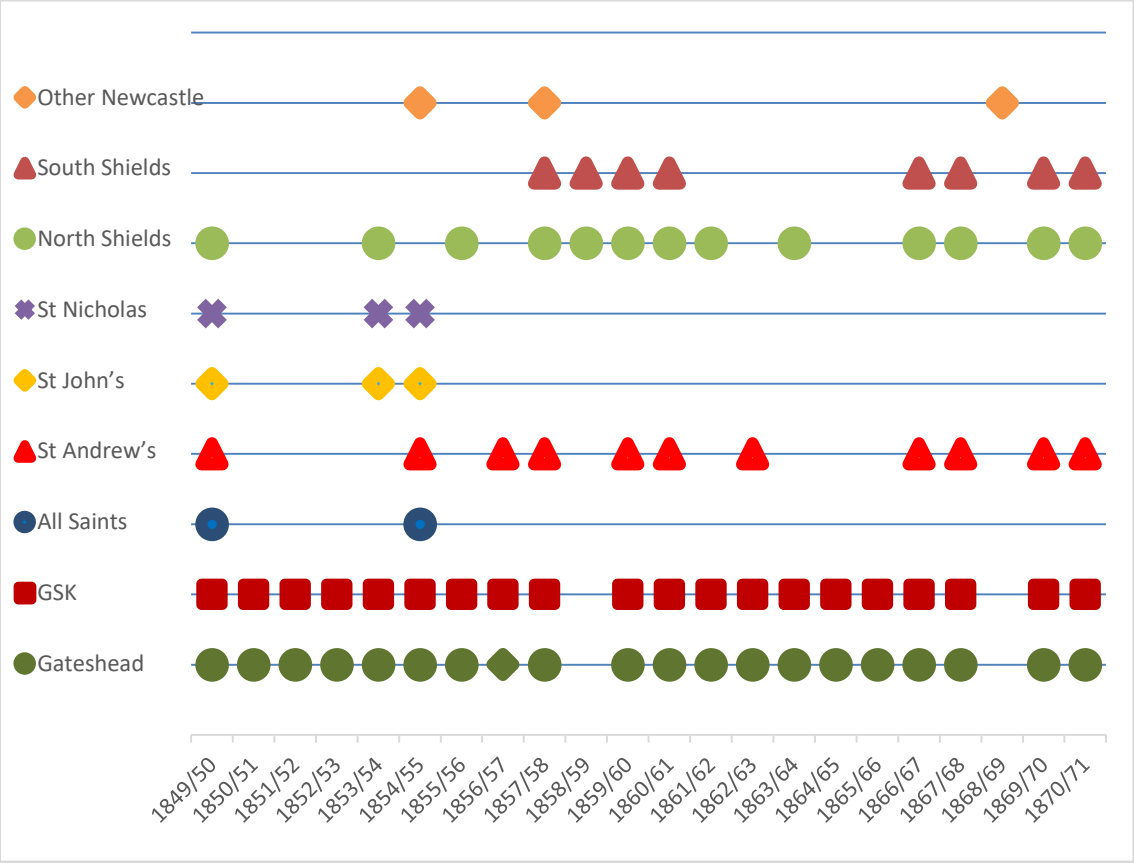


Figure 4.10. Tyneside soup kitchen openings 1849/50-1870/71.

The supply of soup was all too often:

> 'insufficient to supply the numerous applicants, many of whom, after waiting outside, perhaps bareheaded and barefooted, for an hour, or an hour and a half, had to go away unsupplied' (NC 9/2/1855: 2).

Shortages became almost routine at Tyneside soup kitchens (NC. 8/2/1856: 8; NDC 10/1/1861: 2; NJ 20/1/1864: 2, 10/2/1865: 2). Only nine similar instances were reported in the other study regions throughout the entire nineteenth century. The GSK increased its daily output to 600 gallons in 1855 but returned to producing 500 gallons between 1860 and February 1864. On Mondays it usually made between 200 and 300 gallons (perhaps expecting the poor to have money left from the previous week to buy food elsewhere) (TWA.CHX3/1/2). Towards the end of each winter, it reduced its daily output. Funds may have been short or demand may have fallen (if demand-was falling, the poor were clearly not as feckless or pauperised as the COS later thought). With only the GSK and St Andrew's open, fewer than 4,000 could have received soup after 1855, around 4% of the population, much lower than before 1851.

The soup kitchens were also slower to open, even when the poor were in desperate straits. In the winter of 1852/53, the GSK and Gateshead Soup Kitchen remained closed as 'the need was not great' until, during a very cold spell, hungry crowds besieged the soup kitchens and forced a climb-down (NGM 20/12/1852: 5, 19/2/1853: 1; NC 25/2/1853: 8).

The poor could exercise agency either by being disruptive, as now, or by loafing; the middle class did not like to see groups of unemployed men standing around in public (Goffman 1963: 57; KSC 2/2/1887: 3). The threat of disorder might elicit a swift response, but not necessarily of the desired sort, so the poor had to

appear to be deserving. Their 'very appearance [was]... a sufficient guarantee' of the decision to give them alms (WFP 19/1/1861: 4). Eliciting charity required some skill. Begging was technically an offence and, in the eyes of some, asking was evidence of being undeserving (James 4.3). The truly deserving did 'not like to parade their poverty' and so refrained from seeking soup tickets (SEG 3/1/1860: 5). The charitable regularly fretted that those genuinely deserving soup were overlooked in favour of the more assertive (SA 6/1/1855: 8; SS 15/3/1879: 8; HA 6/1/1877: 5; HA 4/12/1880: 4; Figure 6.35). In many situations, the poor therefore had to conceal their agency to benefit from this part of the makeshift economy.

St Andrew's Soup Kitchen opened more frequently than the other parish soup kitchens, but it too paraded its parsimony. Despite protestations, it closed before winter unemployment had abated, having spent only £75 of the £125 raised in subscriptions (NC 9/4/1858: 2). Although subscriptions had been 'liberal', soup distribution was not.

Outsiders encountered long-standing administrative hostility, particularly the Scots and Irish, who were 'encouraged' to leave town and denied outdoor relief and parish charity. Only when death resulted were concerns raised (McCord 1969: 105; NC 3/1/1840: 2). George Grey, assistant overseer of All Saints since 1840, probably the George Grey who served on the GSK's committee until 1850, identified two sorts of Scots and Irish: those who worked regularly in local industry and others who were unwilling to engage in regular employment, often itinerant agricultural workers (SCPR 1855: 29-49). If this second sort applied for outdoor relief, they were given a full day's stone-breaking, the workhouse or were deported. The further north in England the Irish or Scots were, the less likely

they were to get outdoor relief (Snell 2006: 323ff). By the 1860s, the soup kitchens were being blamed for the presence of the Irish and Scots and increasing poor rates, pauperism and illegitimacy (NJ 23/10/1863: 3).

The guardians routinely refused to give outdoor relief to non-residents and the able-bodied poor (NGM 28/8/1852: 5, 11/9/1852: 5, 9/10/1852: 8). Consequently, Newcastle's Indigent Sick Society had to provide assistance including GSK soup-tickets due to 'great suffering and starvation' (NJ 12/3/1853: 8, 16/4/1853: 5). If paupers were fortunate enough to receive any assistance, most still got outdoor relief (Snell 2006: 320, 336) but the labour test effectively excluded many (SCPR 1855: 37).

In 1865, four days after the committee had finally agreed to open the GSK, admitting that they should have done so a month sooner, Ann Buchanan (probably Scottish) collapsed on leaving the GSK and died from 'intemperate habits and want of food' (NJ 10/2/1865: 8; NC 10/2/1865: 8). The previous week, a shoemaker had died of starvation in Pandon (NDC 28/1/1865: 3). 'Starvation, absolute destitution and tragic deaths' (Long 1999: 121) and high mortality (Rowe 1990: 458) occurred on Tyneside throughout the nineteenth century but the timing of these deaths and their proximity to the GSK demonstrate the importance of its soup.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne's Corporation was becoming indifferent to hunger. It had donated up to £100 annually to the GSK, but in 1853 it declined a request for £25 (NC 1/4/1853: 3). Three years later, a motion to donate £100 was dropped in face of opposition (NC 19/12/1856: 3) and blocked on procedural grounds three weeks later (NJ 3/1/1857: 5); it eventually passed. St Andrew's Soup Kitchen suffered

similarly in 1863 when the council rebuffed its entreaties but gave money to the GSK (NJ 9/1/1863: 2); the Corporation later relented following press criticism.

The GSK often struggled to raise sufficient subscriptions and nearly ran out of money (NJ 2/2/1856: 8; NC 15/1/1858: 2; TWA/CHX3/1/1: 12/2/1866, 7/2/1868). Antipathy toward charity for the poor was growing. Unsubstantiated stories of abuse and imposition were reported, such as a Quayside pub allegedly reselling the soup and a lady feeding her cats and dogs with the soup (NC 23/12/1859: 5) (a regular newspaper anecdote, for example, DTCP 18/1/1851: 6; Figure 5.13).

The proportion receiving soup in these decades was smaller than in the 1840s, despite Tyneside's population increasing by over 20% each decade and fewer soup kitchens being open. There was a perception that Newcastle's strong economy could provide employment for all the labouring poor. However, the repeated stories of insufficient soup and starvation indicate that hunger was never far away and that deprivation was used to motivate the poor to find work. The authorities tried to prevent what had been emergency provision from becoming a permanent part of the welfare economy. The Freemen and Borough Holders of Gateshead provided perhaps the most eloquent testimony to Tyneside attitudes to the poor when deciding to give £5 to Gateshead Soup Kitchen and £5 for buying a gold chain for the mayor's watch (NC 14/2/1851: 4).

Northumberland

Hexham and Alnwick soup kitchens were open regularly. Berwick, with its neighbours, Spittal and Tweedmouth, were regularly reported only in the 1860s and later, probably due to the absence of local newspapers (Figure 5.5). Berwick

stories were hardly ever reported outside the immediate area (Table 12.27), but when Berwick newspapers are available, soup kitchens were reported. In Morpeth, a soup kitchen did not open between 1861 and 1867 (MH 26/1/1867: 3). Morpeth Union was a coal mining area enabling it to spend less *per capita* on outdoor relief than its neighbours, Hexham, Alnwick and Berwick, despite minimising use of its workhouse and soup kitchen. Nevertheless, 93% of its poor rates still went on outdoor relief between 1849 and 1875 (Table 12.62).

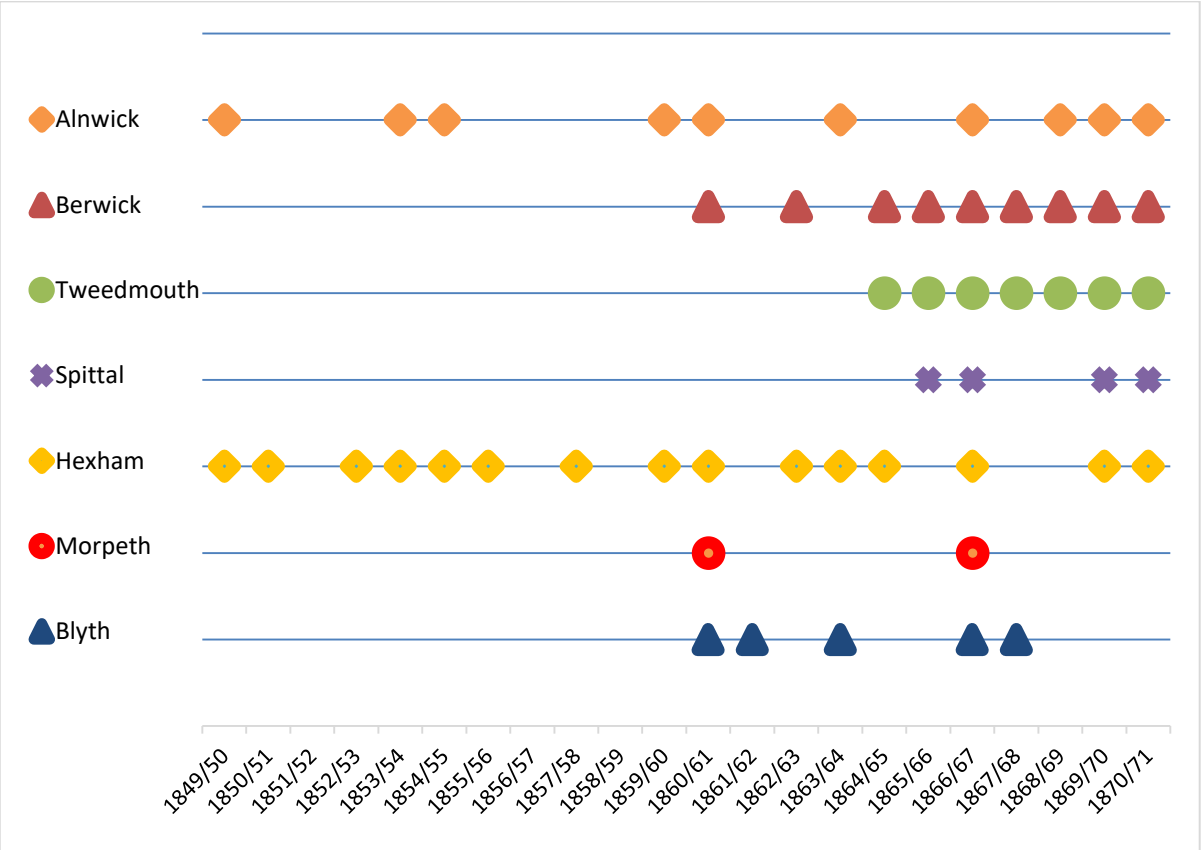


Figure 4.11. Northumberland principal soup kitchen openings 1849/50-1870/71 (Blyth was in Tynemouth Union).

The further north a union was in Northumberland, the more it spent on relief (Table 12.62) and the less its population was growing. The same north-south gradient is visible in the proportion of the local population receiving soup. In 1861, Tyneside soup kitchens were providing only around 3% of the population

with soup whereas Berwick, Hexham and Morpeth (when it was open) were serving 9-12% of the population and Alnwick was serving about 30% (Table 12.28). The actual number in Hexham receiving soup was probably higher, or its servings were double the size of Morpeth's. Tyneside soup kitchens regularly fell short of demand as did Morpeth's (MH 26/1/1867: 3).

Staffordshire

Soup kitchens in Staffordshire opened less than elsewhere in the study regions. The Potteries (Burslem, Fenton, Hanley, Longton, Stoke-upon-Trent and Tunstall) and the towns in Birmingham's orbit (Walsall Wolverhampton, Bilston and Dudley) only provided soup through relief-funds during years of crisis (Figure 5.6). Lack of experience and facilities caused problems for these relief funds when they decided to provide soup. Wolverhampton's first batch of soup was inedible and then, as thousands fought to get food, the crush resulted in injuries despite a police presence (WCSA 28/2/1855: 4). Walsall struggled to find 'a place suited to the preparation of soup' (WFP 19/1/1861: 4).

Burslem's 1855 relief fund denied soup to those in receipt of outdoor relief (SA 17/2/1855: 8); seven years later, the local guardians assisted with processing applications for soup (SA 4/1/1862: 5). Relief funds gave the bulk of their aid in groceries, coal and bread; soup often formed a small proportion of the overall expenditure (for example, SA 16/8/1862: 1). Industrial workers may have been less willing to accept paupers' rations, even when unemployed.

Lichfield, Stafford and Tamworth, places without such large-scale industry, all had more regular soup kitchens. Thomas Salt, a banker, founded Stafford's soup kitchen as part of a 'house of charity' that provided lodging, clothing, and food to

the poor, with an area to sit and eat. Salt's son, Sir Thomas Salt MP, handed the institution over to a committee in 1865 which then ran the institution on a subscription basis (SA 11/2/1865: 4). In 1868 it limited its ambition to soup (SA 5/12/1868: 4). It opened all year unlike most other soup kitchens (SA 24/1/1891: 5); its premises remain in use today as a restaurant called The Soup Kitchen. Burton-on-Trent also appears to have had a long-running soup kitchen but it is barely mentioned (BuC 18/11/1869: 4).

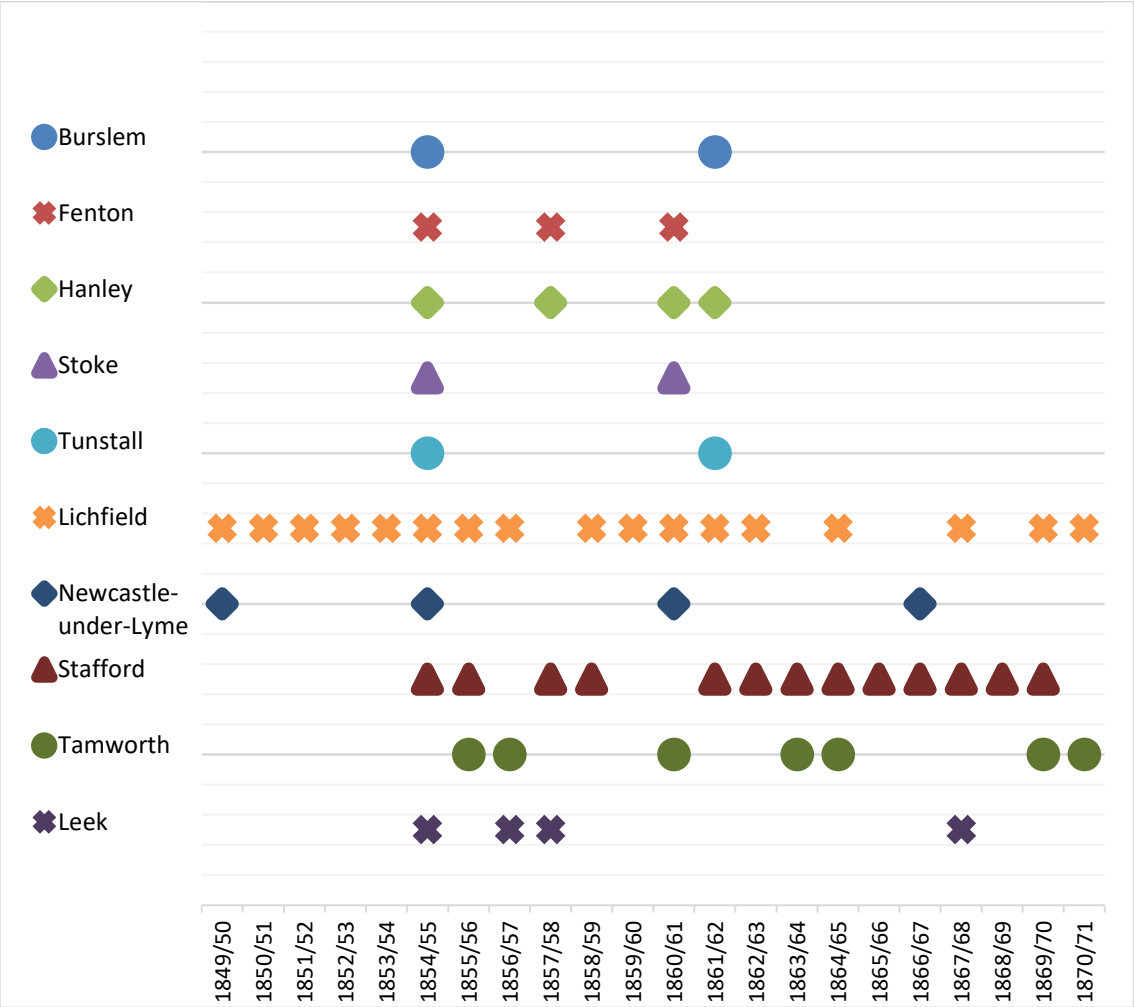


Figure 4.12. Staffordshire principal soup kitchen openings 1849/50-1870/71.

Kent

North and east Kent were well-furnished with soup kitchens which opened annually from the 1850s (Figure 5.7). Francis Cobb, brewer and leading citizen,

started Margate's soup kitchen in the later 1840s. Cobb handed the institution, together with a new building, to the town corporation in 1861 (KG 8/1/1861: 4). Wreight's Charity and Faversham Benevolent Institution, which had been running a soup kitchen since at least 1832, built their permanent soup kitchen in 1852 (KG 21/9/1852: 3). Ramsgate and Deal also built new soup kitchens (KG 1/1/1850: 4; SEG 30/12/1851: 5; DTCP 8/1/1848: 8).

Henry Berkowitz, who ran the Jewish school and Synagogue at the old Tivoli Hotel, Gravesend, began serving soup to the town's poor using the school's canteen in late 1860 (Brown 1996: 129) before going on to organise two long-running soup kitchens, one in Gravesend and one in Northfleet. Berkowitz helped found the Gravesend Provident Relief Society, ostensibly a self-help organisation, which organised the **Ragged School** and soup kitchen. Factional fighting within the committee led to the founding of the second soup kitchen. Berkowitz was also an active member of the local Mendicity Society, formed by General Gordon in 1869.

Sandwich Soup Kitchen opened in 1860 (SEG 3/1/1860: 5). Canterbury had a patchwork of under-reported parish soup kitchens (SEG 16/2/1864: 5; WTHBH 31/12/1870: 4). Maidstone started a series of short-lived initiatives from the mid-1850s but in 1867 opened a large municipal soup kitchen at the public baths (MJKA 21/1/1867: 5). Ashford relied on various *ad hoc* initiatives until the town's benevolent fund established a regular soup kitchen in 1867.

Once formed, the majority of these institutions operated for the rest of the century, often with purpose-built premises or a long-standing presence in one place. They became part of the landscape, signifying a local culture of charity.

Margate, Sandwich, and St Peter's-in-Thanet soup kitchens expressly emulated Ramsgate (SEG 27/12/1859: 4, 3/1/1860: 5; KG 27/12/1859). The growth in number of soup kitchens and continuing seasonal poverty in rural areas, like Cranbrook or Tenterden, indicate that the labour supply in agriculture was not as balanced as Armstrong (1995: 267) claims; winter unemployment was as routine as soup. Industrial areas of Kent provided less soup (Table 12.22, Table 12.23). Across Kent around 10% of the population was receiving soup in the 1860s.

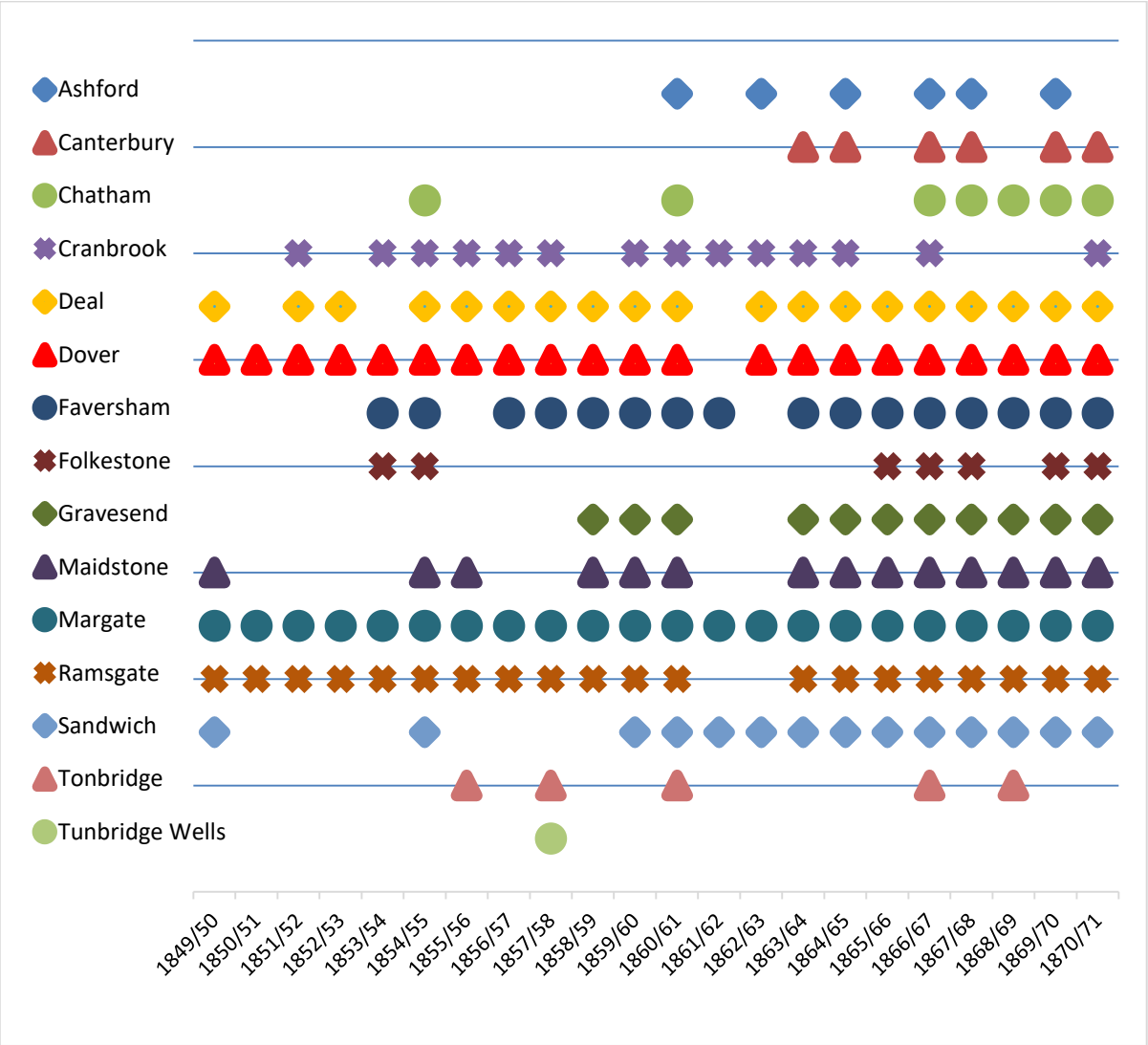


Figure 4.13. Kent large town soup kitchen reported openings 1849/50-1870/71.

Buckinghamshire

Between 1851 and 1871, only Chesham was regularly reported as having a soup kitchen (Figure 5.12). It was perhaps more dependent on its declining straw-plait industry. Newspapers suggest that other places had institutions that often went unreported. The *Bucks Advertiser and Aylesbury News* mourned the absence of a soup kitchen (presumably in Aylesbury), saying it had been the 'annual custom', for district-canvassers and tradesmen to fundraise (quoted in SEG 7/12/1852: 6); yet other local papers only report Aylesbury's soup fund in 1841 and 1847. It was '*customary* for ladies of [Stony Stratford] parish to distribute soup to poor' (CWS 4/2/1865: 4) and Thomas Tyrwhitt-Drake distributed soup from Shardeloes, Amersham, with 'accustomed liberality' (BH 19/01/1856: 5). In Amersham, the town's soup kitchen was run by Thomas Tyrwhitt-Drake's wife and sister-in-law; its soup was described as 'much improved' (suggesting it had previously served inferior soup). The soup kitchen fed 125 families and Thomas fed 25 families (BH 29/12/1855: 3; 16/2/1856: 5; BCh 5/3/1856: 2). Thomas, representing the old moral economy, provided 50% more soup per family than the town's subscription charity. Soup distributions are not mentioned again until Thomas's grandson distributed soup in 1896 (SBS 7/2/1896: 5).

High Wycombe's soup kitchen was unpopular: the poor said that they could make better soup themselves. Two local residents, widow Varley and 'sausage-maker Barge', actually did make better soup and provided it free whereas the 'charity' sold soup (BCh 13/2/1858: 3, 4). In Eton and Buckingham soup kitchens were only occasionally reported.

After the late-1860s soup kitchens became more widespread in the county (Figure 5.12). When data are available before 1870, 10-15% of the local population were receiving soup (Table 12.35).

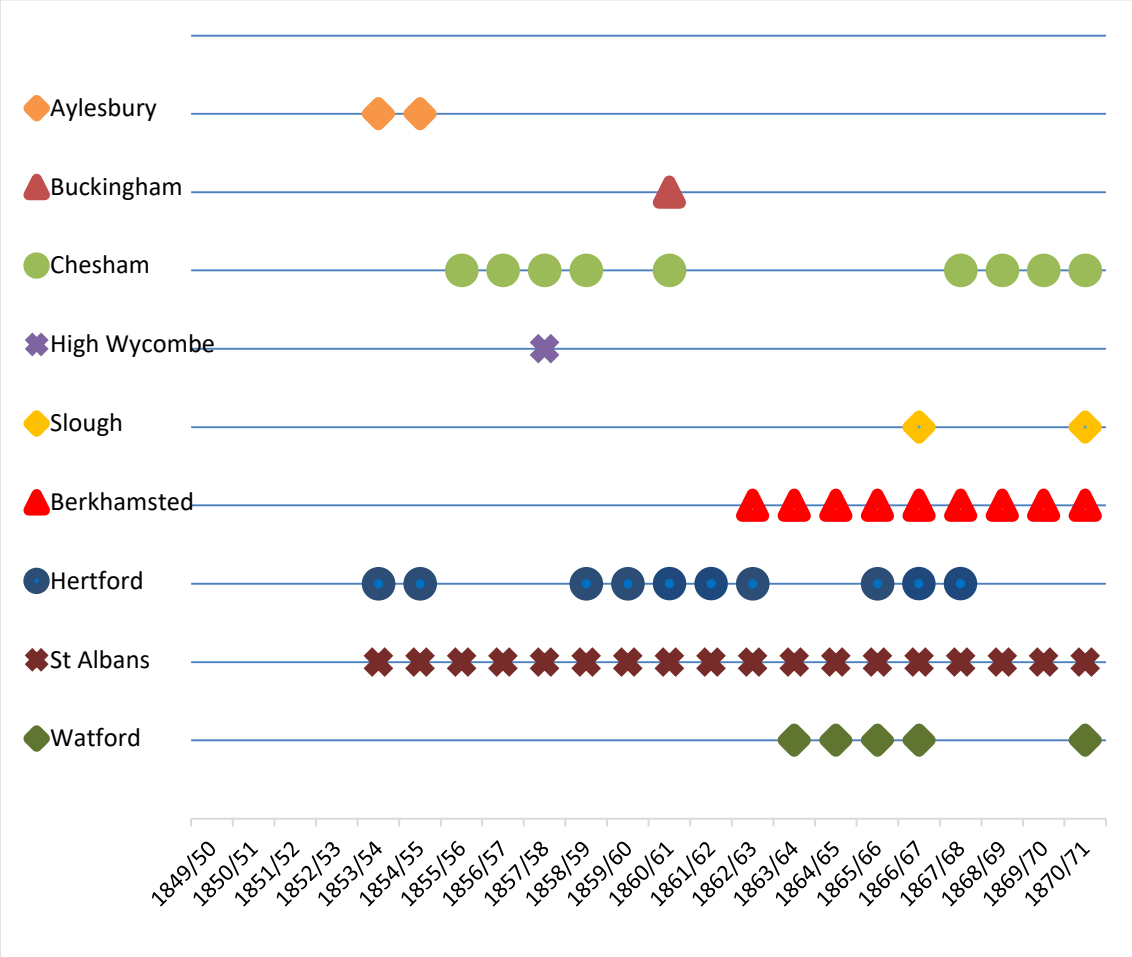


Figure 4.14. Major town soup kitchens in Buckinghamshire (Aylesbury to Slough) and Hertfordshire (Berkhamsted to Watford) reported open between 1849/50-1913/14. The difference between the two counties is noticeable. Berkhamsted was also probably open between 1850 and 1861.

Hertfordshire

Hertfordshire had more active urban soup kitchens than Buckinghamshire. Between 1853/54 and 1870/71, at least three of Hertfordshire's eight largest towns had busy and regular soup kitchens, St Albans, Hertford and Berkhamsted, (Figure 5.12). Hertfordshire already had stringent poor relief policies; soup

kitchens and straw-plaiting probably played a role in preserving life while maintaining lower relief expenditure.

St Albans Union had little spare workhouse capacity for seasonal or economic downturns and never provided outdoor relief to the able-bodied (Rothery 2016: 293). St Albans' Soup Kitchen opened every year from 1853/54 until the 1890s. Over 10% of St Albans' population attended the soup kitchen (Table 12.39). Each of the three parishes was allotted a half-hour serving time, with leftover soup sold to those without tickets (HM 04/01/1862: 3; HA 25/12/1869: 5, 28/12/1872: 5). Reasons for opening the soup kitchen were rarely given, but when they were, it was severe weather and depression in trade (for example, HM 17/2/1855: 3 HG 19/1/1867: 4), and once widespread sickness (HG 28/11/1857: 4).

Hertford's three parishes and the Liberty of Brickendon had soup kitchens. These served a significant proportion of the local population (Table 12.35, Table 12.36). The Brickendon Soup Fund soon switched to providing subsidised bread instead of soup (HM 03/03/1855: 2, 3, 9/2/1856: 3), but in 1868/69 a 'benevolent parishioner' resumed regular soup delivery (HM 2/1/1869: 2). Having three distinct soup kitchens without a permanent location may have prevented Hertford's soup kitchens from developing an institutional identity, unlike St Albans, and so they opened less frequently.

In 1858/59 Hertford's parish soup kitchens were joined by the Ann Dimsdale Charity, established in 1832 by Ann's will, to provide tea, sugar and soup to workhouse inmates (HG 19/3/1859: 3). Its soup was politically-flavoured. Baron Dimsdale, Ann's son and probably trustee, was standing (unsuccessfully) for election to Parliament (he succeeded in 1866). Hertford had a large number of

voters who would have become disenfranchised on receiving poor relief. The Baron seems to have diverted the charity's funds to finance soup, possibly as early as 1836. The Dimsdale Charity continued providing soup most winters at least once a week until 1898, when the then Dimsdale heir and trustee challenged the validity of the charitable trust (HM 19/4/1913: 6).

Berkhamsted's Soup House opened regularly between 1841 and Countess Bridgewater's death in 1849 (BH 3/3/1849: 6); it is not mentioned in newspapers again until 1863 when it began publicising the gift of bread from Balshaw's Charity. After 1863, it and Balshaw's gift were reported every winter until after 1896/97 when it disappeared without trace. Weather, general unemployment and, in 1868, a depression in the straw-plait industry (BH 25/01/1868: 7) were again the reasons given for opening.

Large proportions of Berkhamsted's and Hertford's populations were in receipt of soup; somewhat fewer in St Albans received soup (Table 12.36, Table 12.39, Table 12.40).

f. Soup, charity and outdoor relief

Soup kitchens emphasised that they fed the industrious poor, the labouring poor, the necessitous poor, unemployed workmen but usually not paupers or mendicants. Their main target was the unskilled working poor whose employment was vulnerable to bad weather. These poor were less eligible, ineligible or unwilling to apply for outdoor relief under the NPL, but dependent on the makeshift economy. For historians of poverty, these poor often fall outside, or on the margins of, the voluminous poor law documentation. This

research illuminates a significant part of the makeshift economy that such people needed to exploit to survive.

The numbers of soup-recipients between 1840 and 1860 are significant, particularly outside the industrial Midlands and Northeast. As poverty affected people at different points during their lifecycle (Tomkins and King 2003: 7), it is likely that a larger proportion of the population than the 10-20% who attended soup kitchens in any one year needed soup kitchen charity at some point.

The growth in soup kitchen numbers gathered pace following the NPL's implementation. Charity and Poor Law were not mutually exclusive, particularly in smaller communities where those administering the NPL and parish charities were often the same people. Personal ties enabled co-operation between the two. F. Dickins Esq, guardian in Malling Union, organised West Malling Soup Kitchen with the church wardens (MT 18/12/1869: 5). Soup kitchens, however, maintained the parish relationships between poor and affluent that the increasing centralisation of the NPL had begun to dissolve. The moral economy did not disappear in the nineteenth century but was adopted by the middle class and adapted to become subscription charity,

The relationship between the NPL and charity tended to be a one-way street. Hexham's guardians encouraged the soup kitchen to open when their caseload got too great (NC 28/12/1855: 6). When Berwick's guardians asked the town meeting to open the soup kitchen, the committee objected that three quarters of the potential soup-recipients were outdoor paupers, and so the guardians' responsibility. Their soup was intended for those unemployed due to the bad weather (IBJ 15/1/1869: 4). Ultimately, the committee relented and

acknowledged that outdoor relief was insufficient, and distinguishing between 'legitimate' recipients and the 'ineligible' was too difficult. Subscribers did not like to feel they were being exploited by the guardians and those rate-payers who did not subscribe. Charity was a virtue not an obligation.

The churchwardens and overseers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne's parishes regularly subscribed to the town's soup kitchens. The subscriptions of £2 to £20 were small in comparison to the parish's weekly outdoor relief bill, which might be £100 (£1 would finance about 200 quarts of soup). The subscriptions sometimes came from charitable funds, but also appear to have come from poor law funds. They continued from 1820 until 1871 (the latest point at which subscriber lists for the GSK are available in the database). The GSK minutes record supplying district relieving-officers with soup-tickets in 1887 (TWA/CHX3/1/3). These subscriptions were probably used to relieve casual paupers and to pay 'necessitous labourers' engaged on workfare projects (NC 12/3/1858: 8), not as regular outdoor relief. Newcastle-upon-Tyne's guardians had objected to the 1852 ORRO, which required a proportion of outdoor relief to be given in kind, as it was 'fraught with harshness and injustice' (NGM 20/10/1852: 3).

Few other subscriber lists are available, but Chatham's guardians provided a room in their High Street office for nearly 500 poor to eat soup in (they ate in shifts) although there was some grumbling that the guardians should be paying for all the relief, not the relief fund (CN 1/1/1870: 3, 4). Gravesend guardians bought soup-tickets for use as relief-in-kind too (GRNK 25/2/1865: 5). Poorhouses and workhouses also sometimes housed soup kitchens.

A well-run soup kitchen was often seen as preferable to poor relief: it could take the pressure off the union and enhance the standing of donors. There was some gratitude for charity, less for outdoor relief, which the poor perceived as a right, however diminished. Soup prevented West Malling's 'deserving, hard-working poor [from] having to obtain assistance from the parish' (MT 18/12/1869: 5). By running West Malling's soup kitchen, Mr Dickins one of the guardians, could earn esteem for doing voluntarily what could have caused resentment had he done it as his legal duty. Both the guardians and the poor could save face. The organisers of Lichfield's soup kitchen pleaded with the public to subscribe to reduce its poor rate and enable the poor to survive the winter without going on the parish (SA 1/12/1855: 4). Three days of soup and bread might cost 9d, if the recipient paid towards the price, as most did, whereas a week of minimal outdoor relief might be twice that plus administration expenses. As outdoor relief became more restricted and politically-charged, so the importance of soup kitchens in the mixed economy of welfare grew.

By 1850, earlier in the Northeast, an *ad hoc* solution to crisis became formalised as philanthropists used soup to exert influence and establish their position. Kent developed a culture of institutional charity. Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire took a while to catch up. Staffordshire was less enthusiastic, particularly in the industrial towns, which were largely set against soup kitchens.

Roberts (1979: 129) treated the paternalistic mid-nineteenth-century charity, with its soup kitchens, coal clubs and blanket funds, as homogenous. The newspaper reports use superficially similar language, but this hides significant diversity. Two neighbouring counties, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, with broadly similar climate, geology and economy were surprisingly different in their

adoption of soup kitchens. Even within one county, neighbouring towns performed charity in their individual ways. Local charities were anything but homogeneous.

In the culture of reform and improvement, the middle class were more willing to organise or subscribe (Roberts 2004) even if soup kitchens never really fitted in with the reformist agenda. They did not make the poor more frugal and, except for the Mendicity Society's introduction of a labour test in London, food rarely imposed discipline on the poor (Roberts 1991: 220, 225). The portrayal of poverty and the harshness of the NPL in novels, art and news media may have disposed readers and viewers to act more charitably, despite artists' reliance on stereotypes and stock-in-trade images to depict the poor (Lees 1998: 131; Cowling 1989; Wolff and Fox 1973: 568ff). Sympathetic portrayal did not address the underlying causes or growing problems of hunger, health and sanitation.

The link between soup kitchens and the NPL was a complex one. They were not a direct answer to the austerity that Poor Law Commissioners sought to use to discipline the poor, but they were a response to the NPL's shortcomings. There are never references to soup kitchens opening because outdoor relief was unavailable, but there was clearly an emerging class of pauper who needed the extra help that soup kitchens provided, to avoid destitution and even starvation.

The hostility to charity for the poor, perceptible in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, came to the fore more widely in the 1870s as the COS launched its crusade, as we will see in the next chapter. Soup kitchens had failed to improve the poor, and they undermined the workhouse as a rod of discipline.

5. 1870-1914: the crusade and after

Figure 5.1. The Model Soup Kitchen, Euston, London (CA 2/1871: 122). It 'attracted… a constant crowd of beggars around its door' (COS 1887: 6).

a. Introduction

Soup kitchens that issued tickets to subscribers produced one of the 'worst evils of the present day' according to the COS (COS 1887: 6), referring to Euston's Model Soup Kitchen (Figure 5.1). Missions and parish soup kitchens were almost as harmful and could produce 'evil consequences', even if district-visitors distributed soup-tickets (COS 1871: 4). The COS grudgingly acknowledged that invalid dinner-tables (refectories for the sick) might be beneficial only if they were temporary. Soup kitchens 'disturbed' the COS by weakening the duty of parents by providing food to their families (Mowat 1961: 53, 75); they epitomised the very worst in indiscriminate charity, foreshadowing the collapse of the British Empire, just as bread and circuses had condemned ancient Rome to decline (COS 1871: 8).

Were soup kitchens doing something different in 1871 from what they had done in 1801 or 1851? Why did the COS focus its ire on soup kitchens? Was its long-running campaign successful? Charity was not as amenable to authority's edicts as poor law officials. Soup kitchens are an ideal yardstick, since the COS devoted two major reports to the subject in their first two decades of existence (nothing else got this level of attention). The background to the COS and the crusade are covered in Chapter 2.

<u>Background</u>

After recovering from the 1868 recession, England entered a 20-year period during which industry and agriculture were afflicted with decreasing profitability, falling prices and greater competition from abroad. Unemployment among skilled workers was about 1% higher during 1874-95 than earlier, but coal, iron,

engineering and shipbuilding (the mainstay of the Northeast) suffered far greater unemployment, particularly during 1873, 1886 and 1893 (Musson 1959: 202). Unionised employees suffered 10% unemployment during this period (Lees 1998: 184). Lower food prices and rising wages benefitted those in employment (Musson 1959: 200) but were less beneficial for the marginally employed, unemployed and destitute, who missed any real improvement in living standards (Lees 1998: 240, MacKinnon 1986: 334). Farmers suppressed attempts by farmworkers to unionise, but had to contend with bad weather which bankrupted many cereal farmers in the South and East and reduced landowners' income (Mingay 1990: 63). The returns from arable farming in Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Kent fell by between 16% and 19% (Thompson 1991b: 233).

As the crusade waned in the late 1880s, the Third Reform Acts (1884/85) and the Local Government Act (1894) gave many more men greater power to reform the welfare sphere in their interests rather than those of the landowners (all women and 40% of men remained without votes). How did soup kitchens respond to the demands of the newly-enfranchised who favoured welfare rights over traditional charity?

The crusade

There was a marked drop in newspaper reports of soup kitchens operating nationally and in the study regions in 1871/72 and the following two winters (Figure 12.10, Figure 12.11), but these were warmer than average and the economy was initially strong. The pattern of soup kitchen activity, increasing as the weather got colder and decreasing in warmer winters, mirrored the previous two decades, so it is unlikely that the COS was responsible for this decline. Activity revived in recessions and the cold winters of 1874/75 and 1877/78 to

1880/81. It is not until 1896 that newspaper reports of soup kitchen decline greatly. After 1899, the link between cold weather and soup kitchens appears to weaken and recession becomes the important factor.

The crusade dramatically reduced the numbers nationally receiving outdoor relief (Williams 1981: 145, 164). Snell suggested that welfare spending levels in 1875 were 'corrective' of the higher levels of relief during the crisis years of the mid-1860s, although there were unions that were undeniably harsh in their 'crusading' (Snell 2006: 264). In 1875, the average union spent 65% of its relief budget on outdoor relief and the median spent 74% (Snell 2006: 234, 288); the crusade did not end outdoor relief.

The local impact of the crusade on eligibility for outdoor relief set the parameters for charitable endeavour (Lees 1998: 259); the reverse is also true as poor law officials were keen to exhaust other welfare resources such as family and charity before using rate-payers' money. So charity might step in, if outdoor relief was withdrawn, or outdoor relief might be withdrawn if charity were perceived as being able to fill the gap. The COS were not sympathetic to charity in either situation.

Table 12.61 to Table 12.66 show how much outdoor relief spending changed between 1860 and 1875 in the unions of each study region. Making comparisons after 1878 is not possible using LGB data. The poor law data are for whole unions whereas charities usually operated at parish or town level; only in places like Newcastle-upon-Tyne did the poor law boundaries correspond to the boundaries of the charitable part of the makeshift economy.

Tyneside unions all spent less proportionately on outdoor relief in 1875 and much less *per capita*; Gateshead was nevertheless criticised for being too generous with outdoor relief (Gregson 1985: 107). In Northumberland, of the unions where there were regular soup kitchens, Alnwick and Berwick made some reductions on outdoor relief spending and *per capita* spending, Hexham spent less *per capita* but did not alter the balance of its spending. Morpeth made no changes.

Staffordshire shows a mixed picture; spending on outdoor relief was already very low, so even those unions which showed *increased* spending in 1875 were still spending far less on outdoor relief than other unions in the study counties. Only West Bromwich and Tamworth energetically took up the crusade.

In Hertfordshire, already a low outdoor relief county, evidence for crusading is limited, except for Hertford. Only Hertford, Watford and Ware unions made significant reductions in outdoor relief expenditure (Table 11.41). Other unions with a declining straw-plait industry had less scope for making further spending reductions.

Eton, Newport Pagnell, Winslow and Aylesbury unions in Buckinghamshire made some cuts in outdoor relief spending, but the rest of the county did not; again the decline of cottage industries might have made greater austerity hard to impose, particularly in Amersham union (a centre of straw-plait and lace-making).

Kent presents a variegated patchwork of unions, ranging from ones that cut spending to 50% of what it had been in 1860 to others that made no change. Most unions already had fairly low expenditure, particularly Maidstone and the coastal

unions (Snell 2006: 229; Table 12.64). The more populous areas amongst these cut *per capita* spending, except unions bordering London.

We will start our tour of the study regions in Tyneside and Northumberland where the crusade had the greatest and most consistent effect. The region did not suffer from over-generous outdoor relief or charity before the 1870s. The findings provide a new perspective on the regionally diverse branches of the COS and novel insights into the different cultures of charity that were emerging across England.

The crusade against soup kitchens?

The COS began early in Newcastle-upon-Tyne: a public lecture in July 1869 advocated that true Christians should establish a mendicity society to attack the evils of drink and indiscriminate charity (NDC 2/7/1869: 4). The following January, the Society for the Organisation of Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity in Newcastle (**Newcastle COS**) was duly established under the auspices of the mayor and leading inhabitants (NJ 12/1/1870: 4, 2/2/1870: 3). The Corporation provided a building at Austin Friars, in the Manors, in the 'immediate vicinity of the police station' where Newcastle COS ran a night-school for 'street Arabs' (children who roamed the streets of most Victorian cities) (NJ 12/3/1870: 3). This was almost next-door to the GSK.

Newcastle COS was not expressly opposed to soup kitchens, since it distributed some soup and bread, probably to 'vagrants' (it is unclear whether it made this soup or provided tickets to the GSK) (NC 16/2/1872: 5). It developed strong links to the GSK. The two organisations shared many supporters and the same treasurer, Thomas Hodgkin. Edward Richardson was a founder-member of

Newcastle COS (NJ 12/1/1870: 4) and also provided the GSK with a branch soup kitchen at his Elswick leatherworks (TWA/CHX3/1/3: 11/1/1878).

Newcastle COS claimed credit for reducing begging and poverty (NC 7/12/1877: 7) although it struggled to elicit the guardians' co-operation and to raise enough money. It found Newcastle's paupers to be particularly devious, with 'unscrupulous workmen' feeding their families at the soup kitchen (NJ 10/5/1870: 3, 10/1/1871: 3). From 1828 until 1870, the GSK had assumed that some of its clientele were working: its premises had a 'suitable room, fitted up with benches and forms' for 'parties who do not find it convenient to go home during work-hours' (NC 10/1/1845: 4). The able-bodied who could barely get by were now seen as unscrupulous, rather than prudently eking out their minimal earnings by exploiting the makeshift economy. Two hundred of Newcastle COS's first 300 cases were said to be imposters, undeserving or not appropriate for relief; only 30 were truly deserving (NC 16/2/1872: 5; Long 1999: 196).

In 1870/71, a harsh winter, the GSK committee were reluctant to open but finally expressed 'some regret' at not having opened sooner (TWA/CHX3/1/2: 29/12/1870). The GSK then remained closed from March 1871 until Christmas Eve 1874, when 'inclement weather' and 'slackness in local industries' persuaded the committee to re-open (NC 3/2/1871: 5, 25/12/1874: 5). The reluctance to open and the indifference to the poor, first apparent in the 1860s, were growing. A newspaper cutting in the GSK's minute book recorded:

> 'a great deal of existing poverty may be traced to a want of forethought, to improvidence and to intemperance' (TWA/CHX3/1/2: 22/12/1876).

Soup was thus allocated on the basis of moral character not hunger, reflecting the crusading view. The GSK rejected requests for soup to be served *gratis* because 'it would promote great dissatisfaction amongst the recipients' (TWA/CHX3/1/2: 10/1/1879). Soup and other forms of relief were suspended during a shipyard strike (SS 21/2/1879: 3). The *Newcastle Courant* stopped accepting subscriptions on behalf of the GSK (which it had done since 1797) (NC 4/1/1878: 4). The environment for charity was becoming increasingly hostile.

Redevelopment of Austin Friars in 1880 meant that the GSK and Newcastle COS needed to find new premises. The Corporation leased part of the development site to the GSK which managed to raise sufficient funds to build a state-of-the-art soup kitchen, completed in 1881, at a cost of about £900 with 600 gallons capacity (TWA/CHX3/1/3: 1/1/1901). Newcastle COS approached the GSK to use its new committee room (the outcome was not recorded) (TWA/CHX3/1/3: 8/4/1880). Hodgkin volunteered the services of Newcastle COS to weed out the 'vamped-up cases of distress' from relief-recipient lists (NJ 8/10/1884: 3). In 1887 Newcastle COS and district relieving-officers took control of the GSK's distribution of all soup-tickets, because they 'knew better' who was really deserving (the GSK had to refund at least one subscribing clergyman who wanted tickets) (TWA/CHX3/1/3: 18/1/1887).

The GSK only opened its new premises in five of the 12 winters after 1881; other Tyneside soup kitchens were closed in more winters after 1881 than they were open (Figure 5.2). When open, subscriptions barely covered the GSK's operating expenses at half its capacity. From 1886 onwards, the GSK committee debated about permanently closing the kitchen. In February 1888, the kitchen had insufficient supplies and so turned away hungry people (TWA/CHX3/1/3:

11/2/1888). In 1891 the committee decided not to open because the guardians and police reassured it that most of the current poverty was due to drink (TWA/CHX3/1/3: 29/4/1891). One newspaper cutting in the minutes commented that soup kitchens discouraged people from pursuing legitimate employment (TWA/CHX3/1/3: 1891). In the GSK's absence, St Jude's (a new parish just to the north-east) opened a soup kitchen, and cocoa rooms on nearby Pilgrim Street also provided soup and bread (NC 17/1/1891: 5, 24/1/1891: 5).

In 1892, the guardians advised the GSK not to open during an engineers' strike (the same had happened during strikes in 1879 and 1888). The GSK committee debated closing permanently and disposing of its assets. It justified this by alleging abuse of the kitchen by:

> 'people at the bottom of Pilgrim Street [who] had for weeks together kept their lodgers with the soup from the soup kitchen' (TWA/CHX3/1/3: 11/3/1892).

The committee did not investigate the alleged abuse which had happened under Newcastle COS's supervision. The GSK had not been open for 'weeks' at the time the allegation was made. Despite the negative reports, three days later it decided to open and rapidly raised £386 in subscriptions (TWA/CHX3/1/3: 14/3/1892): there was still considerable public sympathy. Within 45 minutes of opening, 200 gallons of soup were gone.

The story of lodging-houses selling on the soup as 'something special' was repeated at an 1893 meeting, although the kitchen had not been open for the previous 12 months. Residence in a lodging-house was enough to disqualify a pauper from poor relief (Lees 1998: 267); now it was sufficient to disqualify

someone from getting soup; the GSK was tainted by association. The committee decided to close permanently because of the perceived abuse and because the poor allegedly lived too far away to get there (an odd claim given that the committee had been complaining about local lodging-house residents getting soup) (TWA/CHX3/1/3: 15/3/1893). The closure marked the end of an era in which the Corporation and parishes had assisted in alleviating hunger and poverty, often grudgingly, for almost a century. By 1889 the last keelmen had stopped working on the Tyne (Rowe 1969: 127; Forster 1970: 10, 27); it is unlikely to be coincidental that shortly afterwards the GSK closed for good.

The soup output of the GSK did not decline obviously during the 1870s and it continued to run the St Andrew's Soup Kitchen on Back Lane, Gallowgate until 1875; after that it established branches in Richardson's leatherworks and in Ousburn which operated until 1881. The combined output was around 740 gallons or enough for about 3,000 people; by the 1890s output was 200 gallons. A much smaller proportion of Newcastle's population was getting soup compared to the previous decades. The other Tyneside soup kitchens tell a similar tale of decline and closure.

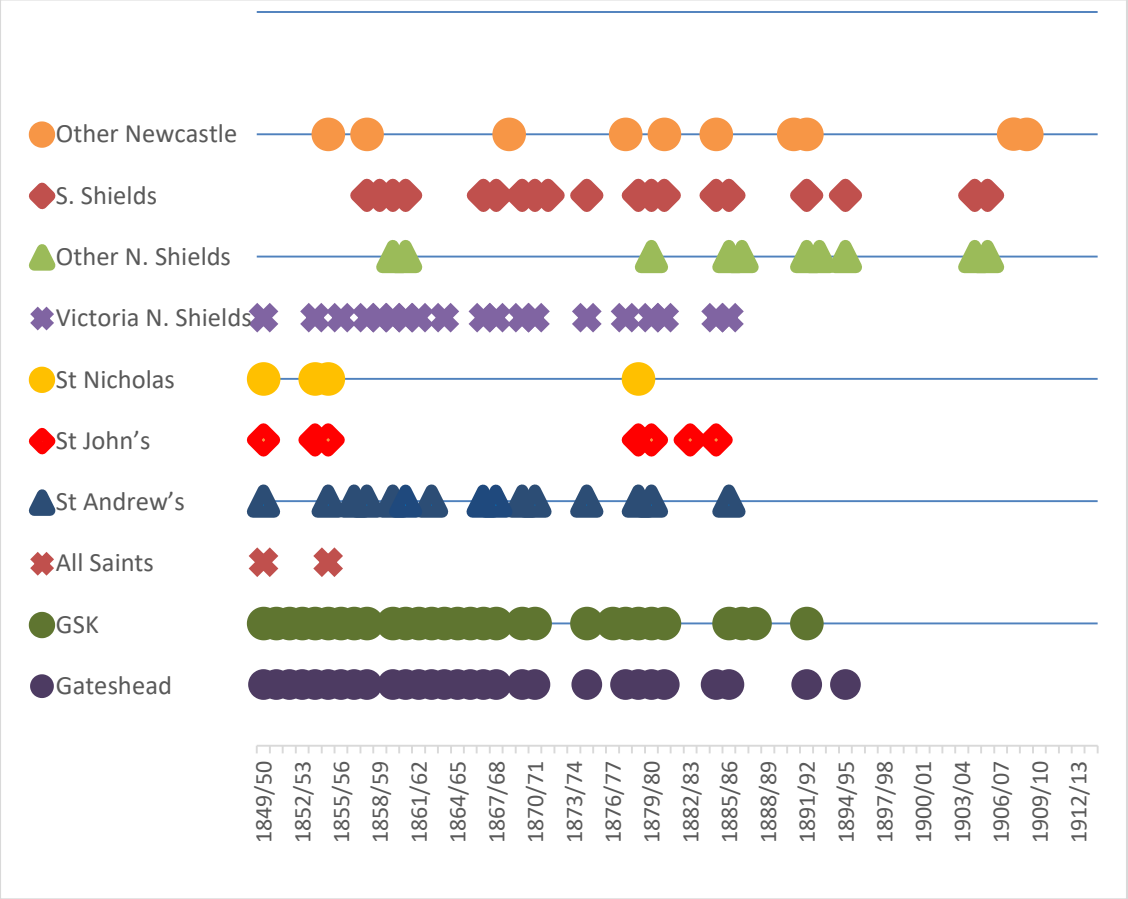


Figure 5.2. Tyneside principal soup kitchen openings 1849/50-1913/14.

Gateshead had a Mendicity Society (*contra* Gregson 1985: 103) which blamed its own severity on 'Newcastle people' who 'had determined upon a spare diet' for the poor: providing more would have lured vagrants across the Tyne (NJ 7/4/1870: 3). In 1881, Gateshead's Town Clerk opposed opening the soup kitchen, saying:

> '[there was not] a large amount of distress in the town, but there were cases of working men who had been out of work for some weeks, and their case was either starvation or a workhouse' (NC 28/1/1881: 4).

Reverend Moore Ede, rector of Gateshead, poor law guardian, pioneer of school dinners and a COS stalwart, persuaded the Gateshead Soup Kitchen to provide soup only at cost price abandoning subscriber-tickets (Moore Ede 1884; NC

24/10/1884: 2). Moore Ede then established a self-supporting soup kitchen in Gateshead in the basement of the 'iron church' (made of corrugated iron), selling soup at the same price as 'charitable' soup (COS 1887: 57). 'Self-supporting' was a COS mantra requiring the poor to pay the entire cost of running the institution. Reformers had dreamed of self-supporting workhouses but rarely achieved this consistently (Rumford claimed to have accomplished this in Munich). Moore Ede's manifesto repeated the language and nutritional errors of Rumford and Colquhoun, only without the charity.

The Gateshead Soup Kitchen was last reported in 1892 (SDESG 26/1/1892: 1). Its building survived into the twentieth century. Some archive film of a Gateshead Soup Kitchen from the 1920s may survive (it has not been possible to access this).

In neighbouring Jarrow, soup-recipients were obliged to break stones to get soup and accused of being improvident, drunk and undeserving (SDG 11/11/1884: 3, 14/12/1889: 3, 16/12/1904: 3). The Victoria Soup Kitchen, once the pride of North Shields, rarely opened in the 1870s and 1880s, despite having been recently enlarged to provide shelter for the queue (NC 28/9/1872: 4, SDG 24/12/1874: 4). Despite the optimism and 40 years of frequent operation, the soup kitchen declined and fell into disrepair, becoming 'the old borough soup kitchen' and 'grimy… resembling a disused eighteenth-century lock-up' (SDG 28/4/1881: 3, 8/12/1885: 4). During the 1884/85 recession, the suggestion in a council meeting that the mayor should open the soup kitchen provoked only laughter (SDG 1/11/1884: 4). The building continued in sporadic use until 1904 making dinners for children and soup for a relief fund and the **Dorcas Society** (SDG 24/1/1893: 2, 14/2/1895: 2, 1/12/1904: 2).

In South Shields, soup was 'improperly supplied to undeserving applicants' prompting demands for greater oversight over ticket applications (SDG 30/12/1870: 2). Soup kitchens were only sporadically open. In 1885/86 the municipal relief committee rejected calls to open a soup kitchen; the Reverend McKenzie and others complained about previous abuses of the charity and asked for the old soup kitchen funds, which the Corporation held as trustee, to be given to McKenzie's children's dinner scheme (modelled on Moore Ede's) (SDG 22/12/1885: 4). McKenzie was given half; the rest went to the general relief fund.

During the 1870s soup kitchens continued on Tyneside despite the crusade; there was still sufficient support for charity to finance the building or enlargement of two of the principal soup kitchens. However, retrenchment set in during the mid-1880s. Soup kitchens were maintained while outdoor relief was withdrawn, before themselves being attacked. With the hostile environment towards the poor growing, Tyneside town corporations, who acted as trustees of the charities, no longer wanted to be associated with them.

Seasonal unemployment may have declined as shipping adopted steam power and iron hulls, and heavy industry provided more stable employment, but there was still considerable poverty evidenced by the churches, chapels, missions and private individuals who continued to set up small-scale and apparently short-lived soup kitchens, often near to where their predecessors had been. The decline of the main institutions was driven as much by the growing antipathy towards the poor that the crusade amplified (Williams 1981: 98; Lees 1990: 261) as by the economy.

Northumberland

Alnwick's long-running soup kitchen had usually received support from the Dukes of Northumberland who were major philanthropists in the 'ducal town'. The sixth Duke was also a vice-president of the COS in 1871. Many of the titled vice-presidents of the COS took little part in its activities (Mowat 1961: 20), so the Duke may well have been unembarrassed to continue his long-standing paternalistic philanthropy. He financed the establishment of a bath-house and working men's club on Clayport Street which included a soup kitchen (AM 21/2/1874: 4) (Figure 5.3, Figure 8.35), doubtless to encourage greater working-class involvement and self-help, in line with the ethos of the COS. The town soup kitchen moved from the Duke's property at Bailiffgate Square in 1874/75 to other premises, again prompting the town to take responsibility for its charities.

Figure 5.3. Clayport Street, Alnwick: the Working Men's Club right; left, the public baths and washhouse on the ground floor, on first floor, the Club's reading room.

Charles Bosanquet, the COS's first secretary until 1875, retired to Alnwick to live as a country squire. He served as guardian of the poor (Gregson 1985: 104) and joined Newcastle COS (NC 2/3/1883: 7), but subscribed regularly to Alnwick's soup kitchen between 1879 and 1895 (BM/ASKMB). In 1878 a crowded subscriber-meeting rejected plans to make the soup kitchen self-supporting (it is unclear whether Bosanquet was present) (BM/ASKMB: 6/12/1878).

With the Workingmen's Club and the town soup kitchen, it is surprising to find that St Andrew's Mission (Figure 5.4) in 1886 with support from the Duke's family (Brown 2008: 10) to provide rooms for:

> 'many religious and social purposes... temperance entertainments... bazaars in aid of mission work, working men's entertainments, young men's and young women's improvement guilds, mothers' meetings, children's and parents' tea treats, winter soup kitchen...' (MH 2/10/1886: 3).

Canon Trotter, the incumbent at St Michael's, ran the Mission and was regularly chair of the town soup kitchen until 1890. In 1894/95, St Andrew's Mission had been providing soup all winter, whereas the town soup kitchen only opened when a severe snowstorm and cold weather arrived at the end of January (MH 2/2/1895: 6). This may be indicative of some differences in policy between the two institutions or that further resources needed to be deployed as the weather deteriorated.

Falling agricultural revenues and local government reform are often credited with hastening the end of the remnants of the moral economy in the late-nineteenth century (Cannadine 2005) but the Duke and his family continued significant

philanthropic spending in the town and surrounding area, of which these soup kitchens were a small part.

Figure 5.4. St Andrew's Mission House, New Row, Pottersgate. The soup kitchen was probably on the ground floor, accessed through a door below the left chimney arrowed.

In Berwick, a proposal that a COS branch run the town soup kitchen was rejected despite the mayor claiming that the poor spent their money on drink. Nevertheless, he decided only to open the soup kitchen if applications from the poor to be admitted to the workhouse were significant, so introducing a new 'workhouse test' just for the soup kitchen (IBJ 25/2/1870: 4; BA 30/12/1870: 3, 1/1/1875: 3). His logic was entirely consistent with the crusade: if people did not fill up the workhouse, they were not really hungry (MacKinnon 1986). His experiment does not seem to have continued. Efforts to make the soup kitchen

self-supporting only resulted in 60% of the normal volume of soup being sold (BA 12/1/1877: 3), suggesting that the poor saw soup as a marginal benefit. Perhaps in response to this crusading, the Templars (a temperance society) provided pea soup and ham sandwiches, and The Welcome (perhaps a mission) began providing soup from 1877 for which the public could buy tickets (BN 7/1/1879: 5, 6). Soup kitchens in Berwick, Tweedmouth and Spittal, the three parts of the borough, increasingly focussed on serving children in the mid-1880s, although adults were not expressly excluded. All three soup kitchens continued until World War I (BN 8/9/1914: 5; NCRO/CES315/1/3-10/2/1911; Jarvis and Holland 2015: 9).

Hexham Soup Kitchen was little affected by the crusade. In 1879 it had to restrict bread to the neediest, due to insufficient subscriptions, and there were complaints that some of the applicants were not all that needy (HC 25/1/1879: 4, 6/12/1879: 5). Reported openings after 1891 were limited, although in 1902 and 1914 650-750 quarts of soup barely met demand (SDESG 14/2/1902: 3; NJ 20/1/1914: 6).

Morpeth relied on individuals and relief funds to provide soup when necessary rather than establishing a soup kitchen. This had been the policy before 1870 and it remained so afterwards. Most poor relief in Morpeth Union was outdoor relief before, during and after the crusade. Blyth (in Tynemouth Union) used its Central Hall and various mission and church halls as soup kitchens when needed. COS branches were not evident in either town. Both towns were in mining and industrial areas with relatively low unemployment. Mining communities themselves only had soup kitchens during times of industrial disputes and these

were unaffected by the crusade, although some were at pains to focus the relief on the miners' families rather than the miners.

Although COS branches in Northumberland were active (Gregson 1985), soup kitchens continued during the crusade (Figure 5.5). Alnwick, Berwick and Hexham had a larger proportion of their populations engaged in seasonal work (farming and fishing) and so providing soup may have been important, particularly as Alnwick and Berwick made significant reductions in outdoor relief. Hexham Soup Kitchen's longevity may display the influence of the Abbey (the Church was unwilling to curtail charity aggressively). As far as can be determined, soup kitchens in the smaller towns and less populated unions, like Wooler, Amble, Belford and Rothbury, were at least as active after 1870 as they were before.

In Alnwick, soup output reduced from 900 pints a day in the 1850s and 1860s, to 600 pints a day by the 1880s; leftover soup was given to vagrants (practice not approved by the COS) (BM/ASKMB; NC 13/1/1854: 8; NDC 11/1/1861: 2; SDG 12/1/1887: 3).

The local attempts at restricting charity and promoting self-help reflected the crusade's ethos of shaping the poor's *habitus* through instruction and eradicating practical assistance (Williams 1981: 128). This ideology gained traction on Tyneside but was met with more circumspection in the less industrialised towns. This pattern appears also in Staffordshire and parts of the South as the next sections will show.

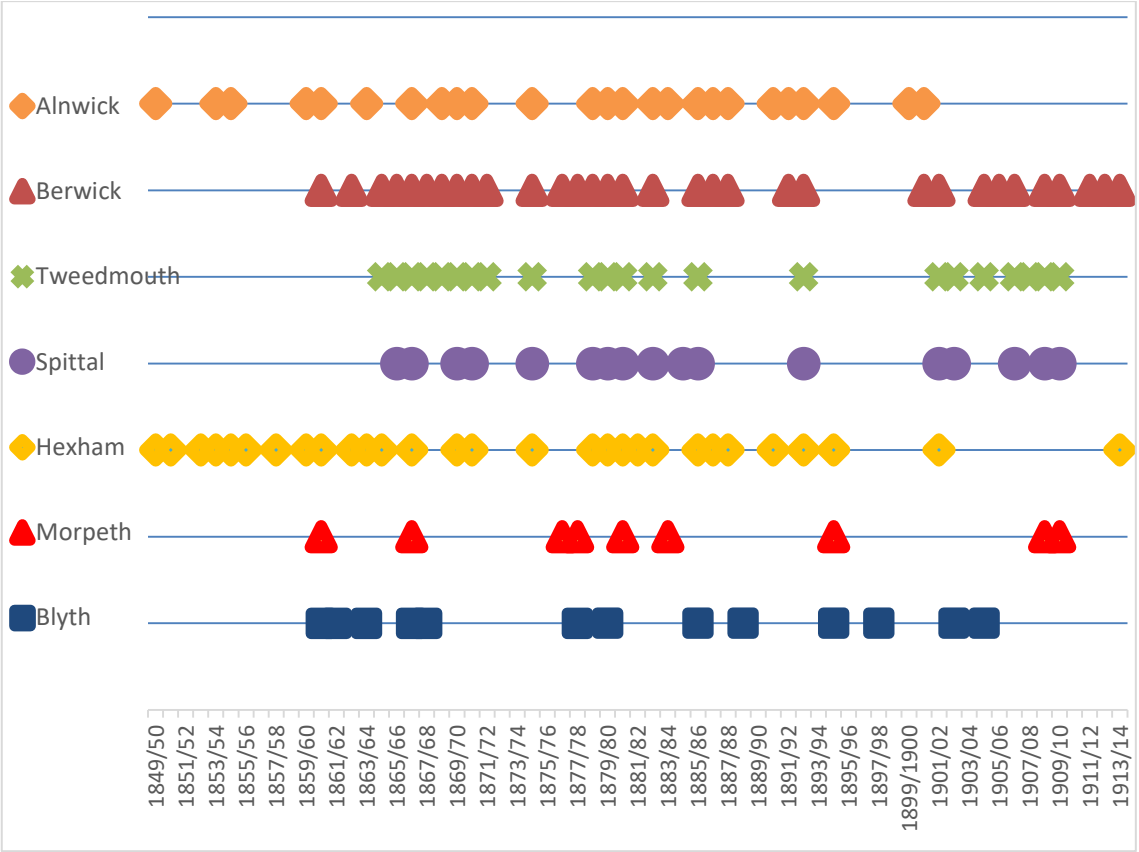


Figure 5.5. Northumberland town soup kitchen reported openings 1849/50-1913/14.

Staffordshire

Lichfield's soup kitchen had started in the 1849 cholera epidemic and opened most years. There are indications that the Lichfield Mendicity Society formed in 1869 (SA 21/8/1869: 7) influenced attitudes towards charity in the following decades. The soup kitchen advertised that it was restricting soup to those 'on parish pay, sick [or] struggling on without it' (LM 22/3/1878: 4); a description that sounds draconian, but which would have allowed almost anyone to get soup. The trustees of the Lichfield Municipal Charities later awarded it only £10 of nearly £500 allotted city-wide (LM 22/12/1882: 4, 1/2/1884: 4). Four years later complaints began: the soup kitchen was encouraging tramps and allowing men to drink while sending their children to fetch soup. Soup replaced independence with improvidence, whereas its true purpose should have been to:

> ‘alleviate… distress, brought about by depression of trade, severe weather unexceptionally prolonged, and other causes’ (LM 18/11/1887: 8, 27/1/1888: 5).

In 1854/55 the soup kitchen had fed 1877 people but by 1888/89 the total was only 564 (SA 1/12/1855: 4; LM 1/3/1889: 5). In 1909 the Lichfield COS made enquires as to what had happened to the soup kitchen’s funds suggesting it was defunct (LM 12/3/1909: 5). Lichfield Soup Kitchen lowered its profile but may have managed to continue, in part because the cathedral city had a local culture of benevolence and over £1000 of endowed charity funds to spend annually on its poor, more per person than anywhere in Staffordshire other than Tutbury (BPP 1868). Tutbury’s soup kitchen, funded by Wakefield’s Charity, was operating well into the twentieth century (BuC 3/12/1891: 8; Tutbury Museum 2021c).

Leek sold off its soup kitchen in 1875 (it appears to have been inactive since 1869) (SS 30/6/1875: 3). Cheadle established a soup kitchen very grudgingly in 1870 because its ironstone industry was in decline, but organisers blamed the miners for the ‘alleged distress’ because they were never at work on time, unlike factory workers (SS 19/11/1870: 8). Tamworth soup kitchen re-emerged in the late 1870s to become a more regular feature of the 1880s despite Reverend Hunt advocating unsuccessfully the adoption of the COS’s methods (TH 22/1/1881: 4). However, the mayor seems to have obstructed the soup kitchen opening by concealing its funds (TH 7/1/1893: 5); the soup kitchen did not open between 1895 and 1904 (TH 2/12/1904: 6).

The Stafford Mendicity Society worked to root out tramps and imposters (SA 10/5/1873: 5). Stafford's Soup Kitchen nevertheless opened regularly during the 1870s.

The major industrial conurbations, Burslem, Stoke-on-Trent, and Walsall, only operated infrequent relief-funds under supervision of branches of the COS; the bulk of aid was given in groceries, coal and bread; soup formed a small proportion of the overall expenditure (SS 18/12/1878: 3, 12/3/1879: 2). Industrial workers may have been less willing to accept paupers' rations even when unemployed. Relief funds temporarily expanded in sudden downturns which would otherwise have overwhelmed the poor law budget.

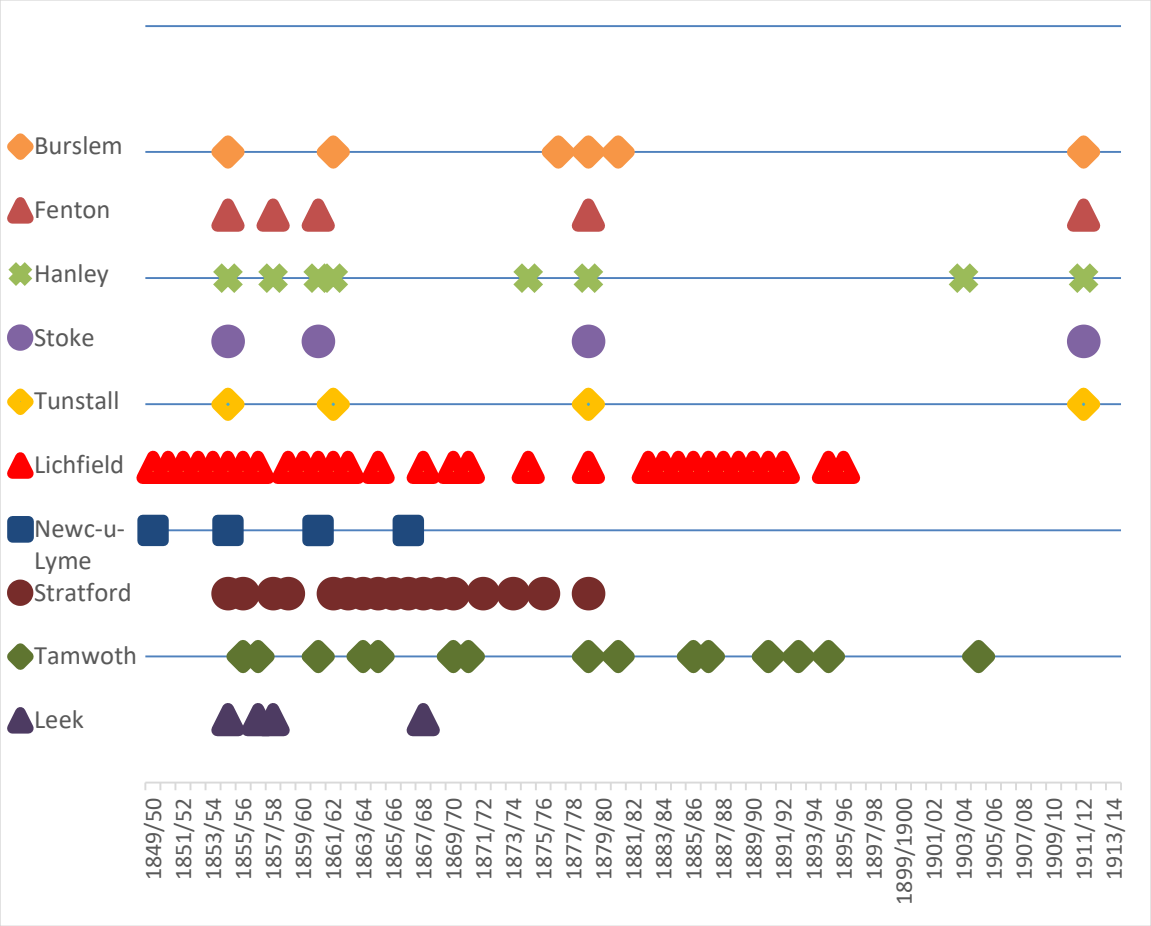


Figure 5.6. Staffordshire town soup kitchen openings 1849/50-1913/14.

Crusading policies undermined traditional charity after the early-1880s, particularly in the less industrial areas. The lack of Staffordshire newspapers in the early twentieth century, other than the *Tamworth Herald*, makes drawing conclusions about this period difficult.

Kent

Kent soup kitchens continued unabashed in most towns after 1870 (Figure 5.7). Gravesend, Margate and Ramsgate vanish from the newspapers in 1881, yet they continued into the 1930s or later. Margate received a legacy of £1,000 in 1870, greatly reducing the need for annual fundraising (DE 4/11/1870: 3). Its lease would have terminated had it been inoperative for three consecutive years. Since it only closed permanently in 1927, when demand for soup had fallen due to increased state welfare, we can surmise it remained active until then. At the end, it was distributing 30 gallons each opening (enough for at least 120 people) and Cobb's son was still president (TA 9/4/1927: 7). Ramsgate Soup Kitchen was still operating in 1940 (TA 5/11/1940: 3). Gravesend similarly vanishes from newspapers in the database, but was still open in 1932 when General Gordon's sister, a regular subscriber, died (Gravesham 2018). The long gaps in reported activity in Dover and Folkestone (Figure 5.7) are probably not a result of closure, as an article in 1890 reported:

> 'the Dover Philanthropic Society has nearly every winter since [1838] distributed bread and soup to the poor during the inclement weather' (DE 24/1/1890: 8).

There are gaps for Dover and Folkestone newspapers in the database during these years. After 1901, Dover and Folkestone Soup Kitchens struggled to maintain permanent locations (Folkestone had at least nine different locations).

There were soup kitchens starting up in the 1870s. In 1871, the Alford Poor Relief Association (or Institute) began funding Canterbury's parish soup kitchens and its own city-wide soup kitchen, although some described this as 'a not very dignified idea' (KG 14/2/1871: 4, 12/12/1871: 4). The trustees of Whitstable charities established a soup kitchen in 1874 after canvassing local opinion (WTHBH 26/12/1874: 4). Mrs Guise and a committee of women and clergy set up a soup kitchen in Sheerness; they felt there was some 'imposition' but they continued (CN 5/2/1870: 3; EKG 12/11/1870: 5). Ashford relied on various *ad hoc* initiatives until the town's Benevolent Fund established a regular soup kitchen in 1867; it restricted relief to those with two years' residence in the parish (KG 22/2/1870: 2). Within four years, it had put up its own building 'without going into any extravagance' at the rear of the Workmen's Hall (CJKTFG 13/12/1873: 3). Chatham followed a similar route to Ashford. Soup kitchens in Sevenoaks, Tonbridge and Tunbridge Wells appear to have been sporadic *until* the mid-1870s. All three towns were in unions that greatly reduced outdoor relief, but there are no west Kent newspapers available until 1873.

Although Kent had a number of COS branches, none adopted an openly hostile attitude towards soup kitchens. In Folkestone, Tunbridge Wells, Dover and Canterbury, COS branches managed soup kitchens or supported them financially even if there was COS-style rhetoric about indiscriminate charity, imposition, improvidence and drunkenness (TA 14/11/1868: 3; KSC 01/01/1885: 3, 13/2/1895: 4; FESSH 21/12/1878: 6; FHSCH 24/04/1909: 11, 4/5/1912: 11).

Gravesend's soup kitchens had links to the Mendicity Society but were active. These COS branches recognised the importance of soup kitchens in maintaining the local equilibrium and identity.

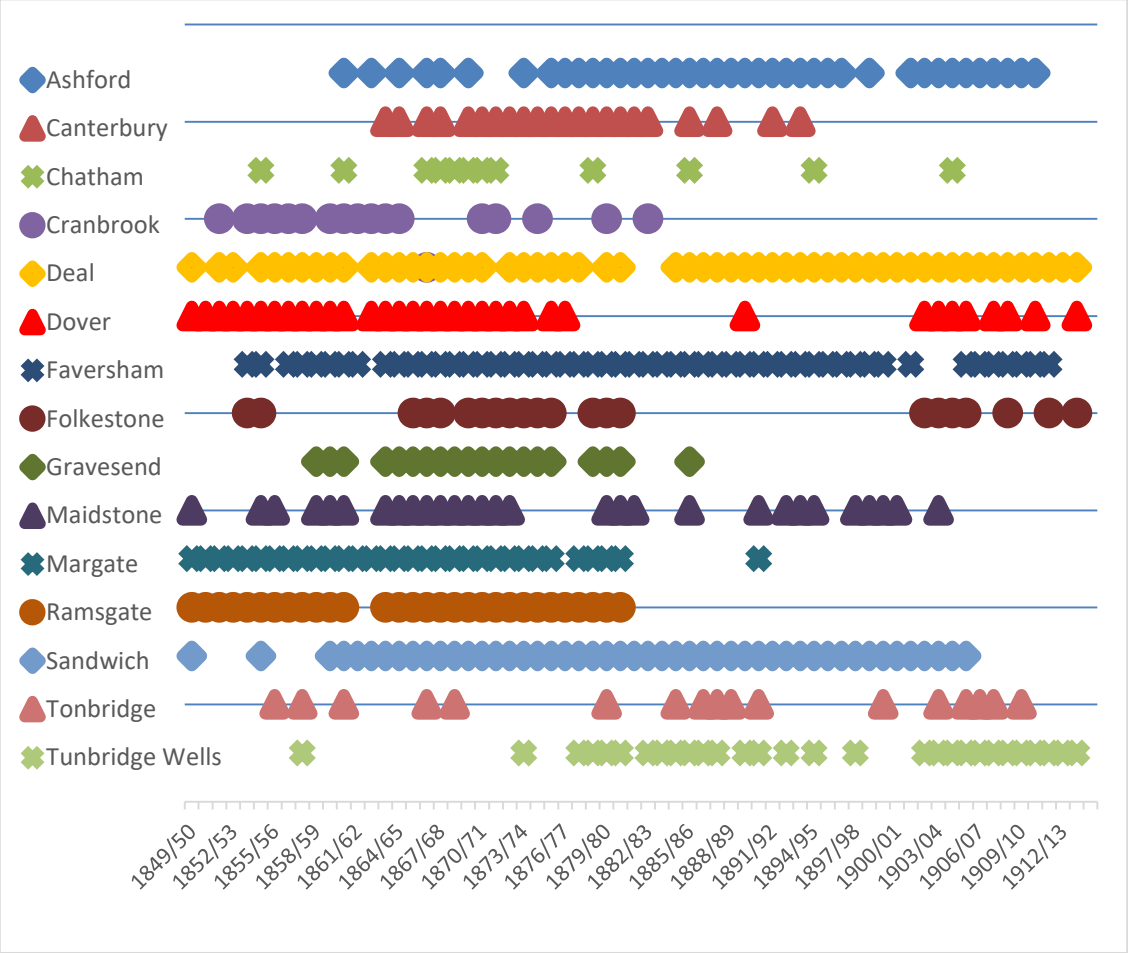


Figure 5.7. Kent large town soup kitchen reported openings 1849/50-1913/14.

In 1883, the Charity Commissioners stopped Wreight's Charity from running Faversham Soup Kitchen. A subscription charity took over the role and Wreight's provided regular donations (KHLC/U424/E/3). There was no public outcry and subscription funds did not make up the deficit, suggesting there was ambivalence towards the soup kitchen. Wreight's had been distributing 600-900 quarts with bread in 15-20 deliveries each winter in the 1870s, but the new charity averaged 388 quarts, but it started distributing coal (Figure 5.8). In the last two years in

which soup was definitely distributed, 1910/11 and 1911/12, it made seven and eight deliveries respectively. It continued distributing coal and in 1921 was also distributing groceries. The proportion fed was around 15% in 1870, falling to below 8% in 1900. The weather did not affect the amount of each delivery, but more deliveries occurred in cold winters.

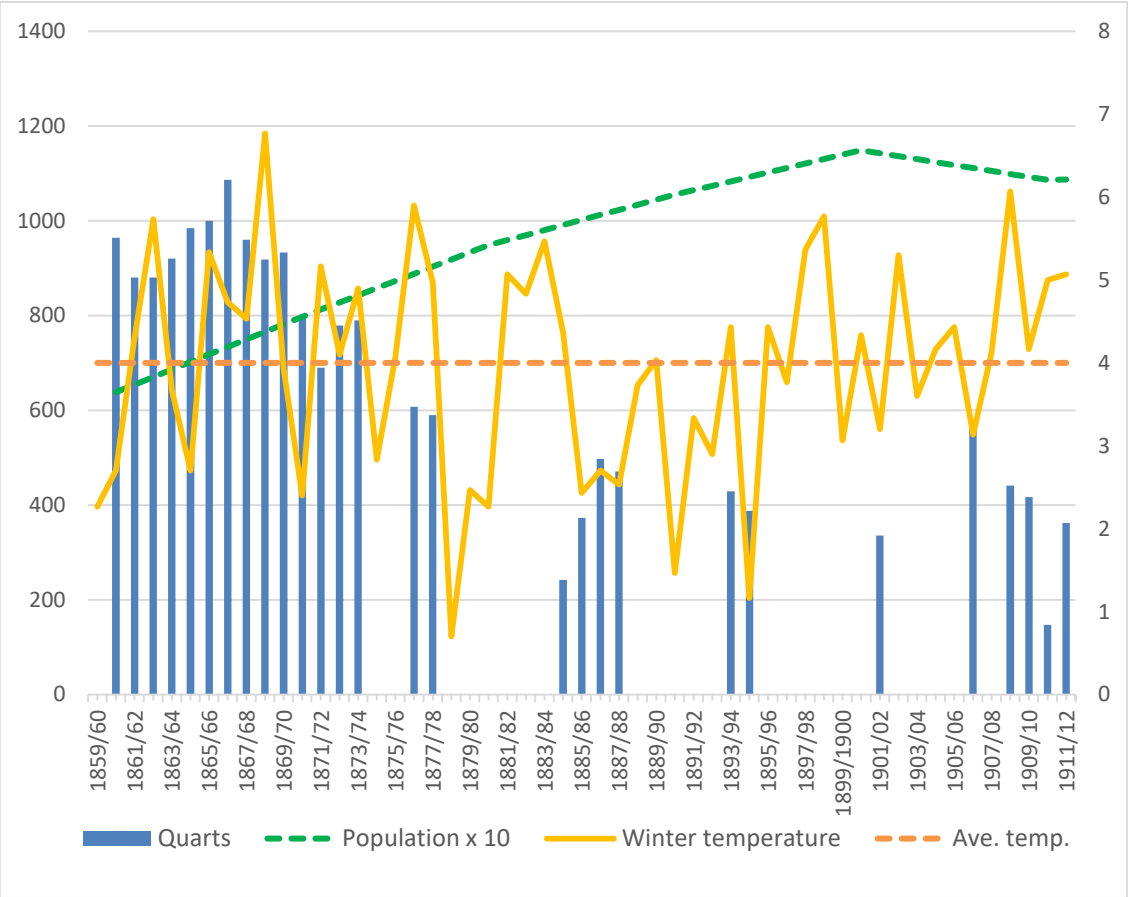


Figure 5.8. Faversham Soup Kitchen. Left scale (a) output (data are not available for all years, recorded output 1861-1880, output based on ticket allocation 1880-1895, 1902 onwards is season's average output (newspapers, KHLC/U424/E/3/1, KHLC/U3/146/25/4); (b) population x10. Right scale: winter temperature (from Parker *et al.* 1992).

Sandwich Soup Kitchen's output declined gradually after 1870 (Figure 5.9). In 1852 each person received about 0.3q and bread; if these portions remained standard, around 30% of the population were getting soup, although if recipients

got a quart, 8-10% of the population continued to get soup. The lower figure is more consistent with other Kent towns, where 3-10% of the population were receiving soup, although in smaller communities, the proportion was greater (Table 12.24).

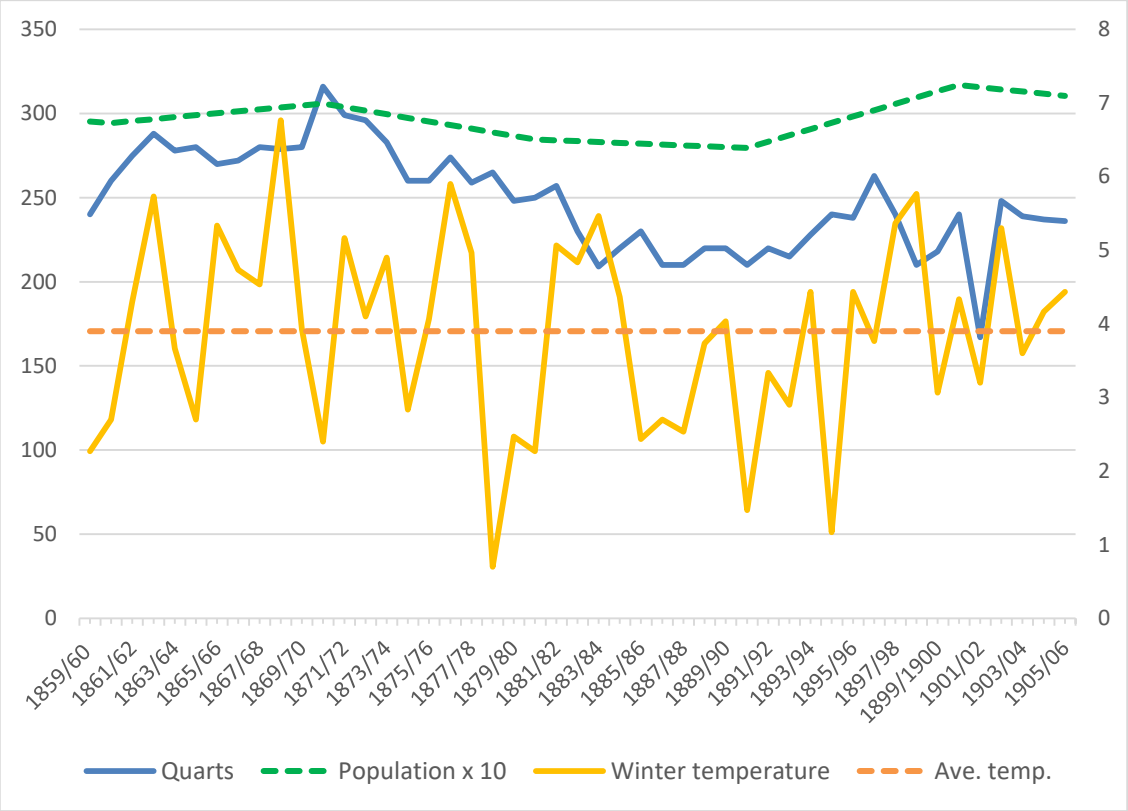


Figure 5.9. Sandwich Soup Kitchen. Left scale (a) output (1892/93-1905/06 calculated from annual totals, assuming 26 deliveries of soup, the average for the preceding 30 years) (KHLC/Sa/QZ/1-3); (b) population x10. Right scale winter temperature (from Parker *et al.* 1992).

In Ashford between 1887/88 and 1892/93 the soup kitchen averaged around 112 gallons of soup each distribution, but the number of distributions fell from 14 to seven (KHLC/P10/24/1). By 1907/08 it made only two distributions, although each was for 140 gallons; most of the recipients were elderly or widows and preferred coal to soup.

Burham implemented a soup kitchen in 1895 to feed around 16% of the village's population. The committee recorded 73 names on the list of 264 recipients as 'deceased' during this winter (KHLC/Ch155/1-4). The soup-recipients presumably included many frail and elderly people, vulnerable to a local epidemic or the bitterly cold winter. The soup kitchen was unsuccessful not just in keeping its clientele alive, its soup was so bad that within a few weeks the committee gave up and distributed grocery vouchers instead.

Although quantities of soup being distributed gradually fell from around 1870, there is little direct evidence of the crusade. Soup kitchens start to disappear from press reporting in the mid-1880s. Dover and Folkestone re-orientated their charitable efforts towards children. There were signs of subscriber numbers declining. The reform of Wreight's Charity was probably part of central government crusading, through the Charity Commission, against traditional doles (Balshaw's Charity in Berkhamsted (below) suffered a similar fate).

By the late-nineteenth century recipients preferred groceries and coal to soup. With improving living standards, soup kitchens were falling out of favour although they continued to assist the elderly, sick and chronic paupers. The majority of the working class were now well-off enough to avoid routine winter assistance and increasing expectations meant that most people wanted something better than soup. For the poorest able-bodied workers, destitution remained a very real prospect (MacKinnon 1986: 333) and soup kitchens continued to provide relief.

Kent had a deeply ingrained culture of charity that included soup kitchens. The poor could factor in soup's availability in their makeshift economy. In Gravesend,

a union with very low levels of outdoor relief, the cold winter of 1879/80 caused great distress for working men and their families resulting in 'indoor and outdoor poor law relief increases', the guardians 'granting an extended scale of out-relief' because there was only room for 27 more inmates at the workhouse. The soup kitchen and other charities stepped in (KSC 26/12/1879: 4).

Hertfordshire

Initially, St Albans' and Berkhamsted's soup kitchens do not appear to have been significantly affected by the crusade (their respective unions did not reduce expenditure on outdoor relief) perhaps because the decline of the straw-plait industry meant there was no means to do so.

St Albans suffered falling subscriptions in the 1870s and in 1884 the committee tried to make the soup kitchen more self-supporting by increasing the charge for soup (HA 6/12/1884: 6). This proved unpopular, the soup became unpalatable and the scheme was swiftly abandoned, although volumes of soup distributed subsequently declined (Figure 5.10). The amounts distributed bear little correspondence to cold weather. The soup kitchen was obliged to relocate in 1887/88 and seems to have struggled to keep up with demand in 1890/91 as Councillor Potton distributed soup from his premises on Lower Dagnall Street and the mayor set up a relief fund (HA 3/1/1891: 5, 10/1/1891: 4, 7).

From 1895, a series of relief funds were engaged in serving soup (HA 16/2/1895: 5, 23/2/1895: 5). In 1905 the mayor's relief fund (which seems to have merged with the soup kitchen) used a former factory for soup-making with assistance from former soup kitchen staff (HA 7/1/1905: 4, 19/1/1907: 8). The Salvation

Army also ran a soup kitchen as did Mrs Dear, manager of the Temperance Hotel, for several years until her death in 1907 (HA 4/2/1905: 5, 28/9/1907: 5).

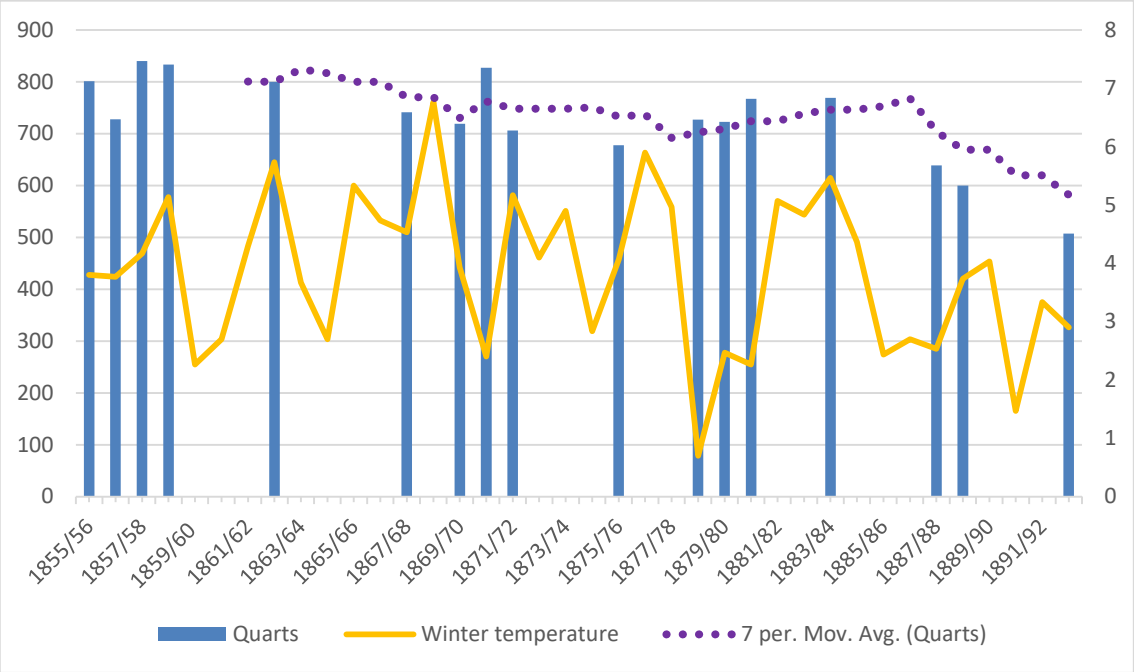


Figure 5.10. St Albans Soup Kitchen. Left scale output (estimated from volume of soup, data are not available for all years (Table 12.39)). Right scale winter temperature (from Parker *et al.* 1992);

The Berkhamsted Soup Charity continued every winter until 1896/97 when it disappeared without trace. By the 1870s retired local businessmen, tradesmen and clergy had replaced the founding aristocracy and gentry at the helm. The list of those entitled to soup was drawn up at the start of the soup season and advertised on the church noticeboard (BH 04/01/1879: 5; HA 3/1/1891: 8). This may have shamed the poor (or created entitlement), recalling the earlier practice of badging of the poor (Hindle 2004a: 433ff, 2004b).

Balshaw's, a bread charity, gave meat and bread to 350 families in 1880, roughly matching the 340 families on the soup list (BHLMS/CH/P9/16.1; *Berkhamsted*

Times 11.2.1887 cited in Birtchnell 1972b: 7) (Table 12.40). The two charities were serving the same population.

Weather, general unemployment and, in 1868, the declining straw-plait industry (BH 25/01/1868: 7) were the reasons given for opening. After 1870, the reports insisted on the worthiness of the charity and its recipients, denying any pauperising effect on, or imposition by, the poor (BH 22/2/1873: 6, 6/2/1875:5). Declining subscriptions, and the efforts to reassure subscribers that the charity was wholesome, point the influence of the crusade, but numbers receiving soup increased in the 1880s (Figure 5.11).

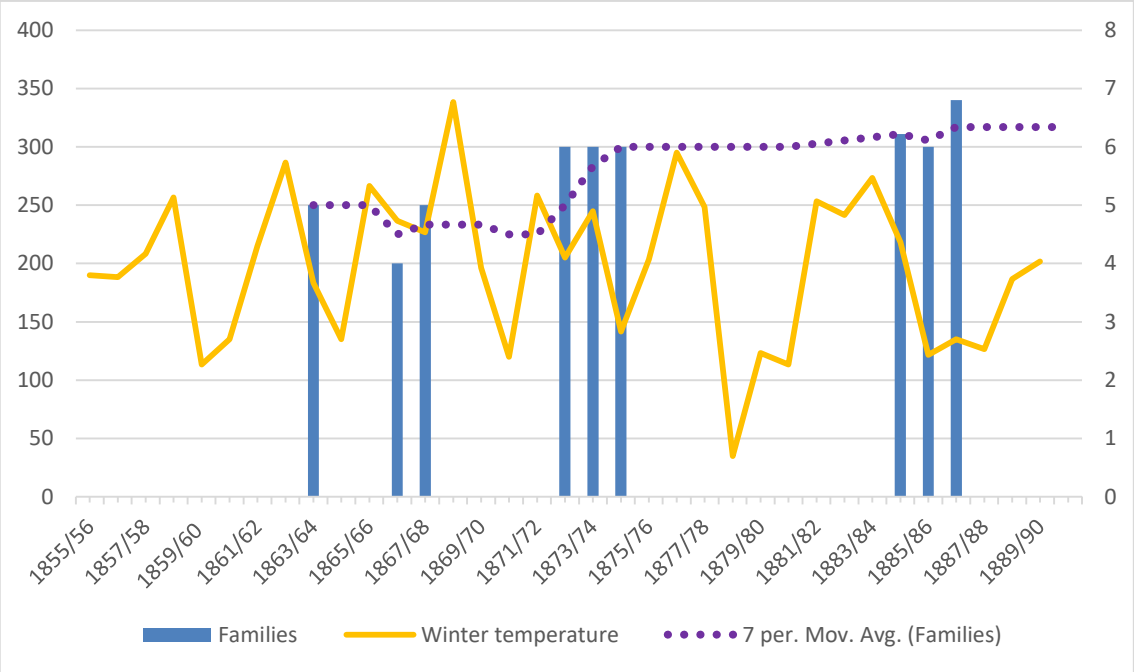


Figure 5.11. Berkhamsted Soup Kitchen. Left scale families served (data are not available for all years (Table 12.40)). Right scale, winter temperature (from Parker *et al.* 1992).

Only six of 85 newspaper articles refer to Berkhamsted's charity as a soup kitchen; they otherwise refer to the 'Soup Charity' or the 'Soup House'. This is not simply a regional or chronological difference: the same newspapers refer to

Boxmoor's and St Albans' institutions as soup kitchens, 60 times in 61 references and 196 in 240 references respectively. Berkhamsted's Soup Charity had a religious and moral air: 'On Saturday last the gift of soup and bread was commenced at the Soup House' (BH 17/01/1880: 7). Bread as charitable relief had a much longer history with greater religious significance; the pairing of soup with bread in this way made humble soup an equal to the staff of life. Delivering soup in the Castle at the Countess Bridgewater's Soup House added to the occasion. A far greater proportion received soup here than anywhere else in Hertfordshire or Buckinghamshire (Table 12.39, Table 12.40). The way in which the newspaper reports were worded suggests that Berkhamsted took great pride in its soup and bread charities, and in the charity it provided.

After a meeting addressed by C.S. Loch, secretary of the London COS and Bosanquet's successor, Hertford's mayor established the Hertford Beneficient Society, a branch of the COS (HM 1/3/1879: 3, 7/6/1879: 3). Newspaper reports of Hertford's parish soup kitchens and the Dimsdale Charity after 1870 are sparse until the late 1880s and 1890s. Charity in Hertford was more concerned about building churches than the poor, although soup kitchens revived in the mid-1890s (Ayto 2012: 143, 146).

Watford's Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor at first glance appears to have been COS-inspired, but from 1888 it operated a series of small soup kitchens, which were managed by the ladies of the Society; these were targeted primarily at school children (WO 3/11/1888: 6). The Society adopted a strong moral tone, maintaining a list of 'discreditable persons… unworthy' to get soup (HA 11/11/1899: 7). The Society's soup kitchens were last reported in 1908 (WO 5/12/1908: 3).

Soup kitchens and straw-plait played an important role in preserving life and ensuring Berkhamsted and St Albans workhouses did not overflow during winter while maintaining lower outdoor relief spending. Hertford, without a significant straw-plait industry, reduced its soup provision during the crusade until the mid-1890s.

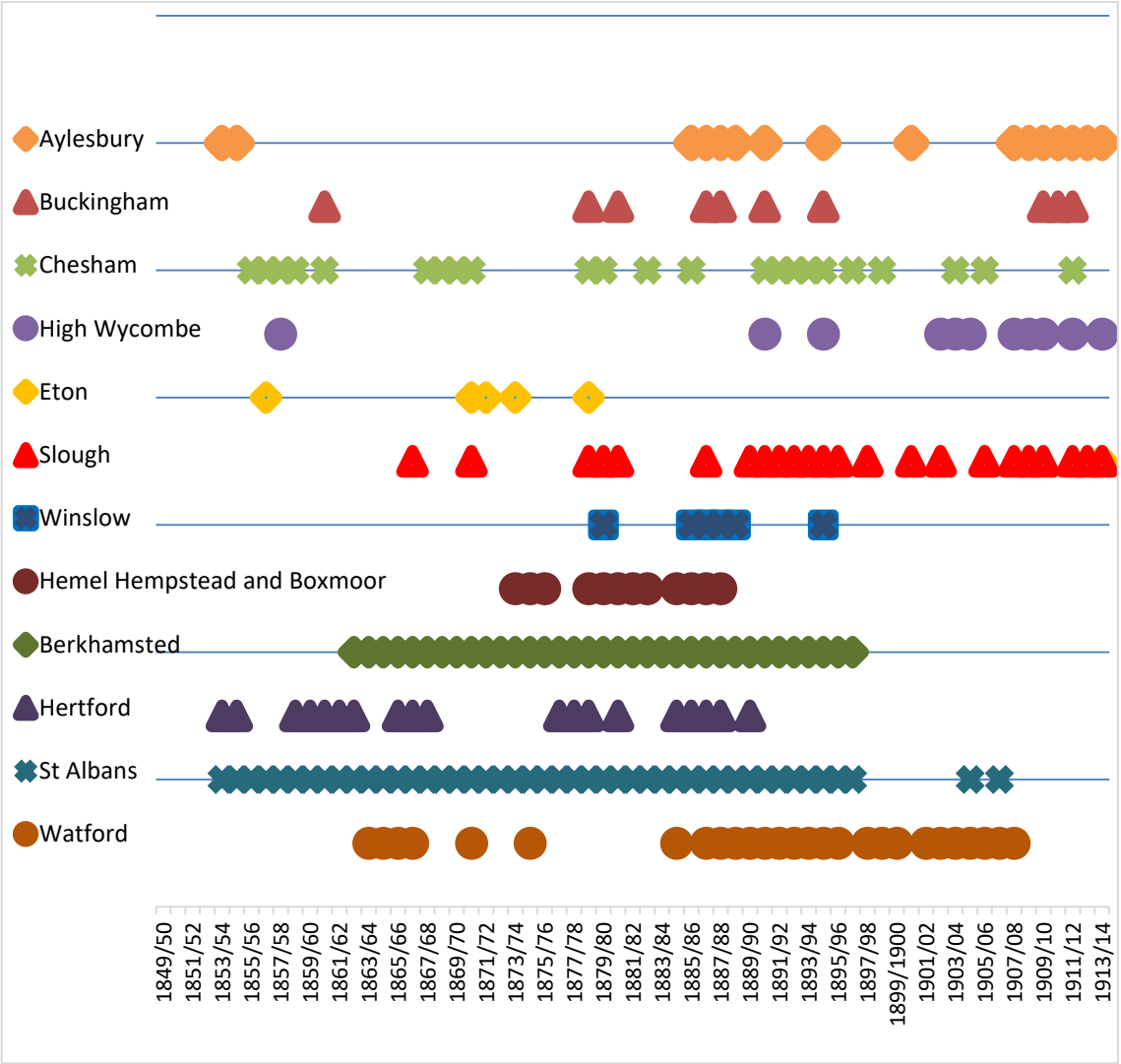


Figure 5.12. Soup kitchens in major towns in Buckinghamshire (Aylesbury to Winslow) and Hertfordshire (Hemel Hempstead to Watford) reported open between 1849/50-1913/14.

Buckinghamshire

The relative absence of urban soup kitchens in Buckinghamshire contrasts with neighbouring Hertfordshire (Figure 5.12). The majority of soup kitchen activity occurred from the late 1880s onwards, when the COS's influence nationally was waning. There was a COS branch in Eton which rented a soup kitchen to another organisation (BH 2/11/1878: 6). Its main concern was preventing vagrants from dallying in the town. Otherwise, there were occasional concerns raised about imposition on charity but no evidence of the COS having significant influence on soup kitchens in Buckinghamshire.

Winslow Soup Kitchen was established by T.P. Willis, clerk to the board of guardians, because the workhouse was full (LBO 23/12/1879: 3). Winslow Union was more crusading; its soup kitchen served to prevent outdoor relief increasing. Soup kitchens in Wycombe and Amersham Unions only became more prevalent in the 1890s in response to recessions and industrial disputes, after the crusade had run its course.

There is greater evidence of self-help and mutual organisations providing welfare. In north Buckinghamshire, Tingewick's White Hart Friendly Society distributed unlimited soup all winter (BE 9/6/1888: 8). Nearby Gawcott had a soup and bread club (BAFP 12/2/1887: 8); Buckingham distributed soup from the British Workman's Club and then the Oddfellows Hall (BE 5/3/1881: 4; BAFP 12/2/1910: 8).

In the more rural parishes, landowners, clergy and gentry continued to provide the soup. The agricultural recession does not seem to have affected soup distribution, presumably because it cost little. The *nouveaux riches* who had

bought country estates eagerly took up the role of squire and undertook significant soup distributions (Chapter 9). The proportions receiving soup in the Buckinghamshire soup kitchens (Table 12.38) were broadly consistent with the Kent numbers of this period and much smaller than the proportions reported earlier.

b. Across the regions

Four significant themes developed across the counties during this period: declining local industries, children, industrial disputes and church missions. Each merits closer analysis than provided here.

Local industry

Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire weathered the NPL without extensive soup kitchens because their straw-plait and lace industries enabled women and children to match the earnings of male labourers (Verdon 1999: 62, 238; Horn 1974: 779, 781). However, the mid-nineteenth century put pressure on earnings due to foreign competition and mechanisation, particularly when import duty on plait was reduced in 1842 and 1853 and abolished in 1861 (Dony 1942: 85). Compulsory schooling after 1870 also undermined the straw industry which was heavily reliant on child labour. Before then, the 'straw-business [had] a considerable effect in keeping down [poor] rates' (Young 1804: 223) particularly in west and north Hertfordshire, central Buckinghamshire and southern Bedfordshire (Gróf 2002; Goose 2011: 91). Straw-plait's decline was often cited when soup kitchens were opened (HG 01/12/1860: 5; BH 25/01/1868: 7; BG 14/12/1867: 3). By the 1880s, plait and lace became the preserve of the elderly

trying to eke out a living. As with Tyneside's keelmen, charity mitigated the demise of traditional industry.

Children

Emphasis on children as the legitimate recipients of soup grew during the crusade. Soup kitchens were associated with schools, particularly Ragged Schools, well before the 'official' beginning of school-dinners (under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act 1906) or even the pioneering work in Manchester in 1879 (Evans and Harper 2009: 89). The COS acknowledged that children needed charitable food while their parents were weaned off dependence on 'eleemosynary assistance' (COS 1871: 10). Feeding the poorest children became more pressing when education became compulsory in 1870. Families were deprived of the earning potential of their children and many children attended school hungry. Food encouraged attendance. From the mid-1870s soup kitchens were set up to serve children or emphasised that children were their main priority, from Bromley in Kent to Berwick on the Scottish borders (Table 12.48 to Table 12.53). Sixteen years later, many schoolchildren were still 'ill-fed' (10% in London were 'half-starved'), but the COS thought them 'cunning', changing clothes several times a day to hoodwink those providing soup (COS 1887: 4-9).

Children seemed more immune to the shame of receiving charity and were often sent to collect soup from the soup kitchen, although the practice was condemned (LM 18/11/1887: 8) and was considered to pauperise them (HA 6/1/1877: 5). To the annoyance of administrators, it reduced school attendance during the winter (HC 18/1/1879: 4; BEx 6/3/1908: 2). Spittal British School solved the problem

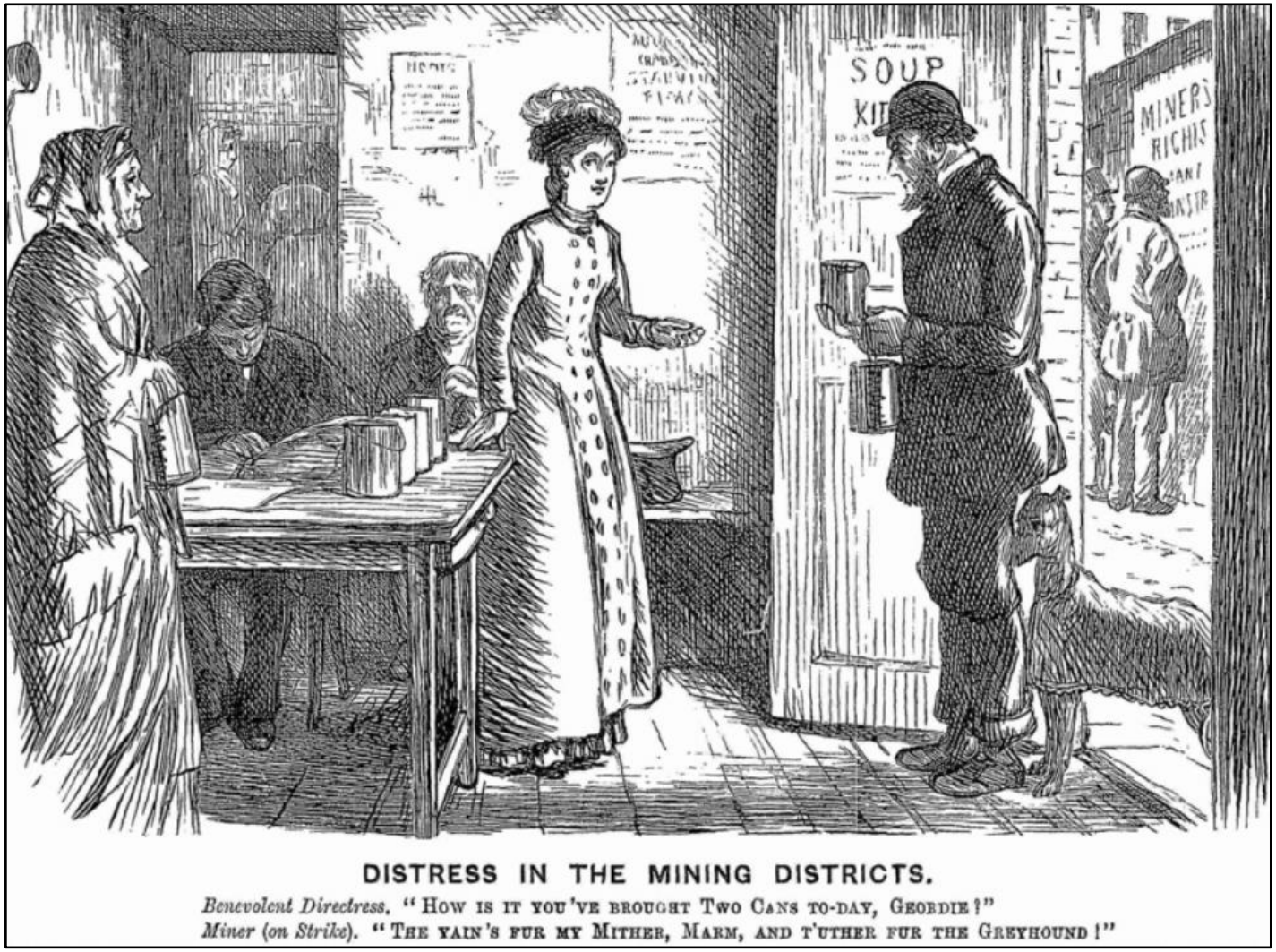
by staff assisting at the soup kitchen and organising the children's visits (20-33% of the schoolchildren, 80-119 pupils, got soup) (NCRO/CES/315/1/3-10/2/1911).

Strikers

Strikers and their families posed a greater moral dilemma for the charitable. They were able-bodied and 'voluntarily' out of work, and so ineligible for poor relief. Their families were eligible only for the workhouse. Sympathy for famished children was tempered by the belief that strikers had brought disaster on their own families. Press coverage focussed on the women and children to whom people could behave compassionately without taking sides in the dispute (Croll 2011).

Existing soup kitchens, like the GSK, did not always provide soup to strikers or their families. Soup kitchens did not open in Staffordshire during the general strike of 1842. During miners' strikes, it was the communities in which strikers lived which organised soup kitchens. Inns, schools and Co-operative Society halls were the most regularly used, showing a degree of community solidarity not evidenced at standard soup kitchens. The venues were more pleasant and they provided a wider range of food.

Some were less sympathetic towards strikers. The *Punch* cartoon of a soup kitchen during a miners' strike portrays the miner imposing on well-meant but naïve charity for his dog, an unsubstantiated trope repeated often in newspapers (Figure 5.13).



DISTRESS IN THE MINING DISTRICTS.

Benevolent Directress. "How is it you've brought Two Cans to-day, Geordie?"
Miner (on Strike). "The yain's fur my Mither, Marm, and t'uther fur the Greyhound!"

Figure 5.13. A northern soup kitchen during the 1878 miners' strike (Punch 9/3/1878: 106).

Missions

Soup was cheap and familiar, and many people would more readily attend a soup kitchen than a Bible reading. Urban church missions, like Alnwick's, were therefore built with rooms for 'bible classes, clubs, soup kitchens &c' (Church Builder 1878: 165). The 1860s saw a great expansion of evangelical philanthropy as denominations brought 'home missions' to the rapidly increasing, but unchurched, urban population (Bebbington 2019: 81). Despite the COS's strong disapproval (COS 1887: 5-6), the last third of the nineteenth century witnessed urban missions increasingly proselytise with free food until the 1890s when fundraising became harder (Flew 2014: 40ff).

Church houses, missions and institutes were designed to provide places for religious gatherings, educational opportunities and wholesome entertainment when the public house was the only alternative; some incorporated soup kitchens. These buildings usually consisted of several floors, with the kitchen on the lower floor (demonstrating its position in the hierarchy) and main hall on the floor above. They merit further study as they demonstrate a different way of treating the poor and indicate that more traditional soup kitchens were not meeting needs.

The limited evidence suggests that in the study regions there were two phases to mission-based soup kitchens: 1858-1871 and 1893-1905 (Table 12.54, Table 12.55, Table 12.56). The interlude is perhaps due to the crusade. Mission-soup is mainly visible in newspapers at times of crisis when raising funds was imperative. Several examples survive within the study regions such as Five Oak Green (Figure

5.14) and Tring's 1896 Church House, largely funded by Nathaniel Rothschild (who can scarcely be accused of proselytising through soup) (Figure 5.15).

Figure 5.14. The 1869 Congregational Chapel at Five Oak Green, Kent. The soup kitchen was on the lower ground floor.

Figure 5.15. Tring Church House (rear view) showing the lower ground floor gymnasium and the grand hall above; the soup kitchen entrance was at the side on a mezzanine floor.

c. Discussion

Soup and the poor law

The crusade was over-corrective in many unions in the study regions. Spending on outdoor relief in 1875 was at least 10% lower than 1860 levels in many unions, other than those with already restrictive policies. It is difficult to find a link between reductions in outdoor relief and either reductions or increases in soup kitchen activity. As outdoor relief became more restricted and politically-charged, so the importance of soup kitchens in the mixed economy of welfare grew. Soup kitchens continued to be a useful tool for managing situations that would otherwise have challenged strict implementation of central government policy. Poor law funds continued to be used for providing soup in the Northeast,

London and Kent (COS 1871: 35; EKG 7/3/1874: 4 BN 2/3/1878: 2; NC 13/12/1879: 5; KSC 24/1/1908: 6).

Soup kitchens softened the impact of the reduction of outdoor relief and enabled the poor to continue exploiting the makeshift economy without mending their ways. This is why the COS disliked them so vehemently. The poor, as the COS saw it, could beg for soup-tickets and pennies, and hoodwink naïve charity officers while frequenting public houses. When Louise Rothschild tried to supplement the outdoor relief which Aston Clinton's poor received, the Aylesbury guardians reduced their outdoor relief (WO 2/11/1872: 2). The poor would never learn self-discipline if outdoor relief or charity were there in hard times. This placed the poor in an impossible position. Low wages and no relief were deemed necessary to motivate them to work but providing adequate relief if they could not work demoralised them.

The crusade had its greatest impact on soup kitchens in the mid-1880s. To have attacked charity earlier would have caused too much disruption in the makeshift economy and have been counterproductive.

Controlling the distribution of soup-tickets enabled some soup kitchens to avoid criticism during the crusade: they could argue that their charity was not indiscriminate. By mediating between subscriber and recipient, they altered the gift relationship to replicate the poor law administration with investigation and visiting. They also introduced a level of anonymity for both sides of the gift.

Although the London COS attempted to influence, cajole and control regional 'branches', ideologically it was never a single organisation. Many of the clergy who organised regional COS branches remained liberal with soup (Humphreys

1995: 65-66). Local COS branches acted differently towards charity in each of the five regions. Even Bosanquet tolerated soup distributions in Alnwick, where perhaps poverty, softened by paternalistic charity, did not have the hard and dangerous edge which it had in London.

Whereas the agricultural poor had been the main target of the NPL, the industrial poor, the urban residuum, were the focus of the crusade (Lees 1998: 287). Soup kitchens were falling from grace even before the crusade began in industrial areas (they, and London, were the heartland of the COS). Industrial Staffordshire had no time for soup charity. Tyneside felt similarly. The COS elicited deference from soup kitchen committees who followed their advice. This discouraged many subscribers from giving. Many soup kitchens here cut back, either reducing volumes of soup, opening less frequently or closing for good. However, the rhetoric was directed at all paupers.

The end?

Across all the regions, except in Berkhamsted, the numbers receiving soup declined. The falling proportion of those attending the soup kitchen after 1880, to between 3% and 7%, reflects the decline of outdoor paupers in official statistics from 3.77% in 1870 to 2.59% in 1875 and 1.57% in 1900 (Williams 1981: 159-161). Some of the decline in soup output was caused by falling subscriptions (due to charity fatigue or moral objections), but the indication from minute books is that demand was falling too. Many of the poor preferred groceries or coal to soup. In the South the charities responded to these requests.

While the GSK minuted the decision to close its doors, never to re-open, most closures went unreported and minute books simply show a pattern of decreasing

openings and numbers being served (Faversham, Deal, Ashford and Alnwick), followed by blank pages. Sometimes the closing of larger institutional soup kitchens prompted a proliferation of smaller short-lived initiatives. In much of Kent, it is hard to discern an end to the soup kitchen story before the First World War. The steady decrease in pauperism between 1850 and 1920, brought about by changes in the economy and employment patterns (Snell 2006: 216), increasing democratisation and better state welfare were probably as much responsible for the fading away of soup kitchens in the South as the ministrations of the COS.

d. Conclusion

The data from soup kitchens are much more fragmentary than poor law records. Nevertheless, by reassembling small pieces of evidence, collected from unpromising material, this research revealing both the importance of charity and significant regional and temporal differences in its performance. Other charities such as dispensaries, boot and clothing clubs, and schools may show similar diversity.

Soup kitchens provide a new window into the world of the poor, the challenges they faced to prove their eligibility, and their struggle to survive. These findings add greatly to existing research and offer a new measure of poverty. Those who received outdoor and indoor relief were not all of the poor (Lees 1998: 13), they were those deemed eligible, a category which changed radically during the crusade. Those who frequented soup kitchens were a wider group, still at the margins. Soup saved them from 'going on the parish'; it provided relief to those who were largely ineligible for relief (able-bodied) and enabled those on 'parish

pay' to eke out their meagre doles. Eligibility for soup in the southern study counties was still measured by traditional parameters of need, with only limited rhetoric about drunkenness, dependency or laziness. In the industrial Midlands and North, the perceived moral conduct of soup-recipients began to determine their eligibility. Although the children and elderly still qualified for soup, the unemployed able-bodied were increasingly excluded, paralleling their treatment under the Poor Laws (Lees 1998: 249, 275ff).

By the early twentieth century, paupers were increasingly marginalised even within working-class communities (Lees 1988: 300). Soup kitchen attendees may have similarly become more stigmatised. Soup kitchens were often rebranded, particularly during mining strikes, as soup clubs, soup depots, feeding stations, national kitchens (Figure 5.16) and now food-banks. Irish stew, tea, cocoa, bread and jam all stood in for soup. The impression is that by 1900, soup kitchen attendees were largely children and the elderly (the few surviving lists of soup-recipients from various soup kitchens would merit closer attention to understand how age and gender affected eligibility).

The crusade seems to have had only a qualified impact on charity in the South whereas in the North and Midlands the well-to-do decided to do without charity, not because there were no poor or hungry, but because it was righto do so. MacKinnon (1986: 325ff) argued that industrial work in the North became less seasonal after the 1860s and more tied into the national economic cycle whereas in the South pauperism remained more closely linked to seasonal factors. This might indicate that the well-to-do in the North could more easily take the view that there was generally plenty of work for the able-bodied and that therefore charity was superfluous until the workhouse was full.

These regional contrasts reflect the different poor law cultures which had developed 50 years earlier identified by King (2000: 257ff). Similarly, there were micro-cultures of charity within each county. St Albans and Berkhamsted provided much more soup than Hertford, Hitchin or Watford. Tutbury, Stafford and Lichfield with established charities differed greatly from the Potteries and the Wolverhampton conurbation. Like the 'organised diversity of practice' of the NPL (Kidd 1999: 33) we have micro-regional practices of charity.

The next chapter will begin our look at the materiality of soup kitchens by looking inside the buildings. Equipment is important for staging and emphasising the rhetoric of whatever is being performed (Goffman 1969: 163). Soup kitchens required special equipment which shaped the institution and those in its presence.

Figure 5.16. Ramsay MacDonald, future prime minister, at the Halifax mobile National Kitchen in a converted tram. Except for vegetable pie and ginger pudding the menu could have been from 1801 (Pathé 1918). [Image redacted]

6. Inside the soup kitchen: materiality

We are standing inside the doorway of a soup kitchen on a cold January morning in 1851 (Figure 6.1). The light from the door and windows illuminates the centre of the room, where we can see a navvy or labourer, with his arm in a sling, waiting with his young family. To his right, a woman, perhaps widowed, wearing a new blanket as a shawl, maybe the gift of another charity, tends to her child as she weeps quietly. An agricultural labourer, wearing a smock and wide-awake hat, collects his jug of soup while a young girl offers a crumpled soup-ticket to the cook behind the counter; others wait patiently. In the gloomier recesses of the room, a drably-clothed group of labourers and a widow sit silently on a bench drinking their soup from earthenware bowls.

The artistic and photographic representations of soup kitchens are part of the contemporary material culture of charity and poverty, created for consumption by art buyers and newspaper readers. They form our starting point for looking inside soup kitchens to see how charity was performed and how the interior space (the stage) expressed the ideology behind the philanthropic practice and framed the experience and performance of the poor.

This will lead to an exploration of the technology used (the props and stage-furniture) for managing large crowds and huge quantities of ingredients. The transaction at the soup kitchen counter follows in the analysis of material culture, before we complete the picture, looking at the soup, to which Hicks only alludes.

Figure 6.1. *The Parish Soup Kitchen* by Hicks (1851). [Image redacted. It is available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Elgar_Hicks_-_The_Parish_Soup_Kitchen.jpg and https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-5732501.

a. Appealing poverty or appalling poverty: representations and reality

Although institutional soup kitchens had been in existence for over 50 years, Hicks's depiction of a soup kitchen and its occupants was an unusual subject for an early Victorian artist. Only in the late 1840s were such subjects first shown in illustrated newspapers. *The Parish Soup Kitchen*, exhibited in 1851 was one of Hicks' first major canvasses. Hicks later dismissed his early work as 'small and unimportant' (Allwood 1982: 54). The scene may be Lymington, Hampshire, where Hicks' father was a successful banker, magistrate and philanthropist, or possibly Notting Hill, London, where Hicks lived and was much involved in 'parish work, ragged schools'.

The preceding decade had seen revolutions across Europe, the great Irish famine, and in England, a major cholera outbreak, the hungry forties and Chartist demonstrations. Middle-class interest in the experience of poverty (rather than in the cost of poor relief) was growing. Dickens was forging a successful career and Mayhew had just serialised *London Labour and the London Poor*. Reports by Edwin Chadwick, the Poor Law Commissioners, and the Royal Commission on the Health of Towns graphically described the misery and squalor of daily life for many. The late-Georgian and early-Victorian artistic establishment still favoured historical or literary subjects and the portrayal of contemporary topics was unusual (Treble 1982: 4).

Hicks shows well-fed, well-dressed and healthy poor; only the children are at all ragged or ill-shod (both markers of destitution (Smiles 2002: 24)). Contemporary social commentators often cited the absolute lack of clothing of

the poorest (King and Payne 2002: 3). The OPL had provided clothing with some generosity (Jones 2006), but the early nineteenth century saw increasing retrenchment, forcing the poor to rely on clothing charities (Richmond 2013).

Maybe this parish was exemplary, feeding and clothing its poor well, but more probably Hicks has followed artistic convention presenting a pleasant scene that portrays poverty and charity romantically. The *working* poor could only be shown as cheerful, pious labourers in an agricultural world that was stable, harmonious and prosperous, as industrial hands, overshadowed by machinery in sublime scenery or cheerful street traders in *Cries of London* (Payne 1993; Klingender 1968). Workers had to look like workers, even when at leisure (Smiles 2002: 31). Non-working poor were usually portrayed as vagrants or gypsies (Snell 2013) or as 'deserving' in contexts where they were part of a larger tableau dominated by figures of authority, such as Cope's 1841 *Board of Guardians* (Payne 1993: 11). Only occasional paintings before 1860 show anything to the contrary (Barrell 1980: 5, Payne 1993: 45). The 'deserving' poor, particularly appealing children, were acceptable if they were depicted receiving charity (Payne 1993: 36). Often the donor is absent from the painting, enabling the viewer to take that place. The dangerous urban poor were not suitable subjects for art (Fox 1987: 185).

Authenticity has been diffracted through a prism of early-Victorian artistic moral sensibility. Artists (including Hicks) also conformed to the Victorian 'scientific' view that physical appearance reflected inner moral nature and adopted these physiognomic conventions when portraying people of any class or occupation (Cowling 1989; Wolff and Fox 1973: 568ff). Drawings and cartoons are less subtle and sometimes use grotesque stereotypes to depict the poor.

Hicks has accordingly painted the poor as content, obeying the scriptural mottoes on the wall that advised: 'Having food and raiment let us be therewith content' and 'Godliness with contentment is great gain' (1 Timothy 6.8 and 6.6). The mottoes chosen from the New Testament legitimise the relief provided, direct the sentiments of the poor and set a scriptural limit to charity in contrast to Old Testament or Jewish scriptures which require greater respect for the poor (Proverbs 22.9, 22.22; Maimonides 1979: 7.7.1-11, 7.10.1-16). Hicks narrates the transaction of charitable giving. We move from those waiting and weeping to the girl handing over her soup-ticket in payment, to the farm labourer receiving his jug full of soup, to the two small children with a large jar of soup and then to the recesses of the room where the contented elders are fed.

The poor are sober and deferential, looking downwards rather than resentful; there is no hint of irony. The room is spacious and well-lit, not crowded and dark, implying that poverty was being well-managed. Few soup kitchens identified in the study counties were as large as this or provided space for the poor to eat in. There are notable absences from the painting: soup, cooking, and the benefactors. Doubtless the benefactors are viewing the canvas hanging in their drawing room, where they would want to see grateful and humble poor averting their gaze, not ragged or hungry paupers staring back defiantly. The gift promotes humility and gratitude; soup transforms misery into contentment. Hicks's careful depiction of the transaction is repeated in articles and stories (such as SDG 16/12/1879: 3; BH 6/2/1875: 5; Rosa 1849; Kennedy 1876).

Further evidence that these poor may not be 'authentic', despite Hicks's involvement in charitable work, comes from his other works. The central pair appears in an almost identical pose, minus children, but smiling happily, in *Osier*

Whitening (Figure 6.2), a much-sanitised picture of hard rural labour, and in *Changing Hom*es, a picture of middle-class bliss. The weeping mother to their left also appears, smiling, in this later painting and the woman in a check shawl to the right is almost identical to a sketch shown in Allwood (1982: 43). While it is not surprising that Hicks sketched models and adapted these for different paintings, varying their appearance to suit the context, it emphasises the problematic nature of art.

Figure 6.2. Left: *Osier Whitening* 1856/57 (Allwood 1982: ii). Right: *The Parish Soup Kitchen* (Hicks 1851).

Illustrated newspapers before 1850

Early illustrated newspapers were similarly reluctant to depict 'vulgar poverty' and aspired to compete with fine art (Fox 1977: 93). Consequently the British poor were rarely shown before 1860; only three journalistic illustrations of soup kitchens before 1858 are known. One 1847 picture of the Quaker soup kitchen in famine-stricken Cork contained no poor or hungry people whatsoever (Figure 6.3).

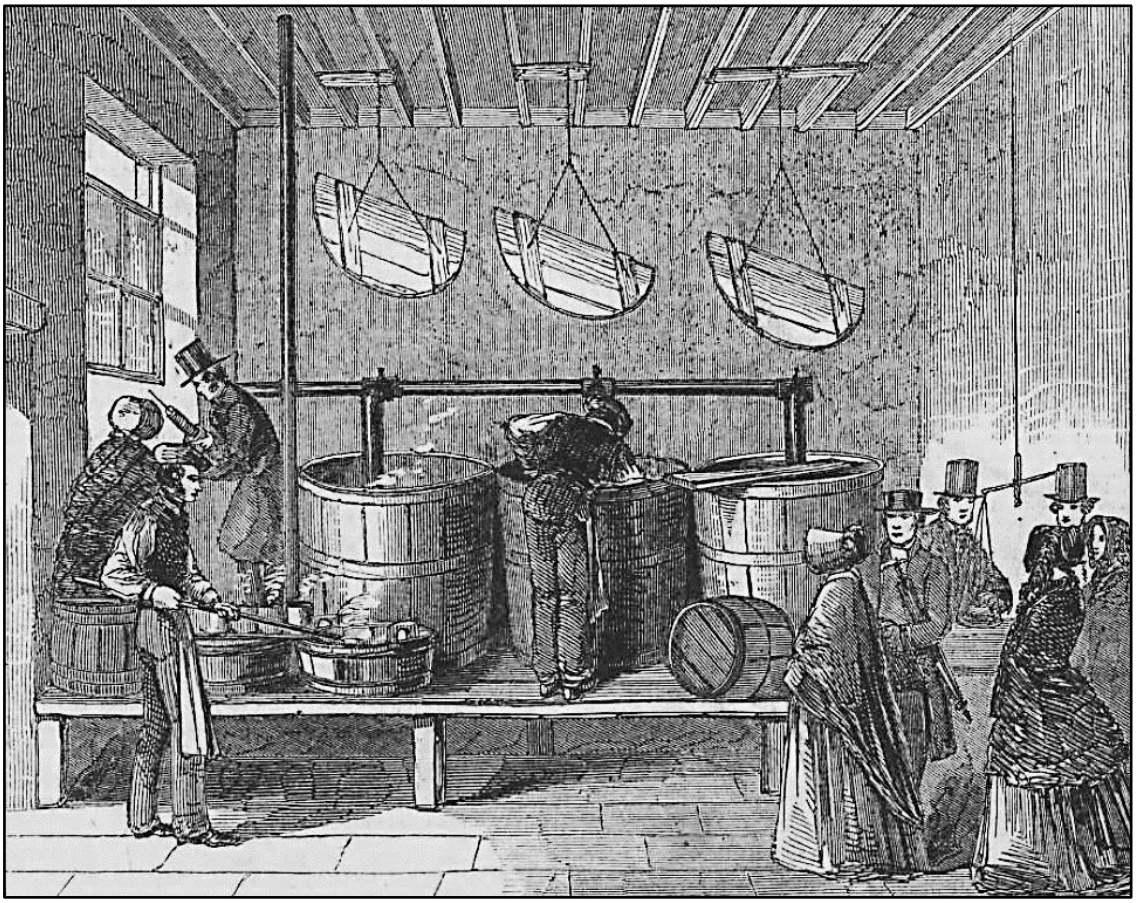


Figure 6.3. The Society of Friends Soup Kitchen in Cork, Ireland (ILN 16/1/1847: 12).

The Leicester Square Soup Kitchen (**LSSK**) first opened in January 1847 in the basement of 40 Leicester Square (Leicester 1850: 18) (Figure 6.4). The LSSK was organised by Charles Cochrane. In late 1847, the doors to the LSSK were 'crowded' as it served over 1,000 every day, including many Irish refugees (Leicester 1850: 82), yet Figure 6.4 shows only 20 people in the soup kitchen waiting for, or consuming soup, and five supervising or serving. The accompanying illustration shows a crowd perhaps queuing outside at the basement steps, but it is the massive building that draws the eye.

Figure 6.4. The Soup Kitchen at 40, Leicester Square, the National Philanthropic Association's building (another brainchild of Charles Cochrane) (PMG 11/12/1847: 1).

Cochrane owned *The Poor Man's Guardian*, a short-lived illustrated newspaper targeted at working-class readers (Fox 1977: 108) which published this picture showing a genteel shop rather than a teeming soup kitchen. The poor are tidily-dressed, shod and orderly, looking down; only the top hats and tails distinguish the supervisors from the poor.

Cochrane opened a second soup kitchen at Ham Yard in December 1847 (Leicester 1850: 81). When Prince Albert visited Ham Yard Soup Kitchen in

February 1848, the newspapers were more interested in the Prince than in the paupers, who are hemmed in at the margins by tables, or shadowy figures excluded from the room (Figure 6.5). The poor became captive participants in a performance of humanitarian concern which was partly intended to improve the image of the Queen's consort (even if his charitable feelings were genuine). The room is again neat, spacious and orderly. There were tables for eating arranged around the large room (Leicester 1850: 86) while others took soup and bread away. Cochrane died in 1855; Ham Yard continued operations until about 1920 (Woolf 1952).

Figure 6.5. Prince Albert's visit to the Ham Yard branch of Leicester Square Soup Kitchen (ILN 19/2/1848: 107).

Soyer in Dublin

While Cochrane was busy in London, famine was raging in Ireland. The government and charity responded with soup kitchens. Alexis Soyer, celebrity chef, criticised the relief effort, claiming that other soup-makers did not understand the science of cookery or the needs of the soup-recipients (Soyer

1848: 11). He designed a mobile soup kitchen which he demonstrated (*Times*: 18/2/1847: 5). The Lord Lieutenant of Dublin invited him to set up an enlarged 'soup depot' on the esplanade in front of the Royal Barracks (*Times* 22/2/1847: 6; ILN 17/4/1847: 256). The depot was a large marquee with walls made of wooden boards (Figure 6.6). In its centre sat a coal-fired 300-gallon steam boiler on wheels with a glaze-pan for browning meat on top and a bread oven capable of cooking 112lb of bread. Around the boiler were eight 100-gallon *bains-maries*, where the soup simmered, and chopping tables for meat and vegetables. Around these, against the walls, were benches and tables. The tables had 100 circular holes cut in them containing 100 one-quart enamelled iron basins; 100 spoons were chained to the table, one for each setting. Above the benches were storage facilities for water, meat and other soup ingredients.

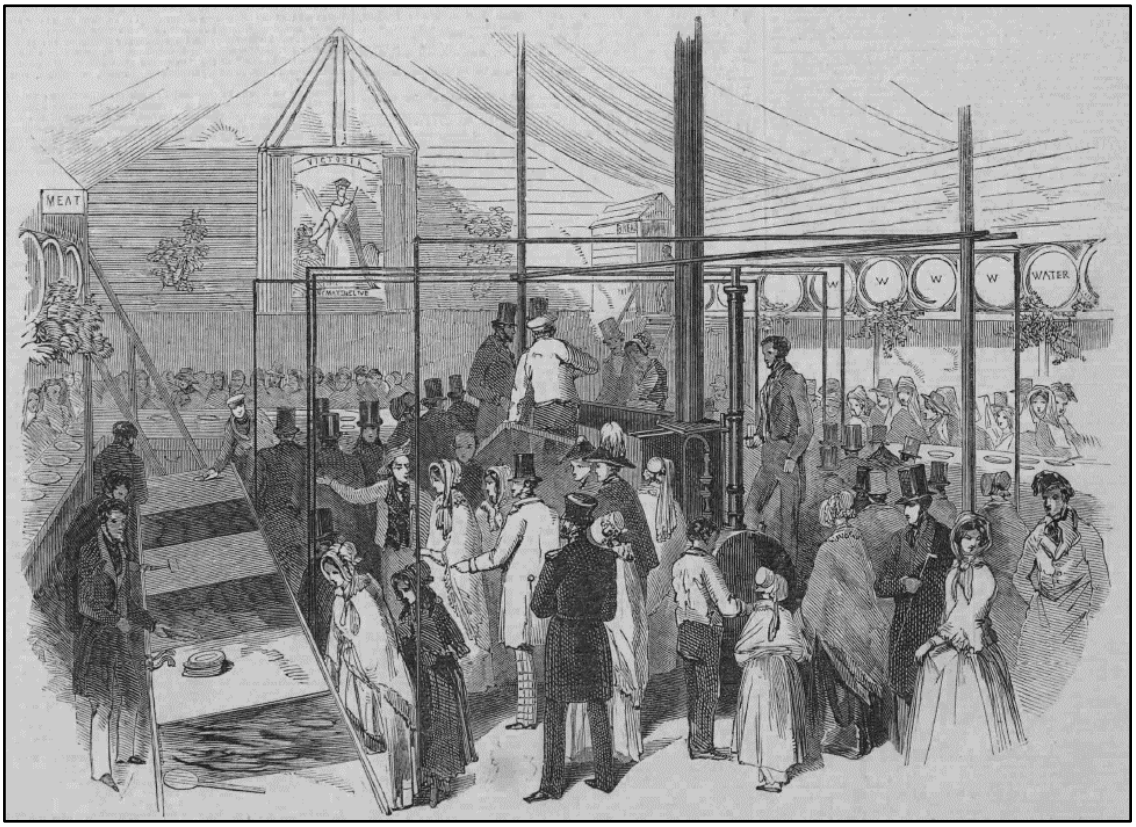


Figure 6.6. Alexis Soyer demonstrates his mobile soup kitchen to Prince George (ILN 17/4/1847: 256).

At the ringing of a bell, 100 hungry Irish filed past a clerk into the marquee from an outdoor maze, before sitting at the tables where the basins were ready-filled. After grace, another bell rang giving 100 people less than six minutes to eat their soup. On leaving, each person was given bread or ship's biscuit. Then, another 100 filed in (the bowls and spoons were in theory cleaned between sittings). The marquee could seat 1,000 people an hour; the kitchen could generate a further 2,000 quarts for take-away service. Soyer even envisaged soup being delivered elsewhere by heated carts. Soyer and the royal party are drawn in detail, but the poor are barely visible (Figure 6.6).

Feeding huge numbers of poor required great organisation but the control of time by ringing bells, the grace and the close-packed seating, overlooked by a portrait of Queen Victoria, were reminiscent of workhouse discipline. The location in front of the barracks guaranteed good order. Like the bowls, spoons and soup, the poor were objects to be managed *en masse*. They had a peripheral but necessary role, six minutes of fame in a philanthropic pageant. Silent and grateful recipients of inadequate relief, seated around the stage where the master chef, his busy cooks and his hissing machinery were the centre of attention, the hungry became witnesses to the dramatic performance of their own relief. The only noises permissible were the grace and the rattling of spoons on tin bowls. As a young man, Soyer had been interested in a theatrical career (Soyer 1859: 3) and here he was fulfilling that ambition. The spatial control relegated the poor to the margins, and the artist has depicted them as faceless shadows.

The gentry who visited the marquee entered through the maze and were able to sample the soup before the first 100 poor entered *under police escort*. The rest of the poor had to wait for several more hours before they were admitted, while

other spectators viewed the facilities. The role-play of the gentry passing through the maze as if they were poor, making the poor wait (their time was worthless) and providing them with bowls and spoons which were probably not properly cleaned, all humiliated the soup-recipients. The bells, the seating arrangements (no one can move until their neighbour moves), the police, the military all exerted control; total institutions dehumanise and mortify the selves of their inmates in this way (Goffman 1969: 173, 1961: 26-60). Charity had become a spectacle of public humiliation. The picture, place and performance all segregated the poor from the rich. Any autonomy the poor had was left outside. The hungry poor were portrayed as dangerous but effectively corralled by design and sated by technology. By focussing on the visitors and exaggerating the scale of the building, the artist implies that the invisible poor were as comfortable as the gentry and that the provision was generous.

Soyer was lionised in England but roundly criticised in many Irish newspapers for shaming the poor, treating them as 'beggars' or 'docile animals', and turning their 'parade of wretchedness' into a public attraction, while the starving struggled to avoid the gaze of Dublin's gentry (FJ 6/4/1847: 2, 4/5/1847: 2; DEPC 6/4/1847:4; DEP 6/4/1847: 3; *Pilot* 7/4/1847: 3). The government purchased the kitchen for the South Dublin Union Relief Committee (Morris 2013: 79). This was simply to halve the cost of relief, not to relieve the famine better. No other mobile soup kitchens were established. Soyer returned to England without a ringing endorsement.

Soyer's zealous and compassionate, but flawed, attempt to relieve the crisis, and his failure to realise that tasty soup was no substitute for real famine relief, make

him an easy target (Strang and Toomre 1999: 78). The policies and failures of the authorities were more truly blameworthy.

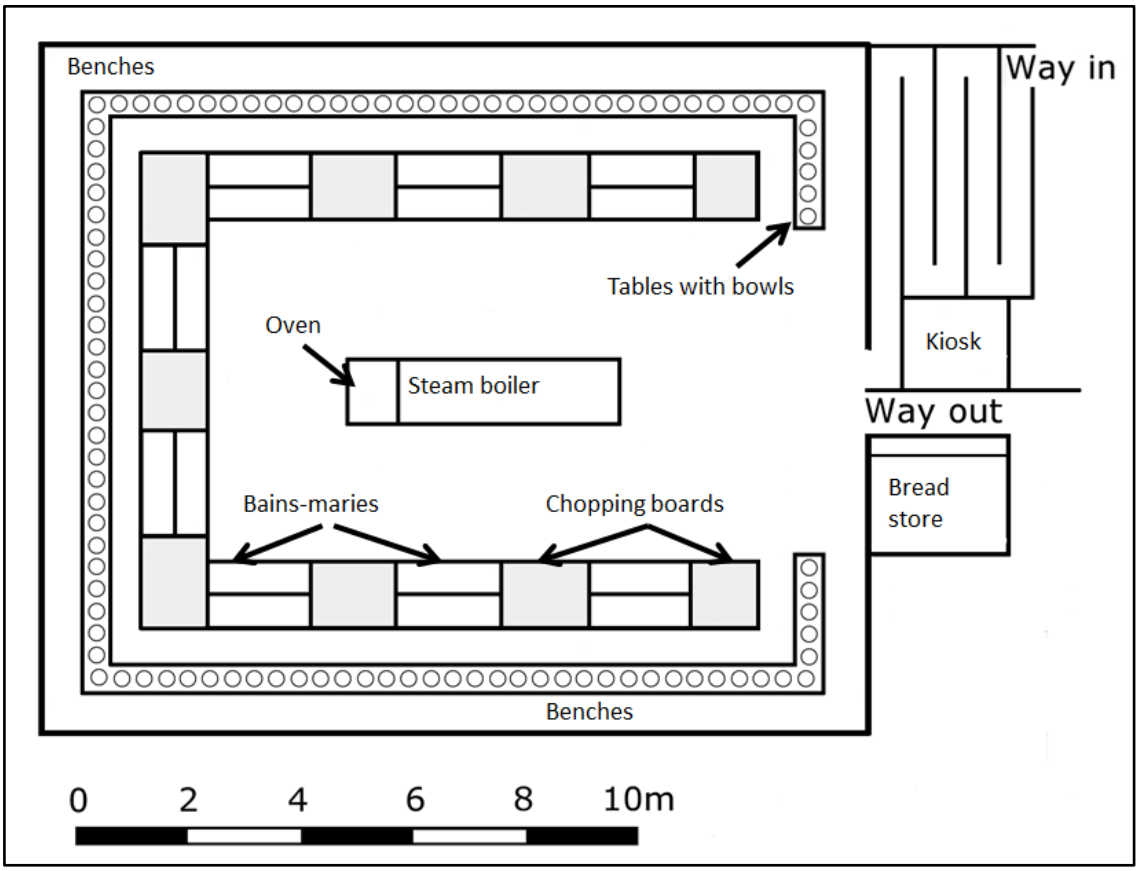


Figure 6.7. Conjectural plan of Soyer's soup kitchen based on his description and Figure 6.6; each circle is a place setting with bowl.

Back in London, Soyer installed a soup kitchen for St Matthias Church, Spitalfields, which continued for several years. In 1852 he helped reorganise Ham Yard and the LSSK's Farringdon branch (SEG 29/2/1848: 2; ILN 26/2/1848: 15, 19/1/1850: 7; Soyer 1859: 249). At Ham Yard's grand re-opening ceremony soup was served to the accompaniment of a band playing a succession of waltzes and polkas reprising the theatrical performances of Dublin with 'merry tunes'.

Illustrated newspapers and books 1858-1914

The 'modern life' paintings of Frith, Hicks and others, inspired illustrators to depict more lively and crowded places teeming with characters even if they are still stereotypes (Figure 6.8). The change reflects a growing awareness of poverty.

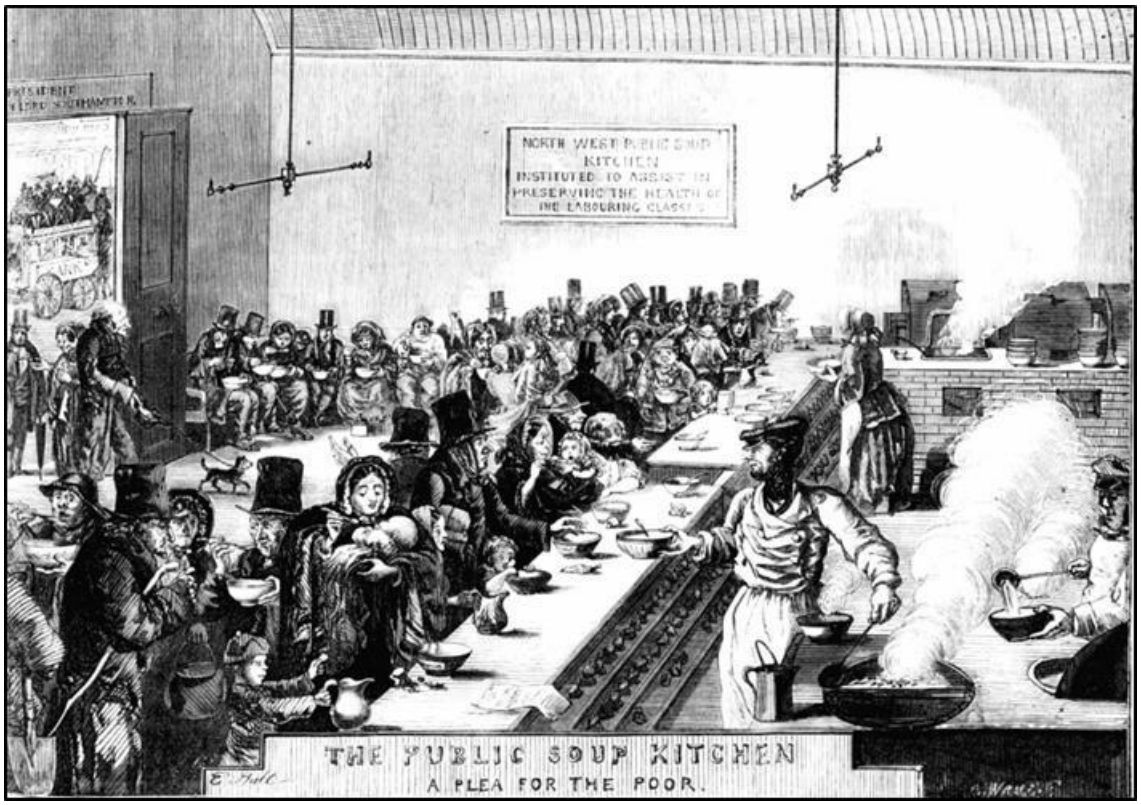


Figure 6.8. The North West Public Soup Kitchen (**NWPSK**), 295 Euston Road (formerly New Road), London; the roof is curved corrugated iron (IT 18/12/1858: 1).

Two contemporaneous depictions of the NWPSK, Figure 6.8 and Figure 6.9, are of the same building. The first picture shows the building to be cathedral-like, with a roof arching over the lively multitude of soup-recipients. The second shows the building in the background of a much larger painting of a streetscape. Ordnance Survey plans indicate that the frontage of this building was 5m wide. The 15 people shown eating and waiting at the counter would barely have fitted (Soyer's Dublin experiment needed 6m for 15 people). The poor are shown neatly

contained within the space bounded by the counter and the walls. The artist has taken liberties with perspective to make the scene more lively and entertaining.

Figure 6.9. The NWPSK in 1854 on the right (LPA/17251). The 'windows' are blind and so do not appear on the inside view; for detail see Figure 7.20; later the building became the Model Soup Kitchen (Figure 6.35). [Image redacted. It is available at https://www.londonpicturearchive.org.uk/view-item?key=SXsiUCI6eyJ2YWx1ZSI6InNvdXAga2loY2hlbiIsIm9wZXJhdG9yIjoxLCJmdXp6eVByZWZpeExlbmd0aCI6MywiZnV6enlNaW5TaW1pbGFyaXR5IjowLjc1LCJtYXhTdWdnZXN0aW9ucyI6MywiYWx3YXlzU3VnZ2VzdCI6bnVsbHosIkYiOiJleUowSWpwYk1WMTkifQ&pg=4&WINID=1656874012702#EJkDqr-yCOkAAAGBxWMQOw/15280.]

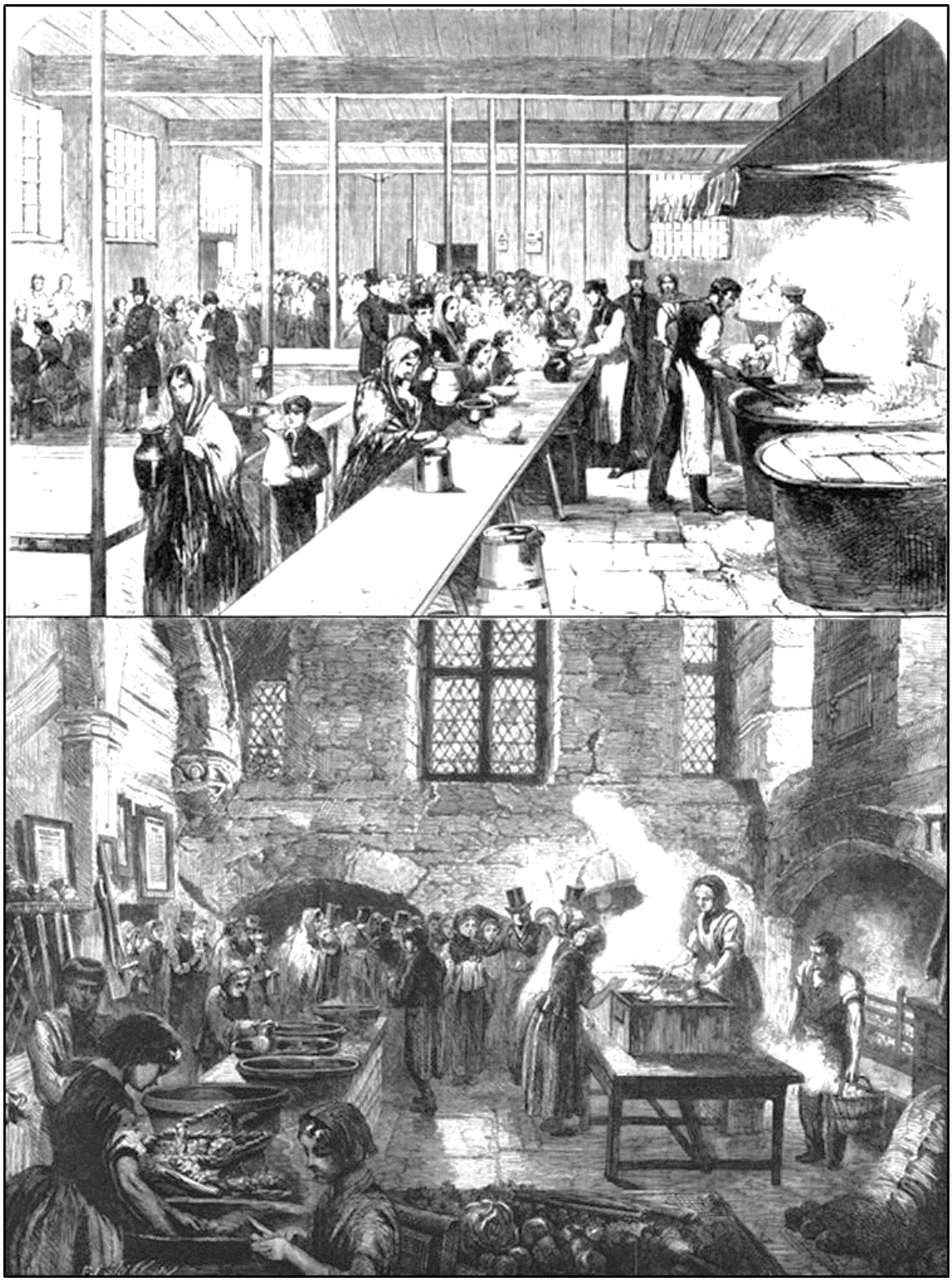


Figure 6.10. Orderly soup kitchens in the Cotton Famine: top Crooked Lane, Preston (IT 29/11/1862: 497), bottom St Mary's Guildhall, Coventry (ILN 9/2/1861 115) (Wellcome Collection).

Figure 6.11. Chaotic soup kitchens; top, Ratcliffe Highway, Limehouse, (ILN 16/2/1867: 152), bottom, Sheffield Brightside (ILN 25/1/1879: 88).

The Cotton Famine soup kitchens are crowded but orderly, the soup-recipients (mechanics and factory hands) are safely hemmed in by tables, barriers and counters (Figure 6.10; Figure 6.18) in contrast to the scenes from 1867 and 1879 which are more chaotic and steamy, populated by people shown like wild animals or elderly witches (Figure 6.11). The disorder may also reflect growing fears of social unrest, particularly in London after 1866 (Stedman Jones 2013: 241).

Difficulties with lighting and movement may explain the absence of photographs of soup kitchen interiors within the study period, although photo-journalists were interested in the spectacle of poverty (Long 1999: 26) and some charities were quick to use and misuse photographs in pursuit of their goals (Lloyd 1974: 12; Koven 2004: 81ff). Photographs of late-nineteenth-century soup kitchens are as staged as Hick's painting and usually show a formal parade of cheerful, well-clothed and shod children *outside* the soup kitchen. Soup-recipients are present inside the kitchen area in Figure 6.19, the only known nineteenth-century photograph of a soup kitchen interior, which enables the photograph to narrate the story of charity, but the image is carefully composed.

Discussion

Many newspaper illustrations were produced from stock (the studios used existing drawings) (Wolff and Fox 1973: 562ff). Buildings are often shown divorced from their surroundings in the tradition of the topographical print. Interiors were drawn to look far larger than they were to exaggerate the generosity of benefactors and create drama. (Dickens 2005: 446). Elements of the performance were probably similarly subject to artistic licence. They portray charity and the poor as their middle-class consumers imagined.

The exaggerated scale of the buildings emphasises the work that charity was undertaking. The poor are presented with stereotypical traits that identified them as poor: hunched, angular, downcast gaze, dull with sloping foreheads and with the characteristics that Cowling (1989: 122) identifies as sub-human. In contrast, middle-class kitchen supervisors are tall, upright with long faces, prominent foreheads, and shiny top hats with distant gaze.

The depicted action is at the boundaries, the soup kitchen doors and the counters and barriers. The artists have been careful to show these areas in well-run soup kitchens as controlled; in disorderly kitchens there is no proper barrier and the doorways are overflowing as the crowd threatens to burst into the room. The art expressed the anxieties of the well-to-do that at any moment disorder could erupt unless charity contained the poor. Controlling the poor artistically reflected real life policies: the poor can only access the front region where their performance is public; there is no back-stage to which they can retire. The buildings only gather meaning when they are populated and people engage with the space; the taskscape and performance make these places soup kitchens. The poor learned how to play the role of supplicant and embodied knowledge through moving through these spaces under the watchful eyes of their superiors. They appeared humble, tearful, grateful and obedient. This was how charity was supposed to be. It is only in the later-nineteenth century that unruliness begins to break through into the art.

The illustrations served to inform the public of what was happening and where, but the scenes are exotic. The following sections will look more closely at the material culture of soup kitchens, using the finer detail of these illustrations to see how the performances were staged.

b. Managing people

Almost all the illustrations show people queuing and waiting for soup. Queues were not popular with anyone. Buchan, who disapproved of soup kitchens, complained about 'the wrangling, the swearing, the obscenity and the uproar' of the queues (1801: 13). A 'poor man' complained that his wife spent too long queuing, gossiping and drinking gin while fetching soup, time that she could better spend working (Critical Review 1800: 118). Whether this was a genuine complaint, or the fiction of an objector to charity, is uncertain; the references to gin echo the prejudices of Colquhoun. The later illustrations of queues show people packed front-to-back, shoulder-to-shoulder; sociable interaction was curtailed (Figure 6.18, Figure 8.27) although some mazes are portrayed as having more space (Figure 6.10). Those eating in soup kitchens are shown arranged around the edge of the room facing inwards, no one sitting opposite another, again restricting social interaction. Furniture organises the space and the people, dictating how they move, what they can do, if and where they can sit. It creates an anonymous and impersonal environment.

With several thousand attending the larger institutions, even the speediest took an hour or more to serve everyone. St Giles (Seven Dials) reduced its queue to 30 minutes by halving the number of days people could attend (increasing serving sizes proportionately) and opening earlier (Bernard 1802b 131). Unless people were prepared to risk there being no soup left, it made sense to arrive early and wait. Queuing is reputedly quintessentially British (Moran 2007: 60) and originated in nineteenth-century urbanisation and waiting for access to charity (Winterman 2013), but the *organised* queue with lines of people separated by barriers is almost certainly an invention of the soup kitchen. The Spitalfields

Soup Society constructed a snaking passage built of solid barriers to 'give greater convenience to the poor' (Spitalfields 1798). Plans show a 'maze-passage' (Colquhoun 1799a) or 'labyrinth' (Blackfriars 1800); the uncertain terminology suggests it was an innovation. Clerkenwell, Orchard Street, Blackfriars and West Street Soup Kitchens all adopted mazes.

Mazes were justified on the grounds of fairness and maintaining order (Clerkenwell 1799: 18). Outside Ham Yard were 'convenient barriers... for the protection of females and the infirm' (Leicester 1850: 158). Large crowds and hot soup were a dangerous combination. Katie Smith, aged six, was badly scalded by someone spilling soup on her in Gravesend (GRNK 7/1/1871: 5). In Wolverhampton, a baby was crushed to death in a free-for-all to get soup (SA 27/2/1841: 3). In Leighton Buzzard several children were crushed (but survived) in a melee outside a soup kitchen (BE 8/1887: 8). A Dudley crowd broke down the barriers at their soup kitchen injuring several (TH 22/1/1887: 5).

The ideology that queues are fair and democratic conceals the discipline imposed. The long queue is a specialised form of institutional time-wasting (Goffman 1961: 23), humiliating the poor because their time was worth less than the pennyworth of charitable soup. At least three soup kitchens (the GSK, the London Soup Kitchen for the Jewish Poor (**LSKJP**) and Margate) had toilets, in acknowledgment that getting soup took time. Bodily discipline was imposed by metal or wooden barriers that created a path often so oppressively narrow, between 0.45m and 0.5m wide, with lines of people on either side), that there was no space to turn around (Table 6.1). People had no autonomy, no choice of direction in which to move or the speed at which they advanced. Social

interaction even at the counter was limited as they were funnelled past. Repeated performance reinforced the message.

Those organising soup kitchens were well aware of the importance of the performance of queuing; visitors to Soyer's Dublin soup kitchen went through the maze and at the opening of the new GSK building in 1880 several of the better-fed committee members found it 'difficult to thread the maze' which was specially designed for 'thin persons' (TWA/CHX3/1/3). Playing poor was entertainment but, in ridiculing the absent poor, derogatory (Goffman 1969: 172). The poor could only go through the maze or sit at the edge of the room; they were spatially inferior to the well-off visitors could move freely in the centre of Soyer's marquee.

Mazes can be 'read' in several different ways. The experiences of those interacting with mazes were undoubtedly complex and varied. Sutton (1996: 323) describes mazes as Foucaudian machines, exerting bodily control and under constant supervision. However, only the largest soup kitchens adopted mazes. A perfunctory barrier at the serving counter was more common like Preston (Figure 6.10) Margate (Figure 6.12) or Wendover (Figure 7.15). A crowded maze might be claustrophobic, but once you were in the maze, you were assured of your eventual progress to the serving area without being crushed or others pushing in front. The shared identity and relative anonymity of the soup queue might produce the freedom from responsibility felt by Augé's traveller on entering a *non-lieu* (2009: 101).

Charities had limited resources and the demand for food was great. Queuing was therefore inevitable, but it was a non-activity, neither working, nor leisure, nor eating, nor doing anything except anticipating something that was not quite food

in a place that was only temporary or only temporarily a soup kitchen. Queuing was a different sort of justice to that available under the OPL.

Soup kitchen	Date	Maze width	Source
Spitalfields Soup Society	1798/99	0.5m	Colquhoun 1799b
Clerkenwell Soup Society	1799	0.5m	Clerkenwell 1799
Orchard Street, Westminster	1799	0.5m	Colquhoun 1799a
City Public Kitchen, Blackfriars	1800	0.6m	Blackfriars 1800
General Soup Kitchen, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	1880	0.45m	TWA/T186/8889
London Soup Kitchen for the Jewish Poor	1902	0.7m	*Builder* 24/1/1903: 91

Table 6.1. Soup kitchen maze widths based on published plans.

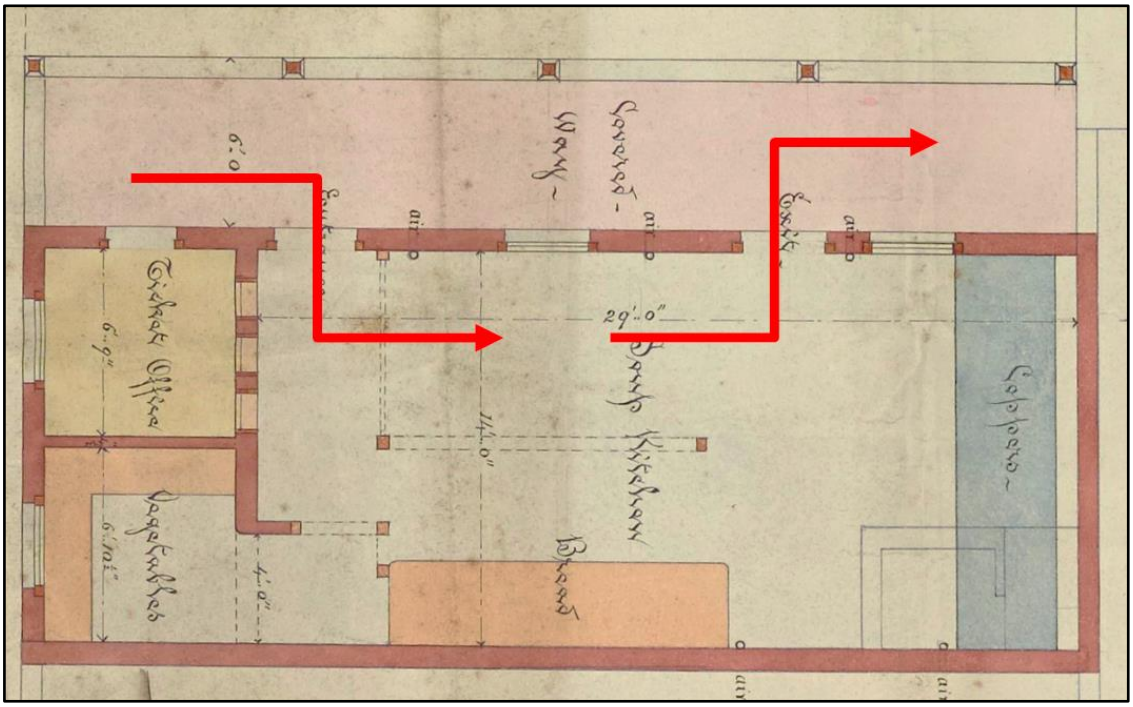


Figure 6.12. Margate Soup Kitchen c.1860 with direction of flow added, past the ticket office, bread counter and soup counter (KHLC/EK/U1453/P190).

Blackfriars and Clerkenwell provided small rooms equipped with fireplaces for people to sit and eat (Figure 7.27, Figure 8.29). Holmes' soup kitchen in Newcastle-upon-Tyne had seating for those who paid an extra penny to eat-in; this was probably the venue for the conviviality portrayed in *The Soup Kitchen* (Corvan 1860). Seating was also available at LSSK, the NWPSK, Preston and Gray's Yard (which was probably more of a public kitchen). Ham Yard could seat 30, who were expected to eat within 15 minutes (over double the time allowed in Dublin) (Leicester 1850: 158). With the exception of Dublin where seating seems to have been used to control behaviour, these buildings typically had seating for only 20-30 people (Table 6.2). The poor were expected to take their soup and move on: there was no rest for the wicked.

The illustrations show almost all people seated as male. This may reflect the middle-class ideal of gender-segregated eating which remained prevalent until

the late-nineteenth century (Keane and Portnoy 1992: 159; Ehrman *et al* 1999: 79). There were few eating establishments where respectable women could eat, even when accompanied. In Birmingham in 1800 it was proposed to have a series of small public kitchens with:

> 'at least two rooms... one for males, and the other for females, with proper accommodation for them to sit down and eat their soup' (Birmingham 1800: 32).

Although Sims (1903: 207) stated that 'unfortunates of both sexes' could be found dining at Gray's Yard in 1903, Figure 6.13 shows only a few women in the crowd, and Ham Yard is shown with only men seated in 1849 (Figure 6.15) and 1901 (Figure 6.14) although several women are present in 1848 (Figure 6.5).

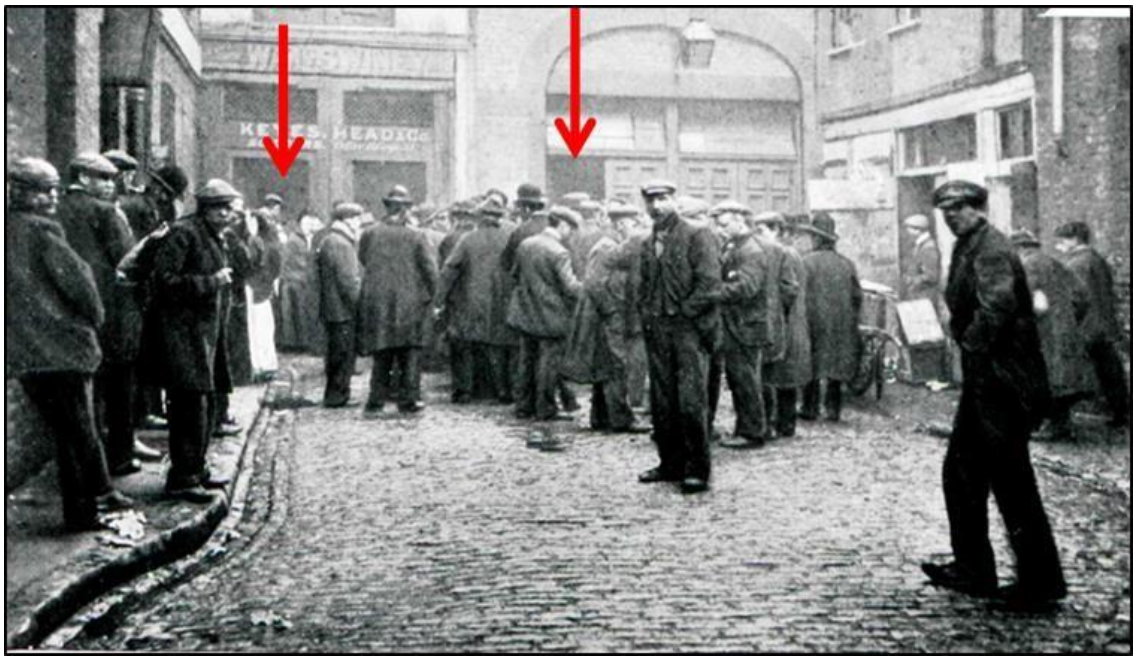


Figure 6.13. Gray's Yard, Marylebone, London 1903, men and a few women, left arrow, outside the soup kitchen door right arrow (Sims 1903: 208).

Soup kitchen	Date	Length	Width	Seating
Clerkenwell	1799	5.5	3.8	<20
Blackfriars (Friar Street)	1800	5.2	2.8	<20
Holmes' Soup Kitchen Newcastle*	1827-1844	14m	4.5m	30?
Ham Yard London (building may have changed after 1850)*	1848-1920	11.7m	6.7m	30
40 Leicester Square	1847-1850+	<8m	<5m	20-30?
Soyer's Dublin Soup Depot	1848	14.6m	12m	100
North West Public Soup Kitchen	183?-1858+	12m?	4.7m	30?

Table 6.2. Estimated soup kitchen dimensions and seating capacity. * denotes measurements are from the most likely building or room within a building.

Figure 6.14. Ham Yard Soup Kitchen (Sims 1902: 332). The well-dressed clientele are 'tradesmen' looking for work.

Figure 6.15. Ham Yard in 1849 (the sign on the wall commemorates Prince Albert's visit) (IHT 9/3/1849).

Colquhoun (1797: 15) made ticketholders take their soup home to their families. No seating had the advantage of keeping the poor on the move:

> 'inhabitants... [are] naturally averse to witness the assemblages of the poor, the destitute and the needy, brought together to receive soup'

commented *The Times* (22/2/1847:6) (as if the poor were not inhabitants of anywhere). Placing the seating around the edges of the room pushed the poor to the margins within the spaces provided.

The soup kitchen was a new form of space; it could be a social place, if the songs of Corvan (1860) and Emery (1840) are to be believed, although the illusion of social space in Figure 6.8 is revealed when the size of the building is considered; it was perhaps as social as a rush hour train. There may have been some camaraderie when acquaintances could sit and eat together but it is more likely that soup kitchens were places of anonymity and isolation, like Augé's *non-lieux*.

c. Fittings, stoves and tools

Stoves and digesters

Brick-built stoves (boilers) housing coppers (these were large metal bowls, usually made of galvanised iron) were central to the process of soup-making. Well-to-do eighteenth-century households used such stoves for heating large volumes of liquid (Sambrook and Brears 2010: 101-104). Stoves were circular or square, usually built next to a chimney and the kitchen range. Breweries and laundries at larger houses contained much larger coppers.

Rumford turned a standard kitchen fitting into an efficient industrial machine by narrowing the space between the copper and the brick surround and shrinking the firebox so forcing the hot gases from the fire to circulate slowly around the copper before exiting via the chimney. The maximum number could be fed with the minimum input of energy (Bernard 1798d: 65-71). Improved stoves did not create the soup kitchen but they promoted the ideology that science solved social problems.

Not every soup kitchen used a Rumford stove. Steam generated by a boiler could be piped under low pressure into the bottoms of large wooden vats from where it bubbled up through the soup transferring its heat as it went (Figure 6.16, Figure 6.17). After 1780 steam-cooking technology was promoted for its economy and for preserving flavour (Pennell 2016: 67). For soup kitchens, economy was the highest virtue, and with steam, soup could not burn and even stirred itself. The disadvantages of steam were the engineering and expense of installation.

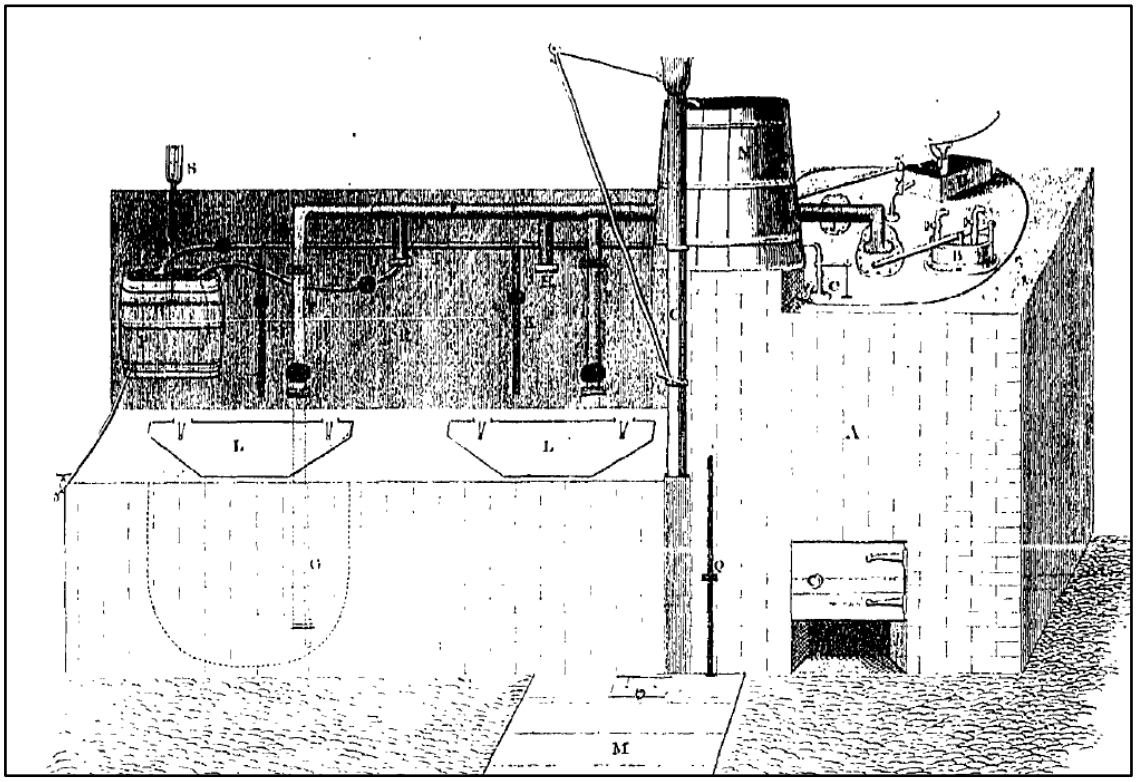


Figure 6.16. Steam boiler on the right with steam piped into two lidded coppers on the left (Worcester 1817: frontispiece).

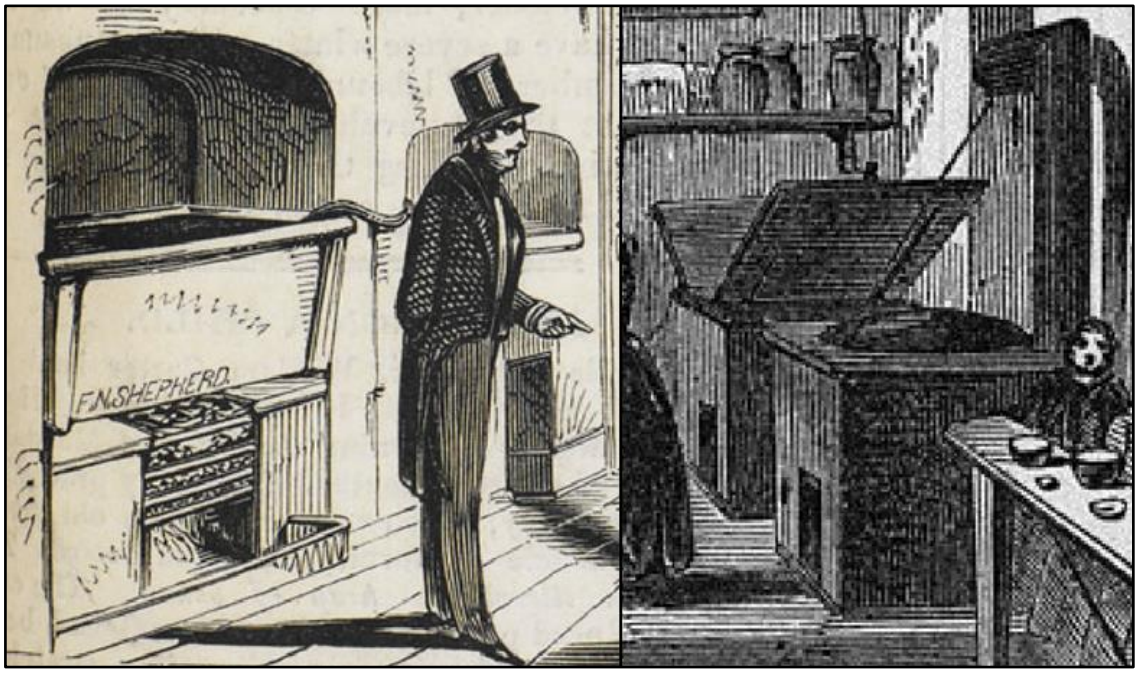


Figure 6.17. Left, a rectangular boiler over a coal grate to pre-heat the water which is then syphoned into a stove on the right at Leicester Square. Right, stoves at Ham Yard, details from Figure 6.4 and Figure 6.15.

Worcester claimed to be first to adopt steam in 1817 taking advice from dyers who used steam in manufacturing dyes (Worcester 1817: 13). The Amersham Soup Society owned a brochure for 'Slark's steam-kitchen' in 1799 but plans of the kitchen show a simple brick stove. Holmes boasted of the soup's improved flavour at his 'Steam Soup Manufactory' (Figure 4.2) (associating it with industrial processes) (NC 1/12/1827: 4, 13/4/1855: 9). Steam was widely used in larger soup kitchens after the mid-nineteenth century, including Cork (Figure 6.3) Soyer's kitchen (Figure 6.6), Preston (Figure 6.10) and Chesham (BCh 9/1/1856: 3) and Bristol (Figure 6.19). The wooden vats used with steam were lighter than brick stoves and could be put on wooden or upper floors as at Manchester and the GSK, so saving space.

The only known surviving soup kitchen stoves are at Bloxham Courthouse, Oxfordshire, Weston Manor, Hertfordshire and Thornton Hall, Buckinghamshire. Each is a brick stove from the mid to late-nineteenth century. In Bloxham, the two large stoves are placed between a window and the chimney into which their flues run (Figure 6.20). The stove top is made from neatly-jointed slabs of smooth fine-grained stone. Each stove still contains an iron copper, fire-door and grate. Two stoves enabled greater flexibility in the amount of soup being produced than a single stove would.

Two stoves survive at Weston Manor, one in the Manor's old kitchen, dating from before 1887, the other at the Manor Farm next door, in an outbuilding (Figure 6.21). The Manor's stove measures 1.1 x 0.9m in plan and 0.98m high. The corner projecting into the room has been chamfered. The copper would have been about 0.68m in diameter and 0.5m deep with a capacity of about 120 quarts. The low height and lack of tap indicate this was primarily for kitchen not laundry use.

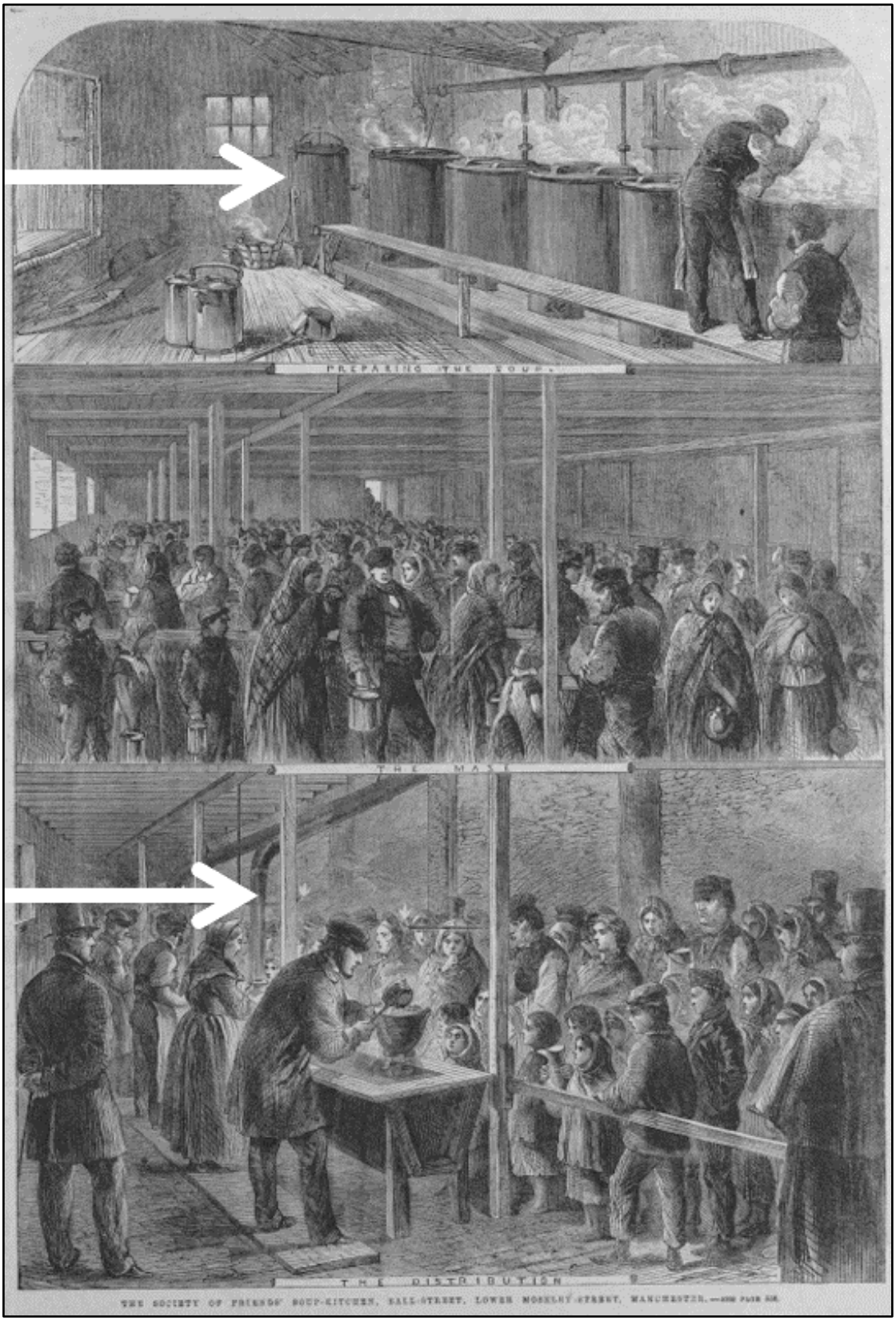


Figure 6.18. The Manchester Society of Friends Soup Kitchen. Soup pipes from upper floor to the troughs below arrowed. The digester arrowed above with large soup vats heated with steam (ILN 22/11/1862: 21). (Wellcome Collection).

Figure 6.19. Dr Doudney's soup kitchen, William Street Ragged School and Mission Hall, Bristol, built ca. 1874 (Winstone 1965: 79). The large boiler (back right) heated steam for the wooden vat. Dr Doudney, who died in 1893, is on the left behind the soup vat. [Image redacted].

Figure 6.20. The two stoves at Bloxham Court House; with capacities of about 240 quarts and 200 quarts.

Figure 6.21. Left stove at the Manor with a capacity of about 120 quarts and the two wooden covers. Right stove at Manor Farm with a capacity of about 50 quarts.

The Thornton, stove is a laundry copper, located in the laundry room behind the house next to the brewery. The stove is 1.3 x 1.13m in plan and 1.83 m high; the copper would have contained about 200 quarts. Hot water could be drawn off easily from a tap at the bottom (Figure 6.22). The exterior of the stove is rendered and the top is finished in lead. The copper's interior is untinned, not ideal for making soup due to the risk of contamination if soup were left too long in it.

Figure 6.22. The laundry copper at Thornton Hall, Buckinghamshire.

The decline of the kitchen copper after 1850, due to improved large kitchen ranges, meant that those who had previously provided household stoves for the village soup kitchen had to improvise. In Benson, Oxfordshire, the women bought a portable copper so they could take turns to make soup (Morley 2012: 304). Portable coppers for household use were available from the 1860s (Figure 6.23). They made the village soup kitchen an even less permanent place. Soyer had designed a mobile soup stove for the British army during the Crimean war

based on his Dublin machine (Soyer 1857: frontispiece). His design continued in use until the Falklands war (Cowen 2006: 323).

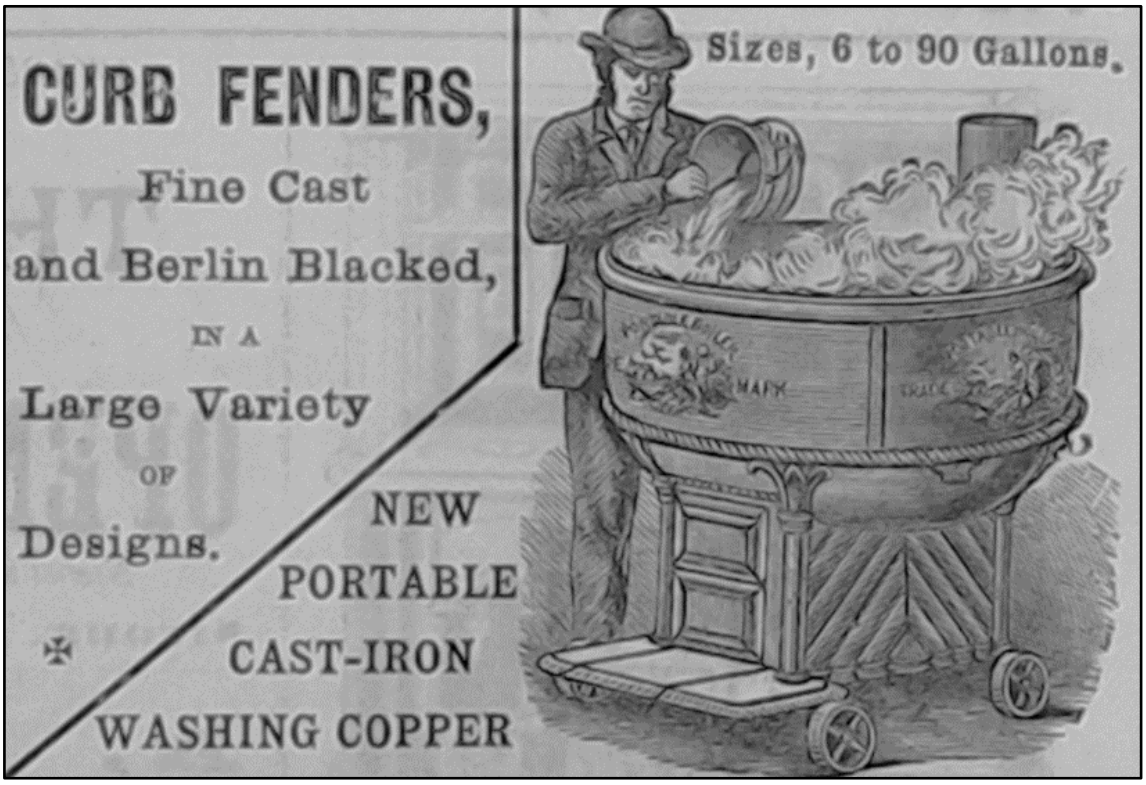


Figure 6.23. Portable laundry copper (Ironmonger 1888: 63); Sambrook (1983: 2) illustrates a similar copper without wheels from 1929.

Digesters (large pressure-cookers) were important features of many soup kitchens (Figure 6.18). The Victoria Soup Kitchen (North Shields) used its digester to cook bone into delicious 'extract of meat' for adding to soup (SDG 16/12/1879: 3); 20lbs of bone could be reduced into stock leaving only 1lb of powdered bone residue (Bernard 1798a: 164). This wizardry of creating 'meat' out of the inedible greatly offended some soup-recipients (Staffordshire 1812).

If soup was made on an upper floor, gravity assisted in moving it through pipes to feeding troughs (Figure 6.18 and the 1880 GSK). Ingredients needed to go up (a large kitchen would use hundreds of pounds of meat and hundreds of gallons of water daily). The GSK used a hoist between the storeroom and the kitchen

above (Figure 6.24). Not all soup kitchens adopted state-of-the-art technology. At the Great Arthur Street Mission (London) two men at a 'fast run' spent two hours bringing 2,000 quarts of soup upstairs from the basement kitchen twice a week (May 1876: 3). St Albans Soup Kitchen must have done similarly for nearly 40 years as the stoves were in the basement and there was no dumb-waiter or hoist. Bucketing hot soup around is shown at Coventry (Figure 6.10) and Spitalfields (Figure 8.27); technology and efficiency were not always paramount.

Figure 6.24. Cut-out (now blocked) for a hoist in the ceiling of the storeroom at the GSK, Newcastle-upon-Tyne to the kitchen above.

Paraphernalia

Soup took hours to cook; once peas and cereals were added, it would catch on the bottom and burn unless it was constantly stirred. At Brightwell, Oxfordshire, two boys were employed to stir the soup continually (Morley 2012: 307), a solution probably adopted by most. Steam-heated soup was not at risk of burning but still needed stirring before serving. Large wooden paddles were used to stir the soup (Soyer 1848: 22) or a giant spoon (Figure 6.25).

Figure 6.25. Tutbury Soup Kitchen staff in the 1920s, with a soup stirrer and several measuring cups (Tutbury Museum 2021c) © Tutbury Museum.

Pint and quart measures were used to serve the correct measure of soup (soup kitchens accounted for every drop). Some kitchens served the soup straight from the stove to the waiting jug, others transferred soup by bucket or pipe to the serving area. Soup was then dispensed from large pans (Figure 8.27), trays (Figure 6.10) or troughs (Figure 6.18). Only Manchester and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, cities with reputations for efficient manufacturing and austere poor relief, seem to have used troughs and they also used tight mazes. This may have been the quickest way of serving many, but the association with herding and feeding farm animals is strong. The term 'farming the poor' had been used since the eighteenth century for parishes contracting out responsibility for maintaining their poor to private enterprise, much-admired by Bentham (2001: 276).

Ventilation

Ventilation in soup kitchens was always a problem. All the illustrations depict soup kitchens as steamy places. Single-storied buildings could be open to the roof, but this was often not sufficient. At his new soup kitchen in Wendover, Alfred Rothschild installed:

> 'a ventilator of approved type fixed to carry away the steam arising from the hot soup, which in the old kitchen often made the conditions far from comfortable' (BH 15/12/1906: 8).

The GSK's 1880 kitchen was open to the rafters with a louvered roof (Figure 6.26). Single-storey buildings were often double-height, like Margate's, which also had ventilators running the length of the roof (Figure 6.27). William Street, Bristol was double height with ventilation controlled by ropes (Figure 6.19). Smaller buildings had rectangular ventilators on their roofs (Figure 6.28). Berkhamsted had small slots in the gable walls which must have been barely adequate (Figure 6.29). The LSKJP had ventilation hoods and a large glass lantern over the kitchen (Figure 7.41).

Figure 6.26. The louver running along the roof at Newcastle-upon-Tyne GSK 1880.

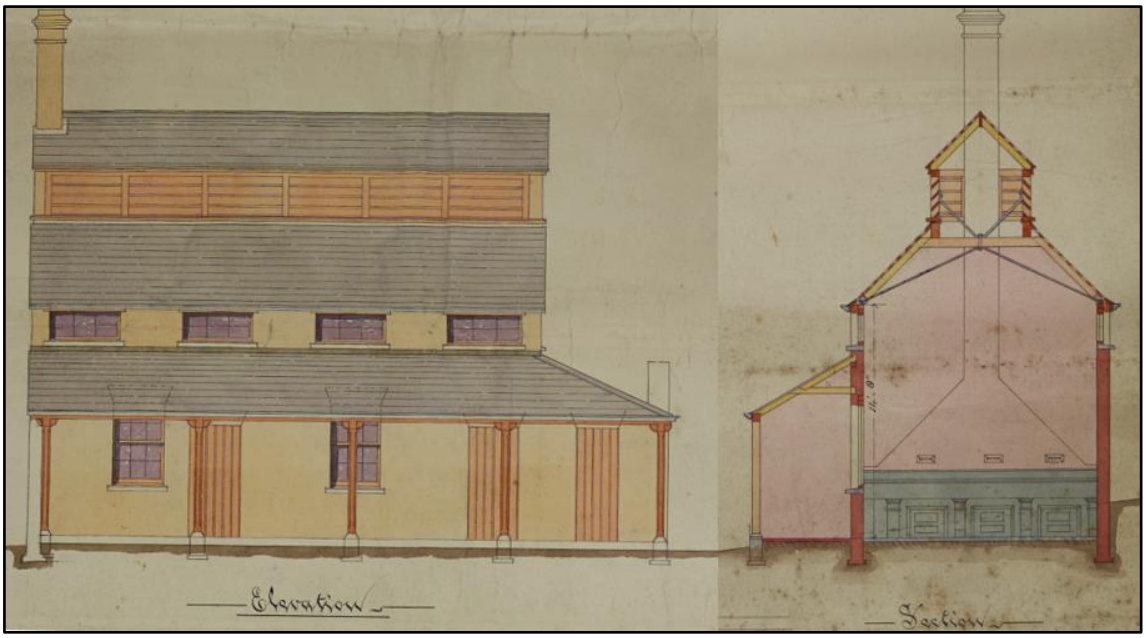


Figure 6.27. Margate Soup Kitchen showing double-height room and roof ventilator, c.1860 (KHLC/EK/U1453/P190).

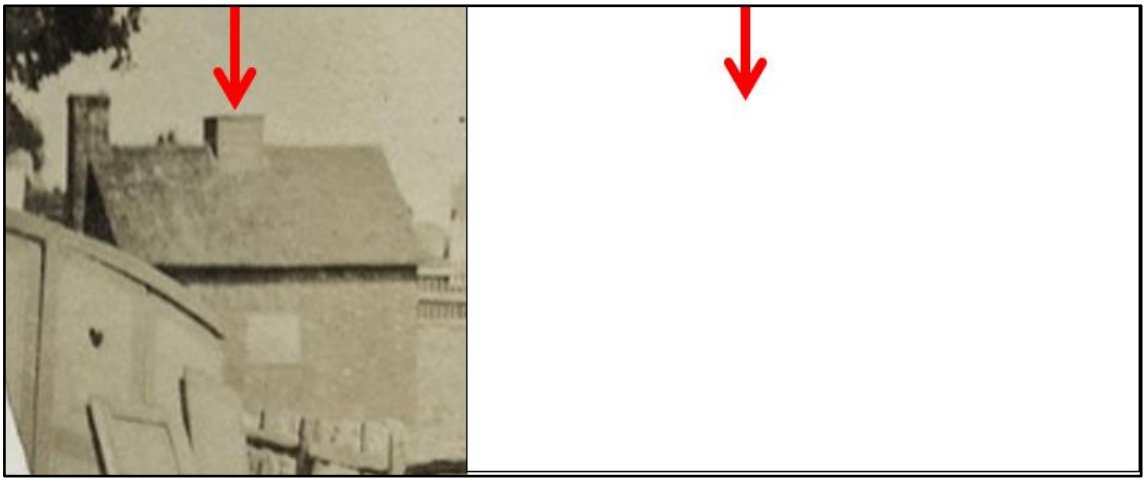


Figure 6.28. Small roof ventilators at Cranbrook, Kent (Hardy 1865) (©Patrick Montgomery Collection, History of Photography Archive.) and Rangemore, Staffordshire (German 2018) [Image redacted].

Figure 6.29. The Soup House, Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire: ventilation slots in end gables, left front, right rear.

Walls

Ham Yard displayed a large sign commemorating Prince Albert's visit within a year of its happening as well as what appear to be landscape paintings (Figure 6.15). The NWPSK displayed a sign over the door celebrating Lord Southampton's sponsorship. These signs were an important indicator of the survival of the moral economy and endeavoured to create a gift relationship between the wealthy donor and the soup-recipient, but also presaged *non-lieux* where signage replaces human communication (Augé 2009: 96). Hicks' painting

shows distempered walls with framed religious mottoes the only 'decoration'. Distemper (whitewash) was the standard treatment for walls where more expensive paint or paper were not required. Late-nineteenth-century soup kitchens used glazed brick and tile, which were easier to clean. The GSK's 1880 building had glazed-brick dados to 1.2m above the floor in the meat-store, the passageway from the maze to the serving area and on the first floor kitchen walls. At William Street, Bristol, one wall is tiled and the other is brick (Figure 6.19). Michael Bass's soup kitchen at Rangemore (c.1890) is elegantly tiled with cream and brown tiles (the colours of beer). The LSKJP made extensive use of glazed bricks as did Wendover (BH 15/12/1906: 8; CBS/D/HJ/A/45/10).

d. Bowls, pots and cans, tickets and tokens

If people were eating on the premises, they needed seating, bowls and spoons. None of the records from the soup kitchens reviewed in this research mention such items, yet some soup kitchens would have rung with 'spoons rattlin', rattlin', rattlin'' and the poor 'knockin' thor basons an' brattlin'' (Corvan 1860: 6). Stacks of assorted, presumably second-hand, crockery are shown in some soup kitchens (Figure 6.4, Figure 6.8, Figure 6.11).

Most people took soup away and had to provide their own containers. At Berkhamsted, in February 1887, the *Berkhamsted Times* (cited in Birtchnell 1972b: 7) reported:

> 'From all parts of the parish came the people with their tin cans, or other vessels, some of which, improvised for the occasion, are of an interesting description. One had a capital contrivance, the insertion of a handle into the sides of a jam-jar of considerable dimensions...'

The poor and frugal used damaged ceramics until they broke, and then repaired them (Carstairs 2013: 26) (Figure 6.32). The regular newspaper comments show that this is not just an artistic convention for identifying poverty. The makeshift economy also encompassed material objects through repurposing, mending and making do. The poorest lacked even these containers. In Woolwich, some families had nothing to take soup home in; the Duchess of Richmond gave a silver jug to a villager who had nothing to collect soup in (IBJ 6/6/1857: 2, 27/9/1856: 4). Damaged ceramics were hazardous: in Liverpool an eight-year old died from cuts received when she fell onto the damaged edge of her soup jug (HG 4/5/1867: 6).

The LSKJP provided their clientele with soup cans whose size varied according to the size of the family they were supposed to feed (Figure 6.30). In 1892 it had 600 cans but needed another 500 to accommodate the growing numbers of poor (LMA/ACC/2942/003). The numbered cans were collected in at the end of each season. Following London's example, the Manchester's Jewish Soup Kitchen adopted cans in 1906 (GMCRO/GB127.M151/1/1). Cans also acted as tickets, they were unbreakable, they ensured the correct measure of soup was given, and, importantly, they ensured dietary laws were complied with (Jewish dietary laws prohibit the same container being used for meat and dairy products). The non-Jewish soup-recipients had to bring their own containers.

Occasionally, non-Jewish soup kitchens also used cans. An 1826 inventory of the contents of the Poor's Lodge at Trentham Hall included 21 one-quart cans (Sambrook 1996: 213). In Tingewick, the rector also sent soup cans round the village (BE 29/1/1881: 5). Tutbury used soup cans (Figure 6.31).

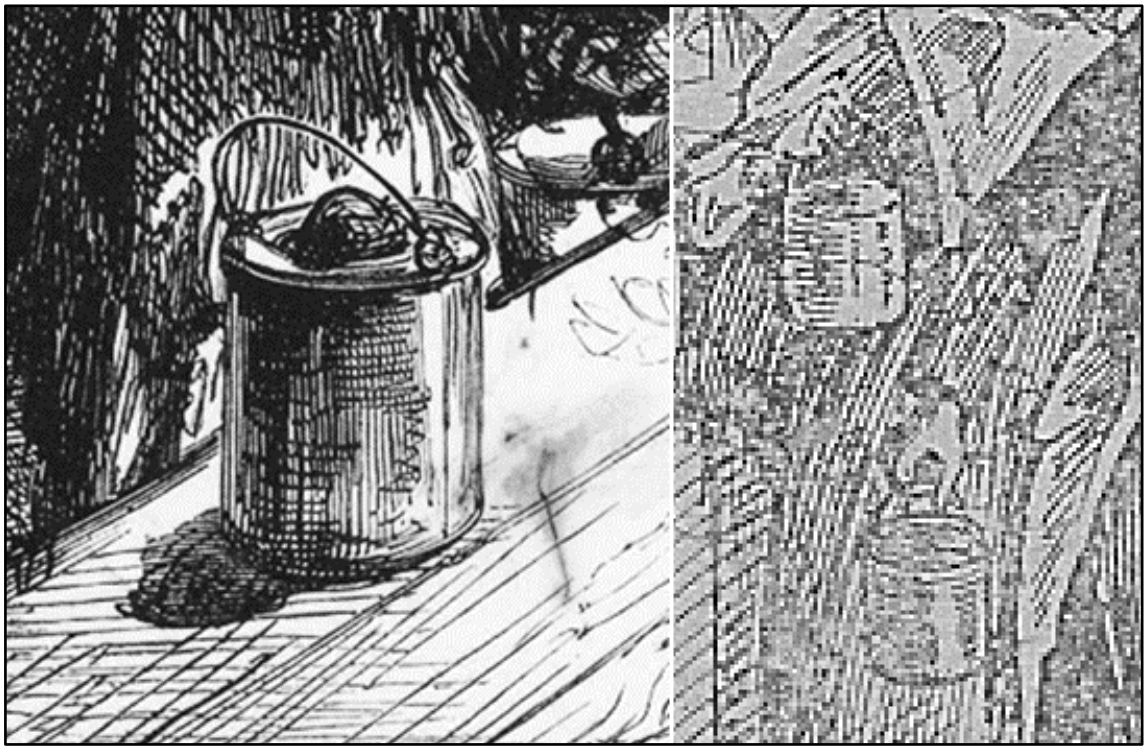


Figure 6.30. Soup cans at the London Soup Kitchen for the Jewish Poor, left Fashion Street (ILN 27/12/1879) (© Bishopsgate Institute), right ca. 1902-04 Butler Street (JML/C/1997.1) (©Jewish Museum London)..

While a can demonstrated entitlement to soup, it also identified the holder as being in receipt of charity. Soup-recipients were badged in all but name as they trooped through the streets or queued outside soup-shops or in market places. You might be going shopping with a basket on your arm, but with a billycan or old jug you were probably fetching charity soup. The containers often spoke of poverty: cracked, chipped, and artfully repurposed. The variety of containers, ceramic and metal, for transporting soup and drinking from, challenge the conventional archaeological categories and interpretations of objects.

Figure 6.31. Soup can, early-twentieth century (Tutbury Museum 2021b) © Tutbury Museum.

Like an official soup can, soup-tickets demonstrated entitlement to soup. Colquhoun included specimen tickets in his publications. There were two ways in which the poor could get a soup-ticket depending on how the soup kitchen was run. Subscribers might get tickets in proportion to their subscription which they distributed to anyone whom they considered deserving. This required the poor

to beg a ticket from a subscriber which they could then take to the kitchen and, usually with the payment of an extra penny, get soup and sometimes bread. Some soup kitchens instead allocated soup-tickets to families at the start of the season by requiring the poor to apply at a public building. They were interviewed by a committee member and their details recorded.

Figure 6.32. Detail from Figure 6.1 showing the girl offering a crumpled soup-ticket and also damaged crockery.

Figure 6.33. Details from Figure 6.8 showing a subscriber giving a ticket or a penny, a child proffering one at the counter and a used ticket on the counter.

Tickets led to several problems. They might encourage begging, with the most winsome or aggressive getting more tickets or pennies than necessary, while the neediest might not get one because they were too ashamed to beg (Figure 6.35). Subscribers were often less discriminating than organisers wanted. Subscriber tickets encouraged the poor to visit the houses of the rich even more than they did anyway for alms. For the well-to-do this could reach alarming proportions: 'Mrs Lloyd's residence [in Dudley] was besieged by a 'disorderly, cursing crowd' demanding tickets (TH 22/1/1887: 5). The secretary of South Shields Soup Kitchen was beset by over 300 women in his shop seeking soup-tickets (SDG 30/12/1870: 2). St Albans' soup committee recommended subscribers:

> 'never to give away tickets at the door, but always send them either direct to the recipients whom they select, or to some person who is acquainted with the most necessitous and deserving cases' (HA 6/12/1879: 6).

Tickets were endowed with almost magical properties, and were allegedly as acceptable to the deserving poor as money and would 'lead to the detection and punishment of the undeserving' (CJ 8/4/1848: 62). As if to prove the point, a Woolwich man was arrested on suspicion of murder, solely because he had some soup-tickets, a little cash and a suspicious demeanour (KW 10/3/1820: 2). Berwick magistrates fined a man for begging while having 11d and tickets for two different institutions (BA 7/2/1879: 2). Being in possession of a soup-ticket could be enough to get you into trouble as Henry Quin, aged ten, found to his cost. Newcastle-upon-Tyne magistrates jailed him for a week for allegedly stealing a ticket for Holmes' Soup Kitchen and begging for halfpennies. Quin claimed that George Richardson, a well-known committee member, had given him the ticket,

but the bench was convinced of his bad character (NC 22/3/1844: 7) (Quin may have been the victim of hostility towards Newcastle's Irish). The Berwick public were asked to discourage children from begging for tickets because they then sold or traded them (BA 19/12/1879: 3, NJ 12/12/1867: 3). Newcastle-upon-Tyne parents allegedly trained their children to beg for tickets and the pennies to get soup (NDC 16/11/1863: 2).

Quin's ticket was printed with 24 letters. Pasted inside the front cover of the GSK's 1870-1879 minute book is a ticket printed on thick pink paper with four rows of six letters (Figure 6.34). Each letter represented a day's ration of soup for a month (most soup kitchens never opened on Sundays). The wording on the ticket 'or at differen[t]...' suggests that the holder had the option to use several letters on one occasion or at different times.

Holmes' Soup Kitchen was part private enterprise and part charity: the public could buy tickets to give to the poor on which Holmes made a profit (TM 4/12/1827: 1). Tickets blurred the boundary between almsgiving and commerce. Butchers and cook-shops often sold soup-tickets for charitable re-use (Hillyer 1798, Bernard 1798c; AM 9/1/1875: 1).

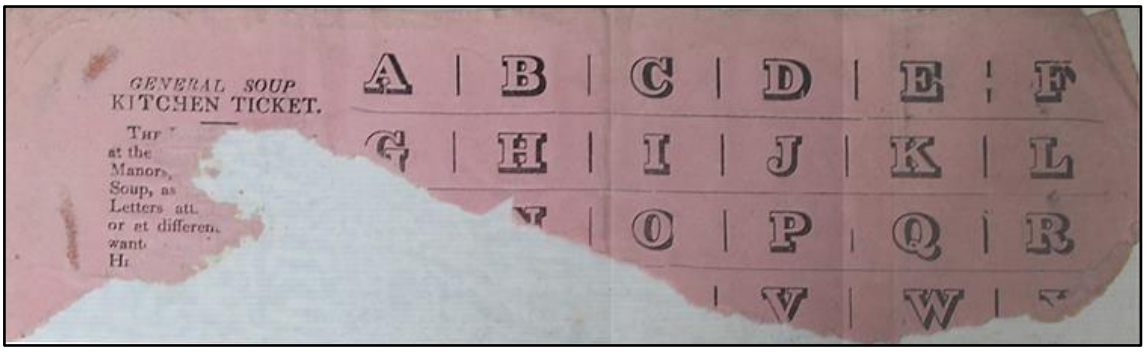


Figure 6.34. Newcastle-upon-Tyne GSK soup-ticket ca 1870. The wording on the left reads 'GENERAL SOUP KITCHEN TICKET. The... at the... Manors... Soup, as... Letters att... or at differen[t]... want.... H...' (TWA/CHX3/1/2).

Subscribers liked tickets because they felt that they could give alms and receive gratitude without violating the growing belief that indiscriminate charity created paupers. Soup-tickets allegedly encouraged self-help by making the poor contribute to their own welfare (Morley 2012: v) and maintained the gift relationship. Many subscribers wanted to provide charity but even those living alongside the poor often had no contact with them (Smiles 2002: 24), hence the illustrations show subscribers lurking in soup kitchen doorways, waiting to give away their tickets (Figure 6.33, Figure 6.35). Tickets enabled organisations to control eligibility and for the poor they were a sign of merit (Lloyd 2013).

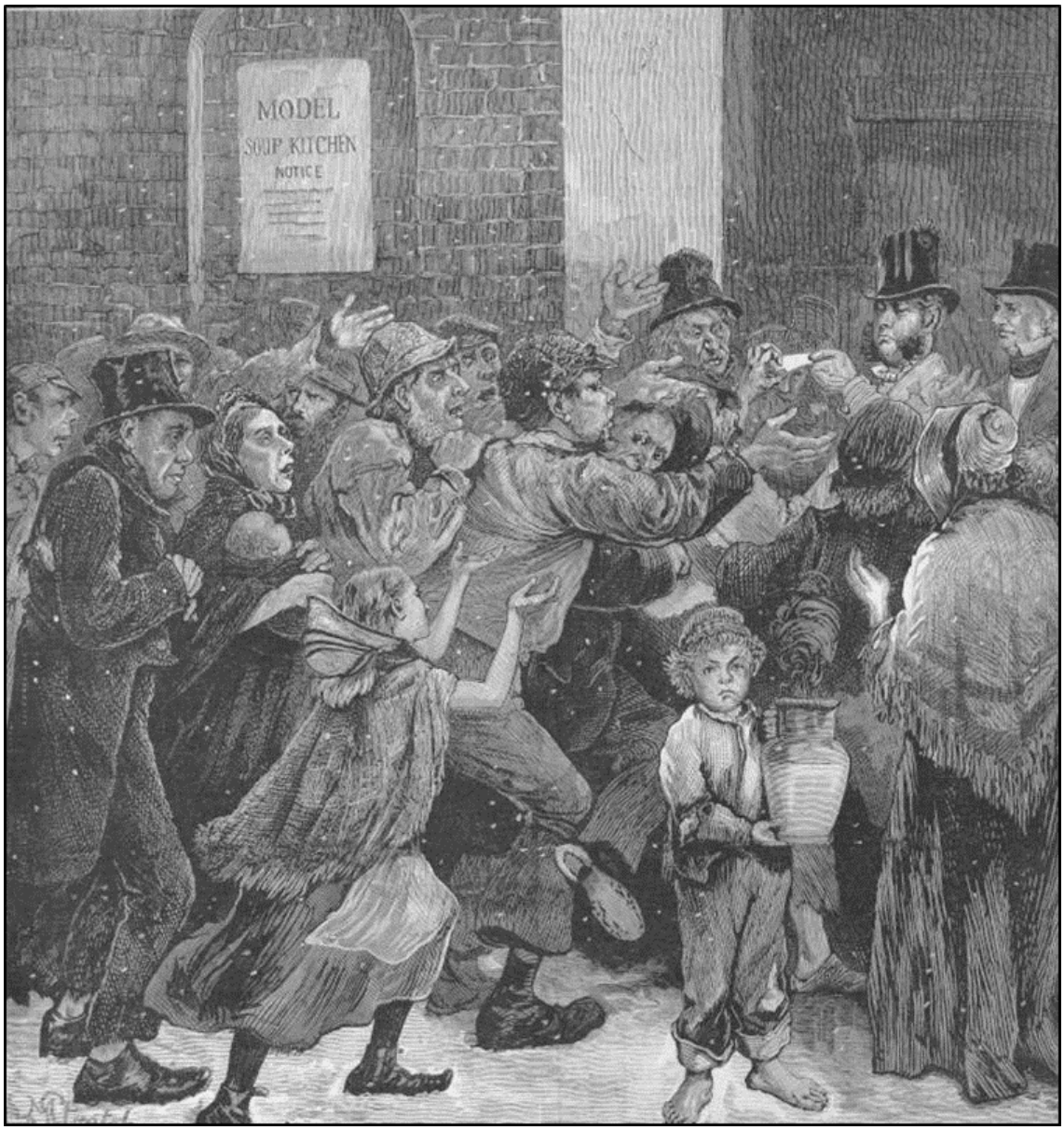


Figure 6.35. Outside the Model Soup Kitchen, 295 Euston Road, London, two lofty gentlemen distribute soup-tickets (ILN 13/3/1886: 266).

Some soup kitchens simply abolished soup-tickets and either sold subsidised soup or gave it away to all-comers. This was still indiscriminate charity, as anyone including the undeserving got fed, but it reduced administration. It was popular with some of the poor, probably because it forestalled intrusive investigation or having to beg, but this 'disenfranchised' subscribers. The alternative was to sell soup at cost-price (the COS's much-admired self-supporting principle).

Within the study regions, abolishing soup-tickets happened more in the Northeast. Gateshead may have done this as early as 1843 when soup was sold to non-ticketholders at twice the price paid by ticketholders, although it still issued some tickets until 1859 (NC 5/1/1844: 1; GO 29/12/1855; NDC 21/12/1859: 3). North Shields abandoned tickets in 1864, claiming they were pauperising and susceptible to abuse, whereas subsidised sales were preferable to the poor and benefitted a 'more worthy class'; the committee could neither investigate soup-recipients nor afford to give soup away (NDC 29/2/1864: 2; SDG 24/11/1866: 1). St Albans considered abandoning tickets so that all the 'industrious poor' could attend (HA 20/12/1884: 6). Most soup kitchens sold leftover soup at cost price once all ticketholders had been supplied (the GSK, Maidstone and Alnwick (SDG 26/1/1864: 2; SEG 24 1/1870: 4; NJ 14/3/1870: 3).

Abandoning tickets caused difficulties: in Gateshead, demand often exceeded supply resulting in a 'fearfully clamorous' crowd at the soup kitchen doors and 'a complete fight' (GO 3/3/1855). 'Scores' went without soup and two 'strong policemen' were needed to keep order (GO 24/1/1863). Gateshead and North Shields later reintroduced soup-tickets (NC 13/12/1879: 5; SDG 21/1/1881: 2).

The alternative was to supervise the distribution of tickets more carefully (Colquhoun 1797: 14). By allowing subscribers to recommend soup-recipients who were then vetted by the committee or district visitors, soup kitchens could maintain the personal gift from the subscriber while controlling indiscriminate charity, although this system was administratively burdensome. This was done between 1816 and 1821 in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Rochester St Mary in 1823 Three recommendations from Rochester survive, one is written on a soup kitchen

circular, one on a business card and one on plain paper (MA/P305/18/16). Those recommended had families of between seven and ten.

The 'season ticket' approach allowed much stricter supervision but deprived subscribers of the opportunity to give personally. Berkhamsted, Faversham, Ashford, Deal, Berwick, Hexham (for bread only, for most necessitous), Waltham Cross and South Shields all did this (KHLC/De/QZm1; IBJ 4/1/1867: 3, SDG 30/12/1874: 1, HG 21/01/1862: 2; HC 25/1/1879: 4, 21/1/1881: 2). In Margate, the poor were unwilling to attend the Town Hall to register: the process was more humiliating than the soup was worth (TA 31/12/1859: 1). Applying for a soup-ticket exposed the poor to shame in front of the investigating committee and neighbours, something that Hexham tried to avoid by privately delivering soup-tickets to some who felt 'a delicacy in applying' (HC 6/12/1879: 5).

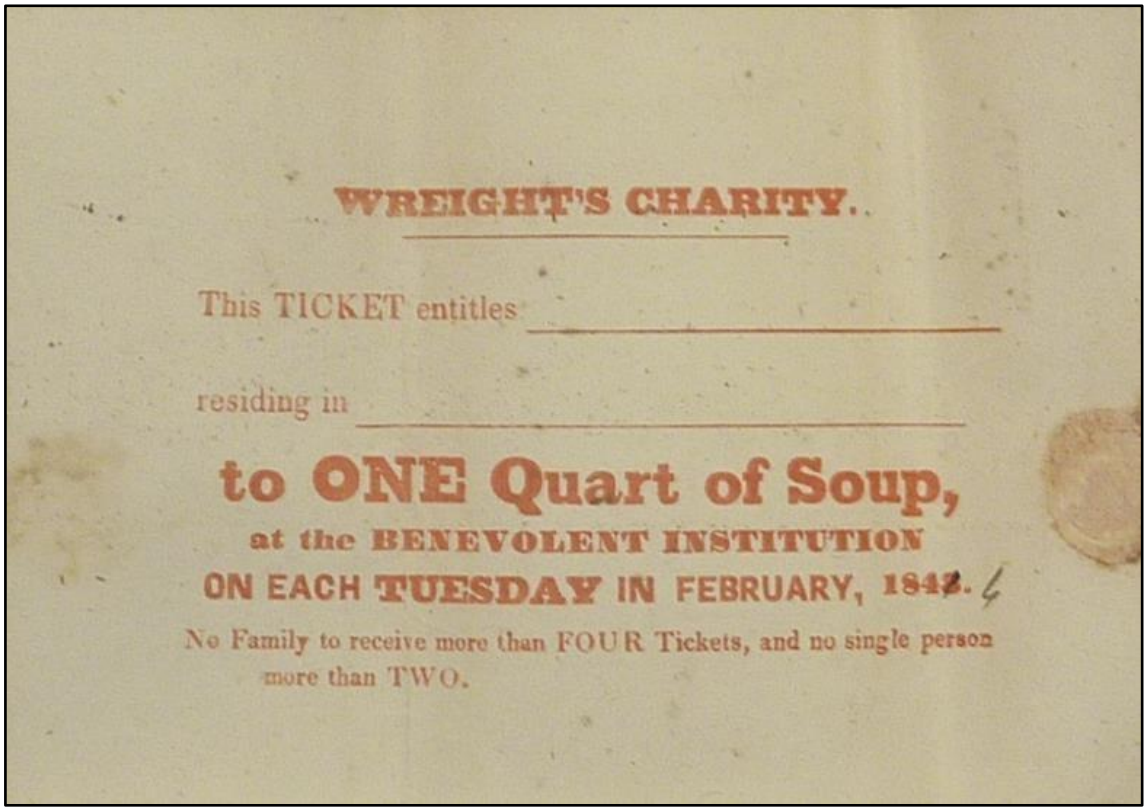
Metal tokens were an alternative to tickets. They were durable and could be used to limit soup to single occasions, but their adoption seems to have been limited. Birmingham, centre of metal-working, considered using tokens in 1800 (Birmingham 1800: 30). Tokens had a degree of permanence that may have offended the belief that charity should be temporary, but it had the look and feel of money which meant the poor were 'buying' soup. This made the gift more of a commercial transaction. Examples of tokens are rare (Figure 6.36).

Figure 6.36. Undated soup tokens: Barnstaple, Hereford Industrious Aid Society, Northeast (Belfast?) Nourishment Society and St George's Hanover Square Soup Kitchen (London) (all 25-30mm diameter) (Mals 2016).

Hexham issued tokens for bread (HC 25/1/1879: 4, 6/12/1879: 5). Aylesbury Soup Kitchen considered using tokens to prevent people begging for pennies but their use could not be restricted to a specified date, unlike a printed ticket (BH 28/01/1888: 5). The committee compromised on 120 single-use tickets which were distributed to three shopkeepers for sale to the public to give to children instead of pennies. A single-use soup-ticket marked 'Saturday' from South Shields (Figure 6.37) dates from 1884-1904 when McGregor's yard on Smithy Street was used for soup distribution (SDG 14/1/1885: 3, 10/12/1904: 2).

Figure 6.37. South Shields soup-ticket advising the recipient to bring a can or jug (Ticket 2020).

Soup-tickets have hardly ever survived (some may be catalogued in archives as 'vouchers'). Paper is fragile; once used, a soup-ticket was of no further value. Soup-tickets from the Boer War are the most common, having being kept as mementos. The Faversham soup-ticket (Figure 6.38) survives because it was re-used as an envelope. The ticket warned the subscriber to limit the tickets being given to one individual or family and to write the name of the recipient on the ticket, recording the personal connection between them. The Faversham committee also allocated season tickets (SEG 1/2/1842: 4; KG 27/12/1859: 5). The printed date of 1843 on the ticket has been amended to 1844 which the committee presumably did to economise on printing costs. Sometimes *subscribers* could exchange expired tickets for new ones, if the soup season ended before the ticket could be given (NC 15/1/1820: 1, 4).



WREIGHT'S CHARITY.

This TICKET entitles _____

residing in _____

to ONE Quart of Soup,

at the BENEVOLENT INSTITUTION

ON EACH TUESDAY IN FEBRUARY, 1844. 4

No Family to receive more than FOUR Tickets, and no single person more than TWO.

Figure 6.38. Faversham soup-ticket for 1844; the red stain is sealing wax (length about 140mm) (KHLC/CAN-U424/E7/5).

St Albans' committee occasionally had to validate the previous day's tickets when the Quarter Sessions, a ball or a mayoral tea meant the soup kitchen could not open as planned (HA 21/1/1882: 5, 25/2/1882: 5). The ticket for the Norwich United Friars Society Soup Kitchen, which also entitled the holder to bread, is for eight Monday visits (Figure 6.39). The ticket would either have been endorsed or a section removed each time it was used. The ticket dates from between 1817, when Daniel Vyall, parish clerk in St Andrew's, took over soup production (NorfC 27/12/1817: 2) and 1828 when the Friars' Society appears to have closed. A list written on the back shows that this ticket too was re-used as re-used, as library loan list.

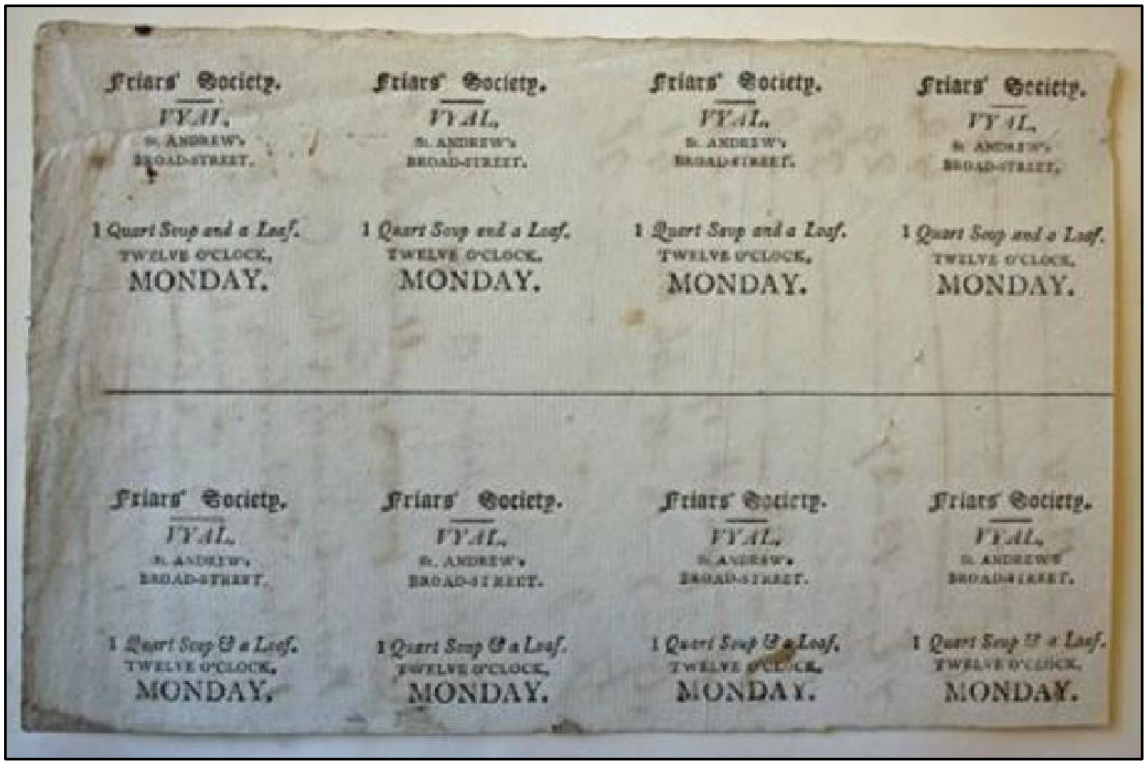


Figure 6.39. Soup-ticket for Society of United Friars, Norwich (NRO 2016) © All rights reserved by Norfolk Record Office catalogue reference: NRO, COL 9/26/1-13.

North Shields' Victoria Soup Kitchen used a more elaborate ticket specifying the dates for each delivery and telling the subscriber what to do (Figure 6.40). Early in 1843, Joseph Laing, the treasurer, wrote to thank the third Duke of Northumberland for his generous subscription of £10, enclosing the ticket and handbill (Figure 6.41). The Duke's secretary dutifully filed the letter, handbill and ticket in the estate files. The Duke faced some difficulty in identifying someone to bestow his gift upon, Alnwick Castle is 35 miles from North Shields.

The Dukes of Northumberland subscribed regularly to soup kitchens in Alnwick, North Shields, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and London. The fourth Duke received a request from the Victoria Soup Kitchen for money; his business minutes record that after checking how much other donors had given, he gave more (NE/BMXXI/212/25/1/1858). For the Duke, the £10 donation was trivial

(although the same day he declined to support a total abstinence society for North Shields' sailors), the estate accounts show that he gave over £5,000 a year to good causes, mostly to schools and churches (NE/SyUVIe). The Duke saw the subscription as fulfilling his traditional duty to the local community. The £10 was also small in relation to the soup kitchen's annual turnover of over £350, but such subscriptions were worth more than the cash: the endorsement of the powerful encouraged others to give. For only £1 your name could appear in the same list as one of the county's wealthiest men. The £10 legitimised the Duke's position but ensured that the soup kitchen relied on its community, and the poor on their own resources with a penny for soup.

The third Duke's ticket is evidence of more than his subscription. The name emblazoned on the top, 'Victoria Soup Kitchen' shows the high esteem in which the institution was initially held, built to celebrate the coronation of the new Queen of England, (NC 8/6/1838: 1; NJ 5/1/1839: 3). (We do not have any 'Elizabeth II Food-banks'). This civic pride had evaporated by the 1880s. The ticket number, 4067, and the days marked, indicate that the kitchen was distributing at least 4,067 servings of soup two days a week that winter. The season was planned to last until 4 March.

The ticket prescribed the choreography for the gift relationship between the subscriber and the recipient. The subscriber was asked to ensure that the recipient was a 'proper object of charity' before putting the recipient's name and personal details and their own name on the ticket, establishing a personal relationship (if only in ink) between the two. For the recipient, the ticket meant 36 meals, or an opportunity to exchange the ticket for something else. A clerk at the soup kitchen clipped the ticket when a day was used (SDG 16/12/1879: 3).

VICTORIA SOUP KITCHEN.

Number of Ticket, 4067 **A. D. 1842 & 1843.**

(ONE PINT.) Name of Subscriber to be signed on the Line beneath.

Name of Person, Number of Children, Place of Residence, Business (if any) to be written below.

TUESDAY, *Dec.* 13.	ONE PINT.	TUESDAY, *Jan.* 24.	ONE PINT.
THURSDAY, *Dec.* 15.	ONE PINT.	THURSDAY, *Jan.* 26.	ONE PINT.
SATURDAY. *Dec.* 17.	ONE PINT.	SATURDAY, *Jan.* 28.	ONE PINT.
TUESDAY, *Dec.* 20.	ONE PINT.	TUESDAY, *Jan.* 31.	ONE PINT.
THURSDAY, *Dec.* 22.	ONE PINT.	THURSDAY, *Feb.* 2.	ONE PINT.
SATURDAY, *Dec.* 24.	ONE PINT.	SATURDAY, *Feb.* 4.	ONE PINT.
TUESDAY, *Dec.* 27.	ONE PINT.	TUESDAY, *Feb.* 7.	ONE PINT.
THURSDAY, *Dec.* 29.	ONE PINT.	THURSDAY, *Feb.* 9.	ONE PINT.
SATURDAY, *Dec.* 31.	ONE PINT.	SATURDAY, *Feb.* 11.	ONE PINT.
TUESDAY, *Jan.* 3.	ONE PINT.	TUESDAY, *Feb.* 14.	ONE PINT.
THURSDAY, *Jan.* 5.	ONE PINT.	THURSDAY, *Feb.* 16.	ONE PINT.
SATURDAY, *Jan.* 7.	ONE PINT.	SATURDAY, *Feb.* 18.	ONE PINT.
TUESDAY, *Jan.* 10.	ONE PINT.	TUESDAY, *Feb.* 21.	ONE PINT.
THURSDAY, *Jan.* 12.	ONE PINT.	THURSDAY, *Feb.* 23.	ONE PINT.
SATURDAY, *Jan.* 14.	ONE PINT.	SATURDAY, *Feb.* 25.	ONE PINT.
TUESDAY, *Jan.* 17.	ONE PINT.	TUESDAY, *Feb.* 28.	ONE PINT.
THURSDAY, *Jan.* 19.	ONE PINT.	THURSDAY, *Mar.* 2.	ONE PINT.
SATURDAY, *Jan.* 21.	ONE PINT.	SATURDAY, *Mar.* 4.	ONE PINT.

☞ The Committee of the Soup Kitchen earnestly recommend to the Subscribers, a strict Investigation into the necessities of Parties applying for Tickets, in order to ascertain that they are proper Objects to receive the Benefits of this Charity, and to prevent any Impositions being practised upon them.

N. B. This Ticket is to be kept whole, and presented by the Party on each day named therein.

Robert Foster, Hon. Sec.

Figure 6.40. Victoria Soup Kitchen soup-ticket 1842/43 (NE/DP/D3/1/159) © Northumberland Estates..

VICTORIA SOUP KITCHEN.

At a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Tynemouth, (convened by the Magistrates acting for the East Division of Castle Ward, in pursuance of a Requisition to them for that purpose) held at the Guardian Room, Saville Street, on FRIDAY, the 2nd of December, 1842,

JOHN FENWICK, Esq. J. P. in the Chair,

It was unanimously resolved,

On the Motion of Joseph Laing, Jun. Esq. seconded by Mr. John Rennison,

THAT owing to the Local Depression of Trade, and in consequence of the want of Employment by the Labouring Classes of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Tynemouth, and the certainty of the approaching Winter being one of unusual hardship and trial to them, a Public Subscription be immediately entered into for the purpose of re-opening the SOUP KITCHEN for the Relief of the Poor, and also to distribute to them and their Families such further aid as in the discretion of the Committee of Management the Funds will admit.

On the Motion of William Brown, Esq. seconded by Mr. Elisha Dixon,

THAT an earnest Appeal be made to the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, of the Borough, and Vicinity, to patronise this Institution; and that a Canvass of the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood be made forthwith for Subscriptions.

On the Motion of Mr. William Laing, seconded by Mr. Joseph Spence,

THAT Subscription Lists be placed at the Banks and other Public Institutions of the Borough; and that the Committee consist of the following Gentlemen, viz.—The Vicar, Messrs. Robert Spence, Robert Pow, John Tinley, William Brown, John Philipson, (Printer), John Robson, Robert Milburn, Henry Brown, Robert Peart, Peter Dale, John Philipson, George Shotton, John Owen, John Fawcus, William Stephens, William Beall, George Johnson, James Gray, Thomas Taylor, John Scott, William Brown, jun. Joseph Spence, John Straker, J. T. B. Tinley, D. R. Lietch, Robert Hall, William Wingrave, George Thompson, John Rennison, William Hope, F. Copeland, James Ritchie, Robert Bourley, James Lesslie, jun. Samuel Purvis, Richard Medcalf, Dennis Hill, James Watson, William Milburn, Philip Young, Joseph Elder, Elisha Dixon, John F. Spence, Charles Brown, and J. R. Reichenberg,—and that the same be an open one, with power to add to their number; and that these Resolutions be advertised.

On the Motion of Mr. John Rennison, seconded by Mr. James Watson,

THAT Mr. JOSEPH LAING, Jun. be requested to act as the Treasurer, and Mr. ROBERT FOSTER as Secretary to the Institution.

JOHN FENWICK, Chairman.

THAT the cordial Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman, for his able Conduct in the Chair, and the readiness he has ever shewn to advance the Interests of this Charity.

SUBSCRIPTIONS ALREADY RECEIVED.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
The Union Bank	5	0	0	Rev. G. B. P. Latimer	1	0	0
Henry Dale, Esq.	5	0	0	John Fenwick, Esq. J. P.	2	2	0
Henry Mitcalfe, Esq. M. P.	3	0	0	Mr. John Arkell	0	10	0
Joseph Laing, Esq.	5	0	0	Mr. Simpson Collinson	0	10	6
Joseph Laing, jun. Esq.	1	0	0	Rev. — Kerrick	0	10	0
Matthew Poppelwell, Esq.	1	0	0	Mr. Lionel Heppell	1	0	0
Mr. John Connon	0	10	0	Messrs. William Brown & Son	5	0	0
Mr. James Fittis	0	10	0	E. H. Greenhow, Esq.	0	10	0
Mr. Samuel Goldborough	0	5	0	C. U. Laws, Esq.	1	0	0
Mr. Thomas Coxon	0	10	0	Mr. John Rennison	1	0	0
Mr. J. R. Reichenberg	0	5	0	John Fenwick, Esq. C. V.	1	0	0

North Shields, December 3rd, 1842.

BOROUGH OF TYNEMOUTH: PRINTED BY J. PHILIPSON.

Figure 6.41. Handbill for the Victoria Soup Kitchen, 1842 (NE/DP/D3/1/159) © Northumberland Estates..

Not all soup-tickets were so prescriptive. The soup kitchen, run by the Newcastle Improved Industrial Dwellings Corporation (**NIIDC**) issued a simple ticket (Figure 6.42).

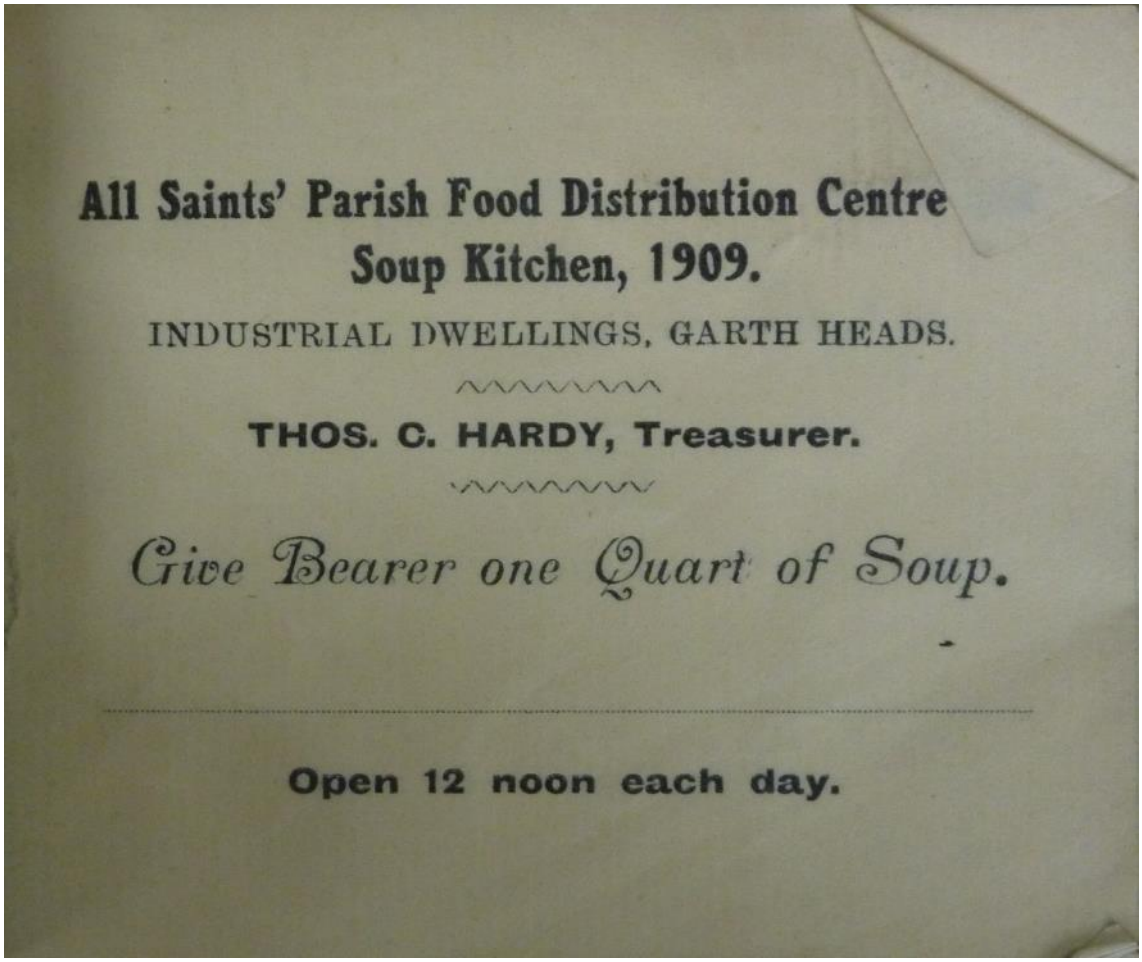

All Saints' Parish Food Distribution Centre
Soup Kitchen, 1909.
INDUSTRIAL DWELLINGS, GARTH HEADS.
THOS. C. HARDY, Treasurer.
Give Bearer one Quart of Soup.
Open 12 noon each day.

Figure 6.42. NIIDC All Saints Parish Food Distribution Centre, Garth Heads, Newcastle-upon-Tyne soup-ticket 1909 (TWA/DT.NID).

The gift of a ticket was often as remote as the gratitude. The detractors of charity frequently objected that there was no proper gift relationship and that indiscriminate subscribers caused irreparable damage to the poor (Stedman Jones 2013: 241ff). The press abounded with stories, ostensibly humorous, demonstrating the ingratitude of beggars when offered soup-tickets and how the well-to-do fended off the unwelcome attentions of beggars with soup-tickets (IBJ 18/8/1871: 7). The late-nineteenth-century illustrations of soup-tickets being

distributed or begged for, reflect the uneasiness that indiscriminate charity raised in the eyes of supporters of the COS while expressing the impulse to give that was part of the construction of the middle-class Christian self (Figure 6.35).

Tickets replaced gifts of food or money. They were a subtle form of control by restricting what the poor could do with their gift and requiring them to use their own money as well. The gift was only *half-price* soup and bread. The organisers felt this imposed discipline and saving. Tickets also legitimised the position of the committee and gave them authority over the poor as they managed the flow of soup and gratitude. They triangulated the increasingly complex and distant social relationships between the poor, the middle-class committee and donors. The secretary of the Victoria Soup Kitchen wrote back to the Duke conveying by proxy the gratitude and deference of the poor in an appropriate manner.

The GSK and NIIDC soup-tickets have survived in institutional documentation. The others were in the hands of subscribers and never given away. Lists of subscribers were regularly published in annual reports, local newspapers and occasionally on handbills, like in Alnwick, Gateshead or North Shields (Figure 6.41)). The lists were often published in descending order of donation and headed by any nobility or MPs who might have subscribed. It was acknowledged that the purpose was to advertise one's generosity and subscribers complained if they were not mentioned; corrections and addenda were often published.

Tickets and tokens converted charity into a marketplace transaction. They bought a precise measure. Tickets had a monetary value (soup could be purchased without a ticket, it just cost more), but one with a price. If you wanted one you had to appear deserving and to use it you had to queue. There was often

reluctance on the part of the poor to use soup-tickets, the gifts could harm the recipients as Mauss emphasised ((Mauss 2002: 23, 83). William Gilbert died in St Albans from starvation with unused soup-tickets he had been given (HM 30/1/1847: 3). In Sunderland men returned their tickets as soon as they got work (SDESG 23/2/1895: 3). A Whitby woman and her baby disappeared after her husband disapproved of her getting a soup-ticket (SDN 7/1/1885: 3).

Handbills were also an important link in the information economy of the poor. North Shields' handbill uses language and content indicating it was aimed subscribers (also DTCP 5/12/1863: 4), but others were aimed at the poor (MJKA 11/1/1859: 2; SEG 29/1/1861: 4) and several illustrations show posters outside buildings (Figure 4.2, Figure 6.41, Figure 9.3). The poor probably accessed newspaper announcements too, to find out whether the kitchen was open and importantly who the subscribers were. In Berkhamsted the town crier conveyed announcements about the Soup House (HA 11/1873: 7).

e. Soup, glorious soup

If the soup-ticket was the precursor to the gift, its wrapping, the soup was the gift, but a vanishing one, eaten and gone. Modern gifts of food might not carry a strong obligation to reciprocate, although providing meals might still follow rules (Visser 2008: 112) and the potlatch is central to Mauss's argument. Soup was a strange gift: usually it was not free, nor was it freely given. Only the deserving got tickets and even they usually paid towards the cost. If it was good, it might have been welcome, but if it was not, it would be despised. The evidence of what soup was like is ambiguous.

Poor soup?

Newspapers almost invariably reported that the soup was wholesome, nutritious, excellent, savoury and fit to grace any gentleman's table. This hyperbole was sometimes mocked (WO 25/04/1863: 4). Soup was not as well-received by the poor as its proponents imagined, particularly in the early-nineteenth century. Many artisans, impoverished by recession and food shortages, objected to being classified as paupers dependent on the charity that soup represented. British wartime propaganda contrasted the hearty British consumers of roast beef with the scrawny French and their *soupe maigre*, nevertheless, the poor got soup. French POWs were fed the same soup as the poor because of their 'universal partiality' to soup (KG 24/1/1800: 4). How the poor took to being the equals of enemy prisoners was not recorded.

The promoters of soup kitchens rated meat soup as more nutritious, better value and less pauperising than other sorts of food (Clerkenwell 1798: 4). In the nineteenth century, nitrogen content (a proxy for protein) was a key measure in shaping dietary regimes (Page 2021). Nitrogen meant meat, and meat is what writers and soup kitchens emphasised, either in their names or in their publications (Colquhoun 1797, 1799b; Clerkenwell 1798; LMA/P93/CTC1/055). Soup was promoted as meat, not a substitute for bread (*contra* Sherman 2001: 177). The middle class only occasionally objected to soup as being insufficient (KW 11/2/ 1800: 2; Buchan 1801).

Outspoken protest was more common before 1840, probably emanating from those obliged to down-class their diet to survive a crisis. By 1850 most of the poor were aware that they were only 'entitled' to the workhouse if they did not like soup. Nevertheless, Lambeth guardians found that only 125 of 295 quarts of soup

made for outdoor relief were collected from the workhouse by ticketholders; several paupers commented that the soup was not worth fetching (COS 1871: 35).

The soup was undoubtedly sometimes mediocre; soup conceals its ingredients (Goffman 1969: 218). In Canterbury, the poor preferred coals to soup (KG 10/11/1835: 2). Folkestone's poor were 'disinclined to accept soup' (CJKTFG 16/1/1842: 2). Committees in Jarrow, Buckingham and Burham dismissed complaints as grumbling (SDG 11/11/1884: 3; BAFP 15/1/1887: 4; KHLC/CH155/1). When North Shields' poor declined soup once the cold weather had finished, the committee blamed children who, sent to collect soup, were drinking some on the way home and diluting the rest (SDG 21/1/1881: 3). When the soup 'got so bad that [Dover's poor] did not care to have tickets', organisers alleged ingratitude, 'they would complain if offered turtle soup', and maintained that the soup was 'unquestionably better than the poor... could make at their own homes' (DE 10/12/1859: 3). High Wycombe's poor claimed they could make better soup themselves (BCh 13/2/1858: 3).

Nevertheless, soup was worth taking risks for. People who had wrongly obtained soup-tickets could be prosecuted, like the unfortunate Henry Quin. A woman in Sunderland was jailed for using soup-tickets while her husband was in work (SDESG 16/12/1884: 3). Two men who obtained soup-tickets under false pretences got off more lightly in Stafford, having only to pay costs (SS 4/1/1879: 8). Each of these cases occurred during the crusade. Toleration of the poor exercising agency in the makeshift economy was slight.

The poor clamoured for soup kitchens to be opened and the soup kitchens could not meet the demand in bad times, but once conditions improved demand

slackened (for example, NC 9/2/1855: 2, 4; 27/2/1857: 8; 9/12/1870: 8; NJ 12/11/1884: 2). Three years before the complaints in North Shields, people had queued for five hours to get soup (SDG 21/1/1881: 3). Soup had value: the tickets were tradable, and while such stories might confirm the COS's fears about clever paupers exploiting charity, some clearly wanted tickets and soup. Some liked soup. In the early 1850s in Hadlow, Sussex, Mrs Day was *asked* by her farm labourers to provide soup to their families during the winter (Day 1927: 47). One soup-recipient at Tutbury recollected in the 1920s:

> 'Tuesdays and Thursdays we'd go to the Soup Kitchen… to get lovely soup for only a penny a quart. We'd all push and shove and shout "let us in". I always wanted to be one of the first as then you got meat in your can' (Tutbury Museum 2021a).

One agricultural labourer from near Faversham reported appreciatively that before the First World War:

> 'About once a week, a message would be sent round the village that if he and others went up to the big house at a certain time, they could have some soup. He smacked his lips at the memory, and said "oh it was good, really good". Then he added that what the big house did was every day they cleared any leftovers on dinner plates into a big vat, and boiled them all up, for distribution' (Jones: 2019).

The diet of the poorest during the long nineteenth century consisted largely of cereals, bread, cheese and, once a week, meat. In better-paying industrial areas, diet was more varied. Soup was no more monotonous than the food that the poor could normally afford and probably contained more meat.

Recipes, ingredients and cooking

Recipes for soup for the poor first appeared in newspapers in 1772, and by 1799 soup kitchens published their recipes in newspaper advertisements to demonstrate their competence in economy and nutrition (BCWG 31/12/1772: 3, 27/12/1798: 3). Magistrates in each county were sent soup recipes with the Duke of Portland's letter of 23/12/1799 (above). Lettsom (1801) published recipes to encourage the uptake of soup. Rumford and Soyer were keen to improve the diet of the poor through recipes and kitchen technology (Rumford 1970; Soyer 1848). Even Mrs Beeton published recipes for charitable soup (Beeton 1861: 165).

The recipes were well-suited to mass production by inexperienced cooks. Meat for soup meant clods and stickings (shoulders and unsaleable scraps respectively), shin, leg and foot (the toughest and cheapest parts of a carcass); heads and cheeks were rarely called for. Recipes also included cereals, dried peas, onions, carrots, parsnips and celery, but rarely potatoes.

The low simmering temperature created, particularly in steam-heated coppers, would have broken up the collagen in the tough meat but preserved the reddish colour and moistness of the meat fibres and given the soup a distinctive smell (McGee 2004: 163). Only Soyer browned the meat first to impart a stronger flavour: high-temperature browning creates many more aromatic compounds through the *Maillard* reaction (McGee 2004: 148).

The nutritional qualities of the soup were greatly overestimated. A quart of early-nineteenth century soup contained around 750 calories; this gradually declined to 630 in the mid and late-nineteenth century although there was great variability (Table 12.45 to Table 12.47). Bread was often provided as well after 1801 when

wheat supplies improved. The decline in energy values was not so apparent at Newcastle-upon-Tyne's GSK or Spitalfields. Soyer's soup was among the least nutritious (Table 12.44). During the late-eighteenth-century famine, an inadequate diet based on protein might have been better for the starving than bread because carbohydrate switches off the body's survival mechanisms (Monahan 1993: 150). The slowly-starving will survive longer on meat soup than the calorific equivalent of bread.

Recipes were not always followed. The makeshift economy found its way into the food supply for soup kitchens: donated food, leftovers and unsaleable produce were frequently made into soup. If food was not good enough for the respectable, it was still good enough for the poor. Despite its objectors, soup was consumed in large quantities. Soup was just good enough, particularly if bread was provided too.

f. Conclusion

During the long nineteenth century, technological improvements enabled large soup kitchens to increase the throughput of people and soup. Steam enabled fewer cooks to make more soup, pipes could move soup from kitchen to serving point faster than people could, mazes could speed the movement of people through the building. Even stoves became mobile. Peripheral technologies like gas-lighting and piped water increased the range of spaces that could be used. The industrial soup-making and people-management processes appealed to journalists in demonstrating the appliance of science and the science of appliances. Soup had been 'proven' to be adequate relief and the industrial

processes enabled giving on a grand scale, but each gift was measured precisely, no more than necessary and given impersonally.

The soup-ticket was an incomplete gift, one that required the poor to attend, wait and pay. It was a technological device, with instructions for use, exhorting the donor to use the power of the gift wisely just as the signs inside the soup kitchen exhorted the poor to be grateful. Augé identifies such prescriptive texts as being features of *non-lieux* (2009: 94); they replaced personal contact and interaction. This world was moving away from the moral economy in which the charitable knew the 'objects of their charity'. Some may have found the impersonal charity less demeaning than paternalistic charity. Being indebted to a list of subscribers did not create the personal ties of dependency that a client/patron relationship would. The ticket, queue and soup were uniform and imposed equality at the expense of personal identity.

Much of the artwork served to reassure its consumers that relief was sufficient and appropriately given (each of the characters in pre-crusade illustrations look like they were in the soup kitchen for justifiable reasons). The depictions of soup kitchens attempted to narrate the whole taskscape of delivering charity to an unfamiliar public, and largely represent what people thought soup kitchens ought to be like. Through the images we can trace the interactions between donors, poor and soup kitchen staff, the movement of soup from stove to jug and the progress of the poor from door to serving point, even if the portrayal is idealised. Each object depicted (ticket, jug or vat) takes its meaning from the assemblage of things, people and place that made up the soup kitchen (Ingold 1993: 158). They do not narrate the poor's side of the makeshift economy so well and for this we must consider the damaged crockery, crumpled soup-tickets and long queues.

Technology was not always just about efficiency. Soyer arranged his kitchen 'in the round' with seated soup-recipients to show how the English could solve the Irish famine, and to display his prowess through public performance. He may also have wanted to create a restaurant-dining experience for the poor similar to that had by his clientele at the Reform Club. He was always ambitious and prone to grand schemes that blurred class boundaries (Burnett 2004: 79; Bullock 2005). Despite his enthusiasm, his design was not all that practical; the process of moving ingredients, soup and people through his structure while providing a place to sit and eat was unduly complicated. The supervision and control that Soyer used was beyond the capabilities of most charities. Smaller soup kitchens and even some large ones, did not implement all the technologies available. The capital cost of innovation encouraged conservatism; budgets revolved around paying for this year's soup. Buildings and improvements required additional fundraising and things might be different next year.

The ritual of soup-making and distribution was important: volunteers working in the kitchen got personal satisfaction from being there and participating in Christian charity (Lloyd 2009: 219ff, 247). Replacing the experience of performing with an automated process would have detracted from middle-class engagement. Mr Coulter and Captain Hamilton no doubt enjoyed marshalling Berkhamsted's poor into the Soup House. Technological solutions were more favoured by captains of industry in places like Manchester or Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to meet large-scale need.

By using all the evidence that an inter-disciplinary study provides we can better comprehend how people experienced charity. The delivery of charity exposed the conflicts between the traditional moral economy and the growing utilitarian

ideology of the market-place that demanded that the poor be self-reliant and charity be efficient and scientific, delivering only the barest minimum. The presentation of generous charity given to a grateful poor is challenged by the declining quality of the soup and in some cases by the hard materiality of the maze that people needed to be half-starved to fit through. The improvised containers used to collect soup remind us of the fragility of the makeshift economy which required begged, borrowed and even stolen soup-tickets.

Practice at soup kitchens has significant archaeological implications. Although the sites were places of intense activity at which many thousands of people got food, other than the building itself there will be few identifiable material remains. Most soup kitchens either reduced bone to almost nothing in digesters or sold them to chemical factories (for example, Sandwich KHLC/Sa/QZ1) and most ceramics came and went with the clientele.

The poor's lives were enacted in places like the soup kitchen as much as in their homes, and so the next chapter will look more closely at the buildings, which will add a further dimension to our understanding of the experience of getting soup.

7. Purpose-built soup kitchens

a. Introduction

The soup kitchen was a strange and foreign place for the *Church of England's Magazine*'s readers; they needed a guide to get there. Rosa takes them to 'a small outhouse near the school' (Rosa 1849: 77). 'Come inside', she beckons. The building is small, with a copper taking up most of the room and two doors, an entrance and an exit. Everybody, the poor and the organisers, has to travel to get there. It opens only when the frosty weather reminds the pastor to think of 'the poorer portion of his flock'. It is populated by the cook, pastor, curate and several ladies taking tickets and pennies in payment. Distribution is orderly and regular. The deserving poor file in with their 'old mutilated jugs', thankful to receive soup, and then file out. They only have a walk-on part in the spectacle of performing poverty; the clergy and more wealthy neighbours take centre stage, caring for the poor, doing their utmost to help, 'suffering sympathisingly' with the poor. Rosa describes the idle, dainty, grumblers and discontented who are left outside; they do not deserve pity, or presumably soup; their poverty is a measure of their own sin and folly, although she reminds her readers to pray for them.

The soup kitchen is described as an outhouse, meaning in Victorian English a small building, merely ancillary to a main house (in American the term usually has a more restricted meaning of a toilet building). What does it mean to say that the typical soup kitchen was an outhouse? If soup kitchens were outhouses, in respect of what were they 'out'? Were all soup kitchens like this? This chapter will explore these questions through purpose-built soup kitchens, and what they meant to those who frequented them. Ultimately, this chapter will show that to

understand the institution, we need to understand the building and how it interacted with people. Buildings are simply divided into small, medium and large; the three categories reflect distinct groups based on their floor area (Figure 7.1).

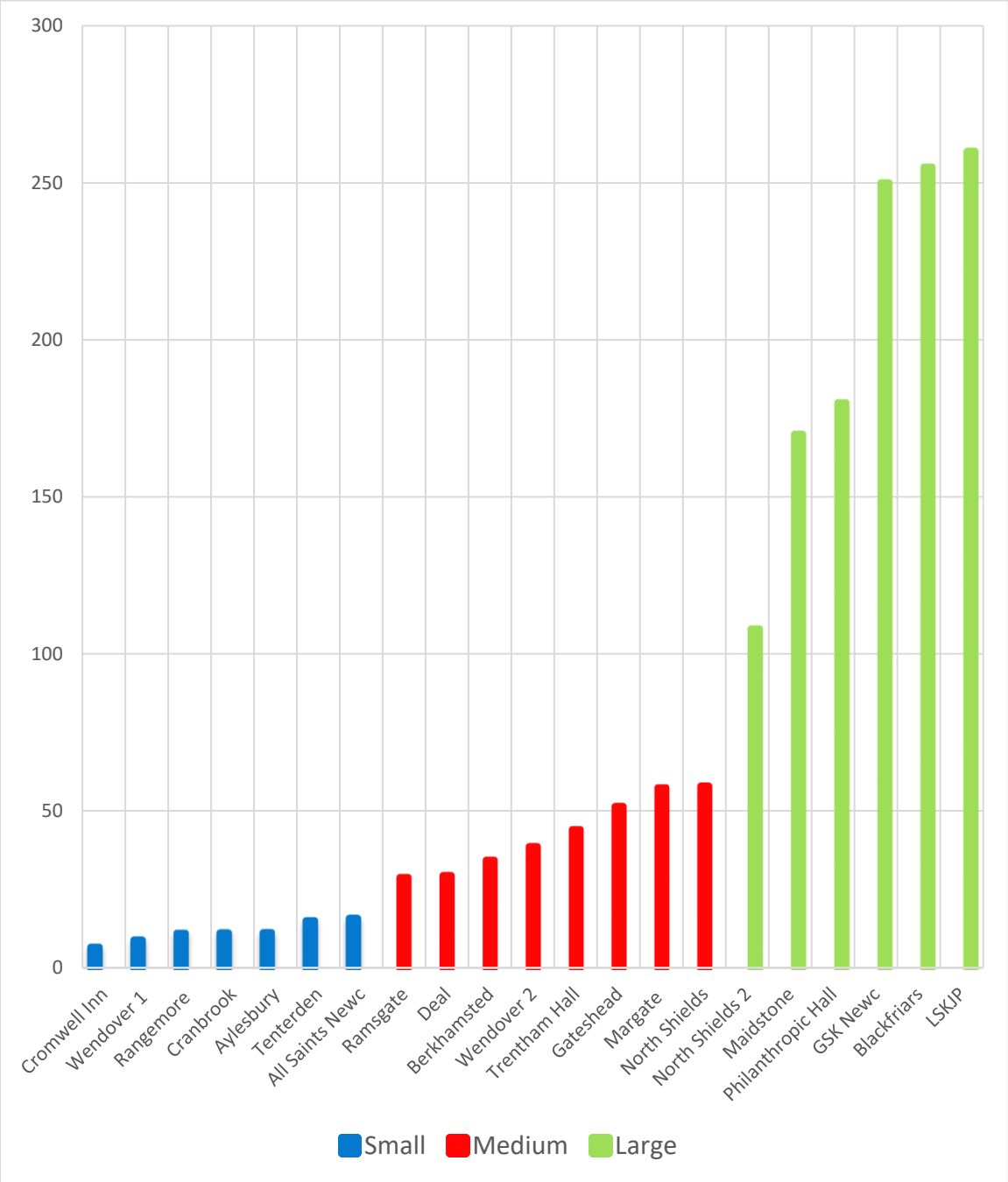


Figure 7.1. The three groups of soup kitchens discussed below by floor area in m².

b. Small

Tenterden

Tenterden's soup kitchen on Jackson's Lane, built in 1875, is an unassuming brick-built shed with a pitched slate roof (Figure 7.2). Unless you count the triangular date-stone and projecting brick pilasters on either side of the door, the building is without ornamentation. The building is so nondescript that it needs a sign to identify it. Its stoves came from a disused nearby tallow-chandlery (Greaves 2019); this theme of makeshift construction will recur repeatedly on our visits to soup kitchens. Soup was probably served through the window from the stoves located against the back wall (there is now no visible trace of them). The building barely has space for a stove, cook and server.

Figure 7.2. Tenterden Soup Kitchen.

Wendover 1884-1905

Alfred de Rothschild established the Wendover Soup Kitchen in around 1884/85, shortly after he moved to nearby Halton. Mrs Dancer cooked the soup for hundreds from the surrounding parishes three days a week, and served bread on two in the soup kitchen behind her cottage on Clay Lane (BH 04/01/1896: 8; 26/01/1901: 6; 25/01/1902: 5; 15/12/1906: 8). The building was poorly ventilated with two coppers and a sliding window through which the soup was served (BH 24/01/1903: 8) (Figure 7.3). Sliding windows were important to avoid people colliding with a projecting open casement. The building was small, even by soup kitchen standards.

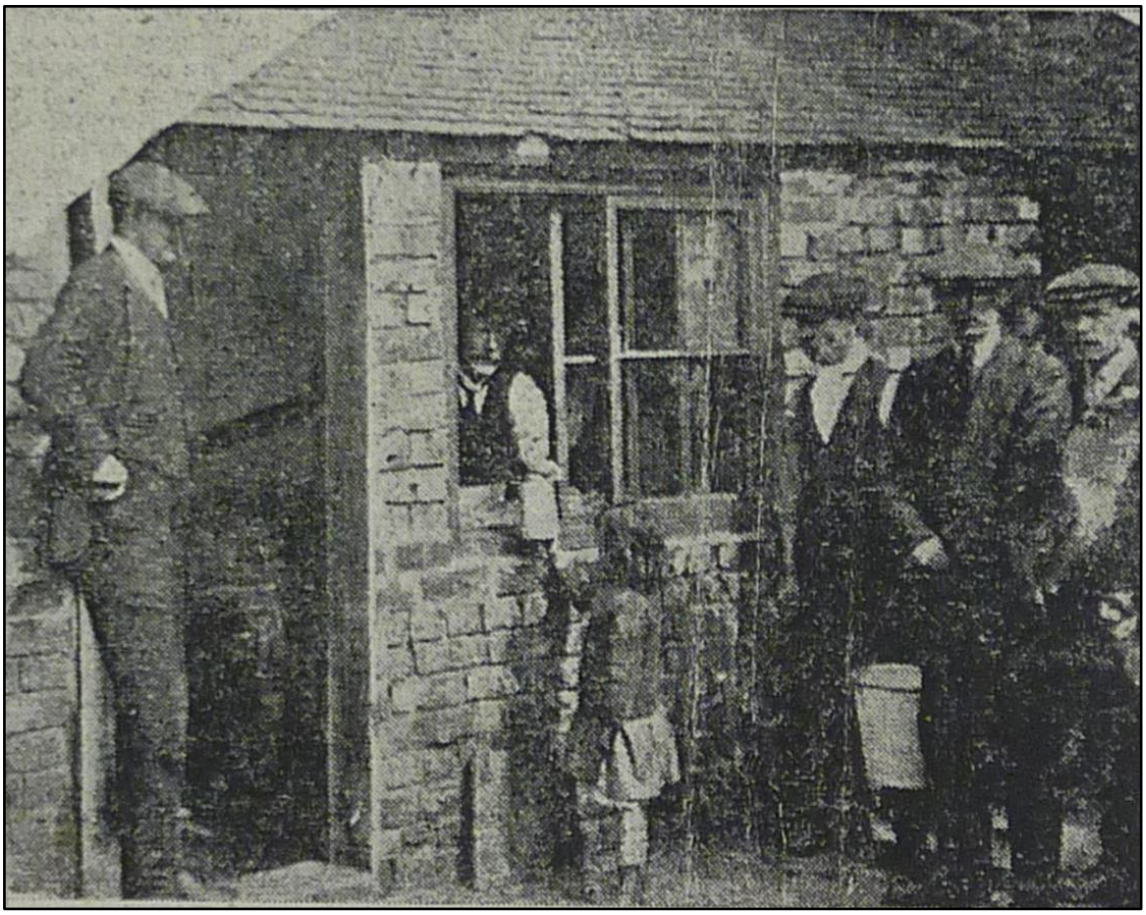


Figure 7.3. Soup kitchen at the Cromwell Inn, Mount Pleasant, Gateshead, built before 1897, in the 1920s showing sliding window (GP 29/12/1967) (© Gateshead Post).

Alfred Rothschild never attended his soup kitchen when the press visited; his steward, who managed the soup kitchen, presumably invited them. This maintained social distance and complied with Maimonides fourth degree of charity, in which the poor know from whom they are receiving, but remain unknown to the giver (Maimonides 1979: 7.10.10).

Rothschild's initial building in Wendover was very modest. There were local sensitivities about being over-charitable: the Aylesbury guardians had criticised his Uncle Anthony's wife for assisting Aston Clinton's poor (WO 2/11/1872: 2). As a new arrival, Alfred may also have refrained from showing up the meanness of Wendover's elite. Newspapers stressed his humanity and philanthropy: the 'Squire of Halton' was providing 'hospitality' to his 'poorer neighbours' (BH 26/01/1901: 6, 25/01/1902: 5). 'Neighbours' was also used to describe recipients of the Duke of Buckingham's soup in 1800 and redolent of medieval chivalry. If the building was modest, Rothschild's charity was more generous than the average parish soup kitchen. He served all-comers without charge, including those from outside the parish, provided bread and had an extended season from the beginning of December until April. Although a list of recipients was kept, Rothschild's steward had free rein to provide soup to all:

> 'none are made to feel that they are applicants for charity, but… made feel that they are heartily welcome to what placed before them' (BH 26/01/1901: 6).

The generosity of the charity is not necessarily measured by the venue.

Cranbrook

Cranbrook's soup kitchen on Carrier's Road was roughly the same size as Tenterden's (Table 7.1). Other than indistinct aerial photographs, only two photographs of the building are known: each shows the one-storey brick building (Figure 7.4, Figure 7.5). It had a door in the south gable-wall, a chimney at the north end and a box-ventilator in the middle of the roof. The 279 gallon boiler was significantly larger than the 60-100 gallons of most stoves, perhaps an indication of the extent and persistence of poverty in the parish. There appears to have been a small window on the west wall.

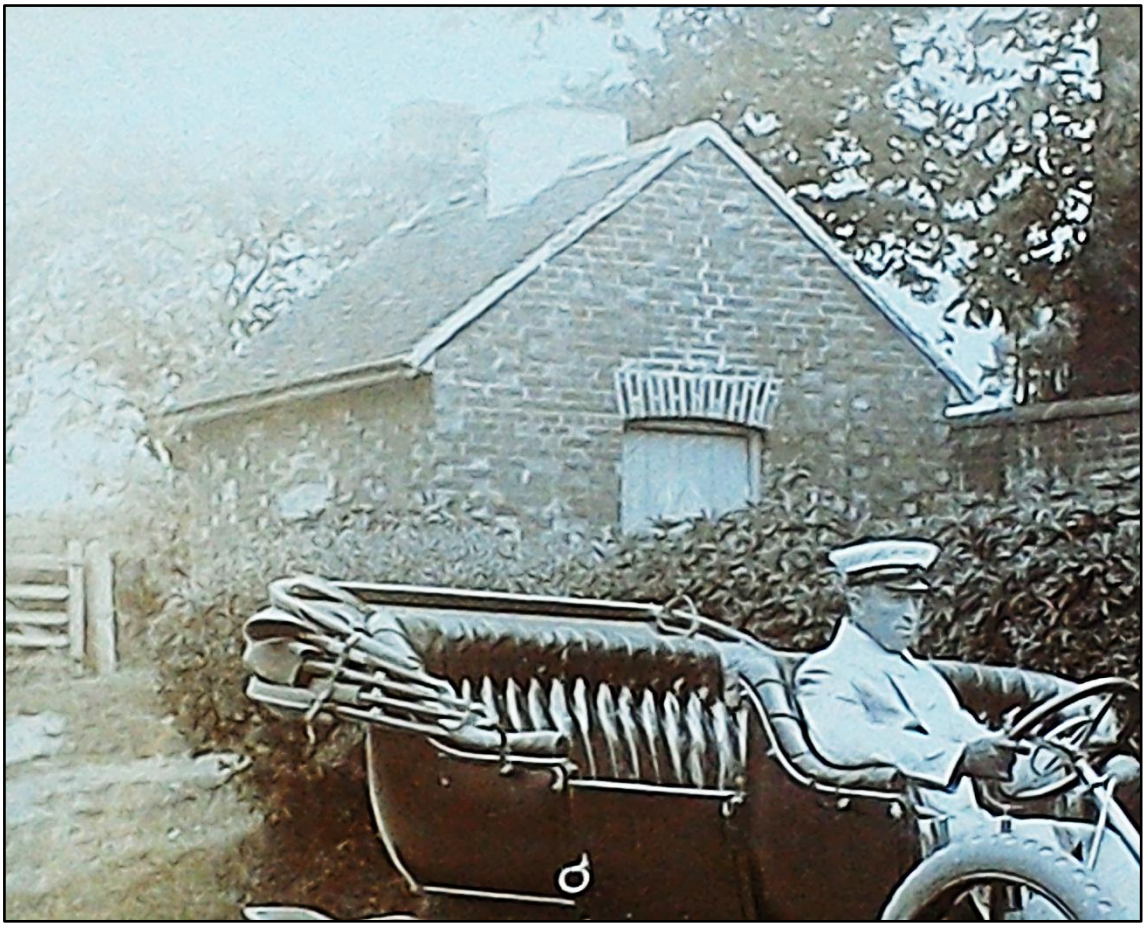


Figure 7.4. Cranbrook's soup kitchen c.1920; note the box-ventilator on the roof (CRAN/1.24/1046/Soup).

The simple building was designed *gratis* in 1844 by Thomas Dearn, a well-known local architect, regular subscriber and son of Prince Henry, Duke of Cumberland (Apps 1998: 7; Donovan 2005: 135, 163). Even the bricks were donated, keeping the cost to only £43 8s 3½d (CRAN/1.24/1046/Soup/1845). In 1842, Cranbrook spent £130 building a churchyard wall (Tarbutt 1873: 9), three times what it had spent the year before building the soup kitchen.

Figure 7.5. Cranbrook's soup kitchen c.1865 (detail from Hardy 1865) (©Patrick Montgomery Collection, History of Photography Archive.).

Rangemore

Michael Bass, Baron Burton, built a small, almost stylish, soup kitchen on his estate at Rangemore in the late-nineteenth century. The Burton-on-Trent

brewing family begun creating the Rangemore estate in the mid-nineteenth century, building a village, church, school and cottages and enlarging the house to become Rangemore Hall. Bass renovated Rangemore Hall, and probably built the soup kitchen, in the late 1890s; it is first shown on the 1901 OS map. The small single-storey building is listed Grade 2 (Historic England 2018a). It has a hipped almost pyramidal roof and louvred cupola (Figure 7.6). The chimney indicates the approximate position of the stove.

Even though the nearest town was 5 miles away and despite the Bass family's local improvements, apparently a soup kitchen was needed. While it established the family's aristocratic credentials as a physical manifestation of Bass's *noblesse oblige* and guests at Rangemore Hall could imagine the continuing performance of the paternalistic moral economy, no reports of the building's actual use have been identified.

Figure 7.6. Rangemore Hall, the soup kitchen (German 2018). [Image redacted]

Aylesbury

The exact location of Aylesbury's soup kitchen encountered by William Hervey in 1800 was not reported at the time (Hervey 1906: 433). In 1844, the visiting justices of the peace recommended that the disused 'soup room' at the 'house of correction' should be converted into a bathhouse for the prisoners (BG 6/7/1844: 4). An 1825 survey of Aylesbury's gaol shows the 'Soup Kitchen' (Figure 7.7) attached to the south wall of the house of correction deep inside the prison. Originally it was a single-storey lean-to. In 1824/25 two stories had been added over the original room to accommodate a passage from the buildings to the north to the chapel, with a turnkey's lodge and a shoemaker's workroom. These additions enveloped the soup kitchen in a larger structure, so it became a 'soup room', rather than a 'soup kitchen'.

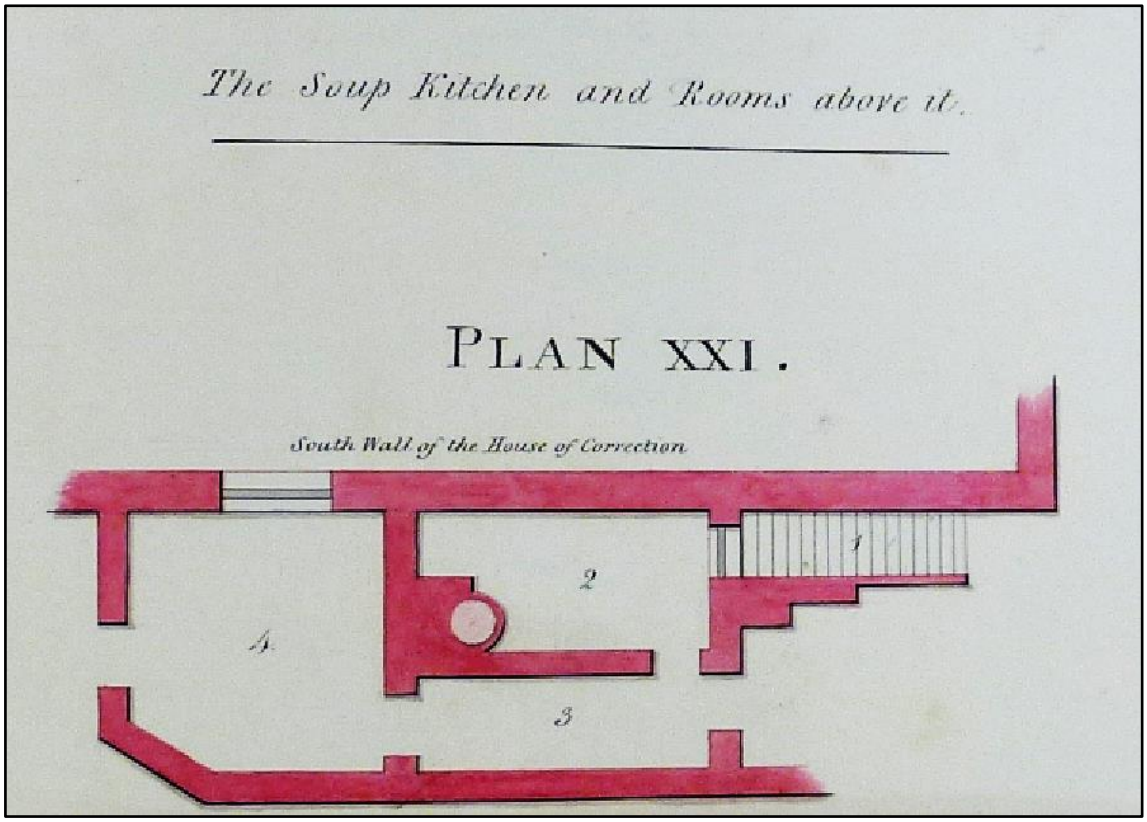


Figure 7.7. Plan of Aylesbury Soup Kitchen in 1825 (CBS/Q/AG/37/2).

The plans show a small room with a single large stove in one corner, its only window possibly partly obstructed by the staircase to the floor above (Figure 7.8). It is just a room with a stove and space for the cook, server and clerk. The building is small enough to have been thrown up in the two weeks between the Duke of Portland's letter to the magistrates and its opening.

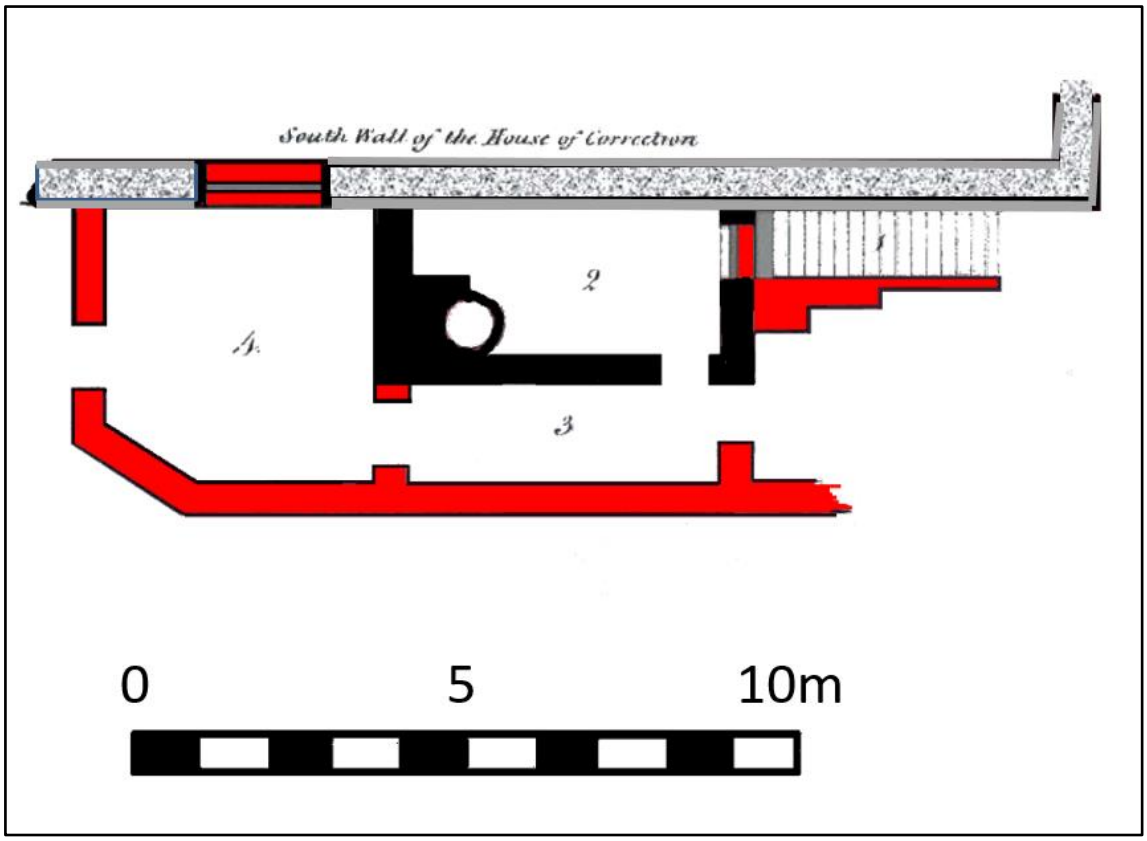


Figure 7.8. The soup kitchen at Aylesbury Gaol; the house of correction in grey, the 1799 structure in black and 1824/5 additions in red; soup kitchen numbered 2, 1 staircase to floor above, 3 passageway, 4 pump yard, (from CBS/Q/AG/37/2).

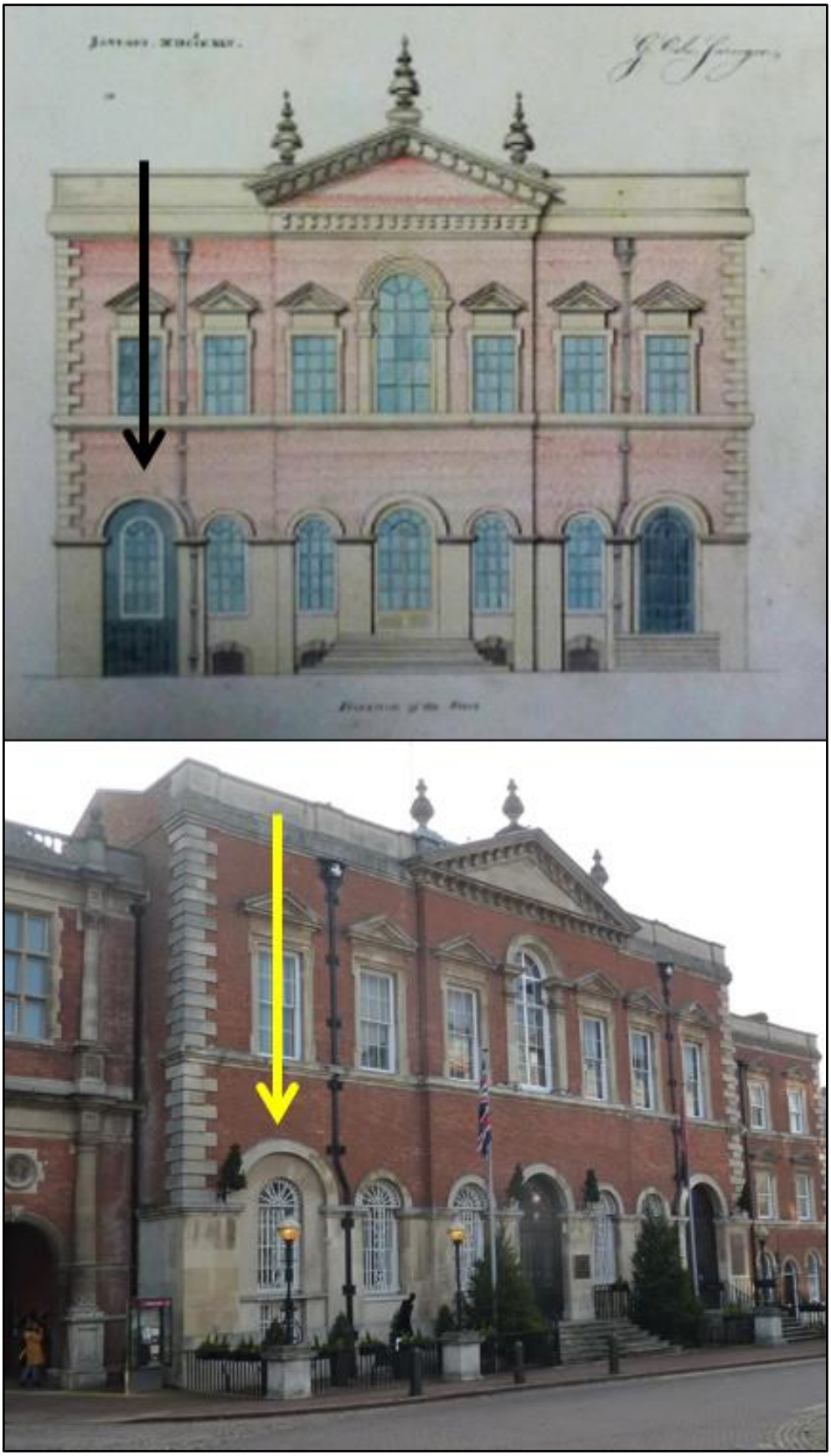
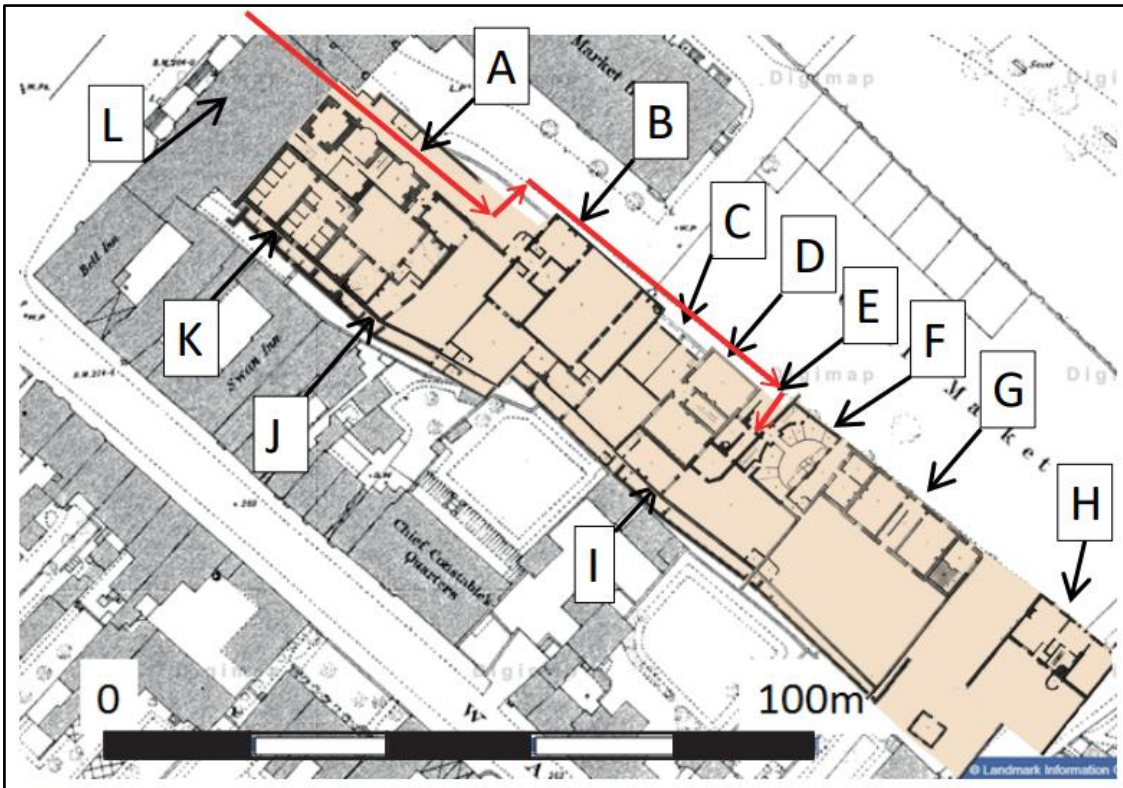


Figure 7.9. Top: Aylesbury Court House 1825 (CBS/Q/AG/37/2) and today with entrance (now a window) to the gaol arrowed.

Aylesbury's soup kitchen building was deep inside the formidable gaol which sat behind the imposing façade of the Court on Market Square. The left entrance led to the gaol, the central door to the Clerk's offices and the right door to the Court (Figure 7.9). Public hangings took place from a scaffold in front of the central bay.



Key:
A Gaoler's house with the Cave next to the Court, B House of correction for felons before trial/gaol and house of correction for female prisoners, C Treadmill, D Gaol and house of correction for persons convicted of misdemeanours, E Soup kitchen, F Chapel, G Debtors' prison, H Infirmary (possibly further south), I Gaol and house of correction for juveniles, J Gaol and house of correction for convicted felons, K Common gaol for felons before trial, L Court House

Figure 7.10. Aylesbury Gaol in 1825 (created from CBS/Q/AG/37/2) superimposed on 1879 OS map, with route to the soup kitchen marked with red arrows. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

The only entrance for prisoners or soup-recipients, was a gate on the east side. This was at ground level, unlike the main entrance to the administrative building and court, for which there were grand flights of steps, an indication of the status of those using the different entrances. The gate guarded a passage that descended under the Clerk of the Peace's office to a pair of iron gates with a turnkey's office between them. Beyond this lay the gaol. At this point the passage was probably open to the sky above, but hemmed in by prison buildings to the right and the perimeter wall and offices to the left (Figure 7.10). Walking through the gaol, the poor passed a porter's lodge on the left and, on the right 'the Cave', a 'loathsome dungeon' (Neild 1808: 70) and the gaoler's lodgings. Continuing along the passage, the poor then came to the public entrance (not the entrance for prisoners, which was to the right) to the gaol, overseen by a 'counting house'. From here they followed a path between the prison buildings and the perimeter wall (Figure 7.11), to the House of Correction for persons convicted of misdemeanours where the soup kitchen was attached to the rear wall of this building.

Figure 7.11. The curving prison boundary wall, beside which the poor would have walked on the way to the Soup Kitchen; the camera is at point A on Figure 7.10.

The hungry poor were classified as being somewhere between miscreants to the northwest and the debtors and sick prisoners, housed to the southeast. The gaol was intimidating and on the fringes of civic life. While several hundred people queuing in the Market Square to enter might not have had quite the drama of an execution, a public flogging or even the gang of prisoners who cleaned the Market Square (Gibbs 1885: 497, 548), it was nevertheless public theatre, but in a highly-controlled environment.

In 1800, the gaol was at the transition between the eighteenth-century prison which categorised prisoners based on their offence but housed them in squalid and disease-ridden general wards and the nineteenth-century ideal of a segregated and controlled environment. Its boundaries were still permeable, even for some of the incarcerated. Gaol fever was a constant danger (Gibbs 1885: 491). Work and discipline were beginning to replace hanging and corporal punishment, but the public spectacle still formed an important element of

punishment. For the poor, particularly in 1800 when destitution hit many who were artisans and considered themselves above paupers, having to attend the prison for soup might be viewed as punishment and desperately humiliating. The long, linear route through the prison keeping the queue orderly. The space was physically deep within the gaol but except for the security, relatively shallow, requiring the soup recipient to pass through few other spaces.

Discussion

These buildings were all one-room structures, as far as we can tell, with the bare minimum space for the simple tasks of cooking, distributing soup and supervising (Table 7.1). The smallest buildings, like Wendover, were clearly cramped. There is no discernible chronological variation. These were largely nondescript sub-idiomatic buildings without identity, except for Rangemore whose design and internal decoration show it to be a flagship project (Stratton and Trinder 1997:51).

Shelter for the poor was clearly not an essential characteristic of a soup kitchen. Being able to stand outside in winter weather while waiting to be served was a practical test of eligibility. None of these buildings had significant storage for ingredients, water or fuel. The processes and tasks necessary for the poor to procure their living and for the wealthy to provide it took place as much outside the building as within it. The interdisciplinary approach addresses questions that the documentary evidence would not ask on its own. The contrast between what Cranbrook spent on its soup kitchen and on the churchyard wall emphasises how charity extended only to the bare essentials of life. These buildings demonstrate the frugality of most charity which would be missed if we relied only on written reports.

Previously Tenterden's soup kitchen had been run from The Limes (SEG 29/1/1861: 4), a large Georgian house, on the edge of Tenterden, from where the poor might have felt like they were receiving traditional charity from the householder, even if an outbuilding was used. In 1875, they were waiting outside the small newly-built shed in a shopkeeper's backyard. While it was still soup, the change of venue and of building perhaps reflects the change in attitude of the well-to-do, brought on by the crusade. The taste of paternalism and faint aroma of generosity were gone.

If they are outbuildings, what are they 'out' in relation to? Rangemore is an outbuilding to Rangemore Hall, but the others are 'out' to the local society, remote spatially and mentally. These buildings are some distance from anywhere or nowhere in particular. We need a guide like Rosa to find them. Their status, at best on the verge of the respectable world, speaks volumes about the status of the poor in the eyes of the soup-providers. The poor were expected to know when they opened and to find their way there. These buildings are where the poor should be, all they can hope for and all the well-to-do will stretch to.

The buildings' small sizes (Table 7.1) (none of them needed to be that small) expressed economy, further emphasized by borrowed, recycled, donated and adopted materials and walls of adjoining buildings. This was the makeshift and expedient economy of middle-class charity. Nothing is over-generous. They were all provided shelter and warmth for a cook, server and supervisor but no more. The buildings absolved the well-to-do from using their own kitchens and kept the poor away from their doors. These buildings were built for the poor yet they were excluded even from them. This exclusion reflects the growing hostility and harsh

treatment of the poor that became characteristic in the early nineteenth century and increased under the NPL and during the crusade.

Place	Date	Size in m. Ordnance Survey	Size in m.	Floor area	Doors	Funder?
Wendover 1	c.1884-1905	3.0 x 2.0-3.0		6.0 to 9.0m^2	1	Alfred Rothschild
Rangemore	c.1883-1901	3.3 x 3.0	3.7 x 3.0 E	11.1m^2	1	Michael Bass
Cranbrook	1844-1900+	4.0 x 2.8		11.2m^2	1	Subscribers
Cromwell Inn, Mount Pleasant Gateshead	built before 1890	3.7 x 1.8		6.7m^2	1	May not be purpose-built
Tenterden	1875-2021	4.2 x 3.3	4.53 x 3.3 A	15.0m^2	1	Subscribers?
Aylesbury	1799		4.5 x 2.5 P	11.3m^2	1?	Subscribers?
All Saints Newcastle-upon-Tyne	1849/50-1870+	5.6 x 2.7		15.7m^2	2	Subscribers?

Table 7.1. Smaller purpose-built soup kitchens. Measurements taken from OS maps are approximate; measurements from other surveys are given when available (A=author's survey, E=estate agent's plan, P=architect's plan).

c. Medium

Rosa's soup kitchen sounds slightly larger than those already considered: it had two doors, an entrance and an exit, through which the poor circulated. Orderly parades fascinated journalists and readers and was highlighted in descriptions of Berkhamsted and Ramsgate Soup Kitchens, which we will visit shortly. Deal eventually remodelled its building to conform to this pattern. Having two doors required a bigger building, but something that could still be termed an outhouse.

Deal

Deal Soup Kitchen was described as a 'shed' (KHLC/De/QZm1/57). It was rapidly built between 2 and 16 January 1852 on a plot of donated land on Brewer Street after other buildings (a stable and a forge) had been rejected. An aerial photograph of Brewer Street shows the roof of the single-storey building with a large box-ventilator squeezed into a narrow gap between other buildings (Figure 7.14). It remained in regular use until 1914. Only one door and two windows facing Brewer Street are shown on the 1872 OS map (Figure 7.12). In 1905, the committee moved the coppers to the east end of the building and constructed a 'corrugated iron [roofed] corridor' through the 'Corporation Yard' to enter the building from the south. The existing door on Brewer Street was blocked and the west window replaced by a door; the kitchen was given a concrete floor (it may previously have been earth or brick) (Figure 7.13). No reason was given for improving the building and access after 50 years; maybe there was a realisation that something more humane than a shed was now needed and the poor should be allowed to shelter while queuing and not wait at the door or window.

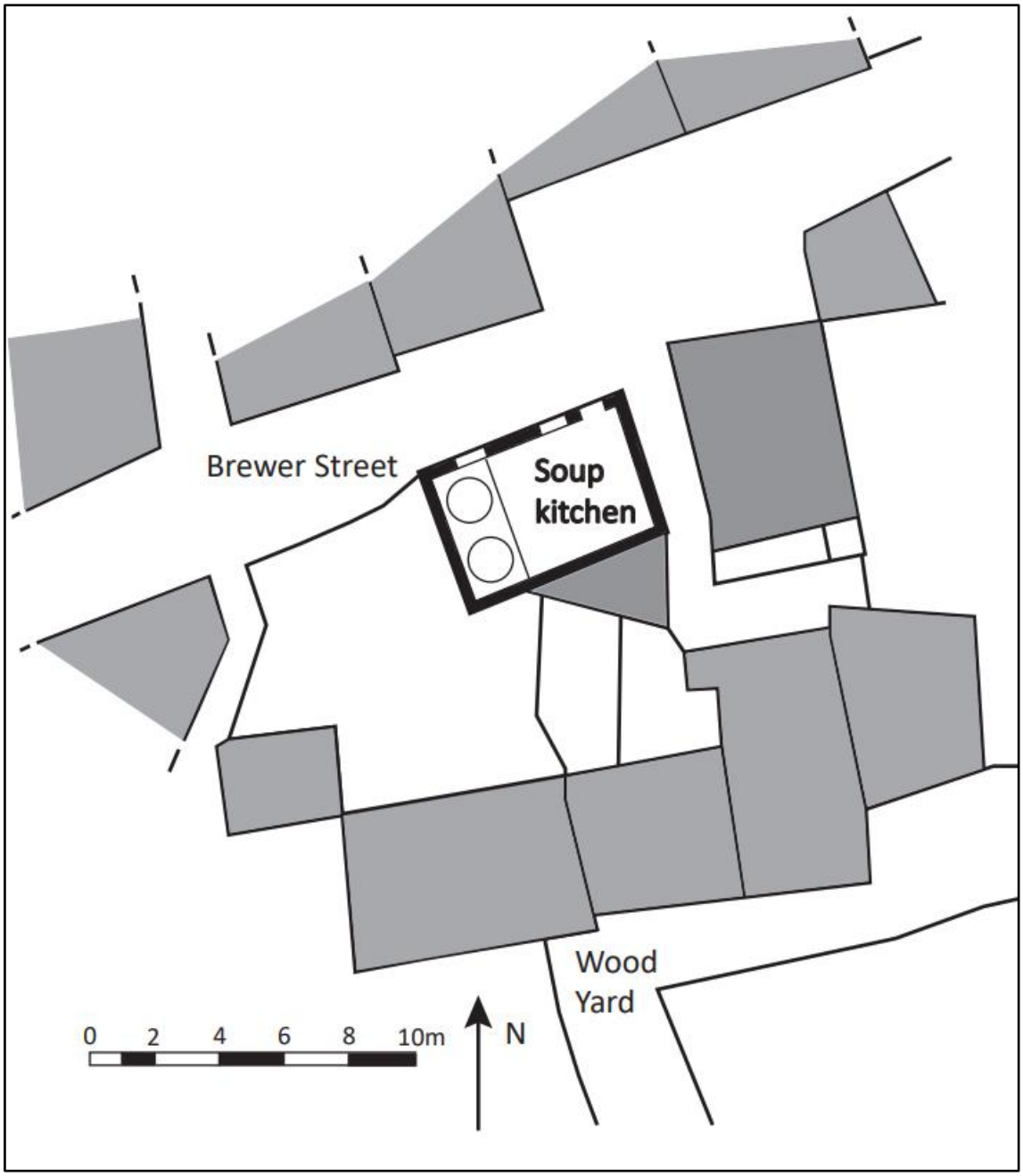


Figure 7.12. Deal Soup Kitchen based on 1872 OS map; stove position is uncertain. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

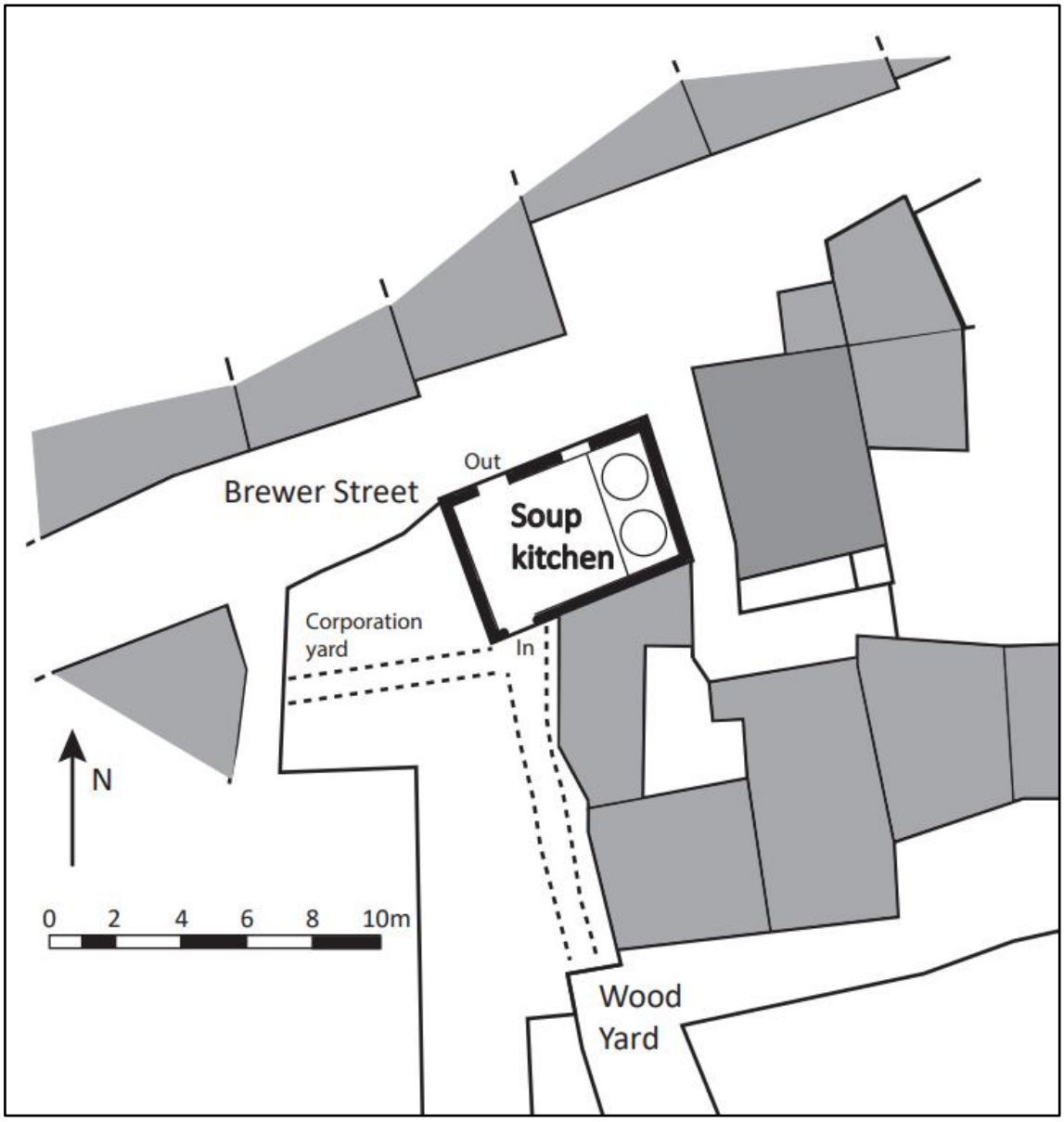


Figure 7.13. Deal Soup Kitchen based on 1906 OS map and KHLC/De/QZm1/57; possible routes for the covered walkway are marked with dotted lines. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

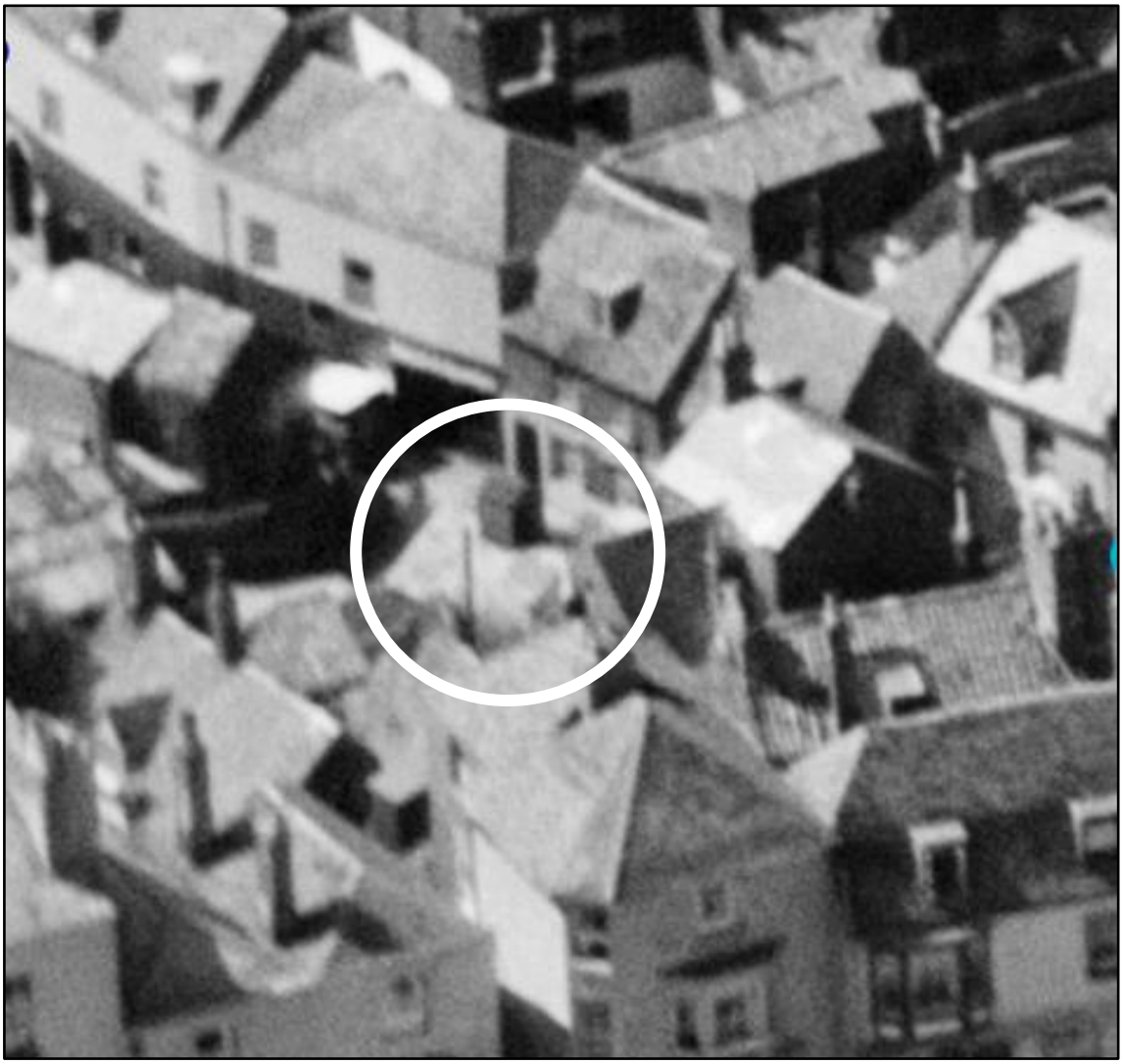


Figure 7.14. Deal Soup Kitchen with box ventilator on the roof, circled (Britain from Above 1927).

Wendover 1906-1914

In 1906 Alfred Rothschild replaced the small old Wendover Soup Kitchen with a state-of-the-art building, capable of serving more than 300 people (Figure 7.15). It had a large ventilator on the roof and white tiling inside (BH 15/12/1906: 8).

The scale and quality of the new building contrast with the four neighbouring cottages which were still very basic; the buildings were offered for sale in 1921 when the soup kitchen was:

> ‘exceptionally well-built and commodious…measuring 24ft 5in by 17ft, lined with Coloured Glazed Bricks and fitted with Three Coppers, Tabling, Portable Range, Gas Fittings and Chiltern Hills Water Supply’ (CBS/D/HJ/A/45/10).

Alfred was not a landowner in Wendover nor was he involved in politics, unlike other family members. His estate was in neighbouring Halton so he was probably motivated only by philanthropic concerns. The new building may have taken place in 1906 when the opportunity arose from the freehold changing hands (CBS/D/HJ/A/45/3/7).

Figure 7.15. ‘The 1906 Wendover Soup Kitchen and staff (Summerall *et al.* 1989: 132); note the railing in front of the windows.

Ramsgate

Ramsgate's poor were 'admitted by one door' and made 'their exit through another' at the parochial soup kitchen on Sidney Place (now Church Road) (CJKTFG 5/1/1856: 4). The remains of a boot-scraper fixed into the step indicate that the southern door was the entrance and the northern door the exit. The one-room building shares a party-wall with a house to the north. It was otherwise free-standing, until the church hall was built (by 1873) to the south and west. The façade has arched fanlights over its two doors and a brick lintel over the central window. The window is divided into two lights, each with semi-circular-headed windows and wooden tracery, mirroring the shape of the doors (Figure 7.17 and Figure 7.18). In common with Berkhamsted, the two doors are separated by a window which provided light to the desk or cubicle where the tickets and soup-list were checked.

The characteristically late-Georgian/early-Victorian façade is symmetrical and economically executed: the brick lintel over the window and the arches over the doors are basic, unlike the neighbouring contemporary houses which have finely jointed and gauged brickwork (Figure 7.19). Differential weathering of the brickwork on the unornamented parapet indicates the former presence of a large sign which doubtless proclaimed the building's identity.

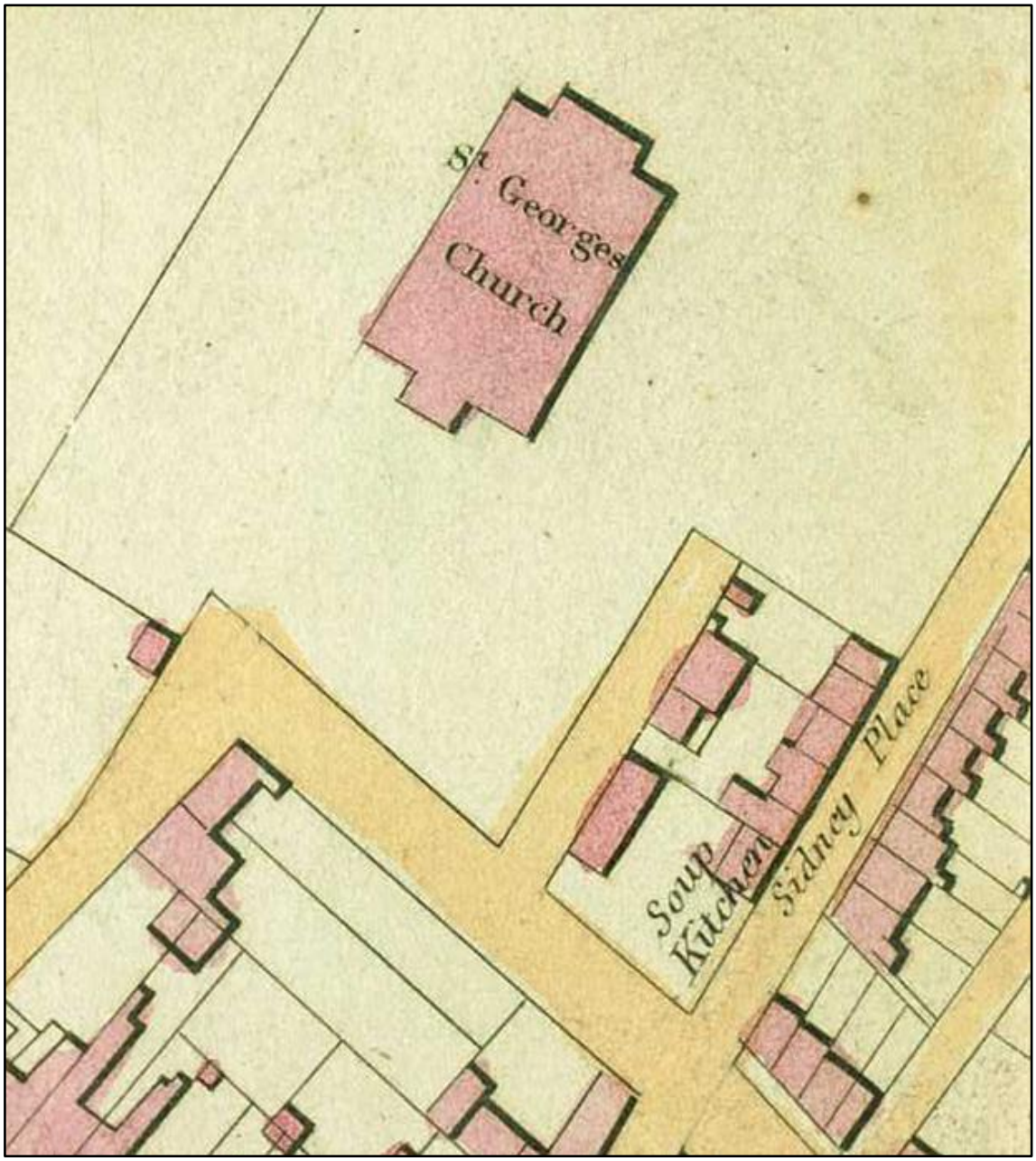


Figure 7.16. Ramsgate Soup Kitchen (Hinds 1849).

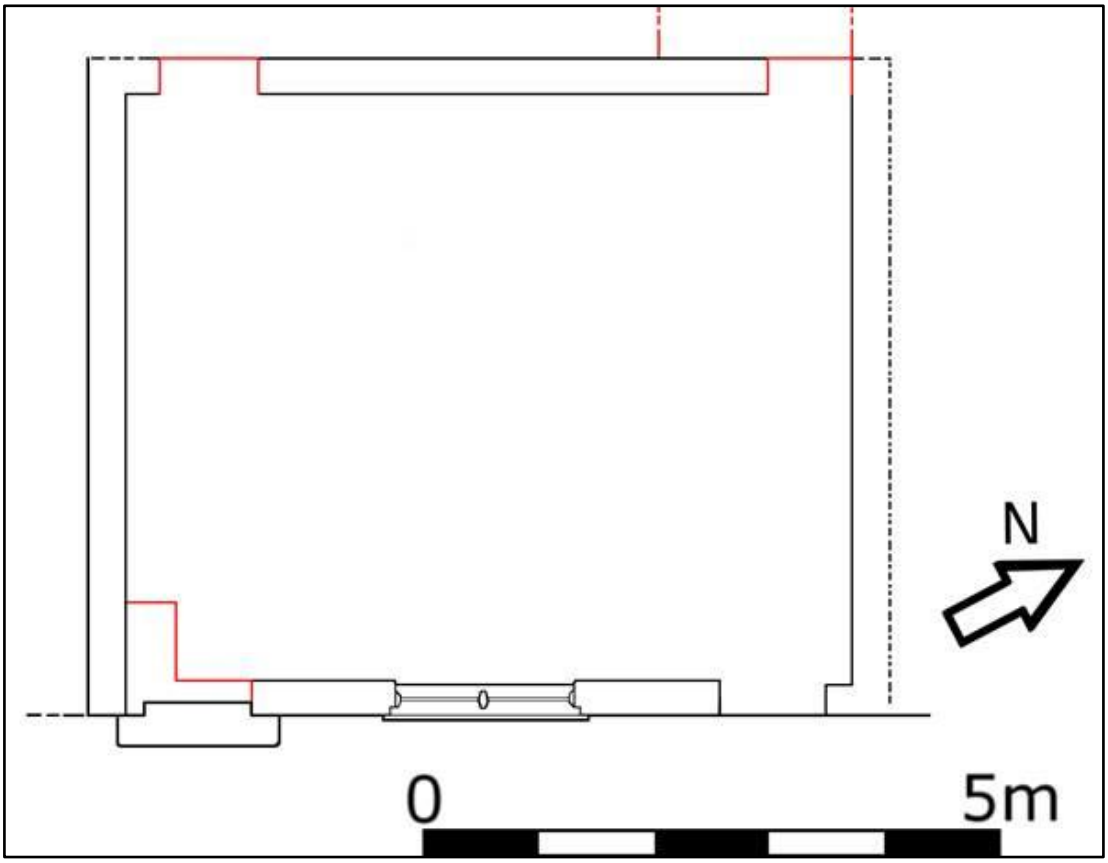


Figure 7.17. Plan of Ramsgate Soup Kitchen with later alterations in red.

Figure 7.18. The Ramsgate Soup Kitchen.

Figure 7.19. Above detail from the façade of the soup kitchen, below a contemporary nearby house with a more finely formed window lintel and fanlight.

NWPSK

London's NWPSK was founded by the third Baron Southampton, Charles Fitzroy, in 1846 or 1848 at 295 Euston Road, previously known as 28 Bath Place, Bath Street or New Road ((Low 1850: 124; Leicester 1850: 27; IT 18/12/1858: 2; ILN 19/1/1850: 7). It seems to have had one large room, possibly with a storeroom behind (Figure 6.8). The roof was made of corrugated iron, a new material in Victorian England (Thomson and Banfill 2005: 72), and a sign that it was cutting-edge architecture, not a cheap temporary structure (Prince Albert had a ballroom at Balmoral roofed with corrugated iron in 1851). It had a simple parapet and a classical architrave around a central door, flanked by blind arched windows

(Figure 5.1, Figure 7.20). The large sign outside and signs inside proclaimed its identity, purpose and founder's generosity.

The building goes against the grain: its size would have permitted two doors but it had only one. Its unregimented interior allowed people to circulate howsoever they wanted and eat at the counter. Figure 6.8 shows a busy interior with a cheerful scene. Its use of materials and location on a major thoroughfare give it flagship status; it was not a sub-idiomatic shed, and it would seem that providing a more welcoming venue was initially an important part of its ethos. The building's assertiveness may have provoked the COS to single it out for criticism.

Figure 7.20. The exterior of the North West Public Soup Kitchen 1854 (detail from Figure 6.9) (LPA/17251). [Image redacted see Figure 6.9 for details of how to access].

Berkhamsted

Countess Bridgewater's Soup House, which we first visited in the introduction, was originally a free-standing building but the 1878 OS map shows it joined to

the custodian's cottage, as it is today. The cottage was originally a late-Tudor brewhouse and stable. It was extended westwards probably by Earl Brownlow in 1865 (the date celebrated over the cottage's door) to abut the Soup House (Figure 7.22).

The Soup House is over twice the size of Tenterden or Cranbrook, but still a single room. The stoves were against the north wall next to the chimney and probably present recently, as Historic England plans identify the building as 'wash-house' (HE/2006). Berkhamsted's soup-recipients 'went in through one door and out the other' in alphabetical order (BH 22/2/1873: 6). The surviving east door would have been the entrance with the porch added to allow the queue to be organised from a place of shelter. The second door was in the south wall, where there is now a large picture window and evidence of disturbed brickwork (Figure 7.21). Aerial photographs show a door and window here in 1953 (Figure 7.23); Edwardian postcards of Castle Grounds also show this door and window.

It is not clear who designed the Soup House; it is plain, symmetrical and in late-Georgian classical style embellished by red brick quoining and window surrounds, not typical of Wyattville, the family's preferred architect, who died the year before it was built.

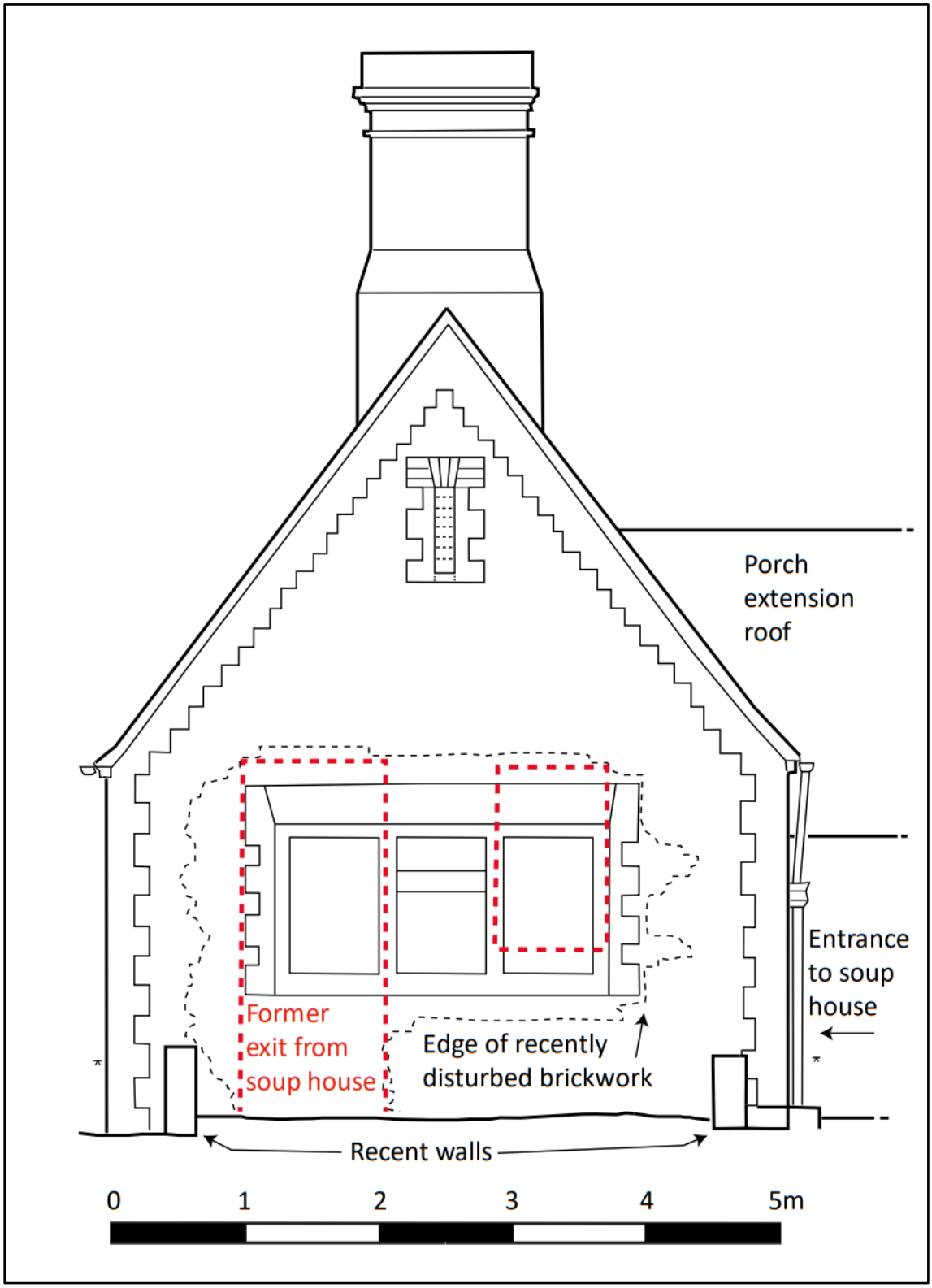


Figure 7.21. The south wall of the Soup House showing the repaired brickwork and former exit and window.

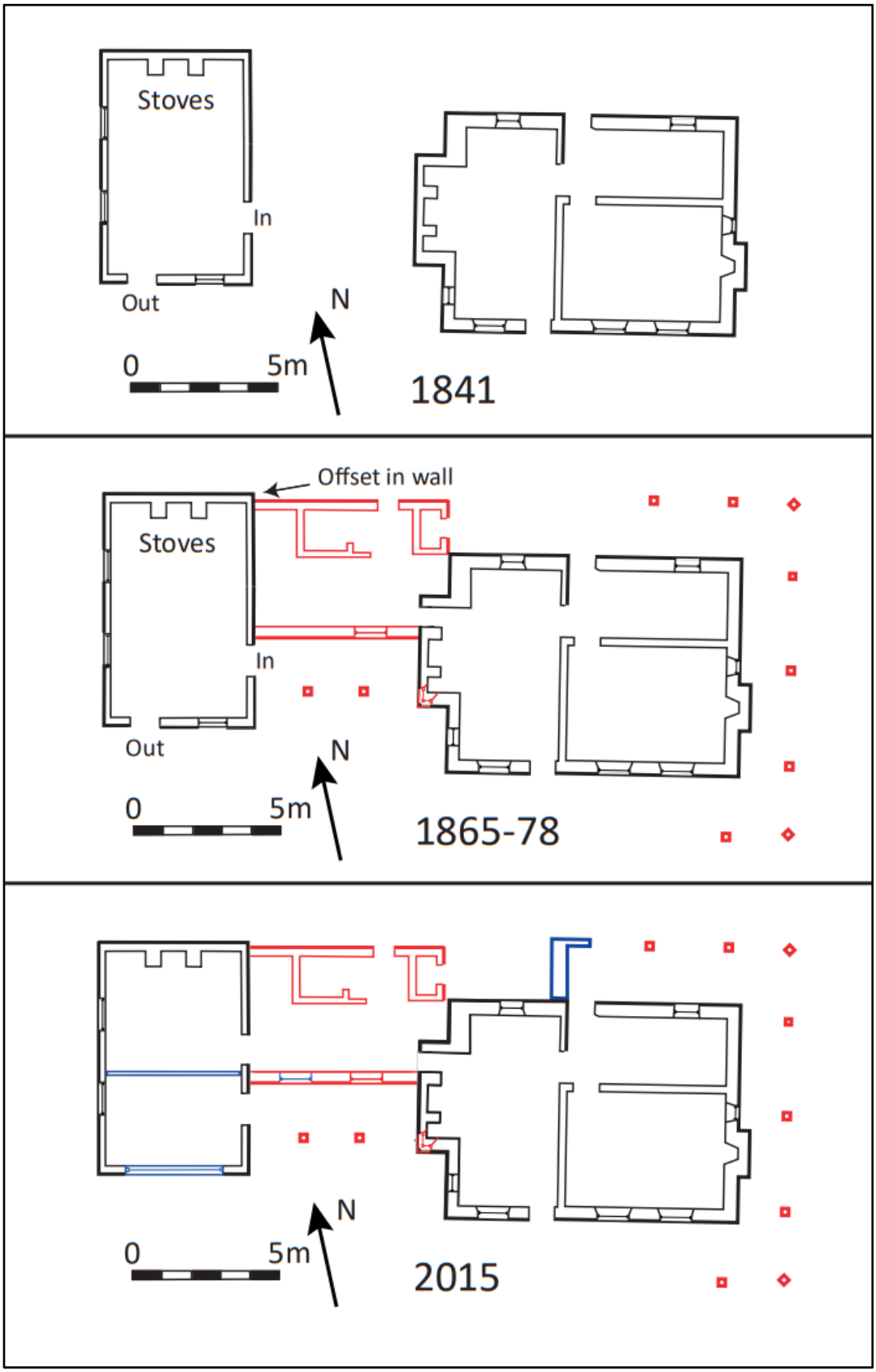


Figure 7.22. The Soup House and Cottage; buildings as at 1841 in black, 1865 alterations red, recent alterations blue (based on author's survey and HE/2005 and HE/2007).

Figure 7.23. The Soup House (Britain from Above 1953).

Margate

Francis Cobb, brewing, banking and shipping magnate, whose family 'ruled' Margate during much of the nineteenth century (Ovenden 2013: 5), had supported Margate's soup kitchen from at least 1848, providing premises in an old forge just below his brewery and most of the operating expenses. In 1860 he paid for a new soup kitchen to be built on the site, (KHLC/EK/U1453/T2G). Cobb leased it to the town council for £3 annually (TA 25/10/1862: 1).

The designs for the building show a remarkably tall single-storey building with a louvred roof, additional clerestory windows for ventilation and a porch running the length of the building (Figure 7.24). The three levels of roofing and the tall chimney give an impressive, ecclesiastical appearance, even though it was invisible from the main streets due to its secluded location. The cast iron range, the ventilation system (Figure 7.25), sheltered veranda, wide entrance and exit

and a toilet at the rear of a neighbouring Fort Street property all demonstrate a more generous philanthropy than most parishes aspired to (Figure 6.12).

Cobb continued to provide significant sums towards the charity until his death in 1871. Cobb's building is shown on the 1950 OS map and appears on aerial photographs which show the single-storey ticket office and store had been raised to the same height as the main building.

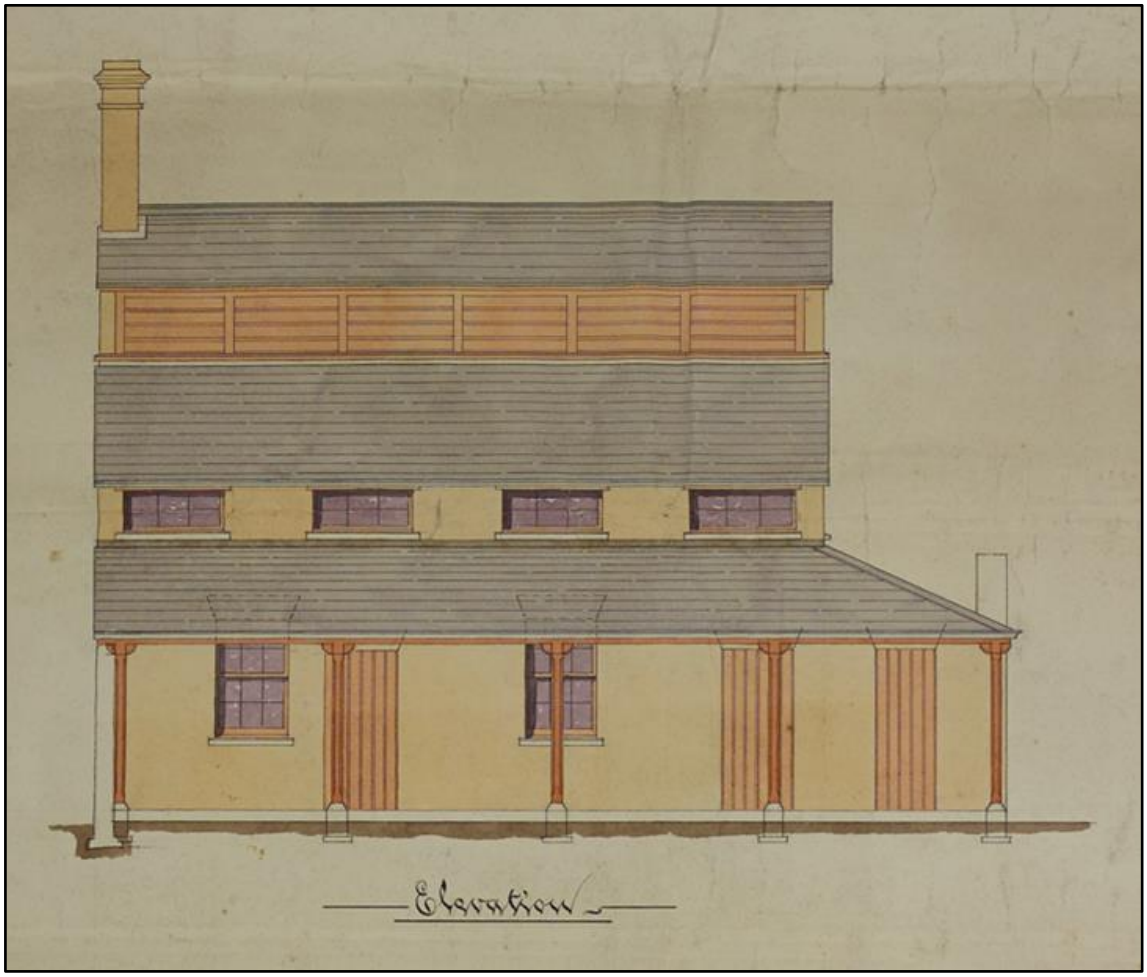


Figure 7.24. Elevation of Margate Soup Kitchen 1860 (KHLC/EK/U1453/P190).

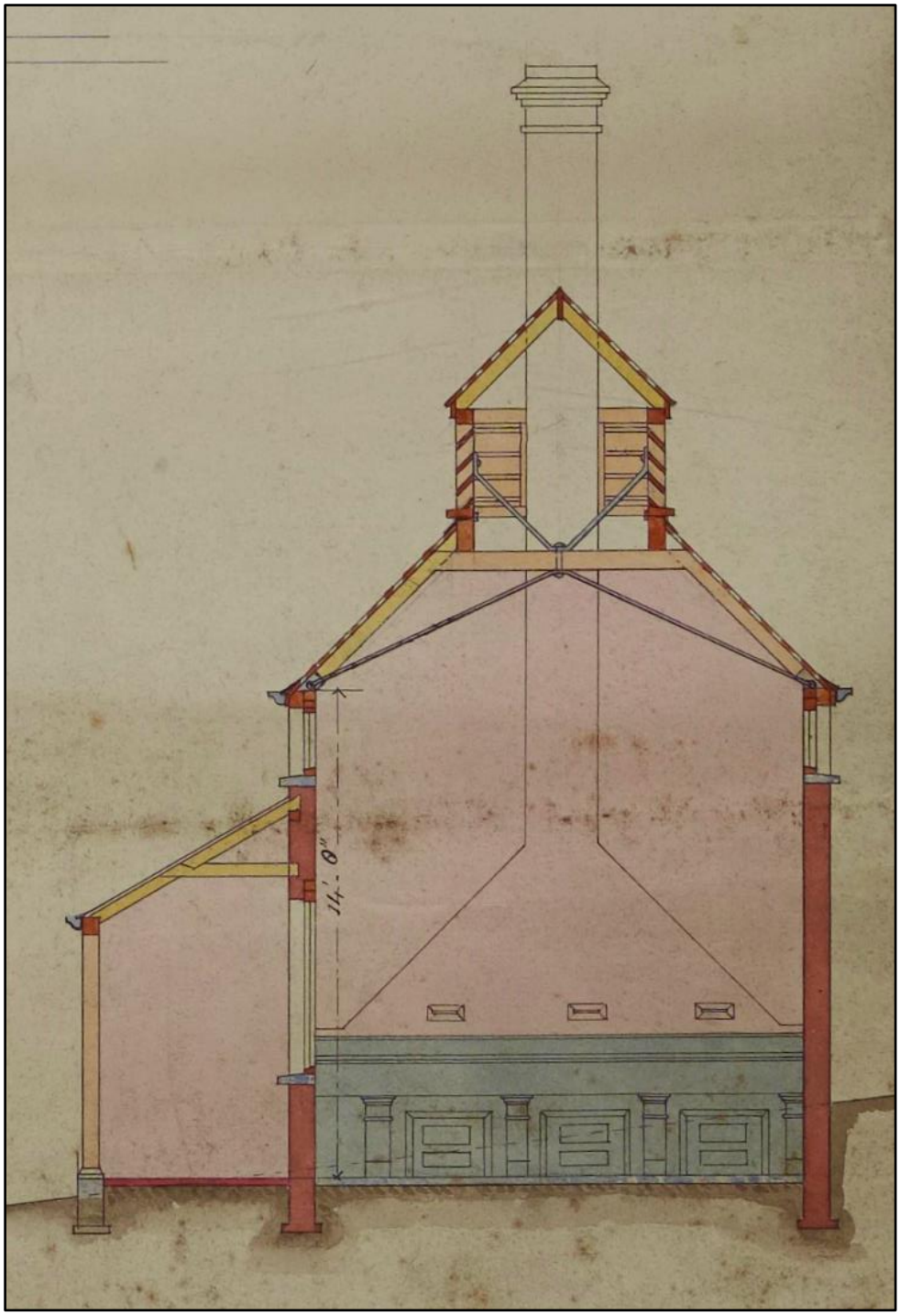


Figure 7.25. Margate Soup Kitchen showing the range and ventilation system (KHLC/EK/U1453/P190).

Trentham Hall

The Leveson-Gower family were first reported as distributing soup at Trentham Hall, the Staffordshire family seat, during the 1795–1801 famine when the

Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford relieved the poor from parishes for miles around with 'bread, beef and broth' (SA 20/2/1796: 4). The family were distributing bread and beer at 'the Trentham Gate' in 1816 (MP 27/11/1816: 3). In 1841, Mary Phillips was convicted of stealing victuals intended for the poor from the 'soup-house' (SA 9/10/1841: 2). Estate accounts record regular charitable deliveries of soup, bread and beer from 1818 until 1882 (SRO/D593/L/6/2/2). Soup was still being given away in 1894 (below).

The soup-house, or Poor's Lodge, was a two-storey Italianate building with symmetrically placed windows, ashlar stone walls, ornate quoins and a low-pitched gabled roof situated at the Trentham Gate (Figure 7.26). It was constructed in the late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth century and is shown on the 1809 estate map (SRO/D593/H/3/444). It was demolished in 1911 along with much of Trentham Hall.

An 1826 inventory of the contents of the Poor's Lodge included 21 one-quart cans (Sambrook 1996: 213); these would have been used for soup. In Figure 7.26, the windowsill facing the street and the wall below have lighter areas showing where people leant on the sill and brushed against the wall while they got soup. The physical evidence of repeated visits shows that the poor were not admitted to the estate itself but collected their soup from the road outside the stable yard. The moral economy was performed at the gate, keeping the poor at a discrete distance. In 1894 the Duchess distributed soup, clothing and other goods to about 120 recipients at the Poor's Lodge while entertaining a large party of house guests (SA 29/12/1894: 4). At the same time, she provided 80-90 members of the Trentham Bible Class and 60 elderly estate-residents with a 'knife-and-fork tea' in the gallery. There was a clear hierarchy among those who were entitled to hospitality,

and below them, those who only got charity. The moral economy was still alive in the 1890s, but it had evolved.

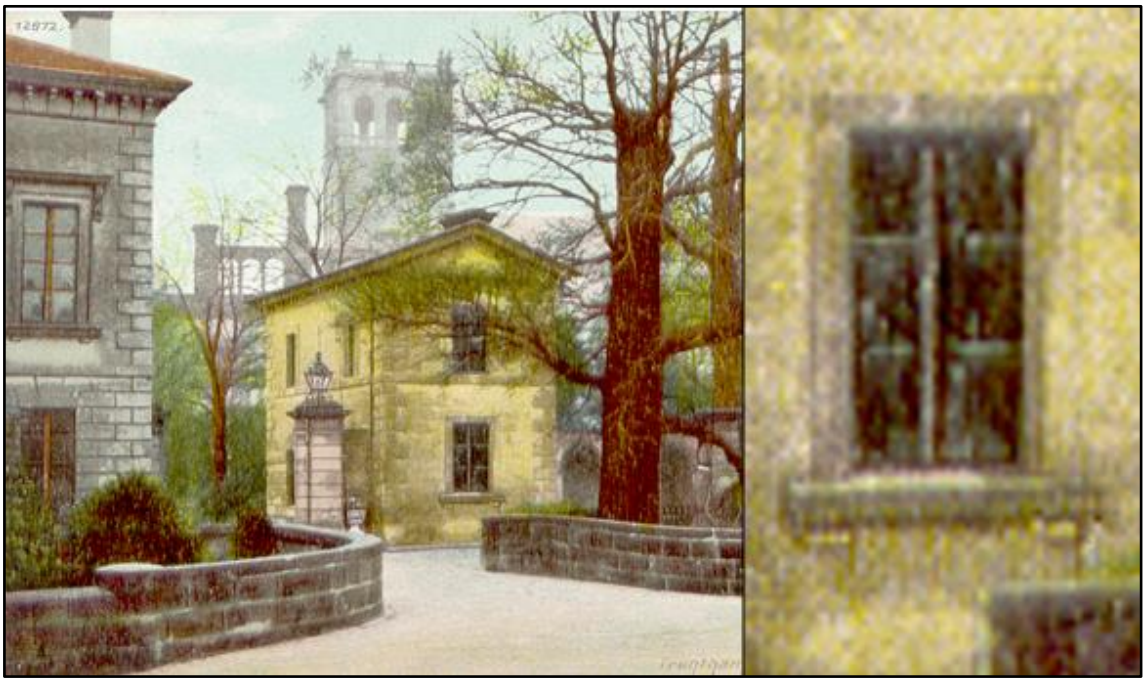


Figure 7.26. Left: the Poor's Lodge 1905-6 at the gate to the stable yard; Trentham Hall behind (Staffordshire 1905) © Brampton Museum & Art Gallery, Newcastle-under-Lyme. Right: detail showing the wear on the windowsill and below the window.

Discussion

While many of these buildings could be outhouses, given their small size, not all outhouses were equal. Wealthy donors like Countess Bridgewater and Cobb were keen to memorialise their benefaction in bricks and mortar and produced soup kitchens with more elegance but still on a modest scale. The Leveson-Gowers built a lodge that served several purposes, watching over the entrance to the stable-yard, accommodating staff on its first floor and providing a venue for supporting the poor. These were flagship buildings, outside and inside, and better built and furnished than subscription-funded ones.

For the Leveson-Gowers and Countess Bridgewater, attending to the needs of the local poor was an important and ancient obligation as landowners. 'Property has its duties' said the cliché of the time, hence expenditure on small but fine buildings that sent clear messages to the community that this moral duty was being performed. For the nobility, this was the moral economy, providing the common decencies of life to their local communities, but it was charity at the gate not hospitality in the hall. The Poor's Lodge was visible to passers-by as a statement of the family's benevolence. Berkhamsted's soup house was at the entrance to the Castle ruins, a tourist attraction, and on the route to Berkhamsted Place and Ashridge, the two country houses to the north of Berkhamsted.

The buildings celebrated the donors' philanthropy to the public at large not just the poor. The buildings were gifts, but not gifts to the poor who could only pass through the machinery of soup delivery, if they were even allowed inside. Committees restricted access to the gift to times that they thought appropriate. For the committees, such gifts were akin to white elephants: they needed constant work, fundraising from subscribers, and making and distributing soup. Only Rothschild and the Leveson-Gowers paid all the operational expenses as well.

The gift was limited in another way. Except for Wendover, the donors retained ownership of the land, as did the Duke of Northumberland with the Victoria Soup Kitchen, North Shields. This meant that the building would revert to the donors or their heirs if the soup kitchen ceased to operate or the lease expired (Margate's lease expressly stated this). The spirit of the gift returns to the giver (Mauss 2002: 14ff).

Buildings financed by individuals were more distinguished, better-built and more prominently-located than those financed by subscribers. Just as the Duke of Northumberland looked down the list of subscribers to the North Shields Soup Kitchen and topped the greatest contributor, without providing so much that the local community would stop financing its own soup kitchen (NE/BMXXI: 212: 25/1/1858), so donors like Countess Bridgewater or Baron Southampton might look at other soup kitchens and build something better, but not so much better that they could be accused of providing pauper palaces.

The simplicity and lack of ornamentation at subscription-funded, parish and corporation soup kitchens demonstrate parsimony. There is neither wasted space nor ostentation. Most of these larger buildings allowed the poor inside to pay for and receive their soup, momentarily escaping the winter weather. They did not necessarily have greater capacity: Tenterden and Cranbrook produced as much soup from smaller spaces. By admitting the poor to the building, the space inside needed more formal subdivision with counters and barriers like at Margate or in Hick's painting.

Most of these buildings date to the 1840s and 1850s, linking them to the first series of economic crises that followed the NPL; none date to the crusade. A number of new soup kitchens started up in the 1870s and 1880s but are not recorded in sufficient detail to know whether they had purpose-built premises. All of these soup kitchens as far as we know operated more regularly than other institutions without purpose-built premises; they had agency and persuaded people to think charitably. Once built, these buildings were rarely altered significantly, other than North Shields which was enlarged in the 1870s.

Place	Date	Size in m. Ordnance Survey	Size in m	Area	Doors	Funder
Deal	1852	6.4 x 4.6		29.4m^2	1; after 1905 2	Subscribers
Wendover 2	1905-1914+	Not shown	7.4 x 5.2 E	38.5m^2	1?	Alfred Rothschild
Ramsgate	1849/50	6.1 x 4.8	6.0 x 4.8 internal A	28.8m^2	2	Subscribers
NWPSK	1846/48	4.7 x 12?		?	1	Baron Southampton
Berkhamsted	1841	6.7 x 4.6	6.7 x 5.1 external A	34.2m^2	2	Countess Bridgewater
Margate	1860	12.1x 4.8	11.9 x 4.8 P	57.1m^2	2	Francis Cobb Esq.
Trentham Hall	c.1800	8.6 x 5.1		43.9m^2	1	Duke of Sutherland
North Shields	1840	8.6 x 6.7		57.6m^2	3?	Subscribers
Gateshead	1860	9.5 x 5.3		51.2m^2	?	Subscribers

Table 7.2. Medium purpose-built soup kitchens. Measurements taken from OS maps are approximate; measurements from other surveys are given when available (A=author's survey, E=estate agent's plan, P=architect's plan).

d. Large

So far, the purpose-built soup kitchens we have considered have been relatively small and simple, with one room, perhaps divided by a counter, or two rooms, if one was a storeroom. In large towns larger buildings were sometimes preferred.

City Public Kitchen, Blackfriars

The City Public Kitchen, Blackfriars, which provided soup to the southwestern part of the City during the crisis of 1799-1801, was neither small nor simple. The committee bought a 60-year lease of land between New Street and Friar Street and started construction in December 1799; meanwhile they used the kitchens at London's Guildhall (Blackfriars 1800: 1ff). By late February 1800 the new premises, though still unfinished, were in use. The building contained two soup kitchens with entrances on separate streets (Figure 7.27). The main soup kitchen had separate entrance and exit doors on New Street creating a symmetrical Georgian façade 14.3m long with a parapet and hipped roof (Figure 7.28). The second soup kitchen, reserved for the better-class of soup-recipient, had a single entrance and a sitting room where people could eat, with a sub-committee room and caretaker's lodging above. The maze in the main soup kitchen was wider than those used in other contemporary buildings (Table 6.1).

The building was a flagship, and although the absence of an attic storey and stucco demonstrates some economy, £1,843 was spent on the lease, construction and fitting out, a huge sum in comparison to other soup kitchens which cost around £100 or less. This was a grand project.

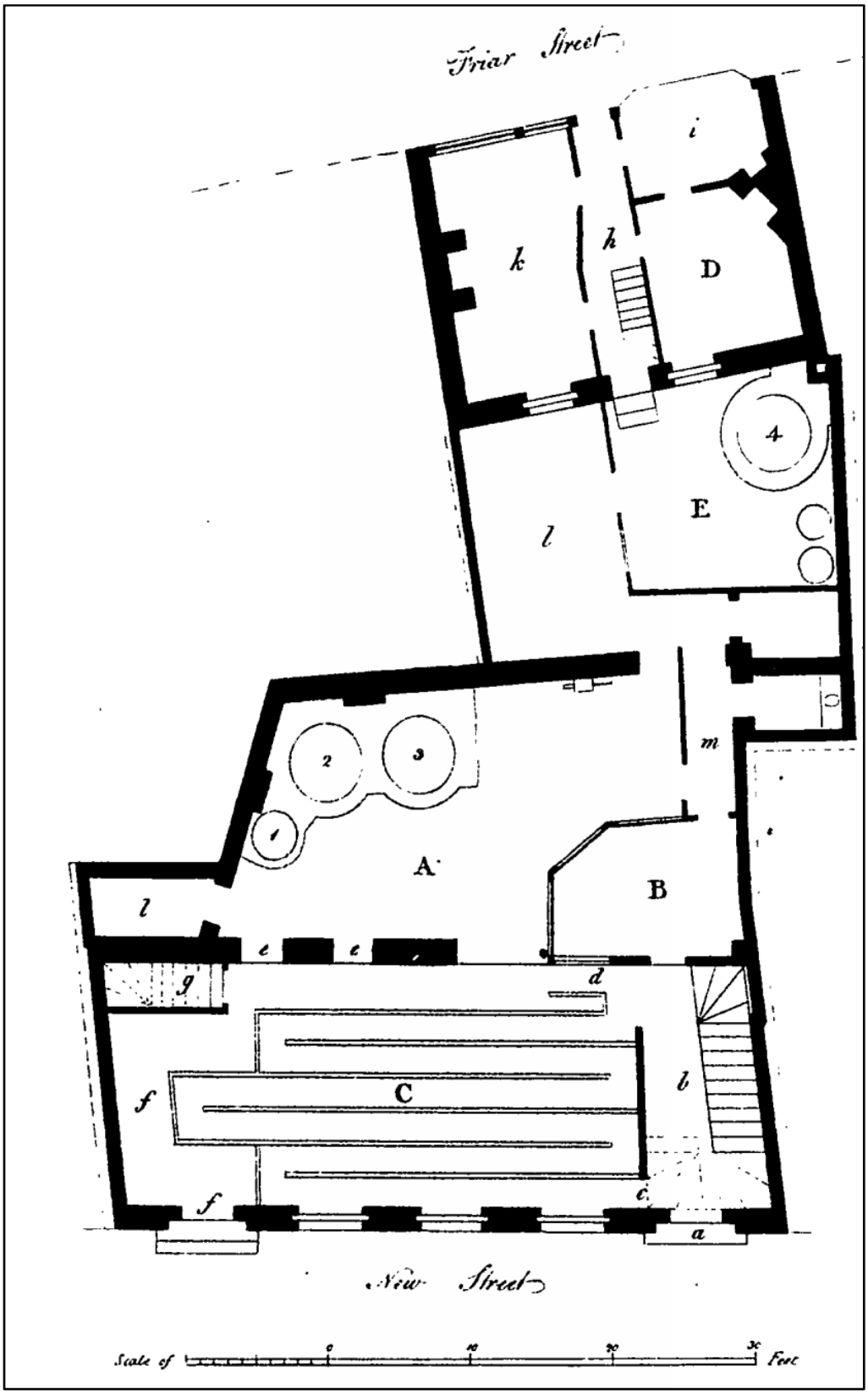


Figure 7.27. Blackfriars Soup Kitchen ground floor plan (Blackfriars 1800).

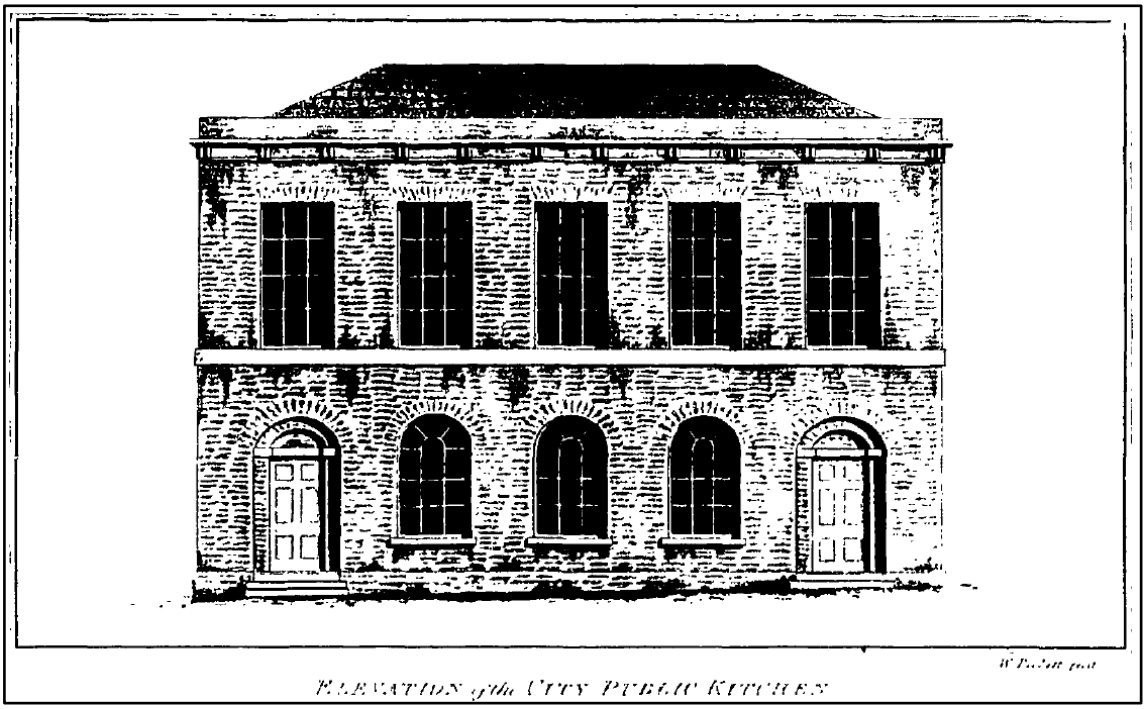


Figure 7.28. The New Street façade of Blackfriars Soup Kitchen (Blackfriars 1800).

The tall first-floor windows on New Street lit the committee room which occupied the most important part of the building. There was a coal cellar below the maze. The annual report presents the fine symmetrical Georgian edifice in its frontispiece, perhaps because you could not actually see the façade in all its symmetrical glory due to the narrowness of the street (Figure 7.28, Figure 7.29). The kitchen areas between the two façades were single-storeyed. The building was still operational in 1860 when the charity was advertising for subscriptions and recounting its past, although it seems only to have distributed potatoes and coal in its later years (Low 1850: 122; LCP 7/1/1860: 4).

The building was ambitious and reflects the expectations of its sponsors (the great and good of the City) and its clientele many of whom were artisans and who might consider themselves above the labouring poor. The venue might make soup more palatable, but it was inferior to the Guildhall. The Guildhall was the

administrative and civic centre and formed the locus of power and of performance of the City's social drama.

Figure 7.29. New Street (now Burgon Street) today; the site of the soup kitchen is outlined; the present building is a late-nineteenth century replacement.

Guildhalls had had an important part to play in the distribution of charity to impoverished members when their intercession was necessary for the salvation of their betters, but this role declined in the post-medieval period (Giles 1999: 100), although the remains of great banquets were still given to the poor. A member's identity was determined partly by who they were not, and they were not impoverished artisans. The solution was to provide a venue elsewhere and thus exclude soup-recipients from the fraternity. The removal of the soup kitchen from the Guildhall was carried out hastily, before the new building was even finished. The upper-class soup kitchen and the flagship building demonstrate the City's guilt at this exclusion.

Figure 7.30. Blackfriars Soup Kitchen's location on Horwood's map (Horwood 1795) © British Library Board.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne GSK

After the building that had been home to the GSK between 1844 and 1879 was demolished, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation's engineer designed a new soup kitchen with 'every modern appliance for carrying on the work in the most efficient manner' (NC 21/1/1881:5). Ironically, having operated from borrowed premises for over 80 years, the GSK closed permanently only 13 years later (NC 18/3/1893: 4). The designs (TWA/T186/8889) and expenditure listed in the minutes (TWA/CHX3/1/3) document its construction. When the soup kitchen closed, the Corporation, as freeholder, gained a building, paid for by subscribers only a decade earlier, for free.

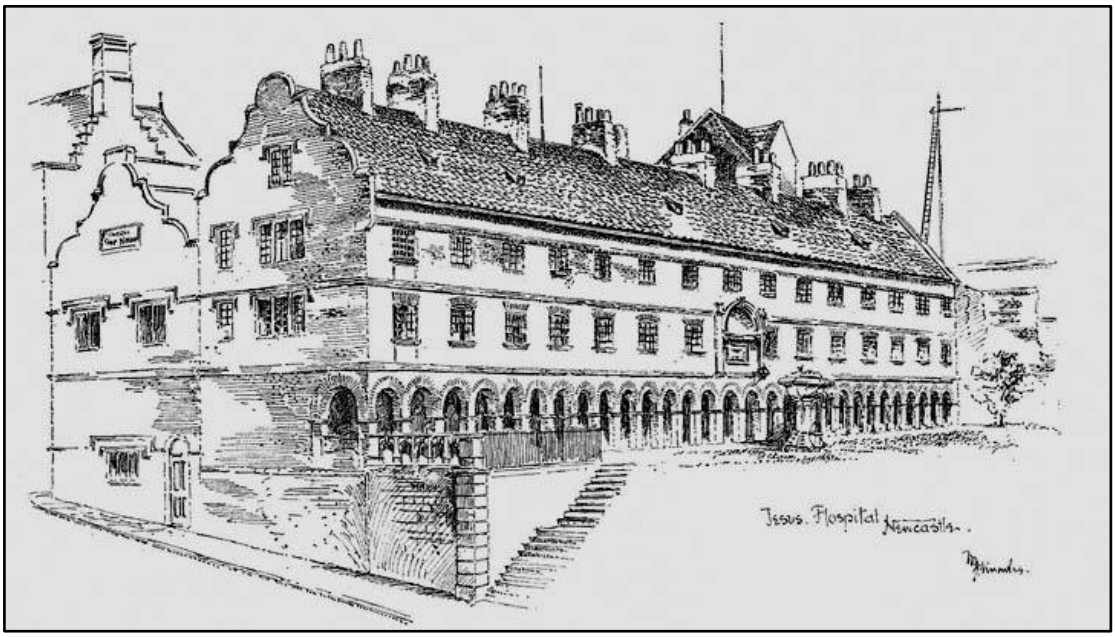


Figure 7.31. The Holy Jesus Hospital (right gable) and GSK (left gable) (Knowles 1891: 28).

An 1891 engraving of the west façade is the only illustration of the building while it was a soup kitchen (Figure 7.31). Few photographs portray the building before 1965. These sources and the author's survey show that the design was implemented, and differences between the design and the current building are

almost all alterations made after 1893 when the premises were subdivided, recombined, and eventually converted into the Joicey Museum.

Figure 7.32. The GSK based on author's survey and the design drawings (TWA/T186/8889). Original building in black, 1893 additions in red, 1965 demolition and blocked opening in pink, floor level shown by dotted line.

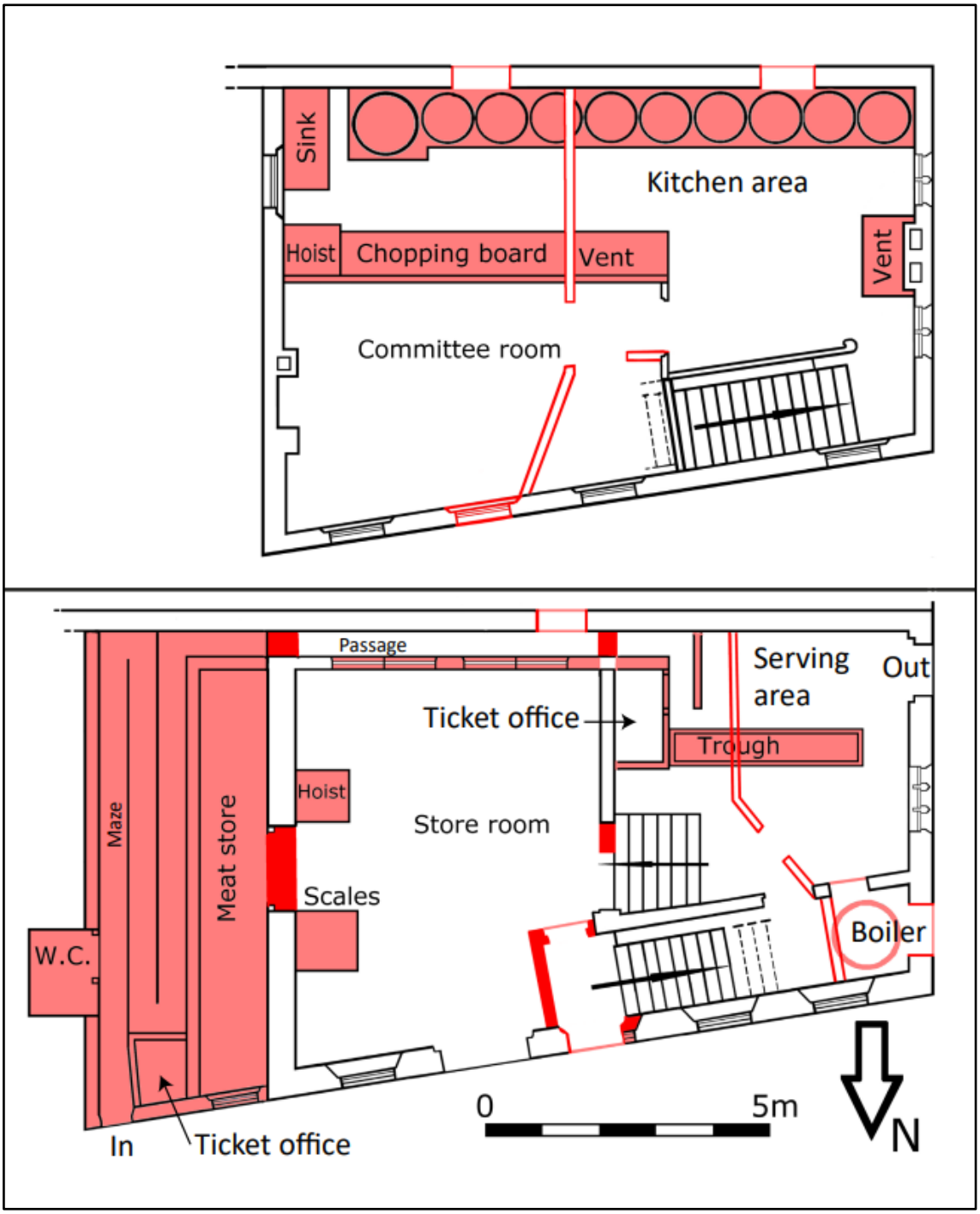


Figure 7.33. GSK, ground floor below and first floor above, based on author's survey and the design drawings (TWA/T186/8889). Original building in black, post 1893 additions in red, soup kitchen features removed after 1893 in pink. The new partition walls on the first floor are post-1965, the maze and meat store were demolished in 1965. One west doorway was added in 1893 and both west doors were blocked in 1965 (not shown).

The two-storey building is a wedge-shaped trapezium in plan. The front (west) faced Manors Chare, the north an alley, the east a courtyard and the south side adjoined the Hospital (Figure 7.35). At ground floor level, there was originally only one door in the front elevation and a three-light central window with chamfered stone mullions and a hood moulding. Above, a Dutch gable with a date-stone with 'GENERAL SOUP KITCHEN 1880' carved in relief surmounts two first floor two-light stone mullioned windows (Figure 7.37). Simple brick stringcourses run over the door, at first-floor level and over the first-floor windows. These windows, the coping stones to the gable and stone steps inside (Figure 7.38) were probably salvaged from the Police Court when it was demolished (Figure 7.34) as they are the only decorative (and costly) features of an otherwise plain building. The recycling displays the charitable economy that we have seen in other buildings, demonstrating to the public at large that the charity was frugal with their gifts and to the poor that this was all they were being given.

On the north façade, which is absolutely plain, there was a double-width door into the storeroom, four ground floor windows and a narrow door and window into the maze (Figure 7.32). The east side, invisible from the street, has a plain irregular triangular gable, in contrast to the ornate west gable. Its chimney and the ridge are off-centre to keep the ridge parallel to the north wall. A simple lean-to against the east wall covered the maze and meat store inside.

The poor entered through the narrow door in the lean-to, where a ticket office controlled access. The maze wound through the lean-to, passing a small toilet, before entering a narrow passage that ran between the hospital wall and the

storeroom to the serving area at the front. Here the poor paid their penny, collected their soup and exited from the door on the Manors (Figure 7.37).

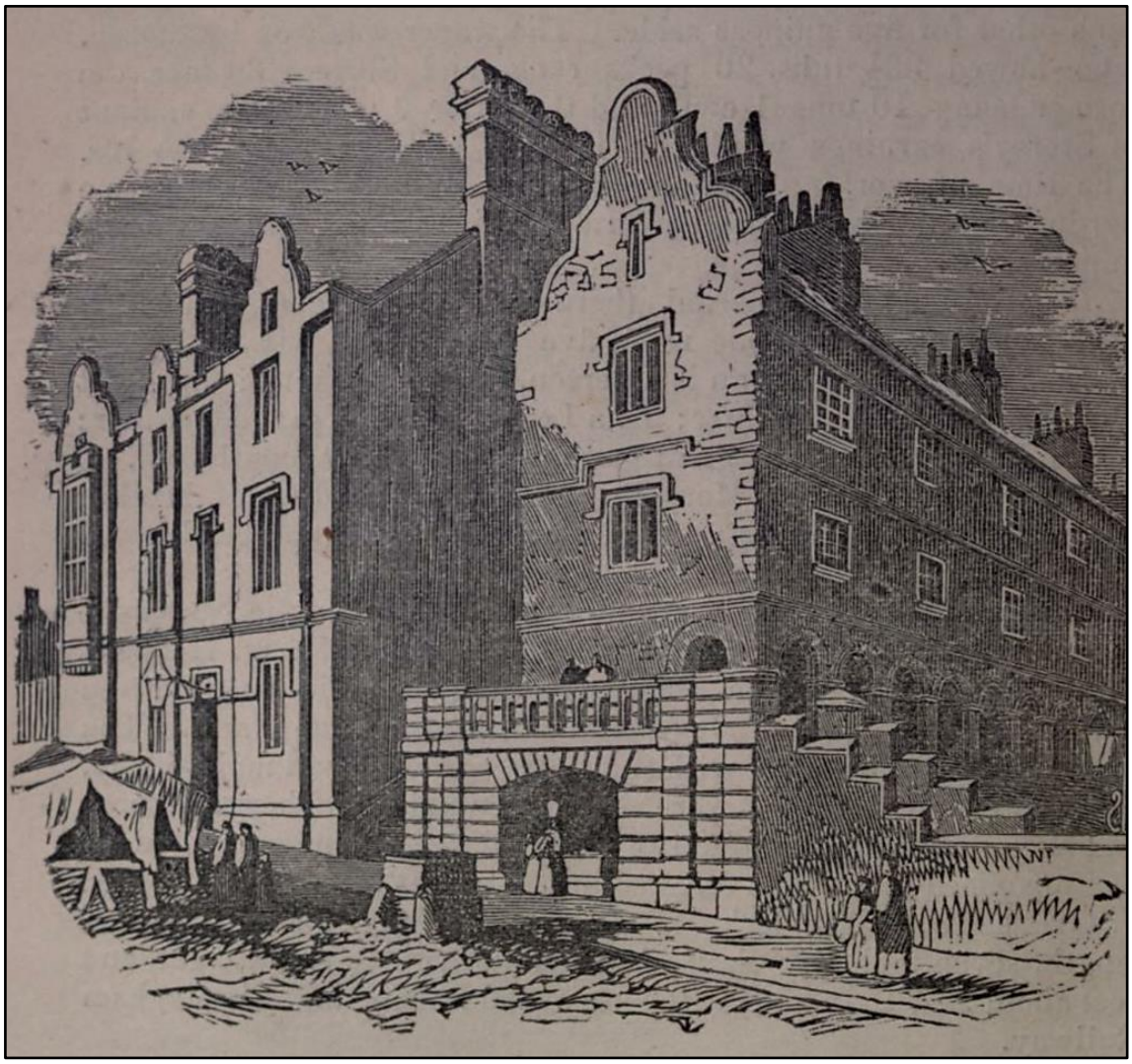


Figure 7.34. The Police Court building on the left (Fordyce 1866: 72); the windows and Dutch gables reflect the Hospital on the right; the stone steps to the first floor court are between the two buildings.

Figure 7.35. The Gothic Catholic School to the left, the GSK under the Unwin sign centre and Hospital right in c.1965 (Forsyth 1965).

Figure 7.36. The GSK in 2014 surrounded by 1960s concrete. Note lighter brickwork in location of lean-to.

The soup was made in the first-floor kitchen. A hoist and possibly a stair lift moved ingredients from the storeroom to the kitchen. Finished soup was then piped to a 'feeding trough' in the serving area at the front of the building. The committee room was on the first floor like at Blackfriars and Spitalfields (below) and was the only room in the building with a fireplace and plaster on the walls and ceiling. It was comfortable enough for the COS to ask permission to use it for their meetings.

Figure 7.37. The GSK and Hospital 1965 (detail from Figure 7.35); the blocked doorway on the left is an 1893 alteration, the right door was the exit from the serving area.

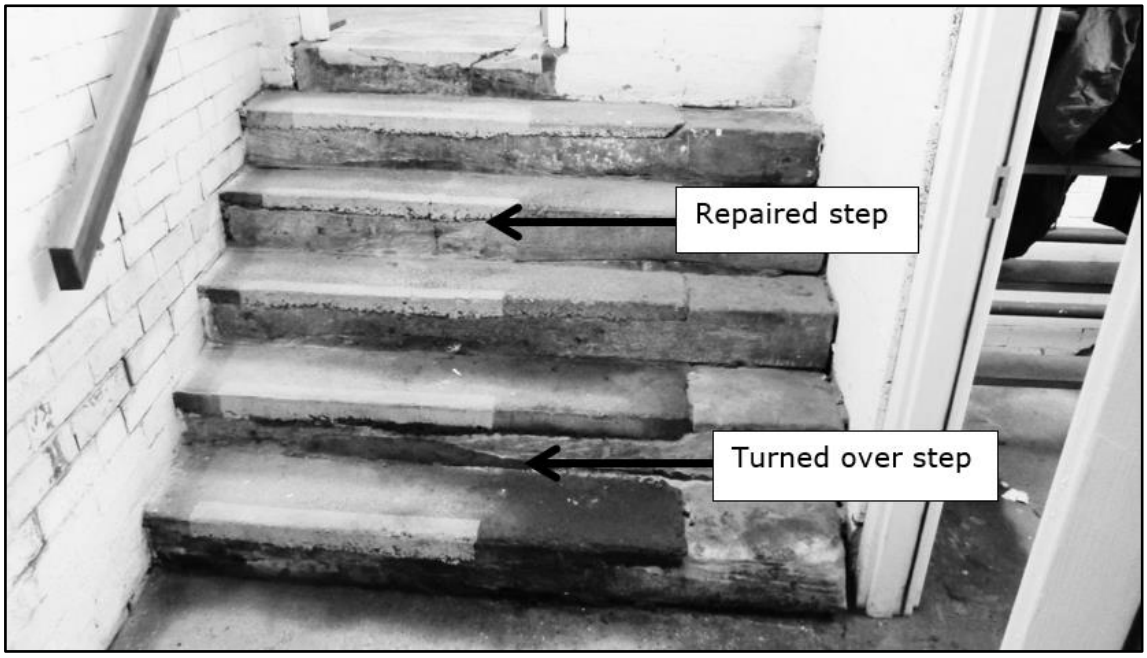


Figure 7.38. Re-used and repaired stone steps inside the GSK.

Overall, the building was austere. The toilet and shelter of the narrow maze were the only 'luxuries' provided to the poor. The west façade adopted the persona of the adjoining seventeenth-century Hospital built for 'deserving freemen' of Newcastle. The GSK recognised the existence of the ancient corporate moral economy by mimicking the Hospital next door, but its operating policies and interior spoke of a more modern industrial world. It is only ornamental because of the presence of its neighbour. Imitating the Hospital and the sloping site however make its proportions awkward. The rest of the building was completely plain in contrast to the Gothic school (Figure 7.35) and the Hospital. In Knowles's engraving, the soup kitchen is less carefully delineated than the Hospital, reflecting its lesser status.

The building was purely functional and every expense was spared in construction. The poor would never have seen the cooks or the kitchen, the committee members or their benefactors; they were never allowed to stay in the building, only to pass through. This was a soup factory and feeding machine. Its shape acted as a funnel

channelling and speeding the flows of people, ingredients, soup and steam with maximum efficiency and minimum space, while economising on expensive street frontage. The building used materials recycled from the temporary soup kitchen used during construction and from the former Police Court. Growing unease over indiscriminate charity prevented any effort to make the building pleasant or comfortable. Economy went as far as denying the builders the traditional 'treat' on completing the construction (TWA/CHX3/1/3).

LSKJP

In 1902, the LSKJP moved from Fashion Street where its decrepit premises were being redeveloped. Lewis Solomon, a leading Jewish architect, designed new premises on nearby Butler Street (Fraser 1996: 173). The four-storey building occupies over 21 m of street frontage (Figure 7.40). It, and a small shop, occupied the ground floor. A separate entrance accessed the upper storeys which were rented to community organisations and schools to generate income for the charity.

The ground floor terracotta ornamentation displays the building's title 'WAY OUT SOUP KITCHEN 5662 1902 FOR THE JEWISH POOR WAY IN' with a tureen of soup against a scalloped background over the central door (Figure 7.39). The dates are the Jewish and Christian eras respectively. Augé (2009: 96) associates the incorporation of instructions into the buildings structure as a characteristic of super-modernity and *non-lieux*. The tureen is a very middle-class vision of soup; few soup-recipients would have been familiar with one. A film from 1934 shows the queue entering the way out and leaving from the entrance: signage is open to re-interpretation (BFI 1934).

Its façade presents a slightly odd mix of styles. The terracotta suggests an art nouveau influence, while the timber work on the ground floor doors and windows is more traditional. The upper floors are more classically-inspired, divided by pilasters and terracotta mullions with ornate brick arches, pediments, and a Diocletian window to the top floor. Solomon's 1903 synagogue on Stoke Newington's Shacklewell Lane displays a similar layering of different styles, not untypical of the period.

The entrance admitted the poor to a large well-lit waiting room with a fireplace, washing facilities and a maze significantly wider than at English soup kitchens (Figure 7.41, Table 6.1). The main kitchen contained a long serving counter. There was a toilet on the way out. The committee room sat in the centre of the ground floor.

Figure 7.39. The soup tureen over the central front door.

Figure 7.40. The London Soup Kitchen for the Jewish Poor.

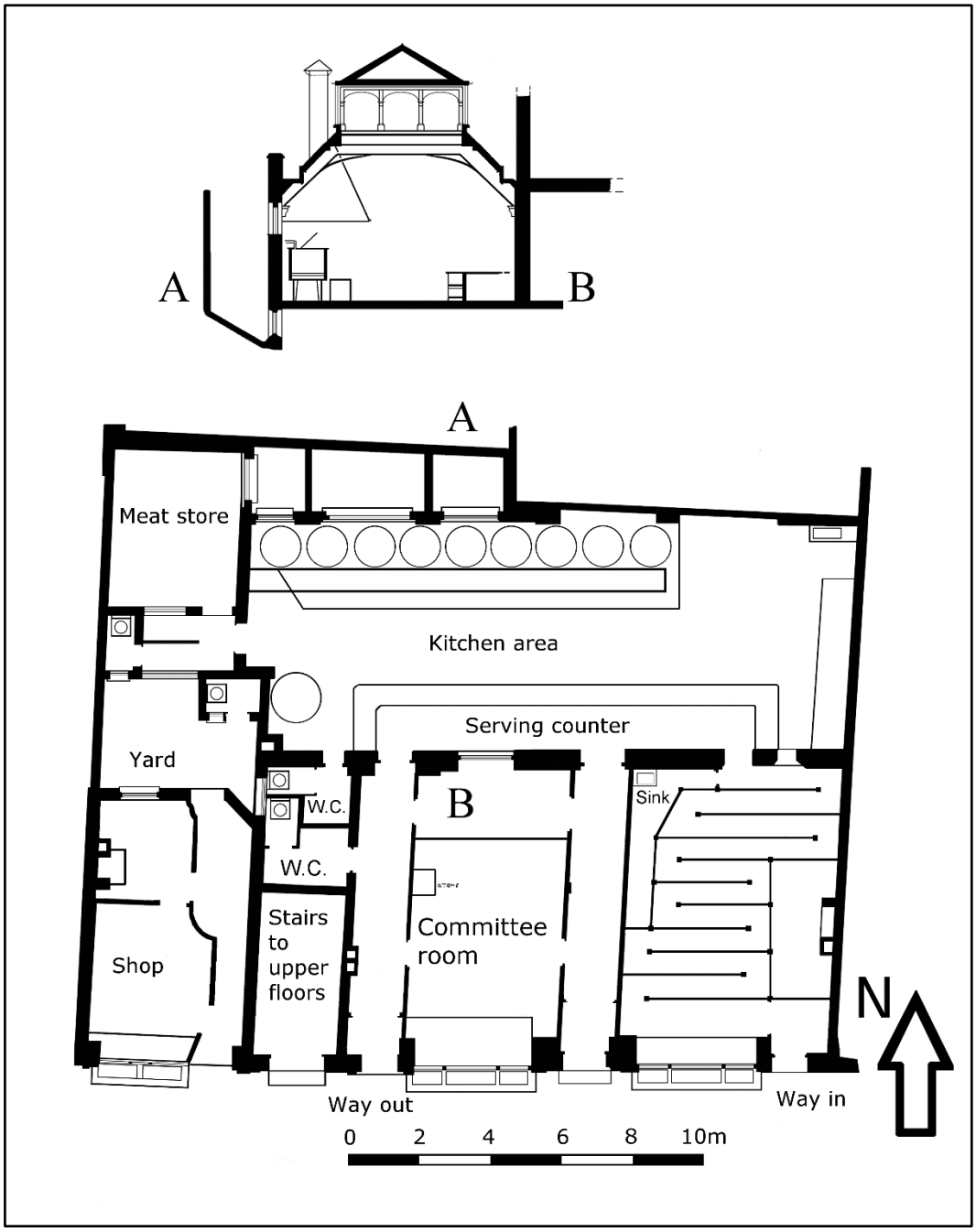


Figure 7.41. Plan and section of the ground floor of the LSKJP (based on *The Builder*).

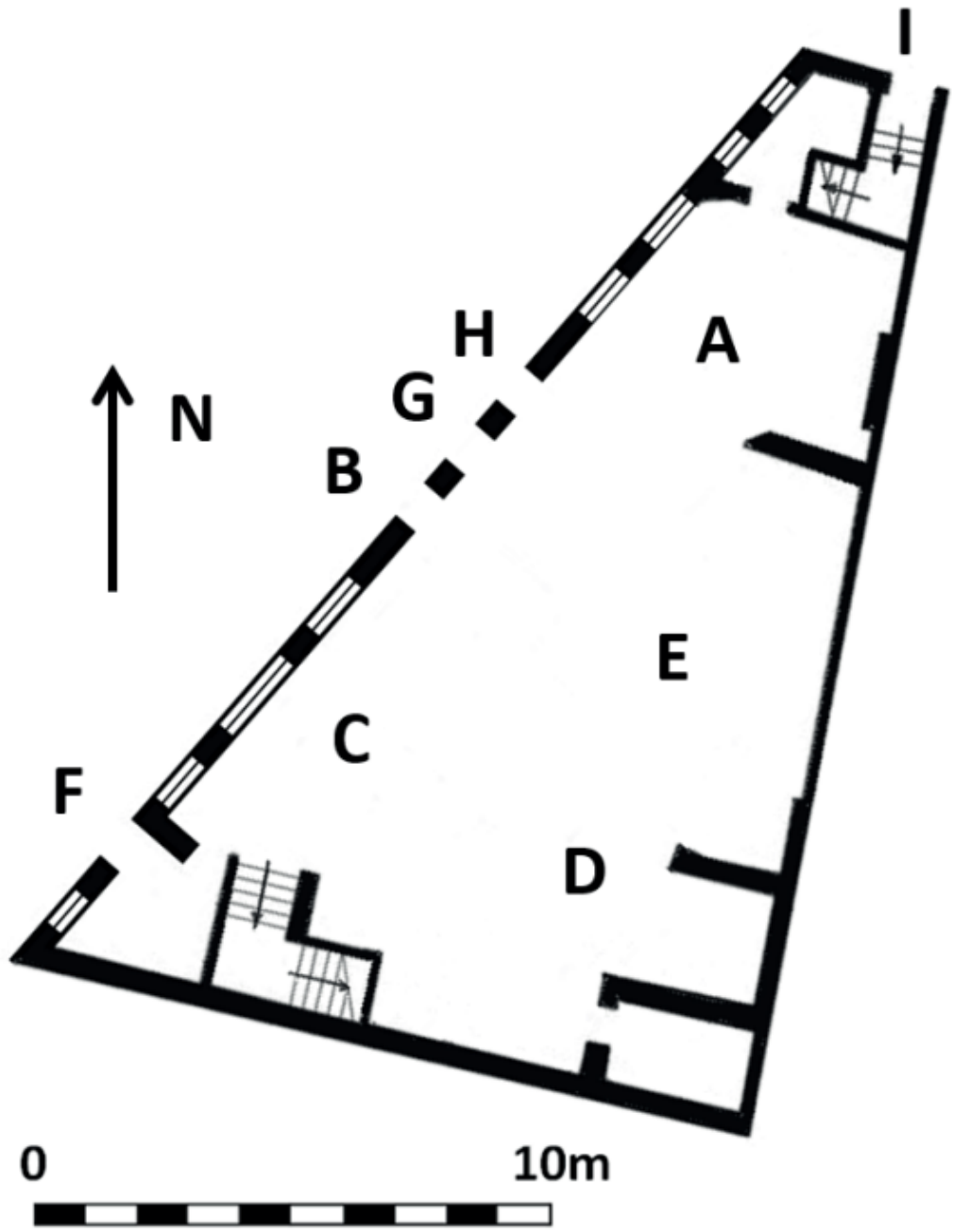
An article in *The Builder* (1903: 91) stressed the economy with which the building was constructed. Nevertheless, after deducting the approximate cost of the land, it cost over seven times more, while being only four times larger than the GSK; it was fitted out to a higher standard. It placed soup at its core. The soup tureen sitting proudly over the main entrance marks the building's main purpose. The

exterior, like its interior could not be more different from English soup kitchens, in size and ornamentation and in its celebration of soup. The shift from its old building, a former coach-house or workshop, to a flagship building was remarkable and commented on favourably in the press.

Manchester Philanthropic Hall

Manchester's Jewish community modelled its Philanthropic Hall loosely on the LSKJP (GMCRO/GB127.M151/1/1). The two-storey 1906 building forms a wedge-shaped trapezium as dictated by the shape of the plot, with its main façade on Southall Street which slopes downhill to the south, giving the southern end of the building a high ground floor ceiling level (ideal for steamy soup-making). The kitchen, dining area, committee room and stores took up the entire ground floor except for the access points to the first floor (Figure 7.42); unfortunately, it has not been possible to survey the interior. It was smaller than the LSKJP, reflecting the smaller size of Manchester's Jewish population. The first floor contained meeting rooms and a hall which were let to other community organisations to generate income for the charity.

The north and west walls are built in red brick in neo-classical style, divided by horizontal stringcourses immediately below and above the windows and by vertical pilasters (Figure 7.43). The door in the north wall, the principal door in the west wall and the gable over it are ornamented with broken ogee-shaped pediments, each enclosing an obelisk. A terracotta panel over the principal door reads 'PHILANTHROPIC 5666 1906 HALL' and on either side were commemorative tablets (recently removed).



Key: A committee room, B and H entrance and exit for soup-recipients, C maze/queuing area, D and E storeroom and kitchen area with counter, F access to first floor, G entrance to building for committee and supplies, I access to first floor

Figure 7.42. Conjectural plan of Manchester Philanthropic Hall ground floor; (plan based on author's survey of exterior and Manchester 2011).

On the west side there were originally two smaller doors (now windows) either side of the principal door; a queue is shown at the southernmost of these three doors (Figure 7.44) The large doorway to the south of the principal door was originally a window; further south, another door, now a window, may have provided further access to the first floor as there is a staircase nearby. The alterations post-date 1945.

Figure 7.43. The Philanthropic Hall.

Figure 7.44. The soup kitchen in the 1930s with an all-male queue (GMCRO/ GB127.M151/4/2). © Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives .

Discussion

There were few large soup kitchens identified during the research in the main study regions, although others were identified elsewhere (Table 7.3). Except for Blackfriars and Liverpool, these large flagship buildings date from between 1880 and 1906. Large-scale unemployment in industrial towns created problems that needed industrial-scale solutions. This contrasts with the medium-sized buildings, most of which date to the period between 1840 and 1870. Despite the crusade, large soup kitchens remained viable projects in some communities into the twentieth century.

Whereas the small and medium-sized buildings were often detached and could have been bigger, these larger buildings made the most efficient use of often

irregular plots of land. Multi-storied buildings used space even more efficiently than single storied buildings, but required industrial technology to move ingredients, soup and people.

Blackfriars Soup Kitchen demonstrates the great wealth of City subscribers and the concerns about the crisis in 1799. Its price dwarfs the sums spent by others (it cost double what Newcastle-upon-Tyne spent 80 years later).

Although there were many grander contemporary pubs, the two early-twentieth-century Jewish soup kitchens display a radical departure from the English tradition and are more akin to continental public kitchens (like those in Lisbon, Geneva or Paris). Each used a long street frontage to display its charitable identity with ornate brickwork and well-designed proportions. Each stands out from its neighbours. The signage is in English, not Yiddish, and was primarily aimed at the English and the Anglo-Jewish communities and not the recent Jewish immigrants. With anti-Semitism on the rise and talk of restrictions on immigration, the Jewish communities were making a definite statement about their willingness to provide welfare to Jews. Both also provided soup to non-Jews. As soup kitchens they go beyond the bare minimum provided at other soup kitchens. The buildings must have made a big impression on the newly-arrived; here is security and permanence, and a larger prosperous Jewish community that they too could join. The Jewish charities actively encouraged and supported the poor into education and trades that would enable them to escape poverty by integrating other community institutions into the same building (Carstairs 2017: 933). To demonstrate the acceptance of the poor, both Jewish soup kitchens allowed the poor to eat at the counter, like the NWPSK 50 years earlier.

Place	Date	Area of soup kitchen	Doors	Funder
Blackfriars	1800	255m P	3	Subscribers
GSK Newcastle-upon-Tyne	1880	250m^2 A, P	3	Subscribers
Maidstone (Padsole Lane)	1880-1890?	170m^2 OS	?	Subscribers?
LSKJP	1902	260m^2 P	5	Subscribers
Philanthropic Hall	1906	180m^2 A	5	Subscribers
North Shields (enlarged)	1874	8.6 x 12.5? 108m^2?	3?	Subscribers
Worthing (50 Grafton Road)	1892	>100m^2	2	Subscribers?
Liverpool (Flint Street)	1840s	>150m^2	?	Subscribers?
Liverpool (Pickop Street)	1840s	>150m^2	?	Subscribers?

Table 7.3. Large purpose-built soup kitchens. Measurements taken from OS maps, are approximate; measurements from other surveys are given when available (A=author's survey, E=estate agent's plan, P=architect's plan).

e. Flows of people, flows of soup

Access maps (Hillier and Hansen 1984) are invaluable for analysing movement patterns through a building; several refinements have been added here to accommodate the fact that some routes were one-way only and some routes were

only open to certain people or materials. These access maps demonstrate clearly that soup kitchens are all divided into two zones, deep and shallow. The poor become visitors who were only admitted to the shallow zone. In the large buildings the shallow zone consisted of the maze and serving area only. This shallow zone often *excluded* members of staff with counters, barriers, separate floors and rooms, just as the poor were excluded from the deep zone. This has more in common with shops and public buildings (theatres, banks or town halls), but such buildings allow staff and visitors to mix in some areas. Soup kitchens do not share the spatial arrangements of total institutions where the inmates reside in the deep zone. The categorisation of soup-recipients as visitors and the access maps show that the intention was to move them through the building and out as quickly as possible. This strict segregation was relaxed in the Friar Street part of Blackfriars Soup Kitchen where the better-class could stay a while and have greater freedom of movement.

Looking at the images of soup kitchen interiors in Chapter 6, we can see that the chaotic and dangerous scenes are those where the shallow and deep zones are not clearly separated (or where the poor mingle with the rich outside the soup kitchen). The breakdown of boundaries between zones risks pollution and dirt; we have matter and people in the wrong place (Douglas 1984; Sibley 1995). The division of buildings and who is allowed where is vital to preserving the established order.

The poor only ever occupied the front region and had no back region in which to retire and be themselves, they were always obliged to perform and maintain their public face (Goffman 1969), although Soyer's Dublin structure reverses this by restraining the poor in the background to allow the drama to unfold centre-stage;

in this regard it is more like a total institution. In the front region, there was no escape from scrutiny; illustrations of larger soup kitchens almost always show supervisors in top hats watching the shallow front region from the shelter of the deep region. At smaller buildings, the shallow zone activities took place *outside* the building, with the building, or much of it, reserved for staff. Thus, the larger landscape became important for performance. Access maps are not so well-suited to understanding small buildings in isolation.

Access even to the shallow part was usually strictly controlled by ticket and by the opening and closing of the institution, which lay in the control of the powerful not the poor. The lack of door control is why the NWPSK (Figure 6.8) looks so different and perhaps why the COS found it particularly disturbing.

The poor were 'visitors', only tolerated at certain times, and then on condition that they moved through the building and did not stay. The maze is as much a passage as a room and sometimes referred to as a 'maze-passage' (Colquhoun 1799a: 13). In this sense, the poor were never even admitted to a room in many soup kitchens, and the larger soup kitchens become spatially more similar to the smaller ones.

The kitchens are central to these access maps, sitting at the interface between the linear flow of the poor and the tree-like network of flows of materials and staff. In large houses, kitchens were separated from the main domestic region, in soup kitchens, particularly small ones, the kitchen was the building. Important executive functions were kept separate in committee rooms or in separate buildings. This reflects domestic architecture in which cooking moves out of the part of the house where other daily activities were pursued into a separate realm

(Pennell 2016). Within the kitchen area, specific areas were set aside for storage, preparation and cooking to make production efficient.

Three of the large institutions, the 1880 GSK, Blackfriars, the 1902 LSKJP and Berkhamsted are analysed here (several more are analysed in the next chapter).

The GSK used its maze and passageway to keep visitors (the poor) in the shallow zone and 'occupants' (committee men and their staff) in the 'deep' zone. The GSK's four walls enclose two totally separate places, one side visited by the poor and the other inhabited by the powerful, their staff, food and steam; their flows were entirely separate until the soup was served (Figure 7.45). The deep zone was more complex and allowed flows in both directions; the shallow zone restricted flow to one direction, there was no turning around, no freedom of movement.

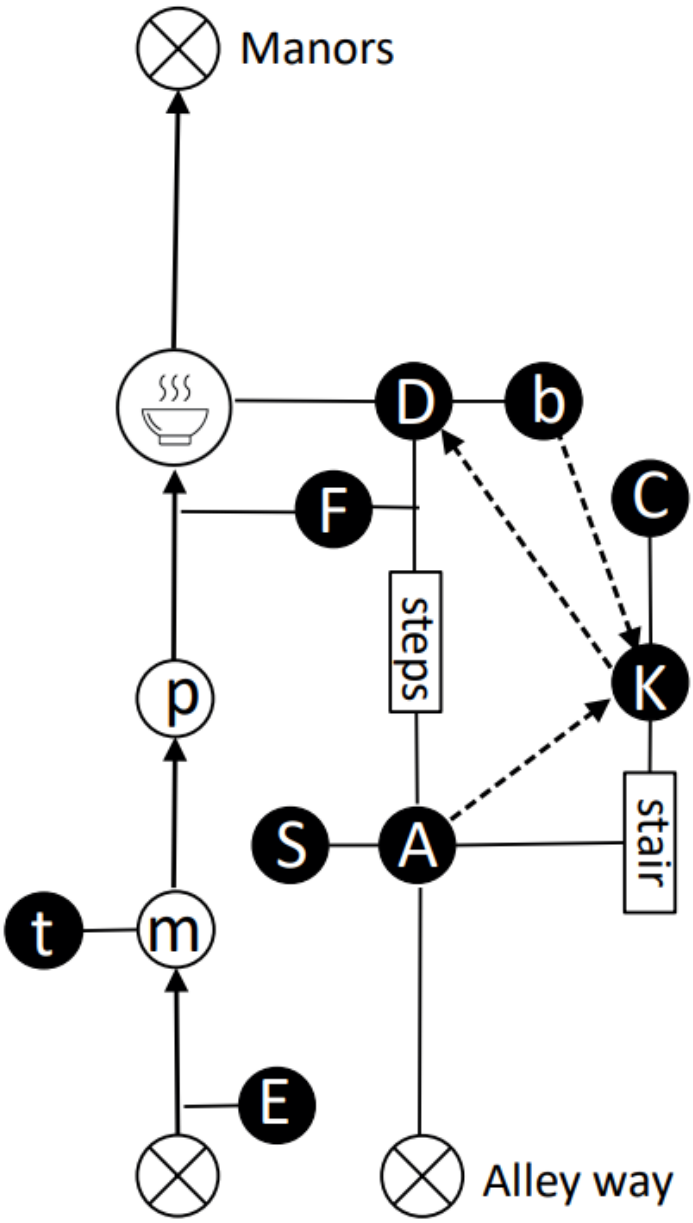
The design of Blackfriars was considerably more complex, although again the poor were restricted to following a single route through the shallow zone of New Street, like the GSK (Figure 7.46). The better class of soup-recipient at Friar Street was allowed to make choices, the flow was two-way and the flows more centred on the entrance hall to which soup-recipients had access. Looking at the access map (Figure 7.46), we can see that the two buildings are only connected through the yard: the poor could not pass from one soup kitchen to the other. The New Street section has separate shallow and deep regions, whereas in the Friar Street section all rooms are accessible from the hall and interconnected so providing greater accessibility. Both the GSK and Blackfriars committee rooms were superior and at the deepest level, isolated by stairs and distance.

The LSKJP allowed the poor a few more options in movement terms (Figure 7.47), although the flow remained one way. The committee room and visitors'

rooms were at the centre of the *ground floor* and could be accessed by the poor on occasion (children were sometimes allowed to eat in the visitors' room). The access map is more entangled than the other soup kitchens with more interconnections between the poor's route and the rest of the building. This expresses the desire of the organiser to integrate the poor as new arrivals into the community rather than segregate them entirely. The 1934 film shows the building being used differently from the original design, the building is even more integrated with the poor eating at the counter.

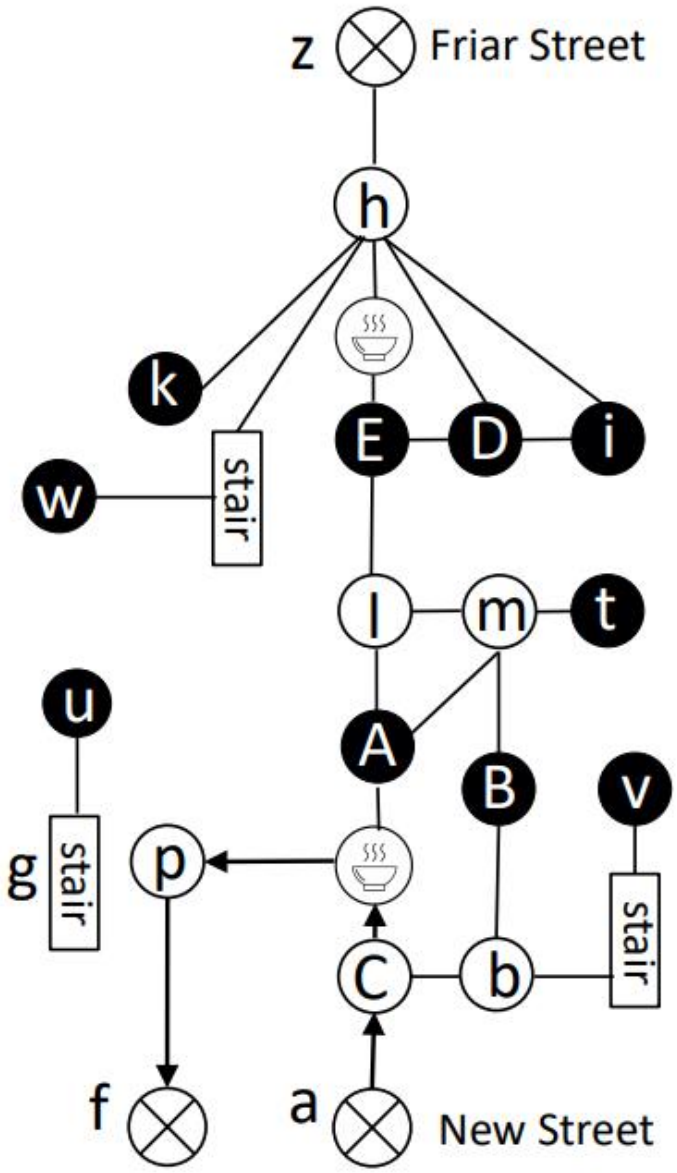
Figure 7.48 shows how Berkhamsted Soup House operated. Ernest Delderfield, whom we met in Chapter 1, or a family member, will have applied to the committee for a soup-ticket at the vestry or town hall at the start of the season; he would then have journeyed out from the town to the Castle Grounds which he entered through a gate (the committee, cook and ingredients would have made the same journey). Once across the moat, he passed through two ticket checks, one at a second gate, and the other at the door of the soup kitchen where he also paid, before being served soup and leaving (BH 6/02/1875: 5). By view the whole landscape within which smaller buildings were located as part of a taskscape, we can draw an access map which reveals that the pattern of soup distribution was structured similarly to the more complex buildings, only the parts were dispersed in different places.

In the access maps that follow, black circles indicate rooms, white circles passages and crossed white circles access points. The large arrows denote one-way movement for the poor; the dashed arrows movement of materials, soup or oversight. Ordinary lines show two-way movement.



Key: E ticket office, m maze, p passage, t toilet off maze, A storeroom, S meat store, K kitchen, C committee room, F payment office, D serving, area staff side, b boiler room

Figure 7.45. Access map 1880 GSK (see Figure 7.33).



Key: a and f entrance and exit on New Street, C maze, p passage from serving area to f exit and g stairs to u cellar, b passage to B visitors room and stairs to v committee room, A main kitchen, l yard, m passage to t toilet, E other kitchen, h hall with stairs to w caretaker's flat, k sitting room, D store-room, i counting house, z access to and from Friar Street

Figure 7.46. Access map for Blackfriars (see Figure 7.27).

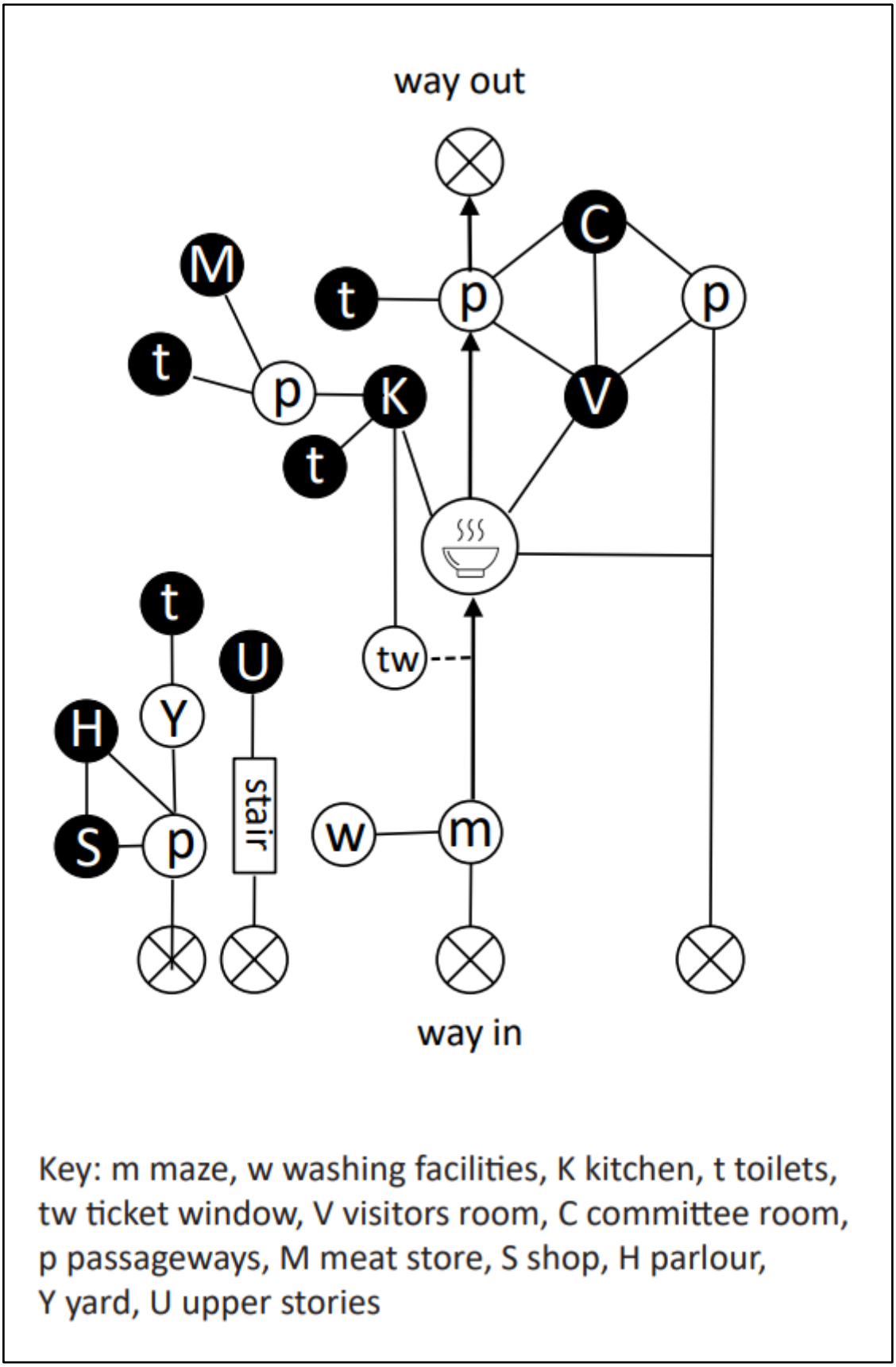


Figure 7.47. Access map for LSKJP Butler Street (see Figure 7.41).

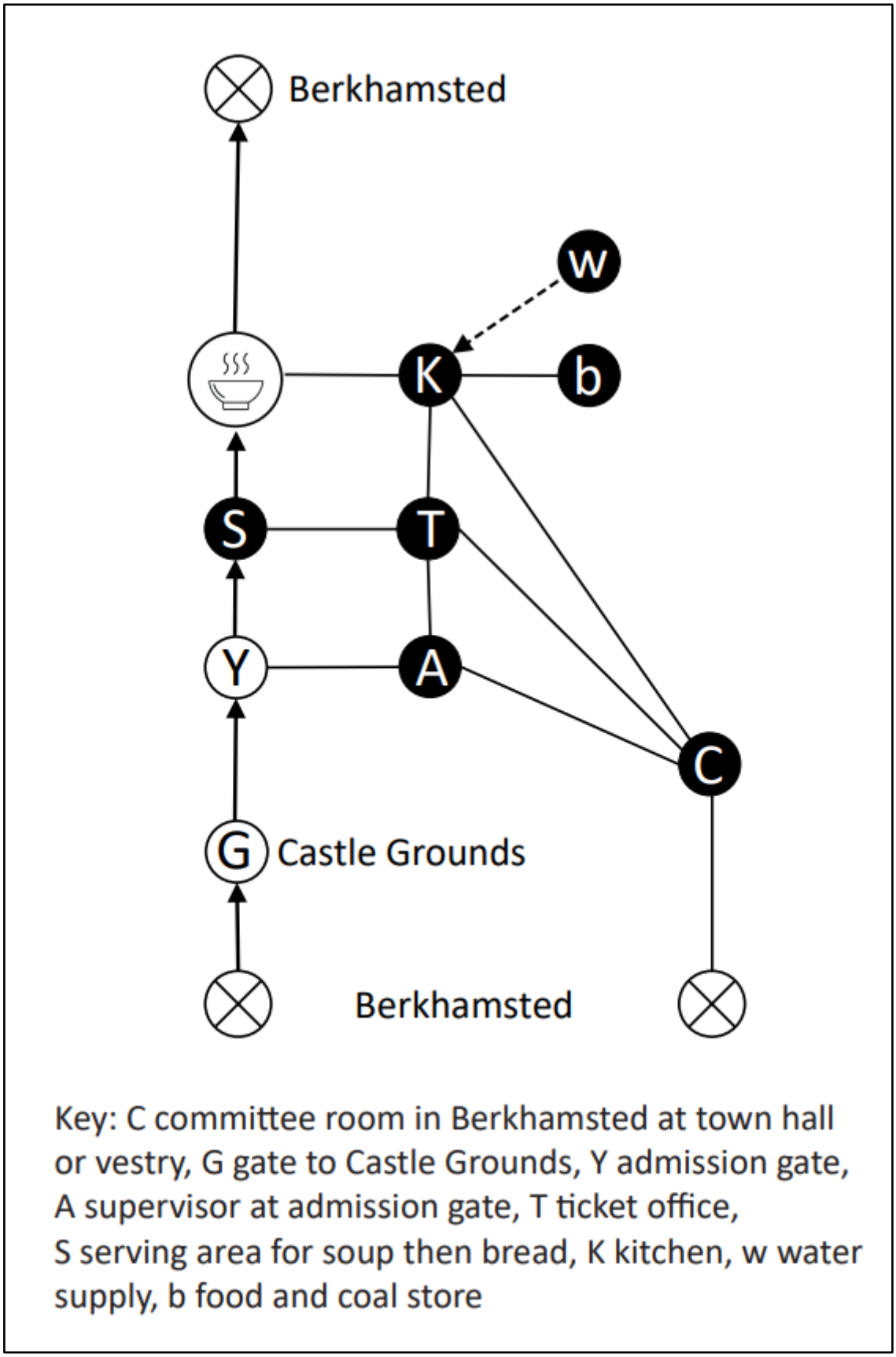


Figure 7.48. Berkhamsted soup house and landscape.

f. Conclusion

Purpose-built soup kitchens display variability in their external appearance and, to a lesser extent, their internal organisation. Rosa's outhouse is a good depiction of many of the simple one or two-room structures. These buildings were often too small to find alternative uses once closed and so many have vanished. Some of the larger buildings were capable of being put to other uses and so have survived.

Larger buildings were used to provide a committee room and space for a maze. A maze was important to funnel the soup-recipients through a confined space as efficiently as possible. At smaller buildings, the staff would know most of those attending making close control less necessary. In more populous areas, this was less feasible; the maze and ticketing imposed a degree of discipline on the crowd although it doubled the cost of the building. Mazes also created an impersonal environment: the queue places people front-to-back and the slow but steady movement prevented much socialising. Except for a brief ticket check and payment interaction was negligible. The impersonal nature of this gift relationship undermined any prospect of using it to improve the poor. The anonymity of the process is similar to the identity check, the long queue through security checks (in a maze) before release at airports (Augé 2009: 2, 101). The soup kitchen was a precursor to modern institutions that need to 'process' large numbers of people in the same way rapidly. Augé described the process as liberating, but it is also alienating and impersonal.

Most soup kitchens did not have mazes. North Shields and the GSK only built mazes in 1874 and 1880 respectively. The general lack of mazes at most soup

kitchens is evidence that imposing bodily discipline (in a Foucauldian sense) to control or reform the poor was not the focus of most soup kitchens. Queues were organised at many of the busier soup kitchens, but the oppressively narrow maze and passage of the 1880 GSK was not repeated elsewhere (Blackfriars and the LSKJP had significantly wider mazes).

While the weather might have been too cold to find employment, it was not too cold to stand outside a small building queuing for soup. The queue was a public performance of a test of eligibility; newspapers encouraged their readers to watch or imagine the queue as a visible sign that the well-to-do were being charitable. An indoor maze required an illustration to convey the performance to the readership. Much of the control of the poor was exercised through the availability (or not) of food, and by the buildings being closed if the committee did not believe that circumstances justified opening. Eligibility was checked at the door by the requirements for a ticket. Organisers endeavoured to make soup kitchens moral places. Many soup recipients preferred soup kitchens that did away with tickets and sold subsidised or cost-price soup, but this made the organisers and donors fret about whether the truly deserving were therefore excluded and whether workingmen then spent their money on drink (GO 5/1/1867). Cheap soup then became simply another part of the makeshift economy, which the poor were more willing to exploit once the shame of applying for charity and begging for tickets was removed.

There was public shame in being seen queuing for charity soup; Figure 7.44 and the film of the LSKJP show some soup-recipients avoiding the camera. The queue was the equivalent of nailing a list of paupers to the church door or badging them. Separate entrances and exits created an orderly flow of people and quicker

serving; they also prevented loitering on the premises (loitering always concerns moral authorities (Goffman 1963: 57)). Keeping people on the move, created an impersonal environment and reduced individuality to a ticket and a number. The organisers thus undermined any prospect of a beneficial gift relationship and personal charity that they hoped to promote.

The committees sought to build economically, re-using and making do, always with an eye to demonstrating to subscribers how frugal they were. There were exceptions: the Blackfriars building appears extravagant, but the committee must have assumed that the situation in 1799/1800 was a 'new normal', that thereafter there would be hungry artisans needing soup. Authorities were reluctant to do more than build a lean-to against an existing building like Aylesbury or Chislehurst, where the vestry built a small extension to the workhouse for a stove (BHC/P92/8/9).

Small and marginal buildings sent a clear message to the poor that charity was sparing, even though the buildings boasted that they were there to feed the poor. The better-built flagship buildings were usually provided by donors who wanted to make a public statement about their philanthropy (Alfred Rothschild's two soup kitchens were unusual for their discretion and generosity). Otherwise, sub-idiomatic buildings prevail, with no ornamentation and the most minimal facilities possible while still being able to make soup. For the poor, soup kitchens were new places to adapt to; they had to learn to negotiate the system, convince a subscriber or committee that they were worthy of the gift of a soup-ticket, get to this new place, a marginal building and undergo a process that anonymised and humiliated them. Their attendance was a public event and at times and in places not of their choosing.

The inter-disciplinary approach used here enables us to see a much more rounded picture of what soup kitchens were like. Without the buildings, we would have little to counter the effusive tone of the newspaper accounts and annual reports touting the hundreds of pounds of beef turned into thousands of quarts of soup, cheerfully distributed to the grateful poor. There was more to philanthropy than doling out soup. The buildings show how much and what sort of effort the well-to-do thought should be put into providing for the poor. It was enough to be seen to be doing something, but not much more.

The next chapter will consider buildings built for other purposes that were adapted to be soup kitchens. Such buildings made up the greater proportion of soup kitchens.

8. Adopted and adapted buildings

a. Introduction

Building a soup kitchen anew was expensive but 'where [was] it possible to lay out money to a better purpose?' Colquhoun asked (1799a: 15). Most soup kitchens were not purpose-built but adapted other buildings (which Colquhoun advised). Understanding how these buildings 'worked' is the focus of this chapter. The moral geography of nineteenth-century buildings can reveal information that a purpose-built structure would not. People had to select an existing building, but which one and why? The answers are almost never recorded in minute books. The first two sections will examine smaller buildings and houses used. This will be followed by soup kitchens that used buildings in such a transitory use way that they barely left a mark, challenging our conceptualisation of the buildings and places.

b. Brewhouses, wash-houses

Colquhoun thought that in small towns and villages 'any brewhouse or building having a commodious washhouse attached' could be adapted for less than £30 (presumably because such buildings contained large stoves). Typically these were genuine outhouses.

<u>A 'murder' mystery?</u>

In 1887, the aptly-named Dr De'Ath held an inquest into the death of Mary Ann Bradford. She was aged about 50 and worked at Thornton Hall. Sophia Illing, a co-worker, had found Mary's body one morning, bent over the rim of a copper full of water, head and shoulders in the copper, legs dangling on the outside in the

‘soup kitchen’ where Sophia and Mary often did the washing, (BAFP 7/5/1887: 8).

The laundry at Thornton Hall (now known as Thornton College) was not the first to be used as a soup kitchen. Mrs Beeton used her laundry copper in 1858 to make soup for a dozen poor families (Clarkson 2010: 54) and the Carringtons provided their laundry at Wycombe Abbey to the local soup kitchen (SBS 1/2/1895: 5)).

Thornton Hall is a Victorian Tudor/Gothic country house, built around a late-medieval/early Tudor courtyard house. It was owned by the Cavendish family but in 1878 they became absentee landlords, leasing Thornton Hall to the Reverend and Mrs Peel who ran an orphanage there at the time of Mary’s death.

Thornton was a closed parish; its population fluctuated between 67 and 111 during the nineteenth century, depending on whether Thornton Hall was occupied at census time. The local men were mostly farm labourers; in the 1861 census there were ten women making lace, but only one in 1891 due to the industry’s decline.

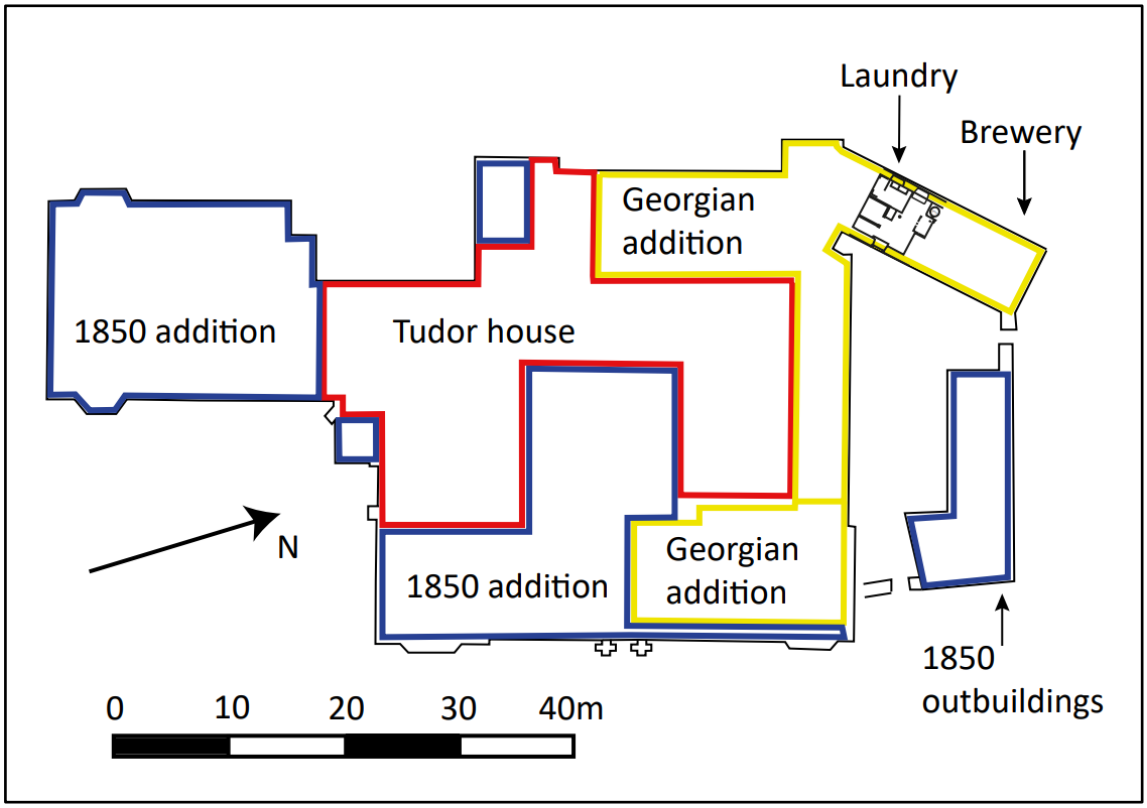


Figure 8.1. Thorton Hall and outbuildings in 1881 based on WDAHS 2015 (the laundry may be either Tudor or Georgian).

The laundry is next to the brewery in a service range at the northwest corner of the main house (Figure 8.1). The room is still used as a laundry by Thornton College. It was surveyed in August 2015, with the kind permission of Miss Williams, the head of Thornton College.

The two-storey service range is made of coursed limestone with a loft under a slate roof (Figure 8.2, Figure 8.3). Several phases of construction and alteration were visible. The range forms the west side of a small courtyard. The laundry's southeast side is windowless; the west side has a large window dating to mid-eighteenth century or later, and a door made by enlarging a similar window, after 1887. A low doorway provides access to the room.

Figure 8.2. Thornton Hall, laundry (outlined), brewery on right, servants' hall on left.

Figure 8.3. Thornton Hall, service block northwest façade, laundry outlined.

The laundry has a brick floor; on the left, stairs lead to the upper floors (Figure 8.4). Beneath the window is a butler sink and traces of a second sink. In the

north corner of the room, adjacent to the door, is a large brick-built stove still containing a copper (Figure 6.22}.

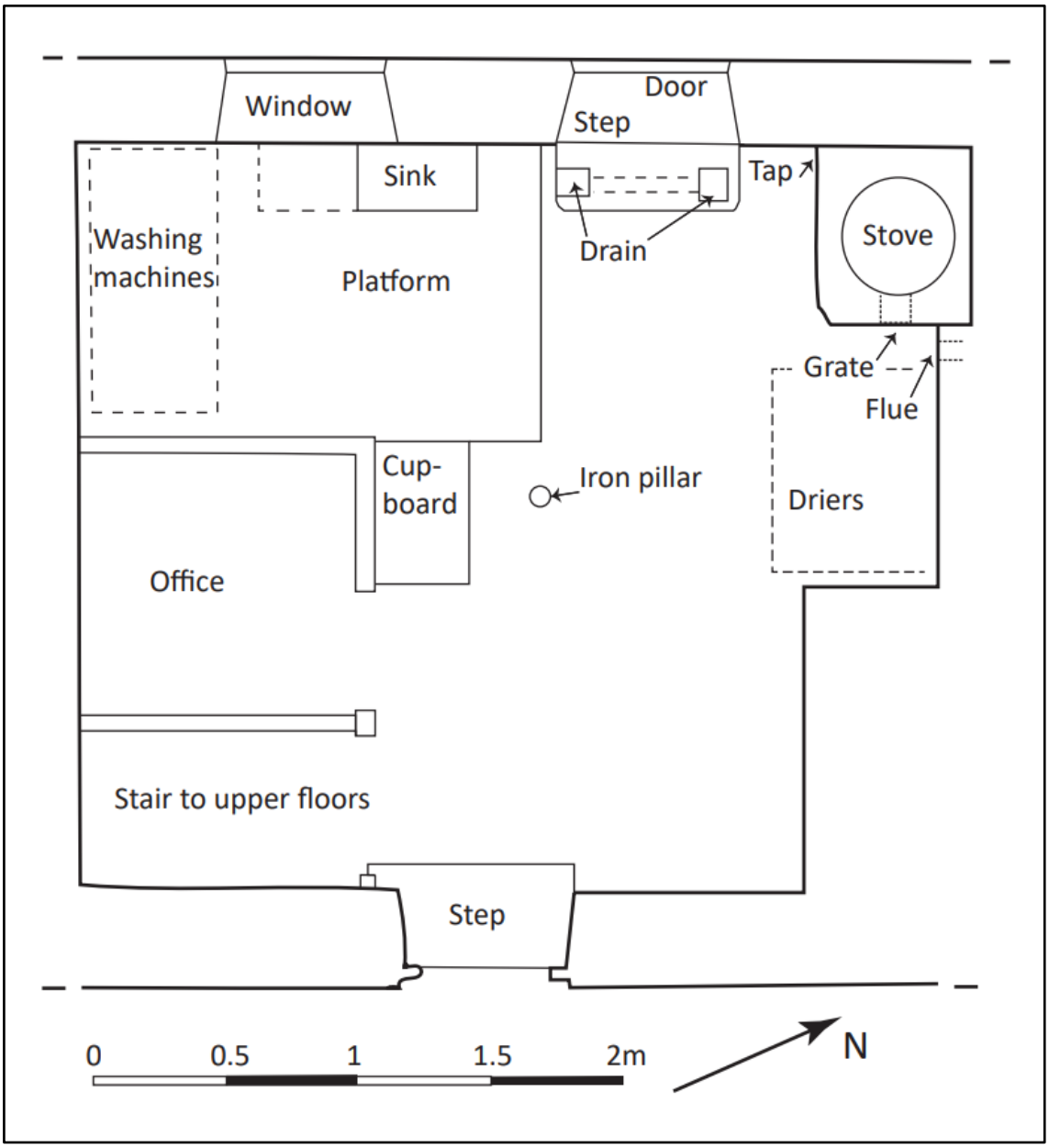


Figure 8.4. Thornton Hall, plan of the laundry.

The laundry is tucked away north of the main house. It was a more suitable place for soup distribution than the main kitchen and scullery at the back of Thornton Hall as it avoided impinging on the domestic and private areas of Thornton Hall. No explanation of how Mary Bradford died was forthcoming at the inquest.

Weston

> 'Mrs. Pryor and Mr. M[arlborough] R[obert] Pryor have found work for several men who would otherwise have been unemployed... In the most necessitous cases free distribution of soup has been made at the Park every week, and at the Manor soup kitchen, which has been opened for the past three months, excellent soup could be obtained considerably under cost price. The villagers showed their appreciation of the boon by eagerly buying the tickets.' (HM 10/4/1886: 6)

The Park was a more secluded house in a former deer park southwest of the village, but Weston Manor was central. The Pryor's properties in Weston are still owned by their descendants who kindly allowed access for brief surveys at the Manor Farm on 17/07/2015 and at the adjacent Manor on 17/10/2015. The Manor has a long history; only the area of the soup kitchen has been surveyed in any detail.

The Manor consists of a double-pile late-Georgian house of red brick with a hipped slate roof, a double-height bay to the rear and single-storey late-Victorian additions on both sides (Figure 8.5). A sixteenth-century brick-covered timber-framed house, with a clay-tile roof sits behind, forming the north wing (Historic England 2018b). This older part has been extended southeast at least twice, in the eighteenth and late-nineteenth centuries, shown by changes to the brick-bonding and roof tiling (Figure 8.10, Figure 8.11).

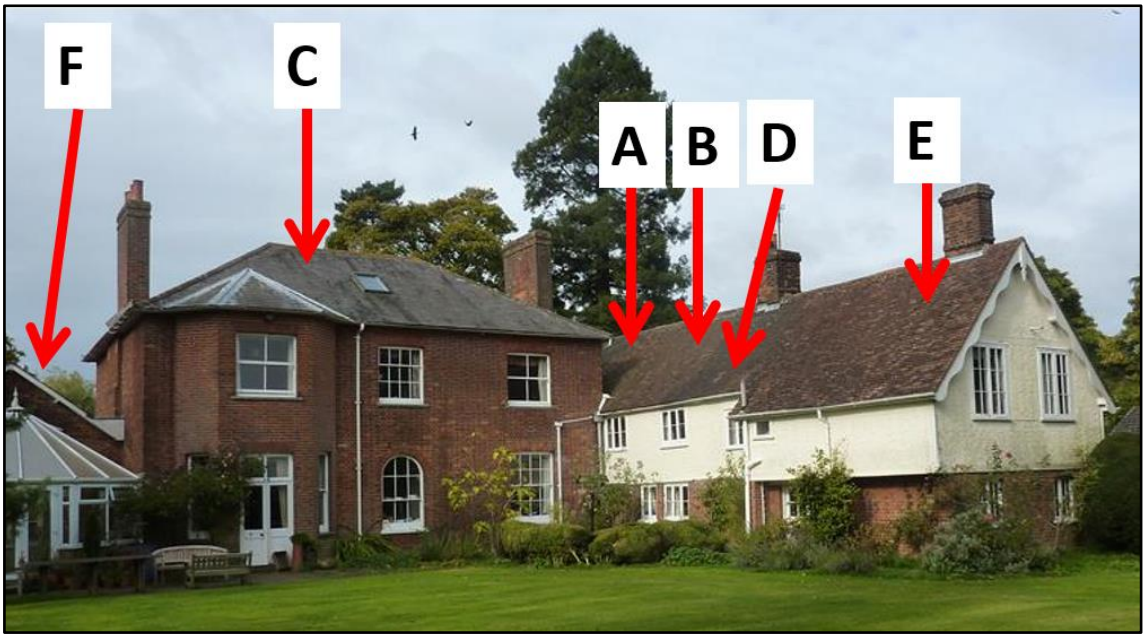


Figure 8.5. Weston Manor: the rear of the house from the southeast, A the sixteenth century house, B eighteenth-century extension, or cladding, to sixteenth-century house, C the late-Georgian house, D late-Georgian rear extension, and E and F late-Victorian additions; the soup kitchen was at the join between D and E.

The late-Victorian extension E has a roughcast rendered first floor which may be timber-framed as the north and south walls overhang the brick-built ground floor. OS maps indicate that it was built between 1880 and 1898. 'WMP ECP 1887' has been carved into the brick pier behind the cast-iron drainpipe (Figure 8.6, Figure 8.7). WMP is Walter Marlborough Pryor, born in 1880, and ECP is Ellen Catherine Pryor (b. 1876); possibly Walter and Ellen climbed onto the scaffolding during construction to carve the graffiti which is 1.9m from the ground.

Figure 8.6. West side of the graffiti behind drain pipe (the exposed corner has been repaired).

Figure 8.7. East side of the graffiti; note the repairs to the corner.

Inside the extension, against the wall adjoining the late-Georgian chimney, there is a late-eighteenth-century beehive oven (Sambrook and Brears 2010: 158)) with a stove added to the side. The stove is a typical nineteenth century type. Both oven and stove would have been distinctly outdated for a country gentleman's kitchen in 1887. By the mid-nineteenth century more elaborate, better-equipped cast-iron ranges were standard in affluent households (Sambrook and Brears 2010: 110; Pennell 2016: 64-67). The late-nineteenth-century domestic kitchen was probably immediately northwest (using the same chimney). The fixtures were retained for occasional use as a back-kitchen and the village soup kitchen, when the extension was rebuilt around them in 1887. The measured plan of the extension (Figure 8.8) inserted into a composite plan of the house, derived from the 1880 and 1898 OS maps, shows the 'kitchen area' fitting neatly within the end

of the 1880 house (Figure 8.11). There was originally a second stove in the Manor, as a wooden lid, too small for the surviving copper and too big for the stove at Manor Farm, was also present. This stove might have been removed when the 1887 work was being carried out.

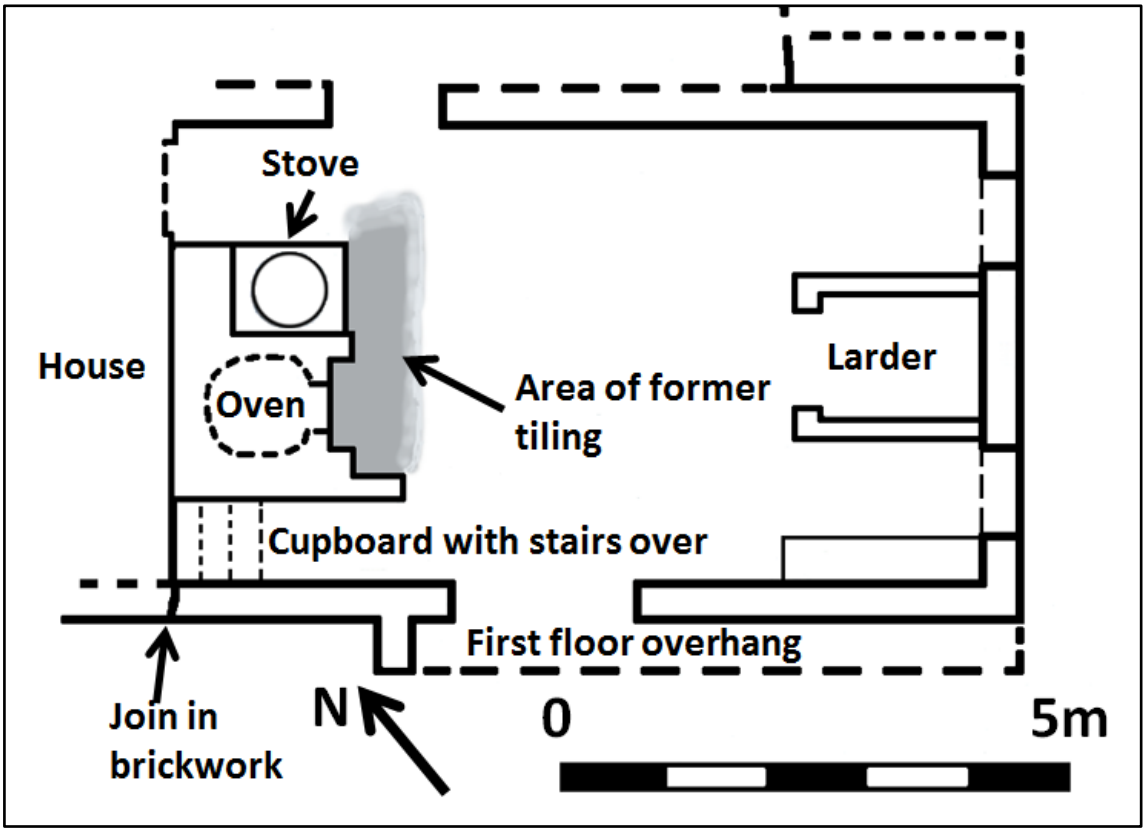


Figure 8.8. Plan of ground floor to extension E.

By the end of the nineteenth century Marlborough Robert Pryor and his wife had remodelled the Park as their principal residence. 'Mrs Pryor' in the newspaper report may be Marlborough's mother.

Figure 8.9. Weston Manor. The bread oven to the left and the stove on the right.

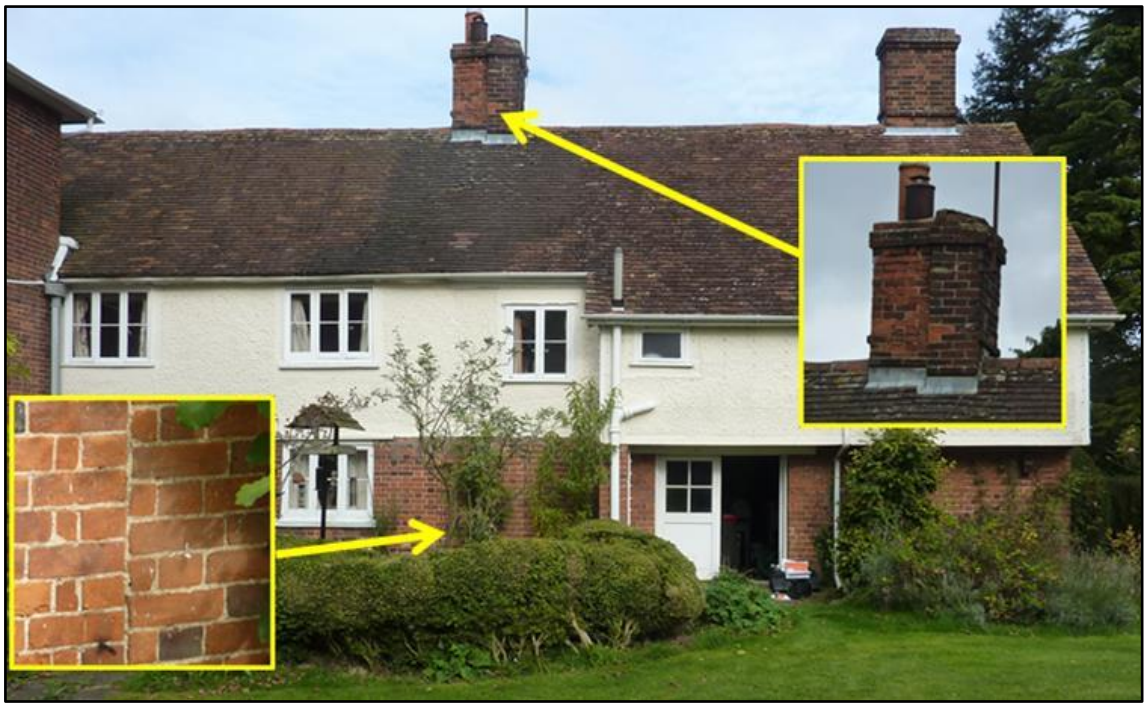


Figure 8.10. The join between the old Manor, left, and the late-Georgian (?) wall, right; the left chimney was probably originally external. The first-floor window right of the join indicates different floor levels inside. The soup kitchen was inside the open double door.

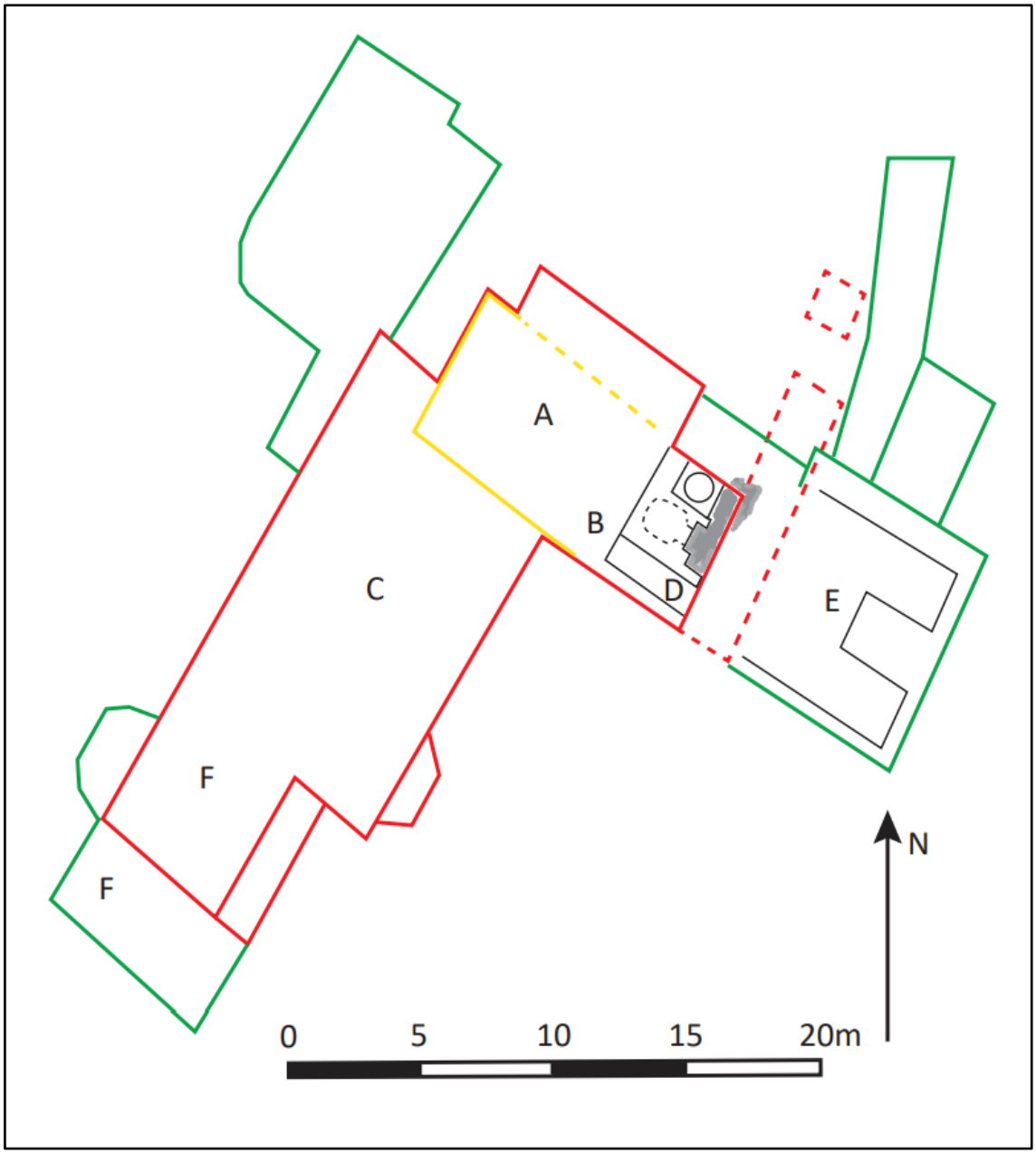


Figure 8.11. Weston Manor with plan of the soup kitchen and late-Victorian extension E (Figure 8.8) superimposed. The presumed sixteenth-century manor in yellow; buildings shown on the 1880 OS map in red (dotted lines demolished by 1898), buildings on the 1898 OS map in green. See Figure 8.5 for Key. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

At the Manor Farm next door, also owned by the Pryors, a similar but smaller stove is situated in a row of outbuildings that stretches to the east of the farm (Figure 8.13). Its primary purpose was preparing animal feed. Many crops can be fed to livestock raw, but potatoes are best cooked, particularly for pigs

(Maynard 1929: 2). Designs for a pig box from 1913 (Figure 8.15) show a similar stove between the box and a 'calf kit[chen]'. Such stoves were used for soup production (Thompson 1999: 68) when expediency overrode nicety.

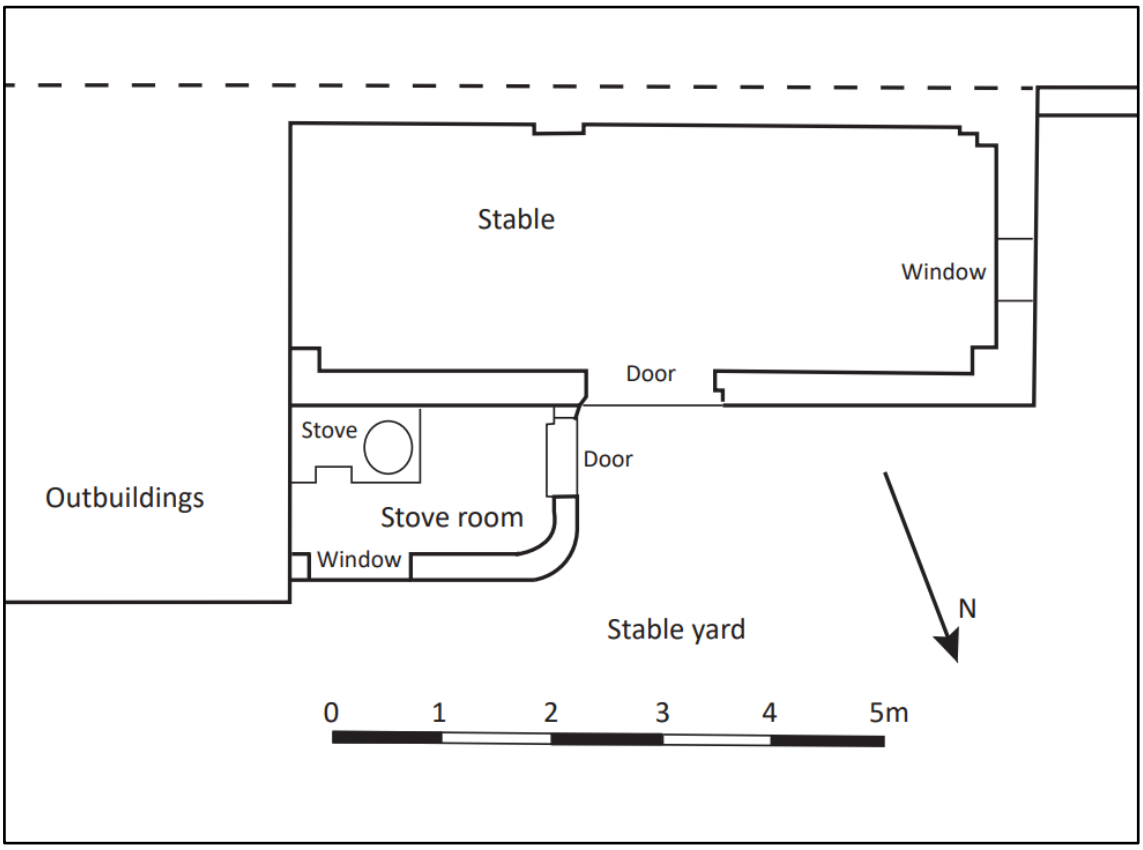


Figure 8.12. Plan of the stove room and stable.

The room containing the stove is a lean-to (Figure 8.12) built against the north wall of a former stable at the entrance to the farmyard. It and the stable are roofed with slate. The slight change in pitch of the roof, the lean-to construction and the differences in the alignment of the brick-courses indicate that the stove-room is an addition to the range of outbuildings. OS maps date its construction to between 1880 and 1898.

Figure 8.13. The stove-room (centre), stable (right) and outbuildings (left) with change in pitch arrowed.

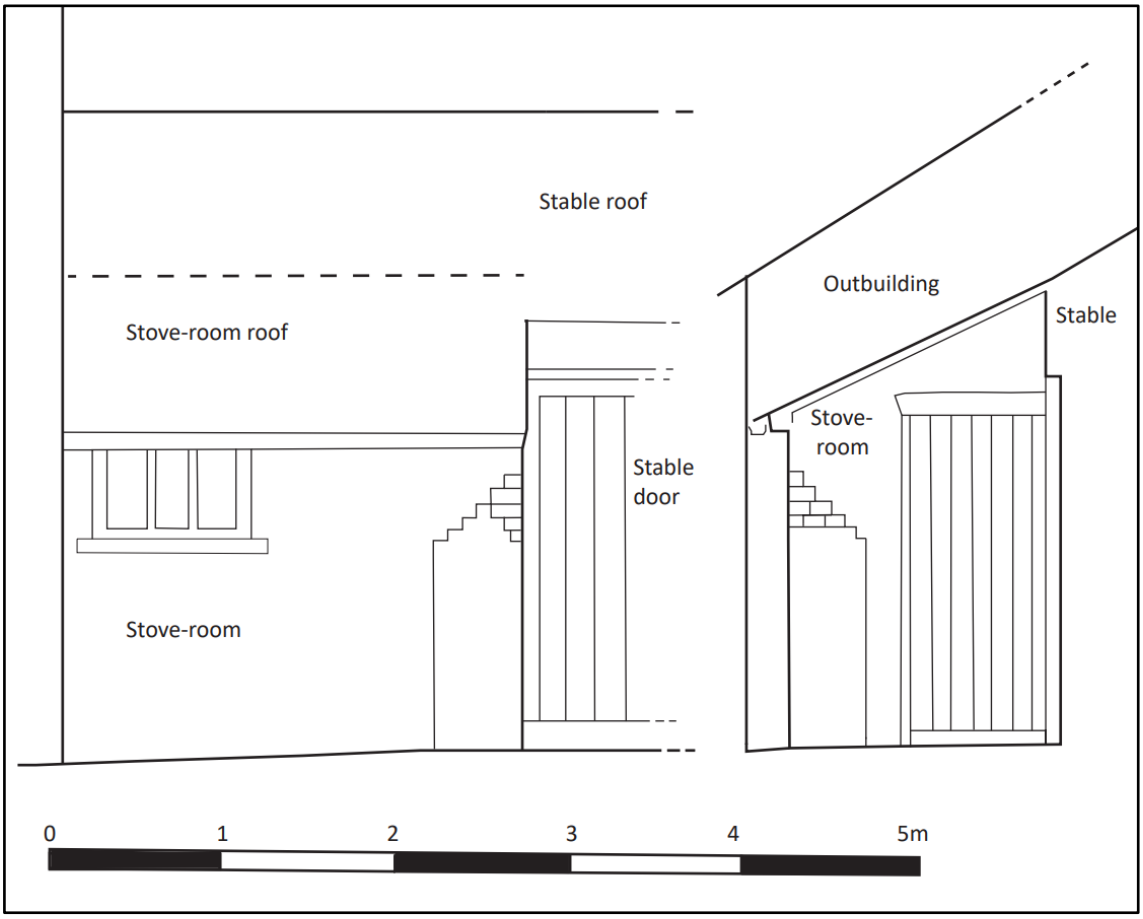


Figure 8.14. Elevations of north and west walls of the stove-room.

The west corner of the stove-room is curved, with corbelling above, to allow livestock to exit the stable and turn east more easily (Figure 8.13, Figure 8.14). The stove and chimney were still present (the chimney had been taken down at roof-level). The stove has an iron 'copper', now almost rusted-away, and a grate below whose door is missing. The brick floor is worn in the area between the door and the front of the stove. The stove-room is comparable in size and layout to smallest purpose-built soup kitchens. Providing pigs with cooked food was as much part of the process of improvement as feeding the poor on a semi-industrial scale.

Weston's population declined between 1861 and 1891 from 1196 to 806. Local employment opportunities outside agriculture (which was in a prolonged recession) were limited. Straw-plait employed many Weston women, even at the end of the century (Kelly 1895: 864) when it was considered 'starving work' (Goose 2011: 90). By *selling* soup-tickets, the Pryors were bridging the gap between the paternalism of the landed interests providing soup to 'their' poor (the family were significant landowners in the parish) and a subscription charity. They were grafting the nineteenth-century charitable ideals onto the traditional moral economy.

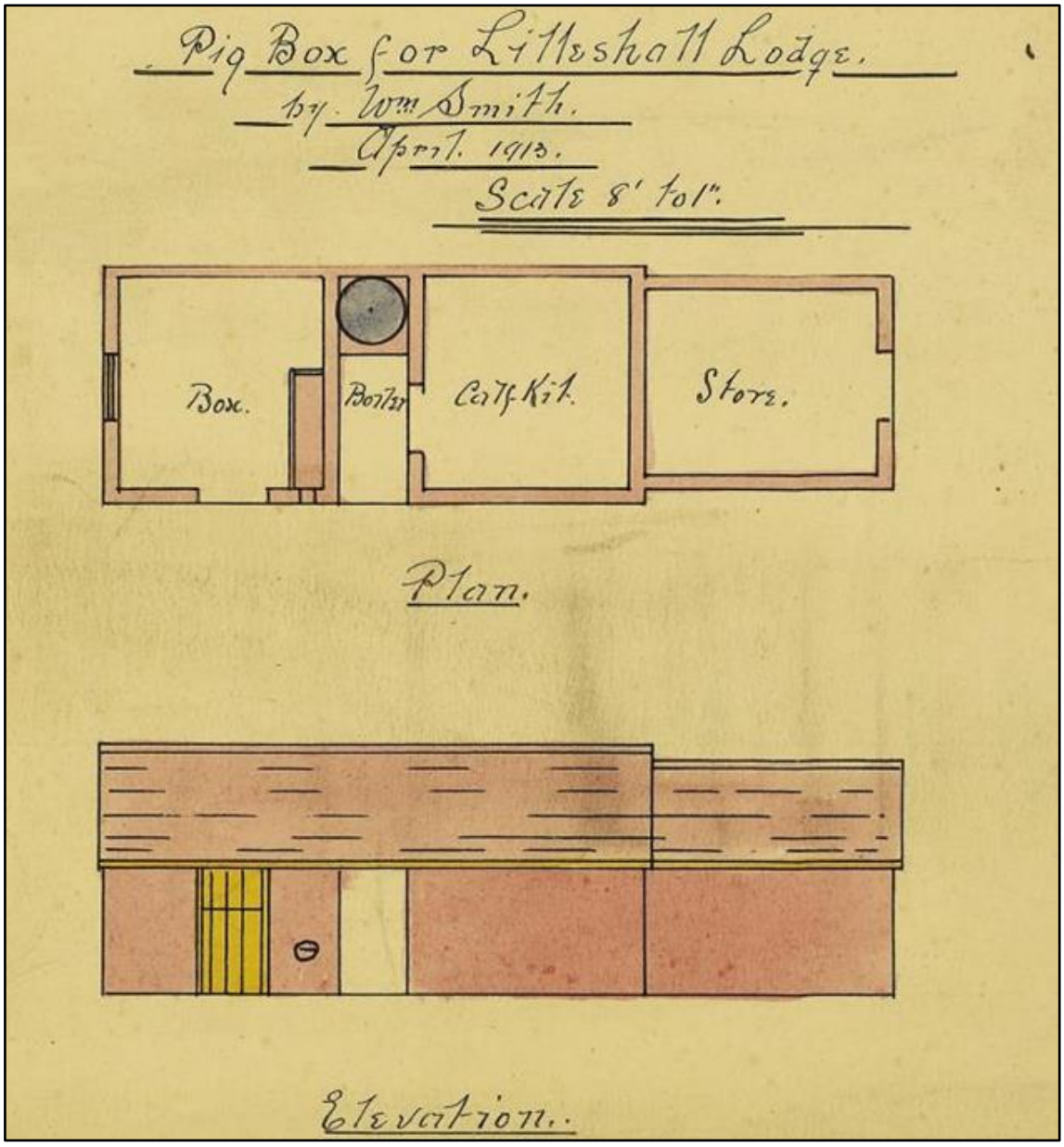


Figure 8.15. Plan of pig box, Lilleshall Lodge (Sutherland 1913).

Outhouses, stables and coach houses

The Manor seems the more likely location for the Pryor's soup kitchen. However, facilities built for animals were often used to prepare soup for the poor. Mr Naper of Loughcrew, Meath, was widely praised for turning his dog kennels into a soup kitchen during the Irish famine (NC 8/1/1847: 3). In Wallsend, the Carville Livery Stables were used to make soup for over 300 children (SDG 21/3/1892: 3). The working-class Whitworth family in Salford made soup from waste food for

their local poor, using a stove for making gruel for horses (Thompson 1999: 68). Stables and coach-houses were used or considered for use as soup kitchens in Cullercoats, Deal, Berwick and Hexham ((NJ 7/2/1857: 8, 4/2/1865: 5; KHLC/De/QZm1/3; BA 26/11/1880: 3; NCRO/00604/1). Mr Neale used his coach house at Bayley Hall, Hertford, to provide free soup to over 600 (HM 6/3/1886: 5). Sale particulars of Bailey Hall describe the coach-house, which had a copper and furnace (HALS/D/ELe/B12/7). This location had the advantage of being at the rear of the property, facing the town, allowing people to attend without using the carriage drive and intruding on the Hall.

In larger properties, kitchens, laundries and breweries were kept separate from, and to the north of, the principal house due to heat, risk of fire, smells and associations with dirt and animals, so preserving the south for gardens and fine views. Laundries also had a reputation for licentious behaviour (Palmer and West 2016: 70; Girouard 1978: 283). Using these spaces for charity reflects the growing closure of space (Johnson 1993) and the subdivision of houses to create privacy and segregate people by class, employment status and gender (Girouard 1978: 270, 1979: 18, 28). Both Thornton Hall and Weston Manor were enlarged between 1750 and 1890, reflecting this increasing specialisation of space within these houses. Using outbuildings for the continuing performance of the moral economy enabled a Victorian gentleman and his family to preserve their moral well-being, while keeping less-desirable groups of visitors at arm's length.

Clerical soup

Not all of the well-to-do in the country provided soup from outbuildings. The two curates in Waddesdon provided soup and bread all winter to 100 villagers seated

in the rectory kitchen around the fire (Gurney and Carr 2004: 17); usually was taken away for consumption elsewhere.

Vicarages were sometimes reported as *having* 'soup kitchens', a designated place or building whose focus was providing soup (for example, KSC 17/12/1875: 6). Berwick's Reverend Baldwin had a soup kitchen at the bottom of his garden, although he was reluctant to use it when the town soup kitchen was open (BA 26/11/1880: 3). Every parsonage should have a facility 'adjoining the hall' to make soup for the poor, Reverend Baker told Buckinghamshire's Architectural and Archaeological Society (BH 12/5/1849: 6), and many did.

Clerical soup was undoubtedly infused with proselytising spirit and moral seasoning. Joseph Arch, agricultural trade unionist, remembered his parents' antipathy in the late-1830s towards the rector's soup which was used to coerce the poor to attend church rather than the dissenters' meeting (Arch 1898: 8-21). In rural areas, the clergy supervised charitable and poor law distributions and used this to exact a moral tribute (Wells 2011: 307).

During the 1840s charity was becoming increasingly sectarian, especially in education (Roberts 2004: 157). Soup was undoubtedly used to convert Catholics in Ireland and England both during the famine and afterwards; such converts were known as 'soupers' (CEM 26/1/1861: 51). A Church of England clergyman in the North provided soup and bread daily:

> 'first to our own and afterwards to the myriads of starving Irish who pressed upon us continually' (CEM 1/1848: 14).

Newspapers sometimes referred to soup being distributed irrespective of sect, creed or party (suggesting that discrimination was common).

Market buildings and butcher's shops

Not all small soup kitchens were put in outhouses. In 1799, Amersham built a small soup kitchen in the 'shambles' (UPKC/740/F3). The structure consisted of a 'boiling-room' with a large stove and a heated area where the two supervisors could sit; it had an entrance, an exit and two windows (Figure 8.16). The accounts record £1 3s 11d expenditure on 'incidentals at the soup-house' but no construction costs, indicating that it used a pre-existing structure. The expenditure was similar to nearby Marlow's spending 15s 6d on 'hanging' a copper (building a stove) (RM 14/4/1800: 3).

'Shambles' can mean butchers' trestles or the market building that housed the trestles. In 1682 Sir William Drake granted a lease to nine townsmen of:

> 'all that howse and the appurtenances commonly cald or known by the name of Markethowse and alsoe the pile of buildings cald the Butchers Shambles' (Amersham 2016).

The shambles were separate from the Market Hall, although maps of 1742 (CBS/D-DR/4/1A) and 1840 (CBS/T9/Tithe/9) do not mark them. The boiling-room's size was comparable to smaller purpose-built soup kitchens.

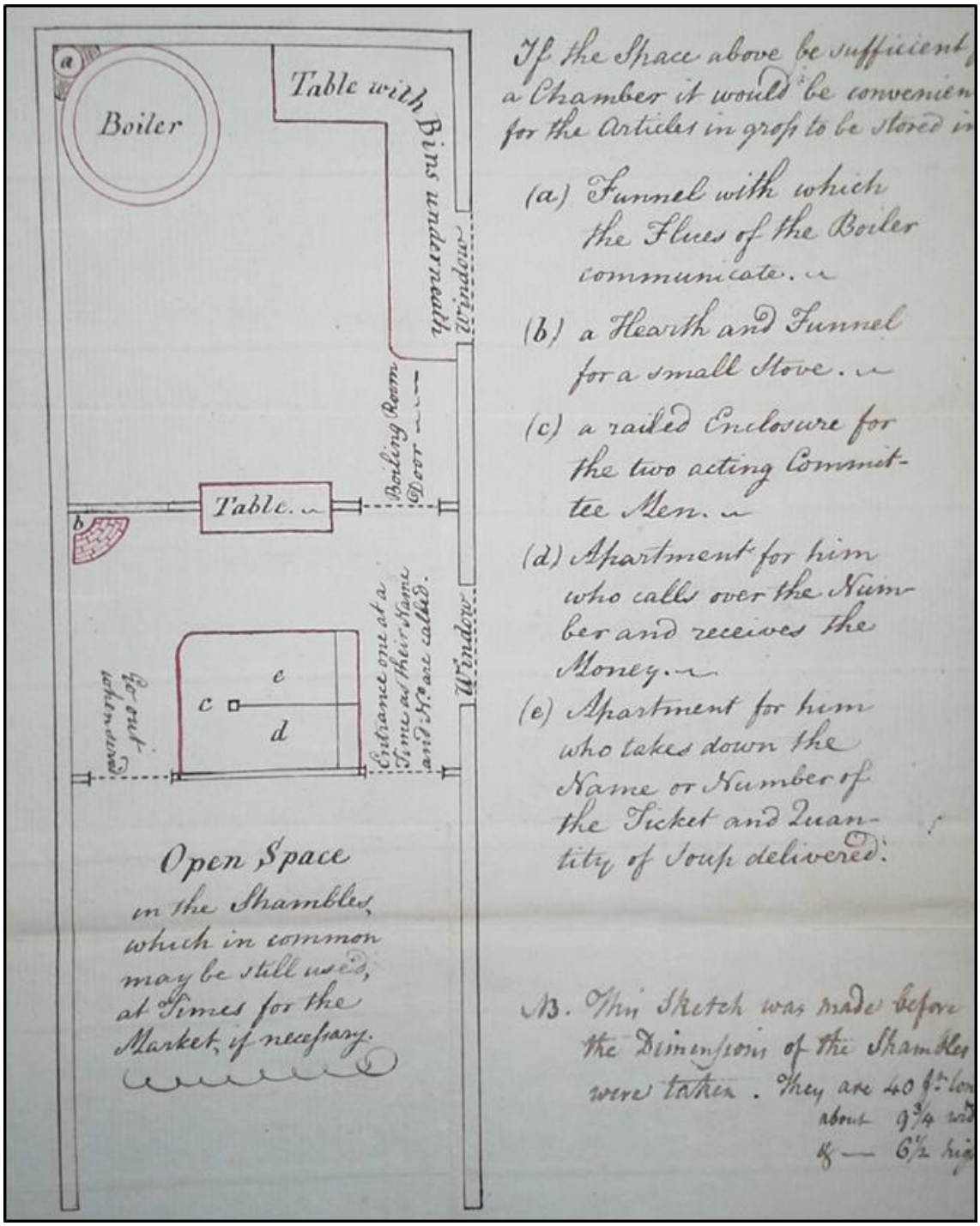


Figure 8.16. Plan of the Amersham soup-house (UPKC 740/F3) © University of Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts.

The few surviving shambles nationally are stone or brick buildings; many less substantial wooden shambles, like Mortonhampstead's, have vanished (Figure 8.17). Amersham's shambles are likely to have been timber-framed, like most

local buildings, roofed but with the sides half-open to the weather, perhaps with shutters. While the supervisors had a hearth, the Soup Society's accounts record two frock-coats given to Richard Parsons, the cook, indicating that the building was insubstantial and cold.

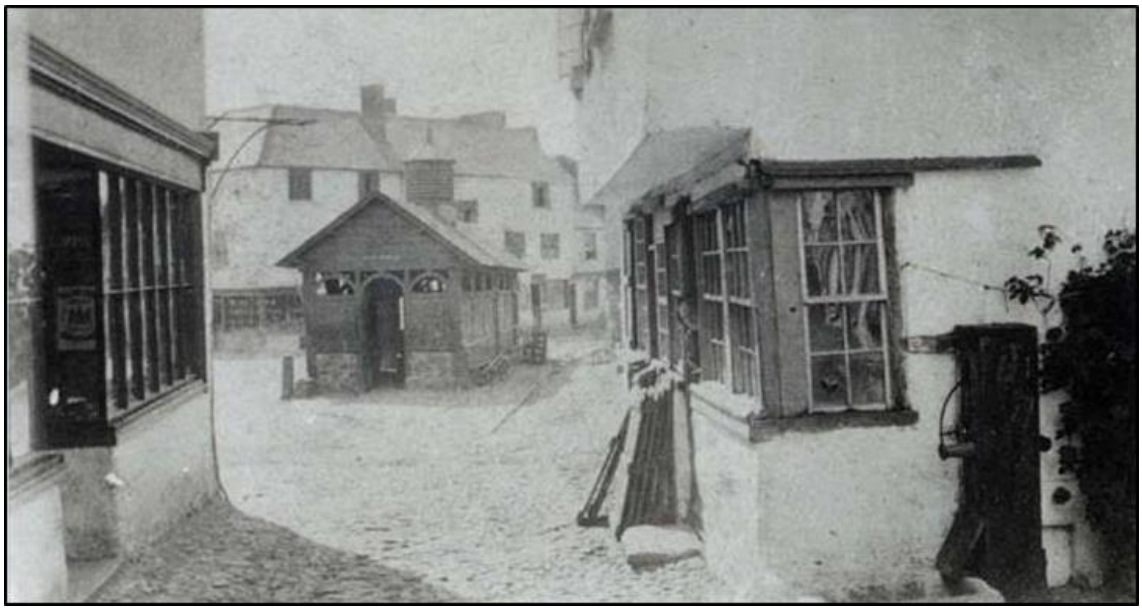


Figure 8.17. Moretonhampstead Shambles (Moretonhampstead 2013) (©Moretonhampstead History Society).

Dover, Gravesend, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne's GSK all used marketplaces or adjacent buildings for soup kitchens. High Wycombe and South Shields used weights and measures offices (SBS 23/1/1891: 2; SDG 24/2/1899: 6). In South Shields:

> 'the weigh house stands at the entrance to the market, observe the figure of justice on the roof and the huge kettles inside'.

The building, at the boundary between the market square and St Hilda's churchyard, functioned intermittently as the town's soup kitchen between 1830 and 1860 (Figure 8.18).

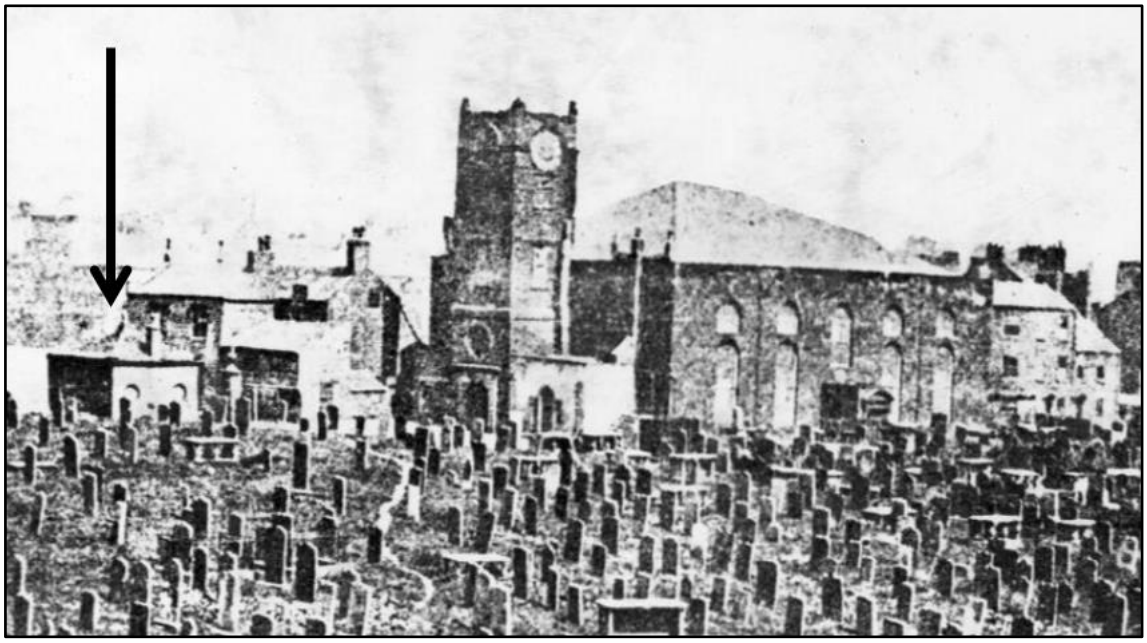


Figure 8.18. St Hilda's Church with weigh house to left, arrowed (Willits 1862).

Initially, there were good reasons for locating soup kitchens in or next to marketplaces. Markets provided the food supply, sale was regulated, and the market cross was a sign of peace and the rule of law (Schmiechen and Carls 1999: 4). There was a ready supply of ingredients. In the market, the poor came with their jugs and got a precise measure, the same soup as everybody else, for a penny. The transaction was a 'commercial' one and represented 'fair value'. Marketplaces were where eighteenth-century bread riots occurred, as people tried to persuade the authorities by a display of unrest to intervene and enforce lower prices (Wells 2011, Bohstedt 1983). The regulated and commercial nature of markets legitimised soup; and demonstrated that the moral economy was still functioning.

By the late-eighteenth century, shopping provided an opportunity for social display; but unlike a shopper who can save face when confronted by an item they cannot afford by criticising the quality or value (Goffman 1971: 154), a poor soup-recipient had no choice. It was a loss of face to accept soup when you felt morally

entitled to better but had no choice. The poor were not really customers and were waiting, rather than being waited upon, exposing to public shame.

Open markets, shambles and urban slaughterhouses became associated with disorder and dirt in the late-Georgian era. To control the nuisance and the presence of undesirable people and activities, and to attract more genteel customers, local authorities began to replace open markets with covered markets, enclosed within walls, gated and supervised, (Schmiechen and Carls 1999: 21). Soup kitchens did not usually follow the market indoors. Marketplaces are fluid, with no boundaries between customers, merchants or merchandise and only opened on set days. Covered markets were open six days a week, their space is more curtailed and organised; stallholders would not want a queue of soup-recipients inconveniencing their customers. However, in the later-nineteenth century, in the Staffordshire Potteries temporary soup kitchens were run from the covered markets during severe recessions using the areas designated for butchers.

Butchers' shops frequently provided soup to the poor and hungry. During the 1912 miners' strike in Northumberland, the Co-operative Society in Pegswood organised a soup kitchen for the local community, particularly the children (MH 12/4/1912: 7). The soup kitchen was supported by whole community. The soup was probably made in the large stove shown in the 'pot house' adjoining the slaughterhouse (Figure 8.19) (NCRO/1149/81/1908) and served in the first-floor hall (Figure 8.20). Soup and stock were standard butchers' fare.

Figure 8.19. The site of the pot house, Pegswood Co-operative Society; the blocked door to the slaughterhouse and repairs to the wall are visible with traces of whitewash and less weathered brick.

Figure 8.20. Pegswood Co-operative Society, left the 1908 extension with first-floor hall (the large arched windows); the pot house and outbuildings are behind.

Guide Post and West Moor Co-operatives both used grand first-floor halls, and Cramlington's Fox & Hounds its 'long room', for feeding miners' families (SDG 24/1/1878: 3; MH 19/4/1912: 7). Many mining soup kitchens were rebranded as 'feeding centres' and 'relief funds', probably to avoid the taint of charity for the poor. The experience of using miners' soup kitchens was very different from those institutions aimed at the 'deserving poor'. These were community events emphasising solidarity.

Lock-ups prisons and workhouses

Morpeth's soup kitchen during the 1830s was described as 'some sort of outhouse down the Scotch Arms Yard', also used as a temporary lock-up (MH 4/2/1905: 2). This may have been in the Scotch Arms Yard or adjoining the clock tower (25m west of the *front* of the Scotch Arms) which was used as a lock-up in the

eighteenth century. Morpeth later used the kitchens of the 1822 gaol for a soup kitchen (MH 26/1/1867: 3,) (Figure 8.21).

Figure 8.21. Morpeth Gaol's entrance block; the kitchens were at the rear.

Aylesbury's soup kitchen, as we have seen, was located in the gaol. Rye Corporation built a soup kitchen in 1870 by roofing over a corner of the exercise yard of the town gaol and adding a chimney; by 1895 it was considered an eyesore and subscribers paid to demolish the soup kitchen and open a new one on Rope Walk (Rye 2015).

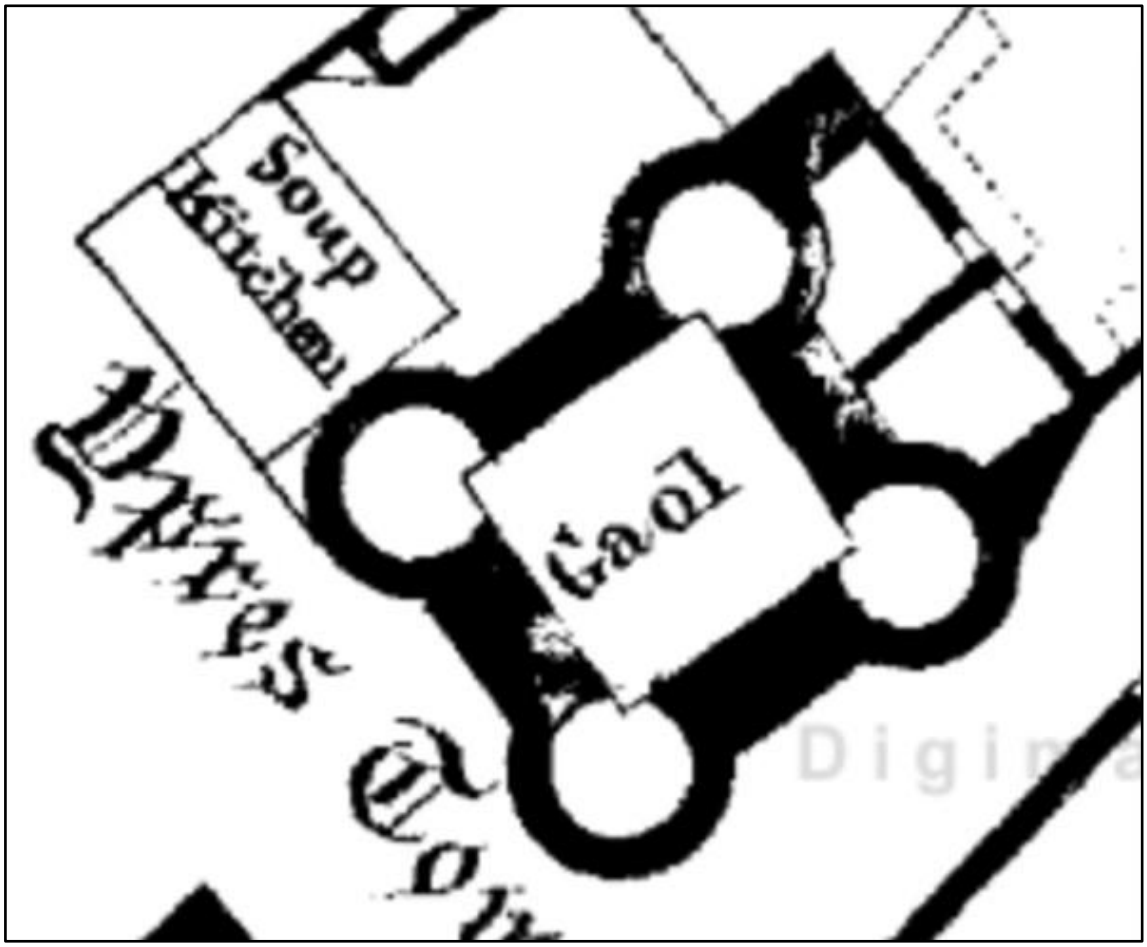


Figure 8.22. Rye Soup Kitchen, Sussex on the 1872 OS map. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

The soup kitchen at Great Dunmow, Essex, reused a former parish lock-up (Figure 8.23). The soup kitchen supplied 400 quarts of soup twice a week in the 1860s and continued operating in the 1890s (HG 5/2/1861: 3; EN 27/4/1895: 1). The chimney indicates the position of the stove; it is made of darker bricks than the lock-up, indicating it is an addition (village lock-ups would not have the luxury of heating).

Figure 8.23. Great Dunmow Soup Kitchen and former lock-up.

Workhouses were sometimes used for parish soup kitchens, especially during the famine of 1795-1801, blurring the boundary between charity and poor law. Soup-recipients were reminded that they were one step away from becoming parish paupers. Newcastle-upon-Tyne's parishes continued to use their old workhouses after unionisation to house soup kitchens. Gateshead Soup Kitchen was an outhouse behind its workhouse from 1799 onwards. It was a 'wretched hovel' and 'a discredit to the borough' (GO 3/3/1855), and eventually rebuilt in 1860, by which time a new union workhouse was complete and the old workhouse recovered its former identity as Powell's Almshouse (NC 24/2/1860: 8; GO 25/2/1860)).

Discussion

Outhouses, stables, lock-ups and workhouses were indicative of the lowly status accorded to the poor. Many of the buildings discussed date to the later-nineteenth century when attitudes to the poor were hardening. They were often too small to admit the poor. These were not the sort of place the well-to-do would wish to frequent; the poorest may have lived in worse conditions, but such places are indicative of the charity that was provided. The poor had descended a long way in the eyes of the wealthy; they had ceased being blessed a long time before but were now becoming associated with animals, criminality and dirt. Once more, the private provision, Weston Manor and Thornton, was better, even if improvised.

The use of covered markets later in the nineteenth century is linked mainly to industrial areas where unemployed skilled workers may have been considered deserving of better. Even these areas were beginning to be perceived as unpleasant, particularly those associated with slaughterhouses and butchers.

c. Commodious houses

For soup kitchens in large towns, Colquhoun advised adapting 'old commodious houses'. He provided plans of two such institutions in London, Spitalfields and Orchard Street, Westminster (Colquhoun 1799a, 1799b). A plan of the Clerkenwell soup kitchen was also published (Clerkenwell 1799). Contemporary soup kitchens in Manchester and Birmingham probably adapted premises similarly.

Spitalfields

The Spitalfields Soup Society adopted a mid-eighteenth century three-storey two bay townhouse at 53 Brick Lane for their soup kitchen (Figure 8.25). In 1798 the soup kitchen used only the north half of the house but the following winter it took over the south half, for a maze, and installed larger boilers in the kitchen (Figure 8.24) (LMA/ACC1017/1741(a)). A committee room for 48 and accommodation for a caretaker (Colquhoun 1799b: 10) occupied the first and second floors. The plan published shows this 1799 arrangement.

The 1799 kitchen had four boilers capable of producing 525 gallons of soup, and a digester. Leftover soup was decanted into tin trays at the end of each day to be cooled and re-used the next day. Bones were stored in the yard for resale. Neither food nor space was wasted; the greatest economy was used in providing for the poor.

After 1799, the poor entered through the southernmost door and entered the main maze if they had a ticket, or a shorter maze if they had a recommendation to apply for a ticket. The shorter maze ended at a desk where the applicant was either given a ticket and admitted to the queue or rejected and sent out of the middle door. The main maze returned to the front desk where tickets were checked and payment made, before soup was served and the soup-recipient exited from the northernmost door.

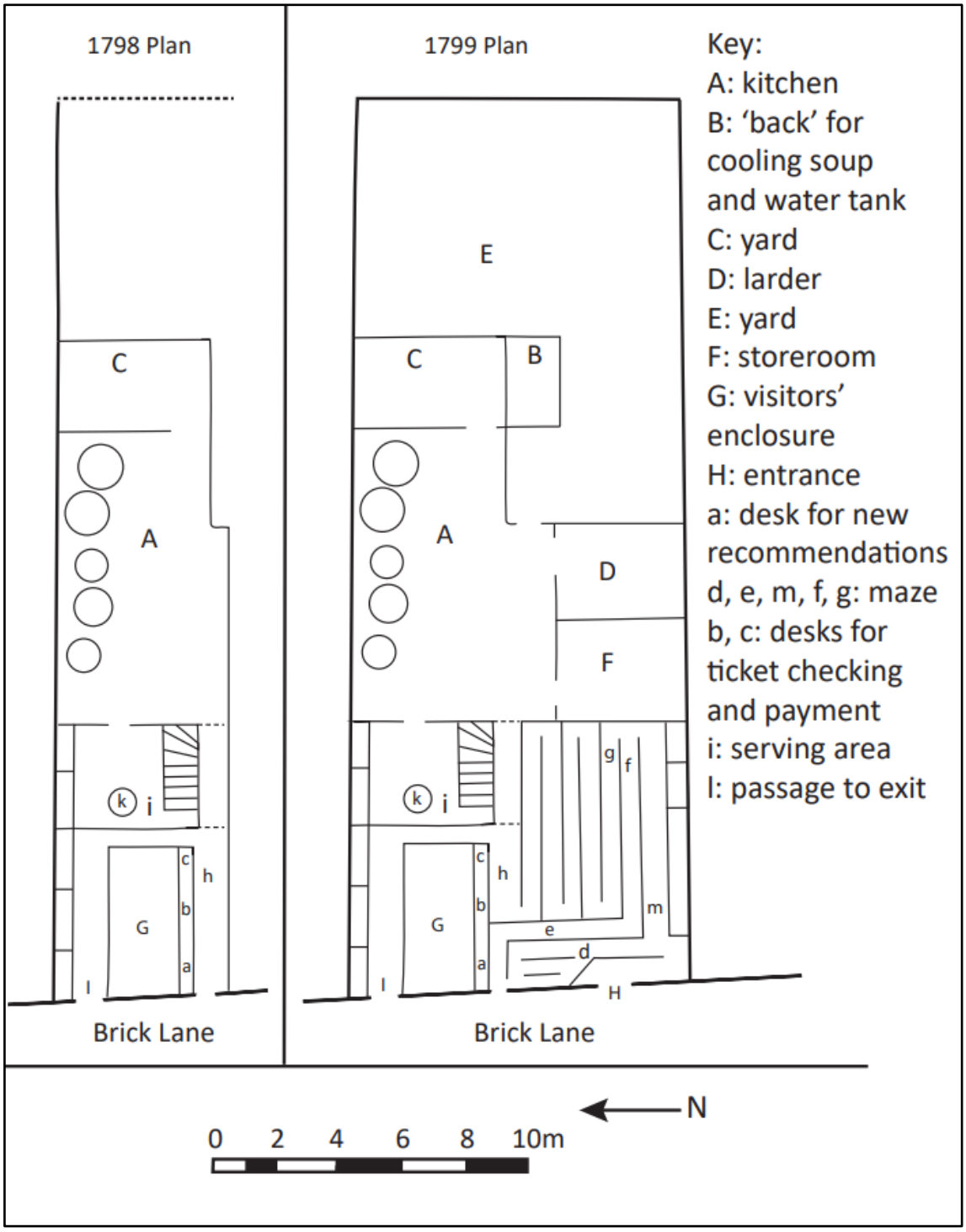


Figure 8.24. Spitalfields Soup Kitchen. Left the 1798 plan (conjectural); right the soup kitchen in 1799 (Colquhoun 1799b: 15).

Figure 8.25. 53 (now 115) Brick Lane. The central door, flanked by small shops, opened onto a passage leading to the post-1820 soup kitchen; the original 1797/98 soup kitchen was in the left shop.

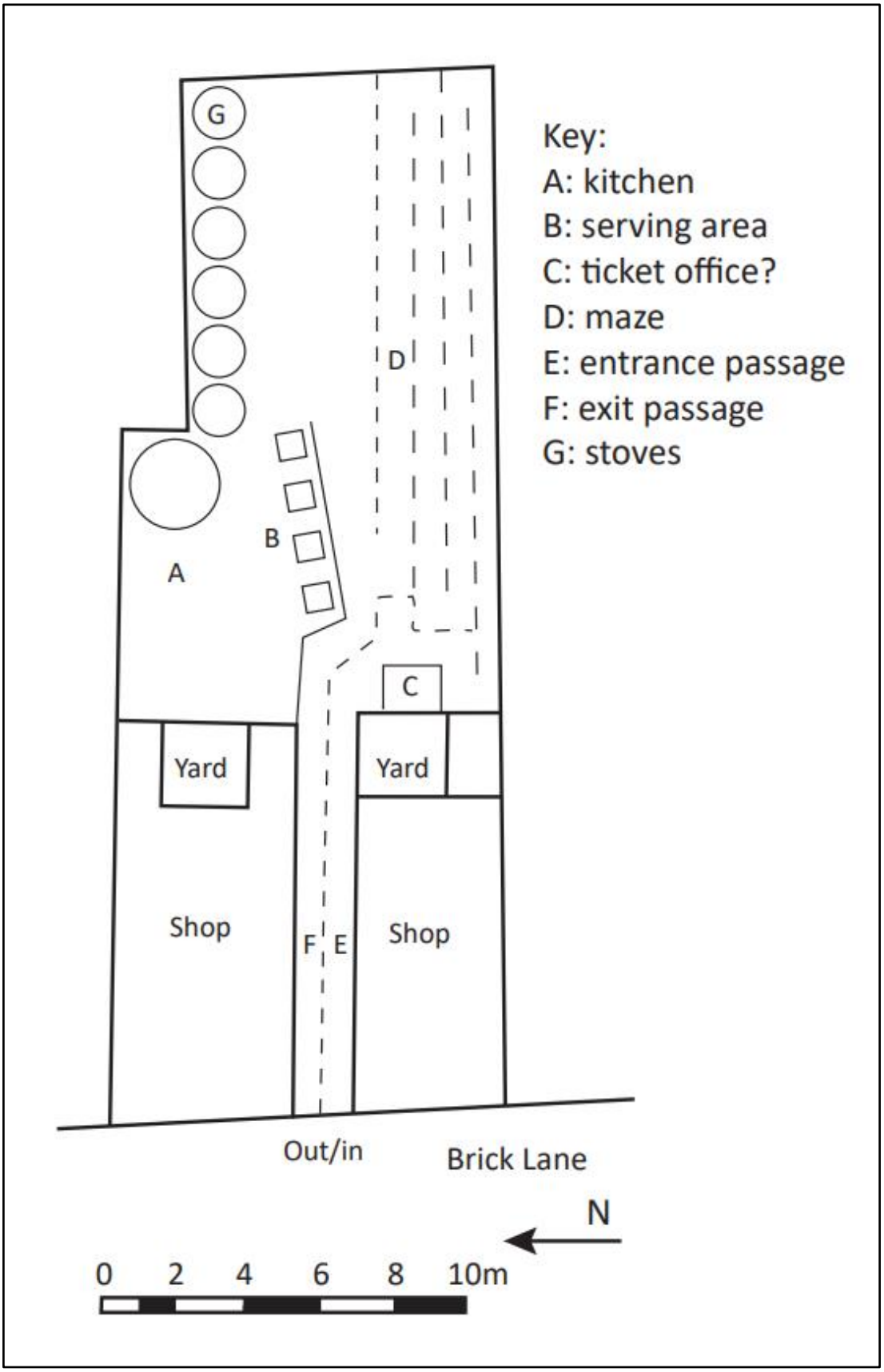


Figure 8.26. The Spitalfields Soup Kitchen plan, 1820-1900. The building outline is from OS maps; internal features from Figure 8.27.

By 1820 the soup kitchen had moved into the backyard and was accessed by a passageway through the centre of the building (*Times* 9/3/1820: 4) (Figure 8.26). The building on either side of the passage became houses and shopfronts (Figure 8.25).

The relegation of the soup kitchen and the poor to the backyard, away from the main street, parallels the move of other soup kitchens away from better locations to marginal back areas, freeing the more valuable commercial street frontage. The famous 1867 image from *The Illustrated London News* depicts the backyard, a space rather than a building, roofed over, with part of the old kitchen of 53 Brick Lane. It used the exterior walls of the surrounding buildings for support (Figure 8.27). The hopper and drain on the outside of one neighbouring building are shown *inside* the soup kitchen. The southern roof seems precariously perched on a line of insubstantial posts. The room is lit by a skylight and a few feeble gas lights. It is barely a building. Rye's soup kitchen was later formed in a similar way (above),

The illustration is deceptive in showing the size of the room (Figure 8.28). The stoves appear to be coal-heated (grates are shown on two) and the soup was moved from the boilers to the serving area in buckets. This makeshift structure and basic technology continued in use for the next 80 years. It is surprising that those running the soup kitchen after 1820 were the Hanbury and Buxton families who operated one of the biggest and most technologically advanced breweries about 200m north (where the Pryors (see Weston) were also partners).

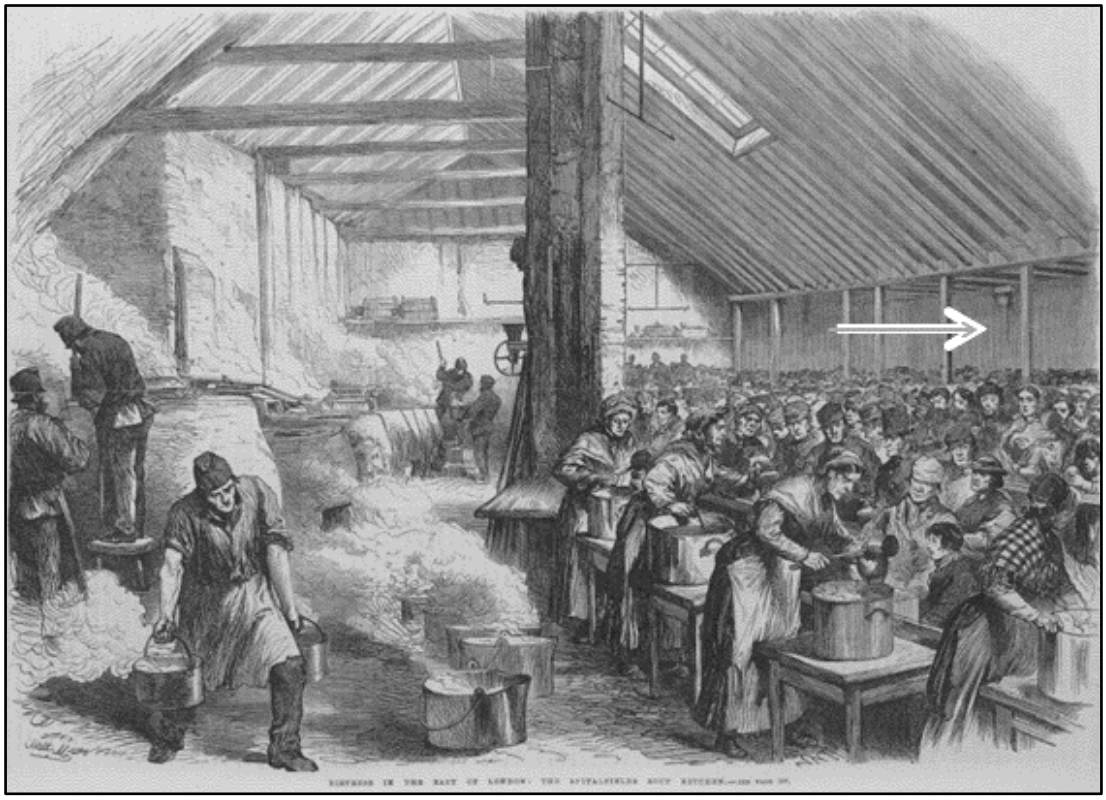


Figure 8.27. Spitalfields Soup Kitchen in 1867; drain and hopper arrowed; the room is less than 9.8m wide at the widest point (ILN 9/3/1867: 225).

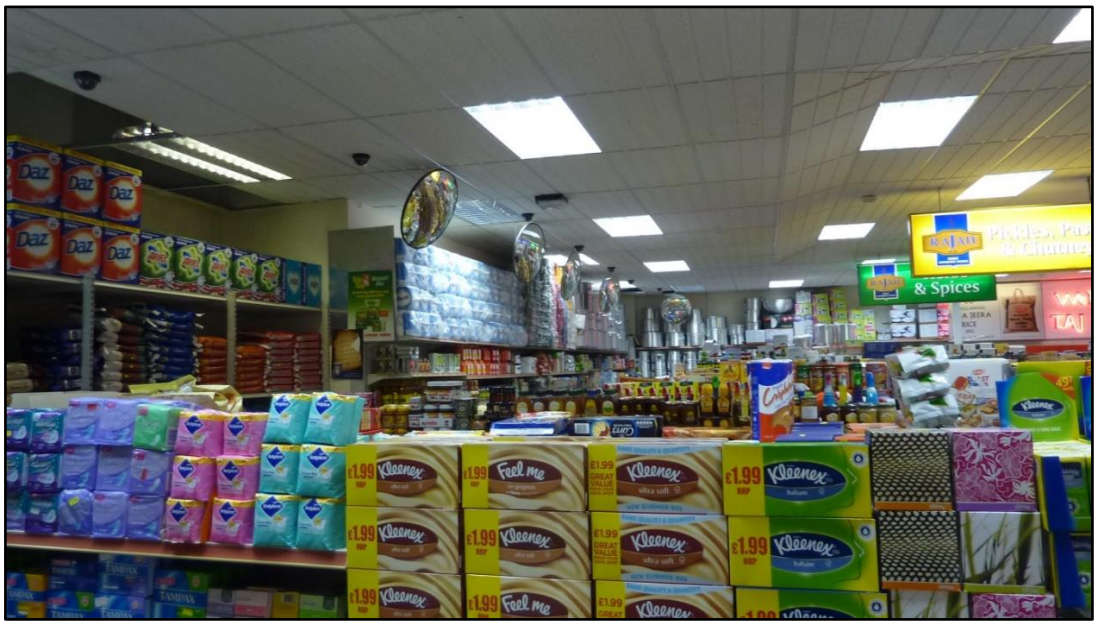


Figure 8.28. Spitalfields Soup Kitchen in 2016: same view as Figure 8.27; the row of soup boilers started under the first ceiling mirror.

The soup kitchen was only reported open when the silk-weaving industry was in crisis, amounting to 25 seasons in 81 years after 1802. The lack of investment in

the building is indicative of Spartan charity that would prefer not to open and did not want to operate over the long-term. In 1883, Reverend Billing of Christ Church took over management of the soup kitchen; it is unclear how often it opened after that, although it was open in 1901.

Clerkenwell

The Clerkenwell Soup Kitchen was located 'near the Sessions House' on Coppice Row (part of Turnmill Lane) in the less salubrious part of the parish, probably just north of the junction with Ray Street, based on the shape of the building.

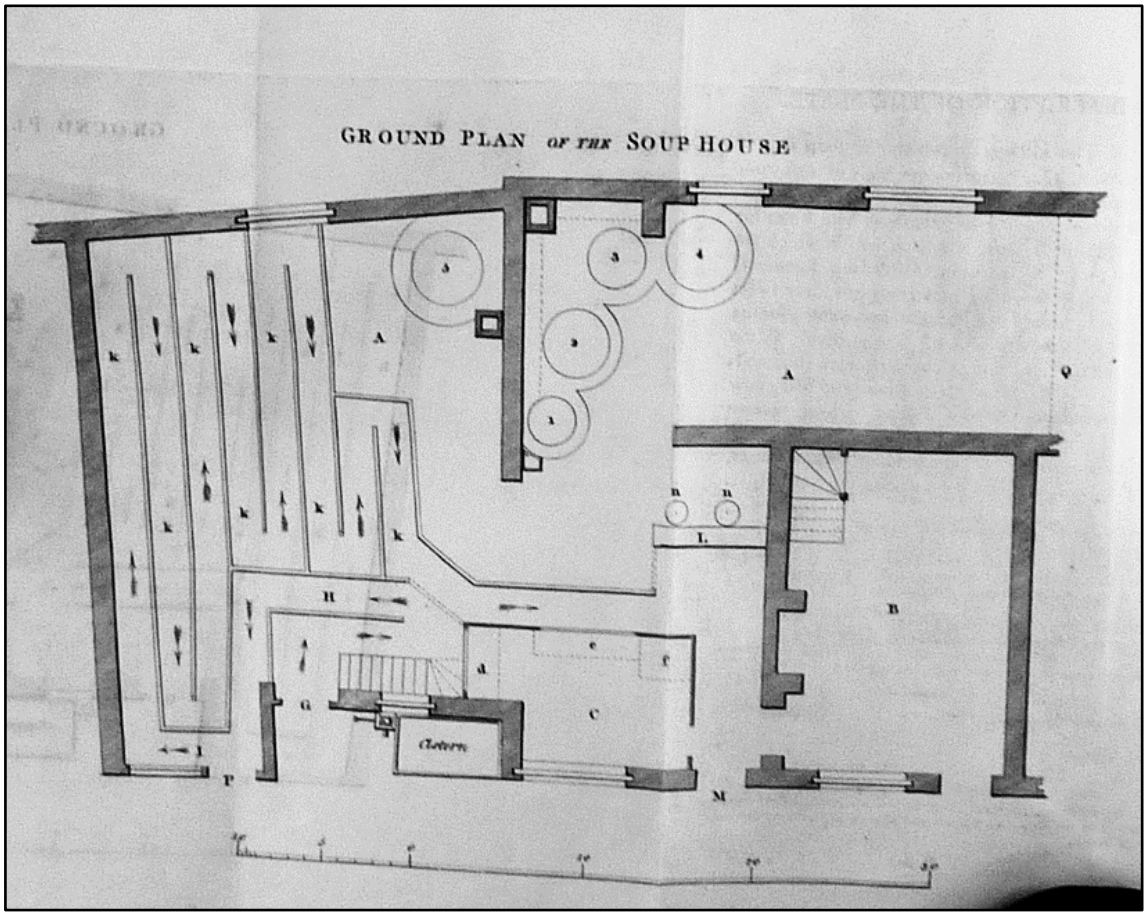


Figure 8.29. Plan of the Clerkenwell soup house. A kitchen, B sitting room, C visitors' room, G entrance for new recommendations, d desk for vetting new applicants, who pass by H to I into labyrinth k, e counter for payment, f desk for recording ticket number, L serving station, M exit, P ticketholders entrance to labyrinth; beyond the

dotted line Q, are 'premises, containing a place for cutting up meat, a larder, and coal shed, &c' (Clerkenwell 1799: 17-18).

Clerkenwell had the same principal features as Spitalfields for managing the flows of people and of soup. The original soup kitchen occupied the right side of the structure; in 1799 the maze and large boiler were added on the left. Clerkenwell had the luxury of a 'sitting room' with a fireplace, like Blackfriars where people could sit and eat their soup (Figure 8.29). The hungry artisans of Clerkenwell were better treated than Spitalfields' silk-weavers. Boiler capacity exceeded Spitalfields, at 800 gallons. The upper floor housed the committee room.

Orchard Street Westminster

The plan of the Orchard Street building is very similar to Spitalfields; it too had a committee room for 48 on the first floor and accommodation for a housekeeper/cook above that (Figure 8.30; Colquhoun 1799a: 13). The kitchen at the rear was built from scratch at a cost of £365. Unlike Spitalfields and Clerkenwell which were enlarged during their second season, Orchard Street was designed as a unity, suggesting that it was influenced by the experiences of the other two institutions.

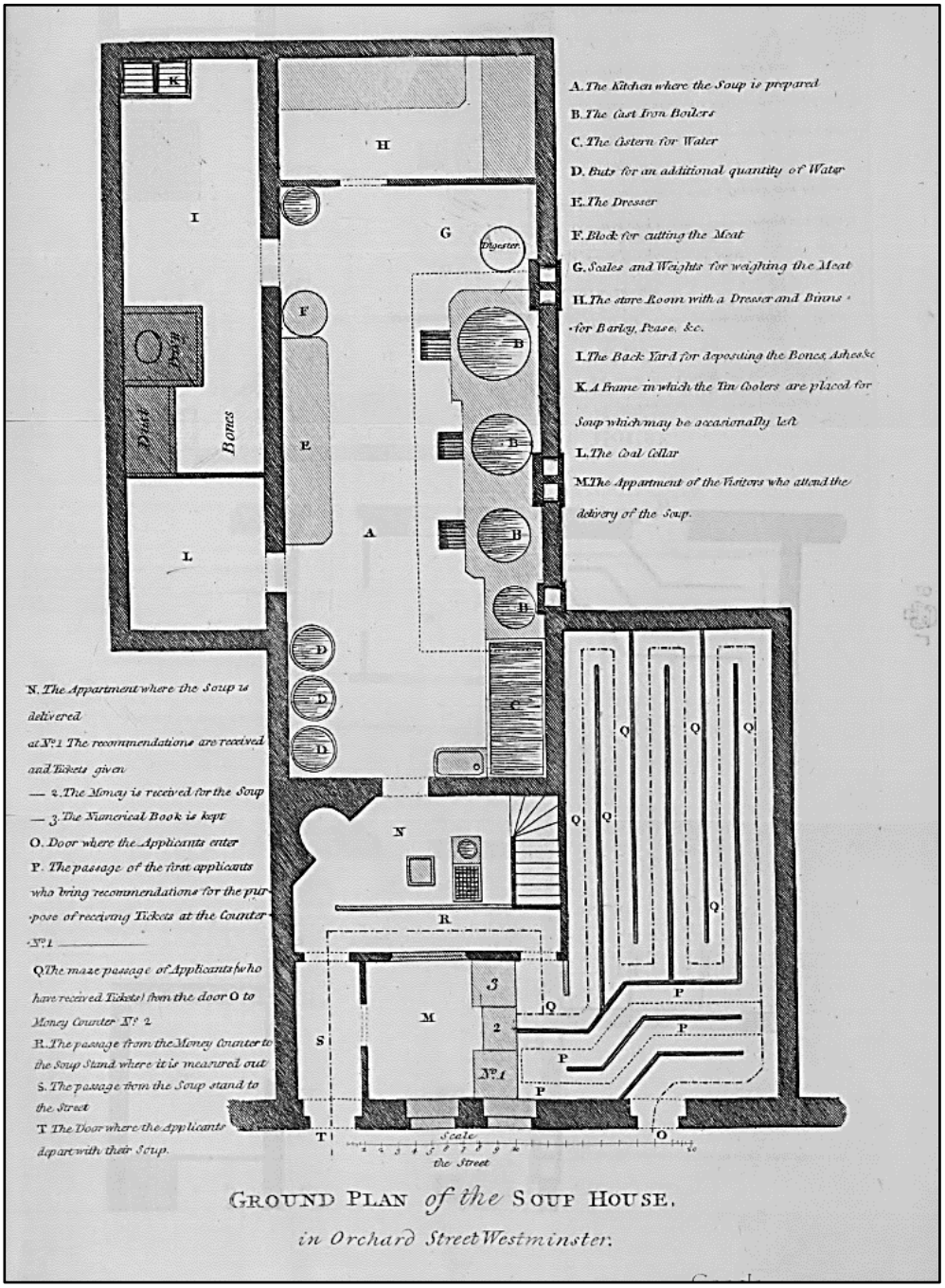


Figure 8.30. Orchard Street Soup Kitchen, Westminster (Colquhoun 1799a: 13).

Discussion

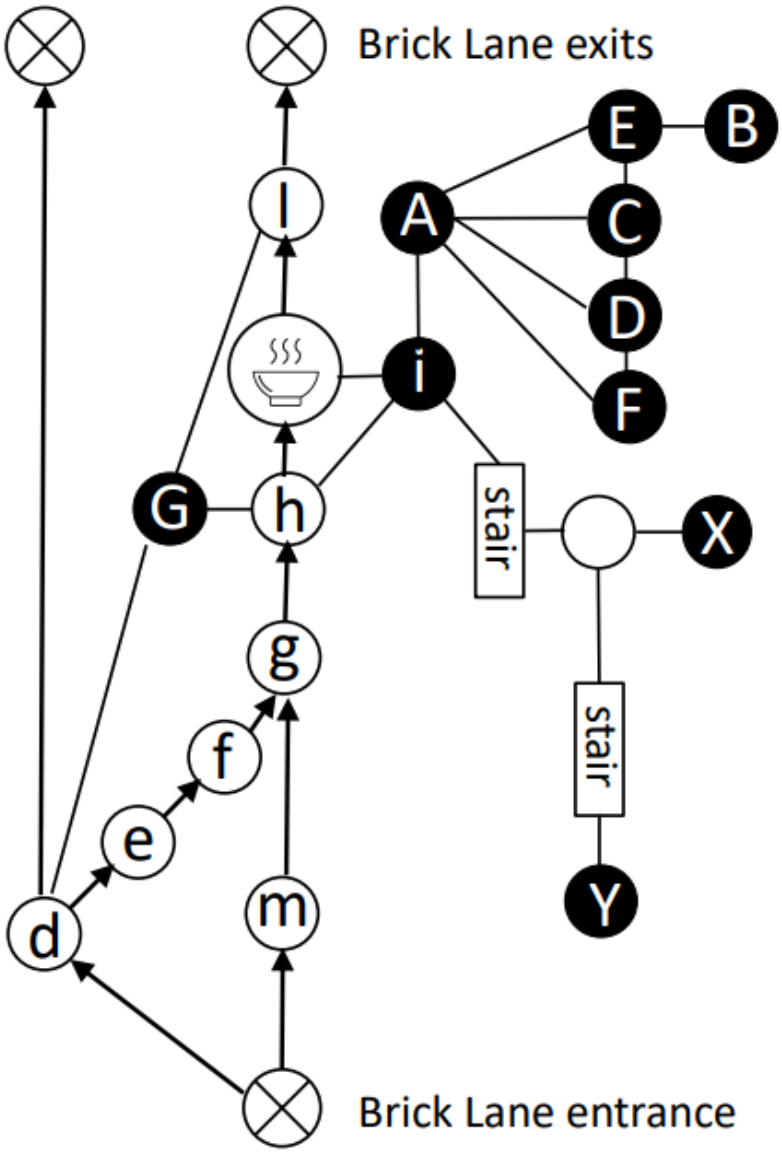
In contrast to Blackfriars, which was purpose-built, these large soup kitchens adapted existing townhouses. Economies of scale and production-line technology meant they could serve ten times as many people as a small building. The post-1820 Spitalfields building was not efficiently arranged, but this would

have cost more than the labour saved, unless it was open regularly. Clerkenwell's sitting room was the only concession to comfort.

The arrangement of space with the poor on the ground floor, the committee on the first floor and the caretaker on the second floor reflects the hierarchy of rooms typical of a Georgian townhouse where the most important rooms were on the first floor (Cruickshank and Burton 1990: 54). In each building the kitchen was situated at the rear, typical in houses of this size.

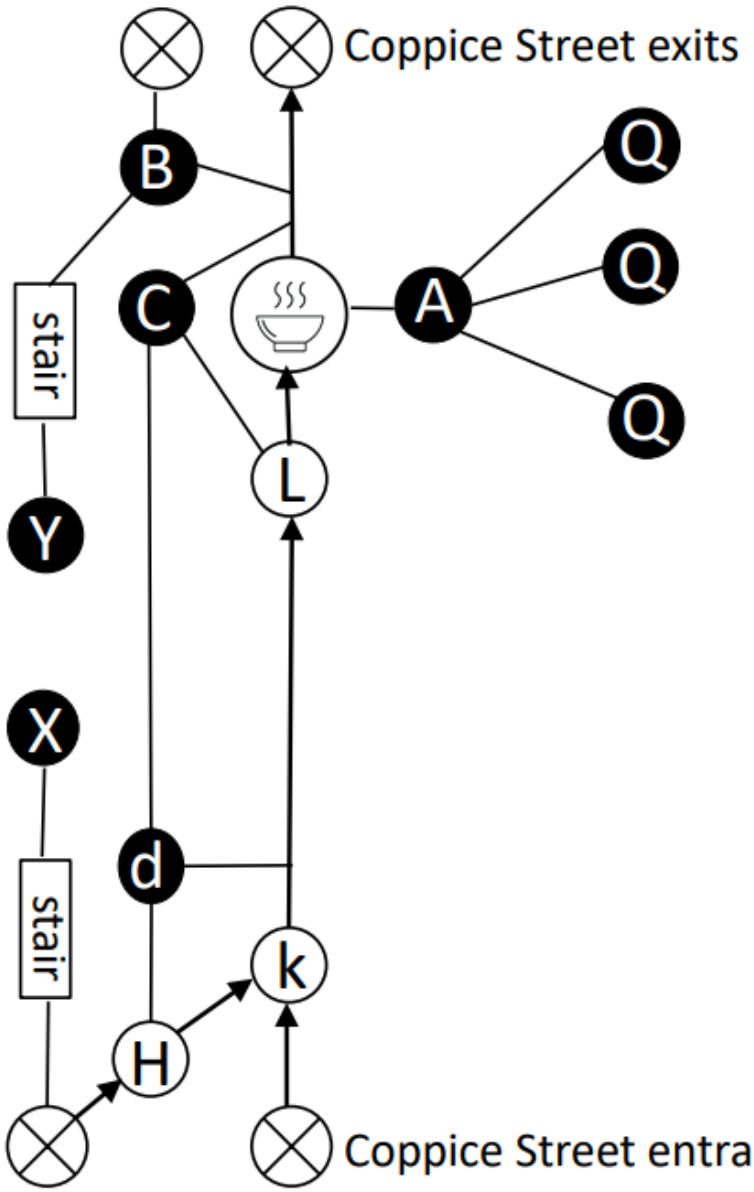
Looking at the access maps (Figure 8.31, Figure 8.32 and Figure 8.33), the buildings divided into three sections: the shallow section to which the poor had access, a kitchen area with workspaces off, and a supervisory area with committee room and supervisor's lodgings.

At Spitalfields and Clerkenwell, the poor were sorted into ticketholders, who got immediate access to the maze, and recommendation-holders, who were first vetted, then given tickets and admitted to the main maze. Spitalfields also had an exit for dispatching those whose recommendations were insufficient. The incorporation of this feature for sorting the sheep from the goats is evidence of Colquhoun's assumption that some applicants were dishonest or unworthy and so should be excluded.



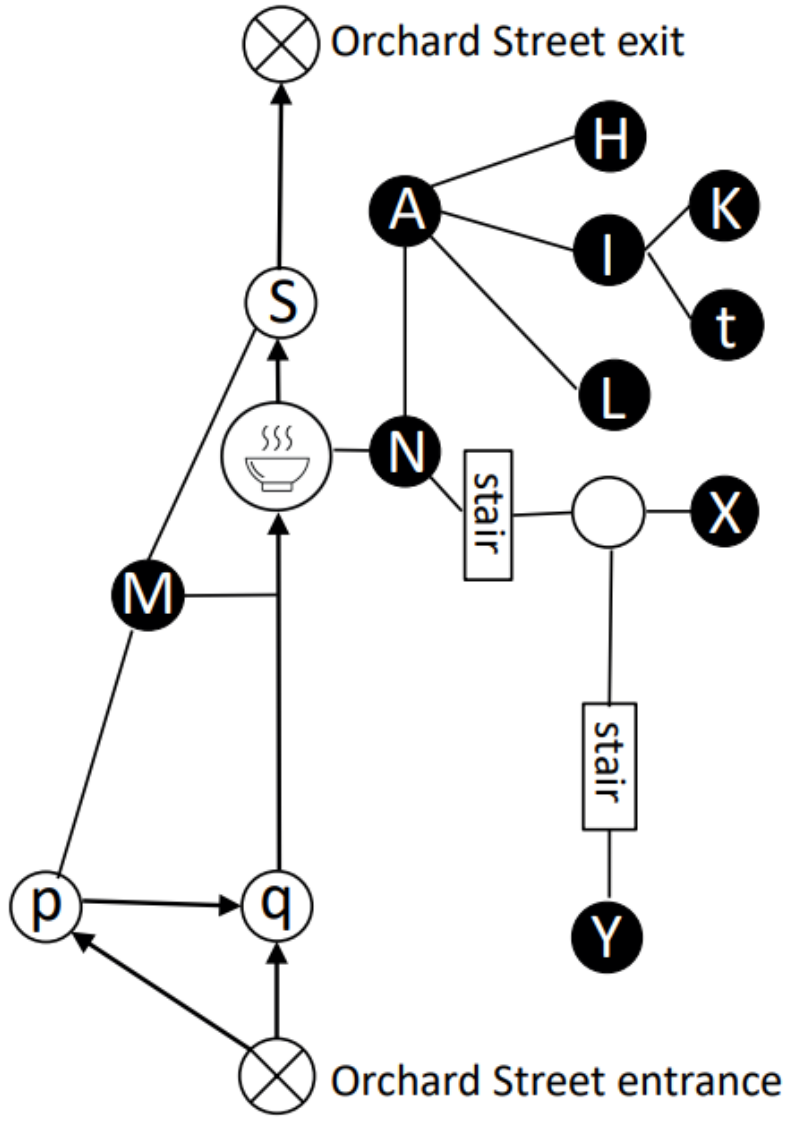
Key: A kitchen, B 'back' (for cooling left-over soup), C yard for bones, D larder, E yard, F storeroom, G supervisors' enclosure, X committee room, Y caretaker's lodging, m maze for ticket-holders, d maze for those with recommendations, e & f maze/ passage from d to g (maze to serving area), h payment area, i serving area, l passage to exit

Figure 8.31. Access map of Brick Lane 1799 (based on Colquhoun 1799b).



Key: A kitchen with water cisterns and 'back' over, B sitting room, Q larder, coal shed, meat cutting room, d supervisors' enclosure for checking recommendations, C supervisors' enclosure for taking payment and recording tickets, L serving area, X committee room, Y caretaker's lodging, k maze

Figure 8.32. Access map of Clerkenwell 1799 (based on Figure 8.29).



Key: A kitchen, H storeroom, I yard for bones etc., K 'back' for cooling left-over soup, L coal cellar, t toilet, M supervisors' enclosure, N serving area ('soup stand'), X committee room, Y caretaker's lodging, p maze for those with recommendations, q maze for those with tickets, and S passage to exit

Figure 8.33. Access map of Orchard Street 1799 (based on Colquhoun 1799a).

Other than the more elaborate entrance to Spitalfields, the arrangement of space in each building was analogous and also similar to the 1880 GSK and the New Street side of Blackfriars. The poor never entered a real room in the building,

they were always in a passage. Behind the counter, the kitchen sat at the heart of the building, perhaps unsurprisingly, giving access to spaces for storage, preparation and waste-disposal. The supervisory parts were accessed from the serving area or main entrance. The separation of the culinary areas from the executive parts is paralleled in houses where the culinary rooms were well-separated from the domestic (if there was space).

For Sherman (2001: 202) and Sutton (1996), the Spitalfields and Orchard Street plans have come to represent soup kitchens, but these buildings are not typical of many smaller houses and shops that were used within the study areas. Only Spitalfields remained open after 1802, and this building was re-organised by 1820 reducing the operations to a single large 'room'.

d. Anywhere?

Soup kitchens often did not remain long in one location. Many towns were reluctant to open a soup kitchen every winter for fear of pauperising the poor. Establishing a permanent location was also costly. Short-term locations were adopted temporarily. Anywhere with a large copper would do. Sometimes a generous householder provided a copper and space for free, despite the inconvenience of having queues waiting for soup. Consequently, soup kitchens rarely stayed long in these locations.

Hertford used ten different commercial, institutional and residential properties for soup kitchens between 1847 and 1876, (Table 12.57). Morpeth had soup kitchens in eight locations in 33 years in addition to the outhouse/lock-up and the prison (Table 12.58).

In Alnwick, soup distribution had started off at the Castle kitchens where the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland provided soup (NC 16/1/1819: 4). The soup kitchen then started in the kitchen of the Town Hall next to the marketplace (NC 30/1/1830: 4, 8/5/1830: 4). In 1861 it was behind Mr and Miss Johnson's china shop 'as previously' (NJ 9/2/1861: 3), (Figure 8.34). Three years later the Duke of Northumberland granted the committee permission to use part of Bailiffgate Square, a courtyard surrounded by workshops, coach-houses or stables (AM 1/3/1864: 3). Miss Johnson donated the 120 gallon 'pot' from Narrowgate Street. Then in 1874/75 the soup kitchen moved to premises off Green Batt, on the edge of Alnwick (BM/ASKMB). The minute-book records neither the precise location nor any expenditure, so it probably moved into the house of correction or the police station on Green Batt where a large kitchen is shown on the 1866 OS Map. The charity slid gradually downwards from being traditional aristocratic, to corporate and then institutional; from respectability to disgrace, and away from the town centre to the margins.

Figure 8.34. Mr and Miss Johnson's china shop, 16 Narrowgate Street, Alnwick, with side door to the outbuildings at the rear.

Discussion

The short-term use of different properties demonstrates another strand of the makeshift nature of charity. Space in many English towns was in short supply: if

a soup kitchen was only open a few months, providing permanent premises was costly and potentially wasteful.

The migration of soup kitchens from more 'prestigious' buildings to less-desirable ones was common. They also moved from the front of buildings to the back, like at Spitalfields. When we know what part of the premises was used, it was almost always the back. A fictional story of three middle-class children setting up a soup kitchen describes them using 'a little outhouse…a back-place' at Widow Body's on Lamb's Lane (Kennedy 1876: 18). The back-place is well-suited to the poor who included the 'very dirtiest old man…ever seen'.

St Albans Soup Kitchen occupied two different backyard locations after being evicted from the Town Hall, first to 'the yard' (probably Harvey's Yard on Market Place), which was:

> 'very unpleasant in bad weather, [where] children often had to stand in mud while waiting' (HA 14/12/1889: 5),

and then to the back of the coffee tavern (HA 16/12/1893: 5). Mrs Coltman in High Wycombe gave away 100q at the back of her premises on Priory Road (SBS 22/2/1895: 5). Alnwick Working Men's Club adapted and enlarged an existing building, with a committee room and soup kitchen added at the back and a reading room at the side. The soup kitchen was accessible directly from the alleyway behind the property or from the front of the building by going through the entrance hall of the club into the yard and up an external stair (Figure 8.35). Most early photographs show soup kitchens in yards and alleyways (Figure 8.36, Figure 8.45).

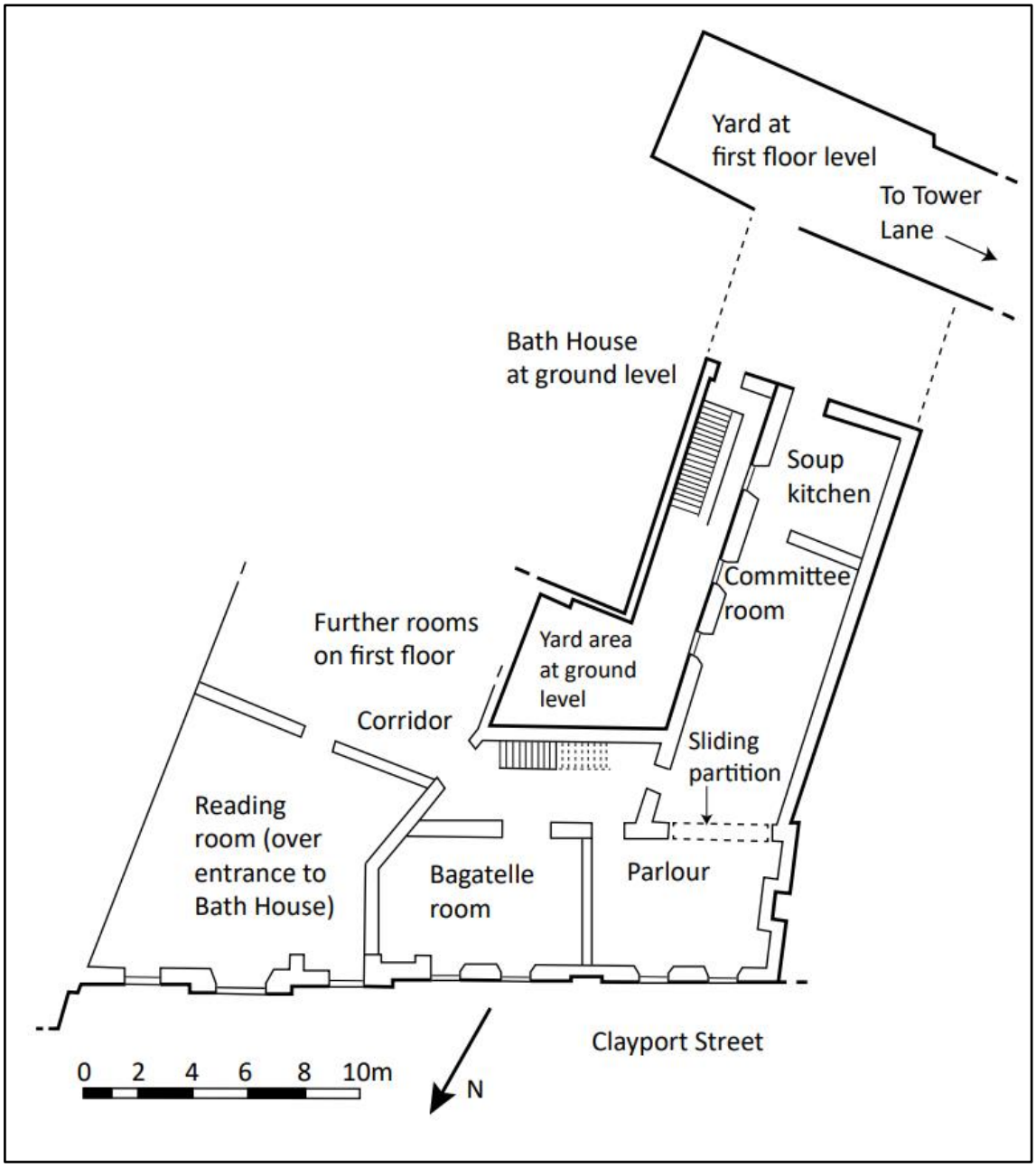


Figure 8.35. Plan of the first floor of Alnwick Working Men's Club based on AM 21/2/1874: 5; MH 1/1/1876: 2.

Figure 8.36. The soup kitchen behind the Star Hotel, Burton-on-Trent (Staffordshire 1895) (Image courtesy of and © The National Brewery Centre, Burton on Trent).

The down-classing of space and lack of permanent location express the reluctance to provide charity, reflecting the increasing antipathy towards the poor from the late-eighteenth century onwards identified by Lees (1998) and others.

e. Impermanence: temporary buildings

If all you needed to set up a soup kitchen was somewhere to make and serve soup and somewhere dry and warm for the staff to work, anywhere might do. Places could be rapidly adapted and then dismantled making the historic sites of some soup kitchens difficult to locate.

St Albans

St Albans Soup Kitchen was one of the most regularly operating institutions identified, serving 500 to 800 people from the same place every winter from at least 1854 until 1888, except 1886/87. Yet the annual presence of the soup kitchen at St Albans Town Hall (officially known as the Court House) has escaped the notice of historians of the town (Toms 1975) and Town Hall (Green 2017). When we see how the soup kitchen was organised, the reasons for its near invisibility become plain.

The Liberty Justices of the Peace were responsible for administering the building as they owned two thirds and St Albans Corporation one third (Toms, 1975: 147). Consequently, the charity had to approach the JPs every year to use the kitchens and:

> 'such other parts of the Court-house as might be required for purpose preparing and distributing soup to the poor',

which meant the entrance hall and the grand jury room (HM 24/01/1857: 3; HA 18/12/1875: 6).

Permission was always a unanimous formality: in 1861 the soup kitchen was already operating when the JPs met to consider the request (HG 8/1/1861: 3; HM 19/1/1861: 3). Parliament abolished the Liberty of St Albans in 1874 and the county justices took over the building, but soup continued to flow. The County Council replaced them in 1888 (Green 2017: 4) and effectively evicted the Town Council and the soup kitchen, which had to find premises elsewhere. The mayor was briefly able to use the Town Hall again for a soup kitchen in 1895 (HA 16/2/1895: 5).

The Liberty Justices tried petty criminals and civil cases in the courtroom, but after 1835 they were excluded from serving *ex officio* as poor law guardians (Rothery 2016: 104). They may have allowed the soup kitchen to use the building in response to their loss of jurisdiction over poor law matters, providing some social justice when outdoor relief in St Albans was severely curtailed. The soup kitchen occasionally had to postpone a delivery of soup if the allotted day was one on which court was sitting or an assembly was held in the upstairs assembly room (HA 22/1/1870: 4, 18/1/1879: 5, 3/1/1880: 5, 30/12/1882: 5).

The building, designed by George Smith, was built in 1829-31 (Green 2017). Its symmetrical Ionic north façade has a *piano nobile* with four large fluted columns supporting a pediment flanked by double height windows (Figure 8.37). On market days when surrounded by stalls, the building resembled a Greek temple floating above the market. Its grand classical appearance balances St Peter's church at the opposite end of St Peter's Street and would have made a strong statement of authority, improvement and civic pride, in contrast to the surrounding streets which were densely crowded, filled with 'poverty, filth and all its nuisances' (Shaw 1815: 157). The side and rear walls, where the court was, were Egyptian-styled with rusticated 'stone' (Roman cement render on brick), a style often used in prison architecture (Curl 1993: 145). The two architectural styles mark the two main functions of the building: the classical for the administrative and the Egyptian for the judicial parts of the building. The railings around the building are decorated with fasces, the ancient Roman symbol of judicial authority.

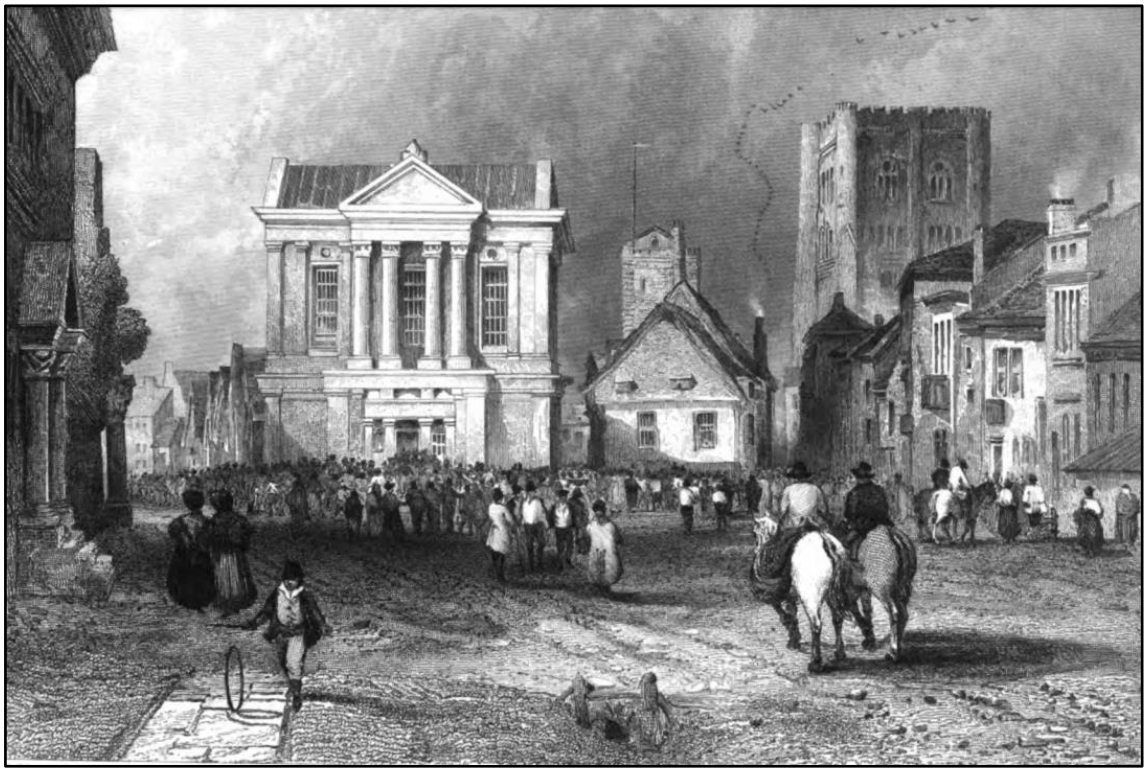


Figure 8.37. St Albans Town Hall in the 1830s with the Abbey tower to the right (Trotter 1839: 30).

Inside were a court house, grand and petty jury rooms, a large assembly room, service rooms and space for the town's fire engine (Toms 1975: 140, Caroe and Musson 2015) (Figure 8.39). The grand jury room was also used for council meetings and public lectures. Assemblies and balls were frequent events upstairs in winter. Two basements contained prison cells, a kitchen with wine cellar, stove-room and pantry, and a coal store (Figure 8.38). Until 1899, there were three entrances: the front public entrance, a side entrance to the court for lawyers and judges, and a rear entrance for prisoners.

Soup was made in the basement kitchen (HG 2/11/1861: 8). Getting 120 gallons of soup upstairs would have been a daily challenge. A dumbwaiter was not installed until 1915 (Green 2017: 25). The soup must have been carried upstairs in buckets; the accounts show expenditure on 'watermen' and 'pails' (HM

1/4/1854: 3; HA 6/12/1879: 6). Soup was served from the grand jury room. The poor were not allowed into the room but had to 'stand in file, poorly clad and poorly fed, in that bitterly cold corridor' (HA 6/12/1884: 6). A table must have been set up at one of the doors to the grand jury room from where soup was dispensed. The front corridor was flagged with York-stone, roofed but otherwise open to the elements, secured only by high iron gates until 1899 when doors were installed between the columns (Green 2017: 10, 13, 37). The poor of each of the town's three parishes were served in turn; with over 500 attending, many may have waited outside.

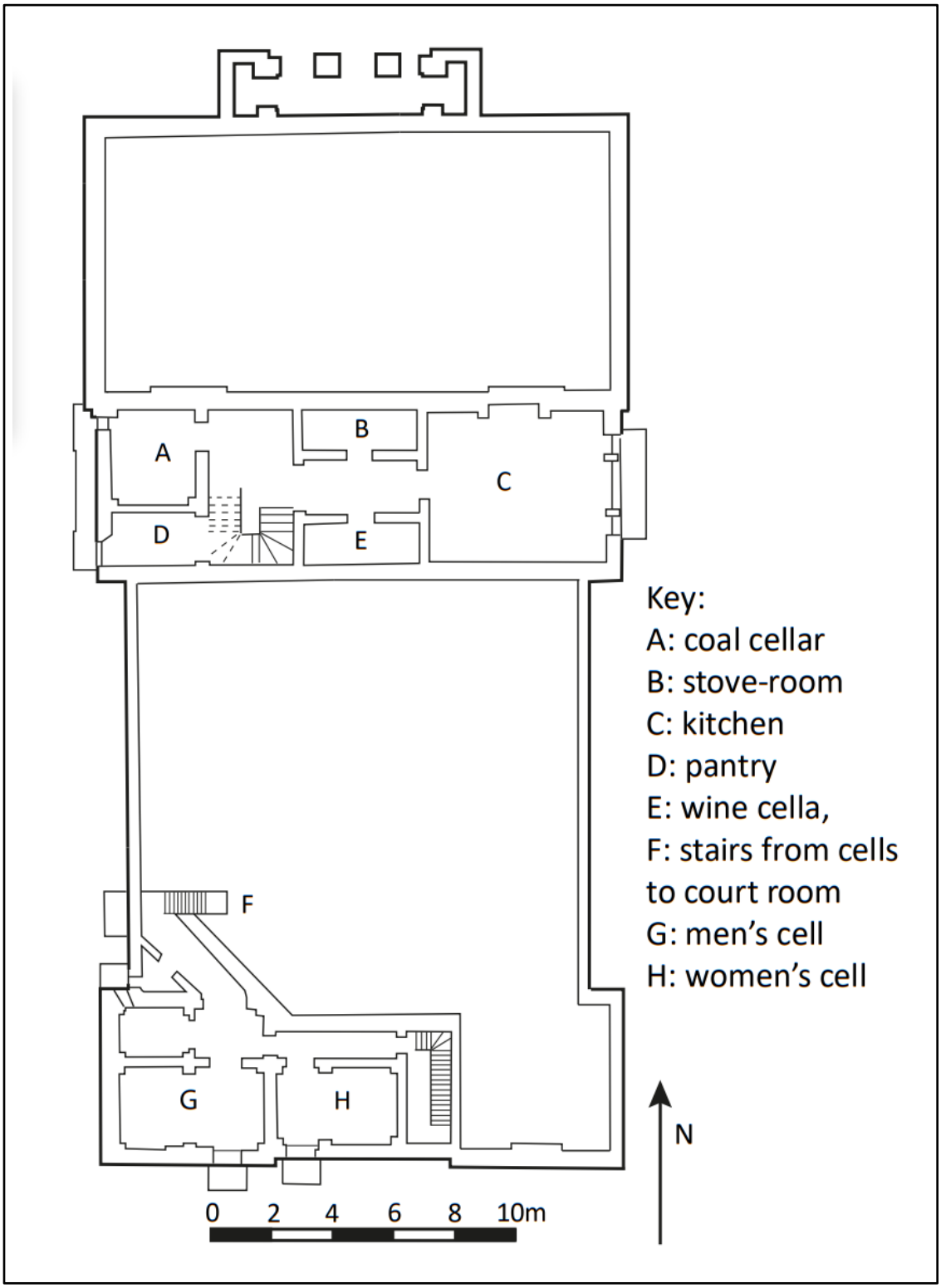


Figure 8.38. Plan of the basement of St Albans Town Hall 1832 (based on Smith's plans HALS/L/MISC/33-294, from Caroe and Musson 2015).

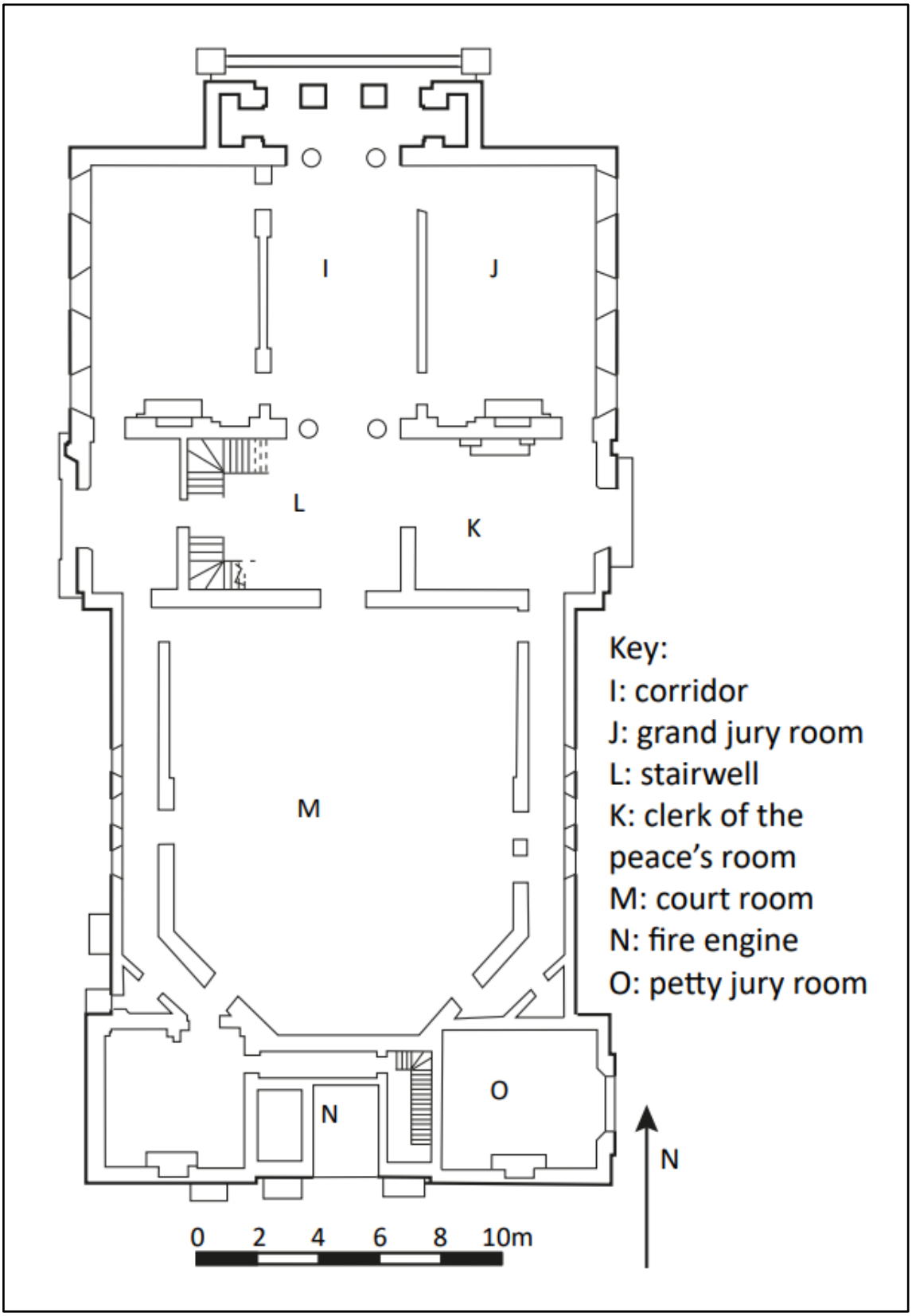


Figure 8.39. Plan of ground floor of St Albans Town Hall 1832 (based on Smith's plans HALS/L/MISC/33-294, from Caroe and Musson 2015).

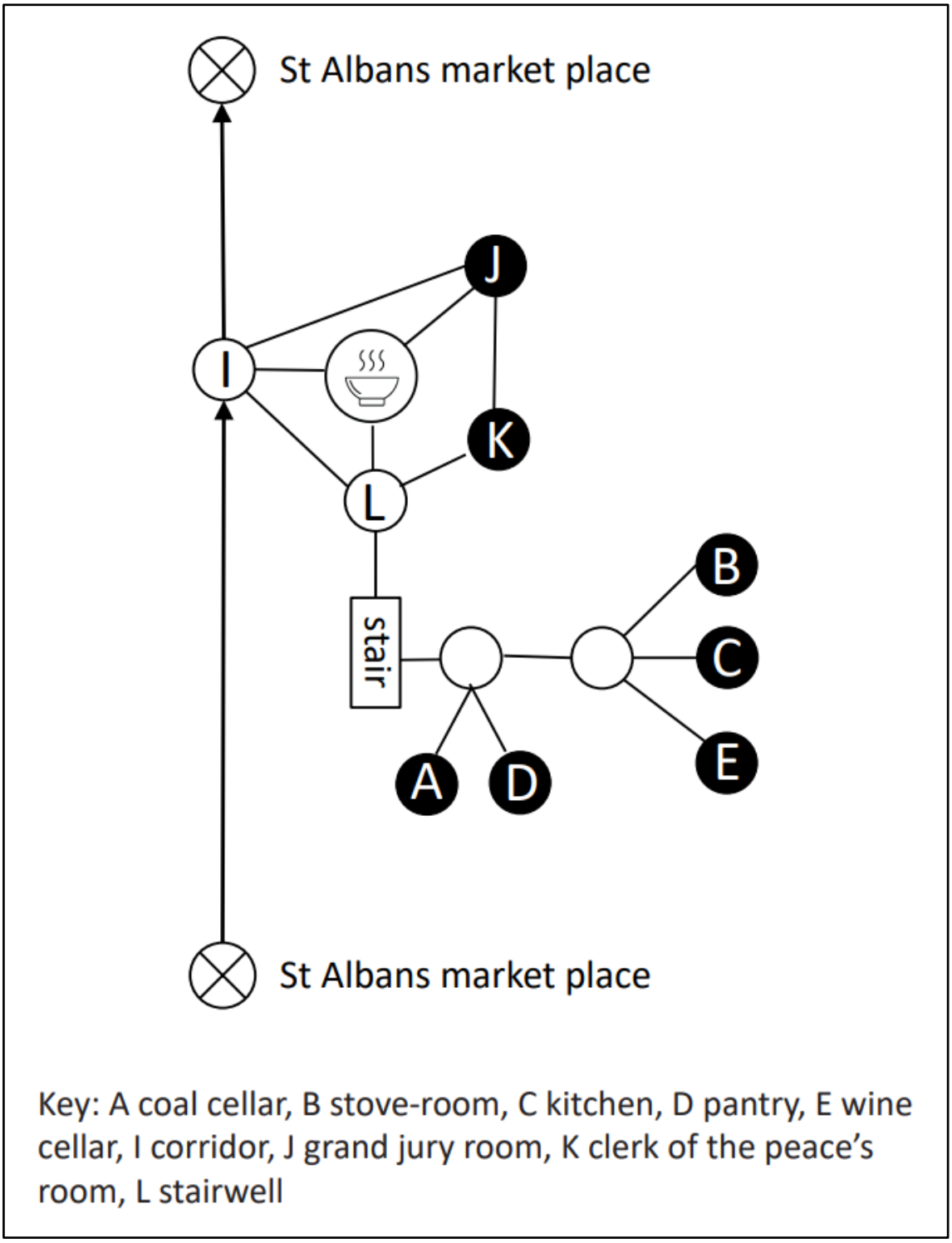


Figure 8.40. Access map of the soup kitchen at St Albans Town Hall.

At the time of my visit, the Grade 2* listed building was undergoing a major refurbishment. Nothing of the former kitchen remained visible in the basement other than a blocked fireplace; the grand jury room had been largely dismantled.

The soup kitchen never really 'occupied' the Town Hall. The poor stood in the corridor and the soup travelled from the basement to the door of the Grand Jury Room. The serving, culinary and executive areas are again separate (Figure 8.40). The serving area is a threshold not a room, neither inside nor outside. One day the soup kitchen was there, the next day it was not. It always had to yield to other users. It was an event rather than a physical place, with only the aroma of boiled beef lingering after the poor had left. The impracticalities of the location never seem to have exercised the organisers. An institution that served over 10% of the local population for so long vanished almost without trace, demonstrating the temporary, tenuous nature of charity. It is only by assembling the fragments of the institution's story from dozens of press reports and then integrating these into the fabric of the building that we can understand how the soup kitchen existed and operated more consistently than almost any other identified in this research. Without a careful piecing together of material and documentary evidence, the full stories of place and of institutions will escape us.

The building was one of intimidating authority, power and permanence, demonstrated by the grandeur, classical styling, proportioned symmetry, fasces and lofty ceilings. It served as a constant reminder to the poor of their lowly station and impermanence. That the JPs allowed the soup kitchen to use the building shows that the moral economy survived, albeit in an attenuated form. The poor were excluded from all of the building except the cold vestibule, having to wait outside conspicuous to anyone frequenting the marketplace and nearby shops, a gloomy ill-clad crowd in contrast to the gaiety of the assemblies. Eventually St Albans' poor were even excluded from the vestibule; they were not Hertfordshire's responsibility.

Temporary buildings

St Albans Soup Kitchen occupied a liminal space: the building was permanent, the soup kitchen fleeting. Other soup kitchen buildings were only ever temporary for ideological reasons or because the crisis was seen as short-lived. With new construction techniques using novel materials like corrugated iron, pre-fabricated frames and sheet glass which became available in the second half of the nineteenth century, and portable stoves, a soup kitchen could be built and dismantled in almost no time and cheaply. These temporary buildings fall somewhere between the purpose-built and the adapted structures.

Soyer's Dublin building was simply a marquee with a boiler in the middle. The Strangers' Home for Asiatics, Africans and South Sea Islanders, a residential institution for foreign mariners stranded in London's docks, ran a soup kitchen for East London's poor in 1868 on West India Dock Road. The structure was a simple iron or timber frame with a corrugated iron roof, situated behind the Home (Figure 8.41). Dover Philanthropic Society constructed a temporary soup kitchen in the yard of the Royal Oak Inn, Cannon Street (DE 6/12/1867: 4); Mr Balderson obtained permission to erect a temporary soup kitchen in Hemel Hempstead (HA 29/11/1887: 8), and Mr Leatherdale ran a soup kitchen from his 'iron room' in Cage Field, Bromley (MJKA 8/1/1866: 6). The Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in Watford used a temporary lean-to and then a prefabricated corrugated iron building (HA 23/9/1893: 8, 28/10/1893: 7) which is the only temporary soup kitchen that survived long enough to appear on an OS map.

Figure 8.41. The soup kitchen at the Strangers' Home, Limehouse (ILN 7/4/1868: 16) (Wellcome Collection).

Newcastle-upon-Tyne's GSK used a temporary building in 1879/80 between demolition of its old building near the Police Court and construction of its new premises. The design drawings (TWA/T186/8939, Figure 8.42, Figure 8.44, Figure 8.43) show a single-storey building 10.2m x 9.3m. It occupied the demolition site, re-using an internal wall from the Police Court and the north wall of the Holy Jesus Hospital as its north and south walls respectively. The front (west) and rear (east) walls were timber-framed. The narrow entrance and exit controlled movement through the building. Materials from the temporary soup kitchen were re-used in the permanent soup kitchen (TWA/CHX3/1/3). This reduced overall expenditure, but the temporary structure was valued at £200 for insurance, more than the £171 spent on running the building for the six weeks

that it operated. It would have been cheaper to adapt any available premises by adding a stove or two, or even to feed the poor at local inns.

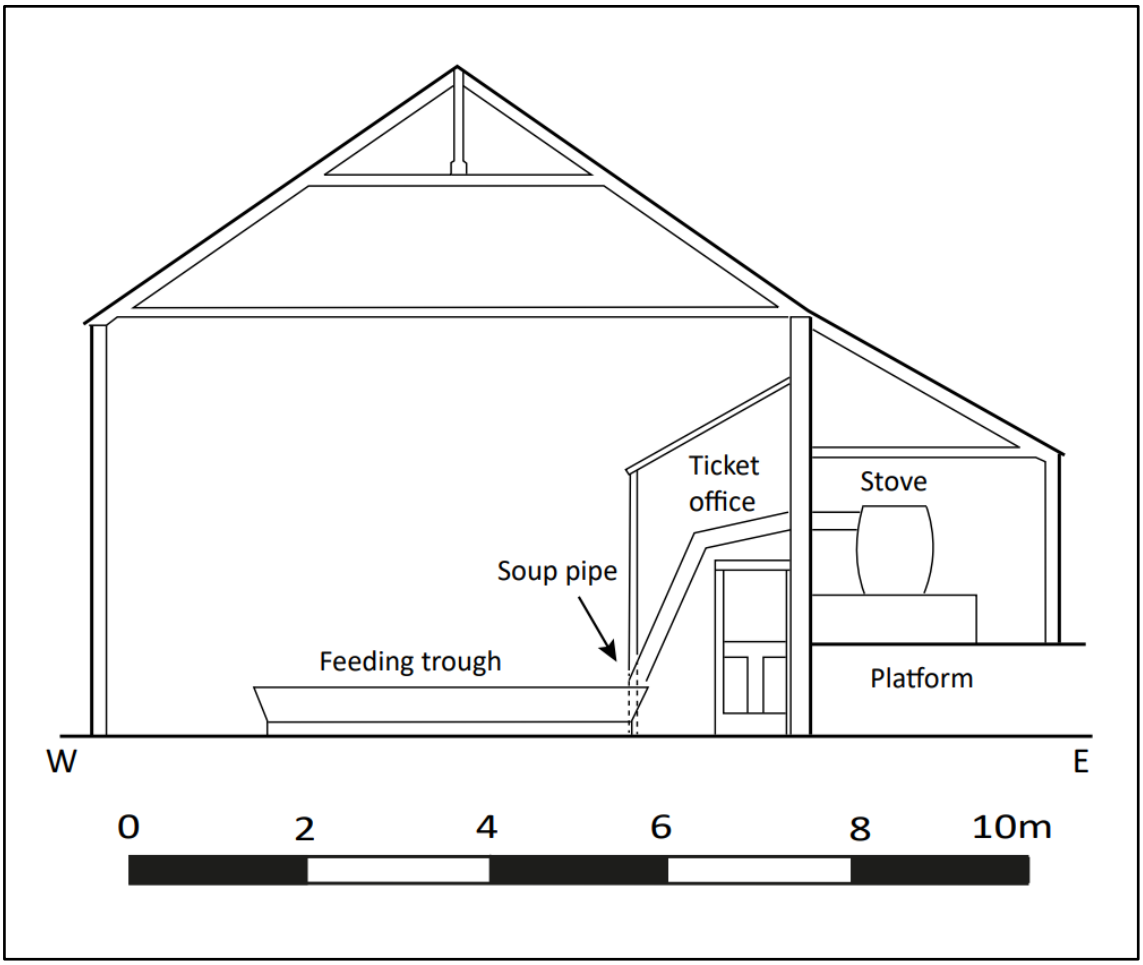


Figure 8.42. Section of the temporary soup kitchen 1879 (based on TWA/T186/8939).

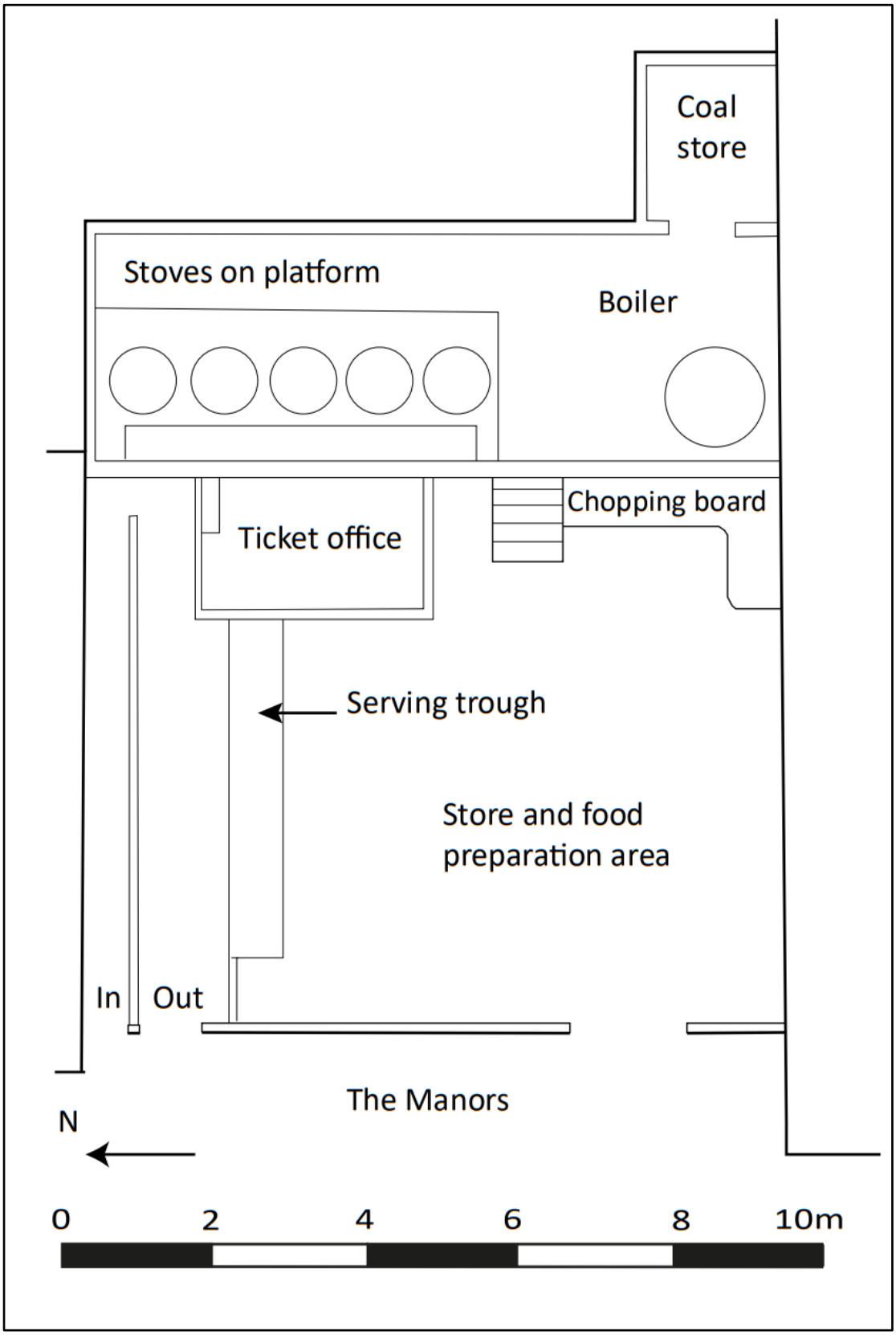


Figure 8.43. Plan of the temporary soup kitchen 1879 (based on TWA/T186/8939).

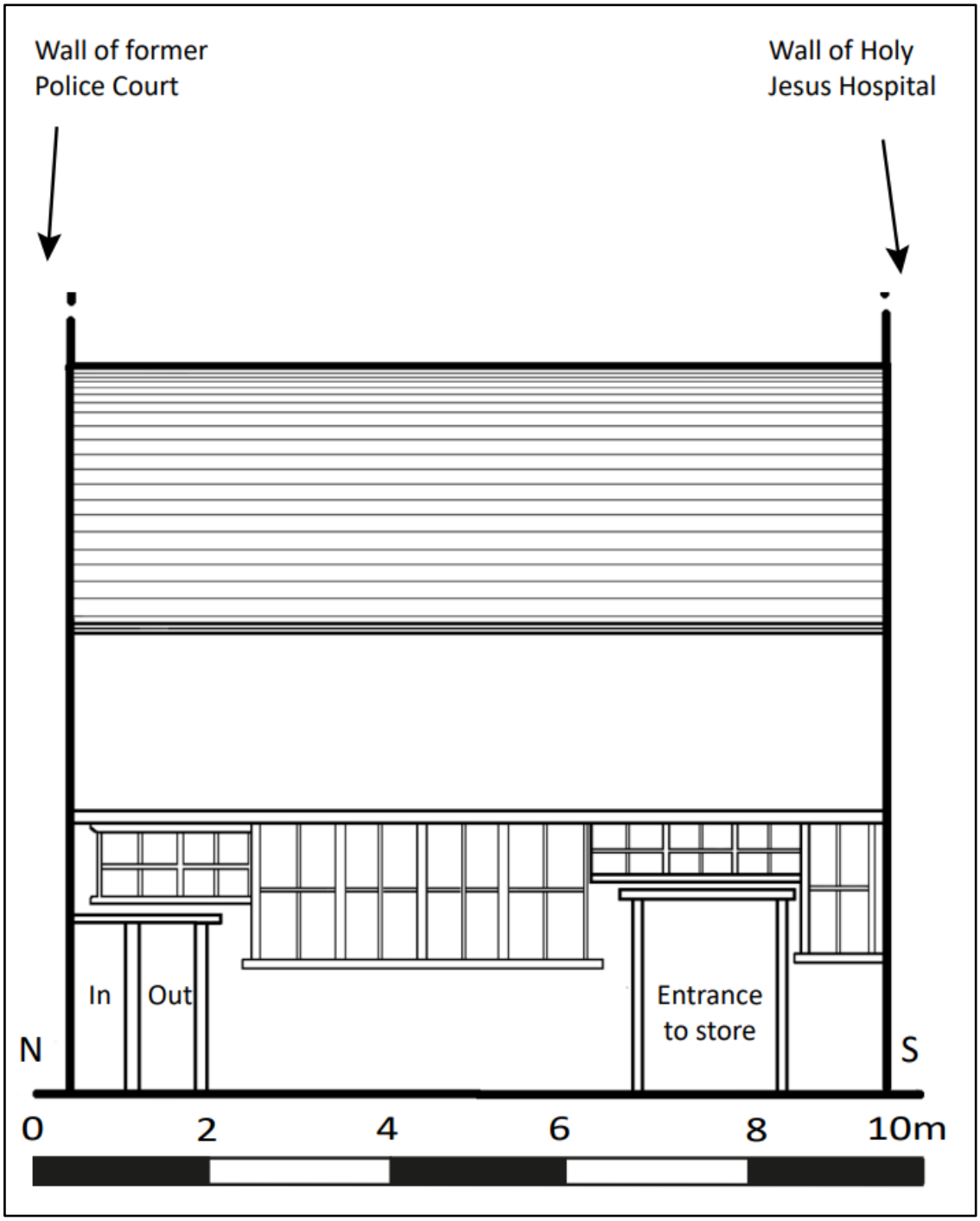


Figure 8.44. The west façade of the temporary soup kitchen 1879, based on TWA/T186/8939).

Most of the space inside was devoted to the kitchen and serving area, typical of small soup kitchens. The building enabled the organisers to display the efforts that the charitable were making. It continued to subject the poor to the discipline of attending. A cash dole would have allowed them to make their own choices.

Outdoors: NIIDC

The All Saints Township Food Distribution Centre and Soup Kitchen operated at the NIIDC building on Garth Heads, in 1892, 1908 and 1909 (TWA/DT/NID/12). The NIIDC was a model apartment building for the working class about 300m east of Newcastle's GSK and 60m north of the site of All Saints Soup Kitchen. The building is a massive block, with a narrow courtyard behind containing wash-houses. The charity was organised by T.C. Hardy, NIIDC's agent. Soup was served to waiting recipients in the courtyard behind the building from a trestle table set up outside the window of a ground floor room where soup was cooked (Figure 8.45). Remove the table, send away the people and close the window and the soup kitchen has gone (Figure 8.46). The soup kitchen was unusual in that it was located in a place where many of the soup-recipients lived.

Figure 8.45. The NIIDC Soup Kitchen. T.C. Hardy on the right (*North Mail* 11/2/1910).

Figure 8.46. The site of the NIIDC Soup Kitchen at the window on the right.

Discussion

These 'buildings' demonstrate how soup kitchens were transient, losing their identity and vanishing once closed. The entrance and the corridor of St Albans Town Hall and the courtyard at Garth Heads were the foci of performance, not the kitchen where the soup was made. The soup kitchen is activities, interactions and the smell of soup, of the crowd, the jostling of fellow soup-recipients, the cold wind and mud outside, not just the building (Ingold 1993: 155ff). The Town Hall was transformed on a soup day following an assembly upstairs the previous day; the day after, the soup kitchen has gone. In similar vein, a market square and a church square are two different places yet may occupy the same space (Augé 2009: 66).

At the NIIDC, the photographer was interested in the scene outside, not the kitchen, but this is just a space, a *non-lieu*. It is not a building that the poor can even pass through. Its presence vanishes once the equipment is packed away and

the people are gone. It is more of an event than a solid place. We will see more of this sense of marginality in the following chapter.

In 1870 the Chatham Relief Committee debated whether to build a permanent soup kitchen. In the meantime they made and distributed soup from Mr Denny's premises on Church Street five days a week and on Saturdays at Ordnance Place, next to the windmill where Mr Rodgers, a ginger beer brewer, provided a large copper. The poor often took their soup to 'Mr Garret's shed kindly lent for the occasion' or to the local Guardians' premises on the High Street where seating were available in the lower room (CN 1/1/1870: 3, 4). The soup kitchen was in all of these places and none of them, depending on the day (not forgetting the unrecorded place where the committee met). It is only when we reassemble the taskscape that we can describe the soup kitchen fully. Function is expressed before the building develops a form. The impermanent and temporary nature made the experience of getting soup more depersonalising. There was no ownership of place, no territory to occupy except for the shortest moment of time.

f. Conclusion

Almost any existing building could be converted into a soup factory. If it already had a stove, as many houses and shops did, a soup kitchen could be started cheaply within days. The belief that hunger and poverty would be short-lived, and was only the result of imprudence, the cold weather or slow trade, inspired short-term, makeshift solutions. Spring would come, trade pick up and the poor might somehow disappear. So, kitchen staff staggered upstairs at St Albans Town Hall with hundreds of gallons of soup daily during winter, for over 30 years. The turnover of locations in many industrial towns where soup kitchens might only

open one in five years reflects expedience and an unwillingness to invest for the longer term. The restriction of opening to winter months reinforced their transient nature.

Consequently, creating any kind of typology for soup kitchens that used pre-existing buildings is difficult. The concepts of 'flagship' and 'idiomatic' are of limited value for a building which does not belong to the institution and vice-versa. St Albans Town Hall is a flagship building but its soup kitchen was sub-idiomatic. Different types of specialised institutional buildings proliferated during the nineteenth-century (Markus 1993: 31) and the four great institutions, asylums, hospitals, prisons and workhouses, each had a recognisable architectural style (Anon 1865). Soup kitchens did not. They exemplify the other contemporary trend that Markus observed, repurposing other buildings. This resulted in an uncertain sense of identity and a variety of terminology. A soup kitchen was just that, a kitchen and nothing more; a soup-shop made and *sold* soup, even if it was subsidised, and a soup-house was a building used for making soup (the Navy had soup-houses making portable soup, an instant beef extract).

While the form and space of these adopted buildings or rooms might otherwise remain unchanged, the change in function might be dramatic. The new use might create contradictions or obscure them. Charitable soup melded commerce with philanthropy, and where better than the marketplace? The poor could not afford to shop but they could get soup. Soup kitchens at prisons and workhouses bracketed poverty with criminality. Soup in outhouses associated the poor with dirt or reduced them to the status of livestock. Soup at Weston Manor might evoke the moral economy, but you now had to *buy* tickets for it.

The fragility and impermanence of many of these soup kitchens in repurposed buildings reflected the marginal status of soup-recipients. In St Albans, soup production often had to yield precedence to assemblies, lectures or court sittings. When the tables and pots were cleared away, there was no trace that anything had happened other than the smell of soup. The poor hovered on the edge and then were swept away. Lees (1998) and Cowling (1989) have remarked on how the artistic depiction of the poor mirrored their actual social degradation and exclusion. The use of vanishing places made marginalisation real.

Places that barely exist, queues, ticketing, and anonymity are as characteristic of the soup kitchen as they are of the *non-lieux* which Augé finds in transportation hubs, shopping centres and refugee camps (2009: 34). Admission is controlled; those admitted were homogenised, deprived of individual identity and reduced to numbers in accounts (Sherman 2001: 194). However, Augé's male traveller is privileged in his anonymity whereas institutions of poverty demeaned their 'clientele' by obliging them to enact their mortification by entering an institution (Goffman 1961: 14ff) on a public stage. The newspapers exhorted the public to see for themselves. Augé does not explore the contrast between the shallow and deep zones in *non-lieux* which access maps expose; the traveller or the soup-recipient experience the building as a *non-lieu* because they can only pass through, and so there is no belonging, no history, nowhere.

Innovation was focussed within the interior space rather than in the external walls, driven by the need to produce and serve large quantities of food as quickly as possible. Soup kitchens were among the first industrial fast-food take-away restaurants built (if restaurant is not too grand a term). They enabled the performance of Christian charity, ensuring (in theory) that the poor should not

starve, but also expressed the belief that relieving the poor was fundamentally misguided if not wrong. Their impersonal and alienating environment embodied the fundamental problem at the heart of nineteenth-century charity for the relief of poverty.

As theatres for the performance of moral drama go, soup kitchen buildings were at the modest end of the spectrum, but their humility shaped performances and projected messages to the public, subscribers and soup-recipients. That a soup kitchen could be put anywhere, did not mean that they were; the choice of location could amplify these messages as we will see in the next chapter.

9. Location, location, location

When a member of Woolwich's Board of Health remarked that:

> 'there could not be more appropriate place for a urinal than at the dead wall of the Churchyard opposite the soup kitchen' (WKG 19/1/1856: 3)

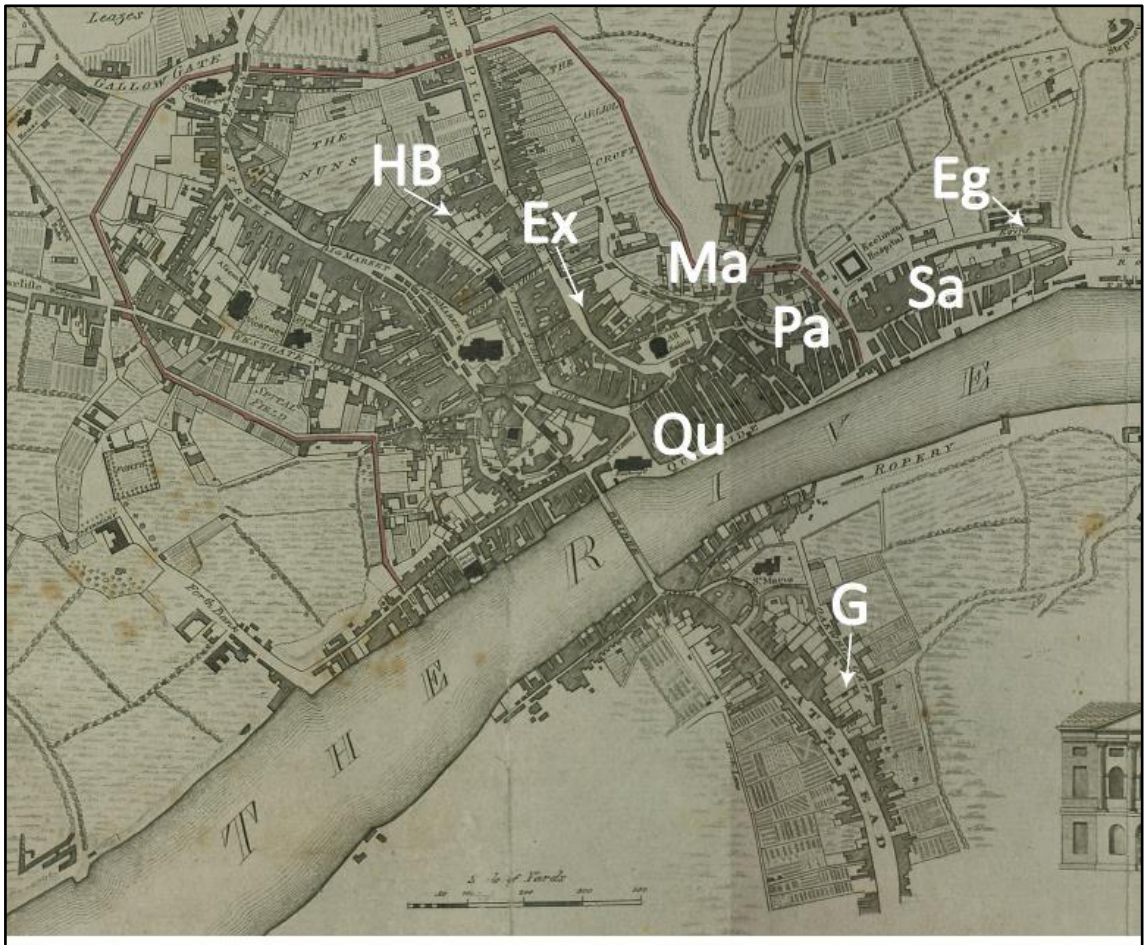
he was not thinking of the pressing needs of the soup-queue. Of course, soup kitchens had to be somewhere and in many towns space was scarce, so the choice of location was important when it came to establishing soup kitchens (or urinals). The places chosen speak volumes about what the well-to-do considered appropriate for the poor and how the poor experienced the whole process of receiving charity. This chapter will take the spatial analysis outside the walls of the building and concern itself with the landscape.

We will start in the overcrowded and unsanitary streets of industrial nineteenth-century Newcastle-upon-Tyne, populated through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by a 'prodigious number of poor' (Defoe 1962: 252; Ellis 2001: 1), and filled with 'dense black clouds of smoke' (Reid 1845: 33, 44). After considering the moral geography of urban charity we will move to the edge of town before heading out into the idyllic countryside to visit country houses, in search of soup.

a. Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Newcastle's GSK had begun life in 1796 at the Excise Office Entry (a passage next to the Excise Office) at the boundary between affluent upper Pilgrim Street and lower Pilgrim Street/Manors Chare, where the side streets were down-at-heel, narrow, winding, ill-paved and dirty. Pilgrim Street here was a transitional point, bustling with local carriers (Akenhead 1807: 112, 1812: 295; Oliver 1831: 91).

Responding to increasing demand in 1799, Newcastle GSK's committee opened a second soup kitchen at the Poultry (or Pullen) Market on High Bridge (NC 28/12/1799: 1). The Poultry Market was built by Newcastle Corporation shortly before 1789 (Brand 1789: 337) when it was on the edge of the town next to open fields. The building was a 'covered place... lately in use' as a temporary guard-house and store for horse artillery (Baillie 1801: 123). The soup kitchen was at the east end of a 'piazza', in a row of 'arched shops' (MacKenzie 1827: 549ff; TWA/CHX3/1/3). This description fits a typical market hall with an open area below. In 1800 it was not one of the town's principal markets. Pigs were sold in the adjoining part. This area was still on the edge of Newcastle. The Corporation consolidated its markets by moving the Flesh Market to just south of the Poultry Market in 1808 (Akenhead 1812: 72). Markets were usually located near cross-roads or in wide streets, at the intersection between food production and food consumption, at the threshold of city and outside, between order and chaos, morality and disease (Markus 1993: 301-306).



Key:
HB High Bridge/Poultry Market, Ex Excise Office Entry,
Eg Egypt, M Manors, P Pandon, Q Quayside, S Sandgate
G Gateshead soup kitchen

Figure 9.1. Newcastle in 1802 (Kidd 1802).

The Excise Office premises were replaced in 1800/01 by a new soup kitchen at 'Egypt' on New Road (Figure 9.1). New Road ran along the north edge of Sandgate, home to most of Newcastle's keelmen (Barke and Burwell 1992: 25, 32). It formed the boundary between poverty, dirt and danger, and more middle-class districts. Sandgate was densely crowded and often ankle-deep in filth 'dangerous… narrow and disagreeable' (Baillie 1801: 141; Akenhead 1812: 82; Parson and White 1827: cxlii). In 1742 it was 'the poorest and most contemptible part of the town' (Wesley 1831: 351). Its inhabitants were 'sturdy' and able to

survive in the 'dark, narrow, ill-paved, and noisome' lanes that led down to the Tyne (MacKenzie 1827: 183). Middle-class people perceived such places as the source of social ills, an association which remained throughout the nineteenth century.

Troops had been stationed in High Bridge and Egypt shortly before the arrival of the soup kitchens. Troops were notorious for their unruly behaviour and depredations of local communities so they were often barracked where they would not bother the town's respectable inhabitants. Soup kitchens were similar; they acted as magnets, attracting undesirable elements, so putting them in the same marginal locations where they could not bother their betters was logical.

By 1827, High Bridge Market was becoming surrounded by middle-class suburbs (Oliver 1831: 126ff). The Poultry Market was obstructing improvements, so it was demolished and the new indoor Grainger Market replaced it and the 1808 Flesh Market (TM 17/7/1827: 3; Sykes 1833: 301). An open market with a teeming soup kitchen was not what the newly-improved Georgian Newcastle aspired to.

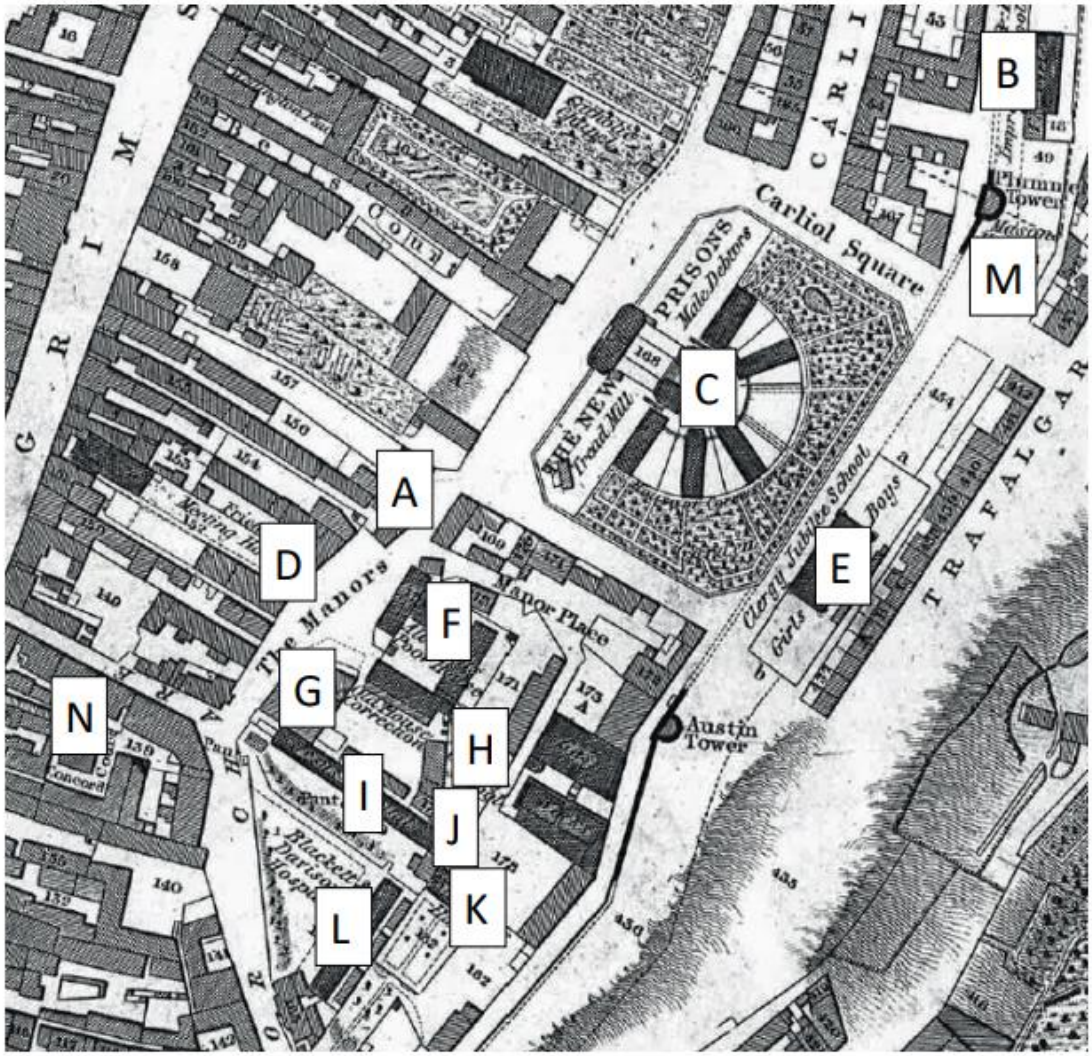
William Holmes, who lived at 62 Pilgrim Street, filled the gap by opening his 'steam soup kitchen' below Pilgrim Street on the Manors (NC 1/12/1827: 4). This marked the return of the GSK to the Manors where it had first started in 1796. The Manors was poor and densely crowded in the mid-nineteenth century, populated by pawnbrokers, old clothes dealers and charity schools that signified poverty (Barke and Burwell 1992: 38-9). To the southeast it merged with Pandon, where the names of the narrow chares changed so frequently, it was not worth recording them (Akenhead 1812: 75). The north of the Manors was home to institutions of reform like nowhere else in Newcastle (Figure 9.2). The Manors

had belonged to the St Austin Friars before the Corporation acquired it (MacKenzie 1827: 133) when it was one of the few large undeveloped tracts within the town walls. The Barber Surgeons' Hall was one of the first institutions to arrive. It was the venue for public dissection of executed criminals (Oliver 1831: 112; Criminal Corpse 2017), but it was considered 'too great an ornament in such a dirty part of town' (Bourne 1736: 138).

Even allowing for Georgian toleration of dirt and filth (Cockayne 2007), the Manors was far from pleasant. During the 1831 cholera outbreak, All Saints vestry identified the Manors as having the worst hygiene problems, with several blocked sewers and 24 offensive middens including one at 'the steam soup kitchen' in need of urgent attention (Butler 2012: 289). The Manors followed the course of an old stream, the Erick Burn, so waste from the properties higher up on Pilgrim Street flowed downhill and drained along the Manors. The town's gas works stood just south of the gaol, adding to the fragrance of the stables and soap-making that permeated the narrow valley. Dirt and bad air were becoming associated with disease, poverty and degradation. Those who could afford to avoided the area.

Holmes' soup kitchen was next to Anthony Clapham's stables and coach house, with Mrs Stephenson's coach house opposite (affirming soup's association with animals) (TM 21/10/1828: 1). Oliver's guidebook to Newcastle (1831: 109) stated:

> 'on passing from Carliol Square to the Manors a Steam Soup Kitchen is seen on the right where one boiler produces 330 gallons of excellent soup in 14 hours which is boiled in three casks'.



Key:
A Holmes' soup kitchen, B Improved School, C Prison, D Quaker School, E Clergy Jubilee School, F All Saints Poor house and parish soup kitchen, G House of Correction, H St Nicholas Charity School, I Holy Jesus Hospital, J All Saints Charity School, K Barber Surgeons' Hall, L Blackett's and Davison's Hospital, M stone-yard (c. 1850) N Excise Office Entry. Lying-in hospital was north of B

Figure 9.2. The Manors in 1830, detail from Oliver 1830b.

Once in the Manors the GSK put down roots. It was close enough to Sandgate, Quayside and Pandon, the poor districts, but out of sight. It did not impinge on the town's commercial or civic life. The area was liminal, surrounded by stables

and institutional buildings. The effect was to marginalise the soup-recipients and exclude them from polite Newcastle. Holmes was ousted as provider of soup, and street improvements removed his building by the time Oliver's 1849 map was surveyed.

Exactly where in the Manors the new premises provided by the Corporation were between 1844 and 1879 was never stated in the minutes or over 500 newspaper articles that referred to the GSK. The second and third editions of Oliver's guidebook fail to mention the GSK at all (Oliver 1844, 1851). A 1901 memorandum in the minute book ignored Holmes' enterprise and stated (incorrectly):

> 'In later years the exact date not being known the work was transferred [from the Poultry Market] to premises in the Manors under the old Police Court' (TWA/CHX3/1/3: 1/1/1901).

The Police Court, designed by John Dobson, was built in 1835 on the site of the House of Correction and included a police station and gaol cells on the ground floor, and a magistrates' court and police offices on the first and second floors (Oliver 1844: 74; Figure 7.34, Figure 9.4). There was no space within the building for a busy soup kitchen. The magistrates sat six days a week and the police station and cells remained operational. The magistrates often complained that the Court was inadequate, and the location unhealthy (it was in the heart of a multitude of fever dens (TWA/D/NCP/23/2)). They lobbied for new premises on more salubrious Pilgrim Street (NC 29/10/1852: 2; NJ 30/10/1852: 8). The Manors was a 'back street and not respectable', suited only to the great many of the people who frequented it, who were:

> 'not very creditable parties to be seen in daylight, like owls they should only be seen at midnight' (NJ 10/1/1867: 3).

Had the soup kitchen been on the ground floor they would have complained even more about that and the several thousand who collected soup daily. The soup kitchen was very close to the Police Court: in 1865 Ann Buchanan collapsed after leaving the GSK's *back door* and was carried into the Police Court where she expired from 'intemperate habits and want of food' (NJ 10/2/1865: 8). Newcastle Corporation declined to redevelop the Police Court as *the area* 'suited the North British Fire Office and the Soup Kitchen' (NGM 12/1/1867: 8), despite the GSK committee complaining that the premises were 'extremely inadequate and inconvenient' and the place 'dark, low and narrow' (Newcastle 1870: 138). The Fire Office and its engine house were immediately east of the Police Court (Figure 9.4).

Ralph Hedley's painting *Charity* first exhibited in 1878 (Figure 9.3) confirms that the GSK was opposite the Police Court. Hedley was a well-known Newcastle artist who specialised in 'realistic' scenes of working life. *Charity* depicts:

> 'In a narrow street in the lower part Newcastle an aged woman and three children have quitted the soup kitchen, each with ample provision for a family meal' (MH 14/6/1878: 3).

The buildings in the background and the artist's location can be clearly identified (Figure 9.4); even the lantern is shown on the OS map. The group is about to pass the Police Court on the right. The poster on the wall advertising the soup kitchen's opening almost certainly marks the actual GSK building. We know that the GSK had front and back doors; the back door from which the group has exited

would have been on the courtyard behind the Police Court used by the Corporation as a coal yard.

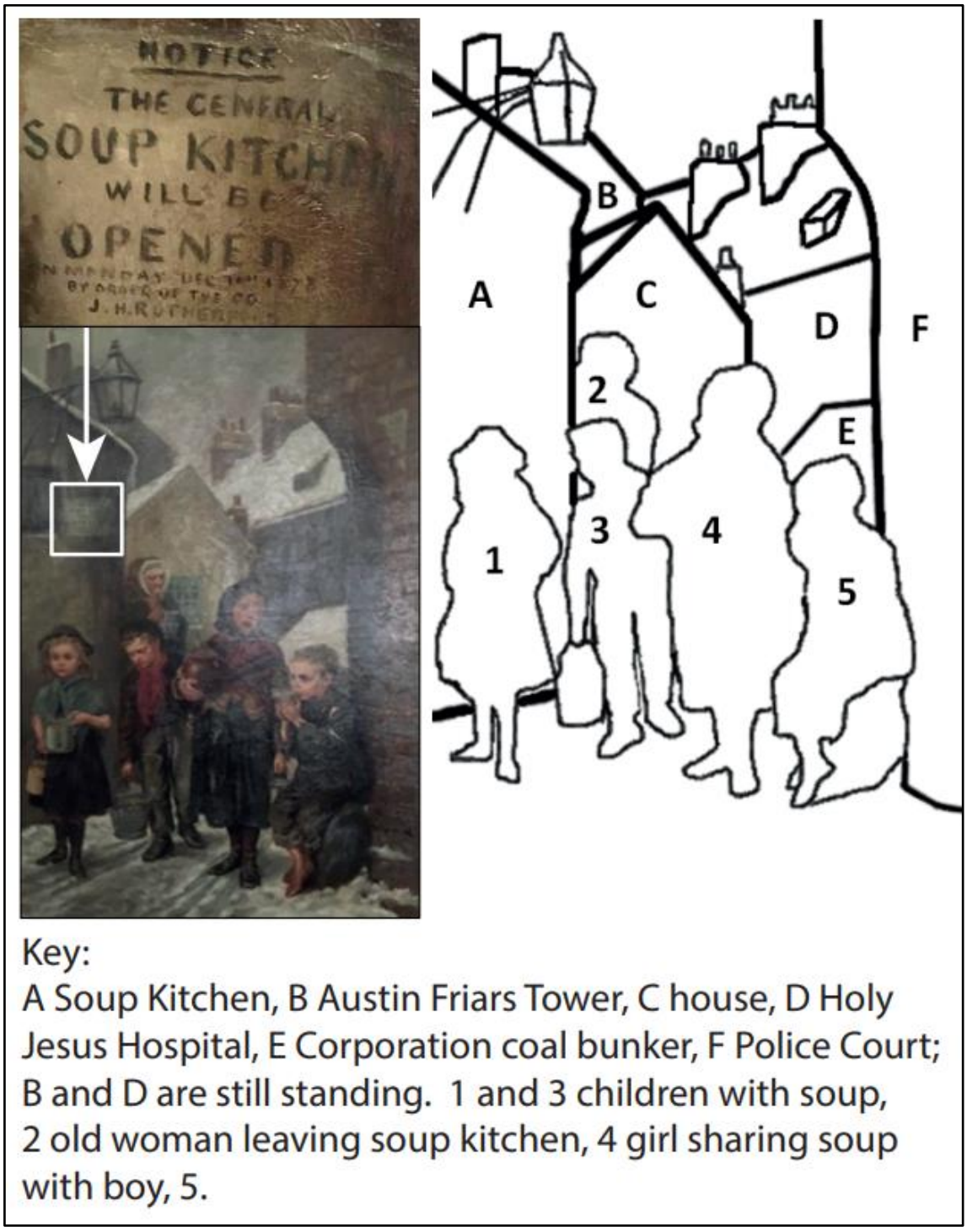


Figure 9.3. Left: Ralph Hedley's painting *Charity* with poster outlined above (Hedley 1878) (Photograph of *Charity* © Lisa K. Carothers).

Hedley's painting shows the scene less busy than it would have been, with around 1000 soup-recipients attending. The painting can be viewed as critical of the official charity since *Charity* refers not to the GSK but to the girl sharing her soup with the bare-footed boy (Figure 9.3).

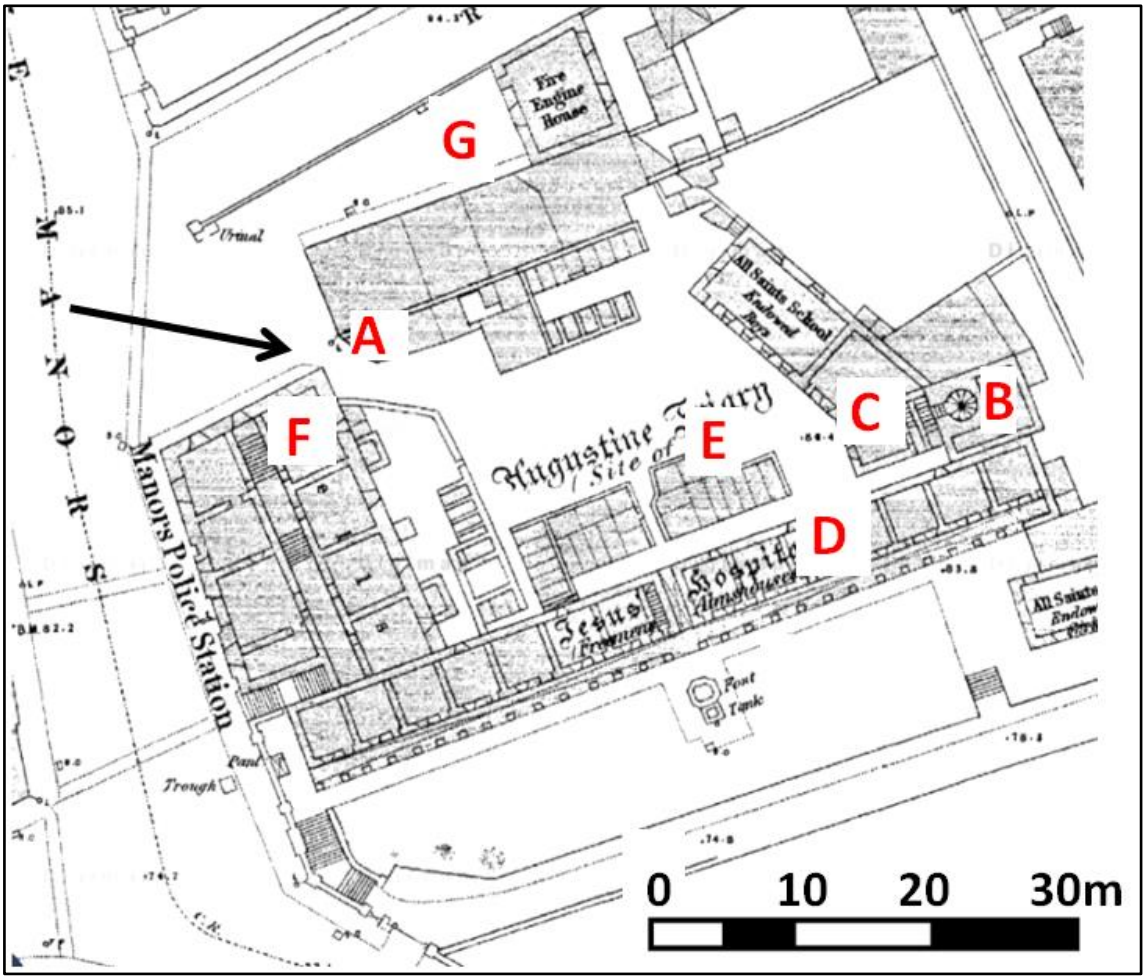


Figure 9.4. The location and lettered buildings depicted in Figure 9.3: the Soup Kitchen was probably at A, G the Fire Office. The artist's view is shown by the arrow. (Note the public urinal at the entrance to the courtyard) (1862 OS map). (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

Time did not improve the Manors, it was always marginal. The railway arrived in 1839 and its expansion in 1849/50 resulted in the demolition of All Saints Poorhouse, with its soup kitchen, Blackett's and Davison's Hospital and the Barber Surgeons' Hall. New institutions and nuisances arrived including a coal

depot, an enlarged gas works and Corporation wood and stone yards (where the poor were set to work chopping wood and breaking stones for minimal payment). The courtyard behind the Police Court contained the Corporation coal yard. The railway embankment and viaduct still makes this area gloomy today, and the smoke and noise of locomotives and the smell of gas production would have filled the area.

After the Police Court, soup kitchen and other buildings were demolished in 1879 to make way for a Catholic girls' school, the soup kitchen migrated about 20m south where its new state-of-the-art building adjoins the Holy Jesus Hospital on the site of the old Police Court.

Discussion

The soup-recipients might have been relieved at no longer having to queue at the entrance to the market, but removal of the GSK to the Manors excluded them from polite Newcastle. Public spaces became controlled; suburbanisation created places where they either could not go or were unlikely ever to visit.

When the Manors was on the edge of urban Newcastle, it was ideal for institutional buildings; it prevented infection and moral contagion from affecting the larger community (Markus 1993: 101). It was a convenient spot for putting something that nobody wanted to put anywhere else, the unhealthy narrow valley was out of sight of most of Newcastle. By locating institutions dealing with crime, poverty and old age in the Manors, the Corporation could maintain order and purity in other more important places (Douglas 1984: 36). The cholera epidemic in 1830/31 attacked primarily the 'dissolute, abject poor… the inhabitants of low,

dirty, crowded and ill-ventilated situations' such as the Manors, Pandon and Sandgate (Greenhow 1832: 91, 121).

Psychologically the Manors remained in the borderlands, even if the town grew around it. While there were no physical barriers, the arrangement of the streets and hills kept the poor from straying. The Royal Arcade, which extended between the Manors and Pilgrim Street, employed watchmen to deal with urchins and soup kitchen clientele wandering in and causing trouble (NC 9/3/1877: 6). The soup kitchen was not located in the slums, but at the border between the respectable and the dirty, where danger and fear arise and pollution happens (Sibley 1995: 37). The institutions sometimes changed but moral geography continued.

This spatial manipulation was the softer part of the reformist drive that aimed to 'tame the masses' after the Napoleonic Wars (Roberts 1991, 2004) with mendicity societies, police forces, legislative reform such as the Vagrancy Act 1824 and the NPL, all of which sought to curtail what the middle class saw as disruptive and antisocial behaviour by the lower sort.

The Newcastle parish soup kitchens were also located in marginal districts populated by institutions of reform, away from the centre, the quayside and the newer middle-class residential areas (Figure 9.5). All Saints, St Andrew's and St John's Soup Kitchens all stood in areas populated by other institutions of reform; none were close to the centres of their respective parishes (Figure 9.6, Figure 9.7).

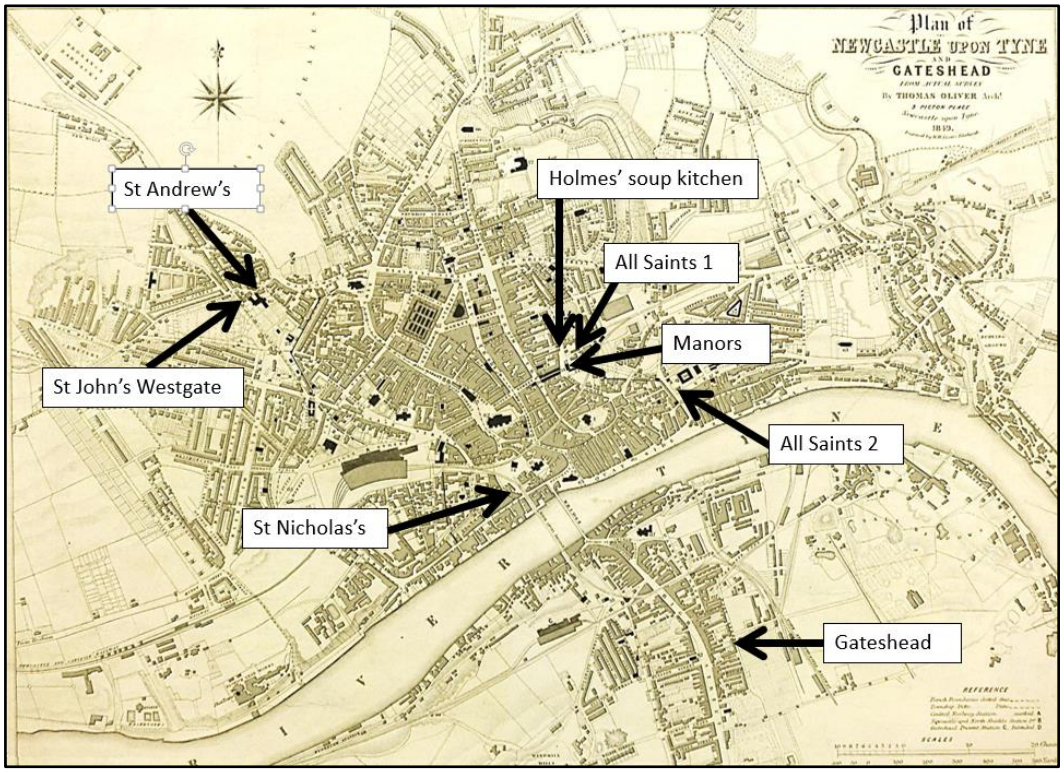
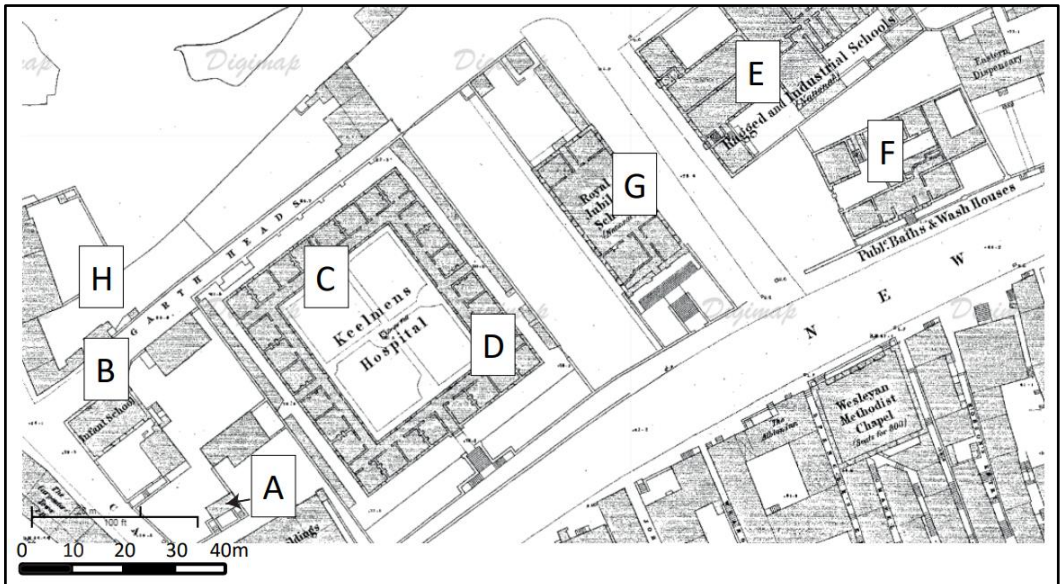


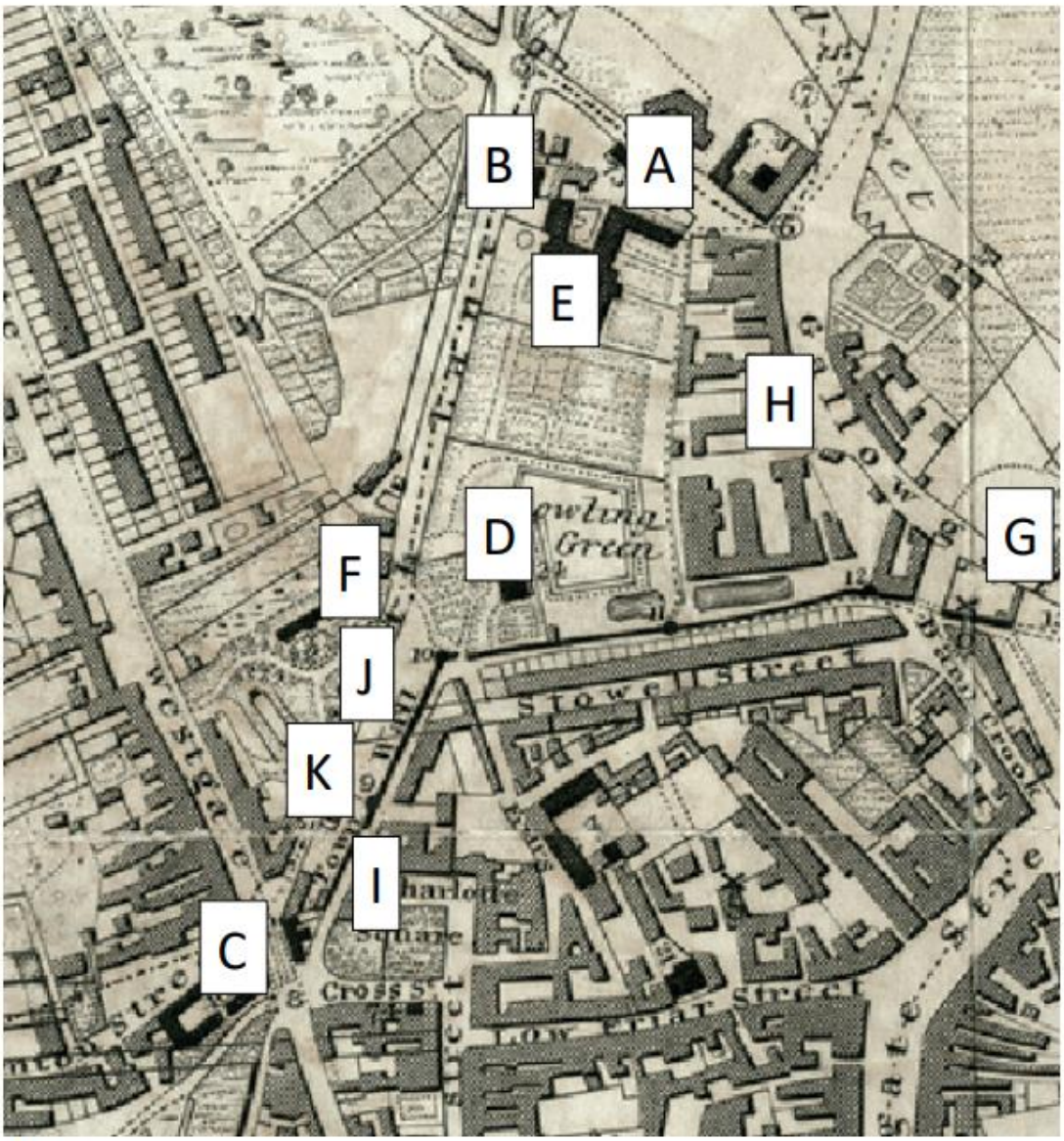
Figure 9.5. Soup kitchen locations 1830-1850 on the Oliver (1849) map.



Key: A All Saints soup kitchen, B infant school, C Keelmen's Hospital, D Royal Jubilee School, E Ragged and Industrial School, F Public baths and wash houses, G Eastern Dispensary, H location of future NIIDC soup kitchen at Garth Heads

Figure 9.6. The second All Saints Soup Kitchen with other reforming institutions 1861. Sandgate is immediately south and 'Egypt' was 200m east. (1861 OS map).

(OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).



Key:
A St Andrew's workhouse and soup kitchen, B St John's workhouse and soup kitchen, C Peace and Unity Hospital, D Fever Hospital/House of Recovery, E Lunatic Asylum, F Baths, G John Mason Poorhouse, H old St Nicholas Poorhouse, I Deaf and Dumb Institution, J St John's School, K British Union School

Figure 9.7. Detail from Oliver (1830a); the town gallows were immediately north.

b. Other cities and towns

Newcastle-upon-Tyne was not unique, other towns adopted similar strategies for containing the poor. Colquhoun's first 20 cook-shops in 1797 were north and east of the City in Spitalfields, Shoreditch and Bethnal Green where the silk-weaving industry was located (Figure 9.8). These areas were the domain of London's labouring poor and journeymen, who were viewed with contempt and as inferior beings by City residents (Grose 1792: 73). Colquhoun's cook-shops were in moderately prestigious places, based on Grose's hierarchy of addresses (in ascending order of quality: 'passages, yards, alleys, courts, lanes, streets, rows, places and squares'), only two were on alleys (Table 12.1). Colquhoun probably selected them because they were in open positions, allowing easy supervision and quick dispersal of crowds to prevent street disturbances.

The 18 cook-shops funded by the LCHRC in 1799 were likewise dispersed around, but not in, the City and West End (other than one in the old part of Marylebone) (Figure 9.9). The new cook-shops were in more downmarket locations on Grose's hierarchy of place names than the 1797 cook-shops; nevertheless, only two were located on narrow courts (Table 12.3). The large London soup kitchens that opened in 1797-98 were similarly sited and were:

> 'the kindest and most economical means of preventing multitudes from being compelled to ask alms in the more opulent parts of town' (Bernard 1798b: 221).

The St George's Fields public kitchen was in a marshy area where people in 1797 were 'not so clean' and '100 years behind in civilisation' (Walford 1878: 75). In the vicinity were an asylum for female orphans, a Magdalen hospital, almshouses,

a ‘female reform’ institution and a prison. The soup-house shared the premises with the School for the Indigent Blind (the site later became the Bethlem Hospital).

The 1799 cook-shops and the other large soup kitchens were distributed more widely across the capital but all in the poorer parts, which formed a ‘great ruinous ring of old London’ around the City, dividing it from the affluent West End (White 2007: 12) (Figure 9.9).

Geographical inequality had been rapidly increasing in London since the mid-eighteenth century (White 2012). London’s ‘opulent’ West End provided fashionable new houses on elegant squares but no accommodation for the poor. The carriage-owning classes travelled between home, business and shops in safety and comfort. The spatial separation of rich and poor only grew during the nineteenth century and the abodes of the poor became distant and foreign parts. The East End parishes were marginal both geographically and socially, often populated by poor migrants.

The careful arrangement of soup kitchens and cook-shops around the City was designed to draw people away from the centre, keeping them dispersed. Most of the locations were not invisible, tucked away in courtyards, but accessible and open to allow visitors to be seen easily. During the 1795-1801 famine, other large towns like Birmingham, Canterbury and Manchester adopted strategies of dispersed soup kitchens in peripheral parts.

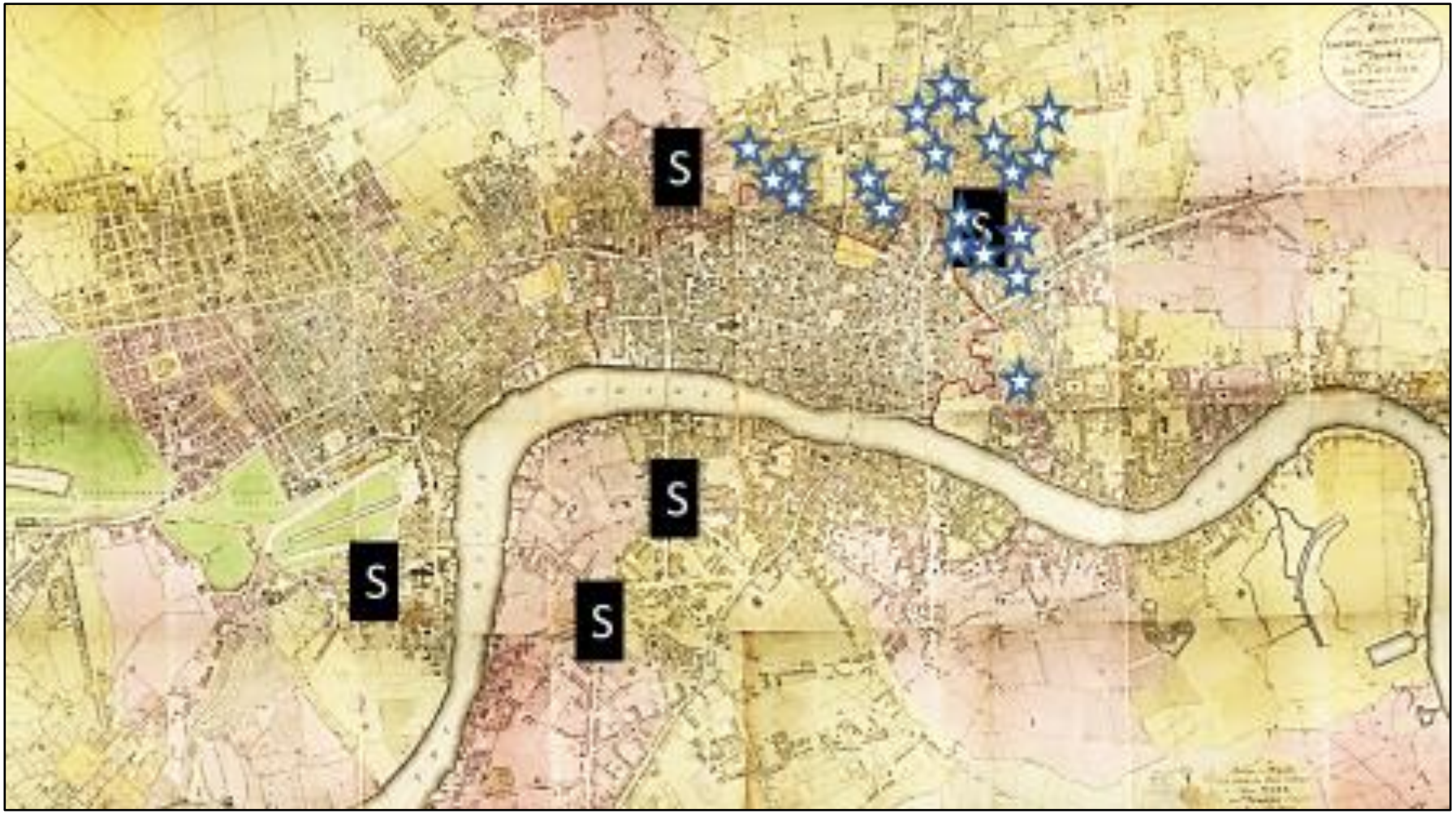


Figure 9.8. Colquhoun's 20 cook-shops (stars) (Table 12.1) and major soup kitchens 1795-1799 'S', left to right: Westminster, St George's Fields, Southwark, Clerkenwell and Spitalfields; the City is outlined in faint red (Base map Horwood 1792-99) © British Library Board.

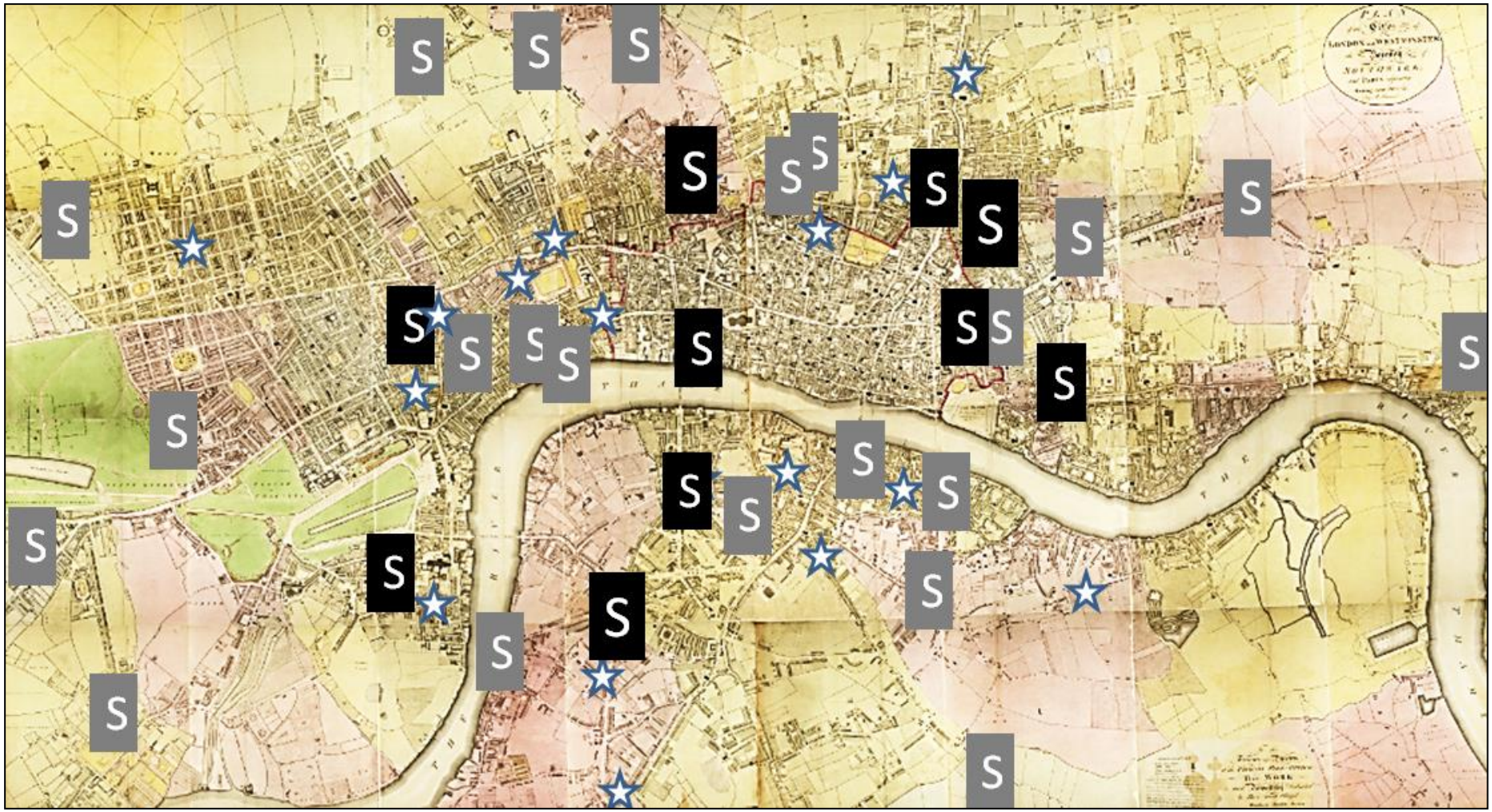


Figure 9.9. Soup kitchens (Table 12.2) and cook shops (Table 12.3) 1799-1801. Black 'S' for large soup kitchens with certain locations, grey 'S' for large soup kitchens with approximate locations, and stars small cook-shops. (Base map: Horwood 1792-99) © British Library Board.

Soup kitchen organisers chose outhouses for soup kitchens, particularly as the nineteenth century drew on. Geographically, such places were out-of-the-way, often unpleasant, set back behind shops, away from commercial thoroughfares. This is where middens of rubbish and cess pits were usually located.

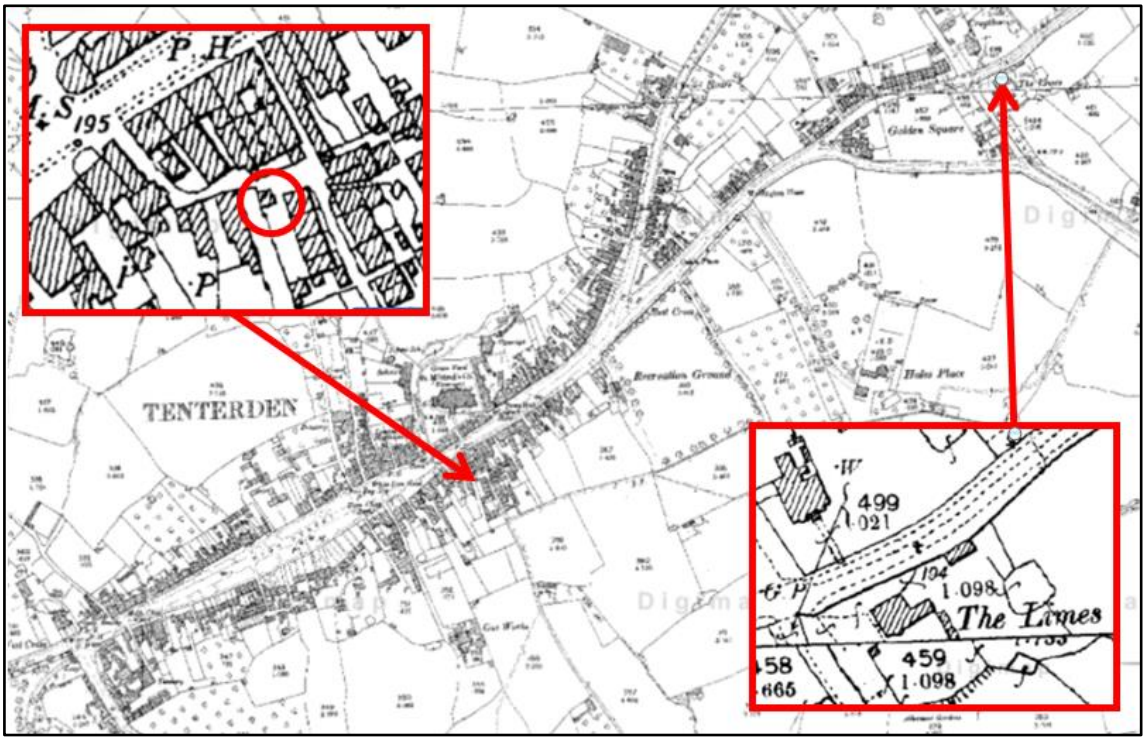


Figure 9.10. Tenterden on 1898 OS map. Left inset soup kitchen circled, right inset The Limes from where soup had previously been served. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

Tenterden's 1875 soup kitchen was located on a winding alley, hidden from the wide High Street, near the workhouse and gasworks (Figure 9.10). It was more central than its previous location but physically-remote from the High Street. It had moved from the edge of town to an obscure yard.

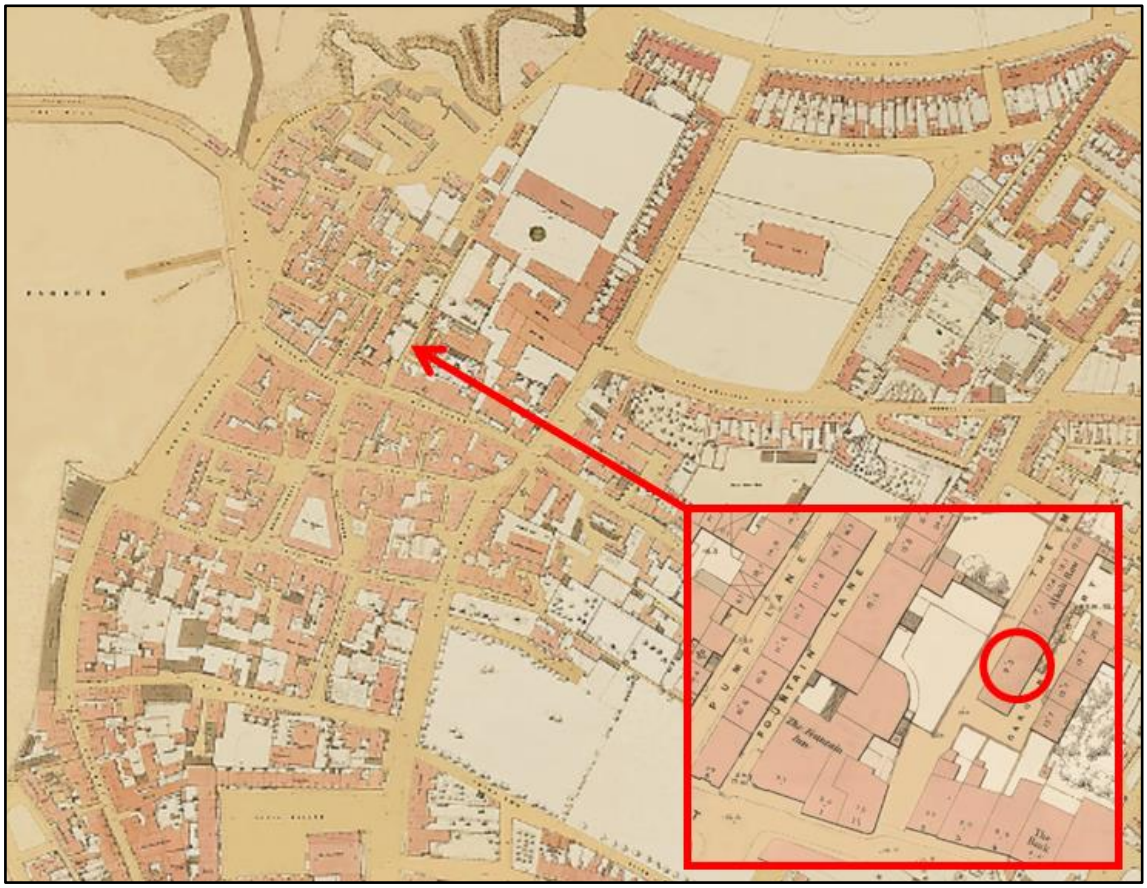


Figure 9.11. Margate Soup Kitchen's location circled (Margate 1852).

Margate Soup Kitchen may have been an impressive building but it was hidden away in a sinuous back alleyway, invisible from the neighbouring streets, in the shadow of Cobb's brewery (Figure 9.11). This area had some of the worst sanitary conditions in Margate identified following the 1849 cholera outbreak (Cresy 1850: 19).

Cranbrook located its soup kitchen on the northern edge of the town, north of the churchyard entrance just outside graveyard boundary, but you would not pass or see the soup kitchen, unless you were going to a group of farm buildings or the National School beyond (Figure 9.12). The fashionable villas of the town's west end were far away. By the early twentieth century a high brick wall separated it from the churchyard (Figure 7.4).

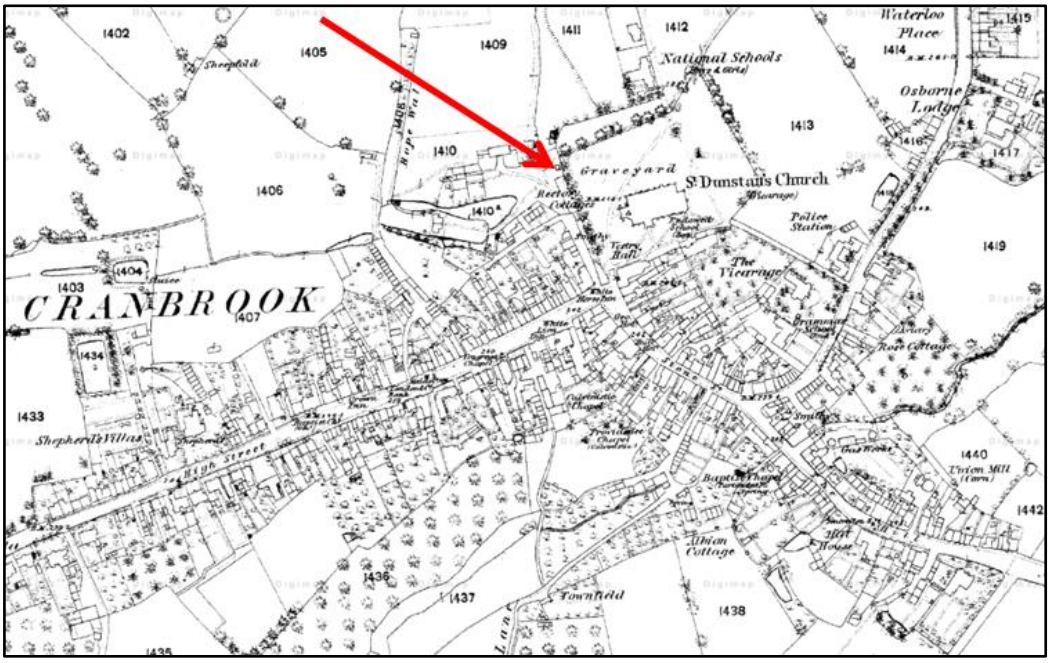


Figure 9.12. Cranbrook on 1870 OS map, soup kitchen arrowed. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

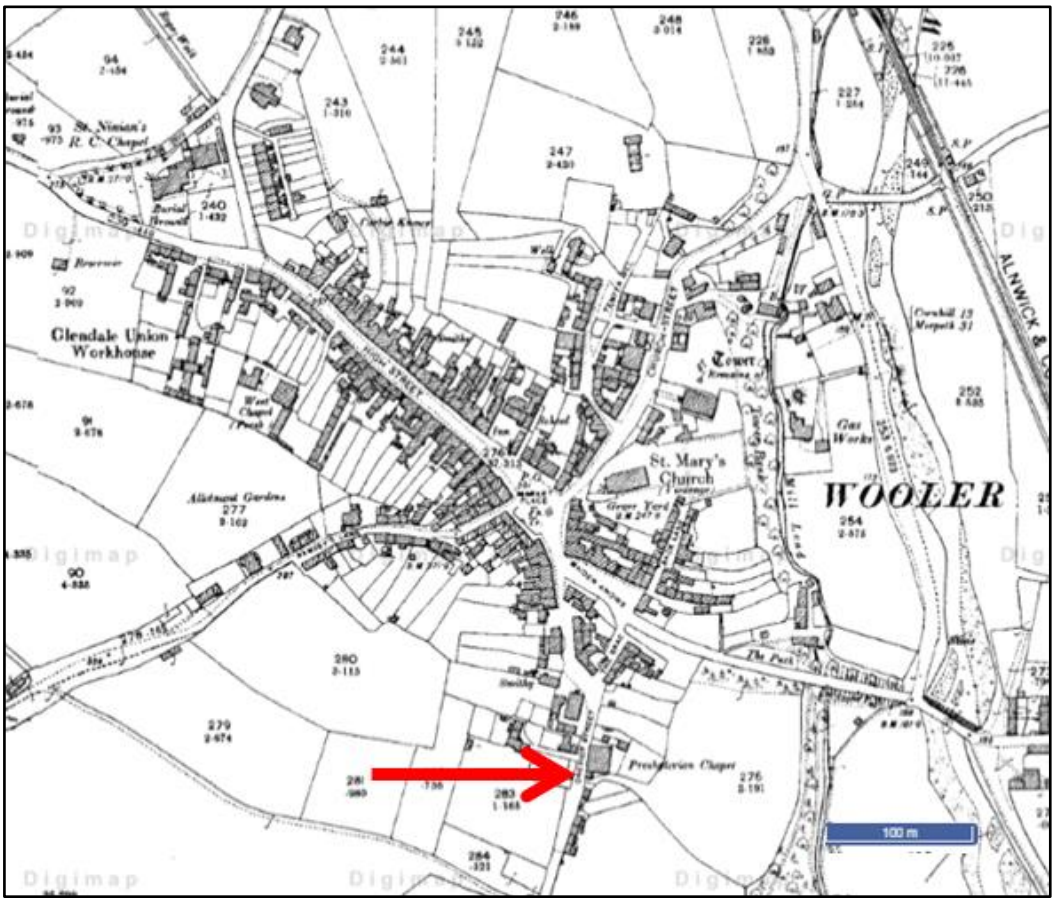


Figure 9.13. Wooler on 1897 OS map, soup kitchen arrowed. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

Wooler's soup kitchen in the 1860s was probably attached to the Presbyterian Church on the road south out of the town with only the Cheviot Hills beyond (Figure 9.13). It would not have been possible to find a more marginal spot in the town.

Ramsgate Soup Kitchen was near the parish church but it was in an area developed with smaller houses, a National School, a gas works and a municipal stone-yard, indicating that it was a poorer area, well away from the town centre and the clifftops where fashionable villas commanded sea views (Figure 9.14). It was a parochial institution and its more prominent location showed the regard in which it was held. Except for Townley Castle's grounds, immediately north of the church, the surrounding open space was filled in with dense housing during the next 30 years.

Marginal locations were cheaper, less likely to elicit middle-class complaints; they kept the poor away from the main streets and commercial centres. The majority of those attending often had to walk through the town to get there. Even soup kitchens built on the margins of towns did not maintain the 'space bubble' which Markus (1993: 102) identified around total institutions.

Like Ramsgate, North Shields' Victoria Soup Kitchen was built on the edge of the town, but within 20 years the town had expanded 400m beyond it. Gateshead Soup Kitchen was marginal in 1800 but by 1860 it was surrounded by industrial buildings, houses, railways and coal mines. However, not all marginal locations were so obviously insalubrious or disagreeable.

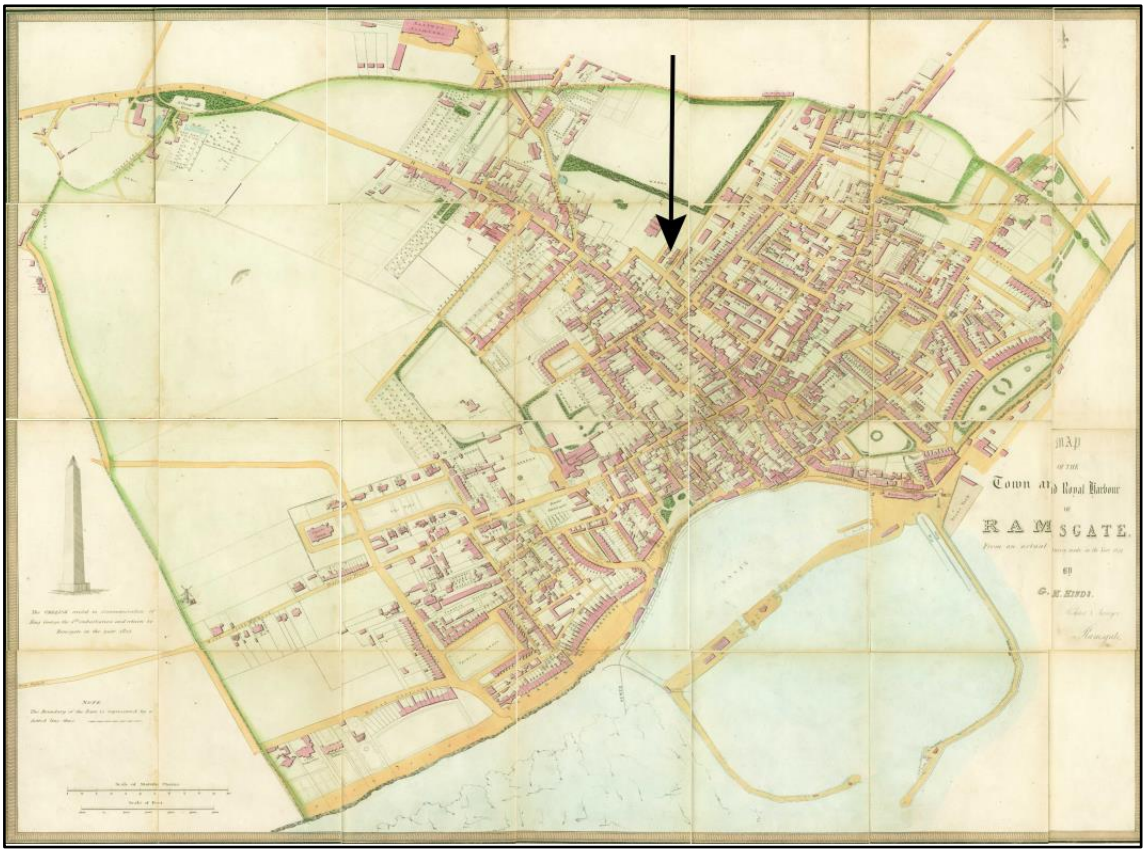


Figure 9.14. Ramsgate with St George's Church and soup kitchen arrowed (Hinds 1849) (for detail see Figure 7.16).

Berkhamsted

In 1841, the Castle Grounds formed part of Berkhamsted Place's picturesque landscape park, formed from an old deer park by the early-eighteenth century (Prince 2008: 32). In the 1690s the park was relatively devoid of trees, but Berkhamsted Place and the Castle were key elements in the landscape of power, overlooking the town (Figure 9.15). By 1724 trees had been planted on the ramparts (Figure 9.17) and a 1766 map shows formal gardens around Berkhamsted Place with a tree-lined avenue leading down to the Castle (Figure 9.16). In 1841 these trees would have been mature. Grose (1787) and Storer (1818) depicted picturesque sylvan vistas with ruins which were now a tourist attraction (Figure 9.18). This landscape was meant to be viewed from

Berkhamsted Place and the Ashridge estate, with the views unfolding as visitors went down the avenue and approached the entrance to the Castle; the buildings and ruins were concealed by the inner bailey ramparts and trees until the last minute.

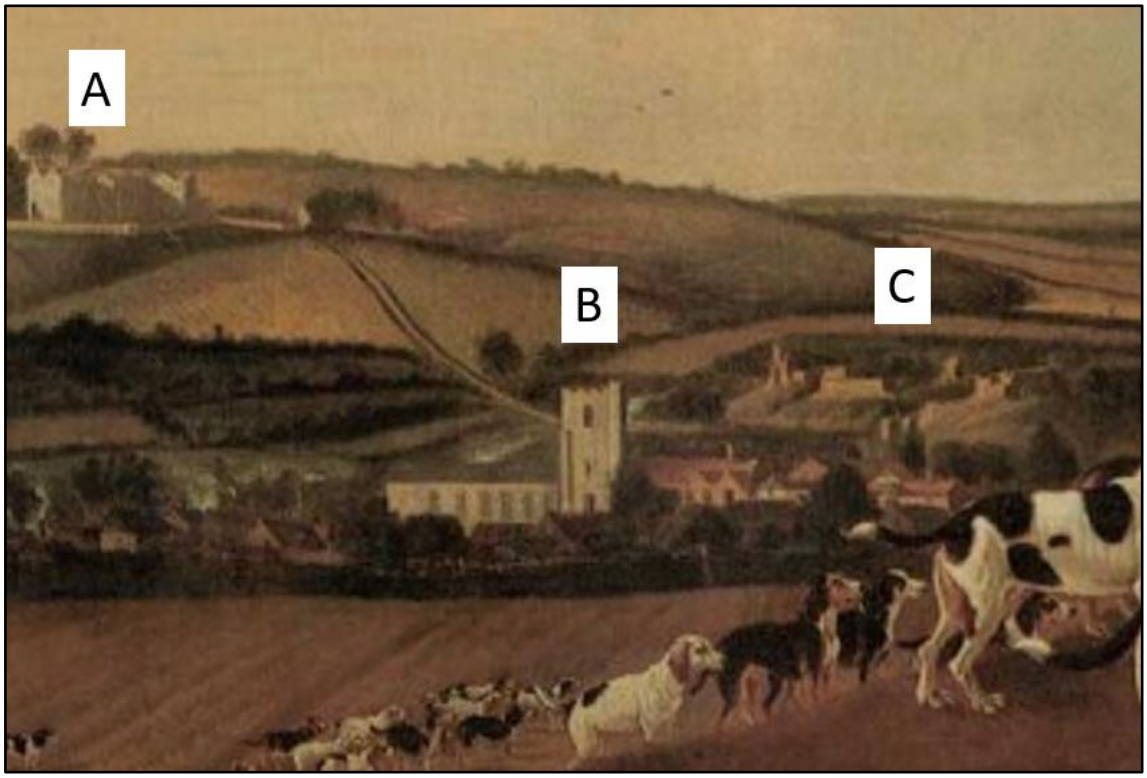


Figure 9.15. Detail from *A huntsman with a hare and hounds above Berkhamsted* by Jan Wyck c.1690 (Sotheby's 1986). A Berkhamsted Place, B St Peter's Church and C Castle ruins. The avenue from Berkhamsted Place and the ramparts are not yet planted with trees.

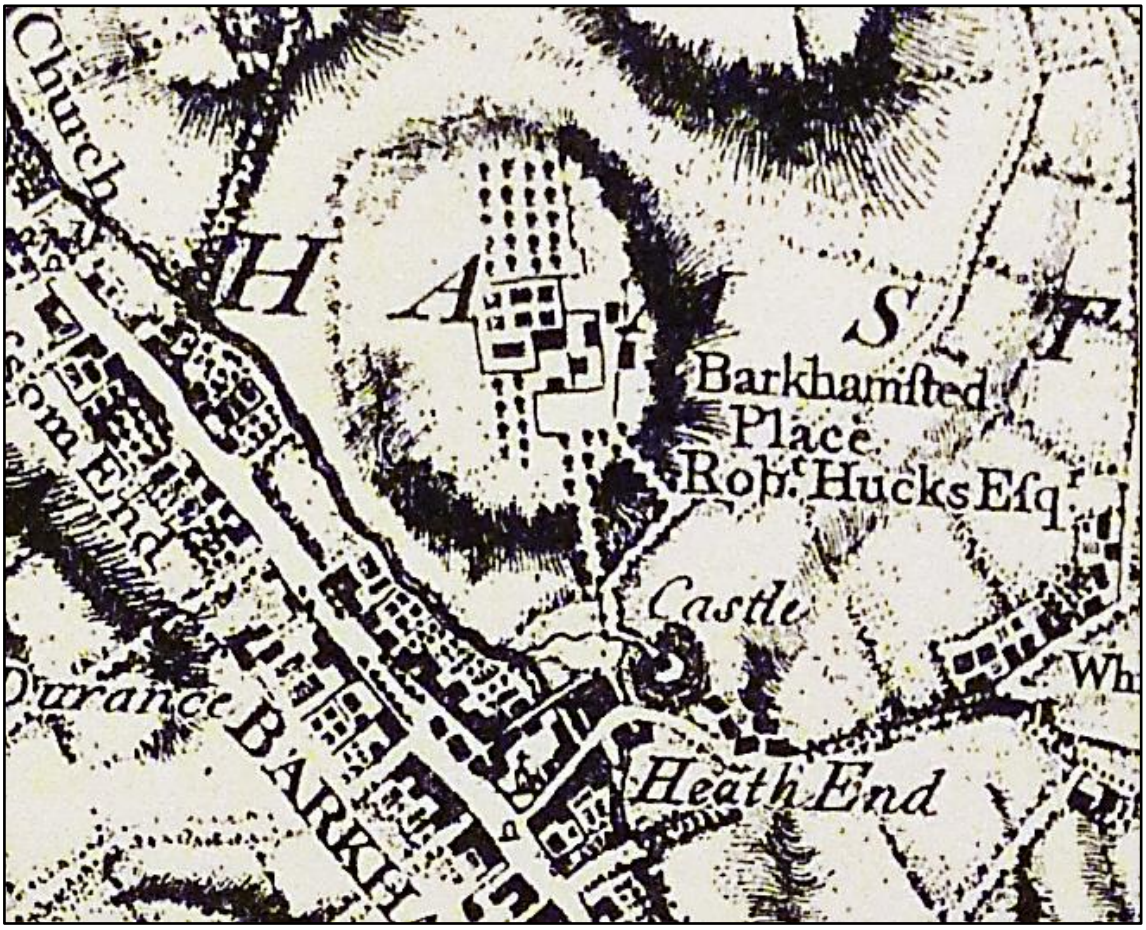


Figure 9.16. Berkhamsted Place and Park on the 1766 Dury and Andrew's map (Birtchnell 1972a: 14).

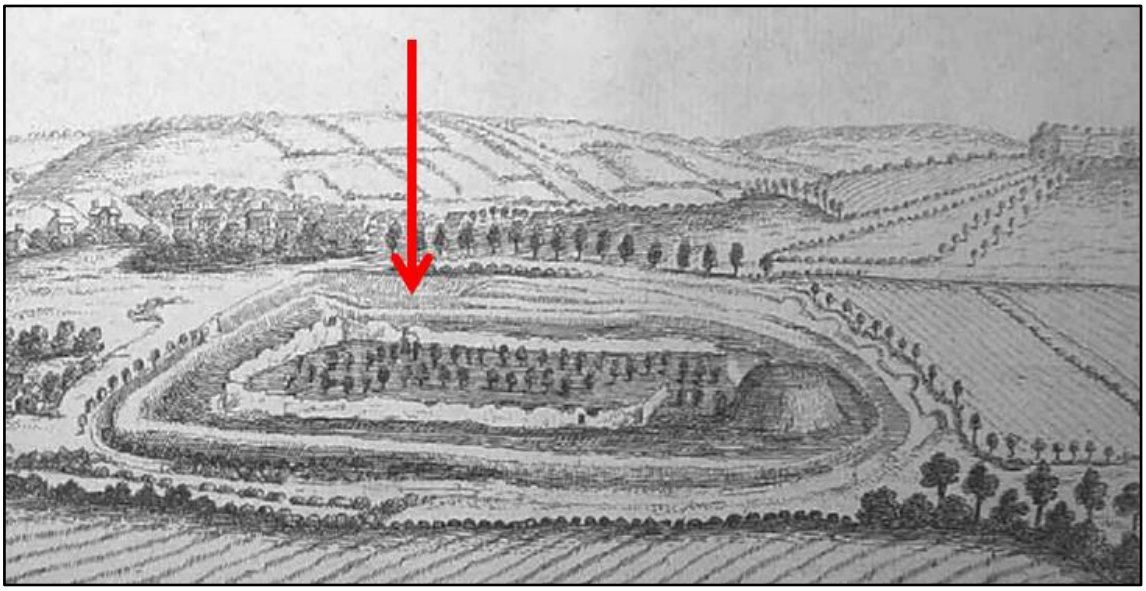


Figure 9.17. Detail from Stukely's *Prospect of Bergamsted* 1724, showing the centrality of the Castle to the designed landscape. Newly planted trees link Berkhamsted Place (top right) to the area around the ramparts. The Castle keep

forms a viewing mound. The cottage may be depicted by a whiff of smoke just visible (arrowed) (Macnair *et al* 2015: 90).

John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, who acquired the park's leasehold in 1807 (Cobb 1883: 50) devoted his attention to turning Ashridge into a far grander house, renting Berkhamsted Place to others. He continued to preserve the landscape, resisting (unsuccessfully) the building of the railway in 1839. A belt of trees was planted along the railway to screen it from sight.

Figure 9.18. Picturesque Berkhamsted Castle with shepherds (Storer 1818); the Soup House was built immediately left of this scene 23 years later.

Despite the magical appearance, the location was unhealthy in wintertime by Victorian standards, sitting in the damp low-lying lands near watercress beds, the river and canal. The Countess was in her mid-70s and may have valued this part of her estate less, especially since the coming of the railway, although the ruins had a caretaker. The site was a permanent display of her charitable works as the location hosted summertime picnics and outdoor entertainment for her guests,

when the Soup House would be closed. At the time it was believed that the poor might be improved, physically and morally, by leaving their crowded homes and partaking of fresh country air in beautiful surroundings (Driver 1988). Whether Ernest Delderfield and the others felt improved by waiting there for soup after the long walk on cold winter mornings is uncertain.

Siting the Soup House in the ruins might have started as a prominent display of philanthropy by the Countess, but admitting the poor to the Castle played a significant part in democratising the place. The pleasure ground of the rich gradually gave way to festivals for the townspeople, cricket matches and theatrical events. The Soup House helped transform a 'portion of the ground once occupied by princes and sovereigns' (an 1811 guide book cited by Birtchnell 1972a: 26) into a public park and a stop on the local heritage walk.

Discussion

While the middle class defined the marginal areas where urban soup kitchens were located as dirty, dangerous and to be avoided, for the labouring poor they had a different meaning that is harder to disentangle, as their views are often unrecorded.

Convan (1860) presents a contrasting view of the GSK (either Holmes' premises or the soup kitchen next to the Police Court) in his song *The Soup Kitchen*. Corvan grew up very poor in Pandon and would have been a likely soup-recipient during Holmes' tenure. He describes a noisy scene, populated by men from Sandgate, Quayside, Scotland and Ireland sitting on benches at tables having soup (the last two groups were unlikely to get soup at one of the parish soup kitchens). Corvan's crowd is male; Emery (1840) refers to the 'skipper' (perhaps

a keelman) and 'his wife' in what is also probably Holmes' kitchen. The soup kitchen is territory which these men occupy without discomfort, expressing gratitude to the Quakers and subscribers; their lively behaviour contrasts with Hicks's painting. Corvan laced his song with irony when describing the soup and charity; he was writing to entertain, but the conviviality of Holmes' kitchen may have been one reason why the Corporation began to exert more control over the institution after 1844.

Soup kitchens could be dangerous places (Figure 5.1). A police presence to oversee what were contested areas was not unusual (Figure 7.15); Gateshead, the GSK, St Albans, Berkhamsted, Gravesend and Ramsgate all sometimes had police attending to control the crowds (GO 24/1/1863, NC 26/1/1838: 4 HA 6/12/1879: 6; BHLMS/CH/P9/16.1: 6/1/1887; GRNK 20/12/1879: 8; KG 12/2/1861: 7). Wolverhampton had to call in the yeomanry to quell disturbances (SA 3/3/1855: 5) and we have seen the troubles that took place at Glasgow's soup kitchens.

The deliberate placing of soup kitchens in marginal areas was intended to limit interaction between the poor and the wider public while retaining supervision and control. The well-to-do did not want to be harassed by beggars, or to have their consciences embarrassed (if they were, they could always repel the poor with a soup-ticket (Figure 6.35)). The risk of being bothered by crowds of poor (Figure 5.1) was greatly reduced if the soup kitchen was out of the way; the poor had to be there queuing for soup, not loitering in the commercial thoroughfares. Power was exercised through space using food and hunger as the means.

No one belonged in these marginal places and nothing was quite as it seemed. These were often places where people would not normally go unless they had

business there. They were places for performing a new form of gift-giving, where the poor queued to pay homage to largely-absent donors for gifts that they, the poor, paid towards.

Maybe there was no ideal place for soup kitchens, but they were better suited to 'in-between' places that were neither residential nor commercial, always at the edge of somewhere. Soup kitchens were places whose very existence is questionable, ephemeral, shifting, often without addresses. When closed, there was simply an empty building or sometimes an empty space. The poor were allowed in such places if the soup kitchen was open, but might be at risk of a prosecution for vagrancy or begging elsewhere. In contrast, the locations chosen during mining disputes were almost invariably in local inns and co-operatives, reflecting the value the organisers placed on the soup-recipients. As buildings with a higher purpose, the new multipurpose missions and the Jewish soup kitchens also chose more prominent and convenient locations.

c. Country house soup

Many of the earliest reported soup distributions were made by the aristocracy and gentry from their country estates. In 1801 80% of the population of England and Wales lived in rural areas; 50% still did so in 1851. Changing working conditions for agricultural workers only exacerbated rural poverty (Snell 1985). In many rural parishes there might only have been a few landowners and a clergyman with significant resources and only a few places at which soup could be served. If landowners did not provide for the poor through charity, they would do so as ratepayers (or the poor would starve).

Stowe

In 1846, Martha Foddy, 74, died of apoplexy on her return home from Stowe House where she had gone to fetch soup. There is perhaps nothing remarkable in a country house owner providing winter soup to the local poor or in a 74-year-old suffering a stroke, but Martha lived in the next parish, Water Stratford, 4km away from Stowe (BH 7/2/1846: 4; Census 1841). Stowe, one of the grandest eighteenth-century houses in England with spectacular landscape gardens belonged to the Grenville family and it was 'the practice at Stowe to provide soup during the winter to the poor' as well as 'beef, bread, plum pudding and beer to 540' at Christmas (WEE 25/12/1824: 4).

Figure 9.19. Water Stratford Lodge. The Oxford Lodge is on the far horizon.

Setting out from her cottage in Water Stratford, Martha Foddy would have walked northeast, gradually uphill, past the Manor House towards the Buckingham-Bletchley road. She crossed this and entered the Stowe Estate through the gates at Water Stratford Lodge (Figure 9.19 and Figure 9.21). The road became ruler-straight, with double avenues of trees on either side, climbing gradually before descending to a small stream and then climbing again towards Welsh Lane.

Just beyond Welsh Lane the road dropped again to another stream, before climbing inexorably to a vanishing point on the horizon; all that was visible ahead was the road and the narrowing avenue of trees. Just beyond the crest of the next rise was another crossroads and beyond that Boycott Farm, then Oxford Lodge with its far more elaborate gate. After Oxford Lodge the road dropped to cross Oxford Bridge, its parapets decorated with urns, carved with grotesque faces, overlooking Oxford Water, an ornamental lake. The road then rose again, leading through the deer park towards the massive domed Boycott Pavilions at the crest of the next hill. The Pavilions marked the end of the deer park and the beginning of the gardens. The road levelled out; to the south a ha-ha kept the poor from straying into the gardens. The northwest wing of Stowe House was still 600m further on.

Once at Stowe, Martha probably turned right through a pedimented arch into Dairy Court (Figure 9.20, Figure 9.22) and from there entered Kitchen Court through Carpenters' Block which was bisected by a carriageway; on either side were a brewery and a laundry, each containing a large stove. Soup was made either here or in the house's kitchens beyond (they are still in use today) (Figure 9.23).

Figure 9.20. Stowe: the entrance to Dairy Court and the Carpenters' Block behind.

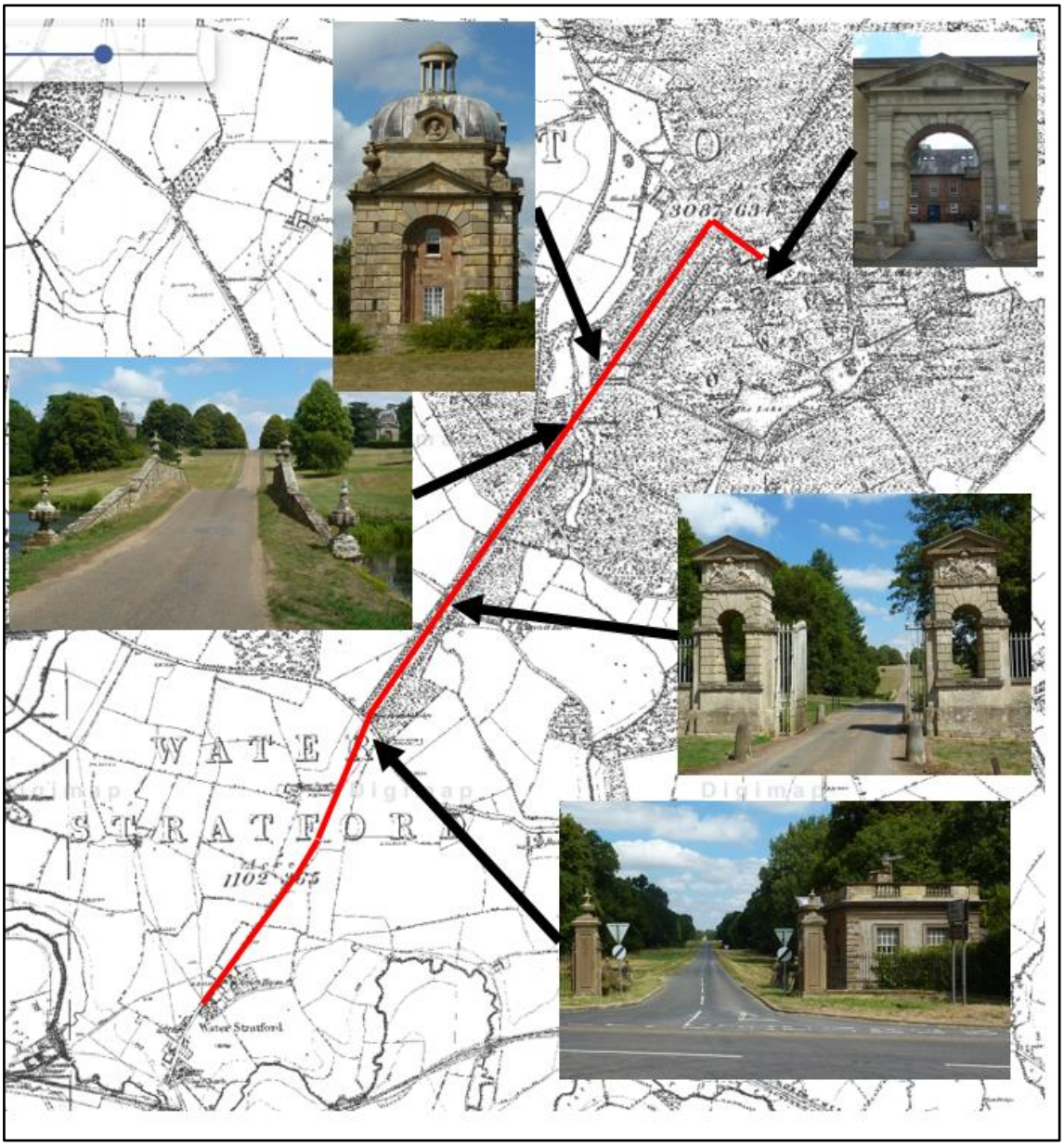


Figure 9.21. Martha Foddy's journey on 1885 OS map from Water Stratford village, bottom left, past Water Stratford Lodge, Oxford Lodge, across Oxford Water, past the Boycott Pavilions to Dairy Court. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

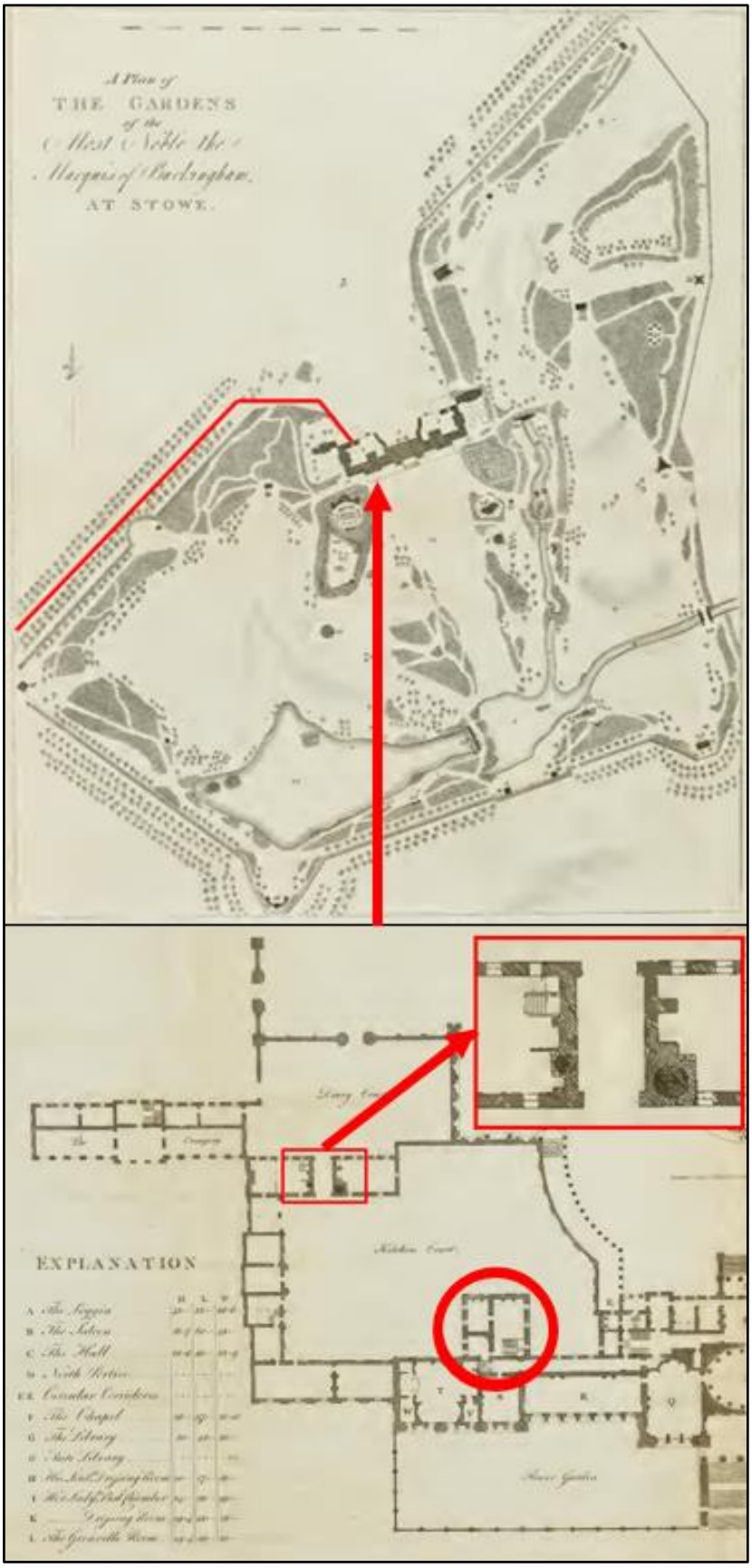


Figure 9.22. The final approach to Dairy Court, Stowe House 1817. Note the large and small stoves in the buildings (inset) (Seeley 1817).

Figure 9.23. Kitchen Court. The kitchens were in the three-storey building, arrowed, behind the recent two-storey addition.

It is doubtful whether Martha was as captivated by the beauties of Stowe as Queen Victoria was on her visit the year before (Beckett 1994: 211) as the vistas, temples, follies and main lake were not visible from Martha's route and the house barely so. The round trip would have cost her 400-500 kcal; if the Duke's soup was generous, a quart would have provided 800 kcal. Unless she was given bread too, the journey would have provided limited nutritional benefit. Each leg of the journey could have taken a 74-year-old nearly an hour. The rural poor regularly had to walk great distances to find work or soup, even if they were elderly or without shoes.

The poor would not have seen Stowe House, until their arrival. House guests too only caught a distant glimpse of the house framed by the Corinthian Arch from

their carriages as they approached. For the poor, the journey emphasised the power of distance. They crossed several boundaries, from cottage to public highway to park through gates and along avenues, past lodges, across bridges and through landscaped gardens before arriving at Stowe. Each boundary marked a transition between zones which became ever more ordered and enclosed, finishing in a courtyard overlooked by the house whose principal rooms were on a *piano nobile* above. The enclosure within the courtyards after so long a journey in the open, the archway to Dairy Court and the grandeur of the buildings would have been humbling to the soup-recipients. The rituals of distribution, receipt and gratitude duly performed, they returned home. Their movements were predetermined by the strictures of the estate, park, garden and architecture. Landscape exerts its influence not just by imposing a view, but by controlling how people move across it.

Other places

Mr and Mrs Harcourt's twice-weekly soup distributions from Ankerwycke maintained 'the real character of the Old English Gentleman and Lady' (BH 25/12/1841: 5); Ankerwycke was the site of a Benedictine nunnery from which Henry III fed 1,000 poor, 600 years previously (Dixon-Smith 2003: 162). The distributions of soup at Alnwick Castle by the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland and Countess Bridgewater's soup house within the ruins of Berkhamsted Castle also echo a re-imagined medieval past. The visits of the poor legitimized landowners' social position and showed that they subscribed to the recently re-invented chivalry (Girouard 1981: 260). A chivalrous gentleman or woman took care of their dependants and those less fortunate.

The poor came to Trentham from the parishes from miles around for soup, bread and beer (SA 20/2/1796: 4). The Poor's Lodge (Figure 7.26) sat at the gateway into the coach-yard, northeast of Trentham Hall, next to the churchyard (Figure 9.24). Trentham village was 400m away across the River Trent. The Lodge was within reach of the Hall but set apart at the borderline between the domestic and farming parts of the estate and the outside world. The poor were welcome this far but no further, always out of sight of the private side of the house and gardens, but visible to passers-by and visitors to the Hall and church.

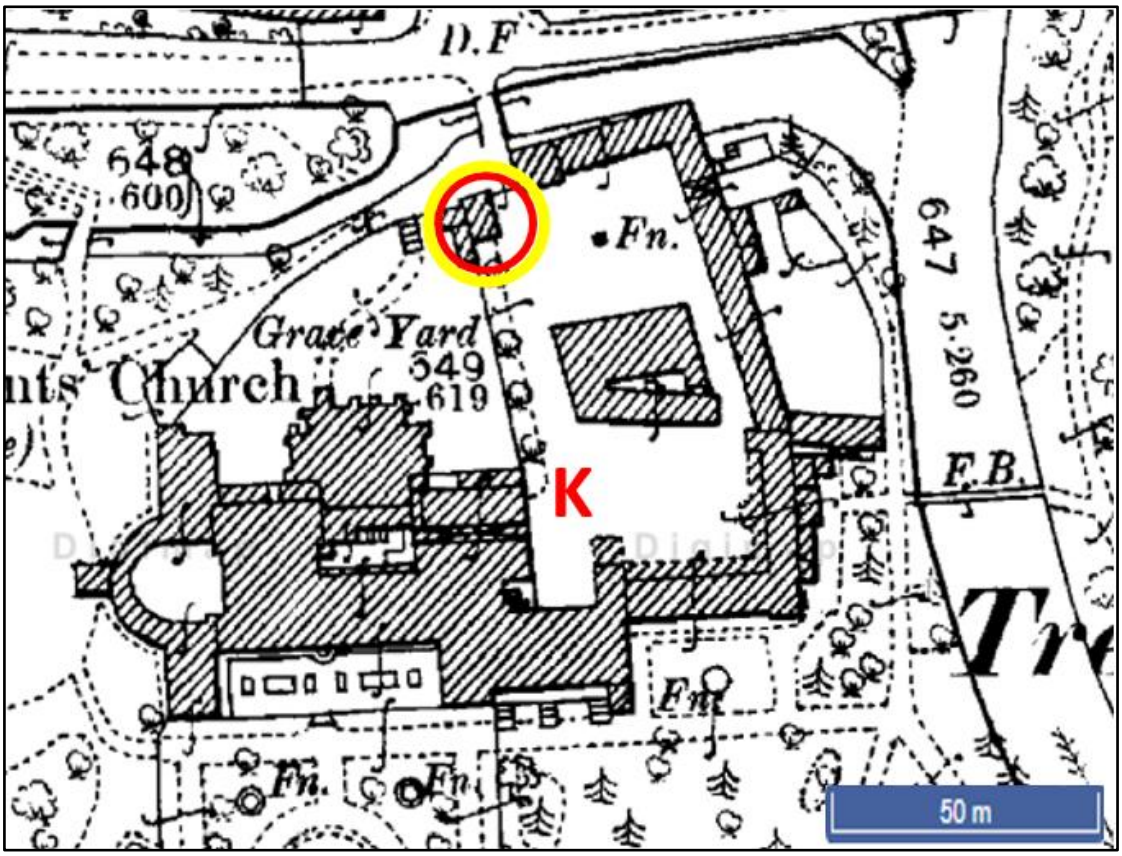


Figure 9.24. Trentham Hall on 1900 OS map with Poor's Lodge circled and Hall's kitchens at K. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

This location, to the north and separate from the main house with its own access, was repeated in the 1890s at Rangemore where the soup kitchen (Figure 7.6) is

located halfway between the Hall and the stables on the north (service) side of the house (Figure 9.25).

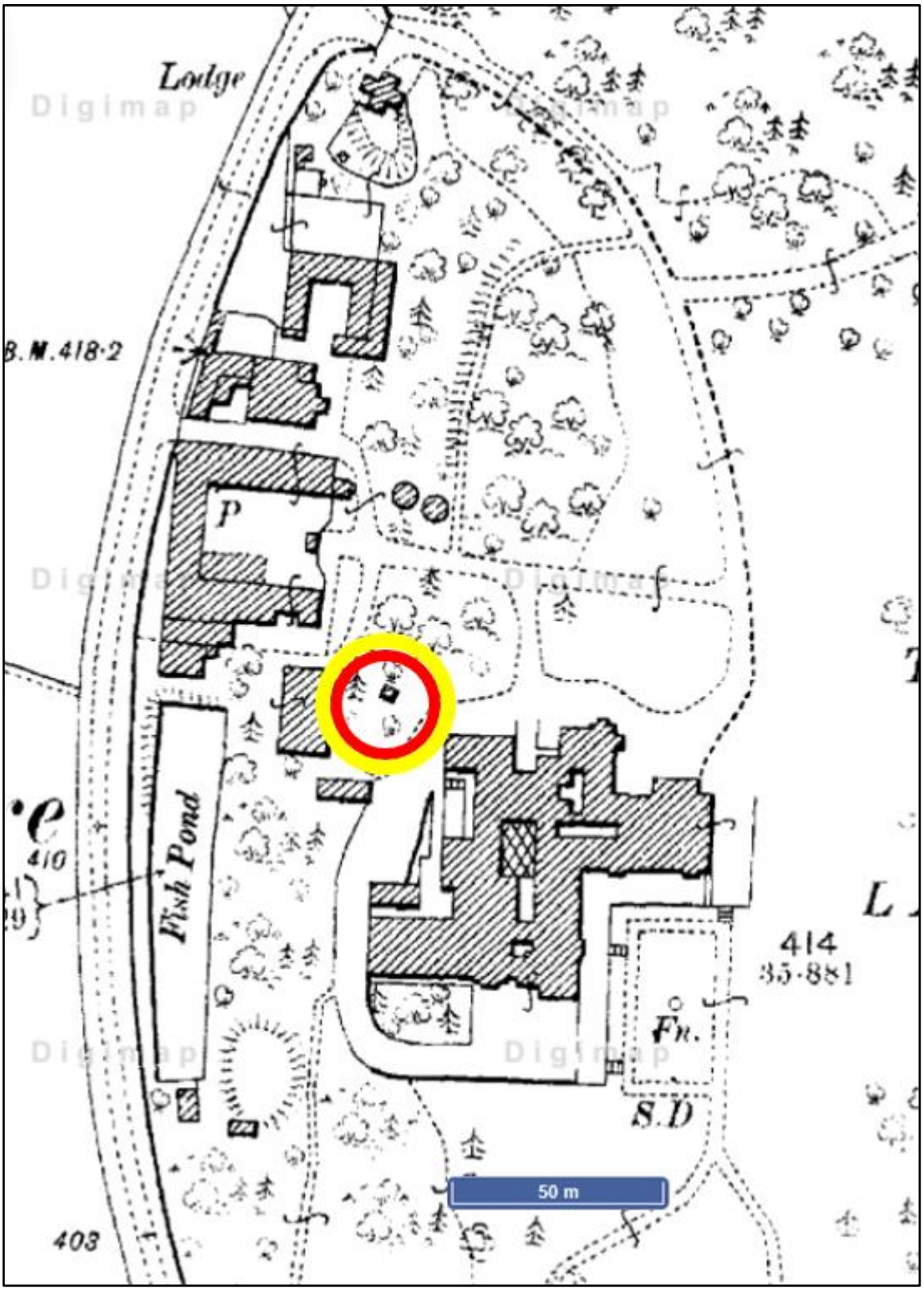


Figure 9.25. Rangemore Hall on 1901 OS map, soup kitchen circled. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

At Cresswell Hall, Northumberland, A. J. Cresswell-Baker Esq JP supplied the poor liberally with soup every Wednesday and Friday 'from the front of Cresswell Hall' (NC 18/2/1832: 4). The front was immediately adjacent to the service block where the kitchens would have been, but also a conspicuous location for an assembly. Figure 9.26 shows a gate and small gatehouse across the drive at this point and a curving colonnade connecting the service buildings north of the house, typical of this period (Sambrook and Brears 2010: 56). The poor would have come down the main access to the house from the northeast, past a lodge along a curving track, the house invisible until they had arrived. The south side of the Hall, with uninterrupted views of the gardens and sea, remained private. The ornamental grounds were screened from the village by woodland and belts of trees.

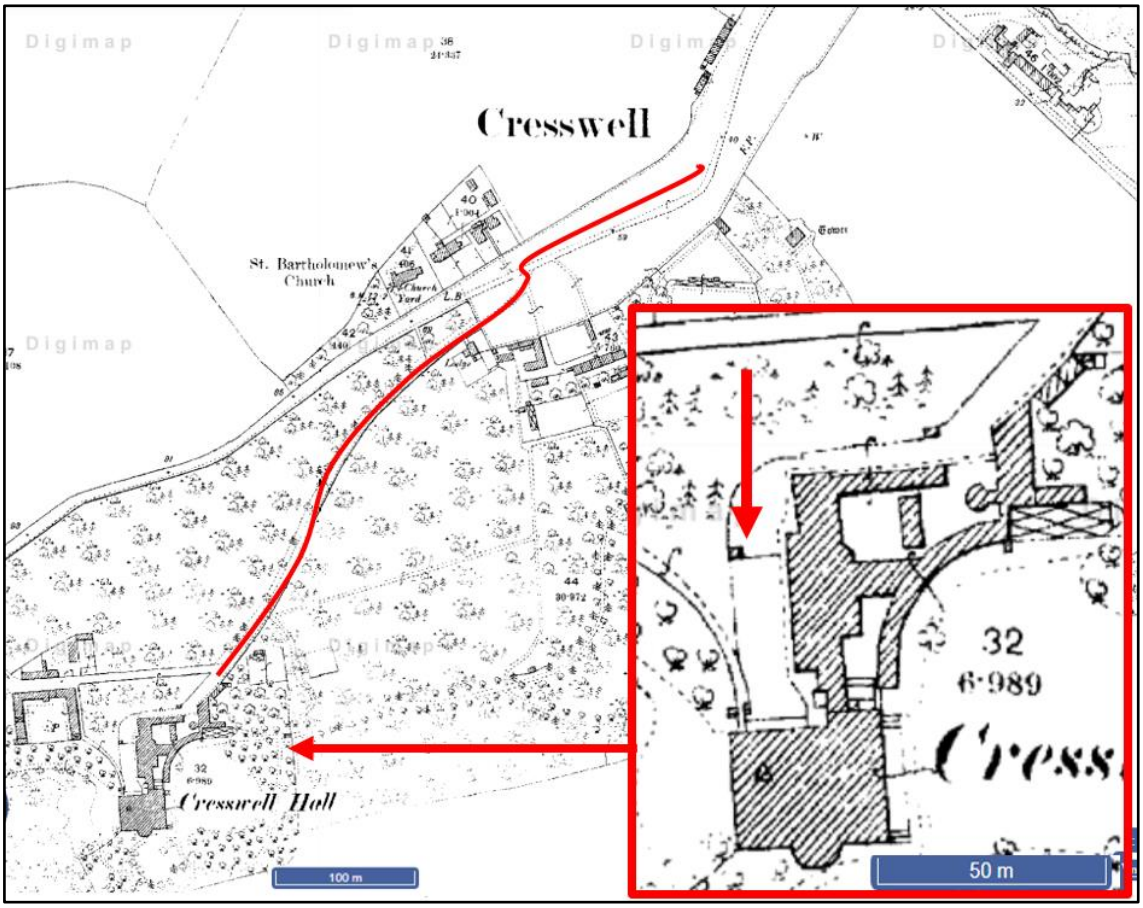


Figure 9.26. Creswell Hall on 1897 OS map showing the route from the village, inset the front approach arrowed. The service block is to the north of the house. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

Kitchens and service blocks were almost always situated to the north of country houses (Stowe was atypical). Although it might be natural to serve soup here, the locations demonstrate the categorisation and down-classing of the recipients as they were moved from hall to courtyard to gate.

In marked contrast, the Rothschilds did not provide soup at their country houses. They established village soup kitchens which meant there could be no pilgrimage to the great house to receive a paternalistic dole of soup. Alfred's soup kitchen in Wendover was discretely located between two rows of cottages in the northeast side of the town (Figure 7.15, Figure 9.27) 3km from Halton, his house, in the neighbouring parish. In Wing, Leopold built a soup kitchen on the edge of the

village at a location later occupied by the Charlotte Cottage Hospital (BH 25/10/1884: 8), 1km from Ascott (Figure 9.28). First Ferdinand and later Alice Rothschild funded soup kitchens in Waddesdon village, but did not provide soup from Waddesdon Manor (BH 29/1/1881: 7., 29/12/1906: 5,).

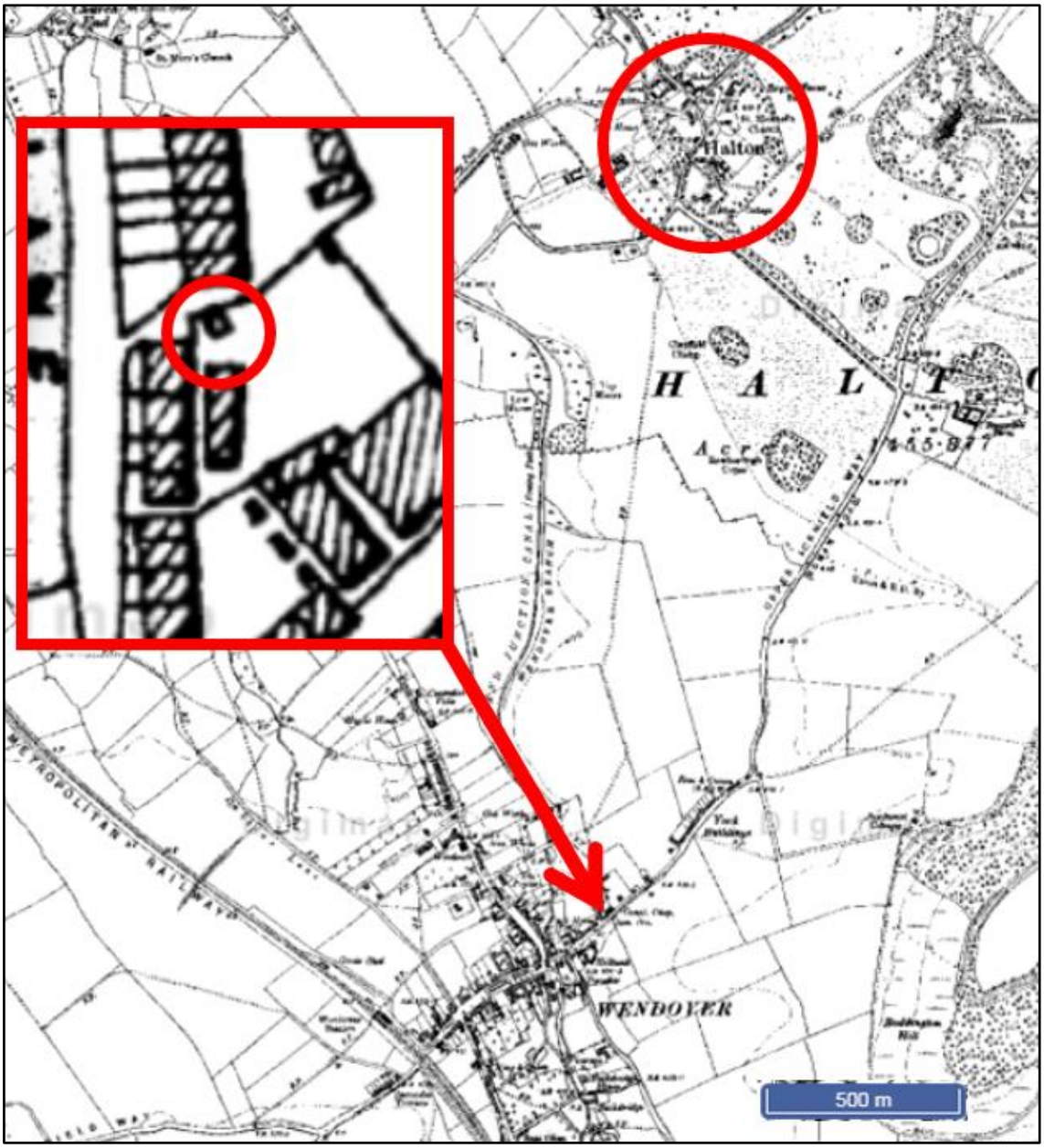


Figure 9.27. Alfred's first soup kitchen, circled in inset, and Halton House circled on 1899 OS map.

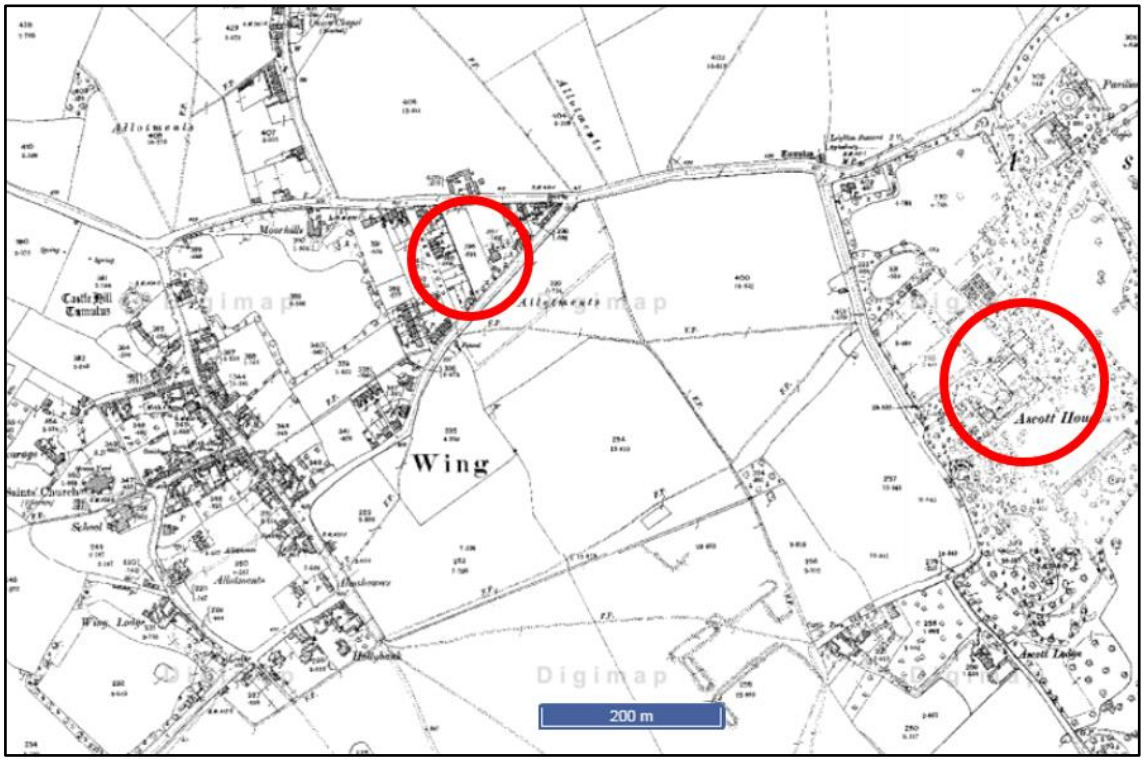


Figure 9.28. Wing and the soup kitchen (left) and Ascott House (right) on 1899 OS map. (OS map © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited all rights reserved).

The Rothschild family's practice of providing soup from locations in the villages away from their estates might simply be motivated by a desire for privacy but is more likely from the Jewish tradition which preferred discrete philanthropy to prevent any personal bond between giver and recipient.

Discussion

Largesse at Stowe was routine. The soup distributions made by the Duke in 1800 were attended by house guests and family. The regular wintertime visits of the tenants and the poor as dependants were a vital part in the display of the Duke's wealth and patronage, forming an important part of the traditional aristocratic identity (Girouard 1978: 240, 1979: 45). Guests noticed and recorded the display. Soup distribution needed to be public not discrete, so the ritual took place in the most theatrical of venues, Stowe, not at cottage outhouses in neighbouring

villages. If the poor knew soup was available at the house, so too did everybody else.

The visits of the poor to Stowe were theatrical and entertained guests who were invited to spectate: Elizabeth Wynne (Fremantle 1952: 293, 485) described a supper for 60 poor children as being 'a pretty sight' (30/12/1797) and labourers planting trees in the garden who:

> 'passed before the house... forming a ludicrous procession, some with spades, forks or rakes... the band playing before them' (14/1/1808).

In 1809, festivities for the Duke's birthday included 1,000 poor from the 12 neighbouring parishes, headed by their clergymen and banners, marching into dinner in front of the Duke's guests (OUCH 13/1/1810: 3). Such display was expected of a family which was not just trying to maintain its position in the county but which sought to rival royalty (Beckett 1994: 138).

Country house soup may have been more acceptable to the poor than subscription-funded soup in villages and towns. The transaction was essentially personal. With the exception of the Pryor's soup kitchen in Weston, soup was free and the poor did not have to submit to examination of their circumstances (although in small communities, no doubt the landlord's steward would have exercised discretion). However, they were expected to pay homage at the house, their attendance was part of an ancient ritual of patronage, and it was important for the continued performance of the moral economy to be visible.

Writing in 1867, Bagehot (2001: 34, 76) argued that the lower classes deferred not to their rulers but to the 'theatrical exhibition' of great and wealthy men to

which they were passive spectators, a view echoed by more recent historians (Thompson 1963; Thompson 1991a). Performance was key to expressing and perpetuating deference, but the poor were not mere passive spectators of a theatrical show, they were performers. Thus the poor were actors and audience, while they passed through the parks. Jugs and pots in hand, the poor entered another's stage to perform a script that was not of their choosing.

The gift-relationship was asymmetrical as the powerful defined and managed the encounter through their control of time and space. Behind the gift was real power: the same landowners often harshly enforced the game laws, while dispensing soup. Even if the poor's deference could sometimes be performed without great sincerity or obtained more by force than benevolence (Newby 1975), the stability of nineteenth-century rural society was remarkable (Thompson 1963) and the performance of paternalistic charity was persistent (many large charities today have titled patrons).

In Goffman's terms (1969: 492), appropriate deference from those receiving patronage or charity was their contribution to the joint ceremonial labour of constructing the elite self, and on the other side of the coin, the construction of the plebeian self required the elite to conduct themselves appropriately by showing sympathetic concern in providing relief. In 1800, the poor at Stowe were described as 'neighbours' (CBS/D22/25/59) in acknowledgment of their role but also veiling the massive power of the future Duke. The environment where the performance happens is crucial to the construction of these selves (Goffman 1956: 497). The performance required, and was shaped by, the space in which it took place.

Soup was made and distributed from lodges, kitchens, laundries, breweries and stables. Restricting the poor to these peripheral places associated them with the unsavoury activities practiced in these areas, not very different from the outhouses we have already seen. The location emphasised the distance between landowner and poor, and kept the poor in their place.

The poor also had to get to where the soup was. Occasionally, soup was delivered to the villages but usually it seems to have been distributed at the house. Country houses and their landscape parks were not only residences and places for pleasure but also expressions of power, legitimising the status of the rich through their magnificence (Leone 1984; Bermingham 1987). Williamson (1995: 111) argued that these elite landscapes were primarily aimed at polite society, a display to associates, rivals and the gentry and that the poor were excluded. The parks 'isolated the household from the outside world', created privacy for the household and invited guests. (Stone 1991: 231). To have excluded the poor completely from landscape parks would have prevented the elite from displaying their magnanimity and maintaining their legitimacy by eliciting deference from their inferiors. Country houses exercised their power through distance, the apparently endless approach and control over the view, the viewer and the viewed. The greater social distance created by landscaped parks was more effective if the lower ranks could experience it. The greater the distance, the greater the power.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the wealthy sought greater privacy by closing parks and altering houses to create greater segregation of space within (by class, employment and gender). Privacy was intended to improve the moral and physical well-being of the Victorian gentleman and his family (Girouard 1978: 270, 1979: 18, 28). Despite the closure of space, the charitable provision of food

(and other items such as clothing and blankets) persisted at many country houses for the remainder of the long nineteenth century, although Thompson (1963: 187) suggests that it perhaps contracted somewhat. Soup was largely unaffected by social changes and declining agricultural revenues, because its cost was minimal, and for the poor it was important nutritionally and symbolically. Thompson (1991: 36, 46) asserted that the customary right of the poor to support from their landlord had become largely illusory during the eighteenth century, but at least at the level of providing the basics of life, paternalistic charity continued in many places. Providing soup also enabled landowners to appear charitable while their tenant farmers might take the blame for low wages.

The *nouveaux riches* who were buying up country estates were not indifferent to the plight of the local communities (*contra* Gerard 1987: 202). The Bass and Rothschild families were newly-moneyed, buying into the landed elite and also involved in providing local welfare. Lady Rose, daughter-in-law of a City lawyer, regularly provided soup at Tylers Green (SBS 12/1/1894: 8). Lady Lawson provided soup from Hall Barn Manor, Beaconsfield, three years after newspaper proprietor Lord Lawson had been ennobled (SBS 15/3/1895: 8), Lady Addington did the same two years after her husband, John Hubbard, banker and merchant, became Lord Addington in 1887 (BE 16/11/1889: 8, 14/1/1893: 5). Mr and Mrs Cazenove provided soup from the Lilies in Hardwicke-with-Weedon despite not being landowners (other than their house and its 55 acres of grounds) (BH 13/1/1866: 6, 1/2/1879: 5, 5/5/1881: 8; LGB/RoL 1875). The *nouveaux riches* adopted paternalistic soup-giving with enthusiasm; many of these former town-dwellers would have subscribed to urban soup kitchens and brought this ideology with them to their country houses.

Access for the poor to different parts of the estate and house was carefully managed, but their presence was an important element of the house's *raison d'être*. Their visits were important in the complex theatre of power, parading for soup outside the big house, demonstrating the authority and kindness of its owner. Soup was, nevertheless, for those at the bottom of hierarchy of visitors.

d. Conclusion

Great effort is needed to play a role well and the performer risks being taken in by their own act and becoming the part they are playing (Goffman 1969: 30, 44). Performativity theory would argue that such acts are the core of identity. Repeated performance went a long way to perpetuating deference on the part of the poor. The bodily discipline of following a prescribed route at specified times and queuing for soup became inscribed in the *habitus* of the poor. Tracing the journeys that the poor made is far easier in a rural environment, even if we have lost a great many country houses and their landscapes. Many of the trees which Martha Foddy passed still line the avenues to Stowe. In urban areas this is more difficult although we often have maps, directories, newspapers and pictures that can inform. Soup demonstrates the potential for using historic landscapes to understand past taskscapes and how charity was experienced and performed. Both archaeologists and historians can enhance their interpretations through a more multi-disciplinary approach.

Providing soup was likewise part of the *habitus* of the wealthy who found reassurance in performance and needed the poor to wait deferentially on them for soup. The urban well-to-do adapted this to the town environment. The disappointment expressed by committees and the press on the occasions when

the poor were not as enthusiastic about soup as they expected demonstrates charity's importance to the givers. Soup thus seeped into social relations and perpetuated local stability.

Spatial organisation prevented the poor from invading the suburbs or the domestic areas of country houses. Control was practical and moral. At country houses, the courtyards could contain and ensure the poor did not stray; they also emphasised the social distance: horses and livestock were housed here, and less desirable, but necessary, household activities took place. In towns, carefully selected places prevented interference with important commercial or domestic activity. Johnson (1993: 179) and Snell (1985: 320) describe the gradual enclosure of domestic space by farmers and gentry and the gradual exclusion of servants and other dependants from 'domestic' areas. It became 'natural' to extend this to the poor, who in previous centuries might have been admitted to the lower end of the hall or met at the door; they were now relegated to courtyards and remote buildings. Allowing the poor to come too close risked overfamiliarity, a weakening of power and a potentially polluting breach of social distance (Goffman 1956: 482; Newby 1975: 159). Soup was still redolent of the traditional rights of dependants to eat at their master's table or share in the leftovers of feasts. It distilled the essence of private charity and if the owner was away, the grand house could stand in for the person; here the institutional soup kitchens were at a disadvantage; the donors were usually absent and the personal gift of food was replaced with a numbered ticket.

10. Conclusion

We are now standing inside the doorway of the Whitechapel Mission on a cold November morning in 2021. The electric light from the dining room spills out onto the street where it is still dark. People have been waiting outside for the building to open. Breakfast (full English, cereal, toast, unlimited tea) for several hundred is soon to be served. The 50p charge for breakfast was dropped in 2020 as it was used as a pretext for begging. Many have mobile phones that need charging; after breakfast they might get a change of clothes, a shower or access to the internet to contact distant family or search for a better life, or just stay warm for a few hours. Some things have changed since 1851, but Hicks could paint a similar picture to *The Parish Soup Kitchen*.

Fewer people now attend soup kitchens for meals, but food poverty affects over eight million people in the UK; there are over 2,200 food-banks (excluding those at schools) (Tyler 2021: 17). Food-banks emerged from the years of 'austerity' following the 2008 economic crisis, but were given added impetus by implementation of Universal Credit in 2013. The Trussell Trust provided 1.9 million three-day emergency food parcels in the UK in the year ending March 2020. Marcus Rashford's campaign for improved school meal provision during the COVID-19 pandemic highlighted food poverty and forced government to change course. The poorer tenth of the nation still cannot afford proper food and charity is once again alleviating the failings of state welfare. When asked about the prevalence of food-banks, Jacob Rees-Mogg, a leading Conservative politician, said:

> 'I don't think the state can do everything… To have charitable support given by people voluntarily to support their fellow citizens, I think is rather uplifting and shows what a good, compassionate country we are.' (*Guardian* 14/9/2017)

Rees-Mogg did not find UNICEF, the United Nations relief agency, so uplifting when it funded for food-relief to south London schoolchildren, saying it was 'a political stunt of the lowest order' (BBC 2020). Perhaps we have not progressed as far from the early 1800s as we would like to think.

The state still struggles to deal with poverty, believing that the marketplace solves almost all problems and charity will deal with the rest. Charities like the Whitechapel Mission (founded in 1876) still wrestle with the nature of the gift and its effect on participants. Fear of creating dependency, concern about being exploited by clever paupers, and the desire to allow the destitute to better their lives still shape policy.

This research has focussed on the formative period of our modern concept of charity and how it should be performed. Early nineteenth-century voluntary organisations and charities with lofty goals set about attempting to solve social ills by drawing on wide networks of supporters (Roberts 2004). Soup kitchens were less ambitious, but nevertheless may exemplify basic charity better as they operated across much of England but remained locally focussed.

The relief efforts that were launched in the 1790s were unprecedented in scale (the previous major crisis in 1740 met with only very limited charity). Everywhere across England suddenly had instructions on how to set up and run a subscription charity; vestry minutes and diaries are almost blasé about setting

up a soup kitchen (BHC/P92/8/2; Oakes 1990: 383). Soup was credited with dealing with the crisis (partly because the effects of the famine were difficult to quantify). Soup then became a solution for the next crisis.

Before institutional charity appeared, power and reciprocity underpinned early modern hospitality and charity. Food and welfare were exchanged for loyalty, homage and redemption. Neither hospitality nor charity were given monetary value; both were voluntary but also obligatory. Soup kitchens and similar charities grew out of this culture of paternalism and *noblesse oblige*. The well-to-do were naturally entitled to their position so long as they adopted values of charity and consideration for the weak. Gentlemanly behaviour and chivalry were ideals that came to the fore in the late-eighteenth century and persisted until the First World War (Girouard 1981: preface). Charity enabled the landed interests to behave chivalrously in a public performance that kept the poor at a distance. In towns, soup kitchens combined the moral economy with the marketplace; they relieved hunger but the monetary value of charity was carefully calculated to ensure they were never overgenerous. The middle class might not be able single-handedly to protect whole communities, but by subscribing, they could adopt the aristocratic tradition and justify their position in the social hierarchy, while earning gratitude and deference from their inferiors and respect from their superiors.

The gift relationship enshrined in subscription charity was not simply a distant recapitulation of aristocratic largesse. It was the middle-class battleground between those who believed charity had to reform and control the poor, and those who thought it a religious or social obligation to give. The dispute between the GSK with Newcastle-upon-Tyne's parish soup kitchens and the later conduct of

Newcastle COS illustrate the conflicting middle-class views of what charity should be like.

Nineteenth-century urban charity wore the cloak of utilitarianism but harked back to longstanding rituals entailing the visible performance of social obligation. Donors needed to participate in these traditional rituals of giving (Lloyd 2009; Kidd 1996). The poor had to co-operate and show sufficient gratitude in accepting the gift or their benefactors would not receive the satisfaction of giving or salvation for charitable deeds. Institutions created a new charitable ceremony between donors, organisers and newspapers as gifts were solicited, thanks given and honour publicly bestowed by a mention in a list of worthy subscribers. The interactions helped to construct the middle-class self (Goffman 1956: 492).

Soup kitchens added another resource to the makeshift economy to exploit, but obliged the poor to appear sufficiently deserving and deferential. Charging towards the cost of soup and placing the institution between the donor and recipient did not remove fully the damaging effects of the gift that Mauss (2002) identified. The nature of the gift, ephemeral food and largely impersonal delivery, seem to have done more to liberate the poor from some of the bonds of the gift.

The poor were not enamoured with soup kitchens. Increasing democratisation and improving living standards of the late-nineteenth century brought about soup kitchens' decline. Organisers found that many of the poor preferred coal or groceries and independence, given the choice. Soup from the landed interests was probably more welcome because of entrenched rural poverty and long-established deference.

The scale of the hunger that soup kitchens alleviated is one significant discovery of this research. Dickensian poverty has become a byword for the Victorian era, but has perhaps concealed the persistent need for food-aid that arose nearly every winter for 10-30% of the population. If the value of soup and bread provided three days a week was worth 1/- or 2/-, this will have been as much as most outdoor relief payments (where it was available). Soup formed a major part of the makeshift economy for many, even if caution is needed in extrapolating from the study sample to the whole country.

Distributing soup was a public activity, people had to go somewhere to make and get it. The public statement identifies both donor and recipient to the wider community, even if the place is discrete. Identifying the performative aspects of charity show us much more about interactions than figures in a ledger enumerating ingredients purchased or quarts served. Performance exposes the patron-client relationship, the lowly status of the person queuing with jug in hand and the superiority of the top-hatted supervisors at the soup kitchen with their distant gaze.

And people were seen going to get soup. The newspapers harked on about it, inviting their readership to take in the spectacle. Getting and providing soup became part of the *habitus* of the poor and middle-class organisers. By understanding the historic environment depicted in our nineteenth-century versions of Breughel's *Harvesters* (Ingold 1993) we can see into the performance of charity.

People had to go to the soup kitchen, they did this in wintertime. Cold weather turned poverty into destitution but encouraged the charitable to think of the poor.

The weather is part of this landscape: the two become indistinguishable, and the experience of the weather is merged with the sense of place and performance (Pillatt 2012: 34, 36), nowhere else more so than the soup kitchen.

The invisibility of soup kitchens is significant. Some premises were so makeshift, they barely existed. Their temporary nature has been a recurrent theme. Even those more solid institutions included in the case studies have been largely forgotten. The COS started its 1871 report of London's soup kitchens by saying:

> '[it is] impossible to give more than a general idea of [soup kitchens'] extent. For the most part they are not substantive, permanent institutions... many of them have an ephemeral, and almost private character. In numerous instances, no reports of their proceedings are published. Yet, in the aggregate, there is no class of charities which affects a greater number of persons, or exercises a more powerful influence for good or evil.' (COS 1871: 1).

The makeshift economy permeated through into the buildings and their construction. It demonstrates the problems of thinking about buildings typologically; if we see buildings only as castles, town halls or country houses, we risk failing to comprehend the complexity of the lives of these buildings that this study has uncovered.

Soup kitchens display the beginnings of the modernity found in Augé's *non-lieux*, places where no one belongs, identity is shed and where nothing is quite as it seems. Many soup kitchens were evanescent with a tenuous grip on solidity, which has consequences for their study and preservation. Several important sites of former soup kitchens within the study counties have been redeveloped or

refurbished with developer-funded archaeological investigations that did not even consider the possibility of a nineteenth-century soup kitchen on the site,

This part of our archaeological heritage is both fragile and largely forgotten. Our societal amnesia of how many people survived is linked to the shame of poverty and dependence on charity. By the mid-1820s, soup kitchens began moving from public to more remote and undesirable locations, from street-front to backyard and from civic pride to public shame, paralleling the decline of the poor in the eyes of their 'betters'. Out of site is out of mind. Segregated back places and their association with dirt stigmatises charity (Goffman 1990: 102; Sibley 1995).

The importance of locale only becomes apparent when we consider the soup kitchen in the landscape inhabited by the community. The glowing annual reports contrast with the parsimony of back alleys, the endless queues and humiliation of getting soup. Buildings that were so discrete, you could not find them, so small that the poor could not enter them, all tell of a charity that sought to discipline by offering the bare minimum and then requiring the daily performance of deference. The structures and locations were chosen to further the exclusion of the attending poor from more polite society, a physical manifestation of the growing hostility towards the poor. Indeed this exclusion is the more powerful for being expressed spatially. Most soup kitchens excluded the poor from even crossing the threshold. If they were allowed in they were corralled and funnelled out as quickly as possible. Multi-disciplinary research is crucial for understanding this.

By the late-nineteenth century the working class had begun to differentiate itself from the poor (Lees 1998: 300), which may explain why soup kitchen clientele

were becoming increasingly aged; younger workers expected better welfare. The parish soup kitchen may have been a place that created a feeling of local solidarity and identity among the poor, exemplified by Corvan (1860), by demonstrating their being deserving (c.f. Hindle 2004a) but this is counterbalanced by the humiliation of relying on charity.

The patchwork of newspaper reports, which individually are insubstantial, can be reassembled to create a coherent narrative. This is not the first research to use digitised newspapers, but it has demonstrated how we can reconstruct institutional histories and uncover stories in ways not previously practicable. Such research will only become more effective as more materials are digitised and become word-searchable.

Regionally, soup kitchens demonstrate great diversity, similar to the different regional cultures in poor law administration (King 2000), although further work is needed to confirm how the two welfare systems related. Two adjoining counties, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, with broadly similar climate, geology and economies, and even neighbouring towns within one county, with no obvious difference in population or industry, took different approaches to the hungry poor. Charity was not homogeneous. The variation between towns and regions is perhaps even greater with charity than with poor law practice and one of the more surprising discoveries made during this research.

Given the marked differences between the five study regions, this study would be enhanced by further work in the West Country, Midlands, Northwest, London, Wales and Scotland. There are many undigitised newspapers in the British Library and local collections that would fill in some of the gaps where our

evidence is only slight. For the late-nineteenth century, parish magazines too are likely to provide detail of parish soup kitchens and missions which there has not been the space here to consider.

Archaeologically, there are investigations that could be carried out with advantage; the foundations of Cranbrook's soup kitchen probably lie under a car park (more soup kitchens than kings lie under car parks and municipal bus stations, and none have been excavated); significant evidence of the interior of Ramsgate soup kitchen is probably concealed behind its panelled walls. Many soup kitchen locations, and possibly buildings, remain to be identified within the study regions.

The poor have always been with us in this study, but their presence is largely filtered through the eyes of the better off. Occasionally, autobiographies or the poor's own letters to the poor law authorities requesting assistance survive, but for the most part they remain ciphers and shadows. Only occasionally do soup-recipients become visible in the press as individuals, usually by dying or getting arrested, and then, they were usually women or children. Understanding the soup kitchen goes some way to shedding light on their lives, their experience of cold, humiliation and waiting patiently. There are several lists of soup-recipients in archival sources from 1795 to 1914. Despite the difficulties in tracing such individuals, we might be able to identify some, and though record-linking understand more about those who were on the edge of destitution and the importance of soup in their lives.

These shortcomings could be remediated with significant resources, but this should not detract from the major findings set out here. Soup kitchens played an

important role in the makeshift economy of a significant proportion of the poorest during the long nineteenth century. The buildings and locations used played an important role in the increasing marginalisation of the poor who by the 1870s formed a dangerous 'residuum' which alarmed many of the urban middle class.

Soup kitchens were also the antecedents of the industrial cafeteria, school dinners, fast food and industrial food; soup was consumed by large numbers of people across the whole country. The processes and procedures of feeding large numbers of people efficiently may have gone a long way to the greatest of all British inventions, the orderly queue.

11. Appendix 1: Methodology

This section outlines the methodology used for generating the date used for this research and the graphs and tables used.

a. Newspaper and periodical searches

Local newspapers are an essential source for anyone researching nineteenth century local history (Stephens 1994: 24). The British Library has been digitising the Burney Collection of newspapers into a word-searchable format through the British Newspaper Archive (**BNA**). This has revolutionised the possibilities of using newspapers as a research resource. At the start of the research in 2015, the BNA had around 11 million scanned pages; that figure has grown to 47 million by late 2021. Gale Cengage has a collection of slightly different eighteenth-century newspapers from the Burney Collection available for searching. The *Times* archive and *London Gazette* are also available digitally.

This research has focussed on local newspapers published in Kent, Northumberland (including Tyneside), Staffordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire in the BNA. Each county was searched only for newspapers uploaded to the database before January 2020. In addition, Tom Marshall Collection of newspaper cuttings in Gateshead Library (BRC01/02/TMC) was reviewed as it contained many stories from the *Gateshead Observer* about the Gateshead Soup Kitchen (the *Gateshead Observer* was uploaded to the BNA in January 2022).

A limited number of newspapers in Berkshire and Oxfordshire (which border on Buckinghamshire) were also searched. More information about the five counties

could be obtained from searching newspapers from the surrounding counties, given enough time. The digitised part of the Burney Collection could also be supplemented by using issues held by local libraries and record offices although there are rarely in a word-searchable form.

For the period before 1818, all British newspapers in the BNA were searched as there were far fewer issues and the coverage of local newspapers was more national. Unfortunately, no 'local' London newspapers were available from before 1801, except for the *Times* and a few titles available through Gale Cengage.

For the searches of newspapers dating from before 1818, the search terms 'soup' (and variants of 'soop', 'foup' and 'foop') and 'broth' were used and every 'hit' opened and logged in a spreadsheet when it referred to charitable soup. Consistent spelling was less of an issue after about 1810.

Although research in the five study counties started using the term 'soup kitchen' this was soon discovered to be unreliable. Not only was the word 'kitchen' often not read by the search engine, more importantly many institutions identified themselves by other terms such as 'soup society', 'soup establishment', 'soup charity', 'soup house', 'soup shop', 'soup depot', 'soup club', 'soup station', 'soup fund', 'bread and soup' or 'public kitchen'. The different terms may reflect subtle differences in the institutions referred to, but also the fact that this was a new kind of institution, still searching for an identity. Except for 'public kitchen', the terminology identified in newspapers predates their first recorded uses in the *Oxford English Dictionary* by about fifty years. The study county searches were therefore done using the word 'soup'. This identified many more occurrences of soup being used to relieve hunger than the more specific institutional terms (in

Staffordshire about a third of all references were to distributions of soup, not to soup kitchens). This meant checking through many other stories simply mentioning soup. All mentions of charitable soup were opened and recorded by date, location, publication and content.

For the national evidence after 1818, only the institutional terms were used for searching and no attempt was made to check whether the stories referred to actual English soup kitchens ('soup' generates over 2,000,000 hits in the BNA). Around 10-15% of stories in study county newspapers relate to soup kitchens that were beyond the county in question and its adjoining counties. References to soup kitchens increased significantly during the Irish famine, major industrial disputes and the Cotton Famine (the Irish Famine was only widely reported in 1847). With these limitations in mind, it is nevertheless reasonable to assume that the nationwide figures reflect real soup kitchen activity, based on the evidence from the study counties.

Any distribution of soup that occurred regularly during one season was counted as a 'soup distribution' or 'soup kitchen'; one-off events and Christmas entertainments were not counted for the purposes of this research, although they might form an interesting subject for further study. Seasonality is discussed further below, but when aggregating data, a soup kitchen year of October-September was used to reflect the actual operations of most institutions.

There is little information on how local newspapers circulated, which is important if we are considering how reliable they are as a source of information for a particular county. Newspapers will report stories that are of interest to their readership and these tend to be local unless the story is sensational or of human

interest. Soup kitchens did not spend money advertising in areas where the people were unlikely to feel sufficient connection to the soup kitchen to subscribe. Thus North and South Shields Soup Kitchens did not publish subscriber lists or announce their openings in Newcastle-upon-Tyne newspapers. Berkhamsted soup house is mentioned more in Buckinghamshire newspapers than in Hertfordshire ones suggesting the town read mostly Buckinghamshire titles until it got its own (unfortunately not in the BNA). The Northumberland local papers are definitely locally focussed in their reporting (Table 12.27). Some further analysis of this sense of locale would be worthwhile.

There was a significant increase in the number of local newspapers being published in the 1840s, which accelerated in the 1850s as advertisement duty was abolished in 1853, stamp tax in 1855 and paper duty in 1861 (Nevett 1982: 25). Determining how much this growth contributed to the increase in reported soup kitchens during this period is difficult, but the data used to generate the graphs showing national trends has been adjusted to reflect the number of newspapers available, so much of the bias caused by simply having more titles is eliminated (newspapers tended to repeat and plagiarise stories from one another so there is a greater chance of double-counting with more newspapers available).

The BNA organises local newspapers for Greater London under London although at the start of the nineteenth century these places were administratively in the surrounding counties; for example, the *Beckenham Journal, and Penge and Sydenham Advertiser* (1890-1914) is a London newspaper not a Kent one although . Beckenham was in Kent administratively until 1965. Such titles have not been included in the study counties.

b. Other sources

Alongside the newspaper search, historic directories, county and other local archive catalogues, and books on local history and Poor Law studies were also reviewed for further information. The same approach to searching online catalogues has been used, using the word 'soup'. The depth of cataloguing varies from archive to archive, and further material is always being added as existing collections are examined and new material accessioned. Very little material in these categories is scanned or easily searched beyond the catalogue. Vestry minutes and parish magazines have not been searched, although these could provide useful information for parish administered and later church run charities.

c. Locales

For much of the nineteenth century much of Britain was administered at two levels, the county and the parish (Eastwood 1994, 1997). These levels have formed the underlying geographic organisation of this thesis. The OPL was administered by parishes. After the implementation of the NPL, although the parish remained important, poor law administration was increasingly carried out at a union level.

People nevertheless continued to identify themselves as being resident in a parish, not in a union (Snell 2006). Local newspapers identified themselves as being county or town-based by their titles and are categorised in the database by county.

Nineteenth-century administrative boundaries are therefore followed here (so Slough, an amalgam of the urban parts of three parishes, is in Buckinghamshire). However, Tyneside has been treated as a unit as sides of the Tyne were industrialised and interconnected, particularly Gateshead and Newcastle, and North and South Shields (its newspapers reported on events on both banks of the Tyne).

Landowners often dictated how parishes were run. The fewer landowners there were, the easier it was for them as ratepayers to control what happened in terms of poor law policy, whether outsiders could settle in the parish and whether further houses could be built. Generally, in parishes with large towns, landownership was sufficiently fragmented to prevent an oligopoly forming. Closed parishes were generally those with four or fewer landowners and open parishes their opposite. Snell and Ell (2004: 440ff) adopt a simple way of identifying whether parishes were open or closed using Wilson (1870). This can be applied to most but not all parishes and has been used here in some of the data tables which deal with landowners providing soup to parish residents. Where Wilson (1870) is silent the tables indicate 'not stated'.

In London, where street addresses of some cook-shops are known, these have been ranked in terms of their prestige using Grose (1792) who produced a general ranking of street types.

d. Seasonal data

Once the pattern of seasonal soup kitchen opening was identified (Figure 4.1, Figure 4.9) the newspaper data was analysed by season rather than calendar year and compared to weather, food price, poor law expenditure and wage data.

Weather data in the form of mean monthly temperatures in degrees Celsius between 1659 and 1973 central England have been published (Parker *et al.* 2005). The 'average' temperature for each winter (December to February) was then calculated to see whether cold weather corresponded to a higher level of soup kitchen activity.

Using central England and a winter average is 'broad brush' but detailed local weather records are not available for much the periods in question. The weather varies across England on a daily basis, and people's perceptions of weather may differ from official records (Pillatt 2012: 36). The averages will mask greater local extremes, but the results nevertheless demonstrate a close linking between colder winters and greater soup kitchen activity. This is not completely surprising, soup kitchen organisers regularly referred to bad weather as being grounds for opening.

The way the data sets are matched is set out in Table 11.1. Soup kitchen data is analysed by a year beginning in October and ending the following September. Soup kitchens usually open in December, published their annual accounts in spring or early summer and then organised meetings to plan opening and fundraising in the late autumn. Poor law records ran from Lady Day (25 March) to Lady Day. Winter was the most stressful time for the poor and when outdoor relief applications were greatest (Snell 1985), so poor law years have been matched to the soup kitchen and weather data by using the same winter as a reference point. The bread and wheat indices reflect the harvest for each year which determined prices for the following 12 months (so roughly following the soup kitchen year). The wages data is not given with sufficient precision to determine how to apportion it across a winter.

Data type	Start	End
Soup kitchen reports	October 1830	September 1831
Weather data	December 1830	February 1831
Poor law annual data	25 March 1830	25 March 1831
Wheat and bread prices	1830	1830
Wages	1830	1830

Table 11.1. Allocation of different data types to the calendar

Annual recessions (one or more years of negative calendar-year growth in GDP) have been added to some of the graphs based on Hills *et al* (2010: 278) and Broadberry and van Leeuwen (2010: 36-37). Hills has been preferred where the two conflict. Broadberry and van Leeuwen consider several different measures of looking at the economic cycle of peaks and troughs which do not always match one-another. Economic data for wages, the wheat index and bread prices are from Brown and Hopkins (1981: 11, 55) and Petersen and Jenkins (1995: 272).

e. Identifying soup kitchen committee members

This research has not focussed greatly on the individuals who made up soup kitchen committees. However, given the arguments of Sutton (1996) and Sherman (2001) about the earliest soup kitchens it was thought worthwhile to see whether the organisers of these early soup kitchens had clear economic or political interests that might be protected or advanced by the provision of charity.

The identification of individuals and their religious orientation in the following tables is based on published sources such as directories, Quaker biographies and petitions. Quaker meeting records have not been researched, so the number of

Quakers identified is probably an underestimate. Specific sources are given in each table and referred to below.

Amersham

Amersham Soup Society probably had ten committee members. Only five are identified by name in the Society's records (UPKC/740). Several others are referenced in minutes by initials and are identified through the rate list that formed part of the Soup Society's records and from the Buckinghamshire *Posse Comitatus*, a list of residents available for military service drawn up in 1798 (Bennett 1985). Only two sets of initials can be linked to known individuals (Table 12.11).

Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Only two source, one a trade directory (Mitchell 1801) and the other a Quaker history (Steel 1899), were used. (Table 12.12)

Spitalfields and Clerkenwell

Principal sources used here for Table 12.13, Table 12.14 and Table 12.15 were two trade directories (Lowndes 1797 and Post Office 1816) and a number of Quaker histories and other publications about or by Quakers were reviewed (Allen 1846; Foster 1813; Beck and Ball 1869) and a Quaker petition to Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade signed by many leading Quakers in 1783 (Petition 1783). The Quakers were probably from the Gracechurch Street, Tottenham and Ratcliffe Meetings.

As Clerkenwell Soup Kitchen was purportedly used to discipline workers in the watch-making industry, several directories of watch makes and jewellers were

also checked (Atkins and Overall 1881; Grimwade 1976; Britten 1894). The list of members of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts Manufactures and Commerce was also checked as it contained many engaged in the fine metalwork trade (Transactions 1808). Local church elections in Clerkenwell provide names of local Anglicans (Broadsides 1804).

Finally, the London Gazette, the catalogues of the London Metropolitan Archives and National Archives, and London Lives (https://www.londonlives.org/) (a database of individuals' names in a range of official documents up to 1820) were searched for names, but the documents referred to were not checked beyond the catalogue entry.

Bibliographic sources are referred to in the relevant tables only by their date of publication; these dates correspond to the citation references in the paragraphs above and are listed in the bibliography. **NArch** denotes National Archives, **LMA** the London Metropolitan Archives, **LL** London Lives and **LG** the London Gazette. Other citations in the tables are in the bibliography.

f. Calculating how many people received soup

Published soup kitchen statistics are often either not sufficiently detailed or are inconsistently reported to determine how many people got soup. Soup was often made in a set amount relating to the capacity of the stoves at the soup kitchen and following set recipes. However accounts sometimes provide more detail.

A report that 1000 gallons of soup were delivered last week was newsworthy, but how many days the soup kitchen was open or how much each person was given often went unreported. Servings ranged between 0.3 and 1 quart. The smaller

portions are not evidence of meanness, institutions often gave out large quantities of bread (up to 2lb) as well. The servings were intended to be meal-sized, not enough to live off until the next visit.

Furthermore, some attendees collected soup on behalf of families and some maybe attended several times. Sometimes, soup kitchens served different groups on alternate days (for example, Alnwick) which leads to confusion if one report mentions the daily capacity and another gives the total being fed. Finally, capacity was often unable to meet demand meaning that the volume may underestimate hunger.

Where no better evidence is available, a quart is assumed to represent one person. This may underestimate numbers served in some places. Lichfield considered one pint per adult and half a pint per child was sufficient (SA 14/12/1850: 4); in Faversham and the Newcastle-upon-Tyne parochial soup kitchens servings ranged between 0.3 and 0.6 quarts a person; typically Newcastle-upon-Tyne parishes favoured 1 pint servings with bread whereas the GSK served a quart but no bread (Table 12.18). Deal calculated its serving size based on stretching its boiler capacity of 160 gallons between its applicants (KHLC/De/QZm1: 7).

Family size

When statistics refer to 'families' rather than individuals, a family is assumed to be four people; the average from data available between 1832 and 1853 indicate that a 'soup kitchen family' was 3.9 people (Table 12.18). At All Saints in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the majority of recipients were women and children. The proportion of adults to children at All Saints (42%) is similar to Lichfield (40%) and West Street, Seven Dials in 1800 (43%) (West 1802: 16).

The average soup kitchen family is smaller than the norms of 4.0 (Griffin 2018: 84) and 4.75 (Laslett 1969: 209). Families in desperate poverty tended to jettison some members (Horrell and Humphries 1992: 878). Elderly soup-recipients without dependent children may also account for soup kitchen families being smaller. Many of the contemporary illustrations of soup kitchens show a similar female/male ratio, but children are underrepresented. This may be because whole families did not normally attend, but one child or parent only. The relative absence of male soup-recipients is likely to be due to their being less eligible for soup-tickets, less successful in begging one, or their avoidance of the shame of being seen to be receiving charity. Lack of winter-employment and recession were usually foremost in the minds of organisers, and it is not clear that women and children were more vulnerable to these economic woes than men. Horrell and Humphries (1992) note that the declining earning capacity of non-adult male family members impacted budgets in the mid-nineteenth century. Children might get soup more easily than their parents could get outdoor relief. In 1851, children made up 38% of outdoor relief recipients (Snell 2006: 309).

Catchment area

A soup kitchen's 'catchment area' was usually the relevant parish, except in those towns where one institution served several parishes. People did 'commute' to get soup, particularly in rural areas for soup given out by landowners. Statistics are less frequently available for these distributions, because the landed interests were not accountable to subscribers.

In Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the presence of four urban parishes and further suburban areas and at least five soup kitchens makes determining the proportion of the population receiving soup more difficult. There is no year between 1837/38

and 1850/51 for which there are data for all five (or six) soup kitchens. The GSK's maximum output seems to have been 1560 quarts when demand was high (NC 26/1/1838: 4); its statistics are always volume-based. I have assumed in calculations that when all four parish soup kitchens and the GSK were open that the GSK was working to full capacity. Where data from three parish soup kitchens are available, I have estimated the output of the missing fourth, if it was definitely open, based on a lower number than either the business of the other soup kitchens or this kitchen's history would indicate. Such estimates have only been made in years when the relevant soup kitchen was actually open. The overall proportion for Newcastle is therefore intended to be a conservative estimate of the proportion of the town's population receiving soup (Table 12.31) although people could have attended the GSK as well as their parish soup kitchen if they had a ticket and timing allowed. The population used is that for the whole borough of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and not the original four parishes. St John's distributed to the 'resident unemployed poor' of the parish and townships of Westgate, Elswick, and Benwell (NJ 24/2/1838: 2). It is assumed St Andrew's also distributed soup to its suburbs, but not All Saints as there was another soup kitchen in Byker/East All Saints.

Similar methods have been adopted for other soup kitchens (such as St Albans) which served multiple parishes. In all calculations, population has been interpolated on a straight-line basis between closest census years (unless stated).

g. Nutritional data on soup

The sample of published recipes included here is small and some are not detailed enough to calculate their nutritional value without making some assumptions.

The main ingredient of most soups was beef. However, meat's nutritional content will depend on the age, size, and breed, and on the season of slaughter. When specified, the cuts used were clods (shoulder), stickings (unsaleable scraps), shins and occasionally feet, cheeks, heads and offal, but the recipes rarely state whether the weight included bone or not. I have assumed that shin and leg of beef and cow's foot include bone; Colquhoun (1797: 7) states this explicitly. In the recipes for Orchard Street, St George's Fields, Clerkenwell, Camberwell and Birmingham shin and leg are listed separately from the other cuts and priced around 50-60% of their cost, reflecting that the meat was on-the-bone and therefore the lower meat content. Furthermore most soup kitchens sold leftover bone indicating that at least some of the meat arrived on the bone. The nutritional estimates for shin and leg have half the calorie and protein content of meat off the bone. Other cuts of beef are assumed to exclude bone.

Many soup kitchens extracted all the available nutrition from bone by using digesters or lengthy simmering. In Birmingham, the digester reduced 20lbs of bone into stock with only 1lb of residue (Bernard 1798a: 164), although it is not clear how much of the 19lb was nutritional. The difference in calorific value between meat on the bone and off may therefore be overstated. Mongewell, Oxfordshire used 'fat' pork. The calorific value of pork varies far more than beef due to its fat content; the value selected here is for 28% fat pork, at the higher end of the range.

Occasionally recipes and cooks recommended that the soup was skimmed before serving (i.e. excess fat was removed); this would have reduced the calorific value. An experimental batch of soup using St George's Fields' recipe (Lettsom 1801: 159), produced a thick reddish brown soup that was pronounced somewhat dull

and slightly fatty (the soup was not skimmed), with Proustian hints of 'school dinner', but it was improved with the addition of chilli sauce. The almost knife-proof beef shins had dissolved after several hours of slow-cooking. On cooling, the soup solidified, as Rumford described (1970: 255), owing to the gelatine (from the collagen) and glucans (from the barley). The experimental soup using did not produce enough fat to skin. The joints of meat specified in recipes are some of the leanest cuts available, so it would seem reasonable to assume that most soups were not skimmed and if they were that it did not significantly affect the soups nutritional value.

Some of the recipes contain generic descriptions: a 'good measure of carrots'. I have assumed that this is equivalent to the amounts specified by more detailed recipes; none of the recipes for meat soups have significant amounts of vegetables.

For herring, ox-heads, feet and cheeks, I have assumed these are medium sized. James Everfield, the prison cook at Millbank Penitentiary, gave evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee on the dietary within the prison in 1823 with a detailed description of making ox-head soup (BPP 1823: 98ff). The heads weighing 27lbs each were boiled overnight before the bones and solid meat were removed. The solid meat weighed 9lbs was returned to the soup and the now clean bones were discarded. Unfortunately Everfield did not weigh the skulls. Modern cattle skulls (bone and teeth) weigh between 5 and 8lbs, meaning around 10llbs had dissolved into the soup. This gives a meat weight of around 20lbs per head. Some recipes such as Birmingham's from 1816 contain too many uncertain items with no weight given to calculate reliably (BCWG 28/11/1816: 2).

Several different systems of measurement were in use during the early nineteenth century, and it is not always clear which a particular recipe was using. Winchester measures were usually used for volumes of grain (and also peas and occasionally other vegetables) until the second quarter of the nineteenth century when imperial measures were introduced. Usually the recipes specify weight for dry ingredients (always in relation to meat). Liquid measures were variable with wine and ale having slightly larger gallons than other liquids. Imperial measures of volume are about 3% larger than Winchester measure and equivalent U.S. measures. Unless Winchester measure is specified, I have assumed imperial measures are being used. Since dry measured foodstuffs amount to about half the nutrition going into the soups, the nutritional values may be overestimates by about 1.5%.

Where the recipes state measurements in bushels or in numbers (e.g. two ox heads) their weight, and calorific content, when necessary, has been estimated. Calorific content has used data from USDA 2019. Details of the calories contained in standard ingredients and of the assumptions are set out in Table 12.41 to Table 12.43.

h. Poor law data

Table 12.61 to Table 12.66 show how much of each unions expenditure went on outdoor relief in 1860 and 1875. The data are derived from the Poor Law Board and the Local Government Board reports. The *per capita* expenditure has been calculated using population interpolated between census years on a straight line basis for the relevant poor law union.

Snell (2006: 224) used the year ending 25 March 1875 as a benchmark for looking at crusade relief practice as the year was unexceptional (selecting any year for a snapshot risks bias from exceptional events). For comparison with 1875, is used here 1860 because the national economy was relatively benign and the Cotton Famine had not begun.

12. Appendix 2: Tables and graphs

These tables and graphs are referred to in the main text. They have been set out here thematically.

a. Soup kitchens, the weather, food prices and economy

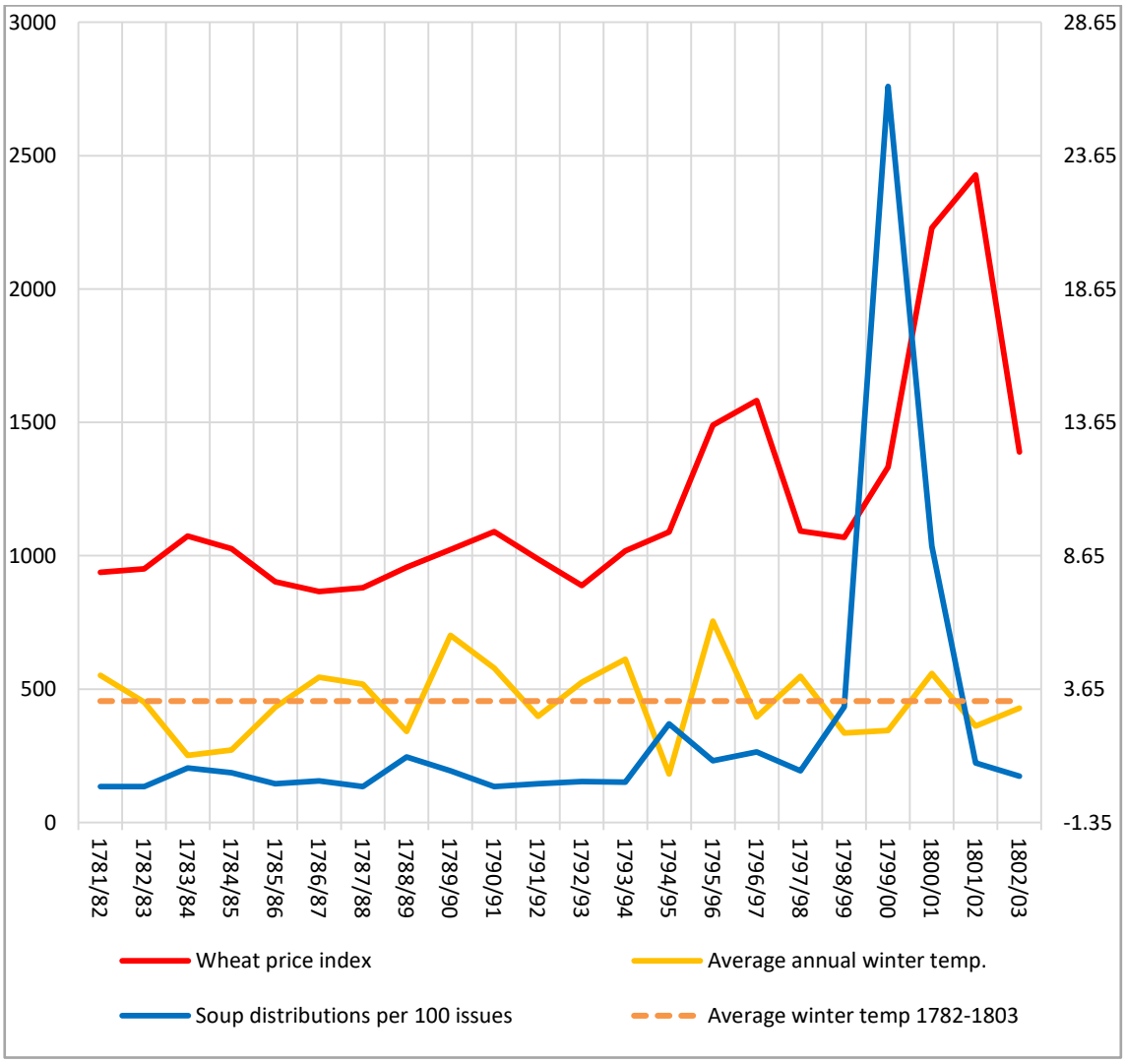


Figure 12.1. The relationship between soup distributions in England, cold winters and wheat prices, 1782-1803. Left scale red line: wheat price index. Right scale (a) blue line: soup distributions per 100 newspaper issues; (b) yellow line: average annual winter temperature in Celsius; (c) orange dashed line: average winter temperature.

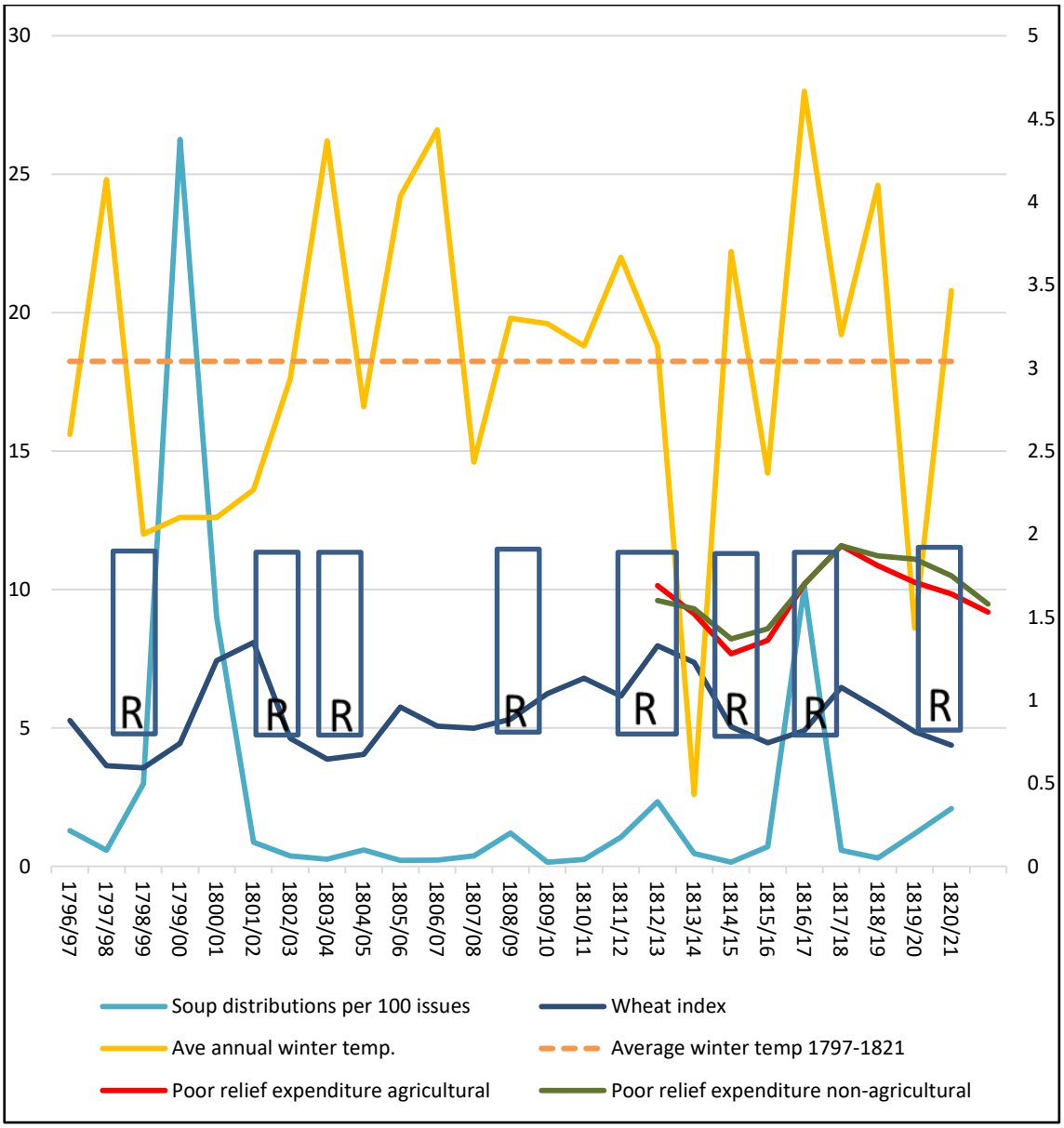


Figure 12.2. The relationship between soup distributions in England, cold winters, wheat prices and poor law expenditure 1797-1818. Left scale (a) dark blue line: wheat price index; (b) pale blue line: soup distributions per 10,000 newspaper issues. Right scale (a) yellow line: average annual winter temperature in Celsius; (b) orange dashed line: average winter temperature; (c) red and green lines: national poor relief payments (indexed) from Blaug (1963: 181). Dark blue rectangles with 'R': recessions.

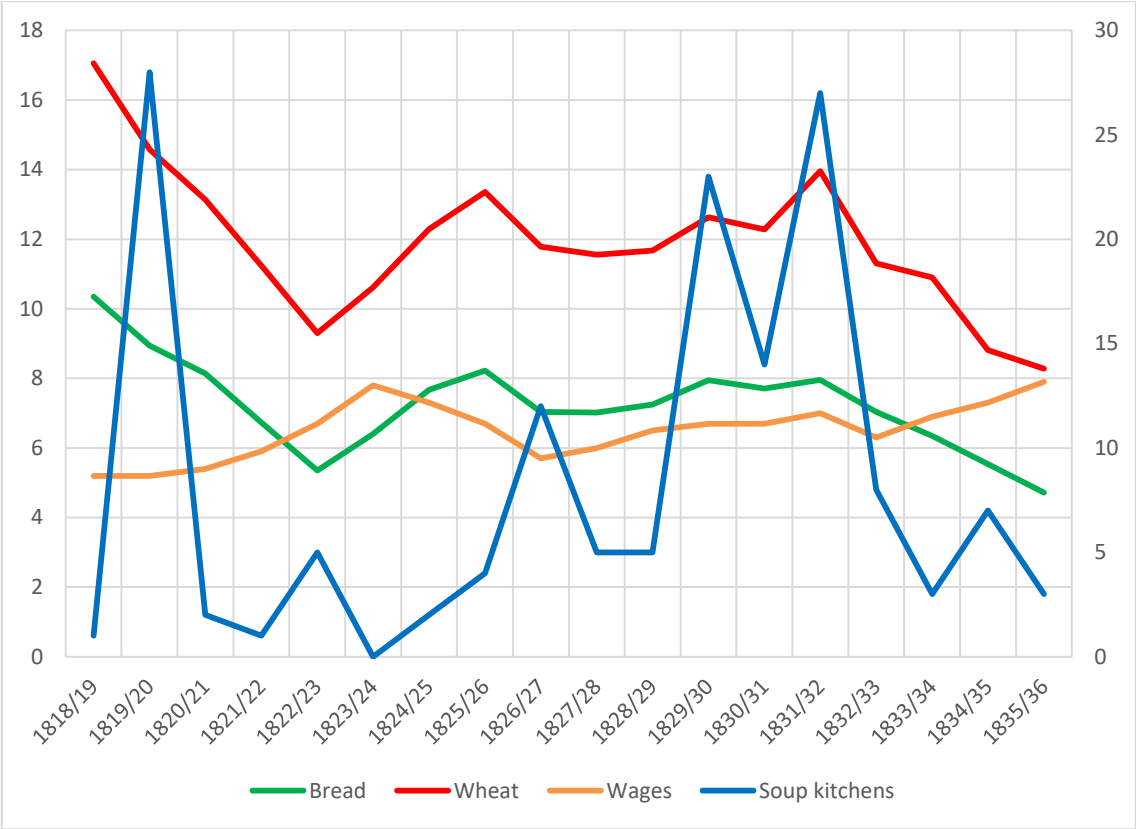


Figure 12.3. Wheat, bread and wages indices and soup kitchens open in study regions 1818/19 to 1835/36. Left scale (a) orange line: wages; (b) red line: wheat prices (c) green line: bread prices. Right scale blue line: soup kitchens.

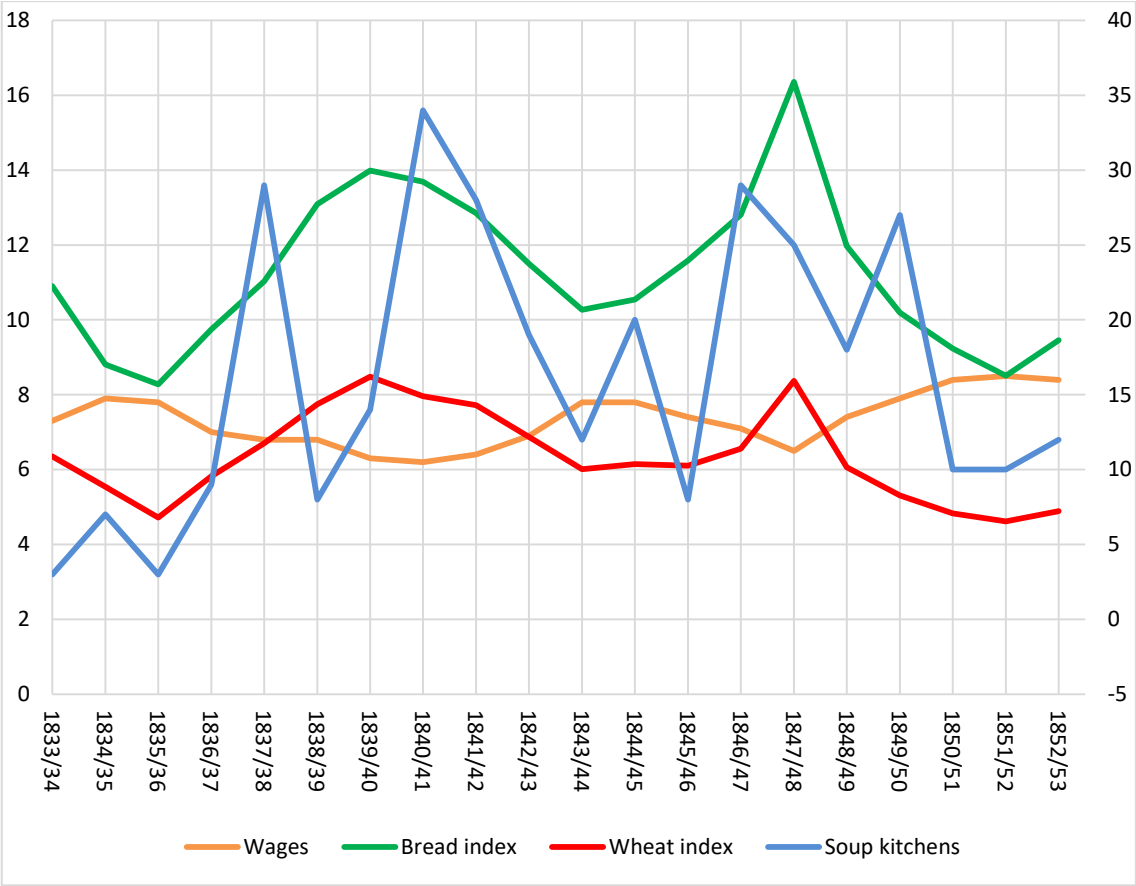


Figure 12.4. Wheat, bread and wages indices and soup kitchens open in study regions 1833/34 to 1852/53. Left scale (a) orange line: wages; (b) red line: wheat prices; (c) green line: bread prices. Right scale blue line: soup kitchens.

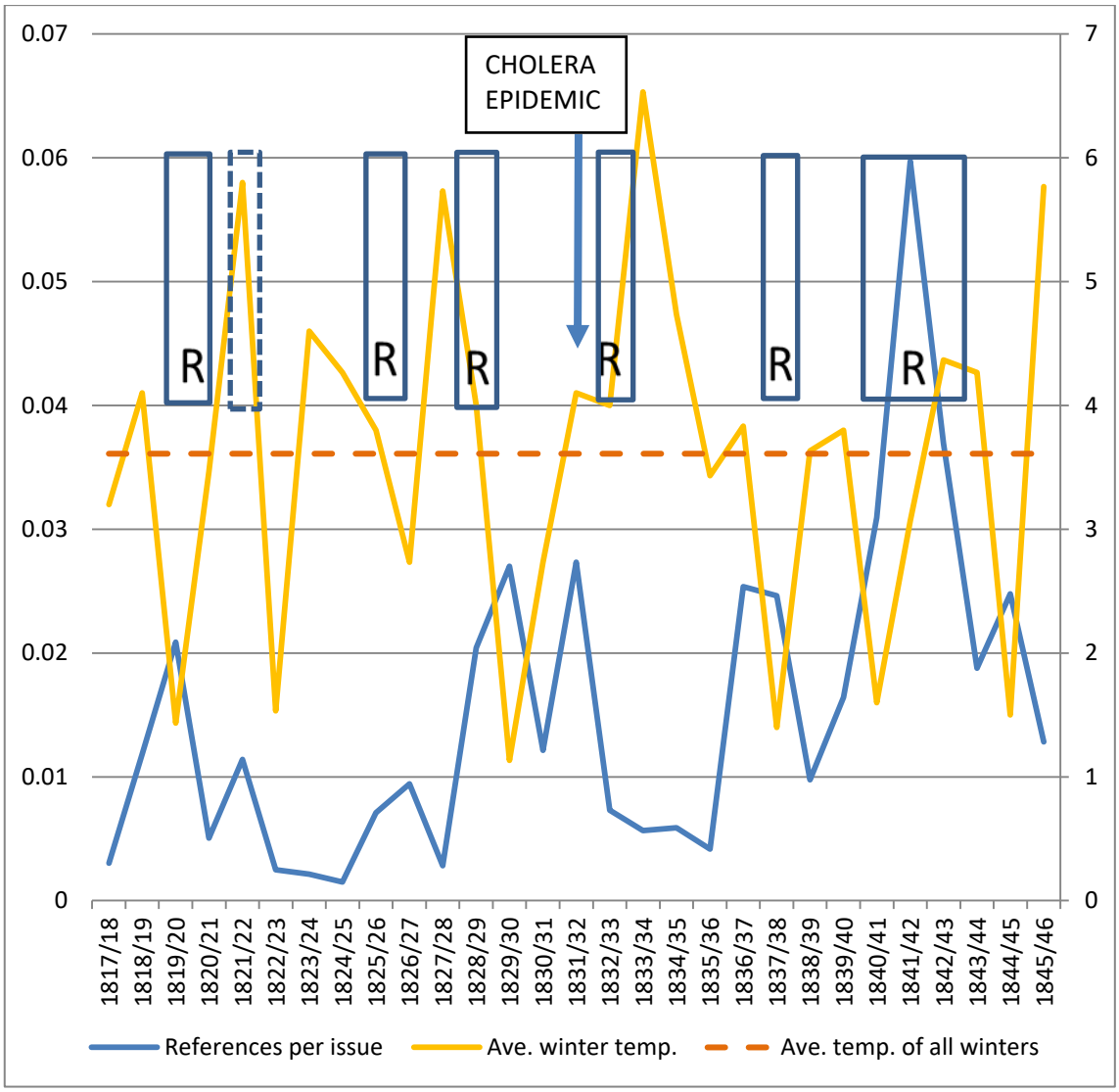


Figure 12.5. The relationship between soup distributions in England and cold winters, 1817/18-1845/46. Left scale blue line: soup kitchen references per issue of English newspapers. Right scale (a) yellow line: average winter temperature in Celsius; (b) orange dashed line: average winter temperature. Dark blue rectangles with 'R': recessions. There was a 'trough' in GDP in 1822 shown by the dotted box (Broadberry and van Leeuwen 2010: 36-37).

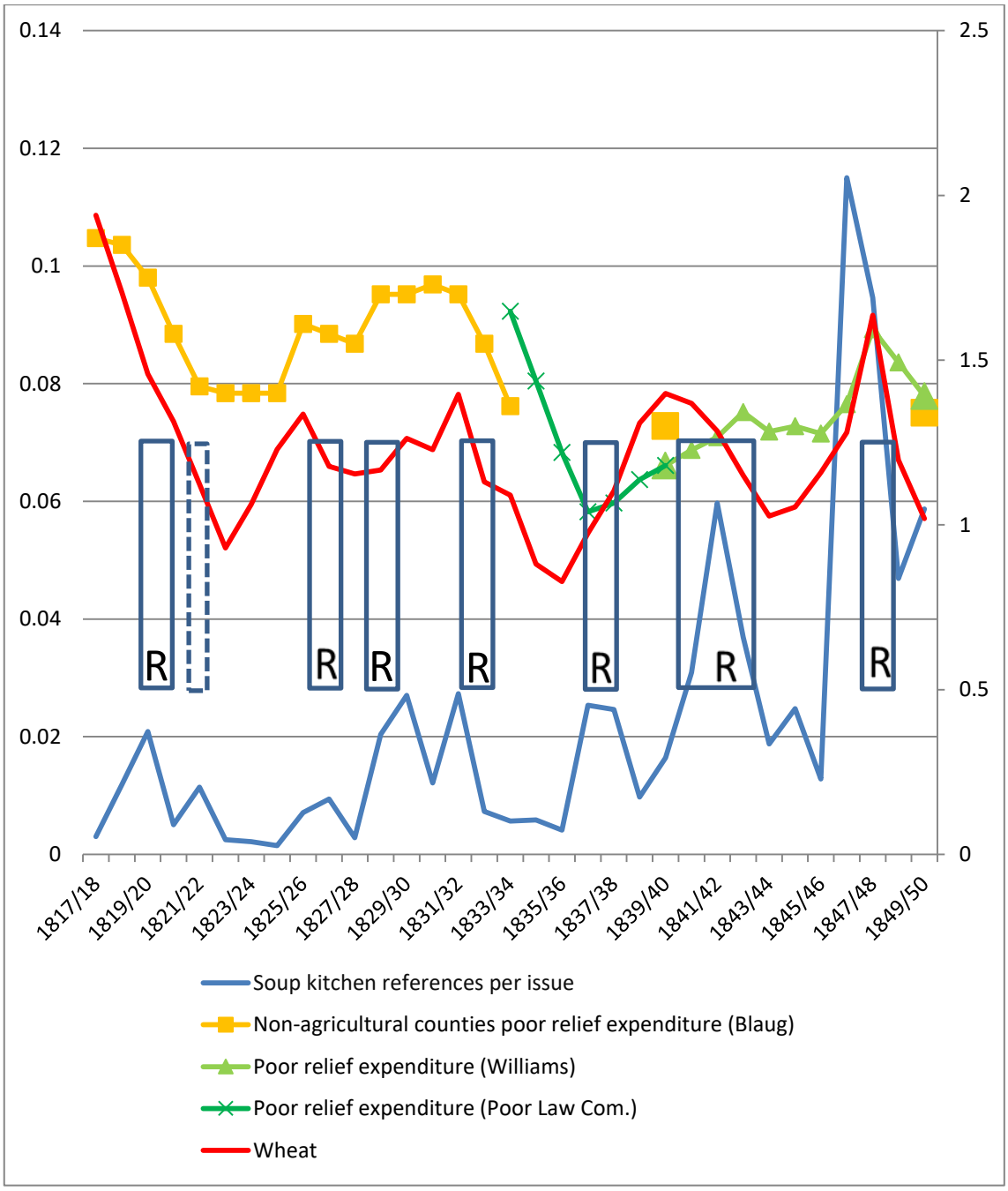


Figure 12.6. The relationship between soup distributions in England, poor law expenditure, wheat prices and recessions 1817/18-1849/50. Left scale blue line: soup kitchen articles per issue of English newspapers (data point for 1846/47 (during the Irish famine) have been halved in value to avoid obscuring the fluctuations between more normal years). Right scale (a) red line: wheat prices; (b) yellow line and data points: national poor relief spending in non-agricultural counties (Blaug 1963: 181) (Blaug also provides figures for agricultural counties which are almost identical; these have been omitted here for clarity); (c) green line: national poor law spending under the NPL (Williams 1981: 148, 169; PLC 1841). PLC data has been indexed to

correspond to Williams' data; Blaug also gives data points for 1840 and 1850. Williams' data is indexed to be half-way between Blaug's two categories in 1841. Dark blue rectangles with 'R': recessions.

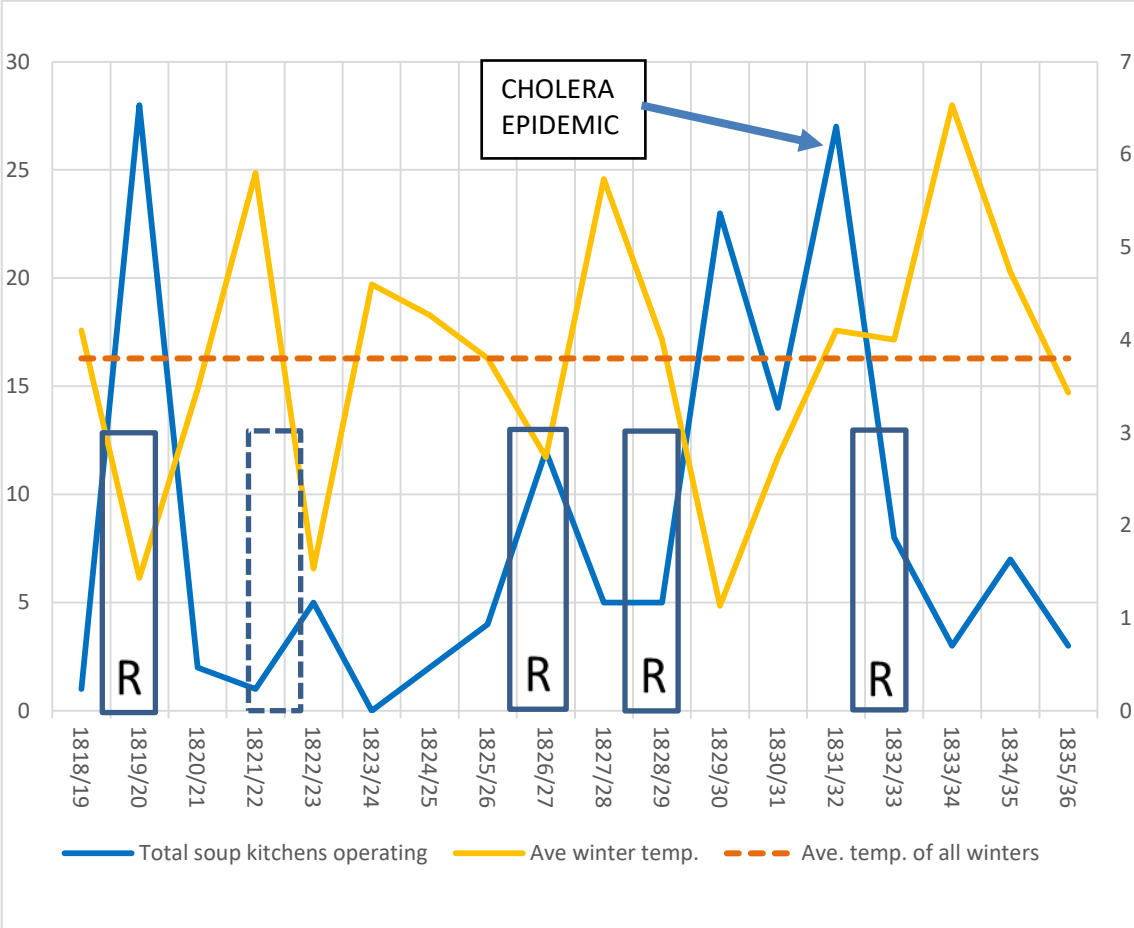


Figure 12.7. The relationship between soup distributions, cold winters and recessions in the five study regions 1818/19-1834/35. Left scale blue line: soup kitchens open. Right scale (a) yellow line: average wintertime temperatures in Celsius; (b) orange dashed line: average winter temperature. Dark blue rectangles with 'R': recessions.

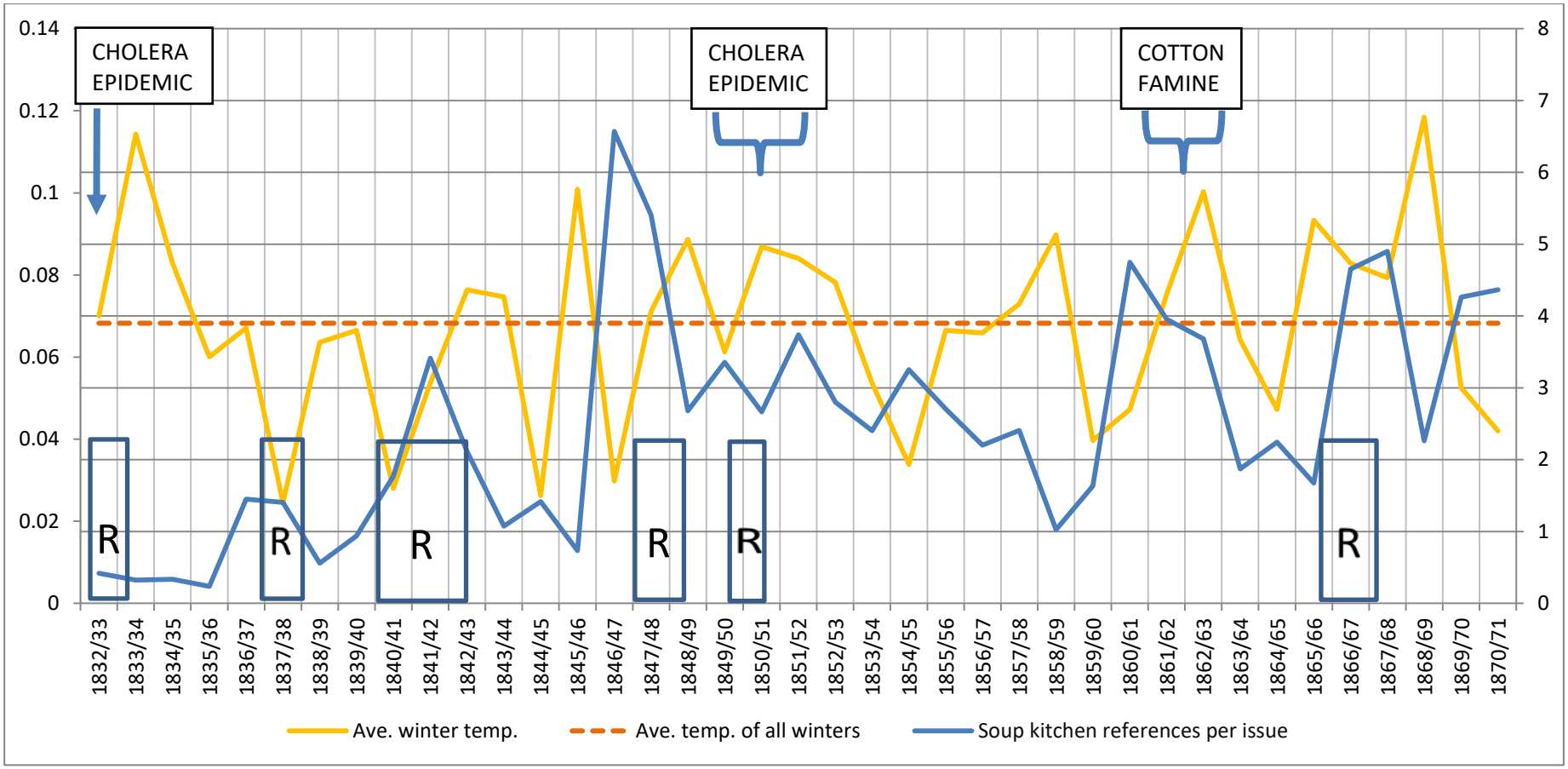


Figure 12.8. The relationship between soup distributions in England, cold winters, and poor law expenditure 1832/33-1870/71. Left scale blue line: soup kitchen articles per issue of English newspapers (data point for 1846/47 (during the Irish famine) have been halved in value to avoid obscuring the fluctuations between more normal years). Right scale (a) yellow line: average wintertime temperatures in Celsius; (b) orange dashed line: average winter temperature. Dark blue rectangles with 'R': recessions.

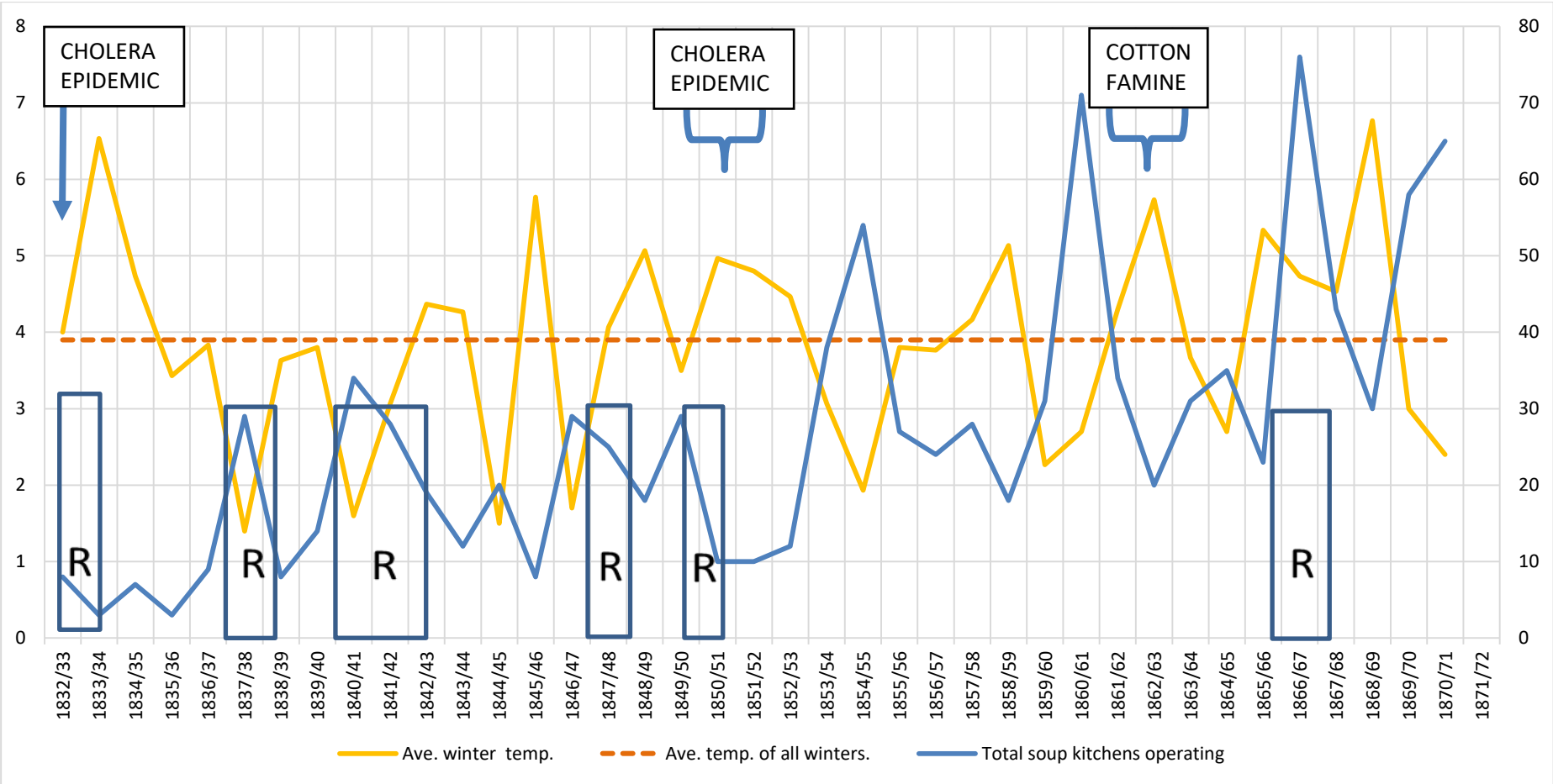


Figure 12.9. The relationship between soup distributions, cold winters and recessions in the five study regions 1832/33-1870/71. Right scale blue line: soup kitchens open. Left scale (a) yellow line: average wintertime temperatures in Celsius; (b) orange dashed line: average winter temperature. Dark blue rectangles with 'R': recessions.

Figure 12.10. The relationship between soup distributions, cold winters and recessions 1868/69-1913/14 for England. Right scale soup blue line: kitchens mentioned. Left scale (a) yellow line: average wintertime temperatures in Celsius; (b) orange dashed line: average winter temperature. Dark blue rectangles with 'R': recessions.

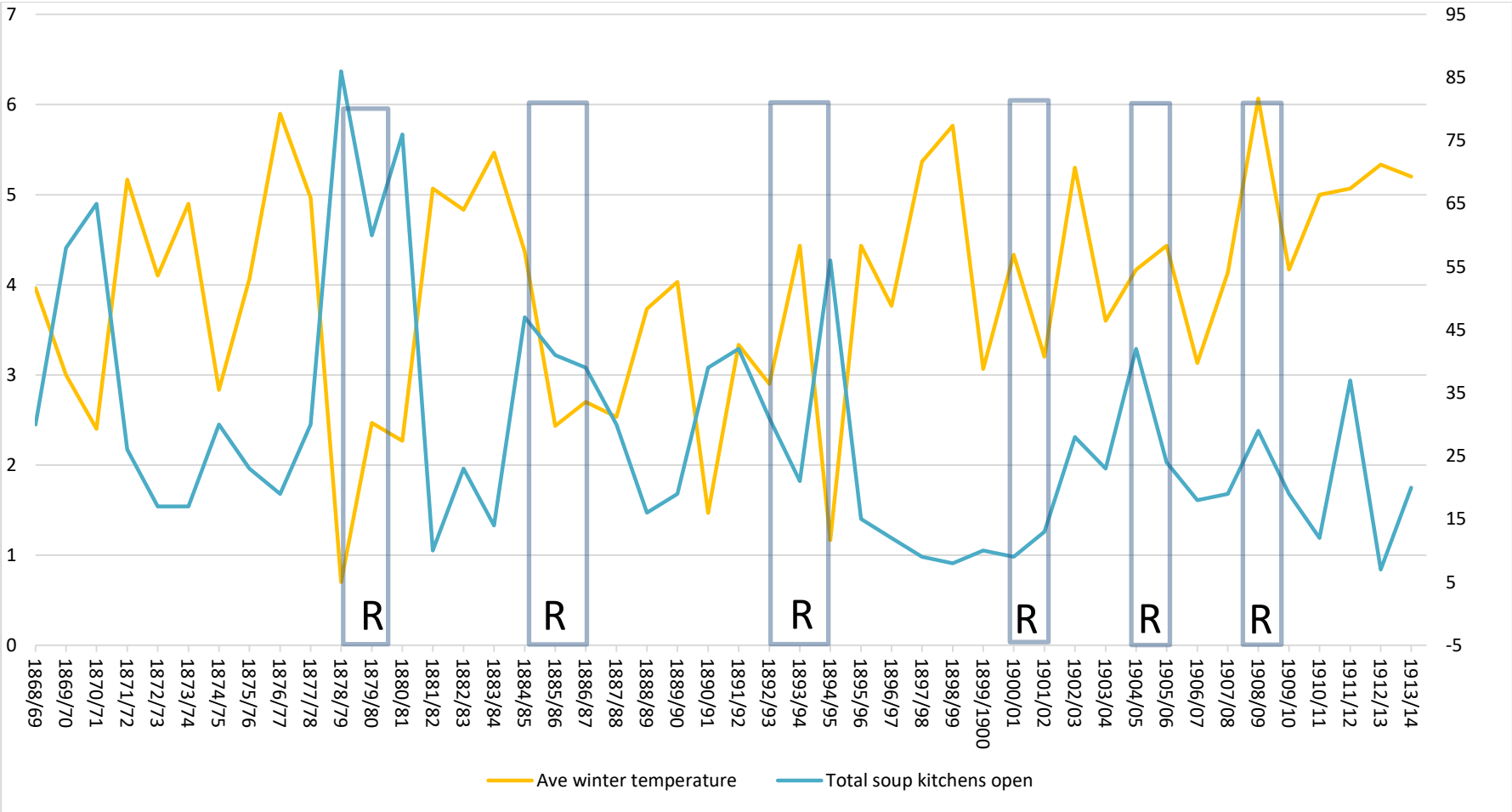


Figure 12.11. The relationship between soup distributions, cold winters and recessions in the five study regions in 1869/70-1913/14. Right scale blue line: soup kitchens open. Left scale (a) yellow line: average wintertime temperatures in Celsius; (b) orange dashed line: average winter temperature. Dark blue rectangles with 'R': recessions.

b. London soup kitchen locations: 1795-1801

Colquhoun and the LCHRC published several lists of individual cook-shops and larger soup kitchens that provided sour during the crisis years of 1795 to 1802. Additional information from newspapers has also been included.

Cook	Address	Parish/place	Rank in Grose (1792)	Type of place
James Hudson	119 Old Street Road	St Luke's Middlesex	4	Main street
James Wilson	219 Whitecross Street	St Luke's Middlesex	4	Near street corner
Joseph Wallis	97 Whitecross Street	St Luke's Middlesex	4	Side street
Samuel Jay	55 Golden Lane	St Luke's Middlesex	5	Side street
John Bongard	Hoxton Town	St Leonard Shoreditch	?	Not known
John Dentford	Holywell Lane	St Leonard Shoreditch	5	Side street
Samuel Jewell	6 Worship Street	St Leonard Shoreditch	4	Side Street
Robert Douglas	16 Kingsland Road	St Leonard Shoreditch	4	Main road
William Channell	Long Alley Crown Street	Norton Folgate	7	Alley
John Andrews	46 Bethnal Green Road	St Matthew Bethnal Green	4	Main road
William Copsey	71 Hare Street	St Matthew Bethnal Green	4	Street

Samuel Berwicket	20 Austin Street	St Matthew Bethnal Green	4	Side street
Anne Dormer	Church Street	St Matthew Bethnal Green	4	Main street
Thomas Wiggins	156 Brick Lane	Christ Church Spitalfields	5	Street
Nathaniel Atkins	26 Lamb Street	Christ Church Spitalfields	4	Street
George Franklin	9 Smock Alley	Christ Church Spitalfields	7	Alley
William Spriggins	18 Fashion Street	Christ Church Spitalfields	4	Street
Thomas Lewis	33 Brick Lane	Christ Church Spitalfields	5	Street
Mary Pullen	Wells Street	Mile End New Town	4	Street
William Connell	Rosemary Lane	St Mary Whitechapel	5	Street

Table 12.1. The 20 London soup-shops in 1795-97 (Colquhoun 1797: 13); rankings based on Grose 1792: 75) with squares the highest (1) and passages the lowest (9), (roads are assumed to be the same level as streets). Only George Franklin's premises seem to survive.

Name	Address	Parish/place
Spitalfields Soup Committee	53 Brick Lane	Spitalfields
Clerkenwell Soup Committee	Turnmill Lane (Coppice Row)	Clerkenwell
Ratcliff Soup Committee (Eastern District)	65 Pennington Street (former Rising Sun brew house)	St George's-in-the-East
St Giles' Soup Committee	West Street, Seven Dials, adjoining chapel	St Giles
Westminster Soup Committee	Orchard Street	Westminster
St George's Spa Soup Committee	Dog and Duck	Southwark
Bermondsey Soup Committee		Southwark
St Olave's Soup Committee		Southwark
Christ Church Soup Committee		Southwark
St John's Soup Committee		Southwark
City Soup-house	Guildhall, then New Street	Blackfriars
Cripplegate and St Luke's Soup-house		
Portsoken Ward Soup Committee		
Mile End Old Town hamlet Soup Committee		
Mile End New Town		
Poplar and Blackwall		
St Mary le Strand Soup Committee		

St Pancras District Soup Committee		
St Martin and St Paul's Soup Committee		Covent Garden
Islington Soup Committee	Cadds Row (Gadd's Row)	Islington
Pentonville Soup Committee		
Kensington Soup Committee		
Chelsea Soup Committee		
Jewish Nation Soup Committee	Mitre Court, Duke's Place	
Bishopsgate	Bishopsgate Street	Workhouse
St James Parish		
St George Hanover Square	Park Lane	Public Kitchen
St Marylebone	'a spot of land' – purpose built ODA 24/12/1799	Workhouse?
St Clement Dane's		
North District	Beech Street	
Camberwell	Mr Wade's	
Lambeth	Archbishop's palace	Palace kitchens
Holborn Good Samaritan Society	Shoe Lane	

Table 12.2. London and suburbs: soup kitchens in 1799-1801 (General Report 1800; *Times* 20/2/1799: 3, 14/3/1800: 1, 9/4/1800:1, 2/3/1801: 1; KW 17/2/1801: 2; MCh 31/1/1801: 1). The first 25 (to Bishopsgate) are mentioned by the LCHRC; St Clement Dane's and North District may be alternative names for other institutions already listed. Only Spitalfields, the Guildhall, West Street Chapel and Lambeth Palace are known to survive.

Cook	Address	Parish/place	Rank in Grose (1792)	Type of place
Thomas Rayner	7 Bell Yard, Temple	Temple Bar	8	Narrow street
Thomas Oliver	16 Moor Lane	Cripplegate	5	Side street
Thomas Rickman	9 Bowling Street	Westminster	4	Side street
Charles Taylor	10 Long's Court	Leicester Square	6	Narrow courtyard
Thomas Robertson	45 Marylebone Lane	Marylebone	5	Street
Thomas Wright	5 Newton Street	High Holborn	4	Side street
William Hillyer	Fullwood's Rents	Holborn	7?	Courtyard
Thomas Stevenson	Monmouth Court, Monmouth Street	Holborn	6	Narrow courtyard
Thomas Harris	12 Benjamin Street	Clerkenwell	4	Side street
Robert Jenkins	6 Worship Street	Shoreditch	4	Side street
Thomas Appleton	1 Union Street, Kingsland Road	Shoreditch	4	Side street
Philip Trip	28 Castle Street, Union Street	Borough	4	Side street
John Weocfine	20 William Street	Southwark	4	Side street
Mary Metheral	10 Kent Street	Southwark	4	Main street
Henry Vaux	25 Bermondsey Street	Southwark	4	Main street

Thomas Bishop	2 Jamaica Row	Rotherhithe	3	Main street
Peter Brown	1 Union Street	Lambeth	4	Side Street
Thomas Bennet	2 Marsh Gate (toll gate opposite church)	Lambeth	4	Main street

Table 12.3. The 18 small cook-shops financed by the LCHRC in 1799/1800 (General Report 1800); none of the buildings seem to have survived.

c. Early soup kitchens: 1689 to 1818: lists

Place	County	Benefactor	Source	Parish: urban, open or closed
Bath	Somerset	A family	BCWG 26/3/1795: 2	Urban
Barkham (Barcombe?)	Sussex	Mr Kemp	SNL 23/1/1795: 1	Closed
Borough	London	Reverend Rowland Hill	KW 18/3/1796: 2	Urban
Chippenham	Wiltshire	Mr Singer	BCWG 20/2/1794: 3	Urban?
Durham	County Durham	Bishop, Dean and Chapter of Durham	NC 25/7/1795: 4	Urban
Flockton	West Yorks.	William Milnes	LI 23/3/1795: 3	Open
Hadleigh	Suffolk	Mr Reeve	IJ 7/2/1795: 3	Urban
Hereford	Herefordshire	George Prince of Wales	HJ 25/2/1795	Urban
Himley	Staffs.	Viscount Dudley	SA 24/1/1795: 4	Closed
Kirkby Fleetham	North Yorks.	William Lawrence MP	LI 2/2/1795	Open
Lichfield	Staffordshire	Sir Robert Williams	SA 20/2/1796: 4	Urban
Lowick, Islip and Slipton	Northants.	Viscount Sackville	NM 31/1/1795: 3	Probably closed
St George's Colegate, Norwich	Norfolk	John Rooks, Bartholomew Sewell	NorfC 31/1/1795, 7/2/1795	Urban

St Mary's Norwich	Norfolk	Mr Finch	NorfC 14/3/1795	Urban
St Stephen's, Norwich	Norfolk	Mr Ward	NorfC 5/3/1796: 2	Urban
Norwich	Norfolk	John Harvey Esq	NorfC 9/1/1796: 2	Urban
Stoughton	Hunts.	Earl of Ludlow	NM 3/1/1795: 3	Probably closed
Totteridge Park	Herts	Lee family	1795-96 (HALS/DE/B242)	Probably closed
Trentham	Staffordshire	Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford	SA 20/2/1796: 4	Probably open
Whitehaven	Cumberland	James Hogarth Esq	CPW 10/2/1795: 2	Urban
Wilton	Wiltshire	Earl of Pembroke	BCWG 19/2/1795: 3	Urban

Table 12.4. Soup distributions by individuals 1795-96.

Place	County	Place used	Dates operational	Source
Bath	Somerset	Multiple cook-shops	1796 onwards	BCWG 19/5/1796: 3
Clapham	Surrey	Not known	1796	KW 18/3/1796: 2
London		Multiple cook-shops	1795 onwards	(Colquhoun 1797: 5)
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Northumberland	Courtyard	1796/97 onwards	NC 18/11/1797: 4
Michaels at Plea, Norwich	Norfolk	Not known	1796	NorfC 12/3/1796: 2
Norwich (United Friars)	Norfolk	Cook-shop	1793? or 1795 onwards	NorfC 3/12/1796: 2
Peterborough		Not known	1795	SM 24/7/1795: 3
Sunderland	County Durham	Not known	1795	NC 14/2/1795:4

Table 12.5. Institutional soup kitchens 1793-1796.

Place	County	Place used or person responsible	Dates operational			Source
			96/97	97/98	98/99	
Bath	Somerset	Multiple cook-shops	Yes	Yes	Yes	BCWG 15/12/1796: 3, 18/1/1798: 3, 13/12/1798: 3
Birmingham, Peck Lane	Warwickshire	Large soup-shop	Yes	?	Yes	BCWG 12/1/1797: 3; Bernard 1798a: 162
Birmingham Colmore Row	Warwickshire	Large soup-shop		Yes	Yes	BCWG, 13/12/1798: 3; Bernard 1798a: 162
Birmingham near workhouse	Warwickshire	Soup-shop			Yes	Bernard 1798a: 163
Bradford	West Yorks	Soup-shop	Yes			LI 23/1/1797: 3
Canterbury Mint Yard	Kent	Former almonery	Yes			CCA/U3/100/8/1; KG 10/2/1797: 3
Dropmore, Burnham	Bucks	Lady Grenville			Yes	KG 18/1/1799: 3
Hull	East Yorks		Yes			HAEG 31/12/1796: 3
Iver	Bucks	Mrs Learner's cottage	Yes	Yes		Bernard 1798c: 102
Langley	Bucks	Cottage?		Yes		Bernard 1798c: 106
London, Holborn	London	Hillyer's cook-shop	Yes	Yes	Yes	Hillyer 1798, *Times* 22/1/1799

London, various	London	Small soup-shops	Yes			Colquhoun 1797: 23
London Borough	London	Large soup-shop	Yes ?	Yes	?	IJ 2/3/1799: 4
London, Clerkenwell	London	Large soup-shop	No	Yes	Yes	Bernard 1798a: 169; IJ 2/3/1799: 4
London, St Georges Fields/Spa	London	Large soup-shop	Yes	Yes	Yes	Bernard 1798a: 169; DM 22/2/1798: 1; IJ 2/3/1799: 4
London, Spitalfields	London	Large soup-shop	No	Yes	Yes	Bernard 1798b: 169; IJ 2/3/1799: 4
London Westminster Soup Society Orchard Street	Westminster	Large soup-shop		Yes ?	Yes	General Report 1800: 7, Colquhoun 1799a: 1
Manchester, 19 Copperas Street	Lancashire	Soup-shop			Yes	MM 7/1/1799: 4
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Excise Office	Northumberland	Courtyard	Yes	Yes	Yes	NC 18/11/1797: 4, 28/12/1799: 4
Norwich (United Friars)	Norfolk	Cook-shop	Yes	Yes	Yes	NorfC 11/4/1807: 2
Penrith	Westmorland	Lord Lonsdale	Yes	Yes	Yes	NC 28/12/1799: 4
Petworth	Sussex	Lord Egremont	Yes			BCWG 2/2/1797: 1
Sheffield	South Yorks.	Not known	Yes ?	Yes	Yes	Wells 1977: 18; SM 6/12/1799: 4

Winchester	Hants.	St John's House, former hospital			Yes	HampC 31/12/1798: 4

Table 12.6. Known soup kitchens December 1796-May 1799.

Place	County	Person responsible	Dates operational			Source
			99/00	00/01	01/02	
Andover	Hants.			Yes		HampC 19/1/1801: 4
Ashton-under-Lyne	Lancashire		Yes			MM 14/1/1800: 4
Banbury	Oxon.		Yes	Yes ?		OJ 11/1/1800 3, 1/11/1800: 3
Bath, Guildhall	Somerset		Yes	Yes		BCWG 16/1/1800: 3, 11/12/1800: 4
Bath, the Crescent	Somerset	Mr and Mrs Tennant		Yes		BCWG 1/1/1801: 3
Beccles	Suffolk		Yes			IJ 4/1/1800: 1
Beckenham, Langley Park	Kent	Lord Gwydir, Lady Willoughby	Yes			KG 28/1/1800: 4
Beverley	East Yorks.		Yes			HAEG 1/4/1800: 3
Birmingham, Peck Lane?	Warwicks.		Yes	Yes	Yes	LI 2/12/1799:3; ABG 20/1/1800: 3; SA 11/10/1800: 4
Birmingham, London Prentice Street	Warwicks.			Yes		ABG 20/1/1800: 3
Blackburn	Lancs.			Yes		CaJ 7/3/1801: 3
Blenheim (Woodstock)	Oxon.	Duke of Marlborough	Yes			IJ 17/5/1800: 4

Bodmin	Cornwall		Yes			ShM 31/3/1800: 4
Boston	Lincs					SM 3/1/1800: 1
Bradford	West Yorks.			Yes		LI 2/2/1801: 2
Brancepeth	Durham		Yes			NC 28/12/1799: 4
Bridlington	East Yorks.		Yes			HAEG 21/12/1799: 5
Bridport, Haddon House	Dorset	Sir Lawrence Palk		Yes		EFP 29/1/1801: 4
Brighton	Sussex		Yes			SuA 6/1/1800: 3
Bristol	Bristol		Yes	Yes		BCWG 18/12/1800: 4
Broome	Kent	Sir Henry Oxenden	Yes			KG 11/3/1800: 4
Buckden	Cambs.	Bishop of Lincoln	Yes			IJ 18/1/1800: 3
Burley	Rutland	Earl of Winchelsea		Yes		LC 12/1/1801: 3
Bury St Edmunds	Suffolk		Yes			SM 28/2/1800: 3
Cambridge	Cambs.		Yes			IJ 1/2/1800: 2
Canterbury, Mint Yard Almonery	Kent		Yes	Yes		KG 10/1/1800: 4, 2/1/1801: 1
Chatham	Kent			Yes		KG 2/1/1801: 4
Cheltenham	Gloucs.		Yes			GJ 17/2/1800: 3
Chester	Cheshire		Yes			CC 3/1/1800: 3

Colchester	Essex		Yes	Yes	Yes	IJ 8/3/1800: 2, 21/3/1801: 2, 23/1/1802: 3
Crediton	Devon			Yes		EFP 15/1/1801: 4
Denton and Asquith, Denton Park	North Yorks.	Sir Henry Carr Ibbetson		Yes		LI 11/5/1801: 3
Derby, All Saints Poor House	Debyshire		Yes	Yes		DM 21/11/1799: 4, 27/11/1800: 4
Dudley	Staffs		Yes			Sun 21/12/1799: 4
Dunster	Somerset		Yes			ShM 5/5/1800: 4
Durham	Co. Durham		Yes	Yes		NM 16/11/1799:2; NC 20/12/1800: 3
East Bergholt	Suffolk		Yes			IJ 18/1/1800: 5
Elvaston	Derbys.		Yes			DM 9/1/1800: 4
Exeter	Devon		Yes			SM 22/11/1799: 1
Fletching	East Sussex		Yes			HT 23/12/1799: 4
Gateshead	Co. Durham		Yes	Yes		NC 25/1/1800: 1, 10/1/1801: 1
Gloucester	Gloucs.		Yes			GJ 24/2/1800: 3
Greenwich	Kent		Yes			HampC 22/9/1800: 2
Hastings	East Sussex		Yes			SuA 10/2/1800:3
Hereford	Herefords.		Yes	Yes		HJ 8/1/1800: 4, 24/12/1800: 3
Hooton-Pagnell	South Yorks.	St Andrew Warde Esq				LI 3/3/1800:3

Howdon Pans	Northumb.					NC 18/1/1800: 4
Hull	East Yorks.		Yes			HAEG 30/11/1799: 3, 6/12/1800: 2
Ipswich, Coach and Horses Inn, Tacket Street	Suffolk		Yes	Yes	Yes	IJ 21/12/1799: 4, 13/12/1800: 3, 9/1/1802: 2
Islip	Oxon.		Yes			OJ 4/1/1800: 3
Kendal	Westmorland		Yes			CPW 7/1/1800: 3; CaJ 14/3/1801: 3
Kings Lynn	Norfolk		Yes			SM 10/1/1800: 3
Lancaster	Lancashire		Yes			BCWG 23/1/1800: 4
Leeds	West Yorks		Yes	Yes		LI 27/1/1800: 3, 26/1/1801: 3
Leicester	Leics.		Yes			CC 18/2/1800: 2
Lewes, near Market House	East Sussex	T. Kemp Esq. MP	Yes		Yes	SuA 6/1/1800: 3, 11/1/1802: 3
Liverpool, Chapel Street and Park Lane	Lancashire		Yes	Yes		OJ 6/12/1799: 1; CC 13/2/1801: 3
Ludlow	Herefords.		Yes			HJ 5/2/1800: 3
Lutterworth	Leics.		Yes			BCWG 23/1/1800: 4
Maidstone	Kent			Yes		IJ 3/1/1801: 1
Manchester, Copperas Street Toll Lane, Silver Street	Lancashire		Yes	Yes		MM 19/11/1799: 1, 16/12/1800: 4

Margate	Kent		Yes			KG 11/2/1800: 4
Marlow	Bucks		Yes			RM 14/4/1800: 3
Monmouth	Monmouth		Yes			HJ 1/1/1800: 3
Mulgrave Whitby	North Yorks	Lord Mulgrave	Yes			HAEG 1/2/1800: 3
Nantwich	Cheshire		Yes			CC 2/12/1800: 3
Newark	Notts.		Yes	Yes		SM 7/11/1800: 2
Newbury Mayor's Mansion House	Berks		Yes	Yes		RM 3/2/1800: 3 BWCG 15/1/1801: 3; BWM 5/1/1800
Newcastle-under-Lynne	Staffs.			Yes		SA 4/4/1801: 1
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Northumb.		Yes	Yes		NC 7/12/1799: 1, 3/1/1801: 1
North Shields Charlotte Street	Northumb.		Yes	Yes		NC 11/1/1800: 1, 3/1/1801: 1
Northampton	Northants.		Yes	Yes	Yes	DM 9/1/1800: 4; NM 3/1/1801: 3; MP 22/1/1802: 3
Norwich	Norfolk	Mrs Gibson's soup-shop	Yes	Yes	Yes	NorfC 11/4/1807: 2
Norwich, St Mary Coslany	Norfolk	Peter Finch Esq		Yes		BNP 29/4/1801: 3
Oldham	Lancs.		Yes			MM 10/12/1799: 4
Otley	West Yorks			Yes		LI 29/12/1800:3
Oxford Town Hall	Oxon.		Yes	Yes		OJ 11/1/1800:3, 20/12/1800: 3, Bodleian T155138

Penbedw	Denbighs.	Watkin Williams Esq		Yes		CC 27/1/1801: 3
Penrith	Cumberland		Yes			NC 28/12/1799: 4
Plymouth	Devon		Yes	Yes		EFP 25/12/1800: 3
Pontypool	Monmouth	Mr & Lady Hanbury Leigh		Yes		MP 6/1/1801: 2
Powis and Lymore	Montgom.	Earl of Powis	Yes			HJ 5/2/1800: 3
Raynham	Norfolk	Marquess of Townshend		Yes		BNP 7/1/1801: 3
Reading	Berks.		Yes	Yes		RM 25/11/1799: 3, 12/1/1801 3
Romsey	Hants	Lady Palmerston	Yes	Yes	Yes	SWJ 16/11/1801: 4; HampC 18/1/1802:4
Rye	East Sussex		Yes			SuA 6/1/1800 : 3
St Albans Holywell House	Herts.	Lady Georgiana Spencer	?			HA 1/2/1879: 5; Spencer 1802
Salford, workhouse	Lancs.		Yes			MM 26/11/1799: 1
Sculcoats	East Yorks.		Yes	Yes		HAEG 23/1/1800: 2, 31/1/1801: 2
Sheffield	South Yorks		Yes			SM 6/12/1799:
Sherborne	Dorset		Yes	Yes		BCWG 9/1/1800: 3; ShM 22/12/1800: 4

Shrewsbury	Shrops.		Yes			SMag 1/1/1800: 31
Snaith	East Yorks.	Mr Bingley		Yes		YH 10/1/1801: 3
Southampton	Hants.		Yes			HT 6/1/1800: 3
Southwell	Notts.		Yes			SM 10/1/1800: 3
Stafford	Staffs.		Yes	Yes		SA 22/2/1800: 4, 13/12/1800: 4
Stamford	Lincs.		Yes			SM 10/1/1800: 3
Stockton	Lancs.		Yes			MM 10/12/1799: 4
Thorverton	Devon			Yes		EFP 26/3/1801: 4
Tonbridge, Bidborough and Southborough	Kent	Countess Darnley	Yes			KG 13/5/1800: 4
Urpeth	Co. Durham	Lady Iddrell?	Yes			NC 18/11800: 4
Walthamstow	Essex		Yes			HJ 25/12/1799: 1
Whitby	North Yorks.		Yes			HAEG 7/6/1800: 3
Wimbourne St Giles House	Dorset	Earl of Shaftsbury		Yes		MP 19/1/1801: 3
Winchester, St John's House	Hants.		?	Yes	Yes	HampC 5/1/1801: 4, 18/1/1802: 4
Winnington	Cheshire	Lady Penryn		Yes		CC 10/2/1801: 3
Wisbech	Cambs.		Yes			SM 10/1/1800: 3
Woburn	Beds.	Duke of Bedford	Yes			NM 1/3/1800: 3
Woodbridge	Suffolk		Yes			IJ 14/12/1799: 2
Worcester	Worcs.		Yes			OJ 21/12/1799: 3

Workington	Cumberland		Yes			CPW 4/3/1800: 3
Workington	Cumberland	Mr Curwen's	Yes			CPW 4/3/1800: 3
Wrexham	Denbighshire		Yes			CC 4/3/1800: 3
York Merchants Hall Fossgate?	North Yorks.		Yes			HAEG 4/1/1800: 3

Table 12.7. English and Welsh soup kitchens 1799-1802 mentioned in newspapers excluding London (the National Archives catalogue refers to a further 41 soup kitchens during this period).

Place	County	Place used	Dates operational			Source
			99/00	00/01	01/02	
Amersham	Bucks.	Shambles	Yes	Yes		UPKC 740
Aylesbury	Bucks.	Gaol	Yes			Hervey 1906: 433
Aylesford	Kent	Workhouse ?		Yes		KHLC/P12/12
Barkway	Herts.	Not known	Yes			HALS DP13/18/3
Berkhamsted	Herts.	Mr King's Bakery	Yes			Hervey 1906: 433
Chesham	Bucks.	Not known	Yes			UPKC 740
Chislehurst	Kent	Workhouse	Yes			BHC/P92/8/2
Dartford	Kent	Workhouse	Yes	Yes		MA/P110/18/6
Ford	Northumb.	Not known		Yes		NCRO/2/DE/4/59/1-72
Gorhambury	Herts.	Gorhambury House	Yes			Hervey 1906: 411
Great Brickhill	Bucks			Yes		SBT/DR18/18/13
Hayes	Kent	Not known		Yes		Wells 2011: 292
High Wycombe	Bucks.	Not known	Yes			UPKC 740
Hitchin	Herts.	Not known	Yes			Hine 1927: 267
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Northumb	St Nicholas Poorhouse, Gallowgate	Yes			Sykes 1833: 1

Royston	Herts.	Not known	Yes			HALS DP87/12/1
Stowe	Bucks	Stowe House	Yes			CBS D 22/25/59
Tipton	Staffs	Not known			Yes	LLRO/DE2638/82/1-3

Table 12.8. Soup kitchens 1799-1801 within study counties not recorded in newspapers.

Season	Soup kitchens open (excl study areas)	Study areas	Total
1801/02	Blackfriars (London), Colchester, Ipswich, Lewes, Newmarket, Northampton, Romsey (Hants), Winchester, St Giles (West Street Seven Dials)?		8
1802/03	Norwich, Stafford, Winchester	Alnwick	4
1803/04	Norwich, Woburn, Winchester		3
1804/05	Norwich, Spitalfields, Winchester		3
1805/06	Norwich, Lowther (Cumbria)		2
1806/07	Norwich		1
1807/08	Leeds, Norwich, Spittle Boughton (Cheshire), Winchester		4
1808/09	Doncaster, Hull, Leeds, Manchester, Norwich, Overton, Spitalfields (London), Swinton, Winchester, Woburn, Warrington		11
1809/10	Uffington, Sandbach, Norwich, Lowther (Cumbria)		4
1810/11	Carlisle, Leeds, Manchester, Melksham, Norwich, Lowther (Cumbria)		6
1811/12	Eccleshall, Glapthorne, Glynde and Beddingham Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich, Spitalfields, Wharton, Winchester, Witney, Worcester	Gateshead, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	14
1812/13	Birmingham, Bishopwearmouth, Brighton, Derby, Hull, Ipswich, Manchester, Norwich, Salisbury, Sunderland, Waldershare, Wellington, York	Canterbury, Margate, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	16
1813/14	Bishopwearmouth, Brighton, Bramham, Liverpool, Newark, Norwich, Salisbury, Sunderland	Canterbury, Gateshead, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, North Shields,	12
1814/15	Avington, Christchurch, Norwich, Salisbury		4

1815/16	Avington, Birmingham, Bramham, Norwich, Overton, St Asaph, Salisbury, Spitalfields		8
1816/17	Avington, Barnsley, Bedminster, Birmingham, Bishop Auckland, Bishops Lydeard, Bordesley (Birm), Bramham Park, Brighton, Bristol, Bromyard, Burnley, Cheltenham, Chester, Clerkenwell, Coventry, Cowes, Crediton, Darlaston, Darlington, Derby, Doddington (Cambs.), Durham, Ely, Felton, Gosport, Halifax, Harwich, Hereford, Highgate, Hinkley, Horbury, Hull, Hurstbourne Park, Ipswich, Kendal, Kirkwhelpington, Lancaster, Ledbury, Leeds, Leicester, Leominster, Liverpool, London (City), Long Sutton (Lincs), Maidenhead, Manchester, March, Marylebone, Newark, Newcastle-under-Lyne, Newport (Monmouth), Norwich, Paddington, Pattingham, Plymouth, Portsea, Portsmouth, Ross-on-Wye, St Luke's (Middlesex), Sleaford (Old and New), Spitalfields, Staindrop (Co. Durham), Stockton, Sunderland, Warrington, Whitby, Whitehaven, Wimbligton, Worcester, Yarmouth, York (73)	Burton on Trent, Deal, Dover, Gateshead, Lane End, Margate, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, North Shields, Rochester, Stoke on Trent, Swalwell, Warkworth,(12)	85
1817/18	Avington, Bath, Brancepath, Hurstbourne Park Leeds, London, Norwich, Portsea, Southampton	Dover, Woolwich,	11

Table 12.9. Places recorded as having soup kitchens autumn 1801 to summer 1818.

Soup kitchen	What happened	Source
Ipswich	Meeting to distribute remaining funds	IJ 26/12/1801: 3
Leeds	Meeting to distribute remaining funds	LI 4/1/1802: 3
Manchester	Equipment at Copperas and Silver Streets sold	MM 21/12/1802: 4
St George's Spa, (Dog & Duck) Southwark	Lease taken over by the School for the Indigent Blind c.1802, demolished in 1812	(Darlington 1955: 71)
Clerkenwell	Premises for sale; meeting to distribute remaining funds	MCh 28/11/1803: 1; 11/1/1805: 1
Jewish Nation Soup Committee, Mitre Court, London	Premises and equipment for sale	*Times* 9/5/1804: 4
St Georges in East, London	Meeting with landlord to deal with premises; building to be demolished and equipment sold	MCh 28/1/1805: 1; PL 20/4/1805: 4
Oxford	Balance of soup fund given to bread charity	OJ 9/3/1805: 3
York	Subscriptions to be given to other charities unless reclaimed	YH 3/1/1807: 2

Table 12.10. Soup kitchens reported as closing and selling fittings or premises.

d. Early soup kitchens: soup kitchen committee members

Amersham

Name	Occupation	Religious group
George Dillwyn	Minister	Quaker
John Eeles	Mealman	Quaker
R[obert] E[eles]?	Miller?	Quaker?
William Potter	Tallow chandler	Baptist?
W[illiam] T[oms]?	Baker	Baptist
Henry Morten	Lace dealer	
John Weller	Brewer	

Table 12.11. Members of the Amersham Soup Society committee 1799.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Name	Occupation	Religious group
Thomas Bigge	Political writer, partner in goldsmith business	
Mr. Walters		
Rev. Mr-Fawcett	Vicar of St Nicholas	CofE
Mr. [William?] Charnley	Bookseller and stationer?	
Dr. Ramsay Versy	Clergy?	
Mr. [Edward?] Kentish	Physician?	
Rev. Mr. [Edward?] Prowitt	Schoolteacher?	Baptist
Mr. Hadwen Bragg	Linen draper hosier & haberdasher	Quaker
Mr. Turner	Baptist minister, grammar schoolmaster or inn keeper?	Baptist
Mr. Edward Humble	Bookseller	

Table 12.12. Members of the soup kitchen committee of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1799 (NC 16/11/1799: 1).

Spitalfields

Name	Address	Parish	Occupation	Religion	source
Joseph Allen	Steward Street	Bishopsgate		Quaker	1813
William Allen	Plow Court, Lombard Street	City	Chemist	Quaker	1797 1846 1869
John Arch	23 Gracechurch Street	City	Bookseller and printer	Quaker	1797 1813 1816
W[alter] R. Baker	15 Fort Street	Bishopsgate	Cutler?		1808 1816
Joseph Ball	Stoney Street	Southwark	Morocco leather dresser	Quaker	1783 1813 1816
William Bennett	Mitre Court Cheapside	City	Tea dealer		1816
Benjamin Betts	123 Whitechapel	Whitechapel	Factor		LMA
Joseph Gurney Bevan		Stoke Newington	Chemist	Quaker	1783 1846 1869
Wilson Birkbeck	Fox Ordinary Court, Nicholas Lane	City	Merchant	Quaker	1797 1783 1869
Thomas Christy	35 Gracechurch Street	City	Hat manufacturer	Quaker	1797 1813 1816 1846 1869

John Coleby	65 Bishopsgate within	City	Linen draper	Quaker	1797 1813 1816
Thomas Cox	Copthall Court Throgmorton Street	City		Quaker	1783
Wiliam Crabb	124 Minories	City?	Hosier and hatter		1797
John Cue	26 Pitfield Street Hoxton	Hoxton		Universalist Baptist	1999
Joseph Foster		Bromley near Bow	Calico printer	Quaker	1797 1813 1808 1846
John Fry jun	7 South Street Finsbury	St Luke's		Quaker?	
William Fry	Mildred's Court, Poultry	City	Tea merchant	Quaker	1797
Harding Grant	Crosby Square	City	Solicitor?		
Sampson Hanbury	Brick Lane	Spitalfields	Brewer	Quaker	1816
Richard Harris	147 Fenchurch Street	City		Quaker	1783
Samuel Harris	Broad Street Ratcliffe Cross	Ratcliffe, Stepney	Corn chandler	Quaker	1813 1816

John Kitching	142 Whitechapel	Whitechapel	Banker?	Quaker	1869
Aubury Joseph Lum	37 Steward Street	Bishopsgate	Gentleman, weaver	Joseph Lum a Quaker in 1785; Suzannah Lum and John Messser insure 210 Brick Lane; son is a silk manufacturer	1816 1869 LL LMA
R[obert] H[umphrey] Marten	64 Prescott Street	Whitechapel	City merchant, insurer	Baptist	Murden 2021
Peter Merzeau	Brick Lane	Spitalfields	Silk thrower at Osborn Place	Huguenot	1797
John Messer	Thrawl Street	Spitalfields	Builder (does work for Allen) (1816 at Mile End)	Quaker	1783 1816 LMA
Sparks Moline	1 Leadenhall Street	City	Currier and leather cutter also merchant and insurance broker	Quaker	1797 1783 1813 1816 1846 1869; LG 1814: 2562
John Oxley	Darby Street	Whitechapel/ St Botolph	Vinegar maker		1797

	Rosemary Lane				
George Patterson	Sun Street	Shoreditch	Floor cloth maker listed at 145 Bishopsgate without?		1797
William H Pepys	8 Mildred Court Poultry	City	Cutler, scientific instrument maker	Quaker	1816 1846
William Phillips	George Yard, Lombard Street	City	Stationer and printer	Quaker	1816 1846
Richard Reynolds	124 Whitechapel	Whitechapel		Quaker	1846
John Bradly Rhys	90 Long Acre	Covent Garden			
Richard Richardson	7 Minories	City	Seedsman (later corn factor?)	Quaker?	1797 1816
Thomas Richardson	60 Old Broad Street	City	Banker/broker	Quaker	1816 1869
John Sanderson	28 Leadenhall Street	City		Quaker	1813 1869
Samuel Southall	63 Gracechurch Street	City	Umbrella maker		1797 1816
Richard Squires	At John Kincey's New Road	Whitechapel			

Thomas Thirlwall		Mile End		Evangelical CofE	Lee 1898: 138
Richard Walduck	27 Bush Lane Cannon Street	City	William Walduck at this address is a skinner		1797 1816
Samuel West	[8] Billiter Lane Fenchurch Street	City	Warehousem an	Quaker	1783 1816

Table 12.13. Members of Spitalfields Soup Society committee 1798 (UKPC/740/F6) (additional information various sources).

Name	Address	Parish	Occupation	Religious/ethnic group	souce
Joseph Allen	Steward Street	Bishopsgate		Quaker?	1813
William Allen	Plow Court Lombard Street	City	Chemist	Quaker	1797 1816 1846 1869
John Arch	Cornhill	City	Bookseller and printer	Quaker	1797 1813 1816
Gurney Barclay	8 Old Jewry		Banker	Quaker	
R. Barrett	25 King's Head Court Beech Street			Quaker	1869

Peter Bedford	32 Steward Street	Bishopsgate	Silk manufacturer	Quaker	1816
T.F. Buxton	Brick Lane	Spitalfields	Brewer	Quaker/CofE	
R. Christmas	31 Steward Street	Bishopsgate	Silk manufacturer		1816
Richard Clarance	94 Minories		Furniture printer		1816
Joseph Compton	Booth Street	Spitalfields		Quaker	
Robert Compton	Booth Street	Spitalfields		Quaker	
Samuel Compton	Booth Street	Spitalfields		Quaker	
Thomas Compton	Booth Street	Spitalfields	Pewterer and tinfoil beater	Quaker	1813 1816
John Cook	17 Booth Street	Spitalfields			
John Cue	Kingsland Road			Universalist Baptist	Hitchin 1999
James Curtis	11 Old Fish Street		Chemist and druggist		1816
Abraham Evans	65 Bishopsgate Without		Draper and salesman		1816
William Evans	65 Bishopsgate Without				
Joseph Foster		Bromley near Bow	Calico printer	Quaker	1797 1813 1808 1846

Joseph T. Foster				Quaker?	
John Fry	Whitechapel			Quaker?	
Joseph Fry jun	St Mildred's Court, Poultry	City	Tea merchant	Quaker	1816
William Fry	St Mildred's Court, Poultry	City	Tea merchant	Quaker	1797 1816
P. P. Grellier	20 Wormwood Street		Silk broker		1816
William Hale	4 Wood Street	Spitalfields	Silk manufacturer		1816
Cornelius Hanbury	Plough Court Lombard Street			Quaker	
Sampson Hanbury	Brick Lane	Spitalfields	Brewer	Quaker	1816
David Bell Hanbury	Plough Court Lombard Street			Quaker	
Bernard Harrison	Brick Lane	Spitalfields			
Thomas Kincey	Whitechapel Road	Whitechapel	Couch-maker		1816
Robert Lum	20 Steward Street	Bishopsgate	Gentleman, silk weaver	Joseph Lum a Quaker in 1785; Suzannah Lum and John	1816 1869 LL LMA

				Messser insure 210 Brick Lane son is a silk manufacturer	
Samuel Marsh jnr	54 Mansell Street		Slop-seller	Quaker	1813 1816
John Messer	King Edward Street	Mile End	Builder	Quaker	1783 1816 LMA
Edward Meyrick	21 Vine Court	Spitalfields	Dyer		1816
William Moline	1 Leadenhall Street	City		Quaker	
Sparks Moline	1 Leadenhall Street	City	Leather merchant	Quaker	1797 1783 1813 1816 1846 1869
Thomas Pace	128 Whitechapel		Clock and watchmaker	Quaker	1816 1869
William Phillips	George Yard, Lombard Street	City	Stationer and printer	Quaker	1816 1846
John Sanderson	6 Old Jewry	City	Wholesale tea dealer	Quaker	1813 1869
John Sanderson jnr	6 Old Jewry	City	Wholesale tea dealer	Quaker	1813 1869

Joseph Sanderson	6 Old Jewry	City	Wholesale tea dealer	Quaker	
Richard Sanderson	6 Old Jewry	City	Wholesale tea dealer	Quaker	
James Sheppard	Schoolhouse Lane	Ratcliffe Cross		Quaker	
Samuel Simmons jnr	10 Cannon St	City	Coal merchant		
John Sisskin	10 London Place	Hackney			
Thomas Spencer	65 Bishopsgate Within	City	Silk mercer and hosier		
J. B. Suwerkrop	Vine Street Minories		Merchant		
Joseph Williams	34 Jewry Street	City	Tea broker		
Samuel West	[8] Billiter Lane Fenchurch Street	City	Warehouseman	Quaker	1783 1816
Samuel Woods	George Yard, Lombard Street	City	Woollen draper		1816

Table 12.14. Members of Spitalfields Soup Society committee 1811 (Philanthropist 1812: 177).

Clerkenwell

Name	Address	Parish	Occupation	Religion	source
William Marmaduke Sellon (chair)	St James Walk	Clerkenwell	Brewer	CofE	1797 1804
John Pim (Pym?) (treasurer)	63 Bartholomew Close	Smithfield	Merchant	Quaker	1797 1783 1813 1816
Francis Stedman (secretary)	18 Winchester Place	Pentonville	Engraver, watchmaker	CofE (St James)	1804 LMA
Willam Abud	3 St John's Walk	Clerkenwell	Gold and silver refiner, sweep washer	CofE (St James) (buried)	LG 1833: 1719; NArch
John Andrew's	9 Wilderness Row	Clerkenwell		CofE (St James)	1804
William Astle	23 Pontypool Lane, later St John Street		Leather cutter	CofE?	LMA
John Bevans	32 Charterhouse Square		Architect surveyor	Quaker	1813 1869 LMA
James Bevans	32 Charterhouse Square		Surveyor	Quaker	LMA
William Binns	300 Holborn			Quaker	1813
Thomas Birch	Castle Street, Turnmill Lane	Clerkenwell	Banker?		

Robert Bishop	23 Braynes Row	Spa Fields	Mercer? [at different address]		1797
William Bound	Clerkenwell Close		Iron founder	CofE (St James)	1797 1804 1816
Samuel Bridgman	2 Silver Street	Clerkenwell	Tallow chandler	CofE (St James)	1804 NArch
William Burwash	3 Red Lion Street	Clerkenwell	Watch pendant maker, Silversmith Grimwade, 3rd edition, 1990, pp. 455 and 739		1816 LMA
William Chamberlaine	Aylesbury Street	Clerkenwell	Surgeon	CofE (St James)	1804 1808
William Clay	9 Cloth Fair	Smithfield	Man's mercer	Quaker	1797 1869
Patrick Colquhoun	James Street, Buckingham Gate		Magistrate	CofE	
William Cowland	Aylesbury Street	Clerkenwell	Wholesale brazier	CofE (St James)	1797 1804 1816
John Dix	17 West Street	Smithfield	Carpenter		LMA
William Dollin	White Hart Court, Lombard Street		Hosier		1797

George Dover	62 Bartholomew Close		Tailor		LMA
John Eliot	60 Bartholomew Close		Underwriter	Quaker	1813 1846 1869 LMA
Robert Goswell Giles	63 Bartholomew Close		Merchant and insurance broker; patents design for chimney	Quaker, partner with Sparks Moline	LG 1814: 2562
Edmund Goldsmith	9 Castle Street Falcon Square		Gentleman		LMA
Thomas Goldsmith	16 Little Britain				
Robert Howard	Old Street	St Luke's	Tin manufacturer, tin-plate worker	Quaker	1797 1783 1816 1869
Thomas Jepson	63 Bartholomew Close				
Joseph Leaper	157 Bishopsgate-Without		Grocer	Quaker	1797 1893
John Linney	34 Seward St Goswell St		Watch-case maker?		1894

Thomas Long	Charterhouse Lane		Enameller?		1894
William Maggs	65 Cowcross St		Tinman, japanner and roasting jack manufacturer		1797 1816
John Moore	19 St John St		Shoemaker?	CofE	1804
Stephen Murrel	Ray Street	Clerkenwell	Auctioneer		1797 1816
William Newcomb	84 Aldersgate Street		Grocer at 233 St John Street?	CofE	1797 1804
Henry Newman	58 Holborn Hill		Leather seller (Josiah)?		1797
Richard Palmer	Red Lion St	Clerkenwell	Gold watch-case maker	CofE	1804 1816
Philip Phillips	10 St John Square	Clerkenwell	Watchmaker		1894 LMA
Robert Pollard	7 Braynes Row	Spa Fields	Engraver, artist		
William Charles Proby	74 Gray's Inn Lane		Lawyer?		
Joseph Pulbrook	48 Goswell Street		Shoe maker		1816
James Rawlins	49 Red Lion St	Clerkenwell	Watch engraver and tool seller	CofE	1804 1881 LMA
Joseph Reyner	Ducks Foot Lane Upper		Merchant		1797 1846

	Thames Street				
Richard Rees	Red Lion St	Clerkenwell	Cutler		LMA
Benjamin Risdon	Back Hill Hatton Wall				
William Robertson	Corporation Row	Clerkenwell		CofE	1804
William Robinson	11 Charterhouse Street		Merchant?		1816
John Shallis	Vineyard Gardens	Clerkenwell Spa Fields	Bleacher of chip and straw (hats)	CofE	1804 1816
George Stacey	Lamb's Conduit Street		Chemist	Quaker	1813 1846 1869? LMA
John Steel	2 Bull and Mouth Street		Tailor		LMA
Thomas Stowers	22 Charterhouse Square		Coach and house painter		LMA
William Travers	64 Red Lion Street		Watch-maker	CofE	1797 1804 1894
Matthew Turnell	Turnmill Lane		Corn chandler and coachmaster		LMA
John Warner	104 Fore Street				
Rev. George Henry Watkins	18 Grenville Street, Hatton Garden			CofE	

Caspar Weaver	Owen's Row Islington Road		Tea urn maker?	CofE	1797 1804
Benjamin Webb	21 St John's Square	Clerkenwell	Watchmaker	Quaker	1797 1783 1881 1894
Robert Webb	21 St John's Square	Clerkenwell	Watchmaker	Quaker	1797 1894
William Weston	23 Greenhill's Rents	Smithfield Bars	Enameller	Quaker?	1869 1894 LMA
John Withers	56 Islington Road		School teacher?	Quaker	1869

Table 12.15. Members of Clerkenwell Soup Society committee (Clerkenwell 1798).

e. Chapter 4 1819-1870: data tables

Poor relief expenditure by county

Counties	1802	1812	1821	1831
Buckinghamshire	16.1	22.9	18.7	19.1
Hertfordshire	11.5	13.10	15.1	13.2
Kent	13.6	17.1	18.5	14.5
Staffordshire	6.11	8.6	8.10	6.6
Northumberland	6.8	7.11	7.11	6.3

Table 12.16. Total poor relief expenditure indoor and outdoor relief *per capita* in shillings and pence (from Blaug 1963: 178-179).

Institutional soup kitchens in Kent 1819-1840

Institution	First opened	Last reported	Frequency of opening
Ashford Benevolent Society	KW 23/2/1827: 4	KW 16/3/1830: 3	Not known
Canterbury Benevolent Fund/Society	KW 21/12/1830: 1	to 1837	Not known
Cranbrook Soup Society	1820/21	H&CR 22/9/1893: 7	Almost every winter after 1841, frequently before that
Deptford Soup Institution,	1819/20	LewA/A70/20; WKG 6/1/1849: 1	Frequently
Dover Soup Society	1816/17 MJKA 11/2/1817: 4	1818/19 KW 21/5/1819: 4	Not known
Dover Benevolent Society	1826/27 SEG 6/3/1827: 4	SEG 18/1/1833: 3	Frequently
Dover Philanthropic Society	DTCP 10/3/1838: 8	At least 1911 DE 20/01/1911: 4	Almost every year until 1890s
Faversham Benevolent Institution	1829/30 KW 5/1/1830: 4, 31/1/1832: 3	1906 (closed fully 1929)	Permanent in 1832, regular after 1838; later becomes Wreight's Charity
Folkestone Soup Society	1819/20 KAHC/Fo/QZ2	1841/42 CJKTFG 16/1/1842: 2	Regular from 1824/25 (17 years at least)
Margate Philanthropic Club	SEG 5/1/1830: 3		Single reference

Ramsgate Soup society	KW 9/1/1821: 4		Single reference
Rochester Soup Society	KW 21/1/1820: 4		Single reference
Rochester St Margaret's	23/1/1823 MA/P305/18/7, 16	MJKA 4/1/1831: 4	Regular
Sandwich Corporation charity?	1828 Gardiner 1954: 446	1836	Regular
Woolwich Soup Society	SEG 16/2/1830: 3		Single reference

Table 12.17. Institutional soup kitchens in Kent 1819-1840.

f. Chapters 4 and 5: numbers and proportions receiving soup

Family size, serving size

Parish/ place	People	Adults	Children	Families	N per family	Quarts	Quarts per person	Quarts per family	Source
Deal, Kent	1753			475	3.7		0.25 -0.3	1	KHLC/De/QZm1 (1852)
Faversham Kent				232		357		1.5	CCA/U3/146/23/A/162 (1820)
Wingham Kent		172	392			239 + 48	0.5		CCA/U3/269/18/B19
Alnwick, Northumb	1979			Near 500	4.0	900	0.5	1.8	BM/ASKMB (1852/53)
Alnwick, Northumb				389				1.7	BM/ASKMB (1863/64)
Alnwick, Northumb				375				1.5	BM/ASKMB (1866/67)
Hexham Northumb				>400		2000		5	NJ 22/1/1841: 4
Wooler Northumb	49					37	0.4		NJ 8/12/1849: 3
Gateshead Fell, Tyneside	942			239	3.9				NCRO/SANT/BEQ/26/1/10/111 (1842/43)
All Saints Newcastle				>900		850			NC 14/1/1842: 4
All Saints Newcastle	4386	773 m	2560	1102	4.0	1100	0.3	1.0	NC 10/2/1843: 4

		1053 f							
St Andrew's Newcastle				900		1150		1.3	NC 4/3/1842: 4
St Andrew's Newcastle				750		>1000		1.3	NJ 4/3/1843: 3
Byker/East All Saints Newcastle				350		200		0.6	NC 28/1/1842: 4
St John's Newcastle				960		1545		1.6	NC 17/3/1843: 4
St Nicholas Newcastle	2083			540	3.9	720	0.3	1.3	NJ 13/1/1844: 3
St Nicholas Newcastle	1890			480	3.9				NC 25/12/1846: 4
St Nicholas Newcastle	>2000			550	>3.6				NC 12/1/1849: 4
Lichfield Staffs.	1804	758	1046	446	4.0	600	0.3	1.3	SA 2/2/1850: 3
Lichfield Staffs.	1740	723	1017	424	4.1	580	0.3	1.4	SA 14/12/1850: 4
Lichfield Staffs.	1773	720	1053	438	4.1				SA 6/12/1851: 4
Lichfield Staffs.	1945	872	1073	524	3.7	677	0.3	1.3	SA 17/12/1853: 4
Stafford Staffs.	1000					650	0.65		SA 5/2/1848: 5

Wolverhampton, Staffs				1908		2200		1.2	WCSA 17/2/1831: 3

Table 12.18. Evidence for volume of soup per person and family size 1820-1867.

Kent

Parish/ place	Number fed	Population	% of pop.	Ave. winter temp.	Source
Ashford	802	2,805	28.6%	1.1	KW 16/3/1830: 3
Canterbury	1000quarts	14,035	7.1%	4.0	KG 11/1/1833: 3
Deptford	700	20,795	3.4%	2.7	LewA/A70/20 (1830/31)
Dover	380quarts	14,413	2.6%	5.0	DTCP 12/4/1851: 8
Faversham	232 families or 357quarts	4,177	8.5-22.2%*	1.4	CCA/U3/146/23/A/162 (1819/20)
Faversham	over 800	4,252	>18.8%	4.0	MJKA 22/1/1833: 3
Faversham	500 families	4,363	45.8%**	1.4	KW 23/1/1838: 3
Faversham	560 'persons or families'	4,506	12.4-49.7%	1.5	CJKTFG 22/3/1845: 4
Folkestone	460quarts	4,541	10.2%	3.5	KW 26/1/1821: 4
Goudhurst	250 fam	2,720	36.8%	3.8	SEG 31/12/1839: 3
Margate St John's	1400	7,670	18.3%	1.4	KW 28/1/1820: 4
Margate***	1200	11,014	10.9%	4.1	DTCP 8/1/1848: 8
Margate***	600quarts	11,004	5.5%	3.5	KG 29/1/1850: 3
Margate***	200 families	10,099	7.3%	5.0	DTCP 8/2/1851: 4
Ramsgate	400quarts	11,838	3.4%	5.0	DTCP 17/5/1851: 8

Stowting	20 families	267	30.0%	3.8	KHLC/P355/28/1 (1836/37)
Stowting	23 families	269	34.2%	1.4	KHLC/P355/28/1 (1837/38)
Wingham	564	1,062	53.1%	1.4	CCA/U3/269/18/B19 (1819/20)
Woolwich	1,100	17,597	6.3%	1.1	SEG 16/2/1830: 3

Table 12.19. Kent town soup kitchens 1818/19-1851; proportion of population receiving soup, except Cranbrook (see Table 12.20). * Faversham also records large quantities of meat and bread given to same families. ** Probably a mistake and refers to individuals. *** Margate Soup Kitchen was privately run by F.W. Cobb in these years.

Season	Ave quarts per delivery	Deliveries	Population	% of pop.	Ave. winter temp.
1842/43	*636-762	*15-18?	4,001	15.9-19%	4.4
1843/44	732	17	4,003	18.3%	4.3
1844/45	778	18	4,006	19.4%	1.5
1845/46	1000	18	4,008	25.0%	5.8
1846/47	907	16	4,010	22.6%	1.7
1847/48	854	16	4,013	21.3%	4.1
1848/49	883	17	4,015	22.0%	5.1

Table 12.20. Cranbrook Soup Society 1842-49: proportion of population receiving soup calculated by dividing total gallons delivered by number of deliveries (*deliveries not stated for season, assumed to be in range of subsequent seasons) (CRAN/1.24/1046/Soup).

Parish County	Parish open or closed	Number fed/ quarts served	Pop.	% of pop.	Ave. winter temp.	Source
Benenden	Closed	300	1,671	18.0%	1.1	SEG 23/2/1830: 3
Chilham	Closed	100 families	1,129	35.4%	1.1	KW 2/2/1830: 4
East Sutton, Town Sutton	ES not stated; TS open	400quarts	1,525	26.2%	3.6	MJKA 11/12/1838: 4
Harbledown	Not stated	150	654	22.9%	1.7	CJKTFG 9/1/1847: 4
St Peter's in Thanet	Not stated	200 families	2,977	26.8%	1.5	KG 31/12/1844: 3
Seal	Open	130 families	1,593	30.7%	1.5	MJKA 28/1/1845: 3
Sheerness Kent	Open urban	70-100 families	8,155	3.4-4.9%	2.7	KW 2/3/1827: 4
Sheldwich Kent	Closed? Not stated	40 families	507	31.6%	4.0	KW 3/2/1829: 4
Snodland Kent	Not stated	more than 50	510	>9.8%	1.1	KW 19/1/1830: 3
West Malling	Open	'50'	1,434	3.5%	1.1	MJKA 26/1/1830: 4
West Malling	Open	100 families	1,977	20.2%	3.5	KG 29/1/1850: 3
Whitfield	Closed	70	202	35.2%	4.7	KG 6/1/1835: 4

Table 12.21. Kent: individually-made and rural soup distributions 1818/19-1850, proportion of population receiving soup (Margate is listed with main soup kitchens).

Place	Number	Vol.	Pop.	%	Source
Barham		320	1101	29/1%	KG 04/04/1854: 3
Cranbrook		874q	4128	21.2%	CRAN/1.24/1046/Soup 1860/61
Deal		782q	7531	10.4%	SEG 17/121861: 4 De/QZm1 1860/61
Faversham	1000	964q	6383	15.7%	KHLC/U424/E/3/1 1860/61; MJKA 5/1/1861: 2
Gravesend		1200q	7885	15.2%	GRNK 19/1/1861: 4
Gravesend Tivoli House	200		7885	2.5%	GRNK 19/1/1861: 4
Margate		800q	10019	8.0%	TA 12/1/1861: 4
Sandwich		260q	2994	8.7%	KHLC/Sa/QZ1 1860/61
Tonbridge		250q	7403	3.3%	MJKA 19/2/1861: 5
Wye		200-240q	1594	12-5-15.1%	KG 1/1/1861: 5

Table 12.22. Proportion of population served at Kent soup kitchens in 1861 (except Barham 1853/54).

Place	Number	Families	Quarts	Pop.	%	Source
Chatham			700q	25570	2.7%	MJKA 30/3/1867: 3
Cranbrook *	+65 people		832q	4250	21.1 %	CRAN/1.24/1046/Soup 1866/67; KHLC/P100B/5/1 1867
Faversham	1000		1086q	7337	13.6 %	KHLC/U424/E/3/1; 1866/67 MJKA 14/1/1867: 7
Gravesend			900 q			SEG 9/1/1867: 6
Sandwich			272q	3034	9.0%	KHLC/Sa/QZ1 1866/67
Tenterden	940	235	643q	3597	26.1 %	MJKA 28/1/1867: 7
Tonbridge			736q	8879	8.3%	MJKA 28/1/1867: 6
Whitstable	1400	300		4399	31.8 %	EKG 26/1/1867: 5

Table 12.23. Proportion of population served at Kent soup kitchens in 1866/67. *includes 65 additional people attending another soup kitchen in the Sissinghurst part of the parish

Parish and year	Number	Families	Volume	Pop.	% of pop	Source
Ashford 1887/88			440q	10418	4.2%	KHLC/P10/24/1
Ashford 1888/89			380q	10521	3.6%	KHLC/P10/24/1
Ashford 1889/90			480q	10623	4.8%	KHLC/P10/24/1
Ashford 1890/91			400q	10728	3.7%	KHLC/P10/24/1
Burham 1894/95	264			1698	15.5%	KHLC Ch155/1-4
Biddenden 1890/91		73		1362	21.4%	SuAg 1/5/1891: 4
Edenbridge 1878/79		>50		1933	10.3%	KSC 31/01/1879: 8
Herne Bay 1875/76		80-90		4199	7.6%-8.6%	WTHBH 22/01/1876: 4
Herne Bay 1879/80			70-100 q	4368	2.3%	WTHBH 17/01/1880: 4
Herne Bay 1880/81	>70			4410	1.6%	WTHBH 29/01/1881: 4
Littlebourne. 1880/81	300			757	39.6%	WTHBH 05/02/1881: 3
Margate 1879/80	1600		800q	17794	4.5%	WTHBH 31/01/1880: 3
Northfleet 1869/70			300-400q	6438	6.2%	GRNK 22/1/1870: 5
Sittingbourne 1870/71	>1167	285	660q	5963	19.6%	EKG 4/2/1871: 6
Tonbridge 1884/85			<500 q	11513	4.3%	KSC 23/01/1885: 8

Tonbridge 1886/87			<800q	11723	6.8%	KSC 14/01/1887: 8
Whitstable 1878/79			400q	4882	8.2%	WTHBH 28/12/1878: 4

Table 12.24. Proportion of population served at Kent soup kitchens in 1869/70-1894/95 (population interpolated from closest census years), for Sandwich see Figure 5.9.

Staffordshire

Parish/ place	Number fed	Pop.	% of pop.	Ave. winter temp.	Source
Burslem	1,200 families	16,763	28.6%	4.1	SA 17/6/1848: 1
Hanley & Shelton	>1000 families	15,356	26.0%	5.7	SA 3/5/1828: 1
Hanley & Shelton	174* families	19,311	3.6%	1.4	WCSA 31/1/1838: 3
Hanley & Shelton	1,300 families	23,928	21.7%	4.1	SA 5/8/1848: 1
Lichfield	1,804	6,941	26.0%	3.5	SA 2/2/1850: 3
Lichfield	1,740	6,956	25.0%	3.5	SA 14/12/1850: 4
Lichfield	1,778	6,991	25.4%	5.0	SA 6/12/1851: 4
Newcastle-under-Lyme	>800 heads of families	10,109	31.7%	1.7	SA 30/1/1847: 5
Stafford	920 quarts	6,886	13.4%	1.4	SA 22/1/1820: 4
Stafford	1000	11,719	8.5%	4.1	SA 5/2/1848: 5
Stone	500 quarts	8,187	6.1%	1.4	SA 3/2/1838: 3
Tutbury	320 quarts	1,581	20.2%	4.1	SA 18/2/1832: 4
Willenhall	600-700 quarts	5,367	11.2-13%	1.1	WCSA 24/2/1830: 3
Wolverhampton	2,200 quarts to 1908 families	48,184	15.8%	2.7	WCSA 17/2/1831: 3

Table 12.25. Staffordshire soup kitchens 1819-1850: proportion of population receiving soup. *60 of these families received potatoes and bread.

Northumberland and Tyneside

Parish/ place	Number fed	Pop.	% of pop.	Ave. winter temp.	Source
Alnwick	1,500	6,693	22.4%	1.1	NC 8/5/1830: 4
Alnwick	250 quarts	6,687	3.7%	3.8	NC 27/1/1837: 4
Alnwick	400	6,672	6.0%	1.4	NL 17/3/1838: 3
Alnwick	160 families	6,834	9.4%	4.3	NC 1/3/1844: 4
Alnwick	500 families	7,250	27.6%	3.5	NC 22/3/1850: 4
Belford	160 quarts	1,216	13.2%	1.4	NL 10/2/1838: 3
Berwick	200	8,615	2.3%	1.4	BA 20/1/1838: 4
Hexham	2000 quarts to >400 families	4,742	>33.7%	1.6	NJ 22/1/1841: 4
Hexham	1200 quarts	5,084	23.6%	4.1	NGM 26/2/1848: 5
Wooler	60 families	1,881	12.8%	4.4	NC 3/3/1843: 4
Wooler	37 quarts to 49 people	1,904	2.6%	5.1	NJ 8/12/1849: 3

Table 12.26. Northumberland soup kitchens 1830-1850: proportion of population receiving soup.

	Tyneside newspapers	Berwick newspapers	Alnwick Mercury	Hexham Courant	Morpeth Herald
Berwick Soup Kitchen	14	206	7	0	4
Spittal Soup Kitchen	1	22	0	0	0
Tweedmouth Soup Kitchen	1	32	0	0	0
Alnwick Soup Kitchen	55	13	77	0	47
Hexham Soup Kitchen	149	0	0	9	1
Morpeth Soup Kitchens	19	3	2	0	31
Newcastle soup kitchens	>600	2	0	1	5
North Shields Soup Kitchens	>300	2	0	0	2

Table 12.27. Local newspapers are local: reporting of soup kitchens in Northumberland and Tyneside's newspapers 1850-1914.

Place and year	No.	Families	Vol.	Pop.	%	Source
Alnwick 1860/61	>1900	500	1200 pints	5958	31.9%	NDC 11/1/1861: 2; NJ 9/2/1861: 3,
Berwick 1860/61	830-<1000	145		8613	9.6-11.6%	IBJ 12/1/1861: 4, 19/1/1861: 4
Blyth (inc. Cowpen) 1850/61			240 pints	8244	2.9%	NJ 6/2/1861: 3
Gateshead 1860/61			800q	32749	2.4%	NGM 19/1/1861: 5
Hexham 1860/61		250	600q	5270	11.4-18.9%	NC 11/1/1861
Morpeth 1866/67			600 pints	4982	12.0%	MH 2/2/1867: 5
Newcastle GSK 1860/61	>2000		2000q	110968	1.8%	NC 11/1/1861: 8
Newcastle St Andrew's 1860/61	>500			17100	2.9%	NC 11/1/1861: 8
Berwick 1870/71			750 pints	8731	8.6%	BA 13/1/1871: 3
Tweedmouth 1864/65			245q	2854	8.6%	IBJ 20/1/1865: 4
Tweedmouth 1870/71			256q	2809	9.1%	BA 13/1/1871: 3

Table 12.28. Proportion of population served at Northumberland and Tyneside soup kitchens in 1861-1871.

Parish/ place	Number fed	Pop.	% of pop.	Ave. winter temp.	Source
GSK 1 1819/20	1,742 quarts	42,282	4.1%	1.4	TWA/CHX3/2/1
GSK 2 1822/23	1,382 quarts	45,540	3.0%	1.5	TWA/CHX3/2/1
GSK 3 1826/27	2,008quarts	50,265	4.0%	2.7	TWA/CHX3/2/1
GSK 4 (Holmes)	1320quarts (capacity)	54,991	2.4%	2.7	Oliver1831: 109
Howdon Wallsend	>100 quarts	1,349	>7.4%	1.4	NC 26/2/1820: 1
St Nicholas Newcastle	329 families	6,228	21.1%	4.1	NC 31/3/1832: 1

Table 12.29. Tyneside soup kitchens 1819-1832: proportion of population receiving soup.

Parish/ place	Number fed	Pop.	% of pop.	Source
GSK	1560 quarts*			NC 2/2/1838: 4
St Nicholas	900 pints	6,265	7.2-14.4	NJ 24/2/1838: 3
St John's inc. townships	1300 pints	19,675	6.6%	NC 2/3/1838: 4
St Andrew's	1200 pints of soup 1200 loaves	12,511	9.6%	NJ 10/3/1838: 2
GSK	1540 quarts			NC 5/2/1841: 1
All Saints	1700 pints (850q) to >900 families	21,938	3.9-16.4%	NC 14/1/1842: 4
St Nicholas	1200 pints (600q)	6,351	9.4-18.8%	NC 17/12/1841: 4
St Andrew's	1,150 quarts to 900 families	13,195/18,098	19.9-27.3%	NC 4/3/1842: 4
Byker/East All Saints	400q to 350 families	6,126	6.4-22.9%	NC 28/1/1842: 4
All Saints	1,100q to 1102 families of 773 men, 1053 women and 2560 children	22,403	19.6%	NC 10/2/1843: 4
St Andrew's	750 poor families >1000q	13418/ 18442	16.3-22.4%	NJ 4/3/1843: 3
St John's inc. townships	1,545 quarts to 960 families	24,191	15.9%	NC 17/3/1843: 4
St Nicholas	720 quarts to 540 families	6,403	32.5%	NJ 13/1/1844: 3

	of 2083 persons			
St Andrew's	2,000 pints 1,400 loaves	13,641-18,787	10.6-14.7%	NC 2/2/1844: 4
St John's inc. townships	3,080 pints	25,060	12.3%	NJ 27/1/1844: 3
GSK	1,000 quarts			NJ 1/2/1845: 2
GSK	1,140 quarts			NC 18/12/1846: 4
St Nicholas	480 families of 1890 persons	6,482	29.2%	NC 25/12/1846: 4
GSK	2,000 quarts			NJ 23/1/1847: 1
GSK	1,500 quarts			NC 4/2/1848: 7
St Nicholas	550 families over 2000 people	6,534	30.6%	NC 12/1/1849: 4
St Andrew's	<1,600 pints	14,756-20,510	7.8-10.8%	NGM 13/1/1849: 5
St Nicholas	600 families	6,560	36.6%	NC 22/3/1850: 4

Table 12.30. Newcastle-upon-Tyne soup kitchens 1834-1850: proportion of population receiving soup. *assumes open 6 days a week

Soup kitchen	1837/38 # fed and proportion		1841/42 # fed and proportion		1842/43 # fed and proportion		1843/44# fed and proportion	
GSK	1560		1560		1560		1560	
All Saints	2,015	10%	>3,600	16.4 %	4,386	19.6 %	2,287	10%
St Andrew's	1,200	9.6%	3,600	19.9 %	3,000	16.3 %	2,000	10.6 %
St John's	1,300	6.6%	3,498	15%	3,840	15.9 %	3,080	12.3 %
St. Nicholas	900	14.4 %	1,200	18.8 %	1,140	18%	2,083	32.5 %
Byker/East Al Saints	Not open		1,400	22.9 %	934	15%	Not known	
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	66,700	10.5 %	73,400	20.2 %	75,000	19.8 %	76,600	14.4 %

Table 12.31. Newcastle-upon-Tyne soup kitchens 1837-1844: proportion of population receiving soup (data from Table 12.30); no proportion has been calculated for GSK as it did not serve a specific geographic area; figures in bold italics are estimates based on assumptions discussed in Methodology in Appendix 1 section f above.

Individually-distributed soup Staffordshire and Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Parish County	Parish open or closed	Number fed/ quarts served	Pop. in 1821 or 1831	% of pop.	Ave. winter temp.	Source
Barley Mow, Sandgate Tyneside	Open Urban	240quarts	16,657 (All Saints Parish)	1.4%	1.5	TM 12/11/1822: 3
Brereton Staffs.	Open? Mining	213	1,200**	17.8%	4.0	SA 14/3/1829: 4
Stoke-on-Trent Staffs.	Open Urban	467 quarts	4,809	9.7%	1.4	SA 8/1/1820: 4
Great and Little Haywood, Colton and Bishton Staffs.	Open	200 families	<2,735 *	>29.3%	1.4	SA 3/2/1838: 3
Uttoxeter Staffs.	Open, urban	100 quarts to 50 families	4,944	4.0%	5.7	SA 13/1/1849: 8

Table 12.32. Staffordshire and Newcastle-upon-Tyne individually-made soup distributions 1818/19-1850: proportion of population receiving soup; * population for these townships is estimated; **population of Brereton chapelry in 1851 was 'about 1600' (White 1851: 475) and the population of the parish in 1831 was about 75% of the 1851 population.

Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire

Parish/ place	Number fed/ quarts served	Population	% of pop. Fed	Ave. winter temp	Source
Aylesbury Bucks	>600 families	5,820	41.2%	1.7	BH 20/2/1847: 4
Berkhamsted Herts	472 quarts	3,229	14.6%	1.7	BH 20/2/1847: 5
Hertford St. Andrew's Herts	700-800	2,135	32.8-37.5%	1.6	HM 06/03/1841: 2
Hertford All Saints/St John's Herts	910	3,306	27.5%	1.6	HM 16/1/1841: 2

Table 12.33. Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire soup kitchens 1834-1850: proportion of population receiving soup.

Parish	County	Parish open or closed	Soup donor	Pop. in 1831	Source
Cholsebury	Bucks.	Closed	Rev. Jeston	127-139	BH 25/5/1833: 4
Hartwell	Bucks.	Closed	Rev. Lockhart	137	BG 8/1/1831: 4
Stowe	Bucks.	Closed	Duke of Buckingham	478	WEE 25/12/1824: 4
Cresswell, Woodhorn	Northumb.	Closed	A.J. Creswell-Baker Esq.	251 (in 1831)	NC 21/1/1832: 4
Trentham	Staffs.	Not known	Duke of Sutherland	2,344	SRO/D593/L/6/2/2

Table 12.34. Other individuals distributing soup 1818/19-1835/36 and parish type.

Parish and Year	Numbers	Families	Volume	Pop.	% of pop. receiving soup	Source
Waddesdon 1853/54	300			1716	17.5%	BH 28/1/1854: 3
Amersham 1855/56		150		3617	16.6%	BH 16/2/1856: 5; BCh 5/3/1856: 2
Chesham 1855/56	440			6042	7.3%	BH 26/4/1856: 5
Chesham 1860/61			600q	5985	10.0%	BCh 26/1/1861: 2
Marlow 1861/62	120		240-280q	4661	2.6%-6.0%	BFP 17/1/1862: 9
Newport Pagnell 1868/69			437q	3824	11.4%	CWS 3/4/1869: 1
Olney 1869/70		237	288q	2622	11.0%-36.2%	CWS 14/5/1870: 4
Olney 1870/71			300q	2661	11.3%	BH 13/05/1871: 6

Table 12.35. Proportions of Buckinghamshire parishes receiving soup 1854-1870 (a family is assumed to be 4 people and a quart to serve one person.

Year	Parish	Number fed/quarts served	Population	% of pop. receiving soup	Ave. winter temp.	Source
1853/54	St Andrew's	319q	2159	14.8%	3.1	HM 07/01/1854: 3
1853/54	Brickendon	220q	770	28.6%	3.1	HM 07/01/1854: 3
1853/54	All Saints	200q	1244	16.1%	3.1	HM 13/3/1854: 2
1853/54	St John's	280q	2314	12.1%	3.1	HM 13/3/1854: 2
1858/59	St Andrew's (Dimsdale)	92 families	2177	16.9%	5.1	HG 19/3/1859: 5
1860/61	St John's	170 families/ 368q	2388	15.4%-28.5%	2.7	HG 29/1/1861: 3
1862/63	St Andrew's (Dimsdale)	100 families	2202	18.2%	5.7	HG 27/12/1862: 5
1869/70	St Andrew's	400q	2266	17.7%	3.0	HM 26/2/1870: 3
1876.77	St Andrew's (Dimsdale)	150 families	2399	25.0%	5.9	HM 30/12/1876: 2

Table 12.36. Proportion of local population served by Hertford's soup kitchens 1853/54-1876/77.

Year	Parish	Numbers fed/quarts served	Population	% of parish receiving soup	Ave. winter temp.	Source
1860/61	Tring	288 families or 1018/900q	4841	21.0%	2.7	BH 23/3/1861: 6
1860/61	Welwyn*	170 people	1612	10.5%	2.7	HM 26/1/1861: 3
1863/64	Watford**	100 families	4898	8.2%	3.7	WO 16/01/1864: 1
1863/64	Berkhamsted	250 families	3692	27.1%	3.7	HM 19/3: 1864: 3
1866/67	Berkhamsted	>200 families	3798	21.1%	4.7	BCh 25/1/1868: 3
1867/68	Berkhamsted	250 families 400q	3834	26.1%	4.5	BCh 25/1/1868: 3

Table 12.37. Proportion receiving soup Hertfordshire towns excluding St Albans and Hertford 1860/61-1870/71. *Mr Elstone of Red Lion Inn, Digswell Hill. ** Mr Kilby of the Queen's Arms also provided similar quantities of soup in the following two years. *** These years the press reports refer to the numbers of names on list which probably refers to family tickets given numbers in other years

Parish and year	Numbers	Families	Volume	Pop.	% of pop. receiving soup	Source
Eton 1871/72		100		3333	12.0%	BH 16/03/1872
Chesham 1878/79	300			6499	4.6%	BH 04/01/1879: 5
Aylesbury 1886/87	127 dinners		73q	8504	0.9%	BH 26/02/1887: 5
Slough 1890/91			133q	8713	1.3%	BH 17/01/1891: 6
Buckingham 1890/91			182q	3364	5.4%	BE 12 1890: 4
Chesham 1892/93			146q*	6309	2.3%	BEx 31/10/1894: 5
Chesham 1893/94			95q	6426	1.5%	BEx 31/10/1894: 5
Beaconsfield 1894/95			120q	1692	7.1%	SBS 3/1895: 8
High Wycombe 1904/05	1085	210	300q	18765	5.8%	SBS 27/1/1905: 4
Marlow 1905/06			70q	1168	6.0%	SBS 15/12/1905: 6
High Wycombe 1907/08	1054			19576	5.4%	SBS 14/2/1908: 5

High Wycombe 1908/09	1105	221	360q	19846	5.6%	SBS 12/3/1909: 5
Aylesbury 1910/11	>1500	500		11048	13.6%	BH 21/01/1911: 5, 6

Table 12.38. Proportion of population served at Buckinghamshire soup kitchens 1870-1911 (a family is assumed to be 4 people and a quart to serve one person (population interpolated from closest census years). Assumes 20 distributions as in following year

Year	Number fed/ quarts served	Population	% of pop. receiving soup	Source
1853/54	530 (>200 families)	7203	11.1%	HG 4/4/1854: 4
1855/56	312 families/ 534q (=801)	7338	10.9%	HG 25/11/1856: 3
1856/57	485q =728	7405	9.8%	HG 26/5/1857: 2
1857/58	560q =840	7473	11.2%	HG 16/2/1858: 2
1858/59	555q =833	7540	11.0%	HG 9/4/1859: 5
1862/63	533q =800	7800	10.3%	HG 10/3/1863: 3
1867/68	494q =741	8111	9.1%	HA 23/3/1868: 5
1869/70	478q =717	8236	8.7%	HA 24/9/1870: 5
1870/71	585q=877	8298	10.6%	HA 4/11/1871: 5
1871/72	471q=706	8561	8.2%	HA 19/10/1872: 5
1875/76	452q=678	9614	7.1%	HA 6/1/1877: 5
1878/79	484q=727	10404	7.0%	HA 6/12/1879: 6
1879/80	482q=723	10668	6.8%	HA 4/12/1880: 4
1880/81	511q=767	10931	7.0%	HA 17/12/1881: 5
1883/84	513q=769	11521	6.7%	HA 29/11/1884: 5
1887/88	426q=639	12308	5.2%	HA 31/3/1888: 5
1889/90	400q=600	12701	4.7%	HA 22/3/1890: 5
1892/93	338q=507	13522	3.7%	HA 16/12/1893: 5

Table 12.39. Proportion of St Albans population served 1853/54-1892/93. Except for 1853/54 when actual number is given, the number of recipients is based on the soup kitchen's estimate of two quarts with bread for three people (HM 1/4/1854: 3) and the totals are average served during season.

Year	Parish	Numbers fed/quarts served	Population	% of parish receiving soup	Source
1863/64	Berkhamsted	250 families	3692	27.1%	HM 19/3: 1864: 3
1866/67	Berkhamsted	>200 families	3798	21.1%	BCh 25/1/1868: 3
1867/68	Berkhamsted	250 families 400q	3834	26.1%	BCh 25/1/1868: 3
1872/73	Berkhamsted	300 families	4049	29.6%	HA 11/1/1873: 7
1873/74	Berkhamsted	300 families	4104	29.2%	HA 21/2/1874: 7
1874/75	Berkhamsted	300-400 families	4158	28.9-38.5%	HHG 6/2/1875: 5
1884/85	Berkhamsted	311 names***	4705	26.4%	BH 24/01/1885: 7
1885/86	Berkhamsted	>300 names***	4760	25.2%	BH 23/01/1886: 7
1886/87	Berkhamsted	340 families	4814	28.3%	Birtchnell 1972b: 7

Table 12.40. Proportion receiving soup in Berkhamsted. *** These years the press reports refer to the numbers of names on list which probably refers to family tickets given numbers in other years

g. Chapter 6 Nutritional data on soup

Sources of nutritional data

Item	Weight US bushel	Weight UK bushel	Weight UK gallon
dried pes	60lb	61.8lb	7.7lb
onions	57lb	59lb	7.4lb
oats	32lb	33lb	
barley	48lb	49.5lb	
potatoes	60lb	61.8	

Table 12.41. Estimated weight of dry measures.

Item	Weight per unit	Calories per unit	Calories per 100g	Protein grams per unit	Protein grams per 100g
Cow's foot	2lbs	2,276?	251	190?	21
Cow's head	20lb	26,000	286	2364	26
Cow's cheek	1.8lb	1040	130	152	19
Celery head	1.3lbs	94	16	trace	trace
Herring, kippered	130g	282	217	43	33
Ox cheek	9lb for 2	5312	130	776	26
Leg of beef inc. bone	7.5lb	See beef shin	See beef shin	See beef shin	See beef shin

Table 12.42. Estimated weight and nutritional content of items in recipes.

Item	Cal per 100g	Cal per lb	Grams protein per 100g	Grams protein per lb	Source of data
Beef shoulder clods	200	908	31	141	USDA
Beef shin (off bone)	196	890	30	136	USDA
Beef shin and leg (on bone)	147	667	21	95	USDA
Beef fat	902	4095	0	0	USDA
Pork	377	1712	15	68	USDA
Herring, kippered	217	985	25	114	USDA
Peas, split	364	1653	23	104	USDA
Flour	339	1539	14	64	USDA
Rice, white	360	1634	6.6	30	USDA
Oats	379	1721	13	59	USDA
Barley	354	1607	12.5	57	USDA
Bread	274	1244	10	45	USDA
Cornmeal (maize)	362	1643	8	36	USDA
Sugar	380	1725	0	0	USDA
Onions	40	182	trace	trace	USDA
Leek	61	277	trace	trace	USDA
Turnip	28	127	trace	trace	USDA
Parsnip	75	341	trace	trace	USDA
Celery	16	73	trace	trace	USDA
Potato	58	263	2.6	12	USDA
Carrot	41	186	trace	trace	USDA
Black pepper	251	1140	trace	trace	USDA

Allspice	268	1216	trace	trace	Estimate
Cayenne	318	1444	trace	trace	Estimate
Mustard seed	508	2306	trace	trace	Estimate

Table 12.43. Calorific content of main soup ingredients.

Recipe analysis

Soup	Date	Calories per q	Protein g per q	Comments	Source
Rumford's cheapest soup	1795	855	30	Recommended 1-1.25 pint serving with about 4 ounces of bread. NB Redlich (1971:190) calculated 1137 cal. per q.	Rumford 1970: 175, 256
Colquhoun's leg of beef	1797	1040	119	Recommended 1 pint serving with potatoes	Colquhoun 1797: 7
Soyer's No1 soup 1847	1847	312	9	Served with ship's biscuit or bread	*Times* 18/2/1847: 5
Soyer's No1 soup 1848	1848	358-458	11-14	6.3-12.5lb of barley per 100q	Soyer 1848: 19

Table 12.44. Nutritional content of a quart (40 oz.) serving of expert cooks' soups

Place	Date	Calories per quart	Comments	Source
Blackfriars	1800	625		Blackfriars 1800
Newcastle-upon-Tyne General Soup Kitchen	1801	679		NC 10/1/1801: 1
Spitalfields	1798	592		Bernard 1798b: 218
Spitalfields	1799	842		Colquhoun 1799: 14
Clerkenwell	1799	837		Clerkenwell 1799: 13
Orchard Street, Westminster	1799	624		Colquhoun's 1799a: 16
St George's Fields (Dog and Duck)	1801	1069		Lettsom 1801: 159
Camberwell	1801	799		Lettsom 1801: 164
Camberwell ox-head soup	1801	1188	Ox-head	Lettsom 1801: 165
Camberwell alternative soup recipe	1801	960		Lettsom 1801: 165
Birmingham	1801	477	Ox cheeks	Lettsom 1801: 173
Mongewell Oxon	1801	658	Pork and peas	Lettsom 1801: 172
Iver soup	1801	450	Meatless, sponsored by Mrs Bernard	Lettsom 1801: 169
Norton Hall Derbyshire ox-head	1801	731		Lettsom 1801: 170
Lord Grimston, Gorhambury, St Albans		2185	Amount of rice incorrectly transcribed? the	Hervey 1906: 411

			calories are probably 745	
Average		752	excludes Lord Grimston's	

Table 12.45. Nutritional values of a quart (40 oz.) serving of soup, 1795-1801.

Place	Date	Calories per quart	Comments	Source
Kendal	1816	848		Worcester 1817
Bradford	1816	519		Worcester 1817
Worcester	1817	587		Worcester 1817
Whitehaven	1816	1099	Ox-head, used in workhouse and for out-relief	CPW 31/12/1816: 2
Birmingham	1816	478	Ox cheeks	BCWG 28/11/1816: 2
Dover Kent	1820	707		KW 21/1/1820: 4
Average		706		

Table 12.46. Nutritional values of a quart (40 oz.) of soup kitchen soup 1815-1833.

Place	Date	Calories per quart	Comments	Source
Soyer's No1 soup	1848	408	Average of recipes	Soyer1848: 19
Newcastle-upon-Tyne General Soup Kitchen	1847	655		NGM 3/4/1847: 4
Newcastle-upon-Tyne General Soup Kitchen	1860	708		NJ 28/1/1860: 8
St Andrew's Parish Newcastle-upon-Tyne	1863	856	Ox-head	NJ 23/12/1862: 3
Spitalfields	1867	637		ILN 9/3/1867: 18
Cranbrook Kent	1867	619		DE 07/06/1867: 3
Chatham Kent	1868	668		MJKA 27/1/1868: 6
Maidstone Kent	1870	456		MT 22/01/1870: 5
Margate Kent	1880	723	Ox-head	WTHBH 31/01/1880: 3
Berwick	1880	544	Vegetables are estimated	BA 16/4/1880: 3
Columbia Market London	1885	719	Mostly peas	LBO 24/11/1885: 3
Average		635		

Table 12.47. Nutritional values of a quart (40 oz.) of soup kitchen soup 1847-1885.

h. Chapter 5 children attending soup kitchens and missions, and Chapter 8 Adopted and adapted buildings data tables

Children attending soup kitchens

Place	Location/institution	Children only?	Source
Bromley	Sir Edward Scott's School	Principally children	SEG 24/1/1881: 5
Canterbury	Alford Relief Institution	General soup kitchen, distinct children's dinner service	WTHBH 26/12/1874: 3
Chatham	Naval Dockyard Searching Room	Children only	MJKA 15/2/1869: 6
Cheriton	All Souls	Children of unemployed	FHSCH 23/6/1906:
Dover	Town Hall	Children only	DE 2/12/1904: 5, 1/12/1905: 10
Folkestone	North Ward Soup Kitchen Fund, North Board School	'Innocent little children in want of bread'	FHSCH 13/12/1902: 15, 2/1/1904: 3, 5/3/1904: 16, 6/1/1906: 15
Folkestone	St. Eanswythe's Mission	Children's dinners and dinners for invalids	FHSCH 24/1/1903: 14, 7/4/1906: 9
Folkestone	Municipal soup kitchen	Children and the sick but labour test advocated for men	FHSCH 3/12/1904: 13
Gravesend	Ragged School	General soup kitchen with separate dinner facility for children	GRNK 2/2/1864: 5;

			SEG 18/1/1886: 5
High Brooms Practical	Powder Mill Lane	'Hungry children', the sick, older folk, children 'with insufficient food'	KSC 23/1/1903: 10, 25/12/1908: 10
Maidstone	Padsole Lane	Special children's meal at soup kitchen	KSC 1/3/1895: 2
Sheerness		General soup kitchen but children fed *gratis*	EKG 18/11/1876: 5
Southborough		General soup kitchen but children fed *gratis*	KSC 6/5/1910: 10
Tonbridge	St Stephen's Mission Hall, Priory Road	90% children	KSC 28/2/1908: 5
Tonbridge		Children of unemployed	KSC 29/12/1905: 11
Tunbridge Wells	Salvation Army barracks	'Hungry crying children'	KSC 12/12/1902: 10, 13/2/1914: 7

Table 12.48. Kent soup kitchens emphasising service of children.

Place	Location/institution	Children only?	Source
Aylesbury	Corn Exchange	Children provided with seating, adults also served at back of building to take away	BH 15/01/1887: 5
Aylesbury	Town Hall (Corn Exchange renamed)	Primarily children, people also served	BH 03/12/1910: 3
Buckingham	soup distribution centre	Children and 'families unwilling to go to workhouse'	BAFP 1/1/1910: 5
High Wycombe	Messrs Priest Brothers factory	Children and elderly	SBS 1/1/1904: 5
High Wycombe	Central Schools	Children only	SBS 23/12/1904: 5
High Wycombe	Priory Road School	Children only	SBS 12/2/1909: 5
High Wycombe	St Anne's	Deserving, primarily children, elderly and sick	SBS 4/3/1910: 8
High Wycombe	Salvation Army	Children	SBS 15/1/1914: 8
Iver	National School	Children primarily, also elderly	SBS 5/12/1890: 6
Little Marlow	School	Children only	SBS 23/1/1903: 3
Slough	Father Clemente's Free Soup Kitchen, St. Ethelbert's School	Children first, and the remains to deserving adults	BH 25/12/1886: 8, 27/12/1902: 7
Thornborough	Lady Addington provides	Children during measles epidemic	BE 16/11/1889: 8
Wendover	Alfred Rothschild's Soup Kitchen	Old men and women, and children	BH 24/01/1903: 7,8

Table 12.49. Buckinghamshire soup kitchens emphasising service of children.

Place	Location/institution	Children only?	Source
Royston		Children only	HCR 5/3/1886: 5
St Albans		Children only	HA 1/1/1887: 6
Sawbridgeworth		Children only	HM 12/5/1888: 5
Stevenage	Coffee Tavern	Children and poorer families	HM 10/4/1886:5
Tring	Church House	Children only	BH 12/1/1901: 8
Watford	Society for Relief of Necessitous Poor	Children of those who make themselves undeserving	WO 31/3/1888: 2
Watford	Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor	Primarily children; also elderly	WO 5/1/1889: 5, HA 11/11/1899: 7

Table 12.50. Hertfordshire soup kitchens emphasising service of children.

Place	Location/institution	Children only?	Source
Burslem	The Shambles	96% children	SS 31/1/1879: 3
Edengale	School-house	Children only	LM 31/12/1886: 8

Table 12.51. Staffordshire soup kitchens emphasising service of children.

Place	Location/institution	Children only?	Source
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	General Soup Kitchen	Soup to school children after cholera outbreak	NC 13/1/1854: 1
Newcastle upon Tyne	Free Church Gallowgate	Children only	SS 22/12/1877: 7
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	St. John's Soup Kitchen	Children served, unclear whether adults served	NC 6/12/1879: 5, 10/4/1885: 2
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	General Soup Kitchen	Soup provided to St Peter's Board School	NC 25/11/1881: 5
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Scotswood Road School, Bentinck SchooL Snow Street School, St. Peter's School, Byker School, and the Royal Jubilee School	Children only	NC 10/10/1884: 3
North Shields	Tynemouth Ragged School	Children only	NDC 22/11/1860: 2
North Shields	Victoria Soup Kitchen on the three days when Soup Kitchen is not open, Dene Street School, Templar Hall on Stephenson Street	Children: Children's Dinner and General Relief Fund	SDN 10/3/1879: 3
North Shields	Victoria Soup Kitchen?	Children only	SDG 19/2/1885: 2
North Shields	Tynemouth Children's Relief Scheme	Children only	SDN 4/12/1885: 3
North Shields	Victoria Soup Kitchen	Emphasis on children and 'helpless'	SDG 11/1/1893: 3, 24/1/1893: 2
North Shields	Pottery Yard, Northumberland Street	Children only	SDG 19/12/1904: 5

	and Milburn Place on North Street		
South Shields	Tyne Dock	Children only	SDG 6/3/1885: 3
South Shields	North Eastern Dining Rooms, Tyne Dock district	Children only	SDG 11/4/1892: 3
South Shields	Unitarian Church, Derby Terrace	Children of the St. Hilda and Marsden miners	SDG 6/5/1892: 3
South Shields	Gospel Temperance Hall, run by gas workers committee	Children only	SDG 20/1/1893: 4
South Shields	Royal Assembly Hall basement	Children only	SDG 12/2/1895: 3
South Shields	St Thomas Church	Mostly children, some men	SDG 13/2/1895: 4
South Shields	Empress Hotel, Tyne Dock	Children only	SDG 15/2/1895: 3
Hebburn		Children only	SDG 22/1/1903: 3
Jarrow		Priority to children, adults served	SDG 20/12/1904: 5
Wallsend	New Carville stables and coach house and R. Womphrey, butcher,	Children only	SDG 14/3/1892: 3

Table 12.52. Tyneside soup kitchens emphasising service of children.

Place	Location/institution	Children only?	Source
Berwick-on-Tweed	Stable adjoining Soup Kitchen, Chapel Street	Dining area for children	BA 26/11/1880: 3
Berwick-on-Tweed	Soup Kitchen, Chapel Street	'Destitute children' only although reference in 1885 to 'people' as well	BA 11/12/1885: 3; BN 22/1/1907: 8
Berwick-on-Tweed	Butter Market at Town hall	Children only	BN 13/1/1914: 7
Spittal	British School	Needy children eat-in adults take away	BN 12/1/1909: 7
Ashington		Children during miners' strike	MH 23/4/1887: 2
Blyth	Mr York's, Cowpen Quay	Children only	MH 16/2/1895: 3
Blyth		Children only	SDG 4/4/1903: 3
Seaton Terrace	Workmen's Social Club	Children during miners' strike	MH 19/4/1912:7
Choppington	Co-operative Society and Dolphin Tea Room	Children during miners' strike	MH 17/5/1912: 3
Newsham		Children during miners' strike	MH 5/4/1912: 10
North Seaton		Children during miners' strike	MH 5/4/1912: 10
Pegswood	Co-operative Society Hall	Children during miners' strike	MH 12/4/1912: 7
Guide Post	Cooperative Society Hall	Children during miners' strike	MH 19/4/1912: 7
Cramlington		Children during miners' strike	MH 12/4/1912: 7

Barrington Colliery	Primitive Methodist Chapel	Children during miners' strike	MH 31/5/1912: 3

Table 12.53. Northumberland (excluding Tyneside) soup kitchens emphasising service of children.

Missions, church houses and institutes with soup kitchens

Place	Institution	Location	Source
Gravesend	Mr Hitchens Sailors' Mission	Bethel on West Street	GRNK 20/11/1858: 1, 24/12/1859: 4
Gravesend	Holy Trinity Church Milton	27 East-Terrace and Waterside Mission House, Thames-Street.	GRNK 9/1/1864: 4; SEG 12/1/1864: 6
Northfleet	Mission, ragged school and soup kitchen	Lawn House, Lawn Road?	GRNK 23/6/1866: 5
Greenwich	Walnut Tree Road Mission, East Greenwich	Walnut Tree Road	WGGD 18/12/1869: 4
Bexleyheath	Home mission		MJKA 7/1/1871: 6
Five Oak Green	Congregational Chapel	9 Whetsted Road	KSC 28/3/1879: 5, 6/4/1900: 8
Tunbridge Wells	Mission Hall,	Mount Sion, Mrs Murrell's Kitchen	KSC 03/04/1891: 5
Tunbridge Wells	St Johns Church Institute	St John's Road?	KSC 27/09/1901: 6
Tunbridge Wells	Salvation Army Hall	Varney Street	KSC 12/12/1902: 10, 18/12/1914: 7
Folkestone	St. Eanswythe's Mission House	Church Street	FHSCH 24/01/1903: 14
Chatham	Wesleyan Mission	Central Hall, High Street	WTHBH 17/12/1904: 5
Hythe	Church House		FHSCH 6/2/1904: 4, 13/12/1913: 5

Tonbridge	St Stephen's Mission Hall	Priory Road	KSC 28/02/1908: 5
High Brooms	Church Room	High Brooms Road	KSC 24/1/1908: 10

Table 12.54. Kent missions, church institutes and church halls with soup kitchens.

Place	Institution	Location	Source
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Guild of St Alban Mission House	8 Princess Street, Saville Row	NJ 2/12/1868: 3
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Heaton, Gallowgate and Byker missions,	Not known	TWA/CHX3/1/3 14/3/1892
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Sailor's Bethel	Quayside	TWA/CHX3/1/3 14/3/1892
Alnwick	St Andrew's Mission Hall and Church Institute	New Row, Pottergate	SDG 8/1/1887: 5
Blyth	Church Institute		SDG 22/2/1895: 3
Blyth	Presbyterian Mission Hall	Wellington Street. Cowpen Quay	MH 16/2/1895: 3
Blyth	Sailors' Reading Room	South Blvth, sea front	MH 16/2/1895: 3
South Shields	Thames Street Mission	Thames Street	SDG 15/3/1892: 3
South Shields	St Thomas' Hall	Denmark Street	SDG 16/1/1895: 4
South Shields	Salvation Army		SDG 2/3/1895: 3
North Shields	Church of the Holy Saviour, Tynemouth Priory	Union Road, Low Lights	SDG 5/5/1893: 3
North Shields	Northumberland Street Mission	Northumberland Street	SDG 24/12/1904: 2
Ashington	Salvation Army Barracks	Station Road	MH 29/3/1912: 5

Table 12.55. Tyneside and Northumberland missions, church institutes and church halls with soup kitchens.

Place	Institution	Location	Source
Slough, Bucks	Mission Hall	Stoke Gardens	BH 24/01/1891: 7
Marlow, Bucks	Church House		SBS 23/1/1903: 6
Buckingham, Bucks	St Peter's and St Paul's Church	Parish House, Church Hill	BAFP 26/1/1895: 5; BE 26/1/1895: 3
High Wycombe, Bucks	Salvation Army	Hughenden Road?	SBS 15/1/1914: 8
Hemel Hempstead, Herts	Half-Moon Yard Mission House	Half Moon Yard	HG 11/1/1879: 4
Ware, Herts	Christ Church Mission House	Amwell End (built 1883)	HM 19/03/1887: 4
Tring, Herts	Church House	Western Road	BH 09/01/1897: 5
St Albans, Herts	Salvation Army	London Road?	HA 4/2/1905: 5
Shelton, Staffs	Wesleyan Soup Kitchen	Wesleyan School, Sun-Street	SS 31/1/1879: 3
Trent Vale, Staffs	Methodist Mission Hall	Flash Lane	SS 26/7/1881: 2
Audley, Staffs	Salvation Army	Wood Lane, Raven's Lane and Wereton	SS 28/3/1912: 3

Table 12.56. Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Staffordshire missions, church institutes and church halls with soup kitchens.

Adapted buildings

Parish	Person	Occupation	Premises	Source and date
Brickendon	Mr. Andrew's	builder	Castle Street	HM 23/1/1847: 3
Brickendon	Mrs Simson	gentry		HM 23/1/1847: 3
Brickendon	Mr. Crawley	coach-maker	Castle Street	HM 23/1/1847: 3
St Andrew's	Mr Inskip, Mrs Inskip	mayor corn merchant	St Andrew's Street	HM 24/12/1853: 2; HE 25/1/1862: 3
All Saints	Mr Haslam	chemist and druggist	Fore Street	HE 25/1/1862: 3
St John's		school	Christ's Hospital Fore Street	HE 14/12/1867: 3
All Saints	Mr Marks	silversmith and jeweller	Fore Street	HE 14/12/1867: 3
St Andrew's	Mr T. Wing	inn keeper Three Blackbirds	Castle Street	HE 14/12/1867: 3
Dimsdale charity	Mr Armstrong	House	The Wash	HG 27/12/1862: 5
Dimsdale charity	Mr Oram	House	11 St Andrew's Street	HM 30/12/1876: 2

Table 12.57. Hertford known soup kitchens 1847-1876.

Place	Person	Address	Source and date
House	Mr and Mrs Jobling	Dacre House, Dacre Street	MH 14/10/1876: 4
Mr Dixon's butcher's shop	Messrs Dixon Duncan& Purdey	9 Market Place	MH 29/12/1877: 4
Masonic Hall	Relief committee	Copper Chare	MH 5/1/1878: 4
Premises	Mr Creighton	King Street	MH 29/1/1881:2, 5
Premises	Municipal charity	Corporation Yard	MH 22/12/1883: 5
Old Tannery	Relief committee	Newgate Street	MH 9/2/1895: 4
House	Mrs Paton	105 Newgate Street	MH 9/2/1895: 4
Premises (iron foundry?)	Citizens Guild of Help	Forrest Yard	MH 13/3/1909: 4

Table 12.58. Morpeth known soup kitchens 1876-1909.

i. Poor law matters

Agricultural wages 1824-50

Counties	1824	1833	1837	I850	1850 as % of 1833
Buckinghamshire	105	130	120	105	80.7%
Hertfordshire	113	142	120	113	79.6%
Kent	112	126	115	109	86.5%
Staffordshire	143	151	159	125	82.7%
Northumberland	108	107	113	106	99.1%

Table 12.59. Index of agricultural wages for each county (from Blaug 1963: 184).

Change, date and abbreviation	What did it do?	Practical consequences	Sources
Outdoor Labour Test Order 1842 'OLTO'	Outdoor relief could be provided to those who performed a labour test so that unions with insufficient workhouse space can apply NPL	This was applied in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Tynemouth, Gateshead and other industrial conurbations; guardians could employ relief-claimants to build new workhouses	Hurren 2007: 19; Englander 1998: 14
Outdoor-relief Prohibitory Order 1844 'ORPO'	This tightened outdoor relief in rural areas by requiring able-bodied and their families to be relieved in workhouse. Unions in large urban areas were excluded.	A loophole allows outdoor relief for sudden and urgent necessity and for sickness, accident, or bodily or mental infirmity; this was applied incrementally across country and with varying strictness but still in force in 1914	Snell 2006: 236; Hurren 2007: 19; Humphreys 1995: 17
Poor Law Removal Act 1846	The reduced the requirements for obtaining settlement to 5 years' residence.	Ratepayers adopted strategies to prevent residence arising. Urban poor rates increased as rural poor migrated to towns.	Snell 2006: 261, 270; Hurren 2007; 21
Outdoor-relief Regulation Order 1852 'ORRO'	This enabled unions to provide outdoor relief to the able-bodied and families if a work-test was carried out; half of the relief was to be given in kind; it also extended the work test to women.	This was amended after protest in North	Humphreys 1995: 17; Englander 1998: 15; Snell 2006: 247

Irremovability Act 1861	The reduced the requirements for obtaining settlement to 3 years' residence. The union replaced the parish as a pauper's place of residence as far as relief costs were concerned; parishes contributed to union common funds on the basis of rateable property not their proportion of paupers	Urban poor rates increased as rural poor migrated to towns.	Hurren 2007: 19; Humphreys 1995: 18; Snell 2006: 261, 270
Parochial Assessment Act 1862	This reformed rating procedure	This limited landowners' ability to manipulate rates.	Englander 1998: 21; Hurren 2007: 22; Humphreys 1995: 18
Public Works Manufacturing Districts Act 1863	This enabled urban local authorities to borrow to fund workfare on infrastructure projects.	Workfare was introduced in response to the Cotton Famine	Kidd 1999: 47
Union Chargeability Act 1865	Unions were collectively responsible for union costs which were apportioned to parishes on basis of rateable property. The requirements for obtaining settlement was reduced to one year	Wealthier parishes were incentivised to cut union costs.	Englander 1998: 21; Kidd 1999: 51; Englander 1998: 21; Hurren 2007: 22, 106; Snell 2006: 261, 270
Metropolitan Poor Act 1867	Rates within London pooled into common fund and made all London subject to NPL; pooling of healthcare resources between metropolitan unions.	Wealthier ratepayers now scrutinise relief payments and reduce them.	Englander 1998: 21; Hurren 2007: 22

Poor Law Amendment Act 1867	Neighbouring unions were able to establish district institutions for sick, infirm and insane.	This enabled workhouse regime to become more harsh.	Humphreys 1995: 19
COS founded 29/4/1869	The COS encouraged poor law authorities and charities to co-operate and provide relief scientifically by preventing indiscriminate relief and assistance to undeserving.	Central government policies and some charities adopted an increasingly moral tone.	Humphreys 1995: 5; Hurren 2007: 60
Goschen Minute 20/11/1869	This marks the beginnings of crusade and cuts in outdoor relief, particularly to women.	The COS ideals become central government policy.	Humphreys 1995: 5; Hurren 2007: 22
Fleming Memorandum 2/12/1871	This deemed that boards of guardians and lax policies responsible for increased poor relief costs in 1860s.	It increased financial accountability of officials to encourage restrictions on outdoor relief, particularly to able-bodied women,	Hurren 2007: 23; Humphreys 1995: 24
Longley Report 1873	This argued that Goschen and Fleming were not being properly implemented by poor law unions and increased 'crusading' efforts.	It resulted in increasing rigour in restrictions on outdoor relief particularly by 'extremist' guardians who adopted an increasingly moral tone and denied outdoor relief to people of bad character.	Hurren 2007: 24; Humphreys 1995: 27

Chamberlain Circular 1886	This permitted rates or borrowing to fund workfare schemes.	It was an emergency measure due to urban unrest and used to encourage rural to urban migration.	Englander 1998: 28; Hurren 2007: 143
Unemployed Workmen's Act 1905	It enabled grants to be given to local work schemes for the unemployed.	It enabled the establishment of employment exchanges and emigration schemes	
Relief Regulations Order of 1911	All expenditure on out-door relief to able-bodied was deemed illegal.	It was frequently evaded or not strictly enforced.	Snell 2006: 220

Table 12.60. Changes to the New Poor Law and related legislation following the Poor Law Amendment Act 1834.

Poor law spending comparison 1860-1875

Tyneside Unions	% of all money spent on outdoor relief in 1860	% of all money spent on outdoor relief in 1875	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1860 in s.	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1875 in s.	1875 proportion spent on outdoor relief as % of 1860	1875 per capita outdoor relief spending as % of 1860
Tynemouth	84%	70%	2.8	1.8	83%	62%
South Shields	82%	61%	2.7	1.2	75%	45%
Gateshead	83%	75%	2.7	1.9	90%	70%
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	82%	60%	3.7	1.6	73%	43%

Table 12.61. Changes in Tyneside poor law union expenditure 1860-1875 in shillings (PLB 1860-1870, LGB 1871-1876).

Northumberland Unions	% of all money spent on outdoor relief in 1860	% of all money spent on outdoor relief in 1875	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1860 in s.	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1875 in s.	1875 proportion spent on outdoor relief as % of 1860	1875 per capita outdoor relief spending as % of 1860
Alnwick	89%	76%	4.2	3.0	85%	71%
Berwick	89%	76%	4.9	3.6	85%	74%
Hexham	80%	79%	4.0	3.3	98%	84%
Morpeth	93%	91%	3.7	3.6	99%	97%
Castle Ward	88%	82%	3.1	2.0	93%	66%
Glendale	91%	76%	4.2	3.2	83%	75%
Belford	88%	77%	5. 1	3.5	88%	68%
Haltwhistle	74%	76%	1.8	1.7	102%	97%
Rothbury	94%	92%	5.0	2.8	97%	55%
Bellingham	89%	80%	4.5	3.7	90%	84%

Table 12.62. Changes in Northumberland (excluding Tyneside) poor law union expenditure 1860-1875. (PLB 1860-1870, LGB 1871-1876).

Staffordshire Unions	% of all money spent on outdoor relief in 1860	% of all money spent on outdoor relief in 1875	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1860 in s.	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1875 in s.	1875 proportion spent on outdoor relief as % of 1860	1875 per capita outdoor relief spending as % of 1860
Stafford	65%	56%	1.4	1.8	87%	132%
Stone	63%	57%	1.6	1.2	91%	99%
Newcastle-under-Lyme	54%	60%	0.7	1.1	119%	149%
Wolstanton	80%	76%	1.8	1.4	95%	76%
Stoke-on-Trent	65%	53%	1.2	1.8	81%	145%
Leek	81%	72%	2.3	1.8	89%	75%
Cheadle	75%	70%	1.3	1.5	94%	115%
Uttoxeter	79%	73%	3.0	3.0	93%	99%
Burton-on-Trent	86%	83%	2.0	1.7	97%	86%
Tamworth	86%	69%	4.0	2.8	80%	71%
Lichfield	84%	79%	2. 6	2.4	94%	93%
Cannock	73%	70%	2.0	1.8	96%	90%
Wolverhampton	61%	58%	1.0	1.6	96%	168%
Walsall	82%	80%	1.2	1.6	97%	135%
West Bromwich	81%	65%	2.0	1.5	80%	76%
Dudley	77%	70%	1.7	2.0	91%	117%

Table 12.63. Changes in Staffordshire poor law union expenditure 1860-1875 (excludes unions also in other counties). (PLB 1860-1870, LGB 1871-1876).

Kent Unions	% of all money spent on outdoor relief in 1860	% of all money spent on outdoor relief in 1875	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1860 in s.	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1875 in s.	1875 proportion spent on outdoor relief as % of 1860	1875 per capita outdoor relief spending as % of 1860
Ashford E	77%	74%	4.8	4.1	96%	85%
Ashford W	82%	74%	4.6	3.9	91%	85%
Aylesford N.	59%	55%	2.7	2.5	94%	94%
Blean	68%	62%	3.0	2.4	91%	81%
Bridge	66%	69%	3.7	4.1	104%	110%
Bromley	41%	48%	1.1	1.2	117%	109%
Canterbury	71%	64%	2.6	2.8	90%	108%
Cranbrook	78%	67%	4.9	4.0	86%	81%
Dartford	65%	76%	2.5	2.9	117%	115%
Dover	66%	60%	2.7	3.4	91%	125%
Eastry	64%	50%	3.5	2.8	78%	80%
Elham	66%	61%	2.2	1.9	93%	87%
Faversham	70%	56%	3.8	2.5	81%	74%
Gravesend and Milton	43%	38%	1.6	1.1	88%	69%
Hollingbourne	75%	60%	6.5	4.0	80%	62%
Hoo	44%	27%	2.6	1.6	61%	63%
Maidstone	78%	54%	5.1	2.2	68%	43%
Malling	64%	65%	2.9	2.9	101%	100%
Medway	42%	42%	0.8	1.4	101%	163%
Milton	69%	64%	2.4	2.2	93%	91%
Romney Marsh	76%	54%	5.6	2.9	70%	52%
Sevenoaks	70%	55%	3.6	1.7	79%	47%

Sheppey	50%	52%	1.0	1.7	103%	175%
Tenterden	75%	73%	5.3	3.7	98%	70%
Thanet	61%	50%	2.7	1.6	81%	59%
Tonbridge	77%	65%	3.8	1.3	85%	35%

Table 12.64. Changes in Kent poor law union expenditure 1860-1875 (excludes Lewisham and Greenwich Unions). (PLB 1860-1870, LGB 1871-1876).

Hertfordshire Union	% of all money spent on outdoor relief in 1860	% of all money spent on outdoor relief in 1875	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1860 in s.	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1875 in s.	1875 proportion spent on outdoor relief as % of 1860	1875 per capita outdoor relief spending as % of 1860
Hertford	81%	64%	5.0	4.2	78%	83%
Bishops Stortford	79%	68%	5.9	5.2	86%	89%
Ware	83%	74%	7.0	5.6	89%	80%
Hemel Hempstead	74%	64%	2.7	2.8	87%	102%
Watford	73%	66%	4.4	3.0	90%	69%
Hitchin	83%	79%	5.1	4.4	95%	87%
Hatfield and Welwyn	58%	56%	3.2	2.8	96%	88%
Royston and Buntingford	75%	72%	4.5	4.6	96%	102%
Berkhamsted	83%	79%	3.5	4.0	96%	113%
St Albans	65%	68%	2.6	2.7	104%	104%

Table 12.65. Changes in Hertfordshire poor law union expenditure 1860-1875 (excludes unions also in other counties). (PLB 1860-1870, LGB 1871-1876).

Union	% spending on outdoor relief in 1860	% spending on outdoor relief in 1875	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1860 in s.	Per capita outdoor relief spending 1875 in s.	1875 spending on outdoor relief as % of 1860	1875 per capita outdoor relief spending as % of 1860
Eton	65%	54%	3.1	1.9	84%	60%
Newport Pagnell	89%	81%	6.6	4.4	91%	66%
Winslow	93%	70%	5.4	4.8	75%	89%
Aylesbury	93%	85%	7.5	6.0	91%	79%
Buckingham	90%	83%	7.2	7.0	93%	98%
Wycombe	84%	82%	5.2	4.8	97%	92%
Amersham	80%	78%	4.5	4.3	98%	95%

Table 12.66. Changes in Buckinghamshire poor law union expenditure 1860-1875 (excludes unions also in other counties). (PLB 1860-1870, LGB 1871-1876).

13. Appendix 3 Soup kitchens in the five study regions

The tables below set out the soup kitchens identified from newspaper reports and archival research. Dates given are conservative and many soup kitchens operated without much surviving publicity. Where a soup kitchen is only reported in open in winter, the dates given are for the relevant season; soup kitchens supporting strikers outside winter months are given the year only. . Where a range of dates is given, it does not mean that the soup kitchen opened every winter during that period, only that there was a continuity of organisation. Each different location used by an institution is given a separate entry; where an institution used different locations this is noted (it is not always possible to be sure whether the same institution is operating a soup kitchen where there is a significant gap between the two known references).

Ordnance Survey grid references are given where the location can be established with confidence; (for large buildings they do not necessarily identify the exact point of the soup distribution). Grid references are taken from the EDINA scans of OS maps. The survival of a building does not mean that the part used as a soup kitchen has survived. The survival of buildings was checked using Ordnance Survey maps and Google Streetview; not all locations were visited in person.

Country Houses, pubs and inns are a lot easier to identify than unnumbered shop premises. Nevertheless more locations could be determined accurately with further research using town directories.

A. Northumberland (excluding Tyneside)

No	Town/parish/township	Address	Grid reference	Organiser	Beneficiary (if other than poor)	Building's primary use and location	Date range	Surv-ival	Identi-fication
1	Alnmouth			Lady Charlotte Granville		House?	1878/79		
2	Alnwick	Alnwick Castle	NU 18607 13567	Duke of Northumberland		Castle kitchens	1775/76 1803 1818/19 1831/32	Y	Y
3	Alnwick	Town Hall	NU 18596 13317	Subscription		Town hall kitchen	1822-1860?	Y	Prob
4	Alnwick (same institution as 3)	16 Narrowgate Street	NU 18600 13427	Subscription, board of health		Mr Johnson's China shop	1860-1861	Y	Y
5	Alnwick (same institution as 3)	Bailiffgate Square	NU 18511 13570	Subscription		Mews, stable block?	1864–1874	N	Y

6	Alnwick (same institution as 3)	Off Green Batt	NU 18697 13139	Subscription		Police station or House of Correction	1874-1907	Y	Prob
7	Alnwick	Clayport Street	NU 18492 13164	Subscription		Working Men's Club	1874-?	Y	Y
8	Alnwick	New Row, Pottergate	NU 18468 13370	Church mission		Mission Hall	1886-?	Y	Y
9	Amble	Dr Duncan's house		Subscription		Private house, laundry	1864/65		
10	Amble			Subscription?	Miners?		1877/78 1878/79		
11	Amble, Broomhill Township	Mr Burn's premises		Subscription	Miners	House?	1877/78		
12	Ashington	Mr Dickinson's shop		Mr Dickinson	Miners	Butcher's shop	1877/78		
13	Ashington			Subscription	Miners		1877/78		
14	Ashington				Miners		1886/87		

15	Ashington	Newbiggin Road, Seaton Hirst		Mrs Maughan	Miners	Shop	1912		
16	Ashington	Seventh Row on Station Road	NZ 27027 87762	Salvation Army	Miners	Mission Hall	1911-1912	Y	Y
17	Bedlington (Inc. Barrington and Netherton)			Subscription		?	1841-1849		
18	Bedlington			Mr Swann	Miners	Butcher's shop	1877/78		Y
19	Bedlington				Miners		1887		
20	Bedlington	28 Front Street (Two 28s, one at either end of the street)		Mr Hay	Miners	Butcher's shop	1912	Prob	Y
21	Bedlington Colliery	13 Front Street			Miners	Co-operative store	1912	Prob	Y

22	Bedligton, Barrington colliery				Miners		1887		
23	Bedligton, Barrington Colliery	Primitive Methodist Chapel	NZ 26651 58899		Miners	Chapel	1912	N	Y
24	Bedlington, Netherton Colliery				Miners		1912		
25	Belford	1 North Bank	NU 10935 34042	Parish subscription		Vicarage	1831/32 1837/38	Y	Prob
26	Belford	1 North Bank	NU 10935 34042	Parish subscription		Vicarage	1880/81 1885/86	Y	Y
27	Berwick Town			Board of Health then subscription			1832-1838		
28	Berwick Town (same institution as 27?)			Subscription			1865-1871		

29	Berwick Town (same institution as 27?)	Chapel Street	NT 99922 53010	Subscription		Purpose-built?	1871-1913	N	Y
30	Berwick Town (same institution as 27?)	Butter Market at Town Hall	NT 99903 52908	Subscription		Butter Market at Town Hall	1914	Y	Y
31	Berwick Town					Church School	1864/65		
32	Berwick Town			Templars (a temperance society)			1878/79		
33	Berwick Town			The Welcome		Temperance Mission?	1877-1881		
34	Berwick Town	1 Wellington Terrace	NT 99900 53528	Rev. Baldwin		House, at bottom of garden	1880/81	Poss	Y
35	Berwick Town	The Green		Miss Richardson		House?	1906/07		
36	Berwick Tweedmouth			Board of Health			1832		

37	Berwick Tweedmouth	Union Hotel	NT 99394 52616	Subscription		Courtyard behind hotel	1865-1914	N	Y
38	Berwick Spittal			Board of Health			1832		
39	Berwick Spittal			Subscription			1865-1908		
40	Berwick Spittal (same institution as 39)	British School, School Lane		Subscription		School	1909-1914	N	Y
41	Blyth (and Cowpen)	Northumberland Street?		Subscription		School house attached to chapel of ease?	1817-1820	N	Poss
42	Blyth (and Cowpen) (same institution as 41)	Northumberland Street?		Board of health, subscription		School house attached to chapel of ease?	1831-1836?	N	Poss
43	Blyth (and Cowpen)	Central Hall	NZ 31349 81520	Subscription		Public Hall	1861-1880	N	Y

44	Blyth (and Cowpen)					American Meat Co	1885/86		
45	Blyth (and Cowpen)	Regent Street		Subscription		Mr York's butcher's shop	1893-1895		
46	Blyth (and Cowpen)	Wellington Street		Church mission, subscription		Presbyterian Mission Hall	1893-1898?		
47	Blyth (and Cowpen)	South Blyth	NZ 32006 81416	Subscription		Sailors' Reading Room	1894/95	N	Y
48	Blyth (and Cowpen)	Northumberland Street	NZ 31815 81508	Subscription, church		Church Institute	1894/95	Y	Y
49	Blyth (and Cowpen)	Wellington Street		Subscription, temperance group		Good Templars' Hall	1895-1898		
50	Blyth (and Cowpen)			Trades Council			1898-1905		

51	Blyth, Waterloo			MacKenzie Brothers, subscription			1877/78		
52	Blyth, Bebside Colliery	Bebside Inn	NZ28204 81573	Private: hotelier and Dr Wilson		Inn	1877/78	Y	Y
53	Blyth, Bebside Colliery	Bebside Co-operative Society		Miners organise	Miners	Co-operative store	1885/86		
54	Blyth, Bebside Colliery	New Delaval & Newsham Co-op			Miners	Co-operative store	1887		
55	Blyth, Bebside Colliery	Newsham Colliery			Miners		1912 1914		
56	Choppington, Sheepwash	Sheepwash House	NZ 25538 85888	Mrs Sterling	Miners	Rectory	1887	Y	Y
57	Choppington, Sheepwash	Wansbeck Villa	NZ 25478 85977	Mr. and Mrs. Nicholson	Miners	House	1912	Y	Y

58	Choppington Guide Post			?	Miners	Co-operative Hall	1887		
59	Choppington Station	Lord Clyde Inn		Subscription	Miners	Inn	1887		Y
60	Choppington	Co-operative Hall	NZ 25396 84950		Miners	Co-operative store (built 1891)	1912	Y	Y
61	Choppington, Guide Post			James Morris	Miners	Butcher's shop	1912		
62	Choppington, Guide Post			John Elliott	Miners	Provisions shop, post office	1912		
63	Choppington, West Sleekburn				Miners		1887		
64	Choppington, Scotland Gate				Miners	Co-operative store	1887		
65	Corbridge	Bythorne House	NY 99151 64210	Mr and Mrs H. S. Edwards		House	1876/77	Y	Y

66	Corbridge			Mr Hall		Butcher's shop	1879		
67	Cramlington	Fox & Hounds, Church Street	NZ 26655 57629	Mr Parker, subscription	Miners	The Long Room at inn	1878		Y
68	Cramlington			Subscription	Miners		1912		
69	Cresswell	Cresswell Hall	NZ 28856 92991	A. J. Cresswell Baker		Cresswell Hall entrance	1831/32	N	Y
70	Dunstan			Subscription			1884/85		
71	Earsdon				Miners		1878		
72	Embleton			Three main subscribers			1836/1837		
73	Felton	Felton Park	NU 17901 00150	Ralph Riddell		House?	1816/17	Poss	Prob
74	Ford						1800/01		
75	Haltwhistle	South Tyne Colliery yard,	NY 71309 64005	Subscription		Colliery yard	1867/68		

		Snaith and Haswell							
76	Hexham			Board of Health			1831-1838		
77	Hexham (same institution as 76)	Market Place?		Subscription		Mr Hedley's premises (butcher?)	1841-1846		
78	Hexham (same institution as 76)	Old Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Bankhead	NY 93743 64055	Subscription		"The Old School"	1847	Yes	Prob
79	Hexham (same institution as 76)	The Letters (inn?), Market Place		Subscription		John Carr's Inn	1848		
80	Hexham (same institution as 76)	15 Fore Street/Back Street	NY 93611 64036	Subscription		Mr Pruddah's pharmacy	1848-1880	Prob	Y

		(renamed St Mary's Chare)							
81	Hexham (same institution as 76)	11 Market Street	NY 93545 64201	Subscription		Smith's tobacco factory	1880-1930	Y	Y
82	Holy Island			Subscription			1834/35		
83	Longhirst	Longhirst Hall	NZ 22350 89020	Rev and Mrs Lawson		House	1866/67	Y	Y
84	Morpeth	Scotch Arms Yard	NZ 19762 85953	Subscription		Inn courtyard or possibly lock-up	1831-1841	Poss	Prob
85	Morpeth	Town gaol	NZ 20137 85702	Subscription		Prison kitchen	1866/67	Y	Y
86	Morpeth	Dacre House, Dacre Street	NZ 19907 86158	Thomas Jobling		House	1876/77	Y	Y
87	Morpeth	9 Market Place	NZ 19847 85979	Dixon, Duncan and others		Mr Dixon's butcher's shop	1877/78	N	Y

88	Morpeth	Copper Chare	NZ 19727 86251	Subscription		Masonic Hall	1877/78	N	Y
89	Morpeth (same institution as 85)	King Street		Subscription		Mr Creighton's building	1880/81	N	
90	Morpeth (same institution as 85)	Corporation Yard	NZ 19954 85996	Subscription		Yard	1883/84	N	Y
91	Morpeth (same institution as 85)	Newgate Street	NZ 19594 86363	Subscription		Former tannery	1894/95	N	Y
92	Morpeth	105 Newgate Street	NZ 19534 86360	Mrs Hector Paton		House	1894/95	Y	Y
93	Morpeth	Forrest Yard		Guild of Help, subscription		Courtyard	1908/09	N	
94	Newbiggin			Subscription	Miners		1885		
95	Newbiggin	Coble inn	NZ 31262 87967	Mrs Heslop	Fishermen	Inn	1885/86	Y	Y
96	Newbiggin			Subscription	Fishermen		1885/86		

97	Newbiggin	Front Street	NZ 31207 88010		Miners	Dolphin Inn/Tea Rooms	1912	N	Y
98	Norham			Subscription			1871-1880		
99	North Seaton				Miners		1878		
100	North Seaton				Miners		1887		
101	North Seaton			Mrs Maughan	Miners, children		1912		
102	Ovingham	Oakwood House		M. Bigge, Esq. and Mrs Bigge		House	1856/57		
103	Pegswood			Subscription	Miners		1878		
104	Pegswood	Co-operative Society, Front Street	NZ 22936 87521		Miners	Co-operative Hall?	1912	Y	Y
105	Rothbury	House of Industry				Workhouse	c.1810		
106	Rothbury						1879-1881		

107	Seaton Valley, Holywell Square				Miners		1878		
108	Seaton, Seaton Sluice	Astley Arms, Links Road	NZ 32962 77300	Mr. and Mrs. Dawson	Miners	Inn	1878	Y	Y
109	Seaton, West Holywell				Miners		1878		
110	Seaton, Seaton Delaval	Hastings Arms	NZ 29798 75782	Thomas Harper and relief committee	Miners	Inn	1878 1887	Y	Y
111	Seaton, Seaton Terrace	Prince of Wales Inn	NZ 30832 75372	Mr Mitchell	Miners	Inn	1878	N	Y
112	Seaton, Seaton Terrace	Working Men's Social Club	NZ 31039 575172	Club	Miners	Social Club	1912	Y	Y
113	Seaton, Seghill	Seghill Colliery Institute	NZ 29155 574603	Club	Miners	Miners' club hall	1912	Y	Y

114	Stakeford	Co-operative Society 1-2 Gordon Terrace	NZ 27114 85527		Miners	Co-operative store	1912	Y	Y
115	Warkworth			Subscription			1816/17		
116	Whittingham			John Hall		Butcher's shop	1874/75		
117	Widdrington & Stobbswood				Miners	Co-operative society?	1887		
118	Wooler	Presbyterian Church, Church Street	NT 99208 27815	Subscription		Purpose-built?	1842-82	Y	Prob
119	Wylam				Miners?		1887		

B. Tyneside (includes some places that were in County Durham)

No	Town/parish/township	Address	Grid reference	Organiser	Beneficiary (if other than poor)	Building's primary use	Date range	Surv-ival	Identi-fication
1	Benwell			St John's Parish			1837/38 1843/44		
2	Benwell			Subscription		Parish house	1880/81		
3	Blaydon	Tyne Street	NZ 184 633	Joseph Cowan, Subscription		Mechanics' institute then Co-operative store	1860-1879	N	Y
4	Cullercoats	Dial House	NZ 36390 71448	Subscription	Fishermen	Carriage house	1856/57-1866/67 1880/81	N	Y
5	Dinnington				Miners		1887		
6	Dinnington, Cement Houses				Miners		1886-1887		

7	Dudley				Miners		1878		
8	Elswick			Subscription St John's Parish			1838-1855		
9	Elswick	Richardson's Leatherworks Water Street	NZ 23605 63052	Subscription, branch of GSK		Factory warehouse	1878-1880	N	Y
10	Elswick					St Stephen's Church	1876-1881		
11	Gateshead	Powell's Almshouse Oakwellgate	NZ 25605 63493	Subscription		Workhouse back yard	1800-1892	N	Y
12	Gateshead Fell	Three Tuns, Old Durham Road	NZ 26456 60787	Subscription		Inn	1830/31-1842	N	Y60787
13	Gateshead Fell, Sheriff Hill (same institution as 12)	Old Cannon, Queen's Head	NZ 26348 60982	Subscription		Inn	1843-1850?	Poss	Y

14	Gateshead	Iron church, Byermoor	NZ 18475 57294	Rev Moore Ede			1886?	N	Y
15	Gateshead, Felling			Subscription			1885/86		
16	Gosforth			Subscription	Miners?	Church hall	1878/79		
17	Greencroft (Gateshead)			Sir Thomas Clavering			1850/51		
18	Hebburn						1884/85		
19	Hebburn				Strikers		1892		
20	Hebburn						1902/03		
21	Hebburn	County Hotel, Prince Consort Road and Bell Street	NZ 30670 64750	Mr Pape		Hotel	1902/03		
22	Heworth (Gateshead)						1879/80		
23	Howdon Pans						1799/ 1800		

24	Howdon Dock	Possibly Dockhouse Inn		Subscription Mr and Mrs Colpitts, and Mr Walters			1819/20		
25	Howdon Dock			Mr Weatherley			1849/50		
26	Howdon (Willington Quay)						1857/58		
27	Howdon (Willington Quay)			Subscription		Primitive Methodist Chapel?	1866/67		
28	Howdon (Willington Quay)				Dockers, miners		1877/78		
29	Howdon (Willington Quay)			Subscription			1884/85		
30	Iveston (Gateshead)			Sir Thomas Clavering			1850/51		

31	Jarrow			Subscription		Yard of Local Board Buildings	1866/67		
32	Jarrow			Subscription			1875/76		
33	Jarrow			Subscription			1884-1888		
34	Jarrow	St John's Terrace	NZ 32591 65122	Subscription		School Room	1904/05	N	Y
35	Jarrow	Ellison St	NZ 32771 65051	Subscription		Primitive Methodist School Room	1904/05	N	Y
36	Jarrow	Grange Road	NZ 32488 65296	Subscription		Free Church School Room	1904/05	N	Y
37	Jarrow	Salem Street Hotels	NZ 33300 65238	Subscription		Co-operative Society store	1904/05	N	Y
38	Jarrow	Golden Lion	NZ 32739 65594	Subscription		Pub	1904/05	Y	Y

39	Jarrow	Prince of Wales	NZ 33054 65550	Subscription		Pub	1904/05	N	Y
40	Newburn			Board of health			1831/32		
41	Newcastle General Soup Kitchen (GSK)	Excise Office Entry	NZ 25132 64106	Subscription		Yard	1796-1798	N	Y
42	Newcastle GSK	High Bridge	NZ 24728 64388	Subscription		Poultry market	1798-1827	N	Y
43	Newcastle GSK	Egypt, Sandgate	NZ 25867 64258	Subscription		Former granary	1799-1801	N	Y
44	Newcastle GSK	William Holmes', Manors	NZ 25170 64240	Subscription		Outbuilding	1827-1844	N	Y
45	Newcastle GSK	Manors	NZ 25203 64196	Subscription		Corporation-owned building	1845-1879	Y	Y
46	Newcastle GSK	Manors	NZ 25199 64174	Subscription		Temporary building	1879/80	N	Y

47	Newcastle GSK	Manors	NZ 25199 64174	Subscription		Purpose built	1880-1893	Y	Y
48	Newcastle St Nicholas	Gallowgate		Subscription		Parish workhouse,	1800-1803?		
49	Newcastle St Nicholas	Queen St. Long Stairs	NZ 24996 563778	Subscription		Parish workhouse	1831-1879	N	Y
50	Newcastle St Andrew	Back Lane, Gallowgate	NZ 24220 64387	Subscription (GSK running 1870 1875)		Parish workhouse	1838-1886	N	Y
51	Newcastle All Saints	Manors	NZ 25324 64243	Subscription		Parish workhouse	1838-1848	N	Y
52	Newcastle, All Saints	Causey Bank, Sandgate	NZ 25524 64133	Subscription		Purpose-built	1848-1855	N	Y
53	Newcastle, St John	Back Lane	NZ 24195 64345	Subscription		Parish workhouse	1838-1885	N	Y

54	Newcastle, Westgate			Subscription branch of St John's Parish			1838-1855?		Y
55	Newcastle (Byker/ Ouseburn)			Subscription branch of All Saint's Parish			1842/43		
56	Newcastle, Ouseburn	Ford Pottery Works	NZ 26376 64347	Mr Malling, assisted by GSK		Factory	1877/78	N	Y
57	Newcastle, Sandgate	Barley Mow	NZ 25585 64074	Mr Errington		Inn	1822/23	N	Y
58	Newcastle (Byker)			Subscription, GSK supplying			1878/79		
59	Newcastle, Byker	Bradley Hall		Mr OC Wallis		House	1884/85		
60	Newcastle, Sandhill/Byker	Hawthorn's Works		Mr Fife		Factory dining room?	1884/85		

61	Newcastle (Byker)					Peacock, Edwards and Foreman	1884/85		
62	Newcastle, Guild of St Alban	8 Princess Street	NZ 25010 64574			Mission house	1868/69-?	N	Y
63	Newcastle, West End	Derwent Place, Westmoreland Street?		Wesleyan chapel			1877/78		
64	Newcastle Free Jerusalem Temple	Percy Street	NZ 24673 64609	Swedenborgian chapel		Chapel	1877/78	N	Y
65	Newcastle, vegetarian soup kitchen	Scotswood Road		Diet Reform Association, Mr Dodds		Nursery Cottage, British Workman	1880/81		
66	Newcastle	Scotswood Road	NZ 22728 63239	Subscription		School	1884/85	N	Prob
67	Newcastle	Bentinck SchooL	NZ 22744 63822	Subscription		School	1884/85	N	Prob

68	Newcastle	Snow Street School		Subscription		School	1884/85		
69	Newcastle	St. Peter's School		Subscription		School	1884/85		
70	Newcastle	Byker School		Subscription		School	1884/85		
71	Newcastle	Royal Jubilee School	NZ 25595 64191	Subscription		School	1884/85	N	Y
72	Newcastle	11 The Side	NZ 25180 63911	Low cost soup shop, Mr Anderson		Restaurant	1884	Poss	Y
73	Newcastle	141 Pilgrim Street	NZ 28085 64178	Messrs R Yielder & Co		Cocoa establishment	1890/911	N	Y
74	Newcastle	New Bridge Street		Messrs R Yielder & Co		Cocoa establishment	1890/91		
75	Newcastle, St Jude's	Morrison Street	NZ 25805 65074	Subscription		Church institute	1890/91 1891/92	N	Y
76	Newcastle St Silas Mission Byker	Leightons Building, Quality	NZ 26614 64656			Mission	1894/95	Y	Y

		Row [now Clifford St]							
77	Newcastle, All Saints Township Food Distribution Centre	Garth Heads	NZ 25595 64174	Newcastle Improved Industrial Dwellings		Courtyard behind residential flats	1891/92 1907/08 1908/09	Y	Y
78	Newcastle St Anne's soup kitchen						1908/09		
79	North Shields	Charlotte Street/ Dockwray Square		Subscription			1800/01		
80	North Shields			Subscription			1816/17 1819/20 1831/32		
81	North Shields (Victoria Soup Kitchen)	Wellington Street	NZ 35531 68387	Subscription		Purpose built	1838-86 -1904?	N	Y
82	North Shields			Subscription		Ragged School	1859/60 1860/61		

83	North Shields	Saville Street		Mr Beagle		Provisions shop	1879/80		
84	North Shields	Corporation Street?		Subscription		Corporation Yard	1886		
85	North Shields	Bell Street		Rev. Woosnam, subscription		Church mission	1885/86	N	
86	North Shields	Low Lights		Rev. Hicks		Church mission	1885/86-1891/92		
87	North Shields	Low Lights	NZ 36345 68655	St Andrew's		Mission hall	1892/93-	N	Y
88	North Shields	Bull Ring					1892/93	N	
89	North Shields			Tynemouth Invalid Kitchen			1868-82?		
90	North Shields	Pottery Yard, Northumberland Street (two	NZ 3608 6874			Mission hall	1904/05		

		missions on the street)							
91	North Shields	Milburn Place, North Street				Mission hall	1904/05		
92	Ryton			Board of Health			1831/32		
93	Ryton			Congregational chapel		school room	1878/79		
94	Seaton Burn				Miners		1878		
95	Seaton Burn	Black Bull Inn			Miners	Inn	1912		
96	Seaton Burn				Miners	Co-operative store	1912		
97	Shiremoor				Miners		1878		
98	Shiremoor				Miners		1887		

99	Shiremoor	Earsdon Road/Emmerson Place	NZ 31153 71291		Miners	Co-operative store	1895	N	Y
100	South Shields		Subscripti on				1819/20		
101	South Shields	Market Place	NZ 36054 67062	Subscription		Old weigh house	1838-61	N	Y
102	South Shields	Fowler Street	NZ 36479 67204	subscription		Old rope works	1866/67	N	Y
103	South Shields	Fowler Street	NZ 36445 67420	Subscription		Old literary scientific and mechanical institution	1866/67	N	Y
104	South Shields	Mill Dam	NZ 3585 6685	Subscription		Corporation quay and custom house	1867/68-1880/81 1894/95	N	Y
105	South Shields	Tyne Dock		Subscription		?	1880/81		

106	South Shields	Tyne Dock		Subscription, South Shields Relief Fund		Northeastern refreshment rooms	1891/92 1894/95		
107	South Shields	Laygate Street	NZ 36520 66392			Brewery?	1842/43	N	Prob
108	South Shields	King Street		South Shields Benevolent Society and Mr McGregor		Butcher's shop	1884/85		
109	South Shields	Smithy Street		South Shields Benevolent Society and Mr McGregor		Yard	1884/85		
110	South Shields	Pier Road	NZ 37095 67690	Borough surveyor and Mr Mitchelson		Mitchelson's Restaurant	1884/85	N	Y
111	South Shields	High Dock, 1 Corstorphine Town	NZ 35520 66145	H.S. Edwards		House or dockyard	1885/86	Poss	Y

112	South Shields	Derby Terrace/Street	NZ 36603 66633	Unitarian church		Unitarian chapel	1891/92	Y	Y
113	South Shields	Anderson's Lane	NZ 36000 67350	Thames Street Mission		Mission hall	1891/92	N	Y
114	South Shields	Mowbray Road and Westoe Lane	NZ 36943 66223	St Michael's vicarage		Vicarage	1891/92	Y	Y
115	South Shields	John Clay Street	NZ 36653 66019	Maxwell Hall Mission		Mission hall	1891/92	N?	Y
116	South Shields	Denmark Road	NZ 36577 67089	St Thomas Church		Sunday school	1894/95	N?	Y
117	South Shields	Cuthbert Street	NZ 36164 66475	Salvation Army		Mission hall	1892-95	N?	Y
118	South Shields	193 Victoria Road	NZ 36585 66404	Krafft's pork butchers		Butcher's shop	1894/95	N	Y
119	South Shields	Wallis Street	NZ 36184 67084	Gas workers committee		Gospel Temperance Hall	1894/95	N?	Y

120	South Shields Tyne Dock	9-11 Slake Terrace	NZ 35615 65042	Empress Hotel		Hotel	1894/95		N
121	South Shields			St Stephen's Church			1903		
122	South Shields			St Hilda's Church			1894-96		
123	South Shields	Market Place		Mr Davison		Cocoa rooms	1904/05		
124	South Shields Tivoli Hall	Laygate Street		Recreation Committee		Hall	1904/05		
125	South Shields	24 Winchester Street	NZ 36626 67085	Mr and Mrs Lee		House	1902/03	N	Y
126	Swalwell (Gateshead)			Subscription			1816/17		
127	Swalwell (Gateshead)			Sir Thomas Clavering			1850/51		
128	Walker	Mr Mitchel's place		Board of Health, subscription		Mitchel & Co Shipyard?	1866/67 1867/68		

129	Wallsend	Railway Inn				Inn	1891/92		
130	Wallsend	Ship Inn, High Street	NZ 29776 66311			Inn	1891/92	N	Y
131	Wallsend	97-99 High Street	NZ 29711 66305	Mr Womphrey		Butcher's shop	1891/92		
132	Wallsend	Carville livery stables, Portugal Street	NZ 29605 566200	Mr Cawthorn		Livery stables and coach house	1891/92	N	Y
133	West Moor		?		Miners		1886		
134	West Moor	Co-operative	NZ 27620 70400		Miners	Co-operative store and hall	1912	Y	Y
135	Whickham			Subscription			1848/49 1854/55		
136	Whickham						1879/80		
137	Whitehill Point				Miners?		1886/87		

138	Winlaton (Gateshead)			Sir Thomas Clavering			1850/51		
139	Winlaton						1879/80		
140	Wreckenton (Gateshead)	White House		Richard Foster		House	1861/62		

C. Kent (includes part of Kent now in Greater London)

No	Town/parish	Address	Grid reference	Organiser	Beneficiary (if other than poor)	Building's primary use and location	Date range	Surv-ival	Identification
1	Ash and Ridley	45 Sandwich Road	TQ 60170 64349	Rev. Thomas Lambard		Rectory	1831/32	Y	Y
2	Ashford			Subscription, Ashford Benevolent Society			1827-1830		
3	Ashford			Overseers		Workhouse	1832-1834		Y
4	Ashford			Chief families			1840/41		
5	Ashford			Several tradesmen			1860/61		
6	Ashford	5 High Street	TR 01182 42768	Mr Rose		Royal Oak Inn	1861-1865	N	Y

7	Ashford	High Street	TR 01057 42798?	Ashford Benevolent Fund/Society		Fountain Premises rear of building	1861-1910	Poss	Poss
8	Ashford			Ashford Christian Association			1863		
9	Aylesford					Workhouse?	1800/01		
10	Aylesford	Preston Hall	TQ 72779 58064	Charles Milner		House	1830-1840	Y	Prob
11	Aylesford			Subscription		Cottage in village	1868/69		
12	Barham			Subscription			1853/54		
13	Bearsted	Milgate, Thurnham	TQ 80784 54720	Cage family or Sir Brook Bridges		House	1840/41	Y	Prob
14	Benenden	Hemsted House	TQ 80270 33794	Thomas Law Hodges			1829/30	Y	Prob
15	Benenden						1866/67		

16	Bexleyheath	Parish Hall?	TQ 48844 75377	Christchurch, subscription, Mr Nash and Mr Peyto		Home Mission	1867-1871	N	Prob
17	Biddenden	Sissinghurst Road	TQ 84614 38341	Subscription		Old workhouse	1842-1847	Y	Y
18	Birchington						1906-1916		
19	Boughton Aluph	Eastwell Park	TR 01634 47485	Earl of Winchelsea		House	1844/45	Poss	Prob
20	Boughton Monchelsea	The Green	TQ 76804 51301	William N. Skinner Subscription		Tommy shop	1853?1885/86	Y	Y
21	Bow Hill			F.B. Elvy	Hop pickers		1839		
22	Brasted			Sampson Copestake			1869/70		
23	Brenchley	various farmhouses		Subscription		Farmhouse	1854/55		

24	Bromley	Cage Field (near East Street)	TQ 40310 69470?	Mr Leatherdale		Iron building in field	1865/66	N	Y
25	Bromley	Plaistow Hall	TQ 40467 70384	W. Shuttleworth		House	1868/69	N	Y
26	Bromley	Sir Edward Scott's School	TQ 40962 70104	Lady Scott	Children mainly	Schoolhouse	1880/81	Y	Y
27	Brompton			Subscription			1853/54		
28	Brompton			Subscription			1870/71		
29	Broome	Broome Park	TR 21867 48256	Sir Henry Oxenden			1799/1800	Y	Y
30	Buckland	G.W. Ledger's Mansion		Rev C Fielding		House	1851/52 1852/53		Y
31	Burham	Baker Street		Subscription		Alfred Mill's brewery	1895	N	Y
32	Burham	Burham Street		Subscription		Farmhouse	1895		

33	Burham	Blue Bell Hill		Subscription			1894/95		
34	Canterbury			Subscription			1796/97		
35	Canterbury	Mint Yard	TR 15100 58131?	Subscription			1800/01	N	Y
36	Canterbury			Subscription Dean and Chapter of Canterbury			1812-1814		
37	Canterbury	Northgate, St Radigund's		Subscription	Chamberlain's premises		1829/30		
38	Canterbury	St Peter’s Friars	TR 14847 58083	Subscription Canterbury Benevolent Fund/Society	Blackfriars building		1819-1837	Y	Prob
39	Canterbury	St Margaret’s		Subscription			1841/42		
40	Canterbury	20 Cathedral Precincts	TR 15195 58003		Deanery		1847/48	Y	Y
41	Canterbury	Northgate					1863/64		

42	Canterbury	Wincheap					1863/64		
43	Canterbury	St Paul's					1863/64		
44	Canterbury	St Dunstan's					1863/64		
45	Canterbury						1864/65		
46	Canterbury						1866/67		
47	Canterbury	St Mary Magdalene					1869/70		
48	Canterbury	St George					1869/70		
49	Canterbury	12? Guildhall Street	TR 19048 57868	Subscription, Alford Relief Committee			1870 - 1894	N	Y
50	Charing			Subscription			1866/67		
51	Chatham			Subscription			1775/76		
52	Chatham						1800/01		
53	Chatham			Subscription			1819/20		

54	Chatham, dockyard	Gate Lodge		Mr Fordham, subscription		Naval dockyard entrance lodge	1854/55		Y
55	Chatham	85 High Street	TQ 75500 67981	Edward Winch		Sun Hotel	1854/55	N	Y
56	Chatham	St Pauls					1866/67		
57	Chatham			Subscription			1867-1869		
58	Chatham (possibly same as 54)	dockyard		Dockyard police, subscription	Children	Searching room	1866-1872		Y
59	Chatham	361? High Street	TQ 76238 67582	Mr and Mrs Richmond		[White] Swan Inn	1869/70	N	Y
60	Chatham	Church Street		Subscription		Mr Denny's premises	1869/70 1870/71		
61	Chatham (same as 60)	Ordnance Place		Subscription			1870/71		

62	Chatham	Luton Church Street	TQ 7609 6758				1869/70		
63	Chatham	St Margaret's School					1870/71		
64	Chatham	St Nicholas					1870/71		
65	Chatham						1878/79 1894/95		
66	Chatham	High-Street		Mr. James Burrell		Butcher's shop	1885/86		
67	Chatham	Pagitt Street and Haymen Street	TQ 75410 67215	Parochial Institute and Victoria Soup Kitchen		St John's Church mission/hall	1897	N	Y
68	Chatham	170 High Street	TQ 78788 67883	Wesleyan Mission		Former London and County Bank	1904/05	N	Y
69	Chatham	170 High Street	TQ 78788 67883	Wesleyan Mission		Meeting Hall	1908	Y	Y
70	Cheriton	All Souls Church Hall	TR 22024 36846	Subscription		Church hall	1902-1906	Y	Y

71	Chilham	Chilham Castle	TR 06701 53490	Thomas Herron		House	1783/84	Y	Y
72	Chilham	Chilham Castle	TR 06701 53490	J. B. Wildman		House	1830-1862	Y	Y
73	Chislehurst	School Road	TQ 44290 70098	Subscription, poor law funds		Workhouse	1799-1801	Poss	Y
74	Cliffe (Dover)						1908		
75	Cranbrook	Carriers Road	TQ 76078 36197	Subscription		Purpose built after 1844	182?-1883	N	Y
76	Cranbrook			"One lady"			1854/55		
77	Crockham Hill						1853/54		
78	Dartford	West Hill and Priory Hill	TQ 53732 74156	Subscription		Workhouse	1799-1801	Y	Y
79	Dartford			Subscription			1860/61		
80	Dartford			Subscription		Horrell and Buck's premises	1869-1872		

81	Deal						1816/17		
82	Deal	Brewer Street	TR 37752 52945	Subscription		Purpose-built or outbuilding	1851-1914	N	Y
83	Deal	183 Beach Street	TR 37773 53233	Mr Allen		Royal Hotel	1867/68	Y	Y
84	Deptford	Broomfields Place		Subscription Deptford Soup Institution			1819-1831	N	
85	Deptford			Subscription			1837-1849		
86	Deptford			Subscription			1866/67		
87	Deptford	Albury Street	TQ 37312 77619	Subscription		Albany Institute Mission	1890-1920	N	Y
88	Dover			Thomas Revell MP			1739/40		
89	Dover			Dover Soup Society			1816-1819		

90	Dover			Dover Benevolent Society			1827-1833		
91	Dover	Old Gaol Lane	TR 31950 41377	Dover Philanthropic Society		Walmer Castle Inn yard?	1837-1849		Prob
92	Dover	New Market Lane (probably same place as 89)	TR 31950 41377	Dover Philanthropic Society		Inn yard?	1850-1858	Poss	Y
93	Dover	18 Church Lane	TR 31950 41488	Dover Philanthropic Society			1858-1867	N	Y
94	Dover	Cannon-Street	TR 31870 41497	Mr Eaves, Dover Philanthropic Society		Royal Oak Inn yard	1867-1902	N	Y
95	Dover	Youden's Court, Market Street	TR 3183 4144	Dover Philanthropic Society	Children	Courtyard	1902-1914	N	Y
96	Dover	London Road	TR 30681 42616	Vicar at St Barnabas	Children?	Buckland School	1902-1906	Y	Y

97	Dover	Town Hall, High Street	TR 31614 41746	Lady Crundall	Children	Town Hall basement	1904-1906	Y	Y
98	Dover	15 Strond Street	TR 31643 40711?	Dover Relief Committee		Harp Hotel yard	1904-1906	N	Y
99	Dover, Town Ward/St James	Worthington Street	TR 3175 4158	Dover Relief Committee		Mr Rubie's premises, Why Not Beer House	1904-1906	N	Prob
100	Dover, Charlton and River Ward			Dover Relief Committee			1904-1906		
101	Dover	2 Tower Hamlets Road	TR 31322 41981	Dover Relief Committee		Eagle Inn yard	1904-1906	Y	Y
102	East Sutton	East Sutton Place	TQ 80829 49478	Sir Edmund and Lady Filmer		House	1838 1865	Y	Prob
103	Eastwell	Rectory	TR 00919 46458	Rev and Mrs Oxenden		House	1839/40	N	Prob

104	Edenbridge			Subscription			1879-1881		
105	Erith	Avenue Hall, Avenue Church	TQ 51502 77726	Subscription, Rev Samuel Marsh			1867-1871	N	Y
106	Faversham	Church Street	TR 01750 61555	Subscription		Workhouse	1788/89	N	Y
107	Faversham			Faversham Soup Fund			1820-1830?		
108	Faversham	Partridge Lane?	TR 01536 61501?	Faversham Benevolent Institution, Wreight's Charity			1832-1852	N	P
109	Faversham	Partridge Lane	TR 01536 61501	Faversham Benevolent Institution, Wreight's Charity		Purpose-built	1852-1882	N	Y
110	Faversham	Partridge Lane	TR 01536 61501	Subscription, Faversham Soup,		Purpose-built	1883-1929	N	Y

				Bread and Coal Society					
111	Five Oak Green	Bridge House, Whetsted Road	TQ 64920 45425	Non-conformist chapel		Chapel basement	1875-1900	Y	Y
112	Folkestone			Subscription, Folkestone Soup Society			1820-1842		
113	Folkestone			Subscription			1854-?		
114	Folkestone	The Bayle/ the Parade	TR 23805 36015	Subscription			1866-1893	N	Y
115	Folkestone,	North Ward, Black Bull Road	TR 22759 36898	Subscription	Children	Board School	1902/03	Y	Y
116	Folkestone,	St Michaels, Dover Road		Subscription	Children	Church Hall/ Repository	1902/03		
117	Folkestone	Canterbury Road	TR 22918 37020	Subscription		St Saviour's Hall	1902/03	N	Y

118	Folkestone	Tontine Road	TR 22985 36255	Subscription		Congregational chapel school	1902/03	N	Y
119	Folkestone	Church Street/ The Bayle, St Eanswythe's	TR 22974 35909	Subscription		Mission House, church institute	1903-1914	Y	Y
120	Folkestone	Green Lane/ Canterbury Road	TR 23063 36977	Subscription		Purpose-built	1903-1912?	N	Prob
121	Gillingham			Subscription			1826/27		
122	Godden Green			Captain Randolph			1860/61		
123	Godmersham			J. B. Wildman and another	railway workers		1844/45		
124	Goudhurst	Vicarage	TQ 72650 37858	Subscription, vicar			1838-1910	N	Y
125	Gravesend			Buffalo Society			1837/38		
126	Gravesend			Subscription Soup Society			1840/41		

127	Gravesend	West Street	TQ 64726 74430	Mr Hitchens Sailors' mission		Bethel	1858/59 1859/60	N	Y
128	Gravesend	Windmill St	TQ 64769 73464	Mr Berkowitz, Mr Cleavering subscription		Tivoli House, Jewish school	1860/61	Y	Y
129	Gravesend	Bank Street		Subscription, Mr Hopper			1860/61		
130	Gravesend	Windmill Street		Subscription, Mr Milton butcher		Butcher's shop	1860/61		
131	Gravesend	Queen St		Subscription, Mr Bird			1860/61		
132	Gravesend	10 Terrace Street	TQ 64978 74253	Subscription, Mr Bean		[Royal] Standard of England Tavern	1860/61	N	Y
133	Gravesend	2 High Street	TQ 64678 74415	Subscription		Castle Tavern	1860/61	N	Y
134	Gravesend	High Street		Mr Coles, subscription?		Confectioner's shop	1860/61		

135	Gravesend	158 Milton Road	TQ 64914 74094	Nuns		Convent	1860/61	Y	Y
136	Gravesend	New Court	TQ 64702 74381	Gravesend and Milton Provident Relief Association until 1867 then Ragged School Soup Kitchen then Public Soup Kitchen, Subscription		Ragged School purpose-built	1863-1932	N	Y
137	Gravesend	Fish market, old market building	TQ 64792 74275	Gravesend and Milton Provident Relief Association, Town Soup Kitchen, Subscription		Purpose-built	1867-1881		Y
138	Grays (Chislet)			Mrs Gilbert		House	1860/61		
139	Grays (Chislet)	Shirfield House		Mr Moss		House	1860/61		

140	Greenwich						1800/01		
141	Greenwich			Subscription			1837/38		
142	Greenwich	Walnut Tree Road		Subscription		Mission	1867-1869	N	
143	Groombridge (part in Sussex, part in Kent)	Groombridge Place	TQ 53338 37616	Mrs Saint		House	1854/55	Y	
144	Harbledown	Hall Place	TR 12754 58267	Miss Webb		House	1847-1861	Y	Y
145	Hawkhurst	New Lodge	TQ 75285 30680	F. Law		House	1829/30	Y	Y
146	Hayes			Subscription			1800		
147	Herne Bay	Agnes Cottage		Mr Mickleburg			1851/52		
148	Herne Bay	Town Hall, William and High Streets	TR 17851 68251	Subscription		Town Hall basement	1875-1907	N	Y

149	Herne Bay	10-12 William Street	TR 17833 68389	Mr. J. S. White		New Dolphin Hotel	1890/91	N	Y
150	High Brooms	Powder Mill Lane		Subscription			1902/03		
151	High Brooms	Church Road	TQ 59099 41573	Subscription	Children mainly	St Matthew's Church Rooms	1907/08 1908/09	Y	Y
152	Horsmonden	Rectory	TQ 70326 38803	Rev. Smith-Marriott		Rectory	1839/40	Y	Prob
153	Hythe			Subscription			1820-1827		
154	Hythe			Subscription			1870-1879		
155	Hythe		TR 16058 34572	Subscription		St Michael's Church House	1903-1912	N	Y
156	Hythe		TR 16058 34572	Subscription		New Church House	1913/14	N	Y

157	Ide Hill			Lady Amherst and Dowager Lady Rycroft			1870/71		
158	Igtham			Subscription			1869/70		
159	Kemsing			Lady Louisa Mills, Wildernesse House, Seal			1871/72		
160	Knockholt			S. Copestake Esq			1869/70		
161	Knockholt (Pound)	Three Horse Shoes	TQ 48123 59540	Subscription		Inn	1870/71	Y	Y
162	Knockholt	The Crown	TQ 46775 58840	Subscription		Inn	1870/71	Y	Y
163	Langley Park		TQ 38101 67323	Henry Drummond			1780/81	N	Y
164	Langley Park		TQ 38101 67323	Lord Gwydir and Lady Willoughby			1800/01	N	Y

165	Lee	Lee Church Street		Subscription			1882		
166	Little Chart	Surrenden Dering House	TQ 93848 45280	Sir Edward Dering and Lady		House, purpose-built?	1862-1897	N	Y
167	Littlebourne			Subscription			1881-1884		
168	Loose			Subscription			1842/43		
169	Maidstone	Mote House	TQ 78093 54992	Lord Rodney		House	1784/85	Y	Y
170	Maidstone						1800/01		
171	Maidstone			Subscription, Board of Health			1830-1832		
172	Maidstone			Subscription, Provident and District Visiting Soc.			1849/50		
173	Maidstone	Crispe's Yard, 82 High Street	TQ 76007 55676	Subscription, Mr Isaacs		Butcher’s shop yard	1854/55	Y	Y

174	Maidstone			Provident and Invalid Kitchen			1858/59		
175	Maidstone	19-20 Romney Place	TQ 76342 55542	Industrial school			1860-1870	N	Y
176	Maidstone	St Philip’s		Subscription			1864-1867		
177	Maidstone	Gabriel's Hill		Mr Bottle, draper			1866/67		
178	Maidstone	Fair Meadow	TQ 75711 55772	Subscription		Washhouse and baths	1867-1893?	N	Y
179	Maidstone	Padsole Lane	TQ 76363 55593	Subscription		Purpose-built	1893-1913	N	Y
180	Maidstone	Milton Street					1897/98		
181	Margate	St John’s		Subscription			1799/1800		
182	Margate			Subscription			1812/13		
183	Margate						1816/17		

184	Margate	St John's		Subscription			1819/20		
185	Margate			Subscription			1829/30		
186	Margate			Subscription and individuals			1837/38		
187	Margate			D. Price			1841/42		
188	Margate			Mrs Swanford			1841/42		
189	Margate	1 Alkali Row	TQ 35442 71119	Mr Cobb		Old forge	1848-1859	N	Y
190	Margate			Subscription, Philanthropic Association			1854-1855		
191	Margate	1 Alkali Row	TQ 35442 71119	Subscription		Purpose-built	1860-1927	N	Y
192	Milton			Poor rate			1865/66		
193	Milton			Mr and Mrs Wood			1878/79		

194	Milton, Sittingbourne	Court House	TQ 90377 64736	Subscription, Mr Jordan		Old court house	1870/71	Y	Y
195	Milton, Gravesend			Subscription			1840/41		
196	Milton, Gravesend	27 East-Terrace	TQ 65122 74274	Subscription, Holy Trinity			1863/64	N	Y
197	Milton, Gravesend	Thames-Street		Subscription, Holy Trinity		Mission House	1863/64		Y
198	Milton, Gravesend			Subscription, Holy Trinity		Workmen's Hall	1864/65		Y
199	Minster (Thanet)	2 High Street	TR31038 64324	Mr and Mrs Eastman		Bell Inn	1859/60	Y	Y
200	Monkton						1845/46		
201	Murston			Subscription			1869/70		
202	New Brompton			Subscription, Rev A Willis		Commercial school rooms	1869/70		

203	New Romney						1875-1881		
204	Northfleet			Benevolent individuals			1860/61		
205	Northfleet	Bow Street (the Lawns?)	TQ 6281 74333	Provident Relief Association (Gravesend)			1866/67 - 1870/71		
206	Northfleet (possibly same as 205)			Subscription		At back of boardroom	1879/80		
207	Paddock Wood						1897/98		
208	Plaxtol			Obituary of supporter			-1900		
209	Pluckley (same as 166)	Surrenden Dering House	TQ 93848 45280	Sir Edward Dering and Lady		House, purpose-built?	1862-1897	N	Y
210	Plumstead			Subscription			1853/54		

211	Plumstead			Subscription			1872-1875		
212	Queenborough			Subscription			1842/43		
213	Rainham			Mt Thomas Goodwin		Butcher's shop	1869/70		
214	Ramsgate			Subscription			1819/20 1820/21		
215	Ramsgate	West Cliffe Lodge?	TR 37745 64354	J A Warre Esq MP		House	1840/41	Y	Prob
216	Ramsgate	Church Road (Sydney Place)	TR 38181 65153	Subscription		Purpose-built	1849-1939	Y	Y
217	Rochester			Subscription			1788/89		
218	Rochester						1816/17		
219	Rochester			Subscription Soup Society			1819/20		
220	Rochester	St Margaret's		Subscription			1823-1831		

221	Rochester	St Peter's		Subscription			1831		
222	Rochester			Watt's charity			1854		
223	Rochester, Brook district	School Lane, Higham Upshire	TQ 71202 71541	Ebenezer chapel			1867/68	Y	Prob
224	Rochester			Subscription			1867/68		
225	Rochester,	Free School Lane, St Nicholas	TQ 74478 68466	Subscription		School rooms	1869/70 1870/71	N	Prob
226	Rolvenden	Vicarage, High Street	TQ 84670 31193	Subscription		Vicarage	1860/61	N	Prob
227	St Lawrence	West Cliffe Lodge?	TR 37745 64354	J A Warre Esq MP		House	1840/41	Y	Prob
228	St Lawrence						1854/55		
229	St Lawrence						1866/67		
230	St Paul's Cray	Rookery	TQ 42707 67697	Mrs Johnson		House	1866/67	N	Y

231	St Peter's, Thanet	High Street	TR 38225 68391			Nuckell's Almshouse	1859-1871	Y	Y
232	St Peter's Thanet	Sackets Hill	TR 36954 68738	Lady Burton		House	1844/45	N	Y
233	Sandgate			Subscription			1846-1866?		
234	Sandgate			Subscription		Artillery volunteers' rooms	1867-1871		
235	Sandwich	82 Strand Street	TR 32764 58518	Subscription		Free Grammar School	1849/50 1859-1907	Y	Y
236	Sandwich	60 High Street	TR 33174 58037	Mr Fox and Mr Perkins		Cinque Port Arms, Inn	1854/55	Y	Y
237	Seal	Wildernesse House, Seal	TQ 54805 56358	Marquis of Camden		House	1839-1850	Y	Pro b
238	Seal	Vicarage, Church Street	TQ 55060 56850	Mrs Lendon		Vicarage	1870/71	Y	Y

239	Seal	High Street		Subscription			1870/71		
240	Seal	Wildernesse House, Seal	TQ 54805 56358	Lady Louisa Mills		House	1871-1874	Y	Prob
241	Seal			Tradesmen			1878/79		
242	Seasalter			Parish charities			1869/70		
243	Seasalter	(May be same as Whitstable)		Subscription			1878-1894		
244	Sevenoaks	Knole	TQ 53935 54210	Countess Amherst		House?	1856/57	Y	Y
245	Sevenoaks	Rectory	TQ 53033 54349	Subscription, rector		House	1863-1875/76	Y	Y
246	Sevenoaks	The Forest, St Johns		Mrs Jones		House	1877/78		
247	Sevenoaks	St Nicholas, High Street		Subscription		Mr Robertshaw's Coffee House	1880/81		

248	Sheerness			Mr Clarkson	Soldiers wives and invalids		1798/99		
249	Sheerness			A gentleman			1826/27		
250	Sheerness			Subscription			1829/30		
251	Sheerness			Subscription, Mrs Guise			1870-1876		
252	Sheldwich	Lees Court	TR02000 56076	Lord Sondes		House	1828/29	N	Pro b
253	Shoreham			Subscription			1867-1882		
254	Sissinghurst			Subscription			1867-1886		
255	Sittingbourne			Subscription			1866/67		
256	Sittingbourne	High Street	TQ 90706 63639	Subscription		Bull Hotel	1869/70	Y	Y

257	Sittingbourne			Subscription		Workmen's club	1869/70		Y
258	Sittingbourne	East Street	TQ 91236 63515	Subscription		Wesleyan School	1869/70	N	Y
259	Sittingbourne			Subscription			1889/90		
260	Snodland			Thomas Poynder			1829/30		
261	Snodland			Subscription			1869/70		
262	Snodland			Subscription			1896-1906		
263	Southborough			Subscription			1881-1910		
264	Speldhurst			Subscription			1895/96 1896/97		
265	Staplehurst			Lady Margaret Hoare		House?	1847/48 1848/49		
266	Stourmouth	Rectory	TR 25533 62869	Reverend Drake		Rectory	1846/47	Y	Prob

267	Stowting						1836-1838		
268	Strood			Subscription			1826/27		
269	Strood			Thomas Clements			1854/55		
270	Strood	St Mary's					1870/71		
271	Sydenham						1861/62		
272	Tenterden	The Limes	TQ 88994 33740	Subscription		House	1860/61 1866/67	Y	Y
273	Tenterden	Jackson's Lane/Bells Lane	TQ 88394 33279	Subscription		Purpose built	1875-?	Y	Y
274	Throwley	Belmont	TQ 98554 56372	Mr and Mrs Townsend		House	1854/55	Y	Y
275	Tonbridge			Countess Darnley			1800		
276	Tonbridge			Subscription			1830/31		

277	Tonbridge			Subscription			1854-1858		
278	Tonbridge			Subscription			1860/61		
279	Tonbridge			Subscription			1867-1881		
280	Tonbridge	St James		Subscription			1884/85		
281	Tonbridge	Free Library, High Street	TQ 59097 46553	Subscription		Purpose-built? at rear	1885-1905	N	Y
282	Tonbridge	St Stephens Priory Road	TQ 58923 45915	Subscription		Mission Hall	1905/06	N	Y
283	Tonbridge	Castle Grounds	TQ 58970 46662	Subscription		Purpose-built?	1906-1911	N	Pro b
284	Tudeley			Henry Crispe	Hop-pickers		1874/75		
285	Tunbridge Wells	The Parade/ Pantiles		Board of Health, subscription			1832-1833		

286	Tunbridge Wells	Christ Church		Subscription			1858-63		
287	Tunbridge Wells	Belgrave		Subscription			1863		
288	Tunbridge Wells,	Murray House, Frog Lane and Berkley Road	TQ 58408 38841	Subscription		National school	1859-1899	N	
289	Tunbridge Wells	Trinity					1883-1891		
290	Tunbridge Wells	St Barnabas					1889-1910		
291	Tunbridge Wells				Convalescent soup kitchen	Dispensary and Infirmary	1883/84		
292	Tunbridge Wells	St James		Subscription	Invalid soup kitchen		1890-1895		
293	Tunbridge Wells	Mt Sion		Mrs Murrell		Mission Hall	1890/91		

294	Tunbridge Wells	Calverley Road		George Dunn			1880/81		
295	Tunbridge Wells	Mount Ephraim	TQ 58260 39787	Mr Corfield		Post office	1880/81	Prob	Prob
296	Tunbridge Wells	St John's, Sweet Briar Lane		Subscription			1887-1901		
297	Tunbridge Wells	Byng Hall, St John's Road	TQ 58210 40492	Subscription		Church institute	1902-1910	Y	Y
298	Tunbridge Wells	Calverley Road	TQ 5869 3961	Labour Bureau		Next to the town hall	1892/93		Prob
299	Tunbridge Wells	Varney Street	TQ 68599 39719	Salvation Army			1902-1914	N	Y
300	Tunbridge Wells	Wesleyan Church, St Johns Road	TQ 58164 40541		children and poor		1907/08	N	Prob

301	Waldershare	Waldershare Park	TR 28725 47862	Lady Ellenborough		House	1812/13	Y	Y
302	West Malling	Leybourne Grange?	TQ 67897 59353	Sir Henry Hawley		House?	1829/30	Y?	Prob
303	West Malling	TQ 67893 59371		Mr Skinner		Bull Inn	1829/30	Y	Prob
304	West Malling			Mr Dear			1829/30		
305	West Malling			Subscription			1867-1871		
306	Westerham	Squerryes Court and lodge	TQ 44103 53419	Warde family		House	1868-1871	Y	Y
307	Westwell	Vicarage	TQ 98983 47370	Vicar, Earl of Winchelsea and E. F. Hatton		Vicarage	1836/37	N	Prob
308	Whitfield	Archers Court	TR 30424 44904	George Stringer		House	1834/35	N	

309	Whitstable			Subscription	Coal heavers and flatsmen		1861/62 1866/67		
310	Whitstable	Bear and Key Hotel	TR 10650 66695	Mr Bourne		Inn	1874/75	Y	Y
311	Whitstable	50-52 High Street	TR 10649 66560	Whitstable charities		Purpose-built?	1874-1894	Y	Prob
312	Whitstable	St Alphege Hall	TR 10649 66307	Subscription		Church hall	1909-1911	Y	Y
313	Wingham					Workhouse	1819-1820		Y
314	Wingham			Subscription			1883/84		
315	Woodchurch			Subscription			1853/64		
316	Woolwich			Subscription			1818-1820		
317	Woolwich			Subscription			1829/30		

318	Woolwich	High Street	TQ 43142 79202	Subscription		Next to Ragged School	1856-1895	N	
319	Woolwich	Royal Arsenal	TQ 42928 79176		Unemployed shipyard workers	Next to Rigging House	1859/60	N?	Prob
320	Woolwich	Rectory Place	TQ 43108 78745			Congregational chapel	1869/70	N	Y
321	Woolwich	Queen Street				Chapel	1869/70		
322	Wrotham			Lord Torrington	Hop pickers		1839		
323	Wye			Subscription			1861-1872		

D. Buckinghamshire

No	Town/parish	Address	Grid reference	Organiser	Beneficiary (if other than poor)	Building's primary use	Date range	Surv-ival	Identification
1	Amersham	Market Street		Subscription		Shambles in Market Place	1798-1801	N	
2	Amersham	Weller's Brewery	SU 95770 97422	Subscription		Part of brewery	1855/56		Y
3	Amersham	Shardeloes	SU 93855 97816	Tyrwhitt-Drake Esq		House	1855/56	Y	Y
4	Amersham	Shardeloes	SU 93855 97816	Tyrwhitt-Drake Esq		House	1895/96	Y	Y
5	Amersham	Crown Farm, 52 Whieldon Street	SU 95732 97120	Mrs Berkley		Farmhouse	1902/03	Y	Y
6	Aston Clinton	The Park	SP 88448 11400	T.S. Chapman		House	1843/44 1845/46	N	Prob

7	Aylesbury	Town gaol	SP 82065 13623			Purpose-built	1800/01	N	Y
8	Aylesbury			Subscription			1841-1864		
9	Aylesbury	Corn market	SP 82014 13685	Subscription			1887-1895	Y	Y
10	Aylesbury						1902-1907		
11	Aylesbury	42, 44 Kingsbury Square	SP 81851 13891	Mr. E. J. Fisher		Butcher's shop	1908/09	Y	Y
12	Aylesbury	Corm Market	SP 82014 13685	Subscription			1910-1914	Y	Y
13	Beaconsfield						1859/60		
14	Beaconsfield						1894/95		
15	Beaconsfield	Hall Barn	SU 94325 89221	Lady Lawson		House	1894/95	Y	Y

16	Bierton	Broughton House	SP 83956 13458	Mr Senior (every winter)		House	1857	N	Prob
17	Brayfield			Lady Sophia Tower			1839/40		
18	Brill			Mr Rippon			1894/95		
19	Brill			Rector			1896/97		
20	Buckingham			George Hubbard MP			1860/61		
21	Buckingham	Market Square	SP 69636 34013	Subscription Mr R French		Butcher’s shop	1860/61	Prob	Y
22	Buckingham	The Mount, Brookfield House	SP 69623 33213	Mr and Mrs Byass		family kitchen	1878/79	Y	Y
23	Buckingham	British Workman's Club, Market Hill		Subscription? Rev F. G. Kiddle		Coffee House	1880/81		
24	Buckingham	Hunter Street Prebend End	SP 69304 33532	Subscription		Cottage	1886-1890	N	Y

25	Buckingham	Bone Hill/ Church Hill	SP 69185 33327	Subscription		Mission Church	1894/95	N	Y
26	Buckingham	Well Street	SP 69512 33706	Subscription		Oddfellows Hall	1909-12	Y	Y
27	Buckland			Subscription?			1844/45		
28	Burnham			Mrs Tilbury Subscription			1894/95		
29	Burnham	Mrs Stannett's Church Street		Subscription		Farmhouse	1899/19 00		
30	Burnham			Subscription			1908/09 1909/10		
31	Chalfont St Giles			(vicar’s widow)			18??-1847		
32	Chalfont St Giles	Rectory Cottages	SU 98897 93398	Subscription			1894/95	Y	Y
33	Chalfont St Peter			Subscription		Lecture room	1890/91		

34	Chearsley			John Cooling	Elderly parish residents	Farmhouse	1848/49		
35	Chesham			Subscription			1799-1801		
36	Chesham			various tradesmen			1844/45		
37	Chesham	High Street		Subscription		Mr Darvell's Brewery	1856-1859	N	Y
38	Chesham	Market Place		Subscription and bequest from Mrs Johnson		Mr Goodwin's (d. 1865)	1861-1865?		Y
39	Chesham			Subscription and bequest from Mrs Johnson			1865-1887?		
40	Chesham	Broadway		Subscription and bequest from Mrs Johnson		Coffee Tavern	1891-1894		
41	Chesham	Chess Vale, Station Road	SP 95988 01692	Subscription and bequest from Mrs Johnson		Temperance Hotel	1894-1913	Poss	Y

42	Chilton	Chilton House	SP 68728 11612	Rev. Chetwode	Elderly and infirm	House	1839/40	Y	Y
43	Cholesbury	Vicarage?	SP 92915 07114	Rev. Jeston		Vicarage	1832/33	Y	Prob
44	Coleshill	Shardeloes	SU 93855 97816	Tyrwhitt-Drake Esq		House	1855/56	Y	Y
45	Colnbrook						1860/61		
46	Colnbrook			Run from Windsor and Datchet			1890/91		
47	Cublington	Rectory	SP 83847 22124	Rector		House	1896/97	Y	Y
48	Dinton	Dinton Hall	SP 76662 11038	Mrs Goodall	Poor old women	House	1888/89	Y	Prob
49	Downley	Plomer Hill House	SU 84606 94462	Mrs J Hicks Graves		House	1892/93	N	Prob
50	Downley				Industrial strikers		1913/14		

51	Emberton						1887/88		
52	Eton			Subscription			1820-1823		
53	Eton			Subscription relief fund			1829/30		
54	Eton	Fern Hill		Mr Tebbot		House	1836/37		
55	Eton			Subscription			1856/57		
56	Eton			Subscription			1870-1878		
57	Eton	Windsor Castle		Royal family	Flood victims	Castle	1894	Y	Y
58	Eton			Subscription			1913		
59	Fenny Stratford			Subscription	Boatmen and poor of town		1894/95		
60	Gawcott			Subscription			1886/87 1887/88		

61	Gawcott			Lady Addington			1892/93		
62	Gayhurst	Gayhurst House	SP 84551 46210	Mrs Carlile		House	1894/95	Y	Y
63	Great Missenden			Subscription, Thomas Fisher		Butcher's shop	1879/80		
64	Great Missenden	Buckingham Arms Hotel	SP 89501 91206	E. Longman		Inn/hotel	1893/94	Y	Y
65	Haddenham			Rev John Willis			1848/49		
66	Haddenham			N. M. Rothschild			1878/79		
67	Hampden	Hampden House	SP 84858 02424	Earl of Buckingham (Hobart-Hampden)	Those on poor list	House	1839/40	Y	Y
68	Hanslope	Cuckoo Hill Farm	SP 79893 46615	J. F. Pater		Farmhouse	1893/94	Y	Prob
69	Hanslope			Subscription			1894/95		
70	Hardwick with Weedon	The Lilies	SP 81126 18450	Mrs Cazenove		House	1869-1879	Y	Y

71	Hartwell			Rev. A. Lockhart			1830/31		
72	High Wycombe			Ady Bellamy, subscription			1799-1801		
73	High Wycombe			Subscription			1857/58		
74	High Wycombe	Paul's Row?		Widow Varley			1857/58		
75	High Wycombe			Mr? Barge		Butcher's shop	1857/58		
76	High Wycombe			Subscription			1870-1880		
77	High Wycombe	London Road		Rev Geo Wearham		House	1890/91		
78	High Wycombe	White Hart Street	SU 86403 93093	Subscription		Former National School, weights and measures office	1890/91	N	Y

79	High Wycombe	14 and 19 Church Street	SU 86482 93120	Alfred Coltman		House, piano and furniture warehouse	1894/95	Prob	Prob
80	High Wycombe	Priory Road		Mrs Coltman		House?	1894/95		
81	High Wycombe	Wycombe Abbey	SU 86534 92647	Subscription Lady Carrington		Laundry room at Country house	1894/95	Y	Y
82	High Wycombe			subscription			1902/03 1903/04		
83	High Wycombe	Newland Street	SU 86250 93032	subscription		Priest Brothers factory	1904-12	N	Y
84	High Wycombe	46 Green Street	SU 85494 93349	Mr and Mrs E S Thomas		Saracen's Head Hotel	1904/05	Y	Y
85	High Wycombe	Priory Road	SU 86565 93325	Subscription	Children	School	1905-1909	Y	Y

86	High Wycombe	Spring Garden	SU 88000 92543	Subscription		School?	1908/09		
87	High Wycombe	St Anne's Church	SU 88948 91876	Subscription		Church hall	1908/09	N?	Prob
88	High Wycombe	Hughendon Road	SU 86342 93284	Salvation Army		Hall	1913/14	Y	Y
89	High Wycombe			Mr West	Industrial strikers		1913/14		
90	Iver	Mrs Learner's cottage		Mrs and Thomas Bernard		Cottage	1796-180?		
91	Iver	National School		(Two schools in Iver)	Elderly and children	School	1890/91 1894/95		
92	Invinghoe Aston	Mr Elliott's		Miss Buckmaster of Grove Farm		butcher's shop	1887/88		
93	Lane End	Fingest Grove	SU 79816 92202	Colonel and Mrs Bouwens		House	1891/92	Y	Y

94	Lane End	Mrs Baldwin's near the church		Subscription		House	1905/06		
95	Langley			Mrs and Thomas Bernard		Cottage	1797		
96	Lavendon			Lady Sophia Tower			1839/40		
97	Lee Common, Gt Missenden	British School	SP 89579 01239	Subscription Mrs Batchelor		School	1872/73	Y	Y
98	Little Marlow	School	SU 87492 88176	Subscription	School children	School	1902/03 -1905	Y	Y
99	Little Missenden						1892/93		
100	Long Crendon	Notley Abbey	SP 71509 09177	Mr Reynolds		House	1839/40	Y	Y
101	Ludgershall			Subscription			1865/66 1866/67		
102	Maids Moreton			Rev James Long			1830-1846		

103	Maids Moreton			Mr and Mrs H Smith Esq	.	House	1848-1856		
104	Maids Morton	The Lodge	SP 70491 355o6	Mrs and Major Drummond		House	1878/79	N	Y
105	Maids Morton	Rectory	SP 70570 35152	Rev Boulton Waller-Johnston		Rectory	1878/79	Y	Y
106	Maids Morton	Southfields Manor	SP 70385 34888			House	1890/91	Poss	Y
107	Marlow			Subscription			1800/01		
108	Marlow			Subscription			1860/61 1861/62		
109	Marlow	Remnantz	SU 84663 86393	Subscription, Wethered family		House	1878/79 1879/80	Y	Y
110	Marlow			Subscription	Flood victims		1892		
111	Marlow	The Causeway	SU 85074 86291	Subscription		Church House	1903-1906	Y	Y

112	Newport Pagnell	Mr Littleboy's house, High Street		Subscription Mrs Littleboy		House	1868-1887		
113	Newton Longville			Gilbert Flesher of Towcester			1831		
114	Newton Longville			Lady Sophia Tower			1839/40		
115	Newton Longville			Rev Wetherel and Gilbert Flesher			1841/42		
116	North Marston			Lady Adlington			1892/93		
117	Olney				Families of children at straw plait school		1839/40		
118	Olney						1850/51		
119	Olney			Subscription			1868-1871		

120	Padbury	The (Old) Vicarage	SP 72103 30714	Mrs Ayre or Eyre		Vicarage	1840/41	Y	Y
121	Penn			Mrs Knowles, Goodman, and Grainger			1861/62		
122	Princes Risborough	High Street		Rev Gray and John Edmonds Esq			1848/49		
123	Princes Risborough	The Wheatsheaf Inn	SP 80745 03515	Subscription, Mr Sulston, Mr N Rothschild		Inn	1879-1887	Y	Y
124	Quainton			Subscription			1879/80		
125	Radnage	Rectory	SU 78579 97968			Rectory	1895/96	Y	Y
126	Sherington	Manor House	SP 88887 46219			House	1887/88	Y	Y
127	Sherington	Rectory	SP 89134 46514			House	1887/88	Y	Y
128	Sherington			Mr Makeham			1887/88		

129	Slough (Upton-cum-Chalvey)			Subscription			1846/47		
130	Slough	Station Hotel	SU 97809 80100	Subscription		Hotel	1867-1871		
131	Slough	Windsor Road	SU 97578 79865	Mr Reville, subscription		Butcher’s shop	1879-1880		
132	Slough	St Mary’s		Subscription			1889/90		
133	Slough (Upton)	Stoke Gardens	SU 97721 80442	Subscription		Mission Hall	1890/91 1891/92	N	Y
134	Slough	St Ethelbert's Victoria Street	SU 97767 79652	Father Clemente subscription		Hall/school	1887-1913	N	Y
135	Slough			Subscription			1895/96		
136	Stoke Goldington			Mr and Mrs Carlile (of Gayhurst)	Influenza sufferers		1893/94		
137	Stony Stratford			Subscription			1863-1865		

138	Stony Stratford						1894/95		
139	Stowe	Stowe House	SP 67367 37416	Duke of Buckingham		House	1799-1846	Y	Y
140	Swanborne	Swanbourne House?	SP 79955 27085	Fremantle family		House	1885-1891	Y	Prob
141	Thornborough			Lady Adlington	Measles epidemic		1889/90		
142	Thornton	Thornton Hall	SP 75152 36282			House	1887	Y	Y
143	Tingewick	Tingewick House	SP 65621 32710	Miss Moorsom		House	1880/81	Y	Y
144	Tingewick	Rectory	SP 65720 33111	Rector		Rectory	1880/81	Y	Y
145	Tingewick	White Hart Inn	SP65622 32870	White Hart Friendly Society		Inn	1888	Y	Y

146	Tingewick	Cedar Lawn (now Little Tingewick House)	SP 64115 32761	Mrs Kingscote		House	1886-1895	Y	Y
147	Tylers Green, High Wycombe	St Margaret's Parish Rooms	SU 90378 93798	Subscription Mrs Rose		Church Hall	1887-1915	Y	Y
148	Tylers Green, High Wycombe	Rayners	SU 90646 93476	Mrs Rose		House	1894-1908	Y	Y
149	Waddesdon	Rectory	SP 74084 17005	Subscription, Reverends Marshall and Walton		Rectory kitchen	1853/54	Y	Y
150	Waddesdon	Upper Winchendon Manor	SP 74753 14530	F. de Rothschild		House	1881-?	Y	Y
151	Waddesdon	Mrs Wood's, High Street		F. de Rothschild		Residence/shop	1881-1887		
152	Waddesdon	Mr Quartley's		F. de Rothschild		Residence/shop	1881-?		

153	Waddesdon	Reading room?	SP 73978 16895	Alice Rothschild		Reading room, coffee house?	1905-1917	Y	Prob
154	Water Stratford	Rectory?	SP 61575 34323	Rev Edwards		Rectory	1868/69	Y	Prob
155	Wendover		SP 87114 07665	Rev Thornton		Vicarage?	1846/47	Y	Prob
156	Wendover			Mr Savory			1853/54		
157	Wendover			Lord of Manor, Abel Smith			1853/54		
158	Wendover		SP 87114 07665	Rev Champneys		Vicarage?	1853/54	Y	Poss
159	Wendover	Prospect Place, Clay Lane	SP 87109 08042	Alfred Rothschild		Purpose built in rear yard	1884-1914	N	Y
160	West Wycombe	West Wycombe House	SU 82839 94314	Lady Dashwood		House	1873/74	Y	Y

161	West Wycombe	Church Loft	SU 83013 94670	Subscription	Industrial dispute		1913/14	Y	Y
162	Wing	Charlotte Cottage Hospital	SP 88503 22858	Leopold Rothschild		Purpose-built	1885	N?	Y
163	Wingrave	Manor House	SP 87177 19035	Mr and Mrs Freeman		House	1884-1891	Y	Y
164	Winchmore Hill, Amersham	Shardeloes	SU 93855 97816	Tyrwhitt-Drake Esq		House	1855/56	Y	Y
165	Winslow			Rev W.W. M'Creight			1855-1856		
166	Winslow	The Elms, High Street	SP 76993 27693	Subscription Mrs T. P. Willis		House	1880-1890	Y	Y
167	Winslow			Parish church subscription			1894/95		

168	Winslow			Congregational church subscription			1894/95		
169	Wotton			Vicar			1788/89 1789/90		
170	Wotton	Wotton House	SP 68624 16192	Duke of Buckingham		House	1846/47	Y	Y
171	Wraysbury	Ankerwycke House	TQ 00450 72950	Mr and Mrs Harcourt		House	1841/42	N	Y

E. Hertfordshire

No	Town/parish	Address	Grid reference	Organiser	Beneficiary (if other than poor)	Building's primary use	Date range	Surv-ival	Identification
1	Abbot's Langley			Subscription			1878/79		
2	Ardeley			Subscription			1854/55		
3	Ashwell			Subscription			1886/87		
4	Ashridge/ Berkhamsted	Ashridge House	SP 99340 12175	Earl Brownlow		House	1867/68	Y	Y
5	Aston						1886/87		
6	Baldock	The Elms	TL 24610 33460	Mrs Pryor		House	1886/87 1887/88	N	Y
7	Baldock			Subscription, Rev Deacle			1887/88		
8	Baldock			Mrs Day			1887/88		

9	Barkway						1799-1800		
10	Barnet			Subscription			18534		
11	Barnet			Subscription			1866/67		
12	Barnet (High)	High Street		Subscription		Auction rooms of Pricket, Venables & Co	1879/80 1880/81		
13	Barnet (New)						1879/80		
14	Batchworth	Railway Hotel	TQ 06162 94121	Fishing club		Fishing clubhouse at Railway Arms	1878/79	N	Y
15	Bengeo	Holly Lodge, 42 Bengeo Street	TL 32388 13539	Mr. and Mrs Victor Carré		House	1875/76 1885/86	Y	Y
16	Berkhamsted			Subscription		Mr King's bakery	1800		

17	Berkhamsted	Castle Grounds	SP 99473 98191	Subscription		Purpose-built	1841-1897	Y	Y
18	Berkhamsted	Swan Brewery	SP 99255 08187	Major Forster		Brewery	1869/70 1890/91	Y	Y
19	Berkhamsted (Northchurch)	George & Dragon	SP 97392 08784	Miss Watson		Inn/Coffee tavern	1890/91	Y	Y
20	Bishop's Stortford						1880-1889		
21	Bovingdon						1885/86		
22	Boxmoor			Subscription			1880-1886		
23	Braughing			Subscription			1901-1913		
24	Brickendon	Castle Street	TL 32477 12353	Subscription, changed in 1855 to bread and coal		Mr Crawley's coach works	1847-1867	Y	Y
25	Brickendon	25 Castle Street	TL 32546 123400	Subscription, changed in 1855 to bread and coal		Mr Andrew's house	1847-1867	Y	Y

26	Brickendon			Subscription, Miss Simpson		House	1853/54		
27	Brickendon			Individual			1868/69		
28	Bushey			Subscription			1881-1887		
29	Bushey			Subscription			1892/93 1894/95		
30	Bushey (New)						1907/08		
31	Bushey Heath			Subscription			1894/95		
32	Cheshunt			Subscription			1854/55		
33	Cheshunt			Subscription			1871/72		
34	Cheshunt			Subscription			1888/89		
35	Cheshunt			Subscription			1897/98		
36	Cottered			Subscription			1895/06		
37	Croxley Green					Coffee tavern	1881/82		

38	Flamstead			Sir J. S. Sebright			1841/42		
39	Gorhambury	Gorhambury House	TL 11356 07883	Lord Grimston		House	1795	Y	Y
40	Great Wymondley	The Rookery	TL 21334 28546	Mrs Smyth and other ladies		House	1885/86	Y	Prob
41	Hatfield	Hatfield House	TL 23661 08404	Marquis and Marchioness of Salisbury		House	1853/54 1860/61	Y	Poss
42	Hatfield	Hatfield House	TL 23661 08404	Marchioness of Salisbury		House	1878/79	Y	Poss
43	Hatfield	Arm and Sword Yard	TL 23383 08676			Working men's club	1889/90	N	Y
44	Hatfield			Subscription		Near workhouse	1905/06 1906/07		
45	Hemel Hempstead	Half Moon Yard	TL 05519 07696	Subscription (also known as Two Waters)		Mission House in inn yard	1871-1890/91	N	Y
46	Hemel Hempstead	Heath Park Hotel	TL 05338 06217	Mr Balderson		Temporary building	1887/88	N	Y

47	Hertford St Andrews			Subscription			1840/41 1846/47		
48	Hertford St Andrews	Mr & Mrs Inskip's, St Andrew's Street		Subscription		House	1853/54 - 1861/62		
49	Hertford St Andrews	Three Blackbirds, Castle Street	TL 32614 12502	Subscription, Mr T Wing	l	Inn	1867/68 -?	Y	Y
50	Hertford St Andrews			Subscription			1892/93 1893/94		
51	Hertford All Saints/St John's			Subscription			1840/41 1846/47 1853/54		
52	Hertford All Saints/St John's	Mr Haslam's, Fore Street		Subscription		Chemist/druggist shop	1861/62 -?		

53	Hertford All Saints/St John's	Mr Mark's, Fore Street		Subscription		Silversmith/tinsmith shop	1867/68-?		
54	Hertford All Saints/St John's	Christ's Hospital	TL 32910 12820	Subscription		Boarding school kitchen	1867/68-?	Y	Y
55	Hertford	Mr Armstrong's, The Wash		Dimsdale Charity (testamentary)		House	1858/59		
56	Hertford	11 St Andrews Street	TL 32404 12647	Dimsdale Charity (testamentary)		House	1859-1898	Y	Y
57	Hertford	Salisbury Arms	TL 32667 12564	Mrs Munn		Inn/hotel	1853/54	Y	Y
58	Hertford	Bayley Hall	TL32699 12492	Mr Neale		Carriage house	1885/86	N	Y
59	Hertford (Port Vale)			Subscription			1887-1889 1894/95		

60	Hertford			Subscription, Mrs Faudel-Phillips			1894/95		
61	Hertford			Mayor's fund			1896/97		
62	Hertford	9 Old Cross	TL 3246 1268	Subscription		Coffee house	1904/05	Y	Y
63	Hertford Heath	Haileybury College				School	1841/42	Y?	Y
64	Hitchin			Subscription			1800		
65	Hitchin	7-8 Portmill Lane?	TL 18533 29241	Subscription, Society for bettering the condition of the poor		Offices/residence (Hawkins & Co)	1832	Y	Poss
66	Hitchin	7-8 Portmill Lane?	TL 18533 29241	Subscription, Society for bettering the condition of the poor		Offices/residence (Hawkins & Co)	1860/61 1861/62	Y	Prob
67	Hitchin	Back Lane		Subscription, Society for the Provision of Invalid Kitchens			1867/68		

68	Hitchin	7-8 Portmill Lane	TL 18533 29241	Subscription, Society for bettering the condition of the poor		Offices/residence (Hawkins & Co)	1908/09	Y	Prob
69	Hoddesdon			Subscription			1846/47		
70	Hoddesdon			Subscription			1861/62		
71	Hoddesdon	Esdale House	TL 37315 05515	Mr and Mrs Christie		House	1882/83	N	Y
72	Kensworth						1870/71		
73	Markyate Street			Messrs Partridge, Milton and others, subscription			1890/91 1891/92		
74	Much Hadham	Almshouse Hospital	TL 42788 18949	Subscription, Mrs Leathes and Miss Gayton		Almshouse	1887-1910	Y	Y
75	Offley			Mrs Hale			1859/60		
76	Redbourn			Subscription			1893/94		
77	Rickmansworth			Subscription			1880/81		

78	Rickmansworth	Vicarage?		Subscription			1894/95		
79	Royston			Subscription			1798-1801?		
80	Royston			Miss Thurnal and Miss Smith			1885/86		
81	Royston			Mr and Mrs Jaggs		Coffee tavern	1891/92		
82	Royston			Individuals			1894/95		
83	St Albans	Holywell House	TL 14586 06744	Lady Spencer (sometimes delivered to St Albans)		House	1799-1801?	N	Y
84	St Albans	Town Hall?	TL14758 07259	Subscription (probably same institution as 85)			1840/41 1846/47	Y	Prob
85	St Albans	Town Hall	TL 14758 07259	Subscription			1854-1888	Y	Y
86	St Albans	Coffee Tavern, French Row	TL 14658 07172	Individual		Coffee tavern	1883/84		Prob

87	St Albans	Harvey's Yard?	TL 147	Subscription (same institution as 85)			1889-1890		Prob
88	St Albans	Coffee Tavern, French Row	TL 14658 07172	Subscription (same institution as 85)		Coffee tavern	1891-1896		Prob
89	St Albans	Corn Exchange	TL 14700 07186	Subscription (same institution as 85)			1896/97	Y	Y
90	St Albans	Town Hall?	TL 14758 07259	Mayor's soup and bread fund			1890/91 1894/95	Y	Poss
91	St Albans St Stephen's Parish			Subscription			1881-1884		
92	St Albans	Lower Dagnall Street		Councillor Potton		House	1890/91		
93	St Albans	4 St Peter's Street	TL 14789 07270	Mayor's relief fund		Mr Young's box factory	1904/05 1906/07	N	Y
94	St Albans	16-18 Victoria Street	TL 14855 07214	Salvation Army		Barracks/hall	1904/05	N	Y

95	St Albans	22 London Road	TL 1475 0708	Mrs Dear		Temperance hotel	1904?-1906/07	N?	Y
96	Sawbridgeworth				Children		1888		
97	Stansted Abbots						1849/50		
98	Stanstead Abbots	Vicarage	TL 38910 11620	Rev Coombe			1860/61	Y	Prob
99	Stevenage			Subscription			1860/61		
100	Stevenage	Coffee Tavern, High Street		Individual		Coffee tavern	1885/86		
101	Totteridge	Totteridge Park	TQ 23583 94267	Lee family		House	1795	Y	Prob
102	Tring	Tring Park	SP 92631 11184	Mr D Smith		House	1785	Y	Y

103	Tring	Church House Weston Road	SP 92087 11309	Subscription, N. Rothschild		Church hall	1896/97 1900/01 1906/07	Y	Y
104	Waltham Cross	Crossbrook Street		Subscription		Near Post Office	1862-1867		
105	Ware			Rev Blakesley of St Mary		Vicarage?	1849/50		Poss
106	Ware			Poor aged man's Friendly society			1859/60		
107	Ware			Subscription			1880/81		
108	Ware	Mission Hall, Amwell End	TL 35922 14109	Mr Hanbury		Mission House	1883 1887	N	Y
109	Watford	Queens Arms St Albans Road	TQ 10865 97651	Mr Kilby		Inn	1865-1867	N	Y
110	Watford			Subscription Relief Fund			1866/67		

111	Watford	Vicarage, St Mary's?	TQ 11104 96273			Vicarage	1871 1875	N	Poss
112	Watford	Northend House	TQ 10692 96735	James Blenkinthorp		House	1870/71	N	Prob
113	Watford	74 High Street	TQ 11018 96404	Mr Fusher, butcher		Several butchers and abattoirs in vicinity	1886/87	N	Prob
114	Watford	Coffee Tavern, 84 St Albans Road	TQ 10795 97431	Subscription, Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor			1888-1892	N	Prob
115	Watford	Mr Timm's Yard, 190 High Street,	TQ 1140 9605	Subscription, Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor			1889 1892	N	Y
116	Watford				Invalid kitchen		1891/92		

117	Watford	Victoria Hall, Water Lane		Subscription, Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor		Temporary corrugated iron building	1892/93		
118	Watford	Recreation ground	TQ 11508 96291	Subscription, Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor		Prefabricated metal building	1894-1909	N	Y
119	Watford	Red Lion Yard, Beechen Grove	TQ 1112 9654	Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor		Courtyard	1902-1909		
120	Watford	Callow Land Coffee Tavern		Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor		Watford United Railway Servants' Coffee Tavern on Station Approach?	1902-1909		
121	Watford	St Andrew's Church	TQ 10860 97600	Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor		Coffee tavern	1902-1909		Prob
122	Watford	St Michael's Church Hall	TQ 10192 96320	Subscription		Church hall	1907/08	Y	Y

123	Welwyn	Red Lion Inn Digswell Hill	TL 22391 14146	Mr Elstone		Inn	1860/61	Y	Y
124	Weston	Manor House	TL 25862 30083	Mr and Mrs Malborough Pryor		Manor House	1885/86	Y	Prob
125	Wheathampstead	Post office	TL17728 14016	Subscription		Post office	1855/56	N	Y
126	Wheathampstead	Lamer House	TL 18096 16043	Mrs Drake Garrard		House	1855-1860	Y	Y
127	Wheathampstead	Rectory (there are two on 1870 OS map)	TL 17669 14114	Rev Snell and Sir T. Sebright		Rectory	1856/57	Poss	Poss

F. Staffordshire

No	Town/parish	Address	Grid reference	Organiser	Beneficiary (if other than poor)	Building's primary use	Date range	Survival	Identification
1	Abbots Bromley	Hallhill Lane	SK 08084 24450	Congregational church		Congregational chapel	1891/92	Y	Y
2	Alrewas			Vicar, parochial			1871-1881		
3	Alsager Bank			Rev and Mrs Simpson	Miners		1912		
4	Amblecote			Relief fund			1867/68		
5	Amington	Gate Inn, Tamworth Road	SK22638 04169		Miners	Inn	1893	Y	Y
6	Atherstone	Chapel End			Miners		1893		
7	Audley	Vicarage, Church Street	SJ 79838 50866		Miners	Vicarage	1893	Y	Y

8	Audley	Red Lion Inn		Mr Burberry	Miners	Inn	1912		Y
9	Audley	Vine Inn			Miners	Inn	1912		Y
10	Audley, Wereton				Miners		1912		
11	Audley, Wood Lane				Miners		1912		
12	Audley, Raven's Lane				Miners		1912		
13	Audley			Salvation Army	Miners		1912		
14	Barton-under-Needwood	Crowberry Lane	SK 18683 18708	Mrs Lyon		Village Hall?	1871/72		
15	Barton-under-Needwood (possibly same as 14)						1889/90		
16	Biddulph	Biddulph Grange	SJ 89240 59229	John Bateman Esq		House?	1840/41	Y	Prob

17	Bilston				Cholera sufferers		1832		
18	Bilston			Bilston Cholera Soup Committee	Cholera sufferers		1849/50		
19	Bilston			Arthur Wright, subscription			1857/58		
20	Bilston			Messrs Plant			1857/58		
21	Bilston	Broad Street?		Subscription		Temperance Hall	1861-67		
22	Bilston			Relief committee		Eight unidentified locations	1877/78		
23	Blackheath			Relief committee			1890/91		
24	Bloxwich			Mr Lindon		Mr Lindop's premises	1866/67	?	
25	Bloxwich			Subscription			1878/79		
26	Bloxwich						1892/93		

27	Boundary						1893		
28	Brewood			Subscription	Farm workers		1885/86		
29	Brewood	Bargate House	SJ 88146 08890	Major and Mrs. J. E. Monkton	Farm labourers and other out-door workers	House	1890/91	Y	Y
30	Brierley Hill	Hen and Chickens Inn			Miners	Inn	1864		
31	Brierley Hill					Shopkeeper's house	1867/68		
32	Brierley Hill	The Lays (Leys?), Brockmoor		Mr. Benjamin Wood		House	1867/68		
33	Brierley Hill			Relief fund, subscription			1867/68		
34	Brierley Hill	The Delph Inn	SO 91682 86432	Henry Webb		Inn	1878/79	Y	Y

35	Brownhills	Watling Street	SK 04634 05452		Miners	Primitive Methodists' Chapel	1893	N	Y
36	Bucknall	Ruxley Road	SJ 90978 47481		Miners	United Methodists Sunday School	1912	N	Y
37	Burntwood	Church Road	SK 06553 09101	Mrs Worthington	Children	School	1892/93	Y	Y
38	Burslem	Green Head	SJ 86826 50037	Subscription, St John's vestry		Poor House	1819/20 , 1829/30	N	Y
39	Burslem			Relief fund			1837/38		
40	Burslem			Relief fund			1848/49		
41	Burslem			Samuel Cleaves			1854/55		
42	Burslem			Relief fund			1854/55		
43	Burslem	Moorland Road				Mr Boulton's foundry	1861/62		

44	Burslem	The Shambles	SJ 86864 49875	Relief fund,		Market hall	1861/62	N	Y
45	Burslem	The Shambles	SJ 86864 49875	Relief fund, COS		Market hall	1878/79	N	Y
46	Burslem	Coffee House		COS, subscription			1880/81		
47	Burslem			COS, subscription	Children		1890/91		
48	Burslem	Pitt Street East	SJ 87118 49590	Colonel Dobson		Parkers' Brewery	1912	N	Y
49	Burslem	Baker Street					1912		
50	Burslem	Wedgwood Place	SJ 86892 48944			Hippodrome Theatre	1912	N	Y
51	Burton						1816/17		
52	Burton						1837/38		
53	Burton	Station Street (in 1876)					1856-78		

54	Burton	Derby Street		Mr Brown		Welcome Coffee House	1890/91		
55	Burton	Duke Street and Mosley Street	SK 2430 2300	Borough relief office			1881-1922	N	Y
56	Burton	152 High Street	SK 25103 22887			Star Hotel	1895	Y	Y
57	Caldmore			J. Fenwick Laing			1878/79		
58	Cannock Chase						1878/79		
59	Cannock Chase			Mine owners	Miners		1893		
60	Caverswall				Miners		1912		
61	Chasetown						1877/78		
62	Chasetown			Relief committee			1890/91		
63	Chasetown	Swan Inn 39, High St	SK 04545 08218	Mr Bickley		Inn	1890/91	Y	Y
64	Chasetown			J. Brewin		Butcher's shop	1904/05		

65	Cheadle						1840/41		
66	Cheadle				Ironstone workers		1870/71		
67	Clayhanger			Relief committee	Strikers' families		1893		
68	Colton	Bellamour Hall?	SK 04329 20465	Mr Oldham		House?	1837/38	N	Prob
69	Cradley Heath	Newtown Lane	SO 94674 86368		Iron workers	Church Schools	1878/79	Y	Y
70	Darlaston	Victoria Road	SO 97783 96782	Rector		Rectory?	1816/17	N	Prob
71	Dudley			Board of Health			1832		
72	Dudley						1842		
73	Dudley				Nail-makers		1949/50		

74	Dudley			Poor Law guardians, subscription		Shambles in 1868-1871	1854/55 1860/61 1868-71, 1878, 1887		
75	Dudley	King Street				Central Social Club	1892/93		
76	Eccleshall			Parish charity			1850-96?		
77	Edingale	Schoolhouse Lane	SK 21078 12139	Subscription	Children	School house	1886/87	Y	Y
78	Elford	Elford Hall?	SK 18506 10579	Hon Colonel and Mrs Howard		House	1831-32	N	Prob
79	Endon			A few gentlemen			1855/56		
80	Ettingshall			Subscription	Industrial workers		1858		

81	Fazeley	Drayton Hall?	SK 19500 01372	Sir Robert and Lady Peel		House?	1874/75	N	Pos s
82	Fazeley			Subscription, Sir Robert Peel			1880/81		
83	Fenton			W. Baker Esq			1854/55		
84	Fenton			Messrs Challinor	Industrial workers		1857/58		
85	Fenton			Principal inhabitants			1860/61		
86	Fenton			A butcher		Butcher's shop	1878/79		
87	Fenton			Relief fund, subscription		Back of Public Hall	1878/79		
88	Fenton						1890/91		
89	Fenton			Salvation Army			1893		
90	Fenton	North end of town		Relief fund			1912		

91	Forton			Rev. Boughey			1846/47		
92	Goldenhill			Subscription, relief fund	Children	Mr Piggott's premises	1912		
93	Hanley with Shelton						1819/20		
94	Hanley with Shelton	Market Hall					1826-27		
95	Hanley with Shelton			Wesleyan Beneficient Society			1838		
96	Hanley with Shelton			Relief fund			1848		
97	Hanley			Subscription	Unemployed and distressed operatives		1848/49		
98	Hanley			Relief fund			1854/55		
99	Hanley			Relief fund			1857/58		

100	Hanley	Tontine and Percy Streets	SJ 88398 47598	Relief fund	Boatmen and poor of town	Police Station and Shambles	1860-62, 1890/91 1893 1912	N	Y
101	Hanley			Dr Muller	Aged and infirm		1868/69		
102	Hanley	Rose and Crown Inn, Etruria Road	SJ 87295 47512	Mrs Draycott		Inn	1874/75	Y	Y
103	Hanley	Stafford-Street		Mr. John Lloyd		Butcher's shop	1878/79		
104	Hanley	Tontine Square		Mr Jones		Butcher's shop	1878/79		
105	Hanley	Cheshire Cheese Inn, Chell Street	SJ 88723 48582	Mr Bradshaw		Inn	1878/79	Y	Y
106	Hanley			Relief fund			1878/79		
107	Hanley	Angel Inn	SJ 88407 47738	Subscription, Mr Chew		Inn	1880/81	N	Y

108	Hanley	Town Yard	SJ 88360 47648	Subscription		Town Hall yard	1880/81	N	Y
109	Hanley	Holly Bush Inn, Keelings Road?		Mr Robinson	Children	Inn	1912		
110	Himley	Himley Hall?	SO 88850 91591	Viscount/Earl of Dudley			1794/95 1819/20 1830/31	Y	Pro b
111	Hockley	Hockley Hall, 262 Hockley Road, Tamworth	SP 22547 88824	J Balfour MP			1880/81	Y	Y
112	Ipstones						1841/42		
113	Kidsgrove	Clough Hall	SJ 83376 53798	Mrs Kinnersley			1876/77 1877/78		
114	Kidsgrove			Subscription relief fund			1876/77 1877/78		
115	Kingswinford			Subscription			1867/68		
116	Kinver			Relief fund			1877-78		

117	Kinver	Enville?		Earl and Countess of Stamford			1878/79		
118	Lane End			Subscription			1816/17 1819/20 1826/27		
119	Leamore, Walsall						1892/93		
120	Leek			Relief committee			1840/41		
121	Leek			Several families			1854/55		
122	Leek	Derby Street		Subscription		Mr Taylor's	1856/57		
123	Leek	Market Street Adjoining Red Lion Hotel	SJ 98415 56552	Subscription relief fund		Fishmonger's former premises	1867/68	N	Y
124	Leek	Stockwell Street		Subscription relief fund		Purpose-built in working men's rooms	1868/69 -1872?		

125	Leek	St Luke's Parish, Ball Haye Green	SJ 98978 57096	Subscription		School?	1892/93	Prob	Prob
126	Leek			Old Folk's Dinner Committee			1893/94		
127	Lichfield			Relief fund			1819/20		
128	Lichfield	Wade Street (1869-1909?)		Subscription			1849-1909?	N	
129	Lichfield	Market Street		Invalid soup kitchen		Mrs. Blakeman's	1874-1882?		
130	Lichfield	Dam Street		Invalid soup kitchen		Lichfield Nursing Institution	1882-1896?	Prob	
131	Lichfield	Church Street				Smithfield Hotel	1879/80		
132	Lichfield			Mr Quartrill		Butcher's shop	1879/80		
133	Lichfield	Sandford Street		Mr Evans		Butcher's shop	1879/80		
134	Longbridge Hayes						1912		

135	Longton			Relief fund			1857/58 1861/62		
136	Longton			Poor law guardians	Sick poor		1869		
137	Longton	Caroline-Street		Mr. Lamb			1878/79		
138	Longton	In each ward		Relief fund			1893		
139	Longton			Local trades people			1912		
140	Madeley	Manor House	SJ 77339 44630	Mrs Cunliffe Offley		House	1831/32		
141	Mow Cop				Miners		1912		
142	Newborough	Holly Bush	SK 13654 26356	Mr and Mrs Clay		House	1891/92 1892/93		
143	Newcastle-under-Lyme			Subscription, Mayor			1800/01		

144	Newcastle-under-Lyme	Four locations		Subscription			1816-20		
145	Newcastle-under-Lyme			Subscription relief fund			1846/47 - 1849/50 1854/55 1860/61		
146	Newcastle-under-Lyme	Roebuck Hotel, 54-56 High Street	SJ 84806 45989	Mrs Prime		Inn	1860/61	Y	Y
147	Newcastle-under-Lyme			Various distributors			1878/79		
148	Newcastle-under-Lyme	Rye Croft School	SJ 84840 46240		Children		1880/81	N	Prob
149	Newport						1864/65		
150	Old Hill						1878/79		

151	Oulton, Stone	St Mary's Convent	SJ 90843 35629			Convent	1878/79	Y	Y
152	Pattingham	Patshull Hall	SJ 80053 01278	Earl of Dartmouth			1816/17	Y	Y
153	Pattingham	Patshull Hall	SJ 80053 01278	Earl of Dartmouth	Farm worker		1860/61	Y	Y
154	Pelsall	White Lion Hotel	SK 02369 04123	John Lester			1893	N	Y
155	Pensnett						1866/67		
156	Pensnett			Ladies Benevolent Association			1867/68		
157	Polesworth				Miners		1893		
158	Porthill						1912		
159	Quarry Bank	Brierly Hill		Dudley relief fund			1878/79		
160	Rangemore, Tatenhill	Rangemore Hall	SK 17723 22460	Lord Bass		House	1898-19??	Y	Y

161	Rowley						1877/78		
162	Rugeley			Miss Birch			1828/29		
163	Rugeley			Josiah Spode			1853/54		
164	Rugeley			Subscription			1858/59 1859/60		
165	Rugeley	Gentleshaw		Lady Abdy	Poor and elderly		1872/73		
166	Rugeley						1878/79		
167	Rugeley	British Workman					1880/81		
168	Rugeley	Possibly same as 167		Rugeley Foresters and Benevolent Fund			1881-82		
169	Rugeley	Possibly same as 166				Reading room	1891-93		
170	Ryecroft	The Butts					1878/79		

171	Sedgley	Himley Hall?	SO 88850 91591	Viscount/Earl of Dudley			1794/95	Y	Prob
172	Sedgley						1877/78		
173	Shelton	Sun Street and Mount Pleasant	SJ 87652 47046	Subscription		Methodist Chapel	1878/79	Y	Y
174	Shugborough			Ansom family (Earl of Lichfield)		House?	1800/01		
175	Silverdale	Crown Lane	SJ 82234 46585	Local tradesmen		Crown Inn	1878/79	Y	Y
176	Silverdale			Mrs Udall			1878/79		
177	Silverdale			Subscription			1878/79		
178	Silverdale						1893		
179	Silverdale				Miners		1912		
180	Smallthorne		Various tradesmen				1878/79		

181	Smallthorne	Ford Green Road	SJ 88366 50383	Miners		School	1912	Y	
182	Smallthorne			Miners		Talbot Inn	1912		
183	Stafford					The Old School	1800/01	N	
184	Stafford	Hertford Street		Mrs Thompson			1802/03		
185	Stafford						1819/20		
186	Stafford			Subscription			1847/48		
187	Stafford	The Soup Kitchen, Church Lane	SJ 92119 23136	Salt family then subscription		Institutional building	1855-1894+	Y	
188	Stafford	Foregate Street		Relief fund			1866/67		
189	Stafford	Forebridge		Relief fund			1866/67		
190	Stapenhill	Stapenhill Institute, Main Street	SK 25507 21849	Relief fund		Working men's club	1912	Y	

191	Stoke			Subscription			1812, 1816/17		
192	Stoke			Enoch Wood			1819/20		
193	Stoke	Parish offices		Rev Duck			1854/55		
194	Stoke			Relief fund	Boatmen		1860/61		
195	Stoke	Town Hall at rear	SJ 87894 45279	Relief fund	Brick makers in 1891		1878/79 1891	Y	Y
196	Stoke	Copeland Arms	SJ 87976 45371				1878/79	N	Y
197	Stoke	Uncle Tom's Cabin Bowls Club		Club?			1912		
198	Stone			Subscription			1837/38		
199	Stone	Chapel Street			Shoemakers		1867-69		
200	Stone			Relief fund			1878/79		

201	Stone	Parish rooms, Christchurch	SJ 90130 34065	Subscription			1892/93	N	Prob
202	Stonnall						1857/58		
203	Tamworth			Subscription, Trustees of Tamworth charities			1837/38 1840/41		
204	Tamworth	The Castle	SK 20634 03921	Miss Wolferstan		House	1853/54	Y	Y
205	Tamworth			Subscription			1855/56 - 1870/71		
206	Tamworth	Temperance Hotel, Church Street		Subscription			1878/79 1881, 1887?		
207	Tamworth	Castle Hotel, Lady Bank	SK 20594 03965	Subscription		Hotel yard	1890/91	Y	Y

208	Tamworth	White Lion Inn, Aldergate	SK 20567 04074	Subscription		Inn	1892/93	Prob	Y
209	Tamworth	21 Church Street	SK 20693 04064	Subscription		The Baths	1904-06	N	Y
210	Tipton	New Connexion Chapel, Canal Street	SO 95411 92271	Methodist, subscription			1866/67	N	Y
211	Trent Vale	Mission Hall, Flash Lane	SJ 86533 43466	Methodist, subscription			1881	N	Y
212	Trentham Hall	Trentham Hall	SJ 86563 40956	Private Duke of Sutherland		Purpose-built Poor's Lodge	1796-1894	N	Y
213	Tunstall			Williamson and Challinor Esq			1854/55		
214	Tunstall	High Street?		Subscription, "tradesmen's relief fund"		Lamb Inn	1854/55		

215	Tunstall	Farndale Street	SJ 85903 51111	Wesleyan School		School	1854/55	N	Y
216	Tunstall			Subscription, relief fund			1861/62		
217	Tunstall	Covered market/Soho Mills High Street	SJ 86063 51281	Subscription relief committee		Back of market	1878/79	Y	
218	Tunstall	Goodfellow Street		Private individual		Joseph Thompson	1878/79		
219	Tunstall	Market Square		Relief fund		Small shop	1912		
220	Tunstall	Park Pavilion, Tunstall Park	SJ 86526 51450	Relief fund			1912	Y	Y
221	Tutbury						1831/32		
222	Tutbury	Soup House, Duke Street	SK 21171 28889	Parish charities			1891-1927	Y	Y
223	Uttoxeter			Subscription			1829/30		

224	Uttoxeter			George Wigley,		Butcher's shop?	1848/49		
225	Uttoxeter	The Hall	SK 09336 33749	Mrs Kynnersley		House	1856/57	Prob	Y
226	Uttoxeter			Mr Fox and Mr Radley			1866/67		
227	Uttoxeter	Balance Street?	SK 09186 33306	Mechanics Institute			1868/69	N	Poss
228	Uttoxeter	High Street					1890/91		
229	Uttoxeter	Star Inn, Queen Street	SK 09268 33396	Mr A Lovatt		Inn	1894/95	Y	Y
230	Walsall	Guildhall	SP 01528 98378	Subscription		Guildhall	1855, 1861	Y	Y
231	Walsall	Stafford Street		Subscription			1860/61		
232	Walsall	The Crown, Long Acre	SP 01030 99256	Subscription, Mr Osbourne		Inn	1860/61	Y	Y
233	Walsall	Bath Street		Mrs Giles			1861/62		

234	Walsall			Mr Booth		His premises	1866/67		
235	Walsall			Anti-mendicity Society			1877/78		
236	Walsall	Wisemore Road	SP 01195 98797	Relief fund		School	1890/91	N	Y
237	Walsall	Green Man Inn, Dudley Street	SP 01543 98173	Mrs Pearson		Inn	1890/91	Y	Y
238	Walsall	Dining Rooms, Park Street		Mrs Right		Restaurant?	1891/92		
239	Walsall			Children's Dinner Fund	Adults as well		1892/93		
240	Walsall	Home Mission, Ablewell St	SP 01764 98421	Wesleyan Mission		Chapel, hall	1893/94	Y	Y
241	Walsall	Victoria Inn, 23 Lower Rushall Street	SP 01708 98628	Mr Hunter		Inn	1894/95	Y	Y
242	Wednesbury						1867/68		

243	Wellington						1864/65		
244	West Bromwich			Earl of Dartmouth			1816/17		
245	West Bromwich						1878/79		
246	West Cosely						1867/68		
247	Whately			J Balfour MP		Whately Brickworks	1880/81		
248	Whittington Heath						1878/79		
249	Willenhall						1829/30		
250	Willenhall			Subscription and individuals			1860/61		
251	Willenhall						1866/67		
252	Wilnecote	178 Watling Street	SK 22333 01360	British Workman Institute		The Blue Brick	1874	Y	Y
253	Wolstanton				Miners		1912		

254	Wolverhampton						1819/20		
255	Wolverhampton	Cann Lane					1839/30 , 1832/33		
256	Wolverhampton	Old Mill Street		Relief fund		James Norton's Premises	1840/41		
257	Wolverhampton	Salop Street	SO 90882 98535	Subscription	Children only in 1861	Ragged school	1855-1857, 1860/61	N	
258	Wolverhampton			Relief fund			1860/61		
259	Wolverhampton	St Paul's Infant School		Subscription			1867/68		
260	Wolverhampton	Diocesan Nursing Institute, Charles Street		Relief fund		Invalids Kitchen	1870/71	N	
261	Wolverhampton	Town Hall, North Street	SO 91259 98708	Relief fund			1877/78	Y	Y

262	Wolverhampton			Mr Hollingsworth			1877/78		
263	Wolverhampton			Board of Health			1878/79		
264	Wolverhampton			Relief fund			1890/91		

14. Glossary and abbreviations

Anti-Corn Law League: An alliance promoting free-market consumerism which it saw as key to improving the lives of the majority; its key policy was abolition of the Corn Laws which restricted the imports of foreign grain to maintain higher prices for English famers.

Board of Health: A local committee with limited powers to improve sanitation. After the Public Health Act 1848 either a petition by town residents or the General Board of Health (if the death rate locally was too high) could appoint a local board of health to improve the sanitary condition of the town by drainage, water supply or street improvements.

Casual poor: Although the Poor Llaw Commission used the word to refer to the homeless and destitute, it is often used in common parlance to refer to the underemployed and short-term unemployed.

Chartist: Chartists advocated political reform in Britain between 1838 and 1857, advocating increased democracy through the expansion of the franchise to all adult men (except criminals and the insane), a secret ballot and no property ownership qualifications for MPs. It was opposed to the *laissez faire* of the free market.

Closed parish: A parish where the great majority of the land was in control of one or only a few landowners who often used their power to restrict the population so as to keep poor rates low; this was done by controlling housing and settlement. An open parish was the opposite of a closed parish.

COS or **Charitable Organisation Society:** A charity founded in 1869 to lead the crusade against outdoor-relief and to reform other charities by what they perceived as scientific and careful management of all welfare. The COS was a London-based body with branches, some closely affiliated, others not, around the country.

Cotton Famine: During the American Civil War supplies of cotton from the southern states were blockaded and unable to be shipped to the Lancashire cotton mills causing widespread unemployment 1861-64; during the crisis the Poor Law authorities were incapable of providing sufficient relief in the worst affected areas.

Crusade: The crusade against outdoor relief. This was a campaign ran by the COS and the PLB (and its successor, the LGB) beginning in 1869 to reduce the availability of outdoor-relief and charity which they was as being a major cause of pauperism.

Dorcas Society: a parish-based charity, often organised by women, to providing clothing and other necessities to the poor. Dorcas was one of Jesus' disciples renowned for her work with the poor.

GSK: The General Soup Kitchen, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Although the name was first used in 1838, it has been used here to refer to the institution throughout its history. 'General' refers to the fact that it was not parish-based (Blyth also has a general soup kitchen).

Guardian [of the Poor]: Under the NPL rate-payers in a poor-law union elected a board of guardians (each parish had a number of guardians roughly

proportionate to its population) to administer the NPL within that union; resident Justices of the Peace were *ex officio* guardians.

***Hau*:** Marcel Mauss (2002) used the term to describe the Maori concept of the spirit of the gift. When a gift is given the *Hau* binds the donor and recipient to prevent the recipient from using the gift freely until a suitable return for the gift to the donor has been made; the gift longs to be returned to the giver.

HER or **Historic environment record**: An HER contains information on the archaeology and historic built environment within a defined geographic area (usually a county council or unitary authority). HERs contain details on local archaeological sites and finds, historic buildings and historic landscapes.

Indoor relief: Welfare paid for by the parish, and later union, ratepayers delivered in the workhouse on a residential basis.

Keelmen: Male workers who operated keels (barges powered by oars and sails) to move coal from the shore of the River Tyne out to larger ships moored in deeper waters; they had to shovel the coal from the keel into the hold of the waiting ship.

LCHRC: Lloyds Coffee House Relief Committee. A committee of the great City merchants which sponsored a variety of charitable causes.

LGB or Local Government Board: Headed by a member of the cabinet, the LGB was responsible for overseeing the operation of the NPL (amongst many other things).

LSKJP: The London Soup Kitchen for the Jewish Poor.

LSSK: Leicester Square Soup Kitchen.

Mendicity Society: The Society for the Suppression of Mendicity was established in London in 1818 to suppress begging. In many ways it was an ancestor of the COS. Many regional mendicity societies with similar names were set up after the Napoleonic wars to address local issues with vagrancy and begging. The societies saw themselves as enforcers of the Vagrancy Act 1824 which prohibited sleeping in the open and begging in the streets.

Newcastle COS: The Newcastle-upon-Tyne branch of the COS also known as the Society for the Organisation of Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity in Newcastle.

NIIDC: Newcastle Improved Industrial Dwellings Corporation was a model dwelling company, renting flats to working-class families; it built 108 flats at Garth Heads between 1869 and 1878; its officers were mostly prominent local businessmen.

NPL or **New Poor Laws:** The Poor Law Amendment Act 1834 and subsequent legislation.

NWPSK: North West Public Soup Kitchen.

OLTO: Outdoor Labour Test Order 1842. This legislation allowed outdoor-relief to be provided to those who performed a labour test so that unions with insufficient workhouse space could restrict outdoor-relief to those who refused to do the task allotted. It applied early on in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Tynemouth, Gateshead and other industrial conurbations. The work might consist of a whole day's labour.

OPL or **Old Poor Law:** The OPL had its origins in the Elizabethan Poor Laws which consolidated existing laws relating to the publicly funded welfare for the poor. It include further legislation in the seventeenth to early-nineteenth centuries. It was administered in each parish by the ratepayers of that parish.

ORPO: Outdoor-Relief Prohibitory Order 1844. This legislation restricted outdoor-relief in rural areas and obliged able-bodied paupers and their families to seek relief only in workhouse. It was implemented once unions had time to build sufficient workhouse space to deal with what were perceived to be the genuine needy for whom outdoor-relief was no longer an option. Unions in large urban areas were excluded. There was a legal loophole which allowed outdoor-relief for sudden and urgent necessity and for sickness, accident, or bodily or mental infirmity. It was applied incrementally across the country and with varying strictness but was still in force in 1914. (Webb and Webb (1904: 322) summarise the dates on which the ORPO was applied in different unions).

ORRO: The 1852 Outdoor Relief Regulation Order enabled poor law unions to provide outdoor relief to the able-bodied and families if a work-test was carried out; half of the relief was to be given in kind; it also extended the work test to women.

Outdoor relief: Welfare paid for by the parish, and later union, ratepayers delivered to the poor resident in the community. It included doles, healthcare, burial costs, clothing, apprenticeships and other forms of assistance.

Overseer [of the Poor]: Parish officials who administered poor relief under the OPL, elected by ratepayers and supervised by the Justices of the Peace. Much of their role in setting rates, determining relief applications and supervising the

workhouse was taken over by guardians under the NPL, although some residual powers and responsibilities remained with the overseers (Snell 2006).

Panopticon: A project for prison reform created by Jeremy Bentham which included provision for a circular type of prison structure which would enable a single warden to survey all the inmates at any time from the centre. Prisoners, aware that they were under constant scrutiny, would behave as required through being watched. The possibilities of a control-and-command-style environment influenced workhouse architecture.

PLB or **Poor Law Board:** The successor to the Poor Law Commission, it was responsible for overseeing the operation of the NPL; it was replaced by the Local Government Board in 1871.

PLC or **Poor Law Commissioners:** The Poor Law Commission was a body set up under the NPL to administer poor relief run by three commissioners a secretary and nine assistant commissioners. It was replaced by the Poor Law Board in 1847.

Poor Law Union or **Union:** An amalgamations of parishes created by the NPL as a local unit of poor law administration. Decisions and budgets became increasingly centralised to weaken the importance of the parish, local decision making and the power of local landowners who might administer a parish in their own interests, but 'badly' in the view of central government. Unions often violated existing local geographic units such as counties to dilute local control further.

Posse Comitatus A list of all males between the ages of 16 and 60 with their occupations, compiled in 1798 in response to the threat of invasion from revolutionary France; only Buckinghamshire's lists survives almost completely.

Ragged School: The Ragged School movement started in the 1840s in London, providing charitable primary education to the most deprived; Ragged Schools spread nationally and some provided a variety of services including soup kitchens (Mair 2019: 21).

Quartern loaf: A four-pound loaf of bread, usually round in shape.

Relieving officer: A local official whose role under the NPL was to assess applications for relief and to authorise emergency relief, or send the applicant to the workhouse or medical officer depending on the circumstances.

SBCP or **Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor**: A reformist organisation founded by Thomas Bernard, William Wilberforce and the Bishop of Durham in 1796 (Roberts 2004: 65) to improve the poor. It published a series of didactic annual reports in which contributors shared details of their schemes for improving the poor,

Swing Riots: These were a series of disturbances, assaults on property, anonymous letter-writing and machine-breaking that broke out in 1830-31, mainly in Kent and the south east of England (Hobsbawm and Rudé 1969: 303ff). The rioters wanted fair wages, fair levels of relief and work. The riots were usually harshly put down by the authorities when the individuals responsible could be identified.

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CCA/U3/146/23/A/162 (1820) Faversham meeting of the mayor and several inhabitants.

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CCA/U3/100/8/1 Canterbury Cathedral: Vestry notes on payments to the poor.

Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies

CBS/D22/25/59 Letter to Rev. John Brewster of Durham, from his friend Rev. John Langham Dayrell, vicar of Stowe, 23 Jan 1800.

CBS/D-DR/4/1A A map of the town of Agmondesham, 1742.

CBS/D/HJ/A/45/3/7 Conveyance [Horwood and James], 1 Oct 1883-16 Feb 1907.

CBS/D/HJ/A/45/10 For the sale of property in Wendover, estate of Joseph Fantham, deceased Lot 1: 3 cottages on the road from Wendover to Tring and 2

cottages on Clay Lane Lot 2: 4 houses called Prospect Place in Clay Lane To be sold by W. Brown and Company on 15 Feb 1921.

CBS/E/1/68 Letter from Acton Chaplin to Scrope Bernard 1 Jan 1800.

CBS/Q/AG/37/2 Plan of the Aylesbury Gaol and House of Correction (all floors), by G. Cole, Surveyor 1825.

CBS/T9/Tithe/9 Amersham Tithe Map and Apportionment 1840.

Cranbrook Museum

CRAN/1.24/1046/Soup Cranbrook Soup Society Papers including a photograph of the soup kitchen.

Dacorum Heritage Trust, Berkhamsted Museum

BHLMS/CH/P9/16.1 Minute book of Balshaw's Trust.

Devon Archives and Local Studies Service

DHC/152M/C/1816/OH/89 Political and personal papers of Henry Addington, 1st Viscount Sidmouth 1816 Home Affairs. [Document not consulted, catalogue entry only].

Durham County Record Office

DCRO/EP/Ga.SM12/11 Copy correspondence and extracts of minutes of vestry meetings concerned with Gateshead church charities, especially Powell's Almshouse, the provision of a soup kitchen, and the appointment of overseers of the poor.

Gateshead Library

BRC01/02/TMC Tom Marshall Collection.

Greater Manchester County Record Office (GMCRO) (now Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives)

GMCRO/ GB127.M151/1/1 Minute book of the Manchester Jewish Soup Kitchen.

GMCRO/ GB127.M151/4/2 Appeal for subscription for the Manchester Jewish Soup Kitchen.

Hertfordshire Archives and Library Services (HALS)

HALS/D/ELe/B12/7 W.H Lee and Co 1835 – 1943 Business Papers Sale Catalogues issued by other Auctioneers and Agents.

HALS/D5A4/19/2 Tithe Apportionment Map of Great Berkhamsted 1841 (CBTM: 03457).

HALS/DP13/18/3 Barkway St Mary Magdalene parish: Accounts of costs incurred by the Poor Feast, 1814; bills, vouchers and overseers' correspondence, 1818-1819; Count Rumford's recipe for making a cheap soup and names of families who received soup, 1799-1800.

HALS/DP87/12/1 Royston Overseers' accounts 19/12/1799.

HALS/DE/B242 Title deeds, estate papers and family papers of the Lee family of Totteridge Park: list of poor inhabitants & names of those to whom coal and soup was distributed.

HALS/L/MISC/33-294 Papers relating to building of new Court House at St. Albans.

Historic England

HE/2006 Existing layout plan of custodian's cottage Berkhamsted Castle drawn by Kilngrove Ltd April 2006.

HE/2007 Electrical layout plan of custodian's cottage Berkhamsted Castle drawn by Kilngrove Ltd June 2007.

Jewish Museum London:

JML/C/1997.1 Men and Women of Mark in Modern Judea; album of newspaper cuttings by Haas, E de, p. 176 1902-1904.

Kent History and Library Centre www.kentarchives.gov.uk

KHLC/CAN-U424/E7/5 Letters from Thomas Willement to Edward J Hilton ... Used as wrapper, ticket for quart of soup each Tuesday in Feb 1844, issued under Wreight's Charity.

KHLC/Ch155 Burham Soup Kitchen Committee between February and March, 1895: minutes, accounts list for distribution chart of costs.

KHLC/De/QZm1 Deal Soup Kitchen Committee Minutes 1851-1914.

KHLC/EK/U1453/T2G Land with smithy and forge utilised as Margate Soup Kitchen. Potts to Cobb.

KHLC/EK/U1453/P190 Plan of Margate Soup Kitchen.

KHLC/P10/16/7 Ashford St Mary Overseers' letter book.

KHLC/P10/24/1 Ashford Benevolent Society.

KHLC/P12/12 Aylesford Overseers' Accounts 1801 for making and serving soup.

KHLC/P100B/5/1 Sissinghurst Holy Trinity Parish Records.

KHLC/P355/28/1 Stowting commonplace book.

KHLC/Sa/QZ1 Sandwich Accounts of the Soup Kitchen 1859-1873.

KHLC/Sa/QZ2 Sandwich Accounts of the Soup Kitchen 1873-1890.

KHLC/Sa/QZ3 Sandwich Accounts of the Soup Kitchen 1890-1907.

KHLC/U3/146/25/4 Faversham Soup and Bread Society minute books.

KHLC/U424/E/3 Faversham United Municipal Charities Distributive.

Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, Record Office

LLRO/DE2638/82/1-3 Account, Hon. Washington Shirley, Ashwood House [co. Staffs] with Dixon & Amphlett, endorsed with note asking whether any money to be given to Tipton soup shop. [Document not consulted, catalogue entry only].

London Picture Archive

LPA/17251 Marylebone Road, Marylebone View of a penny exhibition and public soup kitchen on New Road, later renamed Marylebone Road. Catalogue No p5388173.

London Metropolitan Archives

LMA/ACC1017/1741(a) Miscellaneous Quaker papers: annual report of the general meeting of the society instituted at Spitalfields 4 April 1800.

LMA/ACC/2942/003 London Soup Kitchen for the Jewish Poor General Committee, minutes, annual general meeting 1890-1907.

LMA/MISC/MSS/288/6 Letter from the Secretary of the North District Public Kitchen in Beech Street Barbican (established 3 Jan 1800) concerning the Kitchen.

LMA/P93/CTC1/055 Minutes of committee of Society for Supplying Poor with meat soup.

Medway Archives

MA/P110/18/6 Dartford Holy Trinity parish records, workhouse minutes.

MA/P305/18/7 Rochester St Margaret's Parish Records Soup and coal distribution book 1829-30.

MA/P305/18/16 Rochester St Margaret's Parish Records: Recommendations of poor worthy of assistance, made in reply to a circular letter about the distribution of soup twice weekly.

Northumberland Archives

NCRO/00604 Hexham Soup Kitchen Charity records and other 1841-1930.

NCRO/2/DE/4/59/1-72 Letters from John Carr & Johnson Thompson references to setting up a soup kitchen at Ford (20 Jan.1801). [Document not consulted, catalogue entry only].

NCRO/1149/81/1908 Plans of the Co-operative buildings Pegswood.

NCRO/CES/315/1 Spittal County Primary School, Spittal, Northumberland: Logbooks. (Berwick Record Office).

NCRO/EP/79/222 Letter, John Anderson, Secretary of Board of Health, to James Grieve, Esq., concerning the establishment of the Board of Health and the provision of medical services but asking for financial support for a soup kitchen for the increasing number of poor suffering from cholera.

NCRO/SANT/BEQ/26/1/4/86 Printed pamphlet page issued by William Hymers, Mayor of Gateshead, titled 'Gateshead Soup Kitchen' describing the proceedings made of Gateshead's inhabitants on the 25th Oct 1841.

NCRO/SANT/BEQ/26/1/10/111 Printed list of subscribers to: Gateshead Fell Police; National School; Choir; Soup Kitchen and Wrekenton National School.

Northumberland Estates Archives

NE/BMXXI – XXIII. Fourth Duke of Northumberland Business Minutes.

NE/SyUVIe Return showing the benefactions of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland KG from 11th February to 23rd June 1857.

NE/DP/D3/1/159/P3/Box7 Letter from treasurer of the Victoria Soup Kitchen soup-ticket, handbill 1843).

Royal Institution (Royal Inst)

Royal Inst 2/2/1799 Letter, Count Rumford to Lady Palmerston.

Shakespeare Birthplace Trust

SBT/DR18/18/13 Papers relating to Great Brickhill, one being receipt for money received towards a soup kitchen, 1800, [Document not consulted, catalogue entry only].

Staffordshire Record Office

SRO/D593/L/6/2/2: Estate Monthly General Reports and Farm, Time and Pay Reports. Records of the Sutherland-Leveson-Gower family. [Document not consulted, catalogue entry only].

SRO/D593/H/3/444 (201/31893), Map of the Marquis of Stafford's Trentham estate. Records of the Sutherland-Leveson-Gower family.

Tyne & Wear Archives and Museums

TWA/CHX3/1/1 General Soup Kitchen: Minutes 10 February 1862 to 31 January 1870.

TWA/CHX3/1/2 General Soup Kitchen ref CHX3/1/2 General Soup Kitchen, Minutes 7 February 1870 - 5 May 1879.

TWA/CHX3/1/3 General Soup Kitchen Minutes 25 August 1879 to 10 December 1900.

TWA/CHX3/2 General Soup Kitchen: Accounts 17 January 1820 to 2 March 1867.

TWA/D/NCP/23/2 Principal Fever Dens: a plan by Henry E. Armstrong, City Medical Officer of Health showing worst locations for Scarlet Fever, Enteric Fever, Typhus and Smallpox, 1873-1882. 8 inches to 1 mile.

TWA/DT.NID/12 Newcastle Improved Industrial Dwellings scrapbook.

TWA/T186/8889 Newcastle General Soup Kitchen. Design drawings for new soup kitchen 1880.

TWA/T186/8939 Newcastle General Soup Kitchen. Plan of Temporary Soup Kitchen.

University of Pennsylvania, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books, and Manuscripts (UPKC)

UPKC/740 Ms. Coll. 740 Amersham Soup Society collection, 1798-1883

F1 Folder 1. Correspondence 1799-1801.

F2 Folder 2. Accounts 1800.

F3 Folder 3. Papers relating to the soup & bread plans at Amersham including several drawings of kitchen and stove layouts c.1800.

F4 Folder 4. Memoranda and plans for the relief of the poor.

F5 Folder 5. Printed matter, observations on the patent steam kitchen

F6 Folder 6. Printed rules of the Soup Society Amersham and the Spitalfields soup committee, 1798-1800.

F7 Folder 7. Count Rumford's Experimental essays (printed London 1795 Rumford, Benjamin Thompson).

F8. Folder 8. List of subscribers as well as poor families in Amersham, a printed 1799 Chesham Cheap Soup circular, and the Amersham assessment for feeding the poor, 1801.

West Yorkshire Archives

WYA/C678/7/3/6/1 A brief account of the Soup Society instituted in Clerkenwell with a list of subscribers 1799 (Listed in bibliography as Clerkenwell 1799).

d. Newspapers

Abbreviations for newspapers and journals cited in text or tables:

A

ABG Aris's Birmingham Gazette

AM Alnwick Mercury

B

BA Berwick Advertiser

BAFP Buckingham Advertiser and Free Press

BCh Bucks Chronicle and Bucks Gazette

BCWG Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette

BE Buckingham Express

BEx Buckinghamshire Examiner

BG Bucks Gazette

BH Bucks Herald

BN Berwickshire News and General Advertiser

BNP Bury St Edmonds and Norwich Post

BuC Burton Chronicle

BWM Bells Weekly Messenger

C

CA Cottager and Artisan

CaJ Carlisle Journal

CC Chester Courant

CEM Church of England Magazine

CJ Court Journal: a record of manners, literature, science, art and fashion

CJKTFG Canterbury Journal, Kentish Times and Farmers' Gazette

CM Caledonian Mercury

CN Chatham News

CPW Cumberland Pacquet and Ware's Whitehaven Advertiser

CWS Croydon's Weekly Standard

D

DE Dover Express

DEP Dublin Evening Post

DEPC Dublin Evening Packet and Correspondent

DM Derby Mercury

DTCP Dover Telegraph and Canterbury Press

E

EFP Exeter Flying Post

EKG East Kent Gazette

EN Essex Newsman

F

FESSH Folkestone Express, Sandgate, Shorncliffe & Hythe Advertiser

FHSCH Folkestone, Hythe, Sandgate & Cheriton Herald

FJ Freeman's Journal

G

GJ Gloucester Journal

GO Gateshead Observer

GP Gateshead Post

GRNK Gravesend Reporter, North Kent and South Essex Advertiser

Guardian The Guardian

H

H&CR Hertfordshire & Cambridgeshire Reporter and Royston Crow

HA Hertfordshire Advertiser

HAEG Hull Advertiser and Exchange Gazette

HampC Hampshire Chronicle

HC Hexham Courant

HE Hertfordshire Express and General Advertiser

HG Herts Guardian, Agricultural Journal, and General Advertiser

HHG Hemel Hempstead Gazette and West Herts Advertiser

HJ Hereford Journal

HM Hertford Mercury and Reformer

HT Hampshire Telegraph

I

IBJ Illustrated Berwick Journal

IJ Ipswich Journal

IHT Illustrated Historic Times

ILN Illustrated London News

IT Illustrated Times

K

KC Kentish Chronicle

KG Kentish Gazette

KSC Kent & Sussex Courier

KW Kentish Weekly Post or Canterbury Journal

L

LBO Leighton Buzzard Observer and Linslade Gazette

LC London Courier and Evening Gazette

LCP London City Press

LG London Gazette

LI Leeds Intelligencer

LM Lichfield Mercury

M

MCh Morning Chronicle

MH Morpeth Herald

MJKA Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser

MM Manchester Mercury

MonM Monthly Magazine

MP Morning Post

MT Maidstone Telegraph

N

NC Newcastle Courant

NDC Newcastle Daily Chronicle

NGM Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury

NJ Newcastle Journal

NL Northern Liberator

NM Northampton Mercury

NorfC Norfolk Chronicle

O

ODA Oracle and Daily Advertiser

OJ Oxford Journal

OUCH Oxford University and City Herald

P

Pilot The Pilot

PL Public Ledger

PMG Poor Man's Guardian

PR Political Register

Punch Punch, or the London Charivari.

R

RM Reading Mercury

S

SA Staffordshire Advertiser

SBS South Bucks Standard

SDESG Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette

SDG Shields Daily Gazette

SDN Shields Daily News

SEG South Eastern Gazette

ShM Sherbourne Mercury

SM Stamford Mercury

SMag Scots Magazine

SNL Saunders Newsletter

SS Staffordshire Sentinel and Commercial & General Advertiser

SuA Sussex Advertiser

SuAg Sussex Agricultural Express

Sun The Sun (London 1801-1875)

SWJ Salisbury and Winchester Journal

T

TA Thanet Advertiser

TH Tamworth Herald

Times The Times

TM Tyne Mercury, Northumberland and Durham and Cumberland Gazette

W

WCSA Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser

WEE Windsor and Eton Express

WFP Walsall Free Press and General Advertiser

WKG West Kent Gazette

WO Watford Observer

WTHBH Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald

Y

YH York Herald