

**Research Paper
Prepared for
Ampthill History Forum**

**“Money or Blood”
The 1835 Ampthill Poor Law Riots**

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“Money or Blood”: The 1835 Ampthill Poor Law Riots

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Ampthill Magistrates

<u>Name</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Revd. Thomas Barber	Houghton
Revd. James Beard	Cranfield
Revd. George Cardale	Millbrook
George Musgrave	
Henry M Musgrave	Shillington

The Witnesses

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Richard Abbis	Ampthill Parish Constable
Thomas Bosworth	Overseer for Lidlington
James Juffs	Carpenter & Special Constable of Houghton Conquest
Joseph Marsh Morris	Baker & Ampthill Union Guardian
Henry M Musgrave	J.P., Chairman of Ampthill Board of Guardians
James Osborn	Reliving Officer of Western District of Ampthill Union
John Ruffhead	Lidlington Parish Constable
Robert Savage	Ampthill Parish Constable
Richard Sharp	Governor of Ampthill Workhouse
George Smith	Farmer & Ampthill Union Guardian from Houghton Conquest

The Rioters

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Residence</u>	
Philip Ashwell	37	Lidlington	
John Boxford	22	Eversholt	
John Burgoyne	50	Lidlington	
William Letting	32	Millbrook	
Richard Warner	43	Steppingley	
Henry Battams	27	Steppingley	Labourer
Charles Cartwright	30	Millbrook	Labourer
Elizabeth Chapman		Houghton	Widow
John Goodman	27	Millbrook	Labourer
Amelia Gulliver	41	Lidlington	Wife of Edward Gulliver, Labourer
William Haynes	53	Houghton	Labourer
Elizabeth Henman	21	Lidlington	Wife of Robert Henman, Labourer
Hannah Read	37	Lidlington	wife of Michael Read, Labourer
Henry Read	42	Ampthill	Labourer
John Read	40	Lidlington	Labourer
Henry Roberts	27	Millbrook	Labourer
Thomas Roberts	21	Millbrook	Labourer
Edmund Simpkins	25	Houghton	Labourer
John Taylor	35	Lidlington	Labourer
Edward Underwood	28	Millbrook	Labourer
Mary Walker	31-34	Lidlington	wife of James Walker, Labourer
James Waters	63	Ampthill	Labourer
William Whiteman	24	Houghton	Labourer

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The 1830s was a period of low morale and hardship in most local villages. Under the Poor Law individual parishes were responsible for the care of their own poor. The able-bodied men out of regular employment were reduced to going the ‘rounds’ of the parish in search of work. Wages it is claimed were kept low because of these roundsmen and as a result morale was low. Overseers could put the men to work for parish purposes, such as repairing the roads, with payments in cash from the poor rates. Under old system labourers would be laid off in cases of bad weather or when circumstances arose to persuade farmer he would lose out by keeping workers on.

The Poor Law Amendment Act (1834) sought to group parishes into Unions, which were to be run by elected Boards of Guardians. The larger unit was supposed to care more efficiently for their poor in a large well-run workhouse. By offering relief only to those who entered the workhouse it was hoped that pressure would be exerted on the men to find employment.

A common factor in riots is a failure in communication. The changes of the new Poor Law were imperfectly understood, especially in the days of illiteracy (none of the rioters could write and less than half could read). As a result there was much fear, which was fanned by rumour. More importantly poverty no doubt made them feel they had little to lose.

Events leading up to the May Riot

The introduction of the new law with its new system of management caused many problems during its early stages. The Parish Overseers now had to answer to the Guardians and to deal with large numbers of militant unemployed. Many mistakes were made but as an influential eyewitness to the Ampthill Riot maintained the “origin [of 1835 riot] was [the] change in allowance system from money to bread; but general introduction of law was another cause, the men being apprehensive, in fact of being shut up in the workhouse” This Assistant Poor Law Commissioner spent 3 hours in crowd talking to people.

September 1834

There was a slight disturbance at Marston when local farmers allowed 80 men to be out of work. As a result the overseer set them to work, and at end of week paid them in bread only; this they felt was unfair and they assembled on the following Monday. They marched in a body to the local magistrate who were aware and had arranged a meeting at Mr Cardale’s (Millbrook) to meet the labourers. The matter was cleared up, and they desired the overseers, if they employed the men, to get the work done for less than regular pay, but pay what they earned in money. Local land owners and their agents were concerned that if the overseers “will act as the Marston fools did they will bring mischief on their own heads”.

November 1834

Disturbances occurred in Lidlington and Eversholt over the rate of pay being offered for work.

Following the introduction of the Poor Law

A group of 150 or so approached the Revd. Thomas Barber, a local magistrate and also clergyman for Houghton Conquest. The leader approached him at his house

Man “Sir, I insist upon seeing you, and proving that this new law is contrary to the Word of God, and contrary to Act of Parliament” Producing a bible he proceeded “Sir, can you read this book? This is the bible”

Thomas Barber “Yes” and then proceeded to read the 3rd verse in the 8th chapter of Deuteronomy “Man liveth not by bread alone”

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Monday 11th May 1835

James Osborn’s first task as the newly appointed relieving officer of the western division of Ampthill Union was to make enquiries into the condition of the paupers of Lidlington parish. He set forth from his Cranfield home to meet with Mr Bosworth the Overseer of Lidlington.

James Osborn “I reside at Cranfield. I am relieving officer of the western District of the Union of Ampthill. On Monday last I went to Lidlington which is in my District for the purpose of making Enquiry into the state of the Paupers and to endeavour to make arrangements for work for them.”

James Osborn “I had made an appointment with Mr Bosworth the Overseer to meet me with the Paupers out of employ. I found about sixty persons assembled.”

John Read “What have you come for?”

James Osborn “I have come to make enquiries and endeavour to find work.”

John Read “Money we want and Money we must have”.

James Osborn “I have not any money”

Osborn then endeavoured to go into Bosworth’s house and in doing so was pressed upon by Read

Bosworth “You cannot come in”

John Read “He is our Master and we will go where he goes”

John Read however pushed on & together with all the crowd they rushed into the house, creating a great disturbance. Osborn endeavoured to explain to them that he had no power to give money then but no notice was taken of what I said except a constant cry of

Crowd “Money or Blood”.

Osborn was pushed up into a corner by the pressing mob and Elizabeth Henman then grabs his collar and shakes him

Elizabeth Henman “I’ll have some money or Blood before you go” (repeated many times)

Elizabeth Henman then removed some money from Osborne’s pocket

Mary Walker “I’ll have some money or Blood before you go”

Amelia Gulliver holds her fists in Osborn’s face and also uses threatening language. Osborn attempts to get away, but is prevented by the women.

The 4 Women “Money or Blood”.

Crowd “Money or Blood”
“we’ll have money or Blood before you go”

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For around an hour Osborn was detained while the noise and disturbance was constantly kept up. Finally the Constables of Lidlington arrived

John Ruffhead “I am one of the constables of Lidlington. About 3 o’clock on last Monday afternoon I went to Mr Bosworth’s the overseer ...[and] found the room full of people making a great Noise and Disturbance.”

John Ruffhead “ I saw James Osborn in a corner of the Room surrounded by the People. I got close up to him. I found John Read, Elizabeth Henman, Mary walker, Amelia Gulliver and Hannah Read nearest to him.”

John Ruffhead succeeded fairly quickly in getting Osborn into an Inner Room and with Kingston the other Constable they kept guard over the Door. Upwards of fifty or more remained in the Outer Room and continued to use threatening language and threats of violence.

Crowd “Blood or Money”
 “Neck him”.

Despite the fact that nothing was due until next Friday night and Osborn had not any authority to give any money, he did so in fear of his life. Mr Bosworth finds £3 16s and Osborn directs the people to come in one at a Time.

John Read is given 4s;
Robert Henman (the husband of Elizabeth Henman) 2s;
Mary Walker 3s
Michael Read (the husband of Hannah Read) 4s.
Money was also given to nearly all the others.

John Ruffhead “I believe if he had not given them money his life would have been in danger.”

Tuesday 12th May 1835 Millbrook

Hastily summoned special constables arrested 5 of the Lidlington ringleaders, however a mob at Millbrook freed them

James Osborn “I am relieving officer of the western District of the Union of Ampthill. – on Tuesday last I went to Millbrook which is in my District for the purpose of making Inquiry into the state of the Paupers and to endeavour to make arrangements for work for them.”

Osborn was proceeding according to the orders he had received from the Board of Guardians. The overseer Mr Fane was aware of the visit, and he arrived there about 5 o’clock. Arrangements had been made with Mr Swaffield for some work for the men. About 30 men were waiting together in the village.

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James Osborn “I suppose you are looking for me”

The men “Yes we want Relief”.

James Osborn “I have no relief to give in money but I have taken some land of Mr Swaffield to employ you on.”

The men “You must buy us some spades then”

James Osborn “I will not – I will go & show you the Field and if you have no other Employ you shall work upon it at such a Price as will enable you to live”.

After some further conversation

The men “We will not go to work in such a way. – we’ll have money before you leave”

James Osborn “I have not any – you must wait until Friday the same as usual.”

Nowing they had been relieved the previous Friday, Osborn endeavoured to pass on but was prevented by a man who took hold of my Pony’s Bridle

Man “You shall not go on til I have some money.”

By this time the Crowd had increased. Osborn reasoned with the man who eventually let go of the Pony. Osborn immediately turned to go to Mr Cardales but the men nearest Job Underwood seized the pony’s bridle. This caused Osborn to jump down and run in fear to Mr Cardale’s

The mob “Stop him” and hooting.

Mr Cardale then spoke to the mob and then he and two other Gentlemen went with Osborn to look for the Pony. The mob and Job Underwood in particular kept pressing so close as to push Osborn onto Mr Cardale. There was a great deal of shouting all the Time. – When they got to the end of the village the pony was gone, so they returned to Mr Cardales. The mob followed shouting and saying I should not leave the Town till I had relieved them.

Mr Cardale called forward three married men and explained that there was labour found for them & wages at the end of the week – They went back to the Mob apparently satisfied. – Three single men then did the same & apparently went back satisfied. About 7 o’clock Osborn endeavoured to go to the Public House where he had heard the Pony was.

As soon as they got out of Mr Cardales gate the mob surrounded them

The mob “You shall not go on til we are relieved.”

Suddenly 15 or 20 men rushed forward and threw Osborn down. He got up and was thrown down 3 or 4 Times. Mr George Cardale was also thrown down several Times.

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James Osborn “The Constable was with us – he attempted to protect us but could not. Among the number who pushed me down were Charles Cartwright, Josiah Wheeler & Job Underwood and Edward Underwood. – My coat was taken and my Hat knocked off”

On reaching Mr Fane, the overseer’s house, Osborn instructed the Constable

James Osborn “Tell Mr Fane to give them a shilling a piece”

The mob kept Osborn of which Job Underwood was most conspicuous until they went in one by one to receive a Shilling.

The mob “You will not go till we’ve had our shilling.”

Again Osborn recommended the overseer to give the money in fear of his life

Man “You shall not come into the Town again – we have an overseer of our own & we will not have any money of you.”
“If you come into the Town again you may expect to be murdered.”

The Mob (loud applause) “Damn him, no more of him – stay at home & look after your own Business.”

When many of them had received their money Osborn was able to get away. During all this time Charles Cartwright, Josiah Wheeler, Job Underwood & Edward Underwood and others were prominent.

Wednesday 13th May 1835

A special meeting of the Ampthill magistrates took place in which James Osborn outlined the events at Lidlington on Monday and Tuesday. Warrants were issued for the arrest of the individuals identified by James Osborn.

The magistrates decided to set in motion the swearing in of a great number of special constables under the provisions of the Special Constables Act of 1831. The High Constable delivered verbal summonses to various tradesmen of Ampthill, however only the three Ampthill Guardians, the two relieving officers of the Union and the Governor of the Workhouse attended.

Precepts appointing certain persons in Ampthill as Special constables was issued, also notices were sent to the various Parish constables to attend a meeting at the Kings Arms at 9 o’clock tomorrow. They were also authorised to summon individuals from their parish to attend the meeting and to be sworn in as Special Constables.

<u>Warrants to apprehend</u>	
<i>For a riot & assault on 11th May 1835</i>	
John Read	Lidlington
Elizabeth Henman	Lidlington
Mary Walker	Lidlington
Amelia Gulliver	Lidlington
Hannah Read	Lidlington
<i>For a riot & assault on 12th May 1835</i>	
Charles Cartwright	Millbrook
Job Underwood	Millbrook
Edward Underwood	Millbrook
Josiah Wheeler	Millbrook

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The constables of Liddington with the assistance of half a dozen constables from Ampthill took into custody the women and men who attacked James Osborn on Monday. They succeeded in apprehending only two of the women and on their journey to Ampthill were met by up to 200 ‘paupers’ armed with sticks and hoes, who threatened the constables. Fearing for their lives the constables allowed the women to escape.

Thursday 14th May 1835 Ampthill ‘Riot

The magistrates gathered at 9 o’clock and were no doubt disappointed to find only a few of those requested to attend had presented themselves. As a result they issued summonses for each individual to attend without delay, and these were delivered by the two High Constables for Redbornstoke (John Shaw & Charles Austin). During the day 96 people from the various parishes were finally sworn in, and in the evening Mr Joseph Morris’s bailiff and 36 of his labourers took the oath.

The Board of Guardians were meeting as usual at 11 o’clock in the House of Industry or workhouse in Park Street. Richard Sharp, the Governor was ordered to stand at the garden gate from where he witnessed a mob of 150 or so people heading towards him. Many of the men came armed with sticks and bludgeons and they were also accompanied by a great number of women and children from various villages.

Richard Sharp “I am Governor of the Ampthill Workhouse and am a Special Constable.

**Man at front
of mob** (calls out) “halt”.

Richard Sharp “What is your name, if you wish to see the Guardians I will let them know.”

Man at front of mob “Never mind my Name”.

Richard Sharp in trying to shut the gate is seized by the collar by Henry Read, and the mob surged forward into the garden.

Henry Read “Come on never mind him”

Richard Abbis “I am one of the Constables of Ampthill... There was I should think more than 200 People in the garden of the workhouse, besides many more outside. There was a very great riot noise and disturbance.

George Smith “I reside at Houghton Conquest. I am a Farmer there. I am one of the Guardians of the Ampthill Union... They appeared bent on mischief there was an elated feeling – Many of the Women were very violent – After a time Stones were thrown at the windows – one or two were broken & then

Before the magistrates could issue an order to retake the prisoners, a message was received from the Board of Guardians that they wished first to try to explain to the crowd gathering outside the House of Industry. They believed the ‘paupers’ appeared to misunderstand how the Poor Law was operated. Tempers however continued to rise and this culminated in a large number of stones and every conceivable missile that came to hand including cabbage-stalks.

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George Smith “I saw one man named Henry Read ... break the windows with a stick and there was such a smash Large Stones were thrown at the windows in all directions immediately –

George Smith “The stones put us all in great danger – large Pebbles were thrown in with great violence & made large impressions on the opposite wall. One stone was nearly hitting Mr Joseph Morris a most dangerous blow. I held a chair just before his head and the violence with which the Stone came hit the Chair so hard that my arm was shaken

It was estimated that around 142 panes of glass were broken and a wicker basket of stones were later collected from inside the House of Industry.

James Juffs “I am a Carpenter at Houghton conquest. I am a Special Constable. I was on duty at the Ampthill Workhouse

James Juffs “I saw the windows broken & blood in the Entry of the House. I saw Whiteman in the Crowd – I said “You had better go back” –

Whiteman “I cannot go back” – he was pushing towards the door

Juffs & Kingston were pulled out of the doorway by some of the mob who were trying to force their way into the house. Both Whiteman & Simpkins were forward in the Crowd and appeared to be pressing forward & not pushed on by any others. They were not otherwise particularly violent except that they were among the forwardest pushing forward to force into the house. Someone pulled Juffs from the door.

Elizabeth Chapman “Jem Juffs don’t you be against the Door”.

Robert Savage I am one of the Constables of Ampthill. They were very violent and outrageous in their manor – I was keeping the Door with Kingston another Constable – The mob tried to force in – they pulled us away from the Door. – Several stones were thrown at us – Then thrown at the windows – they were broken in. After that the Riot Act was read twice by Mr Henry Musgrave a magistrate. Many of the Guardians came to the Door.

Robert Savage “I saw James Waters of Ampthill strike at and hit Mr Joseph Morris. I saw Henry Read very forward it was he who assisted to pull me from the Door. – I saw two of the Underwood’s both trying to force their way in – James Sherwood and Thomas Roberts were also very forward and violent – I considered the Guardians were in great danger of their lives.

Robert Savage “I saw the prisoner Charles Cartwright already pushing up to the Door when the mob were trying to force into the house.

The mob were very violent in their manner, nearly all the windows of the house were broken. Inside the 16 or so Guardians were forced to shield themselves with their chairs from the flying glass.

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Richard Abbis “Several of the Guardians came out and addressed them. I did not hear what was said but it appeared as if they were trying to explain and quiet the People. Some of the People would not hear what was said.

After a time the Guardians came out and the mob rushed at them and struck at them. Richard Abbis was close up to the Guardians and was struck with a large stick by Henry Read. John Goodman & John Taylor were identified as trying to take Job Underwood away from Richard Abbis, who he had seized as he rushing at the Guardians. While they tried to release him Edward Underwood kicked Richard Abbis in the thigh.

Richard Abbis “I had seized his Brother to prevent his striking the Guardians who had come out. Mr Morris was then on the ground – he had been thrown or knocked down. When Edward Underwood kicked me I said to him “I know you – you kicked me” He turned away and I did not see him again – he said it was somebody else who kicked me – I saw his foot up when he kicked me.

George Smith “Some of the Guardians went out and spoke to them. The object was to pacify them and endeavour to explain to them the state of the law as to the Poor. Mr May and Mr Musgrave both addressed them – the mob generally refused to hear they endeavoured to confound what was said

Joseph Marsh Morris “I am one of the Guardians of the Ampthill Union. I was at the Workhouse at a meeting of the Guardians yesterday the 14th May. There was a great mob outside – their conduct was very violent and riotous. I stood near Mr Charles May the Vice Chairman when he was addressing the mob out of Doors. – He tried to reason with them. It appeared to me they did not wish to hear anything but were bent upon mischief.

Joseph Marsh Morris “The windows were broken in by large stones – ... I first saw to the invalid paupers of the house being moved out of the way. After a time we went out of the Door – The mob rushed at us – I particularly noticed Henry Read, James Sherwood and James Waters, John Taylor was brandishing a stick at us as we came out. He was one of the Ringleaders all the while Waters came up to Mr Joseph Morris with his fists up & Mr Morris knocked him down with his umbrella. Mr Bennett the Duke of Bedford’s Steward was struck on the head by a stone and there was a general uproar. I saw Henry Roberts throw a stone at the window before we left the house and so did James Sherwood. John Taylor come up with a stick brandishing it. – He was brandishing it over Mr Joseph Morris. I saw Read very conspicuous urging the men on

Joseph Marsh Morris “The Prisoner Henry Roberts is the man I saw throw the stones

The Guardians tried unsuccessfully to calm the situation

The mob “Knock them down, break their heads”
“Blood and Bread”
“No Bread”.

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Henry Musgrave Musgrave “I am a Magistrate of the County, I am a member of the Board of Guardians of the Ampthill Union. I saw the Riot and disturbance ... While I was speaking to the People and endeavouring to quiet them I saw Henry Read elbowing his way through the crowd and crying out...

Henry Read “Oh you damned villain we’ll not hear you”.

Henry Musgrave Musgrave “I saw Read strike at Joseph Morris. I thought Mr Morris would have fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the mob. I considered Read the Ringleader of the mob.”

At 1.25pm Henry M Musgrave stood in the garden and read the riot act outside the House of Industry. All the time the crowd acted in a most intimidating manner.

Henry Musgrave Musgrave “I read the Riot Act twice and explained the meaning of it and the consequences to anyone who remained afterwards.

Henry Musgrave Musgrave “OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING chargeth and commandeth all persons being assembled immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business upon the pains contained in the act made in the first year of King George for preventing tumultuous and riotous assemblies. GOD SAVE THE KING”

Mr Overman seized Henry Read from the crowd, and Chapman set about exciting the People to come forward and rescue him

Chapman “Why don’t they come on”
“Why don’t they come on & help Henry Read”.

The mob “Knock them down – down with him – down with him”
“Blood or Work or Blood and Money”.

Daniel Adey, the assistant poor law commissioner went into the crowd and proceeded to talk to as many of the adults as possible. He concluded that all they wanted was to be able to work and to be paid with money and not receive relief in the form of bread.

At around 1.30pm the Guardians proceeded to the Kings Arms inn followed all the way by the mob shouting threats all the way, and reported to the local magistrates who were meeting in the upper room. The mob followed and assembled below the windows and on the Market Square where a fight broke out between the special constables and the mob. As soon as a ringleader was apprehended the mob surged forward and secured their release. The High Constable Shaw and many others were knocked down and abused by the mob.

A notice was stuck up stating the time when the riot act was read, and the consequences of remaining one hour afterwards. Namely being guilty of a felony which could lead to the death sentence.

Richard Abbis “I did not see that the Special Constables who were there gave much help. The Riot was very desperate.”

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The magistrates and Guardians concluded that the local constables were unable to cope with the situation and Daniel Adey, the assistant poor law commissioner, proceeded to London to inform the board of commissioners and procure assistance from the government. By 5 pm it was decided to take matters further and Mr Greene, the auditor of the Union was dispatched to London to request a body of Metropolitan policemen.

Eleven of the summonsed individuals were fined for refusing to take the oath as Special Constables and those who had failed to attend as requested were required to present themselves on Tuesday at 9 o'clock. Yet more summonses were issued for the appointment of further Special Constables and by 7pm the magistrates had adjourned as the mob had dispersed.

This was the most concentrated outbreak of the period, but it must be seen against the whole background of poverty, unrest, strikes, violence and arson, and general hopelessness of overpopulation and under-employment.

Richard Abbis

“I saw the Prisoner William Haynes of Houghton push about in the crowd at the time the Riot was going on.” “I saw the Prisoner Charles Cartwright in the mob both before and after Riot [^] Act [^] was read. I saw him there before the Guardians spoke and after they rushed out when the windows were broken. He was very active among them.”

142 panes of glass were broken. Most of the pebbles are as big as a fist. Some of the stones were thrown with such force as to go thro' the windows on the opposite side. Large dents are made in the opposite walls. I think the stones were first thrown at the windows of the Room where the Guardians were.

Friday 15th May 1835 Ampthill magistrates hear evidence

In consequence of the riot yesterday the magistrates set about swearing in a further 150 local men to act as special constables. However by 10 o'clock Inspector Sandrock of 'A' Division Metropolitan Police, together with 2 sergeants and 18 men had arrived in response to the request from the magistrates and guardians. After meeting the magistrates the Metropolitan policemen together with Henry H Musgrave and a number of special constables set off on horseback to find the ringleaders.

Between 4 and 5pm they returned with 9 of the suspects in custody, including 4 women from Lidlington. The magistrates soon after proceeded to hear evidence against these individuals.

First to the bar were four of the Lidlington women – Mary Walker, Amelia Gulliver, Hannah Reed & Elizabeth who were charged with riotously and tumultuously assembling at Lidlington. Statements were heard from James Osborn & Kingston, after which the four women were fully committed to trial.

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Defence

- Elizabeth Henman*** “Osborn said I might have anything out of his pocket except his knife – I did not threaten Osborn. I had nothing at home and I asked for victuals or money.”
- Amelia Gulliver*** “I did not go for money. I had two children. I wanted Bread I did not go for money.”
- Mary Walker*** “On Monday I went to the overseers for a Bit of Bread. They would not give me any. I said I would as soon see my blood run as see my children starve.”
- Hannah Read*** “I said to Osborn – “We’ll have money or we’ll loose our blood”. I never offered to touch him.”

Next John Taylor, Henry Read & James Waters were but before the bar and charged with riotous assembly with force of arms. Evidence from Joseph Morris, Robert Savage, H Musgrave, Richard Abbis & Rufus Sharp were heard

- Henry Read*** “several Things have been said against me that are false. I picked up a stick in front of the house. A man took it out of my hand when Mr Overman had hold of my collar when the Guardians rushed out of the house. I went home directly afterwards. Mr Overman wished me to do so and I did. I never went near the Town again.”
- James Waters*** “I should have gone but the mob made me. I don’t know that I struck at Mr Morris – I was shoved and I put out my hand to save myself.”
- John Taylor*** “I am very innocent. I never threw a stone I never struck anybody. I was drawn into this. I was fetched off the ground - I know I went after to Mr Falders [?] and told his men they should go. I also went to Mr [?] Croculty [?] yard at Boughton End & told the men they should go with us – I went to Mr Batchelors but did not say anything to the men there. Henry Solebury Michael Read and John Read, William Bryant John Burgoyne Thomas Harrison & a great many others came to us & said we should go with them. They said the Constables were coming to take them and we should go to assist them. I said I shouldn’t go. They said I must – “you wont see your fellow creatures taken to Prison” John Burgoyne was one who then laid hold of my collar Joseph Watts did the same. They led me out of the yard. I receive 10/- a week. I have worked for Mr Checkley these nine years.”

Finally John Burgoyne & William Letting were charged with Feloniously and riotously continuing together for an hour after the Riot Act was read. On the evidence of John Shaw & Mr Cook they were committed for trial. At 8 o’clock the magistrates halted the examination of the evidence.

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Saturday 16th May 1835 Ampthill magistrates hear evidence

With the police presence the trouble died down, but as a precaution, four troops of Yeomanry were called out and moved to Luton, but they played no role

Charles Cartright, William Haines, John Goodman, Thomas Roberts, William Whiteman, Edmund Simpkins & Elizabeth Chapman were taken into custody by the policemen and Josiah Wheeler & Job Underwood were charged but allowed bail.

Defence

Charles Cartwright “I have nothing to say – I did not push up to the Door”

John Goodman. “I never offered to meddle with nobody. I was shoved up against Abbis – as soon as Abbis caught hold of me I went away quietly.”

Thomas Roberts. “I stood back all the while I had my hands in my pocket I never came down into Ampthill Town.”

William Whiteman “the Constable said to me If you wish yourself well go away – and I went away directly – this was after the windows were broken. I did not hear the Riot Act read.”

Edmund Simpkins “When the piece of work was said I had no business there I tried to prevent a man throwing a Stone I said to him “That will neither fill your Belly or clothe your back” – I said “Somebody will have to answer for this who don’t do nothing”

Elizabeth Chapman “I was told my son was there and I went to get him away. – I don’t remember I called on the People to rescue Henry Read If I did say it I don’t know”

Also John Seabrook & James Sinfield were entered into Recognisance to keep the Peace for 12 calendar months

Sunday 17th May 1835

Having restored order and instilled a certain amount of fear into the local population the Inspector and thirteen of his men returned to London. They left behind a Sergeant and six men.

Monday 18th May 1835 Additional evidence heard

Henry Battams, Richard Warner and John Boxford were charged with Feloniously and riotously continuing together for an hour after the Riot Act was read and committed for trial. Further evidence against Henry Roberts was heard.

Defence

Henry Roberts “I was not there – as soon as they began to Riot.”

Thursday 21st May

The Board of Guardians sent a request to the magistrates to retain part of the Metropolitan Police force. As they felt that there was still a considerable amount of excitement locally and that the principal offenders still required to be apprehended. They wished the magistrates to obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State to permit four of the metropolitan police to remain for another fortnight. They feared a repetition of the earlier violence and attempts to impede the successful operation of the new Poor Law.

Friday 22nd May

Three more of the Metropolitan Police return to London leaving a Sergeant and three men. John Taylor was liberated on bail

Saturday 23rd May 1835 George Cardale J.P. heard additional evidence

Evidence against Edward Underwood was heard in the presence of George Cardale and he was committed for trial.

Defence

Edward Underwood “I never tried to get to the Door except as the Mob were pushing one among another –I never offered to kick no man wilfully – I never wished to meddle with no man. When they were breaking the windows I wished them to stop & hear how things were settled before they did so but they kept on – I went away as soon as the Riot Act was read – I knew it was the Riot Act because Mr Musgrave said it was – he said too if anyone remained an hour they would be punished – I went away directly – I saw a fellor kick Abbis at the time he said he saw me kicking him.”

Thursday 28th May 1835

Two respectable local men and the husbands of three of the Lidlington women enter into recognisance for their appearance at their trial. However Mary Walker’s husband James is deemed to be of “imbecile mind” and is not required to enter recognisance. As a result Hannah Read, Elizabeth Henman and Mary Walker were released on bail.

Thursday 4th June 1835

Mr Sear of Westoning, a respectable farmer was charged at Ampthill Petty Sessions of inciting a number of paupers to commit a riot, with the view of obstructing the execution of an act of Parliament.

On Friday 22nd May, Mr Furze the relieving officer had picked out twelve men at Westoning to dig some land and ordered the surplus labourers to meet him at the church. On seeing the group Mr Sear approached them and told them they would be fools if they took bread for their labour. He was bound over under his own recognisance for £20.

Also the magistrates saw more of the men who had refused to act as Special Constables, all were fined £2. Also Edward Underwood and James Waters were released on bail to attend trial at Quarter Sessions.

The remaining sergeant and three policemen were called before the bench and thanked by the chairman Revd. J Cardale who wished to express the high opinion they entertained of the conduct of the police in the performance of their duty here.

Friday 5th June 1835

The final four policemen departed for London

13th June 1835 **Quarter Sessions at Bedford tried the ‘rioters’**

Henry Read, Charles Cartwright, Edward Underwood, Henry Battams, John Taylor & James Waters, John Goodman, William Haines, Henry Roberts, Thomas Roberts & William Whiteman, Edmund Simpkins, Elizabeth Chapman, Amelia Gulliver & Hannah Read, Elizabeth Henman

18th June 1835

Henry Roberts was charged at Petty Sessions for rioting at Ampthill and bailed to appear at trial. Yet more fines were levied against those who failed to be sworn in as Special Constables

9th July 1835

Two more individuals were fined at Petty Sessions for refusing to act as Special Constables. Also the bills for policing the riots by the local and special constables were presented. This amounted to £36 3s 21d

24th September 1835

At Petty Sessions James Osborn brought evidence against John Read for a riot at Lidlington. He was committed for trial at Quarter Sessions. Also Philip Ashwell was committed for *Feloniously and riotously continuing together for an hour after the Riot Act was read.*

20th October 1835 **John Read & Mary Walker tried at Quarter Sessions**

Defence

John Read “I do not wish to say anything in my defence”

According to Henry Musgrave “many that were there were in employment; that they went there for what is generally termed a lark, or any disturbance; in fact they would have done any thing; I know that many of those that were there were some of the worst fellows in the county.”

Charles May – Vice Chairman of Ampthill Union reported that following the passing of the Act, labourers were more willing to work and tried hard to keep their jobs once procured. By providing bread instead of money labourers were willing to travel further in search of work, in the past the provision of money failed to stir them beyond the village. Further vindications of the success of the law were the complaints from beer shopkeepers who complained of a falling-off of trade.

Many labourers found they were better off migrating north in search of better prospects. Revd James Beard rector of Cranfield, J.P. & Ampthill Union Guardian actively arranged for over 16 families to migrate north where the prospects were much greater as was their standard of living. A typical example was Thomas Clarke whose family income was 9s 6d at Cranfield but now in Derbyshire it has risen to 19s 6d.

January 1838

Early in January 1838 another Poor Law disturbance occurred in Ampthill when another large mob gathered which generated much disturbing language but no reported violence. On a cold frosty Wednesday a large body of labourers assembled on the market place. They marched as a body to the (new) Workhouse and demanded admittance. Admittance was however refused as they were required to first present themselves to the Board of Guardians so that their case could be investigated and they descended on the town wielding sticks. Eventually after numerous respectable individuals went amongst them they dissipated without causing any reported damage.

In response to petitions Henry Musgrave wrote to the Home Secretary stating that the residents were in fear of their lives and the parish constables were completely ineffective yet again. In consequence two policemen arrived later in the week from London and spent about 5 or 6 days showing their presence in the various parishes at a cost of £10. However the ‘mob’ had noisily made their way home before nightfall on the first day!

Background Notes

Parish Constables

The local justices recognised that parish constables were inadequately paid and as a result the best qualified to undertake this office were unwilling to take it on. Also their exact duties were not clearly defined and co-operation between parish constables was unsatisfactory.

Policing

The Metropolitan Police Act was passed in 1829 and introduced the first professional police force for the capital and the country. In 1832 Sir Robert Peel, the father of the Metropolitan Police, tried unsuccessfully to persuade the government to allow other towns to establish professional police forces. Two Acts¹ in the mid 1830s enabled Luton and Bedford to establish constabularies, but the remainder of the county was excluded. Finally in 1839 the County Police Act was passed and in January 1840 it was agreed in Bedfordshire to appoint a chief constable (£250 p.a.), six superintendants (£75 p.a.), and 40 constables (10s a week). The first chief constable was Edward Moore Boulton and he was required to live at Ampthill.

Lidlington has had a chequered history as regards law and order – in 1809 some Bow Street runners were dispatched from London to investigate the savage murder of James Crick and his housekeeper Rebecca Read. The local constable unfortunately arrested the wrong man after running up a bill of £8 19s 10d. The Bow Street runners were called in and spent much time rushing around consuming ale, but they too failed to find the culprit.

¹ 1833 Lighting & Watching Act enabled Luton to take some action and the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act enabled the Bedford Corporation to establish a force.

“Money or Blood”: The 1835 Ampthill Poor Law Riots

Ampthill Union

Ampthill Union was formed on 16th April 1835 consisting of 19 parishes, with a population of 14,357 covering an area of 42,592 acres. The average expenditure upon the poor within the 19 parishes over the period 1832-4 was £14,602 or approximately 20s 4d per head of population within the Union parishes. However following the introduction of the new poor law the average expenditure 1835-8 was only £8,874. It was argued by the local Poor Law Commissioner that this reduction in the rates by £5,728 enabled farmers (the major rate payers) to employ more labourers.

<u>Ampthill Parish Rates</u>	
<i>Under the old Poor Law</i>	
1832	1003
1833	1036
1834	1067
<i>Under the new Poor Law</i>	
1834/5	968
1835/6	603
1836/7	442

In December 1833 the number of persons receiving parochial relief was 544 aged and infirm and 1021 able bodied. For the able-bodied they received relief in a variety of forms, the most popular being the making up of wages for every day out of employment, also money to support their children. Every parish operated its own individual system and all were open to abuse.

Christmas 1836 558 aged & infirm were receiving relief of which 36 were in the workhouse. There was also a further 25 able bodied receiving relief. The principle of refusing relief to able bodied except in the workhouse adopted throughout the Union fairly quickly. Assistant Poor Law Commissioner Adey claimed as a result more men obtained employment than ever before “Now [you] never see them idling about, whereas formerly they were constantly idling about for months together”

After the introduction of the Union relief was gradually reduced as individual cases were investigated. This was done so “That they might be prepared: that they might be more provident and more industrious.” (Henry Musgrave). By mid June relief was had been removed from 13 out of 35 who were still receiving relief. Under the new system, when able-bodied labourers apply for relief to the Board of Guardians, they are first put on an application list by the local relieving officers and then invited to present their case to the Board and enquiries are made. If they decide he is an able-bodied man with no sickness in the family he is informed he can only have help by entering the workhouse. Not surprisingly within the first four years of the workhouse, the number of applications by able-bodied labourers in employment decreased.

<i>1833 average wages</i>	
Common husbandry labourer	9s a week
Agricultural labourer	6-7s a week
<i>1837/8 average wages</i>	
Agricultural workers	
Day labourers	9s a week
Labourers (work Sunday)	10s a week
Task men	11s a week
Typical working day 6am to 6pm	

A week after the Ampthill riots the Board of Guardians resolved to build a new workhouse for 400 people. By the beginning of June they had been offered 2 acres of land by Evan Jones and on the 25th June they accepted the plans submitted by Mr Clephane of Wrest Park, with some modifications. A month later the tenders for building the new workhouse were received and that of James Woodcroft accepted (£5,553 + £60 for concrete foundations). 1835 When the new workhouse was completed in February 1836 all relief was withdrawn from the able-bodied and instead they were offered the workhouse. In the period from the introduction of the Union and construction of the new workhouse applicants for relief were paid half in kind and half in money. The Governor of the House of Industry was appointed in July 1835 to be the Governor of the new workhouse, his wife Marion was appointed as Matron.

Appendix 1

The ‘Rioters’

Indictable – Capital charges tried at the Assize Court

<u>Name</u>		<u>Read or write</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Punishment</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Ashwell Philip (37 of Lidlington)	Height: 5’ 5” Complexion: fresh Hair colour: L brown Eyes: hazel Features:	R	Feloniously and riotously continuing together for an hour after the Riot Act was read (Ampthill)	2 years hard labour at Old House of Correction - commuted from Death Sentence	DR* Lent Assize – died 19 th Jan 1837 (“orderly”)
Boxford John (22 of Eversholt)	Height: 5’ 8” Complexion: fresh Hair colour: brown Eyes: grey Features: lost top of little finger on left hand	N	Feloniously and riotously continuing together for an hour after the Riot Act was read (Ampthill)	2 years hard labour at New House of Correction - commuted from Death Sentence	DR* Summer Assize 1835
Burgoyne John (50 of Lidlington)	Height: 5’ 7½” Complexion: brown Hair colour: brown Eyes: grey Features: large scar on the little finger on left hand	N	Feloniously and riotously continuing together for an hour after the Riot Act was read (Ampthill)	2 years hard labour at New House of Correction	DR*
Letting William (32 of Millbrook)	Height: 5’ 3” Complexion: fresh Hair colour: brown Eyes: hazel Features:		Feloniously and riotously continuing together for an hour after the Riot Act was read (Ampthill)	2 years hard labour at New House of Correction	DR* Summer Assize
Warner Richard (43 of Steppingley)	Height: 5’ 2½” Complexion: fresh Hair colour: brown Eyes: grey Features:	N	Feloniously and riotously continuing together for an hour after the Riot Act was read (Ampthill)	Acquitted & released by court on July 20 th 1835	On bail 1 st June 1835 (“very orderly”)

* DR – Death Recorded. Where capital punishment was the legal penalty for a crime (except murder), it became practise in the 1830s for the judge to record the sentence by writing “death recorded”. By a recommendation of mercy the sentence would be commuted to transportation or imprisonment.

Appendix 2

Indictable – non Capital charges tried at Quarter Sessions

<u>Name</u>		<u>Read or write</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Punishment</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Battams Henry (27 of Steppingley) LABOURER	Height: 5' 4" Complexion: florid Hair colour: brown Eyes: hazel Features:	N	Riot & Conspiracy (Amphill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 9 months hard labour in the New House of Correction followed by £20 personal recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year	
Cartright Charles (30 of Millbrook) LABOURER	Height: 5' 8½" Complexion: brown Hair colour: brown Eyes: Features:		Riot & Conspiracy (2 indictments) (Millbrook & Amphill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 9 months hard labour for the first offence & a further 6 months for the second offence at Bedford Old House of Correction followed by £20 personal recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year	Has been imprisoned several times before
Chapman Elizabeth (of Houghton) WIDOW			Riot & Conspiracy (Amphill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 3 months hard labour in the Old House of Correction	
Goodman John (27 of Millbrook) LABOURER	Height: 5' 5½" Complexion: sandy Hair colour: sandy Eyes: light hazel Features: small nose	R	Riot & Conspiracy (Amphill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 6 months hard labour in the New House of Correction followed by £20 personal recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year	Discharged 30 th December having entered into recognisance for 1 year ("orderly")
Gulliver Amelia (41 of Liddington) Wife of Edward Gulliver, Labourer	Height: 5' 3" Complexion: fresh Hair colour: brown Eyes: hazel Features:		Riot & Conspiracy (Liddington)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 3 months hard labour in the Old House of Correction	Discharged 30 th September 1835 ("very well behaved")
Haynes William (53 of Houghton) LABOURER	Height: 5' 2" Complexion: dark Hair colour: brown Eyes: light hazel Features:	R	Riot & Conspiracy (Amphill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 6 months hard labour in the New House of Correction followed by £20 personal recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year	Discharged 30 th December having entered into recognisance for 1 year ("good")
Henman Elizabeth (21 of Liddington) Wife of Robert Henman, Labourer	Height: 5' 3" Complexion: fair Hair colour: light Eyes: grey Features:		Riot & Conspiracy (Liddington)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 3 months hard labour in the New House of Correction	On bail 29 th May 1835
Read Hannah (37 of Liddington) wife of Michael Read, Labourer	Height: 5' 2" Complexion: pale Hair colour: light Eyes: grey Features:		Riot & Conspiracy (Liddington)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 3 months hard labour in the Old House of Correction	Discharged 30 th September 1835 ("very well behaved")

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Read Henry (42 of Ampthill) LABOURER	Height: 5' 7" Complexion: sallow Hair colour: 1 brown Eyes: grey Features: letters H R on left arm		Riot & Conspiracy (Ampthill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 1 years hard labour at Bedford New House of Correction followed by £20 personal recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year	
Read John (40 of Liddlington) LABOURER	Height: 5' 5" Complexion: dark Hair colour: dark Eyes: hazel Features:	R	Riot & Conspiracy (Liddlington)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 3 months hard labour in the New House of Correction	Discharged Michaelmus sessions 1835 ("very orderly")
Read John			Riot & Conspiracy	<i>QS 20th October 1835</i> 6 months hard labour in New House of Correction also he got 1 year HL @ NHC + £20 recog?	
Roberts Henry (27 of Millbrook) LABOURER	Height: 5' 2" Complexion: sandy Hair colour: sandy Eyes: grey Features: scar under right eye	R	Riot & Conspiracy (Ampthill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 6 months hard labour in the New House of Correction followed by £20 personal recognisance	Discharged 30 th December having entered into recognisance for 1 year ("good")
Roberts Thomas (21 of Millbrook) LABOURER	Height: 5' 2" Complexion: sandy Hair colour: sandy Eyes: hazel Features: eye dark on the right	R	Riot & Conspiracy (Ampthill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 6 months hard labour in the New House of Correction followed by £20 personal recognisance	Discharged 30 th December having entered into recognisance for 1 year ("good")
Simpkins Edmund (25 of Houghton) LABOURER	Height: 5' 6" Complexion: fresh Hair colour: brown Eyes: Features:	N	Riot & Conspiracy (Ampthill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 6 months hard labour in the New House of Correction followed by £20 personal recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year	On bail 2 nd June 1835 – imprisoned several times before
Taylor John (35 of Liddlington) LABOURER	Height: 5' 5" Complexion: brown Hair colour: brown Eyes: hazel Features: round face		Riot & Conspiracy (Ampthill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 9 months hard labour in the New House of Correction followed by £20 personal recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year	On bail 22 nd May 1835
Underwood Edward (28 of Millbrook) LABOURER	Height: 5' 7" Complexion: fair Hair colour: light Eyes: grey Features:	N	Riot & Conspiracy (several indictments) (Millbrook & Ampthill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 9 months hard labour for first offence & 6 months hard labour for the second offence at the New House of Correction, followed by £20 personal recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year	On bail 4 th June 1835
Walker Mary (31-34 of Liddlington) wife of James Walker, Labourer	Height: 5' 4" Complexion: pale Hair colour: brown Eyes: grey Features:		Riot & Conspiracy (Liddlington)	<i>QS 20th October 1835</i> 3 months hard labour in the New Goal	Discharged 30 th September 1835 ("very well behaved")

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Waters James (63 of Ampthill) LABOURER	Height: 5' 4" Complexion: fresh Hair colour: brown Eyes: grey Features: left shoulder out	N	Riot & Conspiracy (Ampthill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 9 months hard labour in the New House of Correction followed by £20 personal recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year	On bail 4 th June 1835
Whiteman William (24 of Houghton) LABOURER	Height: 5' 9" Complexion: sandy Hair colour: sandy Eyes: light hazel Features:	N	Riot & Conspiracy (Ampthill)	<i>QS 30th June 1835</i> 6 months hard labour in the New House of Correction followed by £20 personal recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year	Discharged 30 th December having entered into recognisance for 1 year ("orderly")

Ampthill Petty Sessions

Seabrook John (of Houghton)	Entered into Recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year by Ampthill Petty sessions
Sinfield James (of Lidlington)	Entered into Recognisance to keep the peace for 1 year by Ampthill Petty sessions

Appendix 3

Proclamation from

THE RIOT ACT

Geo I, 1714. When twelve or more people “unlawfully and riotously assembled together” disturb the public peace, the following proclamation shall be read:-

“OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING chargeth and commandeth all persons being assembled immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business upon the pains contained in the act made in the first year of King George for preventing tumultuous and riotous assemblies. GOD SAVE THE KING”

“Money or Blood”: The 1835 Ampthill Poor Law Riots

Appendix 4

To the Guardians of the Poor of the AMPTHILL UNION, in the county of *Bedford*; to the Clerks or Clerks to the Justices of Petty Sessions, held for the division or divisions of the said County in which the parishes and places comprised in the said Union are situate; and to all others whom it may concern.

WE, the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales, in pursuance of the provisions of an Act passed in the fourth and fifth years of the reign of his present Majesty King William the Fourth, intituled, “An Act for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales,” do hereby order and direct that the paupers of the respective classes and sexes described in the schedule hereunto annexed, who may now or hereafter be received and maintained in the workhouse or workhouses of the Ampthill Union, shall, during the period of their residence therein, be fed, dieted and maintained with the food and in the manner described and set forth in the said schedule, any thing in any former order to the contrary notwithstanding.

And we do hereby further order and direct, that every master of the workhouse or workhouses of the said union shall cause two or more copies of this our order and of the said schedule, printed in a legible manner and in a large type, to be hung up in the most public places of such workhouse or workhouses, and to renew the same from time to time, so that it be always kept fair and legible, on pain of incurring, in case of disobedience, the penalties provided by the aforesaid Act.

Given under our hands and seal, this 22nd day of January, in the year 1836.

T. Frankland Lewis.
J.G. S. Lefevre
Geo. Nicholls

DIETARY FOR ABLE-BODIED MEN AND WOMEN

	BREAKFAST		DINNER					SUPPER		
	Bread oz.	Gruel pints	Bread oz.	Meat oz.	Potatoes lb.	Soup pints	Pudding oz.	Bread oz.	Cheese oz.	Broth pints
Sunday	4	1½	4	4	1	-	-	4	-	1½
Monday	4	1½	4	-	-	1½ *	-	6	1	-
Tuesday	4	1½	4	4	1	-	-	4	-	1½
Wednesday	4	1½	4	-	-	1½	-	6	1	-
Thursday	4	1½	4	4	1	-	-	4	-	1½
Friday	4	1½	-	-	-	-	14	6	1	-
Saturday	4	1½	4	-	-	1½	-	6	1	-

* Recipe for the Soup:- 14 gallons of water, 2 quarts of peas, ½ bushel of potatoes, 5 lbs of flour, 18lbs of beef.

PER WEEK

Bread	5 lb 8 oz	Cheese	4 oz
Meat	12 oz	Gruel	10½ pints
Soup	2 pots 1 pint	Cheese	4½ pints

Old people of 60 years of age and upwards may be allowed 1 oz of tea, 7 oz of sugar per week, in lieu of gruel for breakfast, if deemed expedient to make this change.

Children under nine years of age to be dieted at discretion; above nine, to be allowed the same quantities as the able-bodied

Sick to be dieted as directed by the medical officer.

“Money or Blood”: The 1835 Ampthill Poor Law Riots

Appendix 5

Ampthill Union

Parish	Population in 1831	Expenditure on poor average for years 1831-34 £	Number of elected Guardians
1 Ampthill	1,688	1,035	3
2 Cranfield	1,260	1,440	2
3 Flitwick	636	604	1
4 Houghton Conquest	796	1,008	1
5 Lidlington	814	1,268	1
6 Marston-Moretaine	1,007	2,082	2
7 Maulden	1,231	702	2
8 Millbrook	602	488	1
9 Steppingley	348	405	1
10 Clophill	978	540	1
11 Flitton	458	540	1
12 Upper Gravenhurst	318	255	1
13 Lower Gravenhurst	77	68	1
14 Hawnes	847	703	1
15 Higham Gobion	108	143	1
16 Pulloxhill	529	823	1
17 Silsoe	726	411	1
18 Westoning	627	1,106	1
19 Shitlington (2 pts of & Lower Stondon	1,307	981	2
	14,357	14,602	25

Declared to take place from and after 10 April 1835

Costs of Union Workhouse Salaries

Chaplain	£40
Ampthill District Medical Officer	£110
Cranfield District Medical Officer	£30
Clophill District Medical Officer	£55
Clerk & Master (& his Wife)	£120
Relieving Officer	£170
Porter	£20
Nurse	3s 6d a week plus maintenance
Schoolmaster	10s 6d a week plus maintenance
Schoolmistress	8s a week plus maintenance

Appendix 6

Relief under the Poor Laws

Ordered by Poor Law Commissioners

Firstly. No relief shall be given in money (except in cases of sickness or accident) to any able-bodied male pauper who is in employment (the same not being parish work) and in receipt of earnings; nor to any part of his family who shall be dependant upon him, or for whose relief and maintenance he shall be liable.

Secondly. If any able-bodied male pauper shall apply to be set to work by the parish, one half at least of the relief which may be afforded to him or to his family shall be in kind.

Thirdly. One half at least of the relief may be afforded to widows or single women, not being aged or infirm shall be in kind.

Fourthly. No relief shall be given to able-bodied male paupers by payment or payments, of, for or on account of the rent for his house or lodging, or for the house or lodging of any part of his family who shall be dependant upon him, and for whose relief and maintenance he shall be liable, or by allowance towards such rent.

Fifthly. Except in case of accident, sickness, or other urgent necessity, no relief shall be afforded from the poor-rates of any parish or place comprised of the said union to any pauper between the ages of sixteen and sixty, belonging to any such parish or place comprised in said union, who shall not be resident therein; Provided always that this regulation shall not extend to any persons not being able-bodied male pauper between the ages of sixteen and sixty, who shall, on the day herein appointed for the first meeting of the guardians, be in receipt of relief from any parish or place comprised in the said union, although not resident in such parish or place and although such person shall continue a non-resident: but in every such case due inquiry shall be made as to the propriety of such relief being continued.