Abstract

'Saved From a Life of Vice and Crime':
Reformatory and Industrial Schools for Girls, c.1854-c.1901.

Michelle Cale
Balliol College

Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil
Hilary Term, 1993

Reformatory and industrial schools were semi-penal Victorian institutions designed, firstly, to reclaim juveniles from a nascent criminal career and, secondly, to prevent neglected children from slipping into criminality. Most existing studies of these schools have been principally concerned with the campaigning philanthropists, such as Mary Carpenter, central government activity, and institutions for boys. This thesis utilises hitherto unused archival sources relating to individual institutions for girls in order to look at various aspects of reformatory life from the perspective of those by whom it was daily experienced. In addition to a consideration of the lives of the inmates, there are discussions of the motivations of the voluntary managers and the pay and conditions of the staff. A data base of industrial school cases from the Children's Society is analysed, in conjunction with other committal records, to ascertain which children were most likely to find themselves incarcerated. The importance of the respectability of a child's mother is particularly highlighted. The role of sexuality is discussed, in relation to attitudes towards girl delinquents, the selection of girls for committal, and the prevention of immorality within the schools. The internal disciplinary regime is considered in two chapters, the first concentrating on the forms of punishment and reward common throughout the reformatory system; and the second on the kinds of outburst and disturbance which contemporaries labelled hysterical, but which could be interpreted as calculated resistance to authority. Special attention is paid to the issue of corporal punishment. The socialising education in feminine, domestic skills which was provided in these institutions is the subject of a further chapter. Finally, the destinations of the 'reformed' girls on release is analysed, again using the Children's Society cases. The little which is known of their adult lives and various tokens of 'success' or 'failure' are delineated in an attempt to assess whether the schools accomplished their numerous aims.

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In the historiography of juvenile delinquency and the reformatory movement during the nineteenth-century, girls have been treated as marginal figures. In fact, the experiences of girl delinquents have been subsumed within those of boys, to such an extent, that little has been written which has even taken full account of their existence. At least one historian has argued that female delinquents, or 'street-children', were too uncommon in the Victorian period to merit discussion. This is unfounded. Fewer girls than boys did, indeed, come before the courts for sentencing, but there is no doubt that wayward, unprotected, and independent adolescent girls were believed to constitute a real social problem. Historians interested in juvenile delinquency have overlooked girls because to discover the Victorian attitude toward the female juvenile delinquent it is necessary to turn to the literature on prostitution instead of that on juvenile delinquency.

In chapter two, therefore, the girl delinquent is considered as a part of the wider contemporary discourse on prostitution. The figure of the girl prostitute, or 'outraged child' as Ellice Hopkins, the social purity campaigner preferred to style her, became increasingly important as a symbol of the vulnerability of females to male exploitation. Miss Hopkins' most significant contribution to the growth of the industrial school system was her promotion of the bill which was to become the Industrial Schools Amendment Act of 1880. While this piece of legislation applied to both boys and girls, it is clear from the rhetoric of the campaigners that it was primarily intended to allow for the removal of young girls from brothels. As such, it was a precursor to the age of consent legislation, and an important result of the social purity movement.

Chapter three turns to the reasons for which girls were committed to reformatories and industrial schools. Those sent to a reformatory had been convicted of some criminal offence, but there are hints among the archives that their convictions were sometimes little more than formal contrivances. For instance, James Legge, one of the government's reformatory inspectors, suspected that many girls were brought before magistrates on trivial charges principally because their accusers feared they would eventually become prostitutes. This theme is more explicit in committals to industrial schools. In these cases, there were two major contributing factors: the respectability of the mother, and any evidence that the girl was likely to indulge in 'immorality' if

left outside the institution. Using cases committed to schools belonging to the Waifs & Strays Society, in conjunction with the admission records of various other schools, it is possible to argue that girls would be likely to be committed if their mothers were unmarried, deserted, or widowed, if they were believed to be prostitutes, or if their homes were thought to be generally 'immoral'. This seems not to have been the case for boys. Significantly, lone mothers did not always have any other fault laid against them. Simply being without a husband was enough. In terms of the behaviour of the girls themselves, many were committed to industrial schools for 'offences' which were to a great extent defined in sexual terms, such as vagrancy and being uncontrollable. The sexual precocity of these children was constantly highlighted.

Paradoxically, though the records show a high level of official interest in the morality or otherwise of children selected for committal, the schools were extremely unwilling to allow any girl who possessed actual sexual experience into their institutions. 'Penitentiary cases', as they were described, were excluded as far as possible. Only those who were thought to retain some of their innocence were suitable candidates for admission. Any girl who entered a school and was later discovered not to be a virgin was removed if at all possible.

Yet all girls were, by virtue of the circumstances from which they had been taken, viewed as potentially contaminating. There was to be a thorough-going offensive against their developing sexuality. This was to be achieved by using a number of techniques, from the arrangement of the rooms within the building to the manipulation of the girls' diet. In the majority of schools, young girls were kept separate from the older girls for fear that their childish purity would be contaminated by contact with those who were deemed to have been polluted by their experiences prior to committal.

This leads to a consideration of the practical organisation of the institutions. In chapter five, some of the voluntary managers who founded these schools are discussed. Their social class is investigated, as is their motivation and interest in the schools for which they were held ultimately responsible. Their relationship with the government inspectorate is considered in the context of some circumstances which brought the competence of both groups of people into question. The managers were, especially towards the end of the century, highly resistant to change, as is suggested by their unwillingness to consider altering even the most trivial elements of the way in which their schools were organised.

Chapter six is a discussion of the people who were drafted into the schools as paid staff, their pay, and their conditions of service. It is extremely difficult to ascertain their motivation for taking up what appears in general to have been difficult work. It was hoped by the managers generally that the superintendents and schoolteachers were motivated by a religious idealism and that they saw reformatory work as 'missionary'. Whether this was in fact the case is impossible to say, since the officers seem to have left no personal records. There is some evidence that reformatory work was not as unattractive, in some ways, as work in Poor Law institutions, which provided an alternative employment for many of those who were eligible to become school officers. In addition, it seems that some of the female officers were drawn from the

domestic servant class. For these women, taking up a reformatory post was likely to be both an enhancement of social status and an improvement in income.

Having focused attention on the people who constituted figures of authority, the study then turns to the disciplinary regime which they attempted to enforce upon the inmates. Chapter seven uses the punishment register of the Devon & Exeter Reformatory, in conjunction with miscellaneous records of other schools, to delineate the kinds of punishment which were available to the school officers, and the kinds of offence for which such punishments were earned. It is apparent that, far from being a carefully calibrated system of matching offences and punishments, the selection of any particular punishment by the superintendent was made in an arbitrary fashion. The use of corporal punishment in the schools is highlighted. The Home Office model rules for girls' reformatories and industrial schools, after 1876, stated that there should be no corporal punishment. However, schools which had received their government certificate prior to 1876 were permitted to continue in the use of the birch, tawse, or cane; and it is apparent that in schools certified after that date, much punishment was given which was evidently corporal in nature, and thus not officially permitted, but which was tacitly approved of by the inspectorate who believed that it was necessary if the schools were to keep good order. The behaviour of Mary Carpenter at Red Lodge is discussed at some length, because it is often said that she had a horror of corporal punishment. This conveniently overlooks numerous examples in her journals of incidents when she ordered that a girl be whipped, even, on one occasion, going so far as to hold the girl down herself.

In chapter eight, inmate misbehaviour is considered as active resistance to authority. Girls were often described as hysterical and their angry or emotional outbursts - known generally throughout the world of institutions for females as 'breakouts' - were attributed to temporary or pathological mental instability. However, it is just as easy to interpret their apparently irrational 'mad' behaviour as wilful, calculating resistance. Some of the school managers were fully aware that girls could behave 'hysterically' if they chose to, for girls were aware that if they were too unmanageable they would be discharged from detention.

Such wilfulness was not only manifested in the individual outburst. Girls could express their frustration and anger through the medium of the small group disturbance, which were common, or the full-scale riot, which were few in number considering the number of schools in existence. The form of the riot, the motivation of the rioters, and the response of the managers are discussed. Comparisons are drawn with riots at boys' reformatories. There are various similarities between the two, for instance in the smashing of school property; but there are also important differences. While boys used riots to permit mass absconding, this seems not to have been part of the motivation of girl rioters. Nor did girls emulate their male counterparts in physically attacking the staff or each other during a disturbance, though it was not unknown for an individual girl to strike or spit at an officer while 'breaking-out'.

When girls were taken before a magistrate - the ultimate sanction for misbehaviour available to the school managers - in order to be punished for

their wrongdoing, an inmate who had been guilty of a 'breaking-out' was usually treated as someone to be pitied and better cared for, rather than gaoled; but girls who had acted together in a disturbance were treated harshly. In fact, the sentences of imprisonment handed out to female rioters were altogether more severe than those given out to boy rioters, especially taking into account the greater physical violence used by the latter. It is, perhaps, the case that the individual miscreant, labelled 'hysterical', was more leniently treated both because her actions could be interpreted as having been a result of involuntary mental instability and because by allowing herself to be ruled by her emotions she was showing that the school's reconstruction of her femininity was being successfully accomplished. Rioting girls, on the other hand, with their forward planning, leadership, and common intent, were assuming a form of essentially masculine behaviour, which was fundamentally unacceptable to managers and magistrates alike.

Chapter nine summarises the nature of the education and industrial training offered to girls in reformatory and industrial schools. In many respects, this was very similar to that expected of girls in the elementary schools, though the industrial work expected of reformatory and industrial school inmates took up many hours of each day and was generally considered to be of greater importance for their future than was classroom work. The latter consisted of the usual 'three R's' and also included a substantial amount of religious instruction. For the first couple of decades, Christian teachings were all pervasive in the classroom, with the Bible and other religious texts used for the teaching of reading, dictation, spelling, and so on. Geography, where that was permitted by the managers, was based to a great extent on familiarity with the Holy Land.

As the century progressed, there was increasing interest among the government inspectors and managers in the provision of formal domestic economy lessons. Cookery became more available, though it was not universally taught and, even where it constituted part of the syllabus, it was likely to be taught on the basis of demonstration only. There is some evidence that the literature of domestic economy replaced that of religious instruction in the classroom, so that, for example, recipes rather than the parables became the subject of dictation lessons. Industrial training consisted principally of needlework, housework, and laundrywork. This last was often of the roughest kind: the washing of the school and of neighbouring institutions for boys. It was hardly an ideal training for domestic service, the occupation to which most of the girls were sent at the end of detention. Despite technological change, industrial work at the turn of the century was virtually identical to that of the 1850s.

Chapters ten and eleven turn to the fate of the girls upon discharge. School managers had a responsibility to ensure that the young women went to a safe destination. Much of the time, this responsibility was fulfilled by sending the inmates to places of domestic service, sometimes in specialist positions and sometimes as general servants. Ex-reformatory and industrial school girls went to a wide range of positions in varied types of household, from the modest lower-middle-classes to the gentry. There is little evidence to suggest that they were relegated to the impoverished end of the servant-keeping classes, unlike girls from workhouse schools. A few were emigrated by the

managers, but this was not a major means of 'disposal', the phrase commonly used to describe the placing of a child on release. More were returned to their parents or other relatives, though in most cases this was something of a last resort. A major measure by which the schools judged their success or failure in reforming a girl was whether she broke off contact with parents deemed to be unsatisfactory and showed that she considered the school to be her real home and the staff her real family. It seems that in some cases the school officers did indeed succeed in persuading the girls to regard them as mothers and to reject the 'unfit' women who had been the cause of their committal.

In conclusion, by their own standards, the schools seem to have had a reasonable degree of success. Though the wisdom of institutionalising young children was being increasingly questioned towards the close of the nineteenth-century, the managers and staff of reformatory and industrial schools and, to a large extent, the politicians and civil servants of the day, continued to believe that these institutions had an important role to play. As far as the former inmates are concerned, it is difficult to generalise about what they were likely to feel. The regimes of these schools were without doubt repressive by late twentieth-century standards, but the worst examples of brutality and petty rule-making were to be found in the schools for boys, not those for girls. In many respects, the reformatories and industrial schools for girls were no more repressive than hundreds of other institutions; but there were always going to be some inmates who would rebel against the authority they represented and disappear from view. Unsurprisingly, very little survives from those girls who hated their schools and deliberately avoided contact once they had gained their release. This inevitably means that the evidence appears to be one-sided. However, this does not invalidate the fact that the schools were gratefully acknowledged by some former inmates as the source of their adult prosperity and as the scene of a contented childhood.

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by

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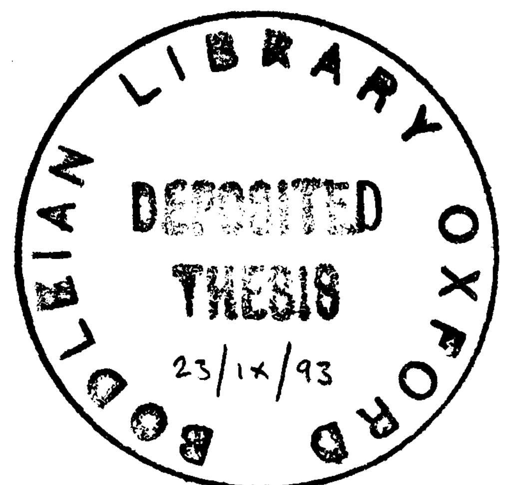
Balliol College

A Thesis
Submitted for the Degree of D.Phil
at the University of Oxford
in
Hilary Term 1993



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Acknowledgements

My first and greatest debt is to Dr Roger Hood who has always been interested and enthusiastic about my subject and without whom this thesis would never have been submitted. I must also thank Dr Hood for providing me with a much valued office for a year at the Centre for Criminological Research. Mr John Prest deserves thanks for suggesting that I consider postgraduate research at all and for remaining interested in the progress of my work. This research was funded primarily by an E.S.R.C. research studentship; but I have also been the grateful recipient of many grants from Balliol College. The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts kindly gave me special leave from my job which enabled me to finish my thesis more quickly than would have been otherwise possible.

Miss B. Fann of the Catholic Social Services in Liverpool gave me permission to use the records of the Liverpool Catholic Reformatory Association at the William Brown Library. Permission to use the records of the Princess Mary Village Homes was received from Mrs M.F. Hutchinson of the Peper Harow Foundation; and Mr W Murray gave me gratefully received permission to use and cite the records of the Devon & Exeter Reformatory. The records of the Reformatory & Refuge Union now form part of the Barnardo's collection at the University of Liverpool: the Director of Barnardo's kindly gave permission for me to have access to them, and Mr Michael Cook put them at my disposal. I owe special thanks to Sister Columban, the archivist, and the other Sisters of the Order of the Good Shepherd at the Provincialate headquarters in Finchley for showing kind hospitality during my visits to them. Finally, my gratitude is due to Ian Wakeling and Dawn Burnett of the Church of England Children's Society Information Section for their forbearance during my numerous visits to their office as I trawled through hundreds of casepapers.

I owe thanks to the Chief Archivists of a number of record offices for permission to read many documents which were technically closed for a hundred years and to quote from the collections in their care. They are: Birmingham Central Library, Archives Division; Stockport Central Library, Archives Division; City of Bristol Record Office; the Tyne & Wear Archives Service; Devon Record Office at Exeter; Surrey Record Office at Kingston-upon-Thames; Sheffield Libraries, Archives Division; London School of Economics, Archive. My thanks also go to the staff of the Public Record Office at Kew, the Bodleian upper reading room, and the British Library.

My thanks are due to Kim Reynolds for tea, discussion, and numerous references; to Sarah and Paul for putting me up in Oxford; and to my husband Duncan Greatwood for commenting on countless drafts of this thesis and patiently learning to love girls' reformatories. This thesis is dedicated to Maureen and Leonard Cale, my Mom and Dad, who now know more about Victorian child prostitution and institutional life than they ever wanted to know.

Abbreviations

B.C.L.	Birmingham Central Library, Archives Department
B.R.O.	Bristol Record Office
C.I.S.	Certified Industrial School
CS	Children's Society
D.R.O.	Devon Record Office
G.S.Prov.	Order of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, Provincialate Headquarters, London
HO	Home Office
L.C.R.A.	Liverpool Catholic Reformatory Association
Liv.U.A.	University of Liverpool, Archive
N.V.H.	Northumberland Village Homes
P.M.V.H.	Princess Mary Village Homes
PP	British Parliamentary Papers
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, Kew
R&RJ	Reformatory & Refuge Journal
R&RU	Reformatory & Refuge Union
Sheff.A.S.	Sheffield Archives Service
Stock.A.S.	Stockport Archives Service, Stockport Central Library
Surrey R.O.	Surrey Record Office, Kingston-upon-Thames
T.W.A.S.	Tyne & Wear Archives Service

Chapter One

Introduction

Few people seem to have a clear idea of what a Girls' Reformatory is really like. The circle interested in reformatory work is regrettably small, and the ignorance of the public concerning Reformatory Schools often startling.[1]

(i) Child-saving Institutions

By the second half of the nineteenth-century, there were a great many 'child-saving' institutions in existence which were designed to separate disreputable working-class parents from their children for the supposed long-term benefit of the latter and in which preventive and rehabilitative forces could be given full rein to mould a young person's character. There were three broad arenas of activity: firstly, a flourishing private, charitable sector which had, by 1920, established over 300 schools and homes to house neglected and vulnerable children accepted on a voluntary basis;[2] secondly, Poor Law institutions, such as the workhouse itself, separate district schools or small certified residential homes for pauper children;[3] and thirdly, the group of institutions which were

1. Reformatory & Refuge Journal [hereafter R&RJ], cccxxvi (1899), p. 552.

2. Anon, The Classified List of Child-Saving Institutions (Reformatory & Refuge Union, London, 1920).

3. Many thousands of children passed through workhouses and other Poor Law institutions. On one day in 1870 alone, 49,497 children were receiving indoor relief: PP 1870 (280) LVIII p. 397 (Return of Comparative Statement of the Number of Paupers of All Classes in Receipt of Poor Relief: Return B (Table 1), Paupers relieved 1 July 1870).

based in the criminal justice system and which would come to be known as 'Home Office Schools': the certified reformatory and industrial schools.

Although voluntary charitable institutions known as reformatory schools already existed before the mid eighteen-fifties,[4] the formalised system of moral reform and education which constitutes the subject of this study was created by a series of Acts of Parliament beginning in 1854. These Acts were passed against the background of growing public dismay at the perceived level of juvenile criminality. The development of juvenile delinquency as a phenomenon separated from - but a precursor to - adult criminality has been discussed elsewhere and need not be repeated here;[5] but a comment by Mary Carpenter, in the introduction to Reformatory Schools, her first major work, can serve as an example of the anguish with which charitably and religiously motivated individuals regarded the apparently relentless increase in youthful delinquency. 'The enormity and amount of juvenile depravity,' she wrote,

> is a subject which now most painfully engages the public mind. The mature and headstrong character which it exhibits has been unveiled and presented to the public eye in colours, fearful because true, by various recent publications, which must make every

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[4]. Including the well-known examples Stretton-on-Dunsmoor Reformatory in Warwickshire, founded 1818, closed 1854; and the Royal Philanthropic Society's institution at Red Hill in Surrey.

[5]. See, for example, Margaret May, 'Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,' Victorian Studies, 17 (1973), pp. 7-29; and Sir Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, A History of English Criminal Law and Its Administration since 1750: Vol. 5, The Emergence of Penal Policy (Stevens & Sons, London, 1948-1986, 5 vols) [hereafter Radzinowicz & Hood, A History of English Criminal Law], esp. chapter 6.

Christian heart shudder and tremble.[6]

The development of an institutional alternative for children to the dehumanising experience of the prison or workhouse was also encouraged in part by a growing sentimentalization of childhood. Through this, philanthropists and legal workers began to see the delinquent as a pitiable, prematurely adult person, what Matthew Davenport-Hill described as 'a little stunted man' knowing 'a great deal too much of what is called life.'[7] Thus the mission for reformatory and industrial schools was seen to be, at least in part, to rescue these damaged juveniles and reassert within them the valuable characteristics of childhood.

Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the reformatory and industrial school system grew steadily until it comprised more than 200 institutions. In 1860, certified reformatories were housing 2,451 boys and 584 girls.[8] Twenty years later, this had risen to 4,785 boys and 1,003 girls. In addition, by 1880 certified industrial schools held 9,714 boys and 2,063 girls.[9] Thereafter, the population in the reformatories gradually declined, but numbers in certified industrial schools continued to increase. In 1900, there were a total

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6. Mary Carpenter, Reformatory Schools (Charles Gilpin, London, 1851), page v [hereafter Carpenter, Reformatory Schools].

7. Matthew Davenport-Hill, Practical Suggestions to the Founders of Reformatory Schools in a Letter from the Recorder of Birmingham to Lord Brougham (W. & F.G. Cash, London, 1855), p. 5.

8. PP 1862 [3034] XXVI p. 606 (5th Annual Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools) [hereafter 'n'th Annual Report].

9. PP 1882 [C. 3352] XXXV pp. 266, 313 (25th Annual Report).

of 10,873 boys and 3,329 girls resident in the industrial schools.[10] By the turn of the century, more than 125,000 children had passed through the schools.[11] However, though substantial in scale, it is not the size of the Victorian reformatory and industrial school system alone which makes it an interesting object for study.

Certified reformatories and industrial schools were unusual in the broad spectrum of 'child-saving' institutions because they straddled the divide between what would now be called the public and private sectors. Reformatory and industrial school buildings and their contents were provided, with very few exceptions, by the proceeds of private philanthropy and their management was largely in the hands of private individuals who were drawn to the work for a combination of altruistic and social reasons. Part of the day-to-day running costs of these schools was drawn from private benefactions, but the greatest part of these regular costs was met from the public purse. The Reformatory and Industrial School Acts served to encourage the foundation of institutions for delinquent and endangered children by offering government certification and a guaranteed Treasury grant which was based on the number of children resident in the school. The size of this grant fluctuated over the period up to 1901, with

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10. PP 1902 [Cd. 1301] XLVIII pp. 554, 607 (45th Annual Report). Thus the proportion of girls in the population of industrial schools rose from 17.5% in 1880 to 23.4% in 1900. Appendix 1, Tables 4 and 5, give more detailed figures showing the trends in the number of children detained in certified reformatories and industrial schools.

11. PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 78 (Report, Royal Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools); PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV pp. 566, 646-54 (Minutes of evidence, Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools). Boys totalled 39,866 reformatory and 63,199 industrial school; girls totalled 8,374 reformatory and 15,841 industrial school.

reductions being imposed to take account of the child's age and the length of time for which she had been in detention within the school as a safeguard against her being kept for a longer period than necessary. The report of the Royal Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools in 1884 noted that reformatory schools received '6s. per head per week, subject to a reduction of 4s. a week after three years detention and the attainment of the age of 16 years.' The regulations for industrial schools were more complex, with

> 5s. per head per week for schools certified previous to 1st March 1872, for all schools certified since that date 3s. 6d. a week, subject to a reduction to 3s. a week after four years detention and the attainment of 15 years. Children between the ages of six and ten years are paid for at the rate of 3s. a week, no grant being allowed for children under six years of age. [12]

This last measure was intended to discourage industrial schools from taking very young children who could not benefit from the industrial training which was to be offered. A number of already established voluntary schools sought and received the government certificate and the grant, but these pioneers were soon joined by other institutions which would never have been set up but for the Acts' provisions. Thus reformatories and industrial schools borrowed and enlarged upon features of both the public system of juvenile pauper education and the private, unregulated system of charitable institutions. As such they present an ideal illustration of the vigourous sphere of Victorian institutional child-care.

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[12]. PP 1884 [C. 3876-II] XLV pp. 844, 846 (Minutes of evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

(ii) Institutionalizing the Children of the Dangerous and Perishing Classes

Children were committed to both reformatories and industrial schools either by justices of the peace sitting in petty sessions or by stipendiary magistrates in police courts. Very occasionally, they were committed by quarter sessions. The reformatory school was designed to house and reform the characters of young people under the age of sixteen who had been convicted of an action liable to be punished by imprisonment or penal servitude (and could thus be described as 'juvenile delinquents'). Under section two of the Act for the Better Care of Young Offenders, 1854,[13] such persons were to be sentenced to imprisonment for a period of not less than fourteen days, after which they could be incarcerated in a reformatory school for between two and five years, unless officially licensed into employment before the end of their period of detention, under which circumstances they would remain under the distant guardianship of the school management for the remainder of their sentence. By a consolidating Act of 1866,[14] a lower age limit of ten years was fixed for reformatory inmates. Thus, for the greater part of their Victorian existence, reformatories were meant to provide for an extremely wide age range of inmates, namely from ten to a maximum of twenty years. The question of whether or not a young offender should receive a prison sentence in addition to and preceding a reformatory sentence provoked lively debate throughout the

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[13]. 17 & 18 Vict. c. 86.

[14]. 29 & 30 Vict. c. 117. This Act reduced the minimum prison sentence to ten days.

period. Government-led opinion eventually agreed that, from 1893, prior imprisonment should be allowed at the discretion of the committing magistrate.[15] It was subsequently abolished in 1899.[16]

A parallel series of Acts beginning in 1857, amended in 1861, consolidated in 1866, and further amended in specific ways in 1880, 1891 and 1894 established the certified industrial schools.[17] Children were judged to be eligible for entry into an industrial school if they were aged under fourteen and were found 'guilty' of any of a wide range of 'offences' listed in section 14 of the Industrial Schools Act, 1866. These included being without proper guardianship, begging, keeping the company of known thieves, and being a destitute orphan. In addition, under section 15 of the same Act, a hitherto unconvicted child aged under twelve charged with an offence punishable by imprisonment could also be committed to an industrial school instead of a reformatory; while under section 16 parents were permitted to have children they found to be 'uncontrollable' sent to such a school. The manifest objective was to save children from the life of crime and vice which looked to be inevitable if their decline was not stopped. They were regarded, in the Earl of Shaftesbury's words, as 'ante-delinquents' and

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15. 56 & 57 Vict. c. 48. This, 'Lord Leigh's Act,' also reduced the upper age limit for detention in a reformatory school to nineteen.

16. 62 & 63 Vict. c. 12. The first Inspector of Reformatories, Sydney Turner, supported anterior imprisonment, but his successor William Inglis opposed it for all except boys over twelve: PP 1887 [C. 5102] XLII p. 10 (30th Annual Report). See also P.R.O. HO 144/444/B29798, correspondence and notes relating to Sunderland Girls' Reformatory, 1899. See Radzinowicz & Hood, A History of English Criminal Law, pp. 202-5 for a discussion of the controversy over prior imprisonment.

17. 20 & 21 Vict. c.48; 29 & 30 Vict. c.118; 43 & 44 Vict. c.15; 54 & 55 Vict. c.23; and 57 & 58 Vict. c.33.

preventing them turning into expensive, fully developed offenders was a high priority.[18] From the point of view of managers and philanthropists, the schools would also bring the socially beneficial side-effects of aiding the maintenance of order on the streets and disciplining part of the 'residuum' for servant labour.

It was the well-known philanthropist Mary Carpenter who coined the phrase 'the children of the dangerous and perishing classes.' This description identified two groups of concern to the Victorian philanthropist: the offspring of adult criminals and the offspring of those who were so poor that they were liable to slide into criminality and so perish spiritually or who were even poor enough to perish literally. The inmates of reformatories were to correspond broadly with the former, while industrial schools were designed to rescue the latter from the immorality and material neglect associated with extreme poverty. There was never any question that a delinquent child of a superior social status should be selected for committal to a reformatory. As Captain Williams, inspector of prisons, noted in his evidence to the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law, which reported in 1847, the kinds of misbehaviour for which working-class children found their way into the hands of the police and judiciary were exactly of the type for which a middle- or upper-class child would receive a parental reprimand, and which would never bring well-guarded children within the view of the law.[19] Benjamin Waugh, founder

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[18]. Hansard, 3rd series, vol. 128, col. 1203 (5 July 1853).

[19]. House of Lords 1847 (49) XXIV p. 309 (Report of Select Committee appointed to Inquire into the Criminal Law, esp. regarding Juveniles and Transportation); PP 1852 (515) VII p. 29 (Report of Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children). The class-bias in the judicial and penal systems was widely recognised at this time: see, for example, Mary Carpenter, 'Reformatories

of what was to become the N.S.P.C.C., also recognized this. Describing the high-spirited mischief performed by a fictitious, middle-class boy, he invited readers to appreciate that 'Charley'

> changed not in nature but in lot, would become a unit to the year's list of 'Juvenile Criminals' and serve to dismalize the visage of some excellent and sincere Exeter Hall orator, and to impart a sensational shock to an Exeter Hall audience.[20]

Where 'Charley' differed from the ordinary working-class juvenile delinquent was in the character of his parents. If the middle-class 'Charley' misbehaved, it was expected that he would be subject to the severe discipline of his displeased parents. However, many connected to the justice system believed that poor children, unlike the young of the higher social classes, lacked adequate parental restraint. This meant that while the agencies of law and order accepted that a bourgeois child who committed an offence would be dealt with in the privacy of the home, this was not assumed to be the case in working-class families. Thus miscreant working-class children were likely to be brought before the courts. In the absence of any alternative, imprisonment was the likely outcome of a conviction. In this context, the creation of certified reformatory and industrial schools, with the long terms of detention served by their inmates, was believed to be a humanitarian gesture. Their creation was not to be an act of discrimination on the part of the ruling classes against the poor. They were intended to be a vehicle for social justice, preventing poor children being sent

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for Convicted Girls,' Trans. N.A.P.S.S. for 1857 (1858), p. 339; Anon, 'Lambs to be Fed', Household Words, 3 (1851), p. 545; Anon, 'Society in Danger of Children', Prospective Review, 9 (1853), p. 171.

[20]. Benjamin Waugh, The Gaol Cradle: Who Rocks It? (Strahan & Co, London, 1873) [hereafter Waugh, The Gaol Cradle], p. 12.

repeatedly to prison, with all its attendant horrors and disgrace, for the failings of their parents. This altruistic motivation was also underpinned by good economic sense: if the criminal tendencies of a youthful offender could be checked early in their development, then the nation would be saved the cost - both in terms of the harm of future crimes and the offender's eventual and oft repeated punishment - of dealing with an adult. Thus the propaganda of the supporters of the reformatory principle appealed to the middle-class public's sense of frugality.[21]

Parents had little opportunity to prevent the long term incarceration of their offspring in reformatory and industrial schools. Indeed, the rights of parents were disposed of in peremptory fashion. In the opinion of the courts and the law-makers, that a child had been allowed to slip into a criminal career or unprotected street-life was sufficient proof that a parent was unfit to continue as the child's guardian. The parent-child relationship was forfeit and efforts were made to undermine it in what were believed to be the best interests of the child.

Magistrates would direct that a child be sent to a named school and the managers of that school automatically became the child's legal guardians in place of the real parents. It was only in questions of religion that the views of the natural parent were generally accepted. The assignment of children to

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21. For example, Hansard, 3rd Series: vol. 128, cols 1203-4; Joseph Adshead, On Juvenile Criminals, Reformatories, and the Means of Rendering the Perishing and Dangerous Classes Servicable to the State (John Harrison & Son, Manchester, 1856) [hereafter Adshead, Juvenile Criminals], p. 47; Micaiah Hill & C.F. Cornwallis, Two Prize Essays on Juvenile Delinquency (Smith & Elder, London, 1853) [hereafter Hill, Essay], pp. 198-203; Reverend John Dufton, The Prison and the School: A Letter to Lord John Russell (John Parker, London, 1848), pp. 21-22.

schools where they would receive instruction in accordance with their stated religious denomination was an extremely sensitive political issue, so sensitive that fears of proselytisation had almost caused the House of Commons to reject the Reformatory and Industrial School Acts. Magistrates usually tried to place Roman Catholic children in Roman Catholic schools and interested Catholics were vigilant in ensuring that such efforts were made, pursuing the cases of children who were said to be Catholic but had been sent to a Protestant school. Protestant schools tended to accept children of all non-Catholic denominations, including Jews, and to offer either non-denominational religious teaching to all or to uphold Anglicanism whilst not forcing any child to learn doctrines which were contrary to the beliefs of his or her stated denomination. At least this was the official view - it would be surprising if schools run by the religiously motivated did not witness some evangelising and attempts to convert.

(iii) The Disregarded Girl

Reformatory and industrial schools were divided by sex as well as by religion. Though there were a small number of industrial schools which catered for both boys and girls, the vast majority, and all reformatories, housed one sex or the other. This study will be specifically an examination of the experiences and treatment of girls in reformatory and industrial schools.

In general, the inmates of institutions have been shadowy figures who have rarely been thought worthy of full discussion. The interest of the

institutional historian has almost always been fixed upon the politicians, administrators and philanthropists who were seen to have devised the regimes and who were the public advocates of the various institutions in question. Thus the history of the workhouse, for instance, has been, until recently, dominated by discussions of the work of Edwin Chadwick.[22] This is arguably even more true of the histories of institutions for children than for adults. Ragged schools, for example, are synonymous with the Earl of Shaftesbury, the history of the former being little more than the history of the latter.[23] Perhaps the only substantial set of homes which have been examined from the perspective of the inmates are those of Dr Barnardo. Even here, the interest of historians has been largely directed towards Barnardo's early emigration policies: few attempts have been made to recreate the experiences of the institutionalized or to analyse the forces which determined those experiences; and the figure of Thomas Barnardo himself continues to cast an imposing shadow.[24]

Reformatory and industrial schools have also been served by historians more interested in the philanthropists involved in their creation and

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[22]. In the biographical tradition is, for example, F.E. Finer, The Life and Times of Edwin Chadwick (1952). Recent studies breaking away from this pattern include M.A. Crowther, The Workhouse System, 1834-1929: The History of an English Social Institution (Methuen, London, 1981) [hereafter Crowther, Workhouse System] and Ian Anstruther, The Scandal of the Andover Workhouse (Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1984).

[23]. See, for example, Geoffrey B.A.M. Finlayson, The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, 1801-1885 (Eyre Methuen, London, 1981).

[24]. For example, June Rose, For the Sake of the Children: Inside Dr Barnardo's, 120 Years of Caring for Children (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1987); and on emigration, Philip Bean and Joy Melville, Lost Children of the Empire: The Untold Story of Britain's Child Migrants (Unwin Hyman, London, 1989) [hereafter Bean & Melville, Lost Children].

the parliamentary and governmental aspects of their existence than in the way the schools actually operated.[25] Even in their existing preoccupations, historians have been selective. Quite rightly, given her centrality to the reformatory movement, much has been made of Mary Carpenter, the Bristol woman who wrote two books on the evils of juvenile delinquency and went on to found Kingswood Reformatory for Boys and Red Lodge Reformatory for Girls. Yet Miss Carpenter has generally been the subject of hagiographic studies which have overlooked some of the more glaring inconsistencies between her stated beliefs and her actions, as later chapters will attempt to show.[26] And, leaving Miss Carpenter to one side, almost nothing is said of other individuals who were extremely influential in particular localities: philanthropists such as Susannah Meredith in Surrey and James Hall in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

I have chosen to make girls central to my discussion because, even where inmates have been discussed in earlier studies of certified reformatory and industrial schools, any serious consideration of the position of girls has been notable for its absence. It would be easy to conclude from the studies which exist that there were very few - if any - girls committed to these institutions. Such a conclusion would be far removed from the truth. While boys always outnumbered girls in the reformatory and industrial school system as a whole,

[25]. For example, Julius Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1970) [hereafter Carlebach, Caring for Children]; Radzinowicz & Hood, A History of English Criminal Law; and June Martin, '"Hard-headed and large-hearted": Women and the Industrial Schools,' History of Education, 20 (1991), pp. 187-201.

[26]. The best known biography of Miss Carpenter is Jo Manton, Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets (Heinemann, London, 1976) [hereafter Manton, Mary Carpenter].

girls formed a substantial proportion of the inmates resident in the schools. In reformatories, girls formed a group declining over time from about a fifth of the inmates to about an eighth; while in industrial schools, after the first few years, girls formed a relatively stable proportion of the total population at around twenty to twenty-five per cent.[27]

More striking than these figures, however, are those relating to committals to reformatories and industrial schools. Appendix 1, Table 3, translates the number of girls and boys committed to reformatories or industrial schools into percentages of all those juveniles who were sent to gaol only, gaol and reformatory, or industrial school. It is striking that in every year between 1861 and 1893, the proportion of girls committed to some form of incarceration who were sent to an industrial school, as opposed to any other form of detention, was greater than the proportion of boys; and this difference was too large to have occurred by chance.[28] Boys, conversely, were more likely than girls to be sentenced to imprisonment alone or to imprisonment followed by reformatory school. To ignore, then, the treatment and experiences of these girls is to concentrate on the sex for whom, if convicted, long-term incarceration was actually less likely.

However, despite this statistical evidence suggesting the importance of girls to the organisation of certified schools, there is at least one

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27. See Appendix 1, Tables 4 and 5, with accompanying graphs.

28. The chi-square value was computed for each of 32 years and this showed a significant difference between the use of industrial schools for girls and boys in each of 30 years (1864 and 1881 are the exceptions). The chi-square value summed over all 32 years was 2505.34 which is significant at 0.001.

explanation for the general absence of girls from both contemporary and historical discussions of the reformatory system as a whole. Contemporary debates on the problem of street-children sometimes conflated concepts of criminality with those of sexual immorality and presented the street-girl as the figure which could epitomise both. However, because sexual immorality, not criminal delinquency, was the failing most feared for working-class females, such girls were discussed more by those who sought to control prostitution than those who sought to control criminality. Thus girls became marginalised in discussions of juvenile delinquency because the more seemingly appropriate arena for their consideration was in the literature of prostitution. As a consequence of their removal from contemporary Victorian literature on juvenile delinquency, girls have hitherto failed to make an impact on the history of reformatory and industrial schools. No consideration has been made of the effects upon the regimes of these schools of the need to deal with children suspected of greater sins than mere criminality.

It should be emphasised that reformatories and industrial schools, in addition to being a small part of a greater 'child-saving' crusade, were part of a movement which specifically aimed to control the behaviour of wayward girls and women through a variety of institutional means. It is surely significant that a number of certified schools had been refuges for female 'penitents' which were adapted for a 'new' role,[29] or had been established as separate

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[29]. Such as the Devon & Exeter Girls' Reformatory and the London Female Preventive.

institutions by those sympathetic to the need to 'rescue fallen women'.[30] It would thus be an artificial and unhelpful device to attempt to divorce the government certified schools from the tradition of rescuing sexually active women from an outcast's life of immorality. It was in the light of those women who were identified as sexually delinquent that reformatory and industrial school girls were judged. Though many wayward and unsocialised girls did become inmates of certified schools, more - though how many more is far from clear - found their way into voluntary 'penitentiaries' for 'fallen' women, even for 'fallen' children, whether or not they were actually prostituted. There was, after all, no shortage of 'Magdalen Homes' which would take juveniles. In 1878, there were at least ninety-seven of these refuges for 'fallen women' prepared to accept children and juveniles.[31] Of the hundreds of refuges and 'homes for penitents' existing in 1920, at least eighty-eight in London and 245 in the provinces were willing to take girls under sixteen. Five of the provincial 'Magdalen Homes' were established expressly for girls under the age of fourteen.[32]

Ultimately, the purpose of this study is to claim a place in the

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30. Such as Samuel Chapman, founder of the Ipswich Reformatory: The Philanthropist (1 Oct. 1858), p. 227; and the Sisters of the Order of the Good Shepherd at Arno's Court Reformatory: PP 1865 [3527] XXV p. 373 (8th Annual Report).

31. Anon [Louise Hubbard], A Guide to All Institutions Existing for the Benefit of Women and Children (1878), parts I and III.

32. These figures are derived from a list of establishments connected to the Reformatory & Refuge Union, so are likely to fall short of the real number of homes existing, particularly those run by Roman Catholics: Classified List of Child-Saving Institutions (1920).

history of the control of sexuality for the reformatory and industrial school movement as it affected girls: indeed to suggest that the schools for boys and for girls grew out of quite different traditions based on the need to reinforce gender-specific roles and counter quite different problems. The immorality of girls was believed to have a more fundamentally damaging effect upon society than that of boys, for it was the girls who would be the mothers of the next generation. Thus, an inculcation of the virtues of domesticity and chastity was to be of paramount importance. This study tries to show that there was a pervasive fear of sexual immorality, the antithesis of model femininity, throughout that part of the reformatory and industrial school system which dealt with girls. This affected not only attitudes towards the older, conventionally criminal reformatory girls, but also toward the younger girls who were victims of neglect and circumstances largely beyond their control.

(iv) Historiography and Source Material

In addition to its attempt to reclaim a place for girls in the history of institutions for delinquent and destitute children and, conversely, to claim a place for reformatory and industrial schools in the history of the control of sexuality, this analysis breaks new ground by using hitherto neglected source material as a basis for a study on a national scale. It moves away from a reliance upon central and official records to a use of local, institutional records, those which were produced by the schools on a day-to-day basis. Some, such as

the minutes of the managing committees, were open to the scrutiny of the government inspectors. As a result, they tend to be quite guarded in their statements and often suggest that controversial discussion was thought best left not noted. Even these semi-official records, however, can show a different set of circumstances to those of, for example, the published annual reports of the government inspector. Reverend Sydney Turner, the first government inspector of certified reformatory and industrial schools, had himself been a manager of a reformatory and was very sympathetic to the movement as a whole. It is quite clear, from comparing institution records with Turner's published reports, that he sometimes suppressed information which could have been damaging to the schools concerned.

In addition to those records which were open to the inspector, school archives usually contain correspondence and other material which was produced for the benefit of the managers but which was not for public perusal. Such sources allow a comparison to be made between the public statements of the school's managers and the way in which their policies, prejudices and beliefs were acted upon in the daily operation of the school. Sometimes it is apparent that there was a mismatch between ideal and reality. However, there have been few studies made of individual schools which have tried to draw a comparison between the two. A number of historians have written briefly on the establishment and organisation of individual boys' schools,[33] but apart from

[33]. For example, D.H. Thomas, 'The Chester Industrial School, 1863-1908,' Journal of Educational and Administrative History, 13 (1981), pp.1-9; I.D. Cowan, 'Certified Industrial Training Ships, c.1860-1913,' J.E.A.H., 16 (1984), pp. 1-9; and John Springhall, Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960 (Gill, Dublin, 1986), pp. 166-172 on Feltham Boys' Industrial School.

various works which discuss Red Lodge in the context of Mary Carpenter's life and work, the only study of a British girls' reformatory or industrial school seems to have been part of a booklet by Joan Rimmer, a trustee and manager of the Red Bank School (formerly Newton-Le-Willows Boys' Industrial School).[34] This paucity of work is not just a characteristic of the history of British institutions for juvenile delinquents. The worldwide historiography of nineteenth-century reformatory and industrial schools for girls outside the British Isles consists of two articles by Noeline Williamson on the Industrial Schools at Biloela and Newcastle, and on the Parramatta Reformatory, in New South Wales;[35] one by Kerry Wimshurst, also on Parramatta;[36] and two articles plus a book by Barbara Brenzel on the Lancaster Industrial School in Massachusetts.[37]

The final purpose of this study is to draw out, as far as possible,

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[34]. Joan Rimmer, Yesterday's Naughty Children. Training Ship, Girls' Reformatory and Farm School: A History of the Liverpool Reformatory Association (Neil Richardson, Manchester, 1986) [hereafter Rimmer, Yesterday's Naughty Children].

[35]. Noeline Williamson, '"Hymns, Songs, and Blackguard Verses": Life in the Industrial and Reformatory Schools for Girls in New South Wales, Part 1, 1867 to 1887,' Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 67 (1982), pp. 375-87; Noeline Williamson, 'Laundry Maids or Ladies? Life...[etc], Part 2, 1887 to 1910,' J. Roy. Aus. Hist. Soc., 68 (1983), pp. 312-24.

[36]. Kerry Wimshurst, 'Control and Resistance: Reformatory School Girls in Late Nineteenth Century South Australia,' Journal of Social History, 18 (1984), pp. 273-87.

[37]. Barbara Brenzel, 'Lancaster Industrial School for Girls: A Social Portrait of a Nineteenth-Century Reform School for Girls,' Feminist Studies, 3 (1975-6), pp. 40-53; Barbara Brenzel, 'Domestication as Reform: A Study of the Socialization of Wayward Girls, 1850-1905,' Harvard Educational Review, 50 (1980), pp. 196-213; Barbara Brenzel, Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1856-1905 (MIT, Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1983).

the experiences of the inmates of the schools from their own perspective. There are many difficulties involved in the writing of such a history, not least the relative paucity of documents written by the girls themselves. To some extent, an idea of the feelings and attitudes of the inmates can be extracted from reports made by the staff on their behaviour. A further source is printed material containing 'extracts' from letters purportedly written by the girls, usually when in their first employment. Obviously, such sources need to be treated cautiously. However, it has been possible to circumvent to some degree the problem of lack of first-hand evidence by using case-papers relating to girls committed by magistrates to schools under the control of the Church of England Waifs & Strays Society (now The Children's Society). Among the sometimes copious papers discussing the reasons for committal, many of these case-papers contain letters from the girls, some written whilst still inmates, other written after their release from detention. They were directed to the agents of the Society in their locality, to the matrons of their schools and to Mr Edward Rudolf, the director of the Society. Occasionally, there are even missives which girls addressed to their relatives but which were never forwarded. The Waifs & Strays case-papers are an exceptionally rich, varied and important source of information on individual inmates.[38] Since this also makes them unusual, it will become clear to the reader that this study depends heavily on the material they contain. This produces new problems, most significant of which is the

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[38]. The names of children noted in this study have been changed to protect their identity. In addition, all Children's Society case-papers have been renumbered. A list of correct case-paper numbers can be obtained on application to the author or the archivist at the Children's Society. The names of staff and managers have not been changed.

resultant bias towards a more detailed consideration of industrial schools than reformatories.

A general difficulty is the patchiness of the archives of the individual schools. While all the schools examined in this study had left associated correspondence, only some had management committee minutes, discharge records, matrons' journals or out-letter books. The most serious lack has been the absence of punishment books. It is a curious fact that, despite every school being obliged to keep a punishment book which was open to the examination of the government inspectors, only one is known to be extant for a certified girls school: the Devon and Exeter Reformatory. No study of the operation of a penal or semi-penal institutional system can possibly omit discussion of the disciplinary regime, but an absence of punishment books has imposed severe limitations on the generalisations it is possible to make.

In the end, this is the great problem of a study of this kind. With the directly relevant historiography being very limited, and with the inevitable imperfections, diversity and internal contradictions of the archival sources, generalisations become very difficult to make. Yet, despite these problems, by piecing together the information available on each school, it is possible to see that, in practice, the schools did have a number of common characteristics, and that the ideology upon which they were based was a shared one.

(v) The Arrangement of this Study

This study is in two parts. In Part One, sexuality and fears of immorality form the central theme. It opens with a discussion of the girl delinquent in the context of the wider contemporary concern with prostitution, particularly focusing on the role played by Ellice Hopkins, an important social purity propagandist, in the campaign to pass the Industrial Schools Amendment Act of 1880 which permitted the removal of children from residences which were frequented by prostitutes. Chapter three, using committal registers, Waifs & Strays case-papers and supporting material, considers the impact of fears of sexual immorality on the selection of girls for committal to reformatory and industrial schools. It will show that there were more issues involved than simply whether a girl had been found guilty of a criminal offence or had been found begging or in similar vulnerable circumstances.

The final chapter of part one turns to the relationship between the fears of sexuality, which formed part of the justification for committing girls, and the way in which the threat posed by this sexuality was contained in an institutional setting. One aim of reformatories and particularly industrial schools was to promote chastity and modesty (two of the central tenets, of course, of idealised womanhood) in a bid to desexualise, indeed to asexualise, the personalities of the girls. However, there was a limit to what the schools could achieve. Although, at one level, they appear to have been designed to rescue the girl in moral danger - though certainly not the street-walker - the sexually initiated girl was precisely the inmate of whom the managers were most nervous.

The managers, as a whole, were never able satisfactorily to balance the need to rescue those endangered by their experiences whilst simultaneously protecting the as yet uninitiated from the contaminating influence of the 'fallen'. This tension between the objectives of prevention and rescue lay at the heart of the problems and difficulties experienced by those who operated and supported reformatory and industrial schools.

Part Two of this thesis turns away from a direct consideration of the theme of sexuality in order to examine various aspects of the practical organisation of reformatory and industrial schools. It attempts to provide an insight into the way in which girls' reformatory and industrial schools were organised in order to highlight divergences between principle and practice. This also indicates that much of what passes as a general account of reformatory principles is, in reality, inapplicable to the training of wayward girls. One example of this is the oft-expressed idea that hard, physical labour in an agricultural setting was central to inmates' experiences of reformatories.[39] For boys in some institutions this was certainly true; but female inmates rarely found themselves engaged in digging or other outdoor labour beyond the occasional experiment of allowing them patches of flower garden to cultivate. Agricultural work was intended to toughen up the boys, to enhance their appreciation of honest masculinity, to exhaust them, and to prepare them for future lives as labourers and soldiers. Girls, far from needing toughening, were thought to require softening, having been improperly hardened by their experiences of

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[39]. See, for example, J.A. Stack, 'The Provision of Reformatory Schools, The Landed Class, and the Myth of the Superiority of Rural Life in Mid-Victorian England,' History of Education, 8 (1979), pp. 38-9.

street-life; and so, for them, indoor domestic pursuits were thought altogether more appropriate as part of their preparation for a feminine life.[40]

Chapter five considers the position of the voluntary managers and their relationship with the government inspectorate. This is followed by a discussion of the paid staff, their pay and conditions of service. All too little is known of the motivations of the staff and their attitude towards the schools and their managers. Unfortunately, this is another area upon which surviving school records throw little light, but it is worth attempting to draw out some general features of the staff arrangements in order to better understand the experiences of the inmates. In consequence of the paucity of information, many of the conclusions drawn in chapter six are fairly speculative and could require reassessment should further evidence come to light.

Having populated the schools with inmates, managers and staff, the study then turns to three important aspects of the internal regimes: the system of disciplinary control in use, the resistance of the inmates towards authority, and the educational provisions made for the training of the children. Although these divisions are somewhat artificial, they will, hopefully, prevent the discussion of these interlocking subjects becoming too complex and unwieldy.

Finally, the study examines the immediate fate of girls at the point

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40. Mary Carpenter explicitly stated that girls were 'to be fitted for the home': 'Reformatories for Convicted Girls,' Trans.N.A.P.S.S. (1857), p. 340. See also 'On the Importance of Statistics,' Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 20 (1857), p. 38, for comments on independence and the traits in delinquent girls which made them 'far more degraded, dangerous to society, and difficult to control, than boys.'.

at which they left their institutions and also afterwards in their young adulthoods. The majority of girls were sent out into domestic service; some passed from one institution to another; others emigrated; a small number entered factory or shop work; while a few returned to their parents or other relatives. This last option was generally considered, by managers, staff and policy-makers, to be the least satisfactory. Many bemoaned the fact that reformed children could be returned to unreformed parents and thus that the good work of the schools could be too easily undone. A change in the law in 1894 extended to the age of eighteen the period of guardianship enjoyed by the authorities of an industrial school,[41] but no such 'protection' was offered to reformatory girls who might be discharged at the end of their fixed period of detention still in their mid-teens.

Reformatory and industrial schools, after metamorphosing into Approved Schools and then Community Homes, have now almost all been closed and have entirely lost their special status as institutions for young offenders. In many cases, their demise has been recent, with some, such as the Princess Mary Village Homes, surviving until the nineteen-eighties. In the context of this study, however, there is a significant continuity which may be being broken only now, at the close of the twentieth century, almost a hundred years after the era discussed by this thesis.

The continuity in question is the excessive regard paid toward assessments of female sexual morality in judicial or care proceedings concerning women and girls. In assessing the need to incarcerate a female on a long-term

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[41]. Industrial Schools Act, 1894: 57 & 58 Vict. c.33

basis 'for her own protection', whether because of criminal or otherwise socially deviant activity, the sexual precocity of a young female and her alleged promiscuity have been as significant in the post-World War II period as they were in Victoria's reign. Late twentieth-century girls have found themselves as likely to be subject to the repercussions of preconceived beliefs in chaste femininity and its evil opposite as were their nineteenth-century counterparts. As a number of studies have shown, girls have been consistently more likely to face institutionalisation for non-criminal activity than boys.[42] While this may be beginning to change, the continuities between our Victorian past and our modern present have often been so strong that a study of nineteenth-century reformatory and industrial schools can sometimes offer conclusions which are uncomfortably familiar.

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[42]. See, for example, Steven Schlossman & Stephanie Wallach, 'The Crime of Precocious Sexuality: Female Juvenile Delinquency in the Progressive Era' Harvard Educational Review, 48 (1978),pp. 65-94; Meda Chesney-Lind, 'Judicial Paternalism & the Female Status Offender: Training Women to Know Their Place,' Crime & Delinquency, 23 (1977), pp. 121-9; Annie Hudson, '"Elusive Subjects": Researching Young Women in Trouble' in Feminist Perspectives in Criminology eds. Loraine Gelsthorpe and Allison Morris (Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1990), pp. 115-123; J. Cowie, V. Cowie, and E. Slater, Delinquency in Girls (Heinemann, London, 1968) throughout.

PART ONE

The Threat of Sexuality

'I've snatched a life from sin and shame!'
Could man desire a better fame,
Or make a nobler boast?
Let warriors talk of their renown,
Our battle's fought in smoky town,
Amid the infant host.

From Rescued: At the Whitley Homes (c. 1881), quoted in William Hayward, James Hall of Tynemouth (1896), p. 216.

You have no idea, unless you have seen them, what a real reformatory girl is like, of the viciousness or the wickedness of those girls.

Miss Sheppard, formerly manager of Limpley Stoke Reformatory: PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 224 (Minutes of evidence, Dept. Committee on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

Chapter Two

'Young in Years, But Old in Shame': Sexual Delinquency and the Girl

(i) The Dangerous Sexuality of the Working-Class Female

From the mid-century, a fear of the detrimental effect upon society of sexual delinquency among adolescents was a key factor in the determination of which girls should be institutionalised in certified reformatories and the essentially preventive industrial schools. However, commentators were far from clear on how the girl should be regarded. One view of the wayward adolescent girl was as a precociously sexualised figure, potentially corrupting and dangerous to those around her, dominated by the passionate and libidinous imperfections of her quintessential femaleness. A girl allowed to live outside 'proper' parental discipline was thought liable to reject the passivity and modesty of ideal femininity, and indulge her 'selfish desires'. Unprotected and out of control, such a girl could easily enter into precocious sexual activity, the taint of which could never be eradicated: as James Hall, founder of the Northumberland Village Homes, expressed it, 'A soiled soul can never recover its pristine purity, however earnest and penitent its owner may be.'[1]

Yet an alternative view evaluated the girl, even if sexually active,

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[1]. James Hall speaking at the A.G.M. of the Northumberland Village Homes, reported in The Northern Daily Express (1 Nov. 1882): T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/91/1, scrapbook.

as dominated by the imperatives of a romanticised childishness. She was, as a child, essentially an innocent and a repository of purity, at least in theory. If she was not pure in fact, her loss had arisen through the bad offices of evil adults. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, these two attitudes were present simultaneously in discussions of the nature of female juvenile delinquency and, particularly in relation to the older reformatory girls, the tension between them was never satisfactorily resolved. However, by the early eighteen-eighties, the beginnings of a resolution was taking place in relation to the younger industrial school girls. The idea that a girl of a relatively young age could be voluntarily involved in sexual activity was utterly rejected and, instead, it was her age that began to be perceived as more important than any unfortunate cravings supposedly natural to her as a result of her sex. Gradually, the dangerous female juvenile was transformed into a pitiable victim of adults who set out to corrupt and destroy her. That a girl could be actively involved in choosing the path of destruction was all the more proof that she needed shielding, for her choice was a clear indication of the irresponsibility of youth.

Becoming involved in criminal activity was taken as evidence that the powers of choice were being exercised in the most foolish way. For a juvenile, as for an adult female, criminality and sexual immorality were believed to be linked in the moral decline of the individual.[2] Reformatory campaigners sought to protect girls from criminal influences in order to defend their sexual

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2. Lucia Zedner, Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England (Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 32-3 [hereafter Zedner, Women, Crime, and Custody]. William Logan, An Exposure from Personal Observations, of Female Prostitution in London, Leeds, and Rochdale; and Especially in the City of Glasgow (Gallie & Fleckfield, Glasgow, 1843, 2nd edn), pp. 36-7 [hereafter Logan, An Exposure].

purity. Street-girls who were criminal or unchaste or both, were not only seen as vulnerable, but were regarded as a social threat. Mary Carpenter argued that girls left to their own devices in a street-life 'will be the teachers of vice to the next generation', a view echoed by other writers.[3]

Girls and boys of the very lowest sections of the population, those who formed the economic group which slid regularly into and out of pauperism, and thus, by standard Victorian reasoning, were prone to vagrancy and crime, were considered to be particularly lascivious. This view was not held to be in contradiction to alternative views of the female and the child as asexual.[4] In part, these attitudes were flavoured by a nascent evolutionary theory.[5] Herbert Spencer argued that Victorian society was the pinnacle of civilisation, and that a large part of this status rested on the inactivity of Victorian women. 'Primitive' societies could be defined, at least in part, as those which used women as workers, even allowing men to remain idle.[6] This, of course, seemed to overlook those lower-class Victorian women who worked at all manner of occupations, from domestic service to factory-work. However, it could be

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[3]. Mary Carpenter, 'On the Importance of Statistics to the Reformatory Movement, with Returns from Female Reformatories and Remarks on Them,' Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 20 (1857), p. 35. See also Edmund E. Antrobus, The Prison and the School (Staunton & Sons, London, 1853), p. 9.

[4]. For example, Hill, Essay, pp. 33-40.

[5]. On the background to and precursors of Darwinism, see J. Burrow, Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory (Cambridge University Press, 1966).

[6]. Lorna Duffin, 'Prisoners of Progress: Women and Evolution,' in The Nineteenth Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World (Croom Helm, London, 1978), (eds) Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin, pp. 57-91.

extrapolated from Spencer's position that the working-classes were more primitive than the middle- and upper-classes within Victorian society. If they retained some primitive features, it was logical that they would retain others: for instance, a more lascivious disposition. Women were generally depicted as having 'more primitive' characters than men. The qualities uppermost in their personalities were thought to be passive and emotional, unlike those of men which were active and rational, qualities which were regarded as 'more highly developed' and hence more valuable. Since they were believed to be under the control of the physical rather than the mental, it was not surprising that traditional perceptions of the working-class female as licentious were assimilated into a suspicion that all working-class women were potential prostitutes.[7] William Acton argued that the supply of women for prostitution was derived from their innate inclination towards 'vice' and 'sinfulness'. Yet, as Frances Finnegan has noted, this was in direct contradiction to his other assertions that women were naturally without sexual desire.[8] One way of explaining this self-contradiction is to recognise that Acton's studies were underpinned with certain class assumptions: in his writings on prostitution, Acton was discussing the sexual proclivities of working-class women; while in his other studies of female sexuality, he was thinking of higher-class women, indeed, of an ideal of

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[7]. Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall, Sexuality and Subordination (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1989), pp. 8-9. Nancy Cott, 'Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790-1850,' Signs, 4 (1978), p. 221 [hereafter Cott, 'Passionlessness'].

[8]. Frances Finnegan, Poverty and Prostitution: A Study of Victorian Prostitutes in York (Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 7 [hereafter Finnegan, Poverty and Prostitution].

femininity.

Children, like women, were regarded as essentially irrational creatures. Thus, if working-class women were regarded as inherently primitive and licentious, it followed that the untrained working-class girl was likely to be imbued with particularly lascivious characteristics. Henry Maudsley, for example, had an unsentimental view of childhood, regarding children as little animals, needing education and guidance to stop them growing into big animals. He regarded the immoral behaviour of boys and girls when left together unsupervised as evidence of this animalism.[9] Maudsley's view was, of course, as applicable to middle- and upper-class children as it was to working-class children, but in the case of the latter, lack of a respectable moral home and parents meant that this lasciviousness went unchecked.

At this point, the general confusion between extra-marital sex and prostitution becomes of importance. Numerous writers, most notably Henry Mayhew, drew attention to quite young boys and girls living together as husband and wife, engaging in behaviour which no doubt included sexual intercourse.[10] Such conduct is today, thanks to the work of the social purity advocates of the eighteen-eighties, illegal, but, in a slightly older age-group it is referred to innocuously as 'co-habitation'. Mayhew had no doubt that such conduct was tantamount to prostitution. Though there was no evidence of money being

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[9]. Peter Scott, 'Henry Maudsley' in Hermann Mannheim, Pioneers in Criminology (Stevens & Sons, London, 1960), p. 161.

[10]. Henry Mayhew, The Morning Chronicle Survey (vol.3, Jan.-Mar. 1850: Caliban Books, 1981 edition), pp. 98-9. See also Thomas Beggs, An Enquiry into the Extent and Causes of Juvenile Depravity (Charles Gilpin, London, 1849), p. 108 [hereafter Beggs, Juvenile Depravity].

exchanged for sexual favours - the very essence of prostitution - such writers assumed that girls living in such a way were involved in the 'profession', usually believing that the boy or man with whom she lived acted as her 'pimp', both protecting her and procuring customers for her, and hence living off her immoral earnings. Presumably a proportion of such relationships were, indeed, of a pimp-prostitute nature, but there is little evidence to suggest that all, or even most, of them were. Respectable Victorians, however, did not discriminate greatly between the various kinds of behaviour that lay outside the bounds of what they saw as acceptable conduct.[11]

The following discussion of prostitution outlines the general background for judgements which were made daily about the inmates of reformatory and industrial schools. As the next chapter will show, the same ideas about the ideal and actual morality of both children and parents occurred again and again in establishing the correctness of cases for committal. In this context, the sexual behaviour and general morality of all family members were under close scrutiny. Sisters, aunts and grandmothers were all measured against an accepted, 'middle-class' standard of morality. However, special attention was paid to the morality of the mother (or mother substitute). There was thought a very good reason for this concern. As Mary Carpenter had put it in 1851, 'the early moulding of the young child's mind depends almost entirely on the mother'[12], and the mother's influence was believed to be stronger over the

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11. Deborah Gorham, 'The "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" Re-examined: Child Prostitution and the Idea of Childhood in late-Victorian England' Victorian Studies, 21 (1978), p. 374 [hereafter Gorham, 'Maiden Tribute'].

12. Carpenter, Reformatory Schools, p. 317.

female child, who would be expected to spend more time under her guardianship, than the male.[13] Where a mother lived in anything other than a strictly conventional marital relationship, scrutiny of her conduct was amplified. As Barbara Littlewood and Linda Mahood have noted, such a woman was always likely to be labelled a prostitute, as her situation (whether chosen or unavoidable) led her to be ungoverned by a man, the rational being, and free to make whatever alliances she chose.[14] Thus an understanding of the pervasiveness of fears of prostitution in the relationship between poor women and their socio-economic superiors is important both for understanding the way in which the wayward girls themselves were regarded and the attitudes towards female relatives which materially increased a girl's likelihood of incarceration.

(ii) Prostitution and the Girl Delinquent

On the whole, the managers of reformatory and industrial schools did not want to take young prostitutes into their institutions, certainly not those

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[13]. PP 1852 (515) VII p. 147 (Mary Carpenter).

[14]. Barbara Littlewood & Linda Mahood, 'Prostitutes, Magdalenes, and Wayward Girls: Dangerous Sexualities of Working-Class Women in Victorian Scotland,' Gender and History, 3(2) (1991), pp. 160-175. Even widowhood, a respectable state for middle-class and some working-class women, was considered with suspicion. Fears of the sexually voracious widow-woman had a long history: see, for instance, Angus McLaren, Reproductive Rituals (Methuen, London, 1984), p. 19 for a brief seventeenth-century view. Nancy Cott, 'Passionlessness,' pp. 219-236, notes that general ideas of women's inherent licentiousness persisted into the nineteenth century to be linked specifically with deviance, while, at the same time, a predominant view was developing that women were less sexual than men. See also Mendus & Rendall (eds), Sexuality & Subordination, p. 8.

who could be described as experienced street-walkers. Indeed, they shied away from taking any girl who could be proven to have had sexual intercourse, even if she had been an unwilling or uncomprehending partner in the act. They were prepared to take girls who were basically innocent, but knew a little more about sexual matters than was thought suitable for a young girl. In these cases, the schools worked towards eradicating that unsuitable knowledge as soon as possible. Yet managers perceived a definite continuum between the street-walker and the near-innocent, and dealt with the latter as if she were but a short step from the former. Beliefs about the evils of sexual immorality and its pervasiveness in the working-classes thoroughly contaminated the relationship between school authorities and their young charges of whatever moral standing.

Hugh Cunningham has attempted to draw a distinction between different perceptions and representations of those who were potential inmates of the reformatory system.[15] He argues that such 'children of the street' were viewed variously as 'savages', 'ragamuffins', and 'waifs and strays' and contends that there were elements of all these representations present simultaneously in the nineteenth century philanthropic and governmental discourses on the issue. He identifies the 'savage' particularly with the juvenile delinquent, but argues that the period during which this image of childhood was of prime importance was a brief one, coinciding with the moves to create the reformatory system in the eighteen-fifties, after which it was replaced by a

[15]. In his book, The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century (Blackwell, Oxford, 1991) [hereafter Cunningham, Children of the Poor].

perception of street children as vulnerable and pitiable.[16]

What Cunningham fails convincingly to address is the gendered nature of such stereotypes. He states that the discourse of the street child as savage centred on the street *boy*, arguing that girls were excluded from the discourse of savagery because very few street children were girls. This assertion is questionable in itself, not least because of the great interest shown in the provision of reformatory and industrial school places for girls in the early years of the system, and constant fears that the available places would be massively over-subscribed once magistrates had been convinced that these school were the right place to send young vulnerable and delinquent females.[17] However, the issue at stake is not the numerical strength of street-girls in comparison to boys, but whether Victorian commentators perceived them to constitute a distinct social problem. It is apparent that, in some respects, contemporaries were more vocally concerned for the fate of girls than of boys. An article in The Philanthropist noted that

> the exact difficulty in the case of...girls is, not so much that they are worse thieves than the boys, as that they have so much more frequently, or rather, perhaps, so almost invariably, "commenced a career of other vices"

It asked 'how shall we recover girls who are not, as the boys, simply thieving children, but polluted with the consciousness, if not the practical application, of adult vices?'[18] Cunningham fails to determine the existence of this

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16. Cunningham, Children of the Poor, pp. 5, 102-7, 121.

17. For instance, Sydney Turner writing in the Fifth Report of the Government Inspector: PP 1862 [3034] XXVI p. 528.

18. The Philanthropist (1 June 1860), pp. 573-4.

alternative, or supplement, to the image of the child as savage which would be applicable to the circumstances of street girls as Victorian writers saw them. Several times he hints at the primary discourse on lower-class deviant female behaviour, but he fails to acknowledge its potency. This discourse was, of course, that of the female delinquent as 'the fallen woman' or prostitute. If a representation and definition of children of the street were to be derived from Cunningham's male-centred view of the savage child, it would not be surprising to find girls numerically under-represented.

It is apparent that boys and girls living in very similar circumstances were defined and discussed in very different ways, partly, at least, because of the preconceptions of middle-class commentators regarding the proper characteristics of both sexes. A certain level of independence and 'impatience of control' was acceptable in a boy up to late adolescence, because, as Mary Carpenter noted, that is how boys were expected to be.[19] So young male teenagers performing tricks outside theatres, making dangerous slides, and obstructing the pavement by playing games of marbles or shove-ha'penny were conforming to an acceptable stereotype. It was only when they actually stole from or otherwise harmed an unforgiving complainant that they would be taken up by the forces of law and order.

Girls also, to some extent, conformed to social expectations, in that they seem to have been less likely to indulge in boisterous activity in a public setting than boys. However, there were female crossing-sweepers,

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[19]. Mary Carpenter, 'On the Disposal of Girls from Reformatory Schools', Trans. N.A.P.S.S. for 1858 (1859), p. 416.

scavengers, and pedlars;[20] and there were no doubt a large number operating either as prostitutes' errand girls, as helpers at brothels, or, indeed, as prostitutes themselves. Though such young female teenagers were living on the streets, they were not regarded by the commentators of the eighteen-fifties as 'savages'; their delinquency was seen as qualitatively different to that of boys. A child with knowledge of the ultimate adult privilege and liberty, active sexuality, was no longer a child, but was herself prematurely adult. Precocious sexuality was characteristic of the behaviour defined as the principal form of delinquency among girls. Thus girls and boys did not appear in contemporary discussion on the same terms. Cunningham is, for this reason, mistaken to argue that the philanthropic discourse centred on the 'savage' street boy, overlooking girls because there were too few to make an impact on the general perception of the juvenile street population. The association of sexuality with adulthood disguised the discourse relating to girls by subsuming it within one more broadly relating to femininity: that of reclaiming the fallen woman and protecting future generations from the contamination of untrammelled female sexuality.

Before the eighteen-eighties, interested middle-class people knew that there were prostitutes who were also juveniles, but they did not see them as separate from the general body of prostitutes. For example, Thomas Beggs, in his study of the influence of alcohol consumption on the decline of working-class youth into crime and prostitution, discussed at some length juveniles as a particular branch of the prostituted group, referring to them as girls and

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[20]. See Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor (vol. 2, 1851), pp. 174, 528, 571-2.

children; but in a telling sentence he revealed the usurped adultness of the young prostitute. 'The most modest calculation,' he wrote, 'will show that there are about ten thousand of these miserable women in London, a large portion of them under the age of twenty-one.'[21] Beggs described such females as 'young in years, but old in shame.'[22]

'The prostitute' was a unitary figure largely undifferentiated by age and generally viewed as an immoral woman who had materially contributed to her own 'fall,' even though she may have drifted into prostitution, rather than actively choosing it.[23] The focus of concern was on the adult prostitute, for, by definition, a prostitute had to be an adult regardless of her actual age. Yet by the eighteen-eighties, the child or juvenile prostitute had become a recognised sub-section of the larger problem. Rescue workers became primarily concerned with reclaiming these children whom they perceived to be the victims of procuresses and evil men. In turn, this fed into a greater interest in endangered but as yet unfallen children. This shift in perception was due partly to the agitation for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, a campaign enhanced from the early eighteen-seventies by the development of the social purity

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[21]. Beggs, Juvenile Depravity, p. 104. Finnegan notes that in York, between 1837 and 1887, the majority of recorded prostitutes were under the age of twenty: Poverty and Prostitution, p. 76, table 1.

[22]. Beggs, Juvenile Depravity, p. 115.

[23]. Finnegan, Poverty and Prostitution, p. 3, points out that rescue homes, rescue societies and other voluntary agencies were well aware that there were differences between, for instance, the unmarried mother with one sexual experience and the hardened street-walker. See R&RJ, ccxlvii (1893), p. 438. However, the distinction was practically motivated, for ease of classification and maintenance of discipline within institutions. Ideologically, they were all bracketed together as 'fallen women.'

movement which entered its most passionate phase in the eighteen-eighties. Yet it was also partly a result of a greater romanticisation of childhood which made innocent childishness, or its lack, the measure by which juveniles were to be judged.

As Deborah Gorham has pointed out, one conceptual and linguistic problem with which the reformers of the eighteen-eighties had to struggle was the virtual absence of an idea of a transitional period between childhood and adulthood. Adulthood was defined in terms of the person's civil status, namely that an individual legally became an adult on achieving majority at twenty-one, rather than on any physiological basis. Thus nineteenth-century commentators had difficulty recognising that when they were discussing 'children', they were discussing a disparate group. They sometimes overlooked the fact that the needs and habits of what would now be called an adolescent or teenager were any different to those of an infant.[24] It was thought that a child, of whatever age, should have no knowledge, either active or passive, of sexuality. Thus, by becoming involved in sexual activity of any kind, the girl took on the mantle of adulthood and was discussed in those terms.

If writers were confused over whether a young sexually active female should be labelled a woman or a girl, they were equally unsure where the difference lay between the ordinary working woman or girl and the prostitute. In part, this was due to the theory that many such women engaged in prostitution on a casual basis in particularly severe times of want arising from unemployment

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[24]. Gorham, 'Maiden Tribute', pp. 355-6, 369-70.

or widowhood.[25] The behaviour of poor working-class women in public and in the arrangements of their private lives was described in such a way as to suggest that they lived but a short step away - if that - from prostitution. Moving about the streets unescorted was tantamount to professional streetwalking, while appearance in public houses and at fairgrounds showed that such women had succumbed to at least one vice, drink, which was constantly linked to every aspect of prostitution.[26] The public behaviour of young girls could be just as disquieting. For instance, the author of Liverpool Life was clearly shocked to see unchaperoned girls at a fairground, using 'fearful language', larking about with male youths who indulged in behaviour which the girls did not censure, even though it resulted in their clothes being disordered.[27] There are many other instances of such sensationalist horror in literature of the period.

Even when engaged in honest labour suspicion was heaped on women. A female labourer in an agricultural gang was supposedly beset by temptations, unsupervised among men in the fields, her modesty weakened by the

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[25]. W.T. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon', Pall Mall Gazette, no. 6337 (7 July 1885), p. 2. James Samuelson, The Civilization of Our Day (1896), p. 186, noted that the low wages of dressmakers forced them into 'immoral practices' in order to live. See Judith Walkowitz, 'Male Vice and Feminist Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain' History Workshop Journal, 13 (1982), p. 81; and Judith R. Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and State (Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 14-15 [hereafter Walkowitz, Prostitution].

[26]. Logan, An Exposure, esp. pp. 34-7; Beggs, Juvenile Depravity, pp. 105-116; Littlewood and Mahood, 'Prostitutes, Magdalenes, and Wayward Girls,' p. 162.

[27]. Anon, Publicity the True Cure of Social Evils; or Liverpool Life, Its Pleasures, Practices, and Pastimes (1856), p. 21 [hereafter Anon, Liverpool Life].

farmer's beer or cider.[28] The factory worker faced similar temptations, because, although she was under supervision, she was, nonetheless, in danger of corruption from the 'sights and sounds' of association - namely, the simple sight of men at work and the sound of their sometimes 'indecent' factory-floor conversation.[29] It is no coincidence that, in the eighteen-forties, the work of women in the mining industry was severely restricted for just these kinds of considerations.[30] Even the servant was considered at risk, both from the young men in her employer's family and from temptation on her rare Sunday afternoons off.[31]

It was not only working conditions which were viewed with distaste. Middle-class commentators observed ordinary working-class living conditions with horror, seeing in their overcrowding and lack of cleanliness not only the effects of poverty, but also of a lower standard of morality and decency than such writers felt acceptable. The poor, essentially unrespectable, working-class home was the antipathy of the pure domestic haven from the world which was

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28. Beggs, Juvenile Depravity, p. 72. See Lionel Rose, The Erosion of Childhood: Child Oppression in Britain, 1860-1918 (Routledge, London, 1991), pp. 31-3 on dangers of sexual exploitation for girls in agricultural gangs.

29. See, for instance, R. Smith-Baker and R.S. Bartleet, 'What are the Social Results of the Employment of Girls and Women in Manufacturies and Workshops?' Trans. N.A.P.S.S. for 1868-9 (1869), pp. 538-549, 603-4, arguing for a prohibition upon female workers in factories. Logan, An Exposure, p. 13.

30. See, for example, Gill Burke, 'The Decline of the Independent Bâl Maiden: The Impact of Change in the Cornish Mining Industry,' in Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England, 1800-1918 (ed) Angela V. John (Blackwell, Oxford, 1986), pp. 178-204; and Angela John, By the Sweat of Their Brow: Women Workers at Victorian Coal Mines (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1984).

31. Logan, An Exposure, pp. 11-13; Beggs, Juvenile Depravity, p. 114.

becoming so prominent in Victorian ideology, and the disorder of the family home was seen to reflect the ill-developed femininity of the working-class woman.[32] A further obsession was incest. Overcrowding was always used to suggest that indulgence in incestuous behaviour was rife among the poor working-classes. The prize-winning essayist Micaiah Hill asserted ominously that the housing of the poor needed to be reformed otherwise 'the poor man's house becomes the hot-bed of precocious vice'[33]; and other writers echoed his belief.[34] Such descriptions portrayed the generality of working-class homes as little more than brothels. By extension, it became easy to believe that this is exactly what they were, and that the women living in such conditions were nothing more than prostitutes. Indeed, it was not unknown for writers to argue that prostitution was a family trade, with daughters supporting mothers, or sisters going on the streets together.[35] Doubtless such beliefs had an impact on perceptions of female juveniles themselves, but perhaps more importantly for the history of the reformatory movement as it affected girls was the way such beliefs were likely to influence attitudes held among authority figures towards the mothers and other female relatives of potential inmates.

Exposures and polemics about the horrors of prostitution during the

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[32]. Lynda Nead, Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1988), pp. 32-39.

[33]. Hill, Essay, p. 101.

[34]. For example, Beggs, Juvenile Depravity, pp. 43-47; Rev. H. Fearon, Home Comfort; or Working Life: How to Make it Happier (1857), p. 18; Carpenter, 'On the Disposal Of Girls,' p. 415.

[35]. Beggs, Juvenile Depravity, pp. 93-94.

eighteen-forties and fifties may have inspired fervent effort among voluntary workers, but it left the government largely unmoved until it was found that an alarming proportion of the army and navy were infected with syphilis. Identifying prostitutes as the source of this infection - which, of course, not only affected the soldiers and sailors, but also their wives and children and thus the whole nations' health - Parliament passed the euphemistically-titled Contagious Diseases Acts in 1864, 1866, and 1869. The nature of these Acts and the fight for their repeal has been discussed by historians in numerous studies, notably by Judith Walkowitz and Paul McHugh,[36] and does not need to be examined here in any depth, except in so far as the attitudes held by the regulationists and repealers impinge upon the views then current of adult and juvenile prostitution. The repeal campaign was the principal force through which the prostitute came to be seen primarily as a victim of men rather than a victimiser of them.

By neglecting to enforce inspection of the male clients of prostitutes, the Contagious Diseases Acts shifted the blame for syphilitic infection firmly onto the woman. She became, in Walkowitz's phrase, 'the conduit of infection' and the social pariah who needed regulating, while the men who visited her went unmolested. The prostitute was also a symbol of the degraded yet threatening status of the less respectable working-classes.[37] By exercising her independence and flouting the middle-class sexual mores which mission workers attempted to impose, she threatened the dominant view of women as passive and a force for moral good. The brothel-cum-lodging-house,

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36. Paul McHugh, Prostitution and Victorian Social Reform (1980).

37. Walkowitz, Prostitution, pp. 2-4.

and, indeed, the working-class home, threatened the sanctity of the conventional family. Furthermore, the prostitute's lack of deference to higher class ideals was antagonistic to the social order. Walkowitz notes that while the investigators of prostitution working in the eighteen-forties were condemnatory of male sexual license, and demanded a single standard of sexual purity for all, they were principally concerned with the threat prostitutes represented to their own middle-class sons.[38] Prostitution needed to be swept off the streets and out of society to protect men - not to raise up the outcast women.

Although some writers, such as William Tait, realised that it was poverty which was the principal determinant of female prostitution, none of those writing in this period seemed able to accept that personal failings might not always be at the root of a woman's selling of her body. Character defects such as pride and over-love of fine dress, coupled with licentiousness and indolence, were blamed. Prostitution was described simultaneously as the most revolting and degrading course a poor female could take, while also being the easiest. Social commentators were sympathetic towards prostitutes only because their souls were endangered by their lives of sin. They received no pity for the circumstances in which they lived as fallen and outcast women. In a world where individual responsibility was emphasised, the 'decision' of such women to continue living as prostitutes condemned them in the eyes of otherwise sympathetic writers.[39]

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[38]. Walkowitz, Prostitution, pp. 32-34. See also Beggs, Juvenile Depravity, p. 116.

[39]. Walkowitz, Prostitution, chapter 2 throughout.

Thus around the time of the passing of the first Reformatory and Industrial School Acts, both the view of the prostitute as contaminating and dangerous, and the view of her as pitiable and victimised were current, but the first, more traditional view of her was still the more potent. There were already societies in existence which had been formed to suppress juvenile prostitution by cutting off the supply of prostitutes through the rescue of 'endangered' girls by placing them in refuges. Reformatory and industrial schools tapped into the fear of prostitution to provide a further agency which could stem recruitment into the profession. The girls with whom they dealt were not, on the whole, actually prostituted or even, necessarily, unchaste; but their background, behaviour or personal circumstances were of a type to which theories of sexual immorality could be prejudicially applied.

As the Contagious Diseases Acts repeal campaign began to highlight the victimisation and exploitation of working-class women who entered prostitution, social welfare workers began to search for a more attractive figure to promote as the symbol of sacrificed femininity than the loud, over-dressed and unrepentant harlot of earlier literature.[40] Hitherto, the 'unfallen' but endangered juvenile had been of interest largely because of her proximity to the dangers presented by her environment, particularly if her mother was known to be 'a bad woman.' In the eighteen-seventies and -eighties, the active juvenile prostitute was 'discovered'. As Walkowitz has argued, since sixteen seems to

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[40]. See, for example, Anon, Liverpool Life, p. 40, which drew prostitutes unsympathetically as women enjoying their vocation: 'coarsely behaved, vulgarly bedecked, painted beauties - girls who have nothing to recommend them but rich attire, the unnatural colour of their faces, the unchaste desire, and the utter absence of every feeling of shame and decency.'

have been the common age of sexual initiation, the hordes of child prostitutes described around this period were likely to have been little more than the creation of over-active imaginations.[41] However, this does not refute the fact, as shown by the records of reformatories, that child prostitutes did exist. Attitudes towards girl delinquents became increasingly and ever more pervasively imbued with perceptions of them as actually or potentially sexually active; as miniature adults engaged in a life-style of which they should not have been aware; and as a negation of the ideal of innocent and modest girlhood which was being so forcefully promoted in middle-class girls' literature and schooling.[42]

(iii) Ellice Hopkins and the Industrial Schools Amendment Act, 1880

The social purity movement, which highlighted the 'sacrifice of the girl child', was inspired and led by Ellice Hopkins.[43] She is an interesting figure to concentrate on in relation to the reformatory and industrial school

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41. Walkowitz, Prostitution, p. 17. Finnegan notes that there was no large scale child prostitution in York either, though there is evidence of a few child prostitutes: Poverty and Prostitution, pp. 81-82.

42. For example, Annmarie Turnbull, 'Learning Her Womanly Work: the Elementary School Curriculum, 1870-1914' and Deborah Gorham, 'The Ideology of Femininity and Reading for Girls, 1850-1914' in Felicity Hunt (ed), Lessons for Life: the Schooling of Girls, 1850-1914 (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987). See also Judith Rowbotham, Good Girls Make Good Wives: Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1989).

43. For a discussion of the social purity movement of the 1880s, in relation to the age of consent legislation and child prostitution, see Gorham, 'Maiden Tribute.'

system, because not only was this prolific pamphleteer a prime moving force behind the Industrial Schools Amendment Act of 1880, she herself was responsible for financing at least one of the Waifs & Strays Society's certified industrial schools.[44]

Miss Hopkins became interested in prostitution as a social problem in 1866, when she moved to Brighton, at the age of 30, with her elderly widowed mother. She was instrumental in the establishment of an Association for the Care of Friendless Girls in Brighton, and between the mid-eighteen-seventies and her death in 1904, her biographer records that she was involved in the founding of about 200 refuges and homes for girls in danger of or actually engaged in prostitution.[45] Most of these were, of course, entirely within the voluntary sector, and as such serve as a reminder that the certified reformatory system was not the only means in use at the time to deal with wayward girls.[46]

Hopkins was reputedly an 'intense admirer' of Josephine Butler, who was campaigning for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, but she

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[44]. She gave £200 of her own money to found the Ashurst Home, pressured the Waifs & Strays Society to establish the Hemel Hempstead Home, and organised the fund-raising for the Cold Ash Home. See Anon, The First Forty Years: A Chronicle of the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society, 1881-1920 (1922), pp. 26, 29, 34.

[45]. Rosa M. Barrett, Ellice Hopkins, A Memoir (Wells Gardner, London, 1907), chapters 5 and 10 [hereafter Barrett, Ellice Hopkins]. Ellice Hopkins, Work in Brighton; or Woman's Mission to Woman (1877) [hereafter Hopkins, Work in Brighton].

[46]. There is no modern study of the nineteenth century's network of voluntary refuges and homes for wayward females, but the scale of the voluntary sector's efforts can be judged from printed guides: for example, Anon [Louise Hubbard], A Guide to All Institutions Existing for the Benefit of Women and Children (1878); and Charity Organisation Society, A Guide to Schools, Homes, and Refuges...For Girls and Women (1888).

argued that while rescue work was always needed, 'a fence at the top of a cliff is better than an ambulance at the foot.' Thus her emphasis was on preventive work.[47] Hopkins drew a clearer distinction between girls and women, and the differing legitimacy of their respective claims to an active sexuality, than had the writers of the eighteen-forties and eighteen-fifties. So sure was she of this distinction that she sought to have it enshrined in legislation. Until 1875, the legal age of consent for girls was twelve, and in 1875 it was raised to thirteen.[48] Hopkins attacked this age limit as preposterous, shielding male seducers while offering no protection to young girls at the very age at which they became most vulnerable. How could society, she repeatedly asked, allow a girl to dispose of her most precious asset at the tender age of thirteen, while she could not dispose of property or marry without parental consent before the age of twenty-one?[49] Purity reformers were convinced that there was a class-bias in the law, which protected the heiresses of the well-off whilst sacrificing the daughters of the poor to the demands of immoral men.[50]

The age of consent legislation may well have been the most significant long-term effect of Hopkins' social purity campaigning, but in relation

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47. Barrett, Ellice Hopkins, pp. 10, 112. Ellice Hopkins, How to Start Preventive Work: Hints on the Management of a Training Home and Free Registry Office (1884) [hereafter Hopkins, Preventive Work].

48. 38 & 39 Vict. c. 94. There was, and is, no age of consent for boys.

49. For example, Ellice Hopkins, A Plea for the Wider Action of the Church of England (1879), p. 7 [hereafter Hopkins, A Plea for Wider Action], and Ellice Hopkins, Preventive Work; Or the Care of Our Girls (1881), pp. 9-10 [hereafter Hopkins, Care of Our Girls].

50. Gorham, 'Maiden Tribute,' p. 365.

to the working of certified industrial schools, it can be seen as a corollary to the Industrial Schools Amendment Act of 1880, which passed through parliament without dissent.[51] This Act was a significant step in the growing movement towards state intervention in the working-class home and interference in the lives of working-class females, and as such was linked to the Contagious Diseases Acts.[52] Rosa Barrett, Hopkins' biographer, celebrated the Amendment Act as a progressive step giving

> power to relatives and friends to obtain a search warrant and enter any disorderly house and search every room and cupboard, if there is reason to believe a girl, even with her own consent, is being harboured there.[53]

What is noteworthy in this passage is the recognition, firstly, that even though the Amendment Act was designed to allow the removal of both boys and girls, in effect it was aimed just at girls; and secondly, that the girls in question could be living in a 'brothel' through choice - a choice which, when exercised, corresponded to an inclination towards voluntary prostitution.

Many of Hopkins' pamphlets written around the time of the Industrial School Amendment Act's passage reveal that she was aware that even quite young girls could voluntarily enter into a sexually active, or prostituted, life. For instance, in a passionate pamphlet of 1882, she wrote criticising

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[51]. Hopkins, Care of Our Girls, p. 8.

[52]. Gorham, 'Maiden Tribute,' pp. 367-8.

[53]. Barrett, Ellice Hopkins, p. 113. The Vigilance Association for the Defence of Personal Rights interpreted it differently, stating that the Amendment Act was a law allowing 'the wholesale kidnapping of little girls who may not have perfect domestic surroundings.' Quoted in Frank Mort, Dangerous Sexualities (Routledge, London, 1987), p. 125.

working-class mothers who did not raise their daughters to be modest, decent, and obedient - in other words, good servants - noting that such a girl would be able 'from sheer wilfulness' to 'work her way out at length into the outcast class - the one mode of life in which she thinks she can do "as she likes".'[54] She criticised factory work for making children independent of their parents, because, by earning their own money, young people were able to marry or establish homes together away from adult supervision.[55] Expressing outrage at the failure of English law to protect the virtue of girls over thirteen, Hopkins fulminated against the inadequacies of legislation which, among other things, did 'not apply to an unruly child, who, so to speak, abducts herself, and stays out at night of her own free will.'[56]

It is quite clear from this that Hopkins was fully aware that juvenile females could enter into everyday sexual activity, or even prostitution, without coercion; but she regarded this knowledge as misleading and unacceptable. Hopkins believed that, by definition as a child, a girl was not qualified to make such a decision; and that any such decision she had appeared to make was null and void. To her, all such children were the dupes of evil adults, even if there was no evidence of violence and coercion. Society was at fault, not the foolish, immature girl incapable of making a responsible decision. The illusory nature of that decision is illustrated in the following passage.

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[54]. Ellice Hopkins, Grave Moral Questions Addressed to the Men and Women of England (1882), pp. 32-3 [hereafter Hopkins, Grave Moral Questions].

[55]. Hopkins, Grave Moral Questions, p. 42.

[56]. Hopkins, Grave Moral Questions, p. 9. See also Walkowitz, Prostitution, pp. 18-21.

'Perhaps you will say,' wrote Hopkins in a pamphlet of 1877,

> I have no right to call them [brothels] "slaughter-houses", that women go voluntarily into them, and not like the poor beasts that are driven blindfold to their fates. Do you know whom we find in these dens? Do you know that we find motherless children, with faces as young and fair as that girlish face you kiss in its sweet innocence in your own home?[57]

By stressing that many of the brothel inmates were recognisably children, Hopkins distanced them from women who were, she implicitly agreed, capable of autonomous decision-making. Then, by emphasising the link between the girl in the brothel and the middle-class girl in the parental home, Hopkins reinforced the reader's assumption that a young girl could only be in a brothel against her will, or, at the very least, that she would not wish to be there if she fully appreciated what her situation involved.[58]

Hopkins used her pamphlets, and subsequently, with Josephine Butler and others, encouraged W.T. Stead to use the Pall Mall Gazette, to show that immature girls were the victims of wealthy men in a tragic trade in virginal human flesh. Though Stead himself acknowledged that only a small proportion of girls became prostitutes through their abduction or rape, and that the majority of prostitutes were in the 'profession' voluntarily,[59] the image of the enslaved and betrayed infant became the icon of the social purists and influenced beyond measure the attitudes held towards poor working-class girls, whatever their sexual history. The working-class home came under ever more burning scrutiny

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57. Hopkins, Work in Brighton, p. 24.

58. See also Walkowitz, Prostitution, epilogue.

59. W.T.Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute', Pall Mall Gazette, no. 6336 (6 July 1885), p. 3.

with a view to 'rescuing' girls before they could fall. A flurry of industrial school foundations in the eighteen-eighties pointed out new priorities in the reformatory system and offered to do no less than give it a whole new lease of life. It was rapidly becoming driven by the need to reclaim the female sexual delinquent, openly identified as such, as much as the male criminal delinquent.

Part of the problem arising from the Amendment Act which Hopkins sought to address in her campaign for age of consent legislation, was the unwillingness of many magistrates to put it into action. While special schools were founded in preparation for girls known to be morally contaminated, many magistrates resisted attempts to remove such apparently endangered children from reputedly immoral homes. For instance, in 1885, it was brought to the attention of the Council of the Reformatory and Refuge Union that, although its Rescue Officer had brought charges against five girls under the Amendment Act, the magistrates had refused to commit any of them.[60] The unwillingness of the magistrates to co-operate was particularly marked in London. By April 1886, the Union Council was so exasperated that one of its members, Lord Aberdare, a former Home Secretary, was commissioned to complain to his successor.[61] However, this seems to have had little effect, because cases brought under the Amendment Act continued to fail.[62] Eventually, a test case was brought, which went against the magistrates, and that seems to have ended the conflict

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60. Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/A5, minutes, Council Meetings, 3 June and 1 July, 1885.

61. Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/A5, minutes, Council Meeting, 7 April 1886.

62. Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/A5, minutes, Executive Committee meeting, 6 April 1887.

between the Union and the agencies of law enforcement.[63]

The reluctance of these magistrates to put the new law into practice had been partly motivated by a solicitude for parental rights, but also by the questions of need and cost. Some magistrates and other 'Christian gentlemen', as Hopkins noted with disgust, were of the opinion that prostitution was a necessary evil and that there was no point trying to suppress it as it would always exist.[64] Such people felt that girls rescued from the brothel environment would need to be housed in specially classified institutions because of the dangerous and corrupting knowledge they possessed, but that to encourage the foundation of such special schools would be to add an unacceptable new burden upon rate-payers. The rate-payers were, after all, only reluctantly financing the existing industrial and elementary schools.[65]

However, just as Mary Carpenter and her fellow campaigners had appealed to the pockets of the comfortably-off by promising that, in the long run, it would be cheaper to make use of juvenile reformatories and similar institutions in the fight against crime, instead of trying to deal with the hardened adult criminal in the prison, so Ellice Hopkins appealed to those same pockets on the issue of juveniles feeding the ranks of prostitution. In a passionate letter to the Howard Association, she wrote that

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[63]. Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/A6, minutes, Executive Committee meeting, 6 Feb. 1895, to discuss "The Tolini Case": Regina v Plowden.

[64]. For instance, Hopkins, Grave Moral Questions, p. 16; and A Plea For Wider Action, p. 8. Also Waugh, The Gaol Cradle, p. 162-3.

[65]. Hopkins, Grave Moral Questions, p. 16. Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/A4, 'A Statement,' by Ellice Hopkins.

> One tenth of the money that poor wretched girls cost in prisons, in hospitals for themselves and their victims, and in workhouses, if spent on their industrial training as children, would have saved them and made them respectable wives and mothers and productive members of the community.[66]

The Northern Weekly Express, a supporter of James Hall's plans to establish a home for little girls of this class at Whitley Bay, argued that 'Our streets are thronged at night with poor creatures, many of whom have been reared in vice' and challenged its readers to object 'to the payment of a few pence or shillings per annum towards an institution to redeem these poor creatures from impending destruction.'[67] Couched in such terms, it was difficult to disagree with the justice of establishing a system of preventive industrial schools.

(iv) Conclusion

The wayward girl was not only hidden in the category 'juvenile delinquent,' she was also rendered invisible by her assimilation into 'prostitution' and even 'womanhood.' It was not until the late eighteen-seventies and early eighteen-eighties, with the campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts, white slavery, and child prostitution, that the girl delinquent as a specific category became more significant to contemporary opinion. Struggling with conceptual inadequacies, social purity and welfare workers began to promote the poor

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66. Howard Association, Report (1880), p. 9, quoting Hopkins' letter dated August 1880.

67. Quoted in William Hayward, James Hall of Tynemouth (privately printed, 1896, 2 vols), pp. 199-200 (vol. 1) [hereafter Hayward, James Hall].

unprotected girl as the symbol of enslaved and sacrificed femininity. For those earnest men and women who sought to rouse the national conscience against the 'Great Social Evil,' the 'outraged child' was an altogether more attractive figure than the over-dressed whore. The apparent neglect hitherto of girls by both charity and the state was drawn in broad strokes as a national disgrace requiring immediate rectification. The social purity campaigner Ellice Hopkins firmly believed that there were as many girls requiring reformatory treatment as there were boys, but that the biases of those who operated the system, especially the legislators and magistrates, had left girls unprotected. The girl's 'offence' was not always a transgression of law, and the practices in which they were in danger of engaging - sexual delinquencies - were largely winked at by men who might some day have a desire to purchase these girls' services. 'Alas! alas!' lamented Hopkins,

> one begins to see why it is that there are only 3,000 girls to all but 12,000 boys in our English Certified Schools, or, taking in our Reformatory Schools as well, 4,656 girls to 19,037 boys, and what is the provision made for the 14,381 missing destitute girls![68]

'The monograph of British law,' wrote Reverend Benjamin Waugh, the founder of what would become the N.S.P.C.C., was 'the boy snug [in a home], and the girl in the cold.'[69] The experienced emigration worker, Maria Rye, writing to Edward Rudolf of the newly formed Church of England Central Society for the Provision of Homes for Waifs and Strays, stated

> I want to press upon you very strongly the importance of making the girls a first point; I am sure looking after them while young is

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68. Hopkins, Grave Moral Questions, pp. 16-17.

69. Waugh, The Gaol Cradle, p. 164.

> nationally a matter of vital importance... People will tell you the girls cannot be helped, or cannot be found, but this is all nonsense, and they need the help a thousandfold more than the boys.[70]

The Waifs and Strays Society responded to this call by making over its first voluntary home, its first home certified by the government for the reception of pauper children, and its first government certified industrial school, to girls.[71] From being a peripheral problem, hidden and disguised in the broader male-oriented discourse on delinquency, the girl in trouble emerged in the eighteen-eighties as a central issue for public concern.

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[70]. Anon, The First Forty Years, pp. 8-9.

[71]. Anon, First Forty Years, pp. 8, 24, 26.

Chapter Three.

'She Knows Too Much For a Girl of Her Age': Selecting the Children for Committal

(i) Reformatory Schools

The legal requirements for the establishment of a case for committal to a reformatory school were fairly straightforward. Unlike the Industrial School Act, the operation of which demanded at least a perfunctory investigation into the background and antecedents of the child in question, committal to a reformatory merely required that a criminal offence be proved against her, without there being any necessity to make reference to her family or personal background. This absence of investigation is reflected in the records of committal. While an uncovering of significant patterns in, for instance, the household types or parental occupations of those entering industrial schools may suggest the kinds of girl most vulnerable to the powers of the industrial school legislation, lack of information means that the same exercise cannot be undertaken with respect to reformatory admissions.

The admissions registers of only two girls' reformatories have been located, and they are, at first sight, unrepresentative of the schools as a whole since both were Roman Catholic institutions: the Lancashire R.C. Girls'

Reformatory at Liverpool, and Arno's Court Reformatory at Bristol.[1] Unfortunately, the Lancashire Reformatory's registers are incomplete, but the register of Arno's Court Reformatory provides an interesting record of the whole period. Arno's Court was the first certified Catholic girls' reformatory to be established in Britain and it was always one of the largest. Between 1856, the year of certification, and the end of 1901, a total of 1,173 Roman Catholic girls entered Arno's Court. The youngest was aged seven, the oldest sixteen.[2] Arno's Court Reformatory is likely to be a revealing example because the Good Shepherd sisters who ran the school accepted every case sent to them, regardless of considerations of age, health, and background, rejecting the privilege of managers to refuse to take cases they regarded as unsuitable; thus the girls who inhabited Arno's Court might well have included the worst kind of female juvenile delinquent.[3]

In order to test the validity of any general conclusions made from the records, the Arno's Court sample cohorts will be compared to the national cohorts, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, of the same years.[4] It is

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1. Registers of committal to Arno's Court: G.S. Prov. R.14/2, /3, /4, and /5. May Place Reformatory register: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/8/1, 1854-1860, and /4, 1890-1904.

2. This is the age recorded, despite the fact that the Act stated that youthful offenders were to be committed to a reformatory *under* the age of sixteen. The following paragraphs will be based on an analysis of 130 girls who together formed the committal cohorts of 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, and 1901.

3. Arno's Court Reformatory: PP 1865 [3527] XXV p. 373 (8th Annual Report).

4. National figures drawn from: PP 1862 [3034] XXVI p. 614 (5th Annual Report, for 1861); PP 1872 [C. 628] XXX p. 564 (15th Annual Report, for 1871); PP 1882 [C. 3352] XXXV p. 272 (25th Annual Report, for 1881); and PP 1892 [C.

apparent from centrally gathered figures reproduced in the annual inspector's reports that inmates of Catholic reformatories tended to be committed at a later age than their Protestant counterparts. Summing the national cohorts of the years 1861, 1871, 1881, and 1891, the proportion of Protestant girls who were committed aged fourteen or fifteen was 51%, while of Catholic girls it was 59%. In comparison, the Arno's Court sample shows 55% committed at that age. Thus it seems that, over the whole population, any age bias in the Arno's Court material is slight enough to allow an analysis of these Catholic girls to be viewed as representative of the broader reformatory system. It is important to establish this because certain types of criminal offence might have been linked to particular ages. It is also possible that age bias might distort the level of previous convictions recorded, for older girls would, of course, have had more time in which to gather previous convictions. Seventy-four per cent of girls committed to Protestant reformatories, nationally, in 1861, 1871, 1881, and 1891 were not known to have had a previous conviction. The figure for Catholic girls was hardly different at 73%. At Arno's Court, slightly fewer of the girls committed in the same years came into the school on their first conviction, but, at 69%, the difference is not significant.[5]

6733] XLIII p. 308 (35th Annual Report, for 1891). The government's figures should be treated cautiously as it is not certain that they are accurate: for example, in 1861, although three Arno's Court girls were recorded in the admissions register as having multiple previous convictions, the national printed figures show only one such Roman Catholic girl.

[5]. This figure is achieved by adding into the category of 'no previous convictions' the girls for whom no information was given, the justification for this being that the official national figures do not contain a category of 'information unknown'.

In striking contrast, slightly less than half of Protestant and Catholic boys committed to a reformatory in these four years (around 49%) were sent on their first conviction. It is possible that the committal of girls to reformatories at an earlier stage in their criminal careers was seen as the kindest, most appropriate way to deal with them. This was a view clearly held by the Inspector Reverend Sydney Turner, who wrote that because of 'their exposure to vicious influences', girls 'may...in the majority of cases be safely and judiciously placed in reformatories on their first conviction'.[6] Mary Carpenter believed that wayward girls tended to be dealt with outside the official legal system for as long as possible, only finding themselves in court once 'all more lenient means of correction have been previously tried unavailingly.'[7] Thus it is apparent that, as many contemporaries were aware, the first conviction of a child may not have been the result of his or her first excursion into criminal activity, merely the first time the child had been apprehended and officially dealt with.[8]

As well as the generality of reformatory girls being - at least as far as we can tell - in the early stages of a criminal career, the kinds of offence for which they were committed to reformatories were, on the whole, of a non-

6. PP 1861 [2874] XXX p. 13 (4th Annual Report). His successor, Inspector William Inglis, disagreed: PP 1882 [C. 3352] XXXV p. 6 (25th Annual Report).

7. Mary Carpenter, 'Reformatories for Convicted Girls,' Trans. N.A.P.S.S for 1857 (1858), p. 339. See also PP 1852 (515) VII p. 145 (Minutes of evidence, Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children).

8. Carpenter, Reformatory Schools, p. 4; PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 21 (para. 26) (Report of Royal Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools). W.D. Morrison, Juvenile Delinquents (Fisher Unwin, London, 1896), pp. 50-1.

violent and fairly petty nature, as Table 1 suggests. The 130 girls forming

Table 1: Reasons for Committal
(Arno's Court Reformatory, 1861-1901 sample)

Reason for Committal	Frequency	Percentage
Theft / Larceny	100	77.0
Vagrancy	9	6.9
Felony (unspecified)	6	4.6
Industrial Sch. offence	6	4.6
Burglary	3	2.3
Disorderly conduct	3	2.3
Fraud	1	0.8
Wilful damage	1	0.8
Misdemeanour (unspec.)	1	0.8
Total	130	100

the Arno's Court sample were committed for a range of offences, the most common of which was theft or larceny. This category incorporates a range of non-violent crimes involving other people's property, the most serious of which was an act of housebreaking undertaken by three girls aged fifteen who worked as a gang.[9] Theft from retailers tended to be of goods such as fabric and clothing[10] - no girl was committed for stealing foodstuffs.

The goods which were stolen were, in most cases, of low monetary value: indeed, it is not always apparent why the thieves would have considered

[9]. Arno's Court Reformatory: G.S.Prov. R14/5, register, cases 904, 905, and 906.

[10]. For example, G.S.Prov. R14/4, register, case 509; R14/5, register, cases 909, 1145.

some of the stolen items desirable. What, for instance, was Emily planning to do with an unfinished dress bodice? Similarly, what inspired Kate to take a photograph from a school?[11] Possibly a whim, items pocketed simply because they were lying around. More conventionally, handkerchiefs, watches, and money were regular booty, indicating that pickpocketing was not just a small boy's trade.[12]

The preliminary prison and reformatory sentences given out to future Arno's Court inmates in response to these crimes were much as would be expected in the light of legislative constraints. Over the period, prison sentences ranged from ten days to three months, with a mode of fourteen days. The mean reformatory sentence was four years and four months, with 78% of these committed girls being sentenced to either four or five years detention.

In contrast to the reformatory sentence, which was to some extent standardized by legislation and by the pressures of school managers who believed that only the maximum sentence could give them enough time to effect reformation,[13] the duration of the prison sentence was almost entirely at the discretion of the convicting magistrate. The Arno's Court committals reveal a considerable arbitrariness in sentencing policy. Four cases can be outlined to

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[11]. Arno's Court Reformatory: G.S.Prov. R14/4, register, case 526; and R14/5, register, case 908.

[12]. For example, G.S.Prov. R14/3, register, cases 240, 248, and 256.

[13]. e.g. Report by West Riding Reformatory's managers: 12th Annual Report of the Reformatory & Refuge Union (1868), p. 35. A reformatory sentence was to be of three to five years in length.

illustrate this.[14] In 1861, Mary, aged 15, was summarily convicted at Bath for the theft of a handkerchief valued at 14d, for which offence she received a prison sentence of fourteen days with four years of reformatory detention. In the same year, Ann, aged 12, was also summarily convicted, this time in Wakefield, for the offence of pickpocketing a purse, value 6d. Ann, despite being younger than Mary and having stolen an item of lesser value, received a harsher sentence, namely three months imprisonment plus four years reformatory. In 1871, Fanny stole fabric from her master, worth ten shillings. Margaret also stole from her master, taking a shirt valued at £1. In response, the convicting magistrates sentenced Margaret to ten days' imprisonment and five years' reformatory, but Fanny, again the younger of the two, went to prison for two months, followed by five years at Arno's Court. Clearly, the value of the theft did not necessarily influence the sentence of imprisonment given, nor did the age of the offender.

Equally, the number of previous convictions had no consistent effect on the length of the sentence either to prison or to the reformatory. Girls on their first conviction experienced imprisonment of from ten to ninety days, just as did those with three or more convictions on their records.

It is possible that the reputation of the parents may have had a bearing on the length of sentence given, though this is extremely difficult to measure. Certainly, in some circumstances, reference was made to the behaviour and character of parents, even though this should have been

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[14]. Arno's Court Reformatory: G.S.Prov. R14/3, register, cases 240, 244; and R14/4, register, cases 500, 518.

immaterial to the establishment of a case for committal. For instance, in the case of a thirteen year old girl sent to May Place reformatory in 1889, it is apparent that her family background had been investigated. She had been sentenced to a month's imprisonment and five years' reformatory for stealing a pot of jam worth sixpence. 'The reformatory,' commented Richard Yates, honorary secretary to the school, 'seems the right place for her: there is no doubt as to the character of the mother.'[15] It is difficult to ascertain from hints such as this the comparative weight given to parental, as opposed to personal, behaviour in drawing up a reformatory committal, but they are suggestive of a similarity between committals to reformatories and industrial schools based on the unsatisfactory behaviour of the mother in particular, a question which is discussed below in the context of admissions to industrial schools.

[15]. L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/4, letter 4 Mar. 1889, Yates to Henry Rogers.

(ii) Industrial Schools

> *[The mother] is I believe a dreadful creature. The child is a sweet fair haired child. My heart sinks for her. I do not think the Mother is in Prison...it is as you say, awful for them to remain in so much sin until they get so dyed...*[16]

Committals to industrial schools were, on the whole, better documented and the complexity of the cases more extensively recorded than were those at reformatories. Whereas the committal of a girl to a reformatory was sparked principally by her participation in an offence against the criminal law - even though James Legge suspected that a fear that she would turn to prostitution prompted the rescue of many reformatory girls[17] - the committal of a girl to an industrial school was produced by the interplay of a multiplicity of factors relating to her parental status, her personal behaviour, her physical environment, and the past history of the parents, the child, and the neighbourhood.

Once a girl was identified as one requiring 'rescue' and incarceration, the investigation was directed so that it would fall within the auspices of the Industrial School Acts (later also the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1894, which included provisions for the committal of certain neglected children to industrial schools). By 1896, it was possible to identify a broad section of working-class children for whom the arbitrary exercise of

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16. CS case 9: Victoria, aged 11. Letter 31 Oct. 1883, from Emily Hayford, rescuer, to Miss Miller, matron of Portsmouth & South Hants School.

17. R&RJ, cccxxvi (1899), p. 556.

justice could result in committal. Those found begging or wandering and seeking alms; the ill-behaved workhouse child; the consorter with thieves and prostitutes; the truant; the mischievous and 'uncontrollable'; the offspring of criminals; and so on, incorporating the very poorest of children, the neglected, the unconventional of lifestyle. The broadest class incorporated the child considered to be 'not under proper guardianship', and into this category came a wide range of parental and filial 'offences'.[18]

The following discussion concerns the ways in which the Industrial School Acts were used and the factors which were considered to be of prime importance in the creation of a case for committal. A number of sources will be used. The principal one is the collection of casepapers belonging to the Children's Society, formerly known as the Church of England Central Society for the Providing of Homes for Waifs and Strays (the Waifs & Strays Society). Between its foundation in 1881 and the end of 1900, 356 girls were committed to the Society's certified industrial schools, which were situated at Meanwood, near Leeds; Ashurst; Cold Ash, near Newbury; the Mumbles in Swansea; and Hemel Hempstead, moving to Shipton-under-Wychwood in 1899. Each of these homes was designed to be run on an intimate 'family system', with twenty to thirty girls in each, and a relatively high ratio of staff to inmates.

These 356 girls were identified through a survey of the Society's case-summary books, and the listing of girls who had 'committed' written next

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[18]. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV pp. 9, 87-94 (Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools).

to their names.[19] A small number of case papers could not be found, either because they were not in place in the archive, or were wrongly numbered and lost, or were sent to other authorities while the girl was still under the Society's control but were never returned to headquarters. It has been possible to recover the case-papers of 343 girls from a total population of 356. Given that, from what is known, there appears to be no bias in the missing cases, these 343 girls will be treated as if they constituted the total population.

The Waifs & Strays Society cases are a source rich in detail and interest. However, the nature of the Society produced biases in its selection procedures. It was, first and foremost, a Church of England society, devoted to protecting and educating children who could be claimed as Anglicans by their rescuers. Of the committed Waifs & Strays girls, 219 (63.8%, N=343) were described in their casepapers as belonging to the Church of England, with a further eighty-eight identified, imprecisely, as 'Protestant'.[20] Secondly, the Society was founded in the wake of vigorous campaigning by Ellice Hopkins on the issue of child prostitution and the passing of the Industrial Schools Amendment Act, 1880, which allowed children to be committed to industrial schools for associating with prostitutes. From the outset, the Society's girls' certified industrial schools were aimed at children rescued from such

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[19]. The casepapers of a small number of girls labelled 'Committed' in the case-summary books showed that they were voluntary inmates. Conversely, it is possible that some girls who were committed have been overlooked because they were not so labelled in the case-summary books.

[20]. There were a small number of definitely non-Anglican children committed. Seven were Roman Catholics, three Wesleyan Methodists, three Congregationalists, one Baptist and one a Jew: CS cases 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 63, 97, 103, 107, 159, 161, 165, 174, 187, 202.

circumstances. This is reflected strongly in the factors which led to committal, as will be described below, though, as Table 2 shows, only a minority - albeit a

Table 2: Official Reasons for Committal (Waifs & Strays, girls 1881-1900)

Reason	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Residing with prostitutes	88	33.3
Frequenting company of prostitutes	18	6.8
Not under proper guardianship	44	16.6
Uncontrollable	33	12.5
Persistent truancy	23	8.7
Wandering; having no settled place of abode	14	5.3
Destitute; an orphan or a parent in prison	7	2.7
Frequenting company of thieves	6	2.3
Found begging	4	1.5
Refractory workhouse child	2	0.8
Other reason	25	9.5
Total	264	100

[**Table 2:** No information, 79 cases]

substantial one - were committed explicitly for associating with prostitutes.

In order to test whether there was a bias in the Society's intake, it is necessary to compare it with admissions to other industrial schools. The evidence is fragmentary, but it is striking that the same factors so prominent in the background of Waifs & Strays cases appear repeatedly in the records of other schools. There are also overtones of the same factors in the records of schools which date from before the 1880 Act. The records of the Gem Street Industrial School, Birmingham, provide a sample of seventy-one girls committed between

1868 and 1873, those of the Princess Mary Village Homes 594 girls committed between 1871 and 1901, and of the Portsmouth and South Hants Industrial School, 114 girls committed between 1881 and 1901.[21] There was no explicit committal policy at work at the Portsmouth and South Hants or at Gem Street, but the Princess Mary Village Homes were intended to house the offspring of convicted parents, this being part of the prison mission work of the founder Susannah Meredith.[22] None of these schools exercised a selection procedure with precisely the same biases as the Waifs & Strays Society.

Four issues stood out in the preparation of cases for committal to all these schools: the suspected prostitution of the mother; the 'immorality' of the home; the mother living outside a conventional marriage; and the precocious sexuality of the child combined with fears for her lack of appropriate confinement within the private sphere. The first three of these were judgements upon the mother's failure to adhere to a particular model of ideal femininity and motherhood. To be labelled a prostitute was the most damning of these as such a figure rejected continence and chastity in pursuit of money and supposed sexual gratification. Table 3 summarises the information relating to the occupation of

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21. Gem Street C.I.S.: B.C.L. MS 994/14, register. P.M.V.H.: Surrey R.O. 2591/3/5, register. Portsmouth & South Hants C.I.S.: Surrey R.O. 2591/3/2, discharge register.

22. Such committals to take place under the Prevention of Crimes Act, 1871 (34 & 35 Vict. c. 112) which amended section 14 of the Industrial Schools Act, 1866. Mrs Meredith was a Protestant Dubliner who was motivated by her fervent religious beliefs to work with discharged female prisoners and their children, to organise moral letter-writing by ladies to male convicts, and, latterly, to establish a mission in Jerusalem for the conversion of non-Christian women to Christianity. These works were known collectively as 'The Nine Elms Mission'. See M.A. Lloyd, Susannah Meredith: A Record of a Vigorous Life (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1903) [hereafter Lloyd, Susannah Meredith].

Table 3: Mother's Occupation
(Waifs & Strays, girls admitted 1881-1900)

Occupational group[23]	Frequency	Percentage
Prostitute	61	33.7
Unskilled manual	44	24.3
"Socially unacceptable"	32	17.7
Housewife/No occup'n	21	11.6
Skilled manual	7	3.8
Domestic servant	6	3.3
Letting lodgings	3	1.7
Other occupation	7	3.8
Total	181	99.9

[**Table 3:** Dead, 31; Lunatic, 3; Prison, 5; Unknown, 123]

the mother which was entered by the Waifs & Strays Society representative onto each child's casepaper. A third of the mothers for whom information was given were described as 'prostitute' (or some other readily understandable euphemism, such as 'fallen') in the box labelled 'Mother's Occupation'. Criticism of the morality of the household was a criticism of the mother's failure to conform to proper ideals of femininity for the simple reason that the home was seen as the

[23]. These occupational groups are derived from the section given on the case-paper form for recording the mother's occupation; or, in a few instances, where the mother's occupation is stated explicitly in correspondence supporting the committal.
Servant: servant, housemaid, housekeeper.
Unskilled Manual: factory hand, charwoman, brickmaker, laundress, washerwoman, mangler, 'sewing', winder.
Skilled Manual: nurse, collier, dressmaker, jute-worker.
"Socially Unacceptable": beggar, brothel keeper, tramp, vagrant, hawker, rescue home inmate.
Other: 'Poor', 'doubtful', invalid, retired, unemployed.

mother's domain, and it was from her character and behaviour that the tone of the household was expected to arise. In all the cases relating to the Waifs & Strays Society, there was only a single instance where a home described as

Table 4: Father's Occupation
(Waifs & Strays, girls admitted 1881-1900)

Occupational group[24]	Frequency	Percentage
Unskilled manual	92	51.1
Skilled Manual	44	24.4
Army/Navy/Police	13	7.2
"Socially unacceptable"	8	4.4
Menial (unskilled)	6	3.3
Non-labouring	6	3.3
Retail trades	5	2.8
Other occupation	6	3.3
Total	180	99.8

[**Table 4:** Dead, 23; Prison, 7; Unknown, 134]

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[24]. The relatively high level of occupations unknown among fathers arises, in part, from the high level of abandoned or unmarried mothers and, in part, from poor record keeping by the Waifs & Strays Society.
Unskilled Manual: labourer, drover, cowherd, coalman, carman, coal-trimmer, hammerman, porter, railway worker, bargeman, cabman, coachman, goods loader, horse-keeper, lamp-lighter, moulder, woodman, fly-driver, stevedor, stoker, 'working'.
Skilled Manual: baker, carpenter, tailor, marble-mason, plumber, coach-builder, cobbler, gardener, compositor, joiner, printer, boilermaker, bricklayer, chimney-sweep, collier, cooper, gas-fitter, fisherman, french polisher, umbrella-maker, glassblower, painter, mechanic, straw-worker.
Menial: cabtout, cab-washer, shoe-black, waiter, road-sweeper, potman.
Non-Labouring: clerk, druggist, stationer, tram conductor, postman.
Retail Trades: fishseller, publican, salesman, tradesman.
"Socially Unacceptable": brothel keeper, beggar, hawker, tramp.
Other: Unemployed, emigrant, hospitalized, no occupation.

immoral entirely through the behaviour of the father: and in that case he was a brothel-keeper with a wife in a lunatic asylum.[25]

As Table 4 (above) shows, fathers were generally drawn from a humble occupational group, although, compared with mothers (Table3), a smaller proportion were described as pursuing socially unacceptable occupations than might have been anticipated. Fifty-seven were identified by the Waifs & Strays Society as 'labourers', a term well-known for its vagueness. Overall, the unskilled manual worker constituted the father marginally most likely to lose his daughter to the industrial school.

Diagram 1 below relates to the Waifs & Strays sample and shows the overlap between the categories 'lone mother' (either by widowhood, desertion, or non-marriage), 'suspected of prostitution', and 'having an immoral home'. None of these, especially the last, are particularly precise, since they depended much on the prejudices and assumptions of the ladies and gentlemen called upon to report the cases. It would, for instance, be plausible to argue that all ninety-nine women suspected of prostitution were thought to have immoral homes, not just the sixty-nine of whom both categories were actually stated. Equally, the description of the home as 'immoral' may have been intended to imply alleged prostitution of the mother, with over-sensitivity on the part of the reporter preventing the naming of the dreaded evil. This would certainly fit with the coded language used in other contexts to describe sexual matters. What is indicated by diagram 1 is the widespread suspicions of maternal immorality. While the categories of single mother, prostitute, and immoral home each include

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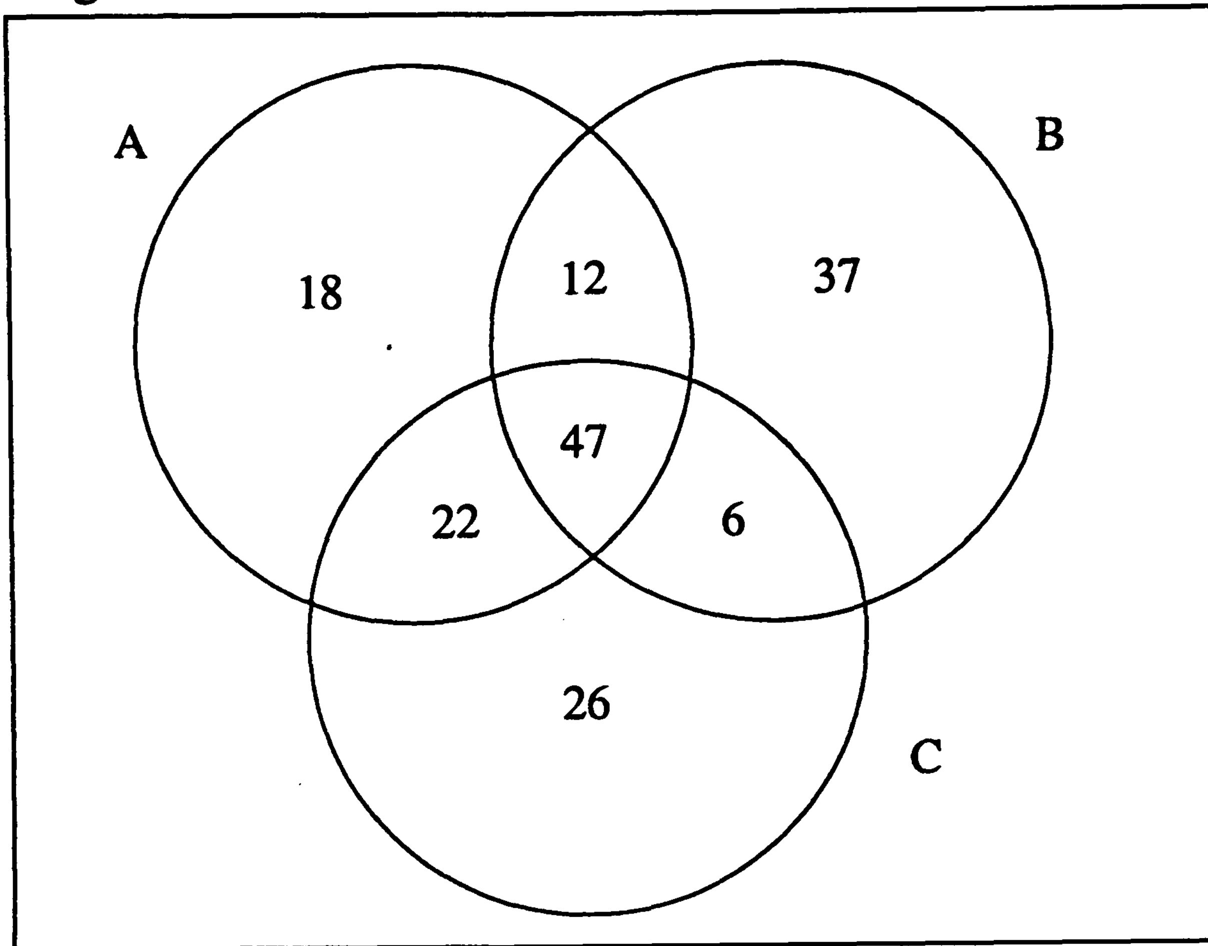
[25]. CS case 76.

Diagram 1



Key to Diagrams 1 and 2

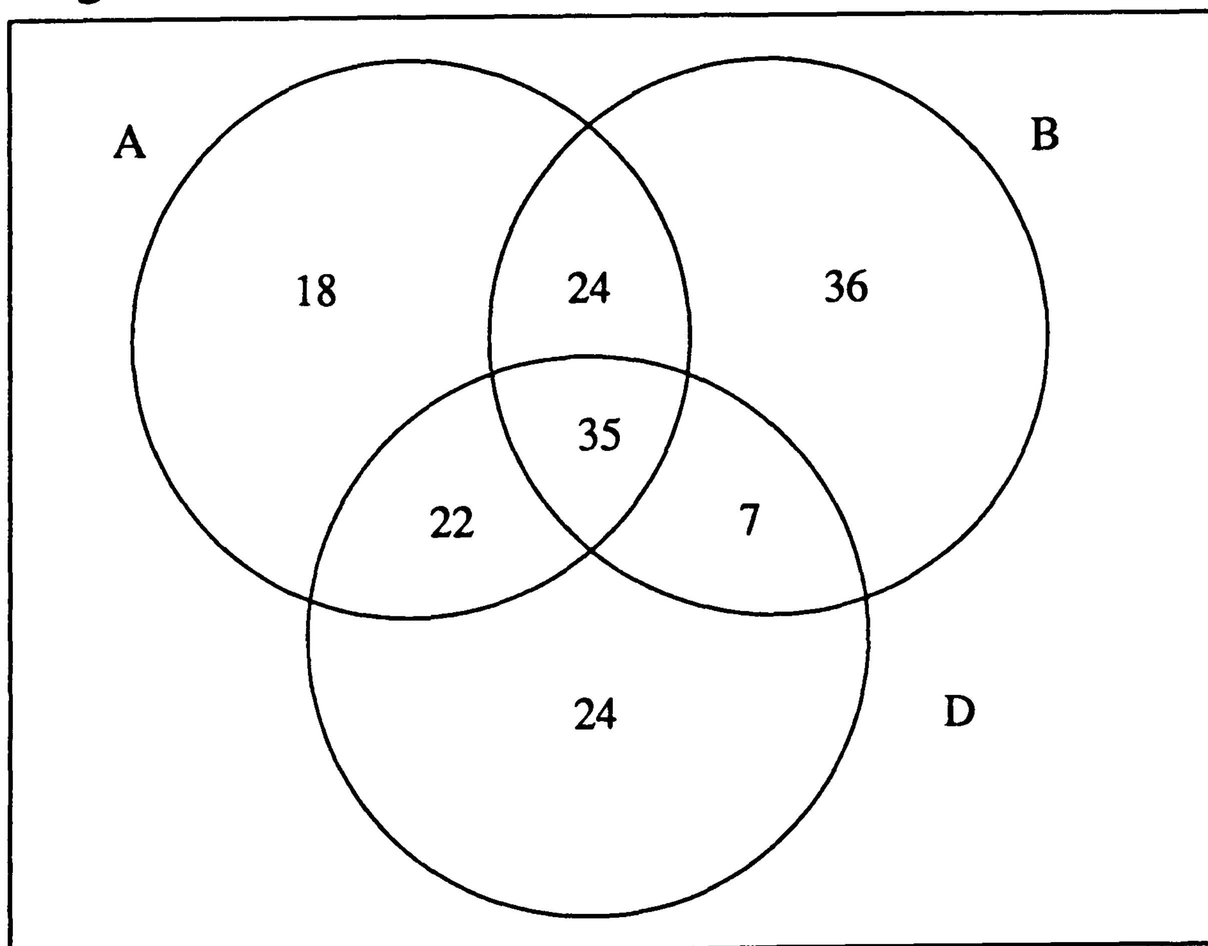
A: mothers suspected of being prostitutes (99 cases).

B: lone mothers (102 cases).

C: having a home described as "immoral" (101 cases).

D: child committed for living with prostitutes (88 cases).

Diagram 2



roughly a third of the Waifs & Strays cases, the same hundred cases are not involved in each category. In fact, by recording the overlap between these three categories, it is found that in 168 cases (49%, N=343), the mother was implicated in either sexual deviance or an unconventional lifestyle which reflected badly upon her morality. By putting aside the six known cases of total orphanage and thirty-one cases of lone fathers or stepfathers (i.e. those instances where there was no recorded mother or mother-figure at the time of committal, usually because of the woman's death), the percentage rises to 55% (N=306).

Other classifications can be introduced to assess this level of interest in the mother and her sexual immorality: for example, the number of girls committed for living with prostitutes. Eighty-eight girls were committed for this reason, but as diagram 2 shows, not all were living with mothers explicitly identified as prostitutes. This may, again, be an example of intended condemnation by implication: if the girl was committed for living with prostitutes, then this by implication would, in most cases, be seen to reflect badly on the sexual morality of the mother. Diagram 2 shows the overlap between the classes 'mother suspected of prostitution', 'lone mother', and 'committed for living with prostitutes'. It reveals that, taking these categories into account, there were 166 cases (48%, N=343 or 54%, N=306) where suspected sexual immorality on the part of the mother was involved in the selection of a case for committal. More intersections between various categories related to maternal immorality could be shown, all producing similar results, namely that about half of all cases committed to the care of the Waifs & Strays Society were <u>explicitly</u> connected with allegations of such immorality.

The committals to the Portsmouth & South Hants industrial school supports the suggestion that committing magistrates concentrated on the behaviour of the mother. Information concerning girls sent to that school is derived from their discharge register, in which the section labelled 'Details of license, etc' was used to give information on the background to the case, principally the status of the parents at the time of committal. Between 1881 and 1901, 114 girls were committed to this school. Of these, at least sixty-one (53.5%, N=114) had mothers described as 'bad character', 'immoral', 'prostitute', or 'woman of ill-fame'; in other words, tainted with the suspicion of personal sexual immorality. A further seven mothers had been in prison at the time of the committal procedure. In comparison, in only thirteen instances was any judgement recorded on the character of the father, and this included two men who were convicts. In fact, leaving aside those women described as widows, in sixty-two cases (54%, N=114) there was absolutely no recorded information about a father or father-figure. As found in the Waifs & Strays sample, those women described as morally bankrupt were not a group identical to those living without legal husbands. At Gem Street, information concerning the parentage of the seventy-one girls committed between 1868 and 1873 was recorded in a fairly haphazard and cursory way, but even this reveals that thirty-six (51%, N=71) were fatherless.

The records of the girls committed to the Princess Mary Village Homes (P.M.V.H.) echo the patterns of the Waifs & Strays Society and the other industrial schools mentioned above, but they do not replicate them exactly. As such, the P.M.V.H. provides a salutary reminder of the potential distortions

inherent in the recruitment of inmates to industrial schools which operated a pre-determined policy on committals. The P.M.V.H. was designed, by Mrs Susannah Meredith, its founder, to act as a corollary to the Nine Elms Prison Gate Mission. Girls were to be rescued from their convicted mothers (occasionally fathers) and placed in the Homes through committals under the Prevention of Crime Act, 1871, the relevant section of which found its way onto the statute-books largely through Mrs Meredith's own efforts.[26]

Using a sample of fifty-nine girls, the total committed in the years 1871, 1881, 1891, and 1901, it is possible to examine the consequences of this policy. However, the results are not what might have been expected given the overt purpose of the school. A mere eight from the fifty-nine had mothers described as prostitutes, a very low proportion in comparison to the Waifs & Strays cases. It is not the case that the majority of mothers were described as convicts or criminals, though perhaps this was generally implied and not regarded as necessary to record. In only eight instances was the mother definitely undergoing penal servitude at the time of the child's committal, and only a further eleven were described as 'habitual criminals', a total of nineteen from fifty-nine cases. The implication of this is that the personal behaviour of the mother was not the prime feature in the selection of cases for committal to the Village Homes, despite its declared admissions policy.

It is unfortunate that the admissions register gives only the section of the Act under which the child was committed to the P.M.V.H., in which circumstance it is no surprise to find that fifty-two (88%) of the girls were

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[26]. Prevention of Crime Act, 1871: 34 & 35 Vict. c.112, section 14.

committed under section 14 of the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, the 'catch-all' section. Despite the stated purpose of the Village Homes, among this sample of girls, the Prevention of Crime Act was, in fact, unused. Thus, looking at the stated cause of committal, it is impossible to distinguish between girls committed for the criminality of their mothers, and those committed for consorting with a prostituted mother, or, indeed, for any other legal reason. It should be remembered, in this context, that the Waifs & Strays material showed that the mere absence of an explicit description of a woman as prostituted did not preclude the possibility that she was regarded in that light. The perceived distinction between criminality and prostitution was hazy, and the two were always likely to be confused and compounded.[27]

Finally, it is necessary to look at the character and behaviour of the child itself. In numerous cases it is apparent that a committal took place with little reference to the conduct of the child. Very little is, for example, known about the behaviour of each Princess Mary Village Homes girl prior to committal, but one salient fact suggests that, in general, it was not dangerous misbehaviour which led to their incarceration. The average age of this sample of girls was only seven, somewhat less than the average age of girls committed to any other organisation under consideration in this chapter. With an age range of ten months to fifteen years, 53% of the inmates entered at the age of five to nine years old: an age at which they would be expected to be extremely receptive to the parental influence, for good or evil. One further finding directs attention back to the role of the mother in determining the selection of a case

[27]. Zedner, Women, Crime and Custody, pp. 22, 32.

for committal to the Village Homes: the large proportion of lone mothers. At the Princess Mary Village Homes, 38.5% of the girls committed between 1870 and 1901 were fatherless through illegitimacy, death, or desertion.[28]

However, in other institutions there were numerous cases where it was indeed the child's own misbehaviour which brought her to the attention of figures of authority and thus allowed the scrutiny of her family and home by those engaged in a defence of morality and propriety. In very many cases, this misbehaviour can be identified as sexual in nature. This is true even where the child was committed for a non-sexual reason, for in such circumstances there were often covert hints in the broader descriptions of the case for committal that all was not as it should be. For example, Mary Jane, committed as a refractory workhouse child, had run away from the workhouse and travelled to Hereford without a train ticket. However, this was not in itself the motivation for the committal. Mary Jane's sister was deemed to be a prostitute, which Mary Jane knew, and the Guardians feared she wished to emulate her.[29] Harriet was committed in 1892 for non-compliance with a school attendance order; but, significantly, her casepaper notes, at length, that her mother had born an incestuous child, that one sister was a prostitute and that her home was a reputed brothel.[30] Eliza, committed at the age of twelve for begging, lived with her mother who was 'a prostitute and cohabits with a man'. The correspondent, the secretary to Barnsley School Board, argued that 'if left at

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[28]. P.M.V.H.: Surrey Record Office, 2591/3/5, register.

[29]. CS case 186, report 8 Feb. 1893.

[30]. CS case 177.

Home she will be a prostitute as soon as old enough.'[31]

It is even sometimes revealed that girls committed for what appears to have been a sin of the mother were actually committed for their own sexual impropriety. For instance, Amelia, aged nine, was committed for residing with prostitutes. However, the case-paper reveals that she 'was caught twice endeavouring to have connexion with her brother aged 6 y[ea]rs.'[32] Committal for being uncontrollable often arose from a sexual precocity on the part of the child. Hilda, aged twelve, was beyond control of her guardians because she had 'developed a lascivious disposition, inviting boys of her own age to have improper intercourse with her' and 'writing notes to this effect which have been found.'[33] Mary, committed in 1900, was 'a girl of bad character', behaving 'indecently before boys.'[34] Margaret, aged 13, was described as uncontrollable for 'running after a soldier in the dinner hour';[35] while Alice was committed, in 1886, after being 'discovered in a cowshed with some boys'.[36] The father of Caroline, aged thirteen, had brought a prosecution against a man, under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, for 'offences' against her; but it was argued in court that she had been an active and willing partner. The man was discharged and Caroline's father asked the magistrate to commit her to an industrial school

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31. CS case 8, letter 10 May 1884, secretary of Barnsley School Board to Mr Rudolf.

32. CS case 267.

33. CS case 263.

34. CS case 327.

35. CS case 3.

36. CS case 66.

as 'uncontrollable'.[37]

In addition, being 'without proper guardianship' was often the official reason given for the committal of girls who had either shown their own enthusiasm for active sexuality, or who had been the victims of male aggression. Examples of the former include Selina, aged thirteen, who was committed for being without proper guardianship which had allowed her fraudulently to obtain a pair of boots, but of whom it was said 'It is feared that she has been playing with boys...she knows too much for a girl of her age respecting the world and the ways thereof.'[38] Also in this group was Matilda, aged eleven, brought before the magistrates for aiding and abetting her brother in a rape upon a four year old girl. In the course of investigation, it was discovered that she had been willingly indulging in sexual acts with this brother for a number of years.[39] Such victim's of sexual abuse included a number of extremely sad cases, for instance, Joyce, aged six, who was the victim of repeated indecent assault by her 'adoptive' father;[40] and Mercy, aged seven, whose case came to notice because her eldest brother had raped her.[41]

At other industrial schools, it is harder to determine the finer points which contributed to the committal. However, extrapolating from the findings relating to the Waifs & Strays, it becomes apparent (as Table 5 shows)

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37. CS case 79.

38. CS case 61.

39. CS case 333.

40. CS case 258.

41. CS case 200.

that a substantial proportion of the girls committed to the industrial school at Gem Street had been in circumstances which could be interpreted as morally dubious.

Table 5: Reasons for Committal
(Gem Street Industrial School, girls only, 1868-1873)

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
Section 14, Ind. Sch. Act 1866 (unspec.)	12	17.0
Section 15, Ind. Sch. Act 1866 [42]	2	2.6
Vagrancy	21	30.0
Theft	16	23.0
No proper guardianship	9	13.0
Uncontrollable	3	4.0
Frequenting company of thieves	2	2.6
Bad associates	2	2.6
Destitute	4	5.2
Total	71	100

Habitual vagrancy was commonly expected to lead to prostitution, as was early criminality. Thus those girls committed to Gem Street for vagrancy, theft, destitution, and keeping the company of thieves were all, by extension, in danger of prostitution. The uncontrollable, those lacking proper guardianship, and those with bad associates were likely, if there is any comparison to be made with the later Waifs & Strays cases, to have exhibited precocious interest in or to have been coerced into sexual activity. In these

[42]. 29 & 30 Vict. c.118, section 15: Any child brought before two justices or magistrates, charged with an offence punishable by imprisonment or less punishment and under the age of 12, if not previously convicted of felony.

years, none of these Gem Street girls could have been committed officially for associating with prostitutes. However, though their cases were put forward under other categories, it is possible that some were committed because they lived under immoral influences and were, in fact, children who would in later years have been committed for consorting with prostitutes.

For the purposes of comparison, it will be useful to outline briefly some of the characteristics of the forty-three boys admitted to Stockport Industrial School in 1891.[43] These boys were of a similar age to most of the girls discussed above, with 61% aged nine, ten or eleven. Their father's occupations were of the same type as those of the Waifs & Strays girls, including unskilled workers such as bottlewashers and labourers, and skilled workers such as stonemasons and blacksmiths. Far more interesting, however, is the reason for committal which is set out in Table 6.

Table 6: Reasons for Committal
(Stockport Boys' Industrial School, 1891)

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
Persistent truancy	12	28
Destitute	8	19
Theft	7	16
No proper guardianship	6	14
Uncontrollable	6	14
Found begging	4	9
Total	43	100

While no single reason was predominantly cited, it is apparent that

[43]. Figures derived from P.R.O. HO 349/2.

these categories are very different in nature to those common among girls' committals, as shown in Tables 2 and 5 (see above, pp. 69, 82). For instance, among the Waifs & Strays girls, a mere 8.7% were committed for non-compliance with a school attendance order, a reason which was the commonest given among the Stockport boys' cases. Most importantly, this list lacks any cases committed for association with 'immorality' in the form of prostitution; and even a cursory glance at the school admissions register reveals that the characters and reputations of the mothers of these boys were either not subject to the same careful scrutiny as those of girls' mothers, or that they were altogether different types of women. In fact, it seems from the Stockport committal register, that the behaviour of either of the boys' parents was not really an important issue in establishing a case for committal, as judgmental comments were rarely made in the column given for the recording of the child's background.

In summary, it is apparent that in the selection of girls for committal to reformatory and industrial schools, the issue of sexuality, always regarded as sexual immorality, was prominent, both with regard to the behaviour of the mother and of the girl herself. It is not obviously the case that this was also true of boys. This concern with sexual immorality was constantly present throughout the period to 1901, in fact, becoming a more generally felt problem within the system. What did change was the overall view of the girls involved. Whereas in the 1850's many were regarded as criminal and sexual agents, actively involving themselves in unlawful behaviour, by the 1880's they were more commonly seen as victims of male lust: as objects rather than agents, as persons to be protected rather than punished.

Chapter Four

'Mysterious and Forbidden Knowledge': Repressing Sexuality in the Schools

The previous chapter suggested that in the establishment of cases for committal of girls, especially to industrial schools, there was a tendency to ignore the issue of nascent criminality and concentrate on the prevention of sexual immorality. These girls were regarded as tainted by their associations and the little knowledge of sexual matters which they possessed was thought to expose them to the danger of 'falling' or becoming prostituted, regardless of whether there was any evidence that they had ever engaged in illicit sexual activity. Any indication of criminal tendencies was regarded as but a symptom of a deeper, more fundamentally delinquent character.

However, despite these preconceptions, the reformatory and industrial schools were not generally interested in or capable of dealing with young females who were known to have engaged in prostitution. It must be emphasised that both reformatory and industrial schools were preventive institutions, though the inmates of reformatories were known to have descended into deeper levels of general immorality than were the inmates of industrial schools. The function of the reformatory system was to enclose working-class girls who showed early signs of a leaning towards anti-social behaviour, and prevent their development into expensive and problematic adult prostitutes and criminals. In terms of the sexual behaviour and knowledge of the inmates of both types of school, it is apparent that although all sexual knowledge in children

was regarded as abhorrent, there was effectively a sliding scale of acceptability. While little girls with some improper sexual knowledge, or even experience, were thought susceptible to training, older girls were regarded with much more suspicion. Any knowledge of sexual matters which they possessed was regarded as positively dangerous. School managers were thus generally reluctant to accept juveniles, other than the very young, who were known to have actually engaged in sexual intercourse.[1] The system was certainly not geared to deal with juvenile street-walkers, who were already felt to be too far advanced along the downward path to be capable of benefitting from the infantilizing processes of these schools.[2] Mary Carpenter warned against schools accepting such 'penitentiary cases', saying that

> the mere presence of a girl who has mysterious and forbidden knowledge is a most dangerous stimulant to evil, and excites in the other girls their latent passions.[3]

The report of the Select Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools, appointed in 1882 to review the workings of the schools, suggested that the case of girls refused admittance to a certified school because they were known to have been prostitutes or had venereal disease 'might perhaps be met by

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1. National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools, 5th Conference Report (1891), p. 24. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/L2/1, letter-book, pp. 328, 345 and 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting May 1863. R&RJ, cclvii (1893), pp. 437-9. PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV pp. 26, 449, 484, 744 (Report and Mins of Evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). See also St Joseph's Reformatory: Sheff. A.S. MD 7138/12/84B on difficulty of working with 'non-innocents'.

2. As James Legge believed: R&RJ, cccxxvi (1899), p. 554.

3. Mary Carpenter, On the Supplementary Measures Needed for Reformatories (1861), pp. 4-5.

authorising their committal for a limited term to Magdalen Homes', but under existing legislation, no girl could be compelled to remain an inmate of a voluntary penitentiary.[4] All were agreed that terrible dangers of corruption faced young girls left unprotected in morally dubious surroundings, but many of those working in institutions expressed great fear of the power to corrupt others possessed by sexually knowledgable girls and, for this reason, tried to exclude them. For example, the matron of the Hemel Hempstead Waifs & Strays Home wrote to the Society's director, Edward Rudolf, in January 1892, asking that a vacancy at the home be filled only by a girl under the age of seven, the majority of the girls already there being aged between three and six, and 'innocent of vice...in its practical form.' She argued that

> it would be a very great pity to introduce a child...who knew evil from having lived in it. I know from experience how this is communicated one to another so easily and in so many ways, not by word only, but in so many ways, which not even the strictest vigilance could prevent.[5]

The problem was partly met by the opening of four schools intended for girls known to have been sexually active or otherwise so immersed in unacceptable sexual knowledge as to present a risk to their more innocent fellows. These institutions were the London Female Preventive Reformatory, St Matthew's Industrial Home reformatory in Ipswich, the Leytonstone Industrial School, and the Waifs & Strays Society Industrial School at the Mumbles near

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4. PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 26 (Report of R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

5. Letter 24 Jan 1892, matron to Rudolf, from CS case 520. See also Arthur Maddison, Save the Children (1887), p. 3; and paper on 'Special Schools' by Miss E. Jones (1890) in Liv. U.A. D239/D6/4/H7.

Swansea.[6] If these schools were unable to take a sexually precocious girl, there seemed little alternative but to discharge her, much as everyone involved voiced their regret that such a course of action was necessary.[7] However, even the most careful pre-admission screening could not ensure that dangerous sexual knowledge would not find its way into the typical reformatory or industrial school and, as will be discussed in later chapters, many means were employed by staff and managers to police and restrict the spread of such knowledge among the inmates.

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[6]. R&RJ, lxxx (1878), p. 386. D.R.O. 3899F/M2/2, minutes, Directors' meeting Dec. 1870. D.R.O. 3899F/L2/1, letter-book, p. 374. PP 1872 [C. 628] XXX p. 481 (15th Annual Report). P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17049, letter 27 Nov. 1894, Agnes Cotton to Home Secretary. By 1915, the Ipswich Reformatory was no longer taking 'immoral' cases. By then, there were two reformatories and five industrial schools specifically for girls 'whose antecedents render them undesirable for admission to ordinary schools.' See The Reformatory and Industrial Schools Directory, 1915-16 (HMSO, London, 1915). Girls accepted by the Mumbles and Leytonstone were often committed under the Industrial Schools Amendment Act for consorting with prostitutes.

[7]. For example, PP 1860 [2688] XXXV pp. 779-80 (3rd Annual Report, comment of Sydney Turner), and PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV pp. 744-5 (Mins of Evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

(i) Contamination & Decontamination

To the Victorian middle-classes, the very essence of childhood was its freedom from the burdens of those issues which were categorised as adult, the most important of which was sexuality. A child who had knowledge of sexuality was no longer a child.[8] Indeed, one of the aims of the reformatory system was to reassert childishness in those who could be described as prematurely adult.[9] A number of means were employed to produce this reclamation: cleansing, subordination of youth to age and authority, even a manipulation of the diet. Indeed, given the relatively late age of menarche estimated to have been customary among females of the era, the low levels of meat consumption, together with the small quantity of green vegetables given, must have resulted in problems of anaemia, possibly in amenorrhoea. In the most extreme cases, the onset of puberty could have been delayed.[10] This would have had, perhaps

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8. An example of this view can be found in Henry Mayhew (1861), quoted in Crime & Society, eds. M. Fitzgerald, G. McLennan, and J. Pawson (1981), p. 193, where Mayhew also considers premature puberty. An interesting comparison is in Littlewood & Mahood 'Prostitutes, Magdalenes, & Wayward Girls,' p. 167, where they argue that adult prostitutes were "infantalized" in order to reform them.

9. R&RJ, cccxxvi (1899), p. 553. See also Open Doors (Oct. 1887), p. 150. See also Matthew Davenport-Hill, Practical Suggestions to the Founders of Reformatory Schools in a Letter from the Recorder of Birmingham to Lord Brougham (1855), p. 5.

10. Stockport Girls' Industrial School: Stock. A.S. B/W/7/1/3, report of Assistant Inspector Henry Rogers, 30 June 1870, ill-health due to lack of meat. See A.M. Pearson and T.R. Dutson (eds), Meat & Health (Elsevier Applied Science, London, 1990), chapters 2 on iron and 9 on zinc for the effects of low levels of these on menstruation and development in children, plus general background. See also John Burnett, Plenty & Want (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1989, 3rd edn), p. 173; and Melvin Grumbach (ed), Control of the Onset

unconsciously, the attraction for the system's authorities of prolonging the period of childhood - a prolongation which made up for the temporary lapse into premature adulthood - and which had the added benefit of making scandal through pregnancy an impossibility.

At the point of entry into a school, newly committed children posed a threat to the physical well-being of the younger inmates, for they were often very ragged and dirty, sometimes verminous and carrying minor ailments of the skin or eyes.[11] No child with a serious illness or disability was to be admitted to a certified school, for this would prove to be not only disruptive to school discipline and potentially expensive for the management, but would leave the child unable to undertake and benefit from the regime of industrial training on offer.[12]

The experience of a new recruit to the reformatory system would begin with a ritualised decontamination process. It consisted of a stripping away

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of Puberty (Williams & Wilkins, London, 1990), pp. 609-10 on effects of undernutrition.

[11]. e.g. Princess Mary Village Homes: Open Doors (Jan. 1884), pp. 21-2, and (Nov. 1886), p. 295. Reformatory & Refuge Union, 19th Annual Report, pp. 29-30. St Joseph's Reformatory: PP 1867 [3889] XXXVI p. 697 (10th Annual Report).

[12]. e.g. Stockport Girls' Industrial School: epileptics discharged, Stock. A.S. B/W/6/3/1, matron's report, Oct. 1890, though 29th Annual Report states Committee's belief that girls should not be discharged purely for ill-health unless quite beyond hope (1883, p. 7). See also May Place Reformatory, L.C.R.A. 364 cat/1/1, minutes, meeting 5 Sept. 1856; and Gem Street Industrial School, B.C.L. MS 253/1, Rules agreed by General Committee, 9 June 1868, p. 290. The exception to the rule was the Hill Street Refuge (Industrial School), Dorset Square, Middlesex, which was also known as the Cripples' Home. This school catered for physically defective girls, but housed largely voluntary cases. In 1874, it had only five under detention; and resigned its certificate in December 1876: R&RJ, lxxii (1876), pp. 92-4.

of the outer layers of worldliness, as represented by dirt and ragged adult clothing, in order to reveal the purity and innocence of the child beneath. Its aim was to prevent the carrying of filth and disease into the institution, but it was also to act as a proof of the break with the past. From the moment of the first cleansing, the inmate took on the external characteristics of the ideal which philanthropists, managers, and staff sought to produce. The inmate's clothes would be removed, either for cleaning and storage or for disposal by burning. Clothes removed, her body would be cleansed and usually her hair cut, probably with an existing and trusted inmate assisting the matron.[13] Then a clean set of the school's customary dress would be brought forth. The wearing of the school clothes was to be the first act of obedience to the order of the institution. Thus the new child was shown at once that cleanliness was an established norm in the house, accepted by the inmates as much as by the staff. It would be the beginning of several years' experience of the fight against dirt and contamination of all kinds, within the building and within the individual. The symbolic function of this external cleansing was not lost on contemporaries. Describing the arrival of new inmates at the Northumberland Village Homes, the Northern Daily Express reported that

> their minds were being as much cleansed of the moral impurities that had surrounded them, as were their bodies from the physical

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[13]. e.g. Arno's Court R.C. Reformatory: G.S.Prov. R-15/10, Regulations 1856, I(2)(3)(4)(11-14). See also Open Doors, (Sept. 1886), p. 246. Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/H4, p. 32, Miss Davenport Hill on need for purification (1881). Our Waifs & Strays (Nov. 1889), p. 5 (notes the change of a child's clothes from adult to infant). See also Hayward, James Hall, pp. 209-10, for a similar incident in 1881.

impurities which contaminated them...[14].

Having wiped away the external evidence of an unsavoury past, the concerns of the authorities naturally turned to the contamination which poisoned the mind and the soul but which could not be seen. What dangerous knowledge would be possessed by a girl from the streets? The staff generally isolated the newcomer to give them a chance to identify particular dangers lurking within her and to begin the process of purification.[15] Initially, all inmates of reformatory or industrial schools would have been in possession of potentially dangerous knowledge, even if it consisted only in their own life story; and it was the task of the matron or superintendent in the very first days to convince new inmates that it was wrong to reveal anything about their pasts. Personal history thus became a taboo within the school system.[16] Just as removing and replacing clothing marked a break with the past, so the prohibition on discussions of inmate's former lives by either staff or inmates showed that only the present and the future were important. While the school authorities appreciated that many of the children had tragic backgrounds, they did not consider it important to give them a full understanding of what had happened and why. All that was required was the simple belief that the past had been sinful and wrong, and that the

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[14]. Quoted in Hayward, James Hall, pp. 320-1.

[15]. Red Lodge: B.R.O. 12693/3, Rules & Regulations (1854), p. 13. P.M.V.H.: Open Doors (Mar. 1886), pp. 45-6. Arno's Court: G.S.Prov. R-15/10, Regulations 1856, I(4-7). See also R&RJ, ccxcviii (1897), p. 69; PP 1884 [C. 3876-II] XLV p. 764 (Mins of Evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

[16]. Red Lodge: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry 17 June 1858, p. 47; and 12693/3, Rules & Regulations (1854), p. 14. R&RJ, cxciii (1888), p. 77. CS Misc. 85:85, Cold Ash Industrial School, Rules 1890[?], no. 4.

future was to be very different. This stress on the new life was one of the prime justifications for restricting the access of relatives to the inmates of the schools. Visits served as a reminder of what had been.[17]

However, it should not be presumed that this goal of denying the past was easily achieved. Unlike physical cleansing, which could be imposed by authority, mental cleansing and moral conformity required co-operation on the part of the inmate. Mary Carpenter asked her girls never to speak of the past: some complied and some did not. She could have the intransigent punished, but, as she well knew, this was not the way to bring a difficult child around to the official way of thinking.[18] That required persuasion.

Not all girls were susceptible to persuasion and more than a few retained an ability to shock and disappoint until the day of their release. They knew the kinds of behaviour and attitudes which their school's staff and managers were trying to implant in them, so they knew equally well how to horrify. For example, at May Place Roman Catholic Reformatory,

> [a] girl of 19 years spoken to as to her future intentions simply said outright she would go on the streets.[19]

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[17]. e.g. P.M.V.H.: Open Doors (May 1884), p. 133. St Joseph's Reformatory: Sheff.A.S. MD 7138/9/70, letter 21 Apr. 1865, Sister Agnes to Honorary Secretary Gainsford. There was also the danger of girls being enticed away, as happened at Stockport Girls' C.I.S.: Stock. A.S. B/W/6/3/2, matron's report, 29 Sept 1898.

[18]. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry June 1858, p. 47. J. Estlin Carpenter, The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter (1879), pp. 181-2.

[19]. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/4, minutes, meeting 6 Apr. 1891. See also Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/2, matron's journal, 5 Sept. 1882: 'E- D- said she wished to go to Satan...'; and St Joseph's Reformatory: Sheff.A.S. MD 7138/8/125, letter 3 July 1864, Father Nugent to R. Gainsford, on girls who go on streets after discharge.

It is little wonder that Revd Gallagher, the school visitor, was so shocked. Mary Carpenter, in a similar situation, was mortified to hear one of the inmates at Red Lodge protest that 'she would rather be in a hovel with the man she loved than anywhere else' and had 'no doubt that it was unlawful passion which thus roused her'.[20] Given that it was not possible to guarantee the whole-hearted co-operation of such young women in suppressing the transmission of precocious sexual knowledge, schools had to develop other strategies. During the daytime, most schools attempted to supervise their girls continuously. However, there remained the most dangerous time: night, when all kinds of mischief could be practised and sinful ideas exchanged. Thus, in an attempt to overcome the problems posed by the potentially ruinous hours of darkness, schools altered their internal arrangements.

Adequate sleeping space had to be provided for the number of girls specified in the government certificate. Schools did not always fulfil this obligation sufficiently for the inspector; sometimes they exceeded their certified number and overcrowding became a problem.[21] Dormitories in all reformatory system schools tended to be large, twenty to thirty girls, occasionally more,

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[20]. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/1, journal entry 26 Nov. 1855, p. 11. The girl did not say 'in bed with the man she loved', as Jo Manton states in Mary Carpenter, p. 130.

[21]. e.g. May Place R.C. Reformatory: PP 1884-5 [C. 4505] XXXIX p. 405 (28th Annual Report); L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letter 9 June 1877, R. Yates to Inspector Inglis. Stockport Girls' C.I.S: Stock. A.S. B/W/6/7/2, minutes, General Committee meeting, June 1869. The standard was not static: in PP 1874 [C. 1058] XXVIII p. 622 (17th Annual Report), the Princess Mary Village Homes cottages were praised as 'compact and comfortable', but in PP 1895 [C. 7820] LVII p. 216 (38th Annual Report) were criticised as overcrowded and small, though the number of girls in each remained constant.

sleeping in each.[22] Large dormitories must have been cheerless places with a depressing uniformity of bedding and layout and little opportunity - and no official encouragement - to create any individuality about one's sleeping area.[23] With the aim of policing the girls' nocturnal activities, staff quarters were usually positioned either in or overlooking the children's dormitory.[24]

In some institutions, the elder girls were granted a privilege of privacy. As a concession to approaching adulthood, they might be provided with individual cubicles and at some institutions, such as the Devon & Exeter Reformatory, a few might even come into possession of tiny bedrooms of their own.[25] The aims of the managers in providing such facilities were twofold: firstly, they sought to engender a sense of the responsibilities of maturity and to prepare the girls for an outside world which highly valued privacy and enclosed personal space; secondly, it was part of their policy to control the sexuality of

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[22]. e.g. King Edward's Girls' Refuge at Mile End, London, had three dormitories for 100 inmates: R&RJ, lix (1871), p. 97. St Joseph's R.C. Girls' Reformatory, Sheffield had one dormitory measuring 110 feet by 30 feet for ninety beds, plus 'two or three' small ones for the other twenty-seven inmates: Sheff.A.S. MD7138/8/185, report reproduced from The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent (27 Oct. 1864) and PP 1897 [C. 8566] XLI p. 375 (40th Annual Report).

[23]. Rimmer, Yesterday's Naughty Children contains eloquent photographs of conditions at Mount Vernon Green Reformatory, Liverpool, on pp. 48, 53, and 56.

[24]. e.g. Stockport Girls' C.I.S.: Stock. A.S. B/W/7/2/3, minutes, Building Committee meeting 14 May 1888. Arno's Court: G.S.Prov. R-15/10, Regulations XI(9). Red Lodge: B.R.O. 12693/1, journal entry 4 July 1857. May Place R.C. Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/4, letter 31 Aug. 1888, Yates to Canon Carr (chair of managers).

[25]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: PP 1882 [C. 3352] XXXV p. 53 (25th Annual Report), PP 1884 [C. 4147] XLIV p. 61 (27th Annual Report). Bathrooms might also be given partitions for reasons of privacy as at Stockport Girls' C.I.S: Stock. A.S. B/W/7/2/3, minutes, Building Committee meeting May 1888.

these adolescents.[26] Miss Nicoll, superintendent of Hampstead Girls' Reformatory, condemned large dormitories as 'productive of much evil' and argued that 'a separate cubicle for each girl...[was] desirable in a model reformatory.'[27] Mary Carpenter went as far as to suggest that there should be separate institutions for older girls:

> They ought in my opinion to be in a separate institution, where there should be more separation than is possible in a home school. Girls of this class are very precocious in knowledge of evil: it is desirable that the younger ones should, as much as possible, be kept from intercourse with older girls, unless under the direct influence of their teachers.[28]

Such contaminating contact was regarded as little more than victimization of the innocent by the experienced. Equating innocence with youth, and experienced worldliness with age, a fear of such victimization contributed to the widespread desire to keep the age groups apart, to separate adolescents from infants and generally classify inmates as precisely as the constraints of space and time would allow.[29]

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[26]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: R&RJ, cxcvi (1888), p. 126. R&RJ, ccxcviii (1897), p. 68, 'Suggestions for the Establishment of an Industrial School for Twenty Girls' by an Hon. Lady Superintendent.

[27]. R&RJ, cxciii (1888), p. 78.

[28]. R&RJ, xlv (1869), p. 276. See also Mary Carpenter, 'On the Importance of Statistics,' pp. 33-40.

[29]. e.g. Alfred Hill, JP, noted that older girls could corrupt the younger when the two were mixed: PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 357 (Mins of Evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). At the P.M.V.H., the older girls were kept separate 'to secure the little ones from harm': Open Doors (June 1886), p. 135. See also PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 91 (Report of Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/6, report of visitor Mrs Heathman, 24 Aug. 1859. See also C.S. case 237, letter 15 June 1901 referring to another girl as 'nasty-minded' and a potential risk to the school's morality.

By providing greater privacy for older girls, managers prevented an exchange of knowledge and impressed upon the girls the idea that their developing bodies were indecent. Separation also stopped the older inmates from experimenting and expressing any sexual or emotional feelings in a physical manner among themselves. Control of sexually motivated interaction was clearly the aim at one unnamed school, where sharp objects were added to the top of the dormitory partitions to prevent the girls climbing over and so 'further demoralising each other' in the most literal sense.[30]

It is doubtful whether school managers ever thought in terms of suppressing 'lesbianism' - certainly, it is a word that never appears, though it was in contemporary usage[31] - but there was undoubtedly the sense that these girls were, because of their antecedents, more 'vicious' and 'bodily' than was the preferred feminine ideal. The separation of the elder from the younger girls not only prevented an exchange of knowledge among contemporaries; it also denied the younger children opportunity to witness physical development as a normal process. As soon as a girl began to become a woman, her body became even more concealed than before. To reveal it, to acknowledge its existence, was obscene. As chapter six below suggests, this was part of the argument made against corporally disciplining girls. These girls were to remain innocent of sexual knowledge for as long as possible, even where that knowledge was produced by their own bodies. If they revealed a curiosity to learn, or the

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30. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV pp. 91-2 (Report of Dept. C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). See also Hopkins, Preventive Work, p. 20.

31. 'Lesbianism,' Oxford English Dictionary (1991 2nd edn), gives earliest example from 1870.

acquisition of improper information, then they were liable to be punished.[32]

Were the younger inmates seriously at risk from the elder in terms of actual sexual corruption? The potential for lesbian encounters certainly increased in a residential setting, but it is almost impossible to know to what extent such possibilities were acted upon. There are hints of impropriety in the offences of 'immoral behaviour' in various public areas, especially the dormitory, but no doubt so much was defined as immoral that it is difficult to place much weight upon this. Fear of homosexual encounter was not so prevalent in relation to the girls' schools as they were to those for boys, in which sexual offences of a physical nature were viewed as a terrible scandal similar to the discovery of pregnancy in a girls' school.[33] Actual sexual activity between girls was undoubtedly regarded as a dangerous possibility to be guarded against,[34] but it appears to have been regarded as no more serious a danger than the threat of contamination by verbal means. There was no openly expressed fear that lesbian experience would repel girls from heterosexual adulthood. There was a denial of the existence of lesbianism as a sexual form in itself: its dangers were real only in the introduction it gave to sexual feelings, which would then, it was assumed, be directed towards attempts to sate a newly discovered heterosexual

[32]. e.g. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/4, punishment book, various entries throughout.

[33]. e.g. Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/A5, minutes, R&RU Council meeting 6 July 1887, to discuss 'immorality' and 'secret and shocking mischief being propagated in the dark' at the Home for Little Boys at Farningham.

[34]. For example, the statement of Sir Godfrey Lushington that he opposed the enlargement of schools because cases of immorality in Protestant girls' reformatories were 'constantly coming up': L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/4, minutes, meeting Jan. 1895.

appetite. As Jeffrey Weeks has argued, female homosexual activity was commonly assimilated into prostitution, thus redefining it in terms of heterosexuality.[35] In the light of this association between lesbianism and prostitution, it is not surprising to find schools discouraging conduct which could be designated a part of both. It is also worth remembering that lesbianism drew on motivations that were contrary to the ideology at work in the reformatory system. It denied the ethics of chastity, service and selflessness, for it constituted a giving of oneself over to sexual pleasure for pleasure's sake, as, clearly, there could be no reproductive merits to it. Moreover, it was hoped that, after a period as a domestic servant, the former inmate would go on to become a good wife and mother. Such a model was likely to be rejected by a girl whose desires were not directed towards security in a heterosexual relationship.

It is impossible to know how far the atmosphere of the reformatory was charged with tension of a sexual nature. If there is any comparability to the institutions studied by Ruth Eissler in nineteen-forties New York, or by Helen Richardson in nineteen-sixties Lancashire, it seems likely that the inmates, especially the older ones, would have been aware of burgeoning sexuality, despite all the efforts of the authorities to keep them in ignorance.[36] It is also hard to

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[35]. Jeffrey Weeks, Coming Out: A History of Homosexual Politics in Britain (Quartet Books, London, 1990, 2nd edn.), pp. 88-9. Weeks has noted how little has been written about Victorian views of lesbianism, apart from Lilian Faderman's Surpassing the Love of Men (Women's Press, London, 1991, 2nd edn.). In this context, any discussion of the potential consequences of female homosexuality must be largely speculative.

[36]. Ruth Eissler, 'Riots: Observations in a Home for Delinquent Girls', The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 3-4 (1949), pp. 449-60 [hereafter Eissler, 'Riots']. Helen Richardson, Adolescent Girls in Approved Schools, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969), pp. 50, 85.

to know whether this would have translated itself into homosexual tensions as described by Eissler; certainly, there is little evidence to suggest, as she does in relation to her own observations, that a fear of lesbianism was at the root of girls' riots. In this research, no case has come to light in which there is even the suspicion that a girl was made a scapegoat for such collective anxieties and physically attacked as a consequence. It is quite plausible, however, that inmates would have had some understanding of same-sex relationships. As Sheila Jeffreys points out, one of the most interesting things about the case examined by Lilian Faderman in Scotch Verdict is that girls at a 'nice' boarding school in 1811 were sufficiently knowledgeable to recognise and discuss such alliances for what they were.[37] Girls who found their way into the reformatory system, having experienced a childhood in a much less controlled atmosphere, were unlikely to be more ignorant.

The real problem with allowing any kind of same-sex relationships to develop was the introduction they were perceived to give to active heterosexual desires. Just as the sexual woman came to be regarded as socially deviant, it is apparent that any female who was labelled a criminal would come to be regarded as an overtly sexualised figure. Even girls who had not themselves engaged in sexual activity prior to committal would be assumed, because of their own criminality or the perceived abnormality of their background, to be excessively sexual. As the reformatory process was to turn the child away from a criminal future, so it was to turn the girl away from

[37]. Sheila Jeffreys, 'Does it Matter if they Did It?' in The Lesbian History Group, Not a Passing Phase: Reclaiming Lesbians in History, 1840-1985 (Women's Press, London, 1989), p. 27.

active sexuality, the principal form of specifically female juvenile delinquency, both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For the Victorians, it was of secondary importance whether overt sexuality was expressed in homosexual or heterosexual activity, for what was really at stake was the desexualizing of potentially dangerous females with a concurrent promotion of passivity as an ideal. The disciplinary regime, training, and moral code of the girls' reformatory and industrial school sought to produce an obedient and passive working-class adult who would conform to an ideal of submissive womanhood. This ideal type of working-class femininity was one in which middle-class values were suitably replicated. One such value was that women should exercise a proper sexual restraint in order to keep their honour, exalt motherhood and wield a significant moral influence over a society constructed upon masculine virtues.

On a more practical and basic level, heterosexual contact was probably regarded as more alarming than lesbianism because it could result in pregnancy, and pregnancy in scandal for the institution. A scandal in one institution harmed the whole system by casting suspicion on the management in all the schools; thus the managers at each were enmeshed in an unwritten code of honour and responsibility to prevent such calamities occurring for the sake of their fellow workers. The high walls and barred windows of many of the institutions were as much designed to keep men out as the inmates in.[38] The

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[38]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory's barred windows and conventual appearance: PP 1871 [C. 373] XXVIII p. 44 (14th Annual Report). Letter dated 22 July 1901 in C.S. case 331 notes the bad reputation locally of the Mumbles' girls, and recommends greater seclusion. See also Stockport Girls' C.I.S., for complaints of annoyance by local rough boys: Stock. A.S. B/W/6/5/1, minutes, Ladies' House Committee meeting, 1 Sept. 1881.

few mixed-sex industrial schools potentially faced the greatest risks from heterosexual contact, as the government inspectors well knew. Each inspector in turn condemned the practice of having boys and girls in the same school, regardless of how separate they were kept, for there was no guarantee that the separation could never be breached.[39] When Inspector Inglis finally succeeded in getting the Home Secretary to agree that mixed schools should come to an end, the Albert Memorial Industrial School in Birkenhead defended itself by stating that in the twenty-one years it had been open, there had only ever been one marriage between inmates. However, that said nothing about the number of illicit liaisons which might have resulted from the minimal contact allowed by residential co-education.[40]

Girls who were discovered to be pregnant, or who had contracted venereal disease before committal, were rapidly removed from institutions, sometimes to return to their families, but more often to other institutions such as female refuges, the workhouse, or voluntary 'penitentiaries'.[41] Managers always expressed great disappointment in such cases, but usually excused the

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[39]. P.R.O. HO 45/9667/A46324, especially letter 14 Feb. 1887, Inspector Inglis to Godfrey Lushington. See also Stockport Girls' C.I.S.: Stock. A.S. B/W/6/1/1, 1875, report of Mr A. Williams, superintendent, on need to keep sexes apart, 12 Apr. 1875; and B/W/7/1/3, report of Inspector Turner (visitor's book), 3 Sept. 1875. Also B.C.L. MS 253/1, letter from Chairman of committee to editor of The Daily Post (n.d.), likening the association of the sexes at Gem Street Industrial School to 'a powder magazine.'

[40]. P.R.O. HO 45/9667/A46324, memorial of 18 Aug. 1887.

[41]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: pregnant girl removed to the workhouse, Jan. 1887, D.R.O. 3899F/M2/2. See also P.R.O. HO 144/473/X16131, girl removed to a voluntary Church of England lying-in home; and L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/5, meeting 6 Mar. 1899, removal of a girl suffering from 'a moral deficiency.'

lapse of discipline by explaining that the particular girl had been "incorrigible", and that no good influence could ever be brought to bear over her. It was usually concluded that such girls had been wise in the ways of evil long before the scandalous events had taken place, but that they had slipped through the screening process at the outset by some error of judgement or insufficient background information.[42] When pregnancy did occur, leaving aside the rare occasions upon which a girl was committed after conceiving, it was generally connected with absconding. One case which particularly distressed Mary Carpenter was of a girl who became pregnant, apparently during the period of imprisonment which she passed in the Bridewell as punishment for running away, and apparently through the governor's own abuse of position, though this was later denied.[43] The efforts of school managers to restrict the contact of 'innocent' girls with the sexually aware become poignant in the context of Miss Carpenter's comments on the aftermath of this scandal. Many girls, she reported, were voicing their desire to get into the Bridewell as it sounded like 'an agreeable visit'.[44]

School managers could try to lessen the girls' interest in such illicit alliances by offering alternative foci for emotional interest. One possibility was

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[42]. e.g. St Joseph's RC Reformatory: Sheff.A.S. MD 7138/7/49, letter 30 May 1862, Turner to Yates; and /50, letter 31 May 1862, T. Carter of Liverpool Gaol to Sister Stephanie. See also Mary Carpenter, 'On the Disposal of Girls,' p. 415, where she notes that in such cases 'the whole number of the inmates were tainted with the impurity.'

[43]. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entries, Feb. 1858, pp. 24-6.

[44]. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry 13 Feb. 1858, p. 27.

the peer group, but, as already indicated, managers feared the effects upon morality of unrestrained contact between the girls. There were also potential disciplinary problems presented by such peer group unity. Friendships between inmates on any but the most shallow level were discouraged. Girls were expected to cooperate but not to become emotionally involved with each other.[45] Nor were they encouraged to harbour an emotional tie to their parents. Instead, the superintendent was to form the emotional focus of the school.[46]

There was a very careful attempt, however, to ensure that the emotional relationship so forged was a conventional one, even, paradoxically, one conforming to a heterosexual scheme of life. The essential relationship was to be one of mother and daughter. Significantly, the majority of the women at work in the girls' reformatory system, either as managers or as paid employees, were unmarried. It is, therefore, quite possible that childless women, including Mary Carpenter, were using their charges to fulfil maternal needs.[47] Certainly, there is no evidence to suggest that the presence of the girls satisfied any other desire in these women. Similarly, while it is easy to imagine the existence of 'raves' or 'crushes', the focusing of ardent affection upon selected staff-members, similar to those that Martha Vicinus describes in middle-class

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[45]. e.g. Arno's Court: G.S.Prov. R-15/10, Regulation XI(3).

[46]. e.g. Role of the cottage mothers at P.M.V.H.: Open Doors (Jan. 1886), p. 21. See also R&RJ, lxiii (1874), p. 286; and Eissler, 'Riots,' (1949), p. 455.

[47]. Julia Parker, Women & Welfare: Ten Victorian Women in Public Social Service (Macmillan, London, 1989), esp. p.6, suggests this about various women including Mary Carpenter. See also Radzinowicz and Hood, A History of English Criminal Law, pp. 164-5.

boarding schools,[48] there is no evidence to suggest that the relationship between school staff and girls was ever anything other than formal or conventionally familial.

(ii) Conclusion

The countering of pernicious sexuality in the school population was central to the organisation of the institutions and the attitudes held by managers towards the inmates. It seems indisputable that most new inmates possessed some awareness of sexual matters; and that school authorities sought to suppress this knowledge. Their fears arose not from a horror of lesbianism in itself, since for many Victorians such a deviance had no actuality, but because they feared that an introduction to sexual feelings through the contact of girl with girl would inevitably lead to an awakened appetite for heterosexual activity which was both immoral and unfeminine. It should also be remembered that contemporaries often linked lesbian activity with prostitution, the principal dread of the rescuers of females of all ages.

Steven Marcus has drawn a useful distinction between what might be called constructed normality - that is, normality that is 'precarious' and 'wished for' - and discovered normality - that 'which in the common way of

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48. Martha Vicinus, 'Distance and Desire: English Boarding School Friendships, 1870-1920' in Hidden from History: Uncovering the Gay and Lesbian Past, eds. Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus and George Chauncey jnr (Penguin, London, 1991), pp. 212-229.

things is normally found.'[49] The constructed normality that the managers had in mind for their charges was that of sexless deferential womanhood. It was defined largely by absences, particularly the absence of physical and mental passions, rather than by positive qualities. However, the managers felt, probably rightly, that there was a gulf between this ideal and the girls' actual characters and inclinations. They believed that they were engaged in a constant battle to 're-establish' - that is to construct - 'normal' feminine traits in the girls. They pursued their aims with considerable energy, doing their utmost to deprive the girls of any chance to reveal their own natures and continually exhorting them to respect 'virtue.' Undoubtedly, they had a measure of success with those who were able to assimilate the correct attitudes into their own personalities.[50] However, other girls proved resistant, and made use of the opportunities offered by communal living for exchanging with one another ideas and information about sex. Given that the nature of much of Victorian working-class life and culture was so antipathetic to the modest and fastidious habits that the managers held dear, many of the girls must have found that, once they had left their school, the ideology with which they had been inculcated proved ill-matched to the actuality of their lives.

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[49]. Steven Marcus, The Other Victorians (1970), p. 14.

[50]. See chapter eleven.

PART TWO

The Practical Organisation of the Schools

May my needle never rust,
Or my Bible gather dust,
Idle hands and thoughts are very sure to sow
All those bitter seeds of sin,
Which are sure, when they begin,
To grow, to bring but misery and woe.

Verse 3 of Needle and Thread, 'the popular song for girls.' See R&RJ, lxviii (1875), pp. 434-5.

What a miserable apprenticeship these schools are to real life.

Godfrey Lushington, 6 Nov. 1894, from P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17047.

Chapter Five

The Managers: Philanthropy and Power

(i) The Need for Managers

Private persons were responsible for founding all the reformatory schools certified under the Reformatory School Acts of 1854 and 1866. These were philanthropic individuals, such as Mary Carpenter; groups of like-minded ladies or gentlemen, such as the men who formed the Liverpool Reformatory Association; and religious organisations, including a number of Roman Catholic religious orders. The majority of industrial schools were also founded by private individuals, working either alone or in an association, though a small number were founded by School Boards.[1]

The motivation of individuals who voluntarily became school managers is far from clear. No doubt many interested people were attracted towards supporting reformatory and industrial schools because they felt them to be instruments of 'social control', a function which was, after all, overt in the case of penal (and semi-penal) institutions.[2] However, their interest in this aspect seems to have arisen, on the whole, from largely disinterested motives.

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1. For girls, these were the Gordon House C.I.S., Isleworth; Hull C.I.S.; Sparkbrook C.I.S., Birmingham; the King Edward's Refuges in London; Bristol Council School; and Thorp Arch C.I.S., near Leeds. See Appendix 2 for further information.

2. As F.M.L. Thompson points out in 'Social Control in Victorian Britain,' Economic History Review, 34 (1981), pp. 197-200.

They believed that enforcing conformity among wayward juveniles to a dominant set of social mores would be to the juvenile's advantage as much as to society's.

For the middle-class women who became involved in reformatory and industrial school management, these institutions may have offered more easily identifiable personal benefits. In precisely the same manner as other charitable works, they bestowed upon such women a measure of independence and personal status deriving from their own work and individual merits rather than from their husband's social standing.[3] In many respects, the involvement of aristocratic and middle-class women in the running of these certified schools forms a classic example of higher class women altering and enlarging their social role at the expense of the roles of working-class girls and women.[4]

On the whole, there is little surviving documentation of the managers' thoughts, little justification for their involvement in founding and running certified schools other than various general comments which emphasised their Christian duty towards the unfortunate; the benefits likely to accrue to society from their proposed institutions; and their belief that only the involvement of such altruistically-motivated amateurs could provide a proper basis for the reformatory system.[5] No doubt these men and women were

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3. See, for example, F.K. Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1980) [hereafter Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy], pp. 143-4; Martha Vicinus (ed), Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age (Methuen, London, 1972), page ix.

4. For a general discussion of this issue, see Anne Summers, 'A Home From Home: Women's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century,' in Fit Work for Women (1979), (ed) Sandra Burman, pp. 33-63, esp. pp. 33-4, 59-60.

5. For instance, R&RJ, ccxcviii (1897), pp. 67-71. On the motivation of voluntary workers in charity work in general, see Frank Prochaska, The Voluntary

sincere in their philanthropic beliefs, regardless of whether a side-effect of the reformatory and industrial schools would be to enhance their local social status, provide them with servants, free laundry, or other forms of cheap labour.

In fact, the direct financial gains obtainable by managers were small indeed: they were, without known exception, unpaid for their work for the school, and more liable to be called upon to place their personal resources at the disposal of the school than *vice versa*. The possibility that managers might benefit from the institution's provision for laundry, needlework, and so on, was slight and insignificant in comparison with the trouble to which the managers could be put on the institution's behalf. They were, for instance, heavily involved in fundraising, using their personal influence and contacts to solicit voluntary subscriptions and donations to supplement the Treasury grant. Voluntary subscriptions were looked upon as an important source of finance, largely because they indicated that juvenile crime was not just a concern for the government, but was recognised as a problem with which the whole of society needed to deal and because the body of subscribers formed at least a nominal check on the activities of the managers.[6] Subscriptions were vital for the initial establishment of schools, for there was no Treasury contribution towards

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Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain (Faber & Faber, London, 1988) [hereafter Prochaska, Voluntary Impulse], esp. pp. 6-7. See also Peter Gordon, The Victorian School Manager (Woburn Press, London, 1974), p. 182.

[6]. For an example of a hostile relationship between some subscribers and school managers, see L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/3, annual general meeting, 25 Mar. 1886, and subsequent committee meetings in 1886.

the construction or purchase of suitable buildings,[7] but they provided only a small part of the funds needed to cover the daily running and were far from being reliable sources of income.[8] When voluntary subscriptions failed to meet the needs of an institution, managers would be instrumental in encouraging sympathisers to hold charitable dinners, theatrical events, drawing-rooms, and similar meetings for fundraising purposes. The most profitable type of event was usually the bazaar. For example, in 1883, local ladies sympathetic to the desire to build more 'cottages' at the Northumberland Village Homes held a successful 'Grand Olde English Fayre' for three days, at which they sold garments and objects of their own making, raising the large sum of £3,935 after costs.[9]

The people who were most closely involved in the foundation of certified reformatory and industrial schools became, by default, those who were expected to provide some form of school management. Both the government and

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[7]. Establishing schools could be expensive. For example, it cost about £5,000 to set up Arno's Court Girls' Reformatory in a Gothic mansion built c.1760 (G.S.Prov. 2/1 (2), letter 21 June 1856, Archbishop Errington to Canon Kerr); while, by 1879, the benefactors of the Princess Mary Village Homes had invested about £30,500 in the various 'cottages' (R&RJ, lxxxix (1879), p. 63).

[8]. The level of support derived from donations fluctuated from school to school, and also over the years. Some schools enjoyed general approval from the wealthy of their communities: for example, the Northumberland Village Homes which, between 1879 and 1901, received £3,650 from the Donkin family, £3,500 from the Hall family, £4,314 from Miss Dorothy Nater, and £2,500 from John Fleming: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/87, George Luckley, A Monograph, p. 21. Other schools struggled to remain afloat in circumstances of ever increasing costs with a diminishing subscription list: for example, May Place Reformatory had 178 subscribers in 1856, 140 in 1865, and only 92 in 1885: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/1/1, circular; L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/2, Third Report of Liverpool Catholic Reformatory Association; and 364 cat/2/3, Twenty-Third Report.

[9]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/44, minutes, General Committee meeting 2 Nov. 1883.

reformatory campaigners believed a set of managers to be necessary because there were a number of roles and duties which, it was felt, could only devolve upon an independent management quite separate from the paid officers of the institution. This, no doubt, had much to do with the social class of the respective groups. Voluntary managers were invariably of middle- or higher-class origin, whereas the staff, as I shall demonstrate in the next chapter, were often drawn from the lower-middle-class or the respectable working-classes. In addition, there was the strong sense that, since the staff were labouring within the institutions for motives which were not always entirely disinterested - they were, after all, receiving a wage - it was essential to have a detached supervisory body, not involved in the pursuit of personal gain through the operations of the institution, which could ensure that the school was run prudently and without the exploitation or neglect of the inmates.[10]

Thus, the primary role of the managers was to act as a check upon the activities of the superintendent and her officers, ensuring that the institution's regime was sufficiently humane. In addition, the managers were concerned to monitor the efficiency of the staff, particularly as it affected the financial health of the school. This concern arose from the second role of the managers, which was to raise money for the institution from all possible sources, and to ensure its wise expenditure. Thirdly, it was to the managers that the government inspector addressed comments, advice, and criticism, on the grounds that it was they, and not the paid staff, who were the group to be held

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[10]. For example, R&RJ, cccxxvi (1899), pp. 558-9 (comments of Inspector James Legge).

accountable for the school's operations. Lastly, it was the managers who represented the public face of the institution to the local area, and it was their responsibility to encourage local acquiescence in, and preferably support for, the school. This may have been no easy task: a parallel can be drawn with twentieth-century attempts to establish homes and hostels for the mentally-ill or the homeless which have been greeted with great hostility from local people.

With so many different roles, it was vital that the management should be enthusiastic and energetic in fulfilling them. This was easily accomplished in the first years of the each school's existence. Unfortunately, many reformatory and industrial schools experienced a marked dwindling in managerial effort as time went on, largely caused by the old age, general indisposition, or even death of the pioneering managers who had been instrumental in establishing the schools initially. Assistant Inspector Henry Rogers expressed concern to the Royal Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools of 1882-4 that the interest of voluntary managers had dulled in the recent past, allowing the management of many schools to devolve into the hands of one or two active people, rather than being a shared responsibility for all those who were notionally engaged in the work. He stressed the need for management committees to be numerous and universally active, lest too much power accrue to the paid superintendent who would no longer have that vital check on his or her conduct.[11] There is every suggestion in school archives that the deterioration in management interest had not reached its nadir in 1884,

[11]. PP 1884 [C. 3876-II] XLV pp. 132, 160 (Minutes of evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

but increased further as the century continued. However, despite this grave imperfection, both Rogers and his fellow witnesses to the Commission favoured continued voluntary management over any kind of direct state control. They argued that the existence of voluntary managers permitted the expression of a personal interest in the children as individuals which was vital to the success of the schools and which could not be emulated by any kind of external elected body.[12]

The scale of a decline in managerial supervision is graphically demonstrated by the records of the Northumberland Village Homes. In 1888, the first complete year recorded in the surviving committee visitor's book, committee members made 308 visits to the school. In 1898, this had fallen to 229; and in 1905, it had fallen still further, to a mere thirty-five visits. There was one, very simple, reason for this sharp decline between 1898 and 1905: the indisposition and later death of the founder, James Hall. In 1888, Mr Hall had been responsible for making 170 of the 308 recorded visits, while in 1898, he had achieved a massive 199 visits. His name was last recorded in June 1904. It is quite possible that the other committee members had become so used to allowing Mr Hall to undertake the main part of the daily supervision that they were unprepared to take over his work upon his departure from the committee. Certainly, no other single member ever showed as much interest or dedication as had Mr Hall.[13]

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[12]. PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV pp. 12-13, 167 (Report and Minutes of evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

[13]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/39, committee visitor's book, throughout.

(ii) The Organisation of Management

Since there were no advisory or mandatory government guidelines on the subject, it is not surprising that the size and constitution of managing committees varied from institution to institution. At one extreme there were schools like Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory and Leytonstone Girls' Industrial School, which were founded and managed by a single woman - in these examples, Mary Carpenter and Agnes Cotton, respectively - who took the name of 'Lady Superintendent' and single-handedly undertook the management of the school. This form of management was fairly common in the very earliest years of the reformatory system, but gradually disappeared as the original managers themselves died.[14]

At the other extreme from the schools with their single managers were institutions such as the girls' reformatories at May Place and Mount Vernon Green in Liverpool, the management of which was inter-twined with that of other institutions operated by single, large organisations. The managers who ran May Place were known collectively as the Liverpool Catholic Reformatory Association and bore responsibility for the Clarence reformatory school ship and the Birkdale Farm Boys' Reformatory. Mount Vernon Green Reformatory for Protestant Girls was run by the Liverpool Juvenile Reformatory Association,

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[14]. Other 'Lady Superintendents' included Mrs Robert Hammond at Fakenham Girls' Industrial School and Miss Blunt at the Cripples' Home: R&RJ, lx (1873), p. 132 and lxxii (1876), p. 93. Miss Lucy Greenwood, founder of Halstead Girls' Industrial School, and Mrs Farrar, founder of St Jude's Industrial School, were refused Reformatory & Refuge Union grants because they were not assisted by management committees: Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/A4, minutes, Council meetings 25 June 1874 and 20 Jan. 1876.

which, like its Catholic counterpart, also operated a reformatory school ship, the Akbar, and a reformatory farm school for boys.[15] This could create all kinds of problems, such as a relatively prosperous school having to prop up the others financially.[16] If one school from a group was particularly troubled with disciplinary problems, then, while concern was focused on that school, the others were liable to suffer. In these circumstances, it was often the girls' schools which were neglected.[17]

The majority of schools were managed by a committee of about twenty people, of whom about seven or eight were actually active in visiting the school and generally undertaking school business, though, of course, there were differences between schools, and in the experience of individual schools over time. In addition to acting as a single general committee, its members could be sub-divided into smaller committees each bearing responsibility for a particular aspect of the school's organisation. These members could be both ladies and gentlemen, gentlemen only, or ladies only. The Preston Ladies' Industrial School for Girls provides an example of the latter, as it was managed by a general committee of ladies only, while earlier, Sydney Turner had noted that at the Birmingham Girls' Reformatory, 'a committee of ladies exercise a general

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15. Rimmer, Yesterday's Naughty Children.

16. For example, in the L.C.R.A., Birkdale Farm Boys' Reformatory tended to support the other two schools: PP 1896 [C. 8184] XLV p. 433 (39th Annual Report); L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/4, minutes, meeting 14 Feb. 1893.

17. Such as May Place Reformatory during the Clarence mutinies: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/3, minutes, meetings 1886 and 1894-5 throughout, Clarence dominating discussion, Birkdale Farm discussed in its own committee, May Place hardly mentioned.

superintendence over the establishment', though it is apparent that a male manager, Alfred Hill, played a substantial role in the necessary external relations of that school.[18] An interesting example of the male-female managerial relationship, which seems to have been unique, was to be found at the Hampstead Reformatory for Girls. Miss Christian Nicoll, a lady who comes across in her writings and evidence to the Royal Commission as a stern and forthright person, was both the founder and the Lady Superintendent of the school, there being no paid superintendent. She was assisted in management by a committee of gentlemen. The reason for the absence of ladies on the committee was a simple one: Miss Nicoll did not care for the idea.[19] One can only wonder to what extent those gentlemen acted as a check and a restraint on Miss Nicoll.

Over the course of the nineteenth-century, it became increasingly believed by the government inspectors, writers on the certified schools, and, indeed, a substantial proportion of the managers and staff generally, that it was vital for girls' schools to be under at least the partial management of women.[20] There was not, however, whole-hearted support for women-only management. This reservation was, in part, caused by the commonly-held belief that men had a more highly tuned ability for "business matters", particularly financial, and that it was not necessarily fitting for women to be concerning

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[18]. PP 1892 [C. 6733] XLIII p. 53 (35th Annual Report); PP 1857-8 [2426] XXIX pp. 842-3 (1st Annual Report). On Alfred Hill, PP 1884 [C. 3876-II] XLV p. 352 (Minutes of Evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

[19]. Hampstead Reformatory: PP 1884 [C. 3876-II] XLV pp. 215-16 (Minutes of evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

[20]. The 1884 Royal Commission Report recommended women as managers: PP 1884 [C. 3876-I] XLV p. 14.

themselves with such tawdry matters as balancing the books and dealing with the school's relationship with the government.[21] However, on matters domestic, the 'woman's touch' was believed to be an essential part of management, relating to issues upon which the gentlemen were ill-equipped to express an opinion.[22] Despite this, as the propagandist for reformatory improvement, Mary Barnett, pointed out in her critical appraisal of these schools, four girls' reformatories and seven girls' industrial schools were, just before the Great War, still without a single female manager, as were forty-one industrial schools for boys.[23]

A great many of these exceptions were to be found in the Roman Catholic schools. Some girls' schools, such as Arno's Court Reformatory, were managed directly by the religious order which also provided the staff, with the minimum of clerical interference. However, others were managed by boards arising from the laity; and, in these circumstances, management seems without exception to have devolved into the hands of men only.

The remainder of this chapter examines, firstly, the people who became managers of girls' reformatories and industrial schools. It then turns to the relationship between the managers and staff, and the managers and government inspectors, with the aims of drawing out some of the power-relationships underpinning the reformatory system and estimating whether the

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[21]. Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy, p. 17; R&RI, vi (1862), p. 36 and lxi (1874), p. 183.

[22]. Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy, pp. 2-8; Prochaska, Voluntary Impulse, p. 23.

[23]. Mary Barnett, Young Delinquents: A Study of Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Methuen, London, 1913) [hereafter Barnett, Young Delinquents], pp. 42-3.

voluntary managers constituted an accountable body. This accountability is discussed in the context of two important issues: scandalous occurrences and openness to new ideas.

(iii) Organising Management: The Devon & Exeter Reformatory for Girls.

It comes as little surprise to discover that the managers of girls' reformatory and industrial schools were representative of the substantial middle-classes or gentry of the districts in which they were founded. In 1860, the 'committee of superintendence' or 'Association of Directors' of the Devon & Exeter Girls' Reformatory was made up of fourteen gentlemen, including a baronet, a naval captain, a civil engineer, a solicitor, four clergy of the Church of England, and four residents of Exeter with private incomes. Two of the non-Exeter residents were described as 'chief landowners' in their districts - an indication of the high social status of this particular management committee.[24]

The school was also blessed with an influential group of eleven male Vice-Presidents, whose only real function was to lend their names to the school in order to encourage a view of it as a respectable and worthy institution.[25] These men included a viscount, an MP, the Dean of Exeter, two

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[24]. Source of information concerning management of the Devon & Exeter Girls' Reformatory is D.R.O. 3899F/A1/1, 2nd Annual Report (1860) and Kelly's Directory of Devonshire and Cornwall (1856).

[25]. On patrons, see Prochaska, Voluntary Impulse, pp. 15-16.

other Cathedral clergy, and two further 'chief landowners'. Thus the gentlemen involved in the management of the reformatory constituted a very high status group, whose wealth and position derived largely from land, as was fitting for a predominantly rural area.

The gentlemen managers of the Devon & Exeter Girls' Reformatory were assisted by a fourteen strong 'Ladies' Committee', which itself included Lady Duckworth (the wife of an MP), Lady Jane Hotham, two clergy wives, and two wives of gentlemen on the main committee.[26] The ladies' most important function was the regular visiting of the school premises in order to inspect the facilities, industrial work, food, and so on.[27] The ladies had little part to play in the important hiring-and-firing function of management, though on one occasion a group of five felt it necessary to complain about the matron, who subsequently resigned. This was an incident which created some discord among the women, for a second group responded to this by writing to the directors regretting that the matron had been given no opportunity to defend herself before any form of managers' committee. On each of these occasions, the opinions of the ladies were represented to the general gentlemen's committee not by one of their own number, but by the Chaplain.[28] This use of an intermediary seems to have been the common means of communicating the

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[26]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting 26 Apr. 1858.

[27]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/6, Ladies' Committee visiting book, throughout. See also D.R.O. 3899F/M2/5, minutes, House Committee meeting 17 Dec. 1859.

[28]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meetings 15 Sept. and 28 Sept. 1858.

opinions of the ladies to the gentlemen, at least before they gained some stature as an official House Committee. For example, in October 1858, the appointed committee visitors for the month, Mr Heathman, Mrs Rogers, and Mrs Freshman, witnessed the inmates engaged in what the ladies considered to be excessive scrubbing of the floors. However, it was Heathman, and not either of the women, who passed on a request - 'At the suggestion of the ladies' - that the girls be given some alternative labour.[29] This was despite the fact that the ladies' involvement with the school was based upon their domestic knowledge and 'natural' womanly skills.

In May 1859, the Directors of the Devon & Exeter Girls' Reformatory decided to establish a House Committee to look after the mundane daily requirements of the institution, including the hiring and dismissal of staff, leaving the grander management roles to the larger, more influential committee. The composition of this House Committee is far from clear. At the meeting during which the House Committee was appointed, and in the following year's printed report, its membership was restricted to six men; however, the minutes of the House Committee's meetings reveal the regular attendance of a small number of ladies.[30] By 1863, it had been decided to transform the House Committee from, officially, a body of gentlemen, into a body of ladies appointed

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[29]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/5, gentleman visitor's report 4 Oct. 1858, by Mr Heathman.

[30]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting 24 Nov. 1859; D.R.O. 3899F/A1/1, 2nd Annual Report. Minutes of House Committee meetings, e.g. D.R.O. 3899F/M2/5, 5 June 1861 and 25 June 1862.

by the male Directors;[31] and, from then on, the ladies acquired the power to hire and dismiss staff, and to authorise limited expenditure, though ultimately everything still had to be approved by the Directors.

On the whole, the male managers of the Devon & Exeter Girls' Reformatory appear to have been conscientious in the exercise of their duties. They met very regularly - weekly or monthly depending on the precise committee - and it was extremely rare for them to have an inquorate meeting. During the first ten years, the average attendance at the monthly Directors' Committee meetings was seven men (i.e. half the members). The House Committee, composed of women, was considerably less efficient in terms of minute-taking and actually attending meetings, but its members were diligent, at least at first, in their duty of visiting the school. The matron's journal for the period indicates that one or more ladies arrived at the school on most days, either to inspect or to give a lesson, the ladies being particularly invested with responsibility for regular religious instruction.[32] However, there are some indications of a declining interest among the managers, especially the ladies, as the century progressed. By the eighteen-nineties, the ladies were hardly visiting the school at all. Committee members would drop in on the institution between three and six times a month in total, including at most one or two visits by female

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31. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting 11 Apr. 1865.

32. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/1, matron's journal, throughout. D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting 18 May 1859, ladies responsible for religious instruction.

committee members, a sharp contrast to their earlier enthusiasm.[33]

(iv) Organising Management: Stockport Industrial School for Girls

The Stockport Industrial School began its existence as a single institution catering for both boys and girls. The composition of the Gentlemen's Committee as it was during the period before the school was split into two, reflected the broad spectrum of middle-class occupation that was likely to be found in a northern industrial town. It was a high status group of men, though, unlike in Devon, there was no easy measure of social status, as wealth and position derived from industrial pursuits were less easy to interpret than those more traditional signifiers of status deriving from land-owning. In addition, almost half of those gentlemen involved in the school's management were holders of positions in local government, as shown in Table 7 below which analyses the composition of the committee in 1866.

The gentlemen were assisted in their management of the Industrial School by a 'Ladies' Association'. This body of women had no substantive power, and were essentially an advisory body. In keeping with their broader gender-role, their role in the school was to supervise the domestic arrangements as they affected both sexes, though most particularly the girls. As Table 8 (page 125) indicates, the involvement of about a quarter of the

[33]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/7, house visitors' book, throughout.

women composing the Ladies' Association was legitimised through their marriage

Table 7: Gentlemen's Committee (28 members)
Stockport Industrial School (Mixed), 1866 [34]

	JP only	Alderman	Both	Neither	**Total**
Cotton spinner	--	1	2 *	1	4
Shoe manufacturer	--	1	--	--	1
Brewer	--	--	--	1	1
Solicitor	--	--	--	2 **	2
Surgeon	--	2	--	1	3
Iron founder	--	--	--	1	1
Timber merchant	--	--	--	1	1
Private residents	3	--	1	7 §	11
Total	3	4	3	14	24

[**Notes:** * including the Mayor. [No information, 4]
** including the Town Clerk.
§ including a baronet and an army captain.]

to members of the Gentlemen's Committee. This, of course, does not imply either that it was necessarily the husband's wishes that caused the couple to become involved in managing the industrial school; nor, conversely, that the woman was moved to engage in the work without the prompting of her husband.[35]

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[34]. Information in Table 7 derived from Kelly's Directory of Cheshire (1865). Committee members identified using 12th Annual Report of Stockport Ragged and Industrial School (1866).

[35]. On 'wives' as workers in institutions, see Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy, pp. 141-2.

Table 8: Ladies' Association (36 members) Stockport Industrial School (Mixed), 1866[36]

Category	Frequency
Gentlemen's committee wife	8
Private resident (own right)	4
Private resident (husband)	9
Occupied husband *	8
Wife of clergyman **	3
Total	32

[**Notes:** * 1 auctioneer, 2 cotton spinners, 1 calico printer, 1 surgeon, 1 corn miller, 1 flour dealer, 1 news vendor.
** 1 Baptist, 2 Church of England. No information, 4]

Table 9 relates to the management of the industrial schools in Stockport some time after the girls and boys had been split up into separate institutions. The two schools remained under the supervision of a single, joint management committee which consisted of both men and women. By this stage, the female members of the committee shared equal powers and responsibilities with the gentlemen in relation to both the boys' and the girls' schools. However, each school had its own "House Committee", vested with responsibilities for the daily supervision of each school respectively; and the House Committee of the boys' school was entirely male, while that of the girls' school was entirely female.

36. Information derived from Kelly's Directory of Cheshire (1865). Association members identified in 12th Annual Report of Stockport Ragged and Industrial School (1866). Figures, esp. relating to private residents identified through husbands, must be treated with caution.

Table 9: General Management Committee (40 members) Stockport Boys' and Girls' Industrial Schools, 1895 [37]

	JP only	Alderman/JP	Neither	Total
Private resident	6	2 *	5	13
Hat manufact'r	1	1	1	3
Clergymen **	--	--	4	4
Fruit preserver	--	--	1	1
Shop keeper	--	--	1	1
Solicitor	--	--	1	1
Iron merchant	--	--	1	1
Surgeon	1	--	--	1
Tobacco manu't'r	--	--	1	1
Victuals merchant	--	--	1	1
Timber merchant	--	--	1	1
Women ***	--	--	12	12
Total	8	3	29	40

[**Notes:** * includes a baronet.
** includes 3 congregational ministers.
*** includes 9 wives of male committee members.]

Table 9 also suggests a slight decline in the status of the members of the management committee, and a considerable diminution in the cohesion of the occupational groups choosing to become managers. Interestingly, the composition of the committee reflects the changing economy of the town, for, by the eighteen-nineties, hat manufacturing had become a major Stockport

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[37]. Information derived from Kelly's Directory of Cheshire (1896). Source of committee names: 41st Annual Report of the Stockport Ragged and Industrial School (1895).

industry, rapidly overtaking cotton-spinning as a principal employer.[38] A slightly smaller proportion of the gentlemen on the later committee held public office. The small downward alteration in the social status of the gentlemen may have been one result of a religious controversy which had been precipitated, in 1891, by a new committee member, the Rev. A. Symonds, the end result of which was that the institution's management was compelled to declare it a non-conformist school, as opposed to non-denominational protestant, which had always been claimed hitherto.[39]

By 1895, 'committee wives' had become the majority among the lady members. But although the ladies shared power with the gentlemen, the number of women actually involved in the running of the schools had declined quite dramatically from thirty-six to only twelve. Thus increased influence seems to have been gained at the expense of numerical superiority.

(v) Management in Roman Catholic Schools

If the position of the female managers at the Stockport Industrial School was uncertain and changing over the course of the century, it was certainly more secure than that of women managers in some other schools:

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[38]. Information from Mr Kennington of the Stockport Local History Group. The building of Stockport Girls' Industrial School, on Dialstone Lane, eventually became a works club for Battersby's Hat Manufacturer's workforce.

[39]. 37th Annual Report of the Stockport Ragged and Industrial Schools (1891).

especially the Roman Catholic ones in which all the managers were male. The Liverpool Catholic Reformatory Association, for instance, which managed three reformatories, was created in August, 1856, after two public meetings open to Liverpool's Catholic population. No women are recorded as having attended either meeting, and no women became members of any committee of the L.C.R.A. between 1856 and at least 1901.[40]

It was generally intended by the Roman Catholic authorities that the absence of women on management committees would be more than made up for by the placing of girls' industrial and reformatory schools in the hands of female religious orders. After initial reservations, nuns rapidly became popular with the government inspectors for their devotion to duty and the warmth with which they regarded their charges.[41] It is no doubt true that religious sisters showed themselves to be perfect examples of personal piety, modesty, and chastity to lay before the inmates as role-models. However, the nuns were not always the models of obedience and docility for which the managers were no doubt hoping.

The sisters who first took on the superintendence of May Place

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40. L.C.R.A. 364 cat 1/1, minutes of meeting called by Bishop of Liverpool, 13 June 1856; and printed circular dated Aug. 1856.

41. Sheff. A.S. MD 7138/10/72, letter 10 July 1866, R.J. Gainsford, honorary secretary of St Joseph's Reformatory, to Reverend Cookson of Liverpool. On St Joseph's, see also PP 1865 [3527] XXV pp. 393-4 (8th Annual Report) and PP 1897 [C. 8566] XLI p. 377 (40th Annual Report). On Arno's Court, see PP 1865 [3527] XXV p. 373 (8th Annual Report); PP 1871 [C. 373] XXVIII p. 713 (14th Annual Report); and PP 1900 [Cd. 408] XLIII p. 166 (43rd Annual Report). Sydney Turner remained unimpressed with monks: Sheff. A.S. MD 7138/6/77 and /138, letters 5 Feb. and 3 June 1861, Turner to Gainsford; and /140A,B, letter 4 June 1861, Reverend Burke of St Joseph's to Gainsford.

Girls' Reformatory conformed to the discipline of their calling, but they were certainly not willing to be cowed or bullied by the school's committee of laymen; and they proved quite willing to use their privileged status as religious sisters to challenge the right of the male managers to even attempt to control their behaviour. Every time the managers tried to force the sisters into taking a course of action, however trivial and inconsequential, the Sister Superior would immediately defend the independence of the nuns; and often she appealed at once to her Order's higher authorities.[42] Over the course of the three years during which the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul were in residence at the reformatory, the Sister Superior showed a remarkable level of defiance towards her employers, challenging the legality of the school rules, refusing to keep a journal, insisting that a dormitory be turned into a chapel, and so on.[43] While she may not have achieved her stated aim - daily Mass on the school premises - Sister Byrne succeeded in achieving a much more desirable outcome: the release of the nuns from the superintendence of the reformatory, which Sister Byrne had

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42. This is indicated by the correspondence of Richard Yates, the honorary secretary. For example, L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letter 28 Oct. 1876, Yates to Sister Middleton of the Beacon Lane Orphanage, she acting as an intermediary between the Paris H.Q. and the L.C.R.A.; L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letters 6 Sept. 1877 and 2 Sept. 1879, Yates to Revd Eugene Boré, Reverend Superior-General of the Order of St Vincent de Paul, Paris; L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letter 19 May and 13 Sept. 1879, Yates to Sister Juhel, General Superioress of the Order of St Vincent de Paul, Paris.

43. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letters 30 May and 3 Aug. 1877, Richard Yates to Sister Byrne; L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letter 6 Sept. 1877, Yates to Revd Eugene Boré; L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letter 11 Aug. 1879, Sister Byrne to Yates [copied by Yates].

only initially agreed to with the strongest reservations.[44] A more spectacular result of the sister's defiance was the riot amongst the girls which is discussed in chapter eight.

Religious sisters were not the only ones who were prepared to challenge the dominance of the male managers.[45] However, firm subordination of the female superintendents to the rule of the managers, whether male or female, appears to have been the norm. It seems to have been common practice at all reformatory and industrial schools for superintendents and other officers to attend committee meetings when instructed to by the managers, but otherwise to be represented only through their daily journals or other records. At May Place, after their experience with the Sisters of Charity, the Liverpool Catholic Reformatory Association was taking no chances. Following a period in which there were no hard-and-fast rules governing the relationship between the committee and the staff, the management committee ensured that the opportunity for the superintendents to influence their decisions, with regard to their particular schools, was reduced by the resolution

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44. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letter 21 Nov. 1876, Honorary Secretary Richard Yates to Sister Lequette, General Superioress of the Order of St Vincent de Paul, Paris; L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letter 30 Aug. 1879, Sister Byrne to Yates [n.b. copy by Yates].

45. There was, for example, a struggle between the matron and the honorary secretary of the Devon & Exeter Girls' Reformatory over 89 cabbages which the latter had removed from the school's garden, leaving nothing in exchange and thus depriving the school of the cabbages' value. The matron complained to the managers, but they did not censure their colleague. Eventually, the matron refused to allow the honorary secretary's servant access to further cabbages. The honorary secretary replied by arranging for ten stones of potatoes to be delivered to the school; and his servant sought no more vegetables from the garden: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/1, matron's journal entries 1 Oct., 8 Oct., 11 Oct., 20 Oct., and 23 Oct. 1858.

> that the Superintendents of the Schools should not be present during the whole of the Committee's proceedings in future, but during such part as the Chairman should determine.[46]

It seems likely that the superintendents were present at the beginning of meetings for the reading of their journals and those of their chaplains and doctors; and also for the passing of requisitions and the agreement to repairs to the school buildings. The removal of the superintendents from committee meetings during the discussion of other business emphasised their status as employees of the Association and their inability to take independent action on behalf of their schools. It also allowed the committee members to discuss them freely.

This was, in effect, a greater blow to the status of Miss Donovan, the laywoman superintending May Place, than it was to the male superintendents of the Clarence reformatory school ship and Birkdale Farm. Not only were the male superintendents given more freedom in terms of expenditure, discipline, internal organisation, and dealing with potential scandals: the managers had little faith in Donovan's abilities, and were constantly searching for ways of replacing her with a different set of nuns.[47] It was only the inability of the Association to find a willing set of religious sisters with which to replace Miss Donovan which allowed her to stay in post until she chose to retire in 1901.[48]

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[46]. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/3, minutes, meeting 4 Oct. 1886.

[47]. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/3, minutes, meetings 2 May 1887 and 9 Apr. 1888; L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/4, minutes, meetings 2 Mar. and 6 Apr. 1891.

[48]. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/6, minutes, Council meetings 3 Sept., 1 Oct., and 5 Nov. 1900.

(vi) Supervising the Supervisors: The Government Inspectorate

If the voluntary managers could not be relied upon to supervise their institutions to a high level, it became all the more important that the government inspectorate should be particularly watchful. There was a widely held view that the well-being of children in certified schools was safe-guarded by the government inspectorate and that any cruelty or other irregularity would come to light during the course of the inspector's official visits. However, the thoroughness of inspection was generally variable throughout the period. Inspector Sydney Turner and his successors, Colonel William Inglis and James Legge, were expected to visit each certified school once during the year. It seems to have been fairly common for the inspector to give notice of his intentions to school managers before undertaking this official inspection, thus giving them time to prepare the school. In addition, it can be speculated (though not proven) that news of the inspector's arrival would have been passed, by personal contact, between different sets of school managers, so that all in an area would arrive at a certain state of preparedness regardless of whether they had been officially fore-warned of the inspector's visit. Since the annual reports reveal that each school tended to be inspected at roughly the same time of year, every year, during the period in office of individual inspectors, this would not have made it difficult for managers to predict an impending scrutiny. However, 'surprise visits' could be more or less precisely that, particularly under Inspector

Legge.[49]

To be absolutely fair to the inspectorate, the government and the public could hardly expect a more thorough system of visitation and supervision, for the Reformatory Office had a very small staff even by the standards of the civil service of the period. There were never more than three inspectors, including assistants, at any time during the nineteenth-century and, by the eighteen-eighties, they were covering over 200 schools dotted all over Great Britain, often in very inaccessible places. Sydney Turner appreciated the shortcomings of the system of inspection and struggled to have his staff enlarged. However, his successors exacerbated the problem by failing to be consistent in their approach to schools and by exhibiting an unwarranted complacency about their task. Inspection had itself become institutionalised into a particular way of working, but this did not go unnoticed. In 1894, Hugh Hoare, a future member of the Departmental Committee which investigated the operation of reformatory and industrial schools in 1895-6, privately challenged the inspectorate's complacency, arguing that

> the only way by which H M Inspectors can discover cruelties is for

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49. Examples of inspector's visits: Devon & Exeter Reformatory, D.R.O. 3899F/M2/2, meeting 15 July 1873 (Turner gives a week's notice), and 12 Aug. 1884 (Rogers gives 2-3 hours notice); Northumberland Village Homes, T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/15, reports 25 Mar. 1897 and 8 Nov 1899 (Legge and Walsh without notice); L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/4, meeting 13 Dec. 1892 (Legge inspects Birkdale Farm and May Place on the same day without notice); Red Lodge Reformatory, B.R.O. 12693/8, meeting 23 Sept. 1891 (girls return from seaside trip because of forthcoming inspector's visit), and meeting 28 Nov. 1894 (Robertson without notice); St Joseph's Reformatory, Sheff.A.S. MD 7138/7/238, letter 26 Oct. 1863, Turner to Gainsford (gives one week's notice), and MD 7138/8/122, letter 30 June 1864, Sister Stephanie to Gainsford (Turner without notice). Prison inspectors behaved similarly: see Radzinowicz & Hood, A History of English Criminal Law, p. 561.

> them to talk quietly with the children apart...[for] the children will of course never dare to report cruelties of their own accord.

Hoare had discovered that, at that time, the inspectors never spoke to the children privately and 'would never dream of doing so, as in their opinion it would be fatal to discipline' - an opinion which Hoare rejected as foolishness of the greatest magnitude.[50] He approached Assistant Inspector Henry Rogers on the matter, who:

> got red in the face and talked loud, & seemed quite indignant at the idea of his talking to the children apart. He regards it I think as a sort of sneaking thing to do. Very odd, but so he does.

Hoare noted, in conclusion, that the habit of inspecting two schools in one day seemed 'all wrong', and should stop.[51] Hoare would no doubt have agreed in substance with the editor of The Truth, who, referring to a cruelty scandal at the Roman Catholic boys' industrial school at Walthamstow, concluded:

> the inference from this succession of similar revelations in so short a space of time...is that the system on which these schools are conducted is radically defective...and the Government Inspection a sham and a snare...the Government officials, when they make their periodical inspections, see just as much as the superintendent chooses they shall see and nothing more.[52]

The inspectors may have suspected as much, but they did nothing to deal with the problem.[53] James Legge, when questioned by the 1895-6 Departmental

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50. P.R.O. HO 144/370/B17446, memo 26 Nov. 1894, by Hoare.

51. P.R.O. HO 144/370/B17446, letter 24 Nov. 1894, Hugh Hoare to G.W.E. Russell.

52. P.R.O. HO 144/370/B17446, clipping 6 Dec. 1894, from The Truth. On Walthamstow, see Radzinowicz & Hood, A History of English Criminal Law, p. 196.

53. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 35 (questions 1197, 1203-5) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

Committee, implied that he regularly spoke to the inmates, but on being pressed, admitted that private conversation was a very rare occurrence and that it never happened in his inspection of girls' schools.[54] Legge, faced with a seemingly impossible task, had taken the easy way out and adopted the ineffective but customary methods of inspection.

(vii) Managerial Inertia

Given the numerous drawbacks of the inspectorial scheme, it is apparent that much of the children's well-being depended on the vigilance of outsiders - not necessarily school managers - who would be prepared to interfere if they believed it necessary. Interference could and did lead to the disclosure of all kinds of managerial irregularities which often verged on, or became, scandalous.

From the eighteen-sixties, reformatories were the scenes of a number of events which achieved public infamy. Some were connected to riots, most often of boys, the first of which was the mass absconding at Mount St Bernard's Roman Catholic Reformatory in 1864.[55] After that, the schools were relatively peaceful until the eighteen-eighties, when a number of reformatories in England and Scotland experienced riots of differing seriousness.

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[54]. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 980 (questions 32,301-2), p. 1006 (questions 33,045-6) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

[55]. Radzinowicz & Hood, A History of English Criminal Law, p. 193-5.

It was also in this period that the first real scandal involving the physical abuse of inmates came to public notice, with revelations concerning the regime at St Paul's Industrial School for boys in London. Between 1880 and 1910, there were at least six schools for boys investigated by the government inspectorate, generally in private with limited press access.[56] It is quite possible that there were other boys' schools which came to the notice of the inspectors for harshness or other indications of mismanagement, but which were never the subject of a formal inquiry.

Girls' schools were not immune from scandal. In 1889, Surrey Girls' Reformatory was at the centre of an exposé concerning excessive beating and starvation of the inmates, an aspersion which was eventually rejected by Inspector Inglis as exaggerated.[57] A few years later, a similar report of the regime at Coventry Girls' Industrial School was found to have considerable truth in it. Home Secretary Asquith, describing 'the infliction of flogging...in the presence of the whole school' as 'altogether inexcusable', pressured the school's managers to dismiss the superintendent and thoroughly review their system of management, holding over them the threat of withdrawing the school's certificate.[58]

Despite the growing concern over the 'institutional craze' which

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[56]. These were St Paul's CIS (1881); the Clarence (1886), the Akbar (1887), and the Wellesley (1891) school ships; Blackley reformatory (1894); and Heswell Nautical School (1910).

[57]. Surrey Girls' Reformatory: P.R.O. HO 144/216/A49171, various items dated 1889-90.

[58]. Coventry Girls' C.I.S.: Hansard, 4th Series: vol. 13, cols 649 and 1063.

was manifested in the inspector's attempts in 1893 to encourage magistrates to commit first offenders to industrial schools rather than reformatories,[59] the managers scarcely seem to have questioned their priorities and generally suffered from inertia. Doubtless many long-serving managers had come to regard their institutions as both indispensable and as ultimately more important than the individual children who passed through them. Such managers were resistant to any suggestion that an institution was not necessarily the ideal place for a child. It seems quite likely that the personal pride of voluntary managers and benefactors led to an excessive regard for the institution as an ideal way of managing 'state children.'[60] Unlike institutionalisation, boarding-out, and other non-institutional ways of dealing with neglected or wayward children, left no monument to the workers. After twenty, thirty, or even forty years of involvement in controlling a certified school, the wielding of power and the respected status such positions could be expected to bestow would be difficult things for managers to relinquish. This would, no doubt, have been particularly true for those female managers who had derived considerable independence, active power over others, and autonomous social status from their involvement with these institutions, personal benefits which were not obviously forthcoming from the limited alternatives open to them.

By the eighteen-nineties, many of the ideas prevalent in the reformatory and industrial school system had become so entrenched in its

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59. P.R.O. HO 144/346/B13683, letter 14 Jan. 1893, Alfred Hill to the Home Office [Inglis?].

60. Fifth Report of the State Children's Association (1901-3), p. 20.

traditions that many workers and managers seem never to have questioned them. For example, the 1895-6 Departmental Committee identified an excessive use of silence as one of the problems of the schools. They asked Miss Langabeer, matron of the Red Lodge Reformatory, why she insisted upon it. 'I expect,' she replied, 'because I found it there.'[61] Another witness, Miss Sheppard, manager of Bath Girls' Industrial School, was asked why her charges were forbidden to carry money, to which her response was 'I do not think it is a subject we have ever thought about at all.' Godfrey Lushington commented that this was 'the very reason for the rule - that it has never been thought of and that that rule really is a relic of some ancient prison tradition.'[62] Miss Sheppard was also more than willing to justify continuing to provide girls with hard, rough washing and an inconvenient building in which to live.[63] On the subject of whether it would not be 'beneficial to the girls to have some other society beyond that of their own class in the school', Mrs Campbell of Toxteth Park Reformatory confessed that she had never considered the matter; and became extremely defensive in the face of hostile questioning by Godfrey Lushington who asked whether she thought there could be any issue of greater importance.[64]

It was, of course, a mixed picture, and there were some competent,

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61. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 199 (question 7,355) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

62. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 226 (questions 8,444-6) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

63. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 221 (questions 8,275-8, 8,282) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

64. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 306 (questions 11,236-11,243) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

flexible, and even, in a limited way, progressive managers. Differences of approach and attitude are quite strikingly revealed by the minutes of evidence to the 1895-6 Departmental Committee. In contrast to the very conservative ladies quoted above, there was Sister Stephanie of St Joseph's Industrial School for Roman Catholic Girls, who expressed horror at the idea of keeping girls at the school simply because their labour became more profitable as they grew older, and whose death in 1897 was lamented by Inspector Legge as a real blow to the school.[65] Also notable was Charles Nichols, who showed himself to be extremely interested in technical education for the boys at the Abbot Memorial Industrial School, while he admitted with regret, first, that the girls' section had no occupations able to stand comparison and, second, that the school's domestic arrangements relied to such an extent on girl-labour that drudgery was always a possibility.[66] A more well-known figure, Miss Florence Davenport-Hill, was greatly interested in anti-institutional measures such as boarding-out, but had personal influence in only one industrial school, which was for boys.[67]

It is hardly surprising that there was resistance to change among the voluntary managers, for a significant number of those involved in the early years of the schools were still involved in the eighteen-nineties. Miss Sheppard of Bath Girls' Industrial School, for example, was involved in reformatories and

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[65]. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII pp. 212-20 (questions 7,290-8,242) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools); PP 1898 [C. 8996] XLVIII p. 406 (41st Annual Report).

[66]. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII pp. 391-5 (questions 13,791-13,972) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

[67]. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII pp. 528-30 (questions 17,950-18,011) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

industrial schools for over thirty years. Such managerial responsibilities were something of a family tradition for this woman, since her father had established and managed two industrial schools, while her mother had single-handedly managed Limpley Stoke reformatory, a role which Miss Sheppard had taken over on her mother's death.[68] Mrs L.J. Campbell had become a manager of the Toxteth Park girls' reformatory in 1859, taking on more responsibility in 1860 as the honorary treasurer, and finally combining that position with the honorary secretaryship from 1870. Mrs Campbell was still managing the school in 1895.[69] Mrs Campbell also reported that the matron of the Toxteth Park Girls' Reformatory had been there since about 1867, having had previous experience of an industrial school and a preventive home for girls.[70] Thus, together, the ageing management and staff formed a strong bulwark against change.

The length of service given by these women was by no means exceptional, and what was true of them was equally true of the male managers. Thus it can be said that many of the managers were practically institutionalised themselves. They had been in the work for so many years that they became resistant to change and failed to question whether their traditional methods either worked or were appropriate to the new century. Moreover, this had

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68. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 220 (questions 8,249-53) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

69. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 293 (question 10,716) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

70. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 298 (question 10,920) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

another effect. The fact that so many of them were nearing the end of their lives threatened the system with managerial instability, at a point when it was not clear that younger people would enter the work to replace them. These factors, in combination with the increasing institutionalisation of the senior staff, as outlined in chapter six, led to deep-seated stagnation and general closed-mindedness.

(viii) Inertia in Action: The Princess Mary Village Homes

The situation at the Princess Mary Village Homes provides a perfect example of the problems of the whole reformatory system around the turn of the century. Between 1897 and 1902, these Homes were the subject of two informal inquiries, neither of which came to the notice of the press. The first was fore-shadowed by a letter from Inspector Knollys of the Local Government Board to the Home Office, reporting that he had received a number of complaints in connection with the Homes, in particular that the laundrywork was too hard, that one of the house mothers was or had been cruel, and that frequent changes of staff were leading to a breakdown of discipline.[71] It seems that Inspector Legge took no particular action in response to this. However, the following year, Dr Westlake, the Village Homes' doctor, resigned, having sent her quarterly medical report direct to Legge with a covering letter explaining that she felt she could not trust the managers to send it on. Her

[71]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, memo 21 Oct. 1896, sent to Legge.

report took an exceedingly unfavourable view of conditions in the school: the Homes were overcrowded, with beds in hall-ways, bathrooms, anywhere there was a space; clothing was not always clean; diet was inadequate; and the work hours were too long. In all, she reported, seventy-eight of the girls - over half the school -had received medical attention during the quarter, some for serious illnesses such as rheumatic fever.[72]

Inspector Legge embarked on an informal investigation of Dr Westlake's claims, during the course of which he discovered that there had been 200 staff changes at the Homes during the previous three years; that the house mothers often felt compelled to supplement the children's official dietary with items bought with their own private money; and that one girl, by then in service, had once been kept in confinement for three days without food.[73] There could be no doubt that all was not well at the Princess Mary Village Homes. Yet no substantive action was taken by the inspector, underlining the general impotence of his position. After some delay, Legge suggested to Mrs Meredith, the founder and head of the school's triumvirate of managers, that she introduce a staff complaints book, hoping that this would at least help to ease the obviously difficult relations between staff and managers, but Mrs Meredith refused. Legge's only available sanction was the withdrawal of the school certificate, an action which appeared overly severe in this set of circumstances, so he was

[72]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, letter 5 July 1897, Dr W. Westlake to Legge, enclosing medical report, dated 30 June 1897, by Dr Westlake.

[73]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, miscellaneous notes in Legge's writing, dated 16 Oct. 1897.

forced to allow matters to drop.[74]

Further problems arose in 1902. By this time, Legge had become so concerned about the situation at the Homes that he was prepared to have the certificate withdrawn, especially since the London School Board had decided to send no further children there.[75] The second inquiry into the Village Homes was sparked by a letter from a former school-mistress, Miss Stevens, who wrote to Legge declaring that he did not realise 'the deplorably hopeless condition of the upper standards' and the problems caused by the abandonment of the school time-table on the slightest pretext, such as the need to rehearse a song for an evangelical meeting.[76] A particularly striking aspect of this second inquiry was the divisions, based on a stereotyping of female competencies, which it revealed between the women who managed and those who staffed the Homes. Complaints centred on the managers' inability to act together in general agreement, a problem which the inspector's informants linked to the managers' sex and not their individual personalities. By this time, Susannah Meredith had died, and Legge thought that the management had, if anything, improved as a result, though there were still three ladies, Miss Cavendish, Miss Eliot, and Miss Lloyd, who collectively and severally held the bulk of managerial power, but had

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[74]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, letter 8 Jan. 1898, Legge to Meredith. Letter 29 Jan. 1898, Meredith to Legge.

[75]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, letter 25 Sept. 1902, Legge to K.E. Digby, under-secretary of state.

[76]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, letter 16 July 1902, Miss A.E. Stevens to Legge.

still not formed themselves into a committee.[77] They were also criticised for being meddlesome, again a trait which was stereotypically female: as one of the house mothers put it, there were 'too many women about interfering' and the running of the school was hampered by the constant giving and countermanding of orders by the lady managers.[78] The school's accountant said that the ladies were 'hopeless meddlers' who were 'driving [him] mad', and that he could not do his job properly because he had 'to dance attendance on Miss C[avendish]'.[79] The implication was clearly that the school needed a few male managers to keep the ladies in check. Opinion among the staff was fairly unequivocal that Miss Cavendish needed someone to restrain her, but such restraint was not forthcoming from the other lady managers, the Misses Eliot and Lloyd, whom one of the house mothers, a Mrs Watkins, unflatteringly described as 'feeble' and 'non-entities'.[80]

Various comments suggested that while the ladies had neither the good business-sense and detached outlook which all manifestly expected from gentlemen managers, they also failed to demonstrate the desirable, but peculiarly 'feminine' traits which lady managers were thought to bring to institutions. They were accused of failing to show a motherly interest in their charges. Miss

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[77]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, letter 25 Sept. 1902, Legge to Digby.

[78]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, letter 16 July 1902, Miss A.E. Stevens to Legge. Comment of Miss Hendrie from notes dated 17 & 18 Sept. 1902, contemporary emphasis.

[79]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, comment of Mr Voce-Thurgood, from notes dated 17 & 18 Sept. 1902.

[80]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, comment of Mrs Watkins, from notes dated 17 & 18 Sept. 1902.

Stevens, the ex-teacher, argued that Miss Cavendish and her colleagues, far from keeping a watchful eye over the daily running of the school, were only interested in the children when they were engaged in a public or fund-raising activity: fetes, concerts, and so on.[81] Legge concluded that 'the whole system of management is hopelessly artificial', but still felt he could do little to improve matters without taking drastic action, which he was reluctant to do, and which, indeed, he did not take.[82]

(ix) The Need for Supervision: Leytonstone Girls' Industrial School

In 1904, Sub-Inspector Walsh was able to note that the inspectors were fortunate that there had never been 'some ugly scandals' at the Princess Mary Village Homes.[83] They had not been so fortunate ten years earlier, when a number of revelations about the running of Leytonstone Girls' Industrial School turned into one of the most widely publicised girls' school scandals. The old style of school management and method met the newly developing one head-on, to produce an example of the abuse of position which was possible if a superintendent was insufficiently supervised. Miss Agnes Cotton, the sole manager and the superintendent of the Leytonstone Industrial School, personified the reformatory tradition, while her protagonists were the fairly progressive

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[81]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, notes by Miss Stevens[?], 1902.

[82]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, letter 25 Sept. 1902, Legge to Digby.

[83]. P.M.V.H.: P.R.O. BN 62/337, letter 22 Feb. 1904, Walsh to Legge.

London School Board. Miss Cotton had been a worker in the care of neglected and delinquent children since 1865, devoting her time, energy, and personal fortune to the establishment of a school for "fallen" girls who were not welcome in other institutions, either because of their youth or their sexual experience. This school received a Home Office certificate in 1882.

In September 1894, a letter from the London School Board informed the Under-Secretary of State that an ex-member of the Leytonstone staff had made various allegations about the way Miss Cotton ran her school; and that on further inquiry being made among some former inmates, matters had been uncovered which demanded the most urgent attention of the Home Office. Reverend Drew, the chairman of the School Board, had interviewed a former inmate called Catherine Dunn. She said she had absconded from Leytonstone on one occasion because Miss Cotton had struck her across the head with a book; and upon being unable to complete her work because of the headache which she subsequently developed, Miss Cotton threatened her with a public birching. The laundress had privately confirmed to Catherine that this could happen, saying that she herself had, on Miss Cotton's orders, once collected fresh birch twigs and birched 'a girl's posterior' in the ironing room. Drew had then visited two other former inmates. One, Alice, explained that she had been hit with a copper stick when at the Leytonstone branch home at Clapton. The second, Louisa, told him that she had once been stripped to the waist by Miss Cotton and publicly flogged across the back.[84] Louisa's story became more colourful as it was

[84]. Leytonstone C.I.S.: P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17047, letter 27 Sept. 1894, Mr Garland of London School Board, to Godfrey Lushington[?], enclosing a statement of Revd Drew dated 25 Sept. 1894.

reported. The Evening News related her story of how Miss Cotton had thrashed her with a dog-whip as she lay in her bed, an account repeated by The Times. The latter noted that Louisa regarded such punishments as 'rather cruel sometimes' though not 'excessive'.[85]

This was not the first indication that Miss Cotton had rather too high a regard for corporal punishment and was very willing to put it into use. When requesting the school's certificate in 1882, she had felt it necessary to stress that, although The Pall Mall Gazette had run a story exposing her institution for its use of corporal punishment, and though she did 'not flinch' from using it when necessary, she was, in fact, 'not very capable' of 'flogging' as the Gazette had accused.[86] Nor was the scandal of 1894 to be her final expression of faith in corporal punishment as a disciplinary tool. In 1896, she wrote a letter to the Reformatory & Refuge Journal expressing her annoyance and regret that the official Home Office line was that superintendents were not to corporally punish girls, regardless of their behaviour.[87] Two years later, Miss Cotton was astonished to find that the Waifs & Strays Society forbade the use of the cane in its homes: 'It surely cannot be that a Church Society tries to

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[85]. Leytonstone C.I.S.: P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17047, clipping from The Evening News, 29 Oct. 1894; and clipping from The Times, 30 Oct. 1894. For a further discussion of corporal punishment in certified girls' schools, see chapter seven.

[86]. Leytonstone C.I.S.: P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17047, letter 4 Feb. 1882, Miss Cotton to Secretary of State. See article in The Pall Mall Gazette (1 Dec. 1879), p. 8.

[87]. R&RJ, ccxcii (1896), p. 548.

Rule contrary to Bible Teaching!' she declared.[88]

It is possible that the former inmates of Leytonstone were vindictively exercising their imaginations in denouncing Miss Cotton. However, Revd Drew found them convincing enough to persuade the London School Board to seek an inquiry. Moreover, given Miss Cotton's affection for the rod, it seems likely that there was substantially more than a grain of truth in the stories. A public inquiry was duly undertaken by the Inspector William Inglis. It was not only to investigate the question of excessive punishment, but was to look at other issues, such as hair-cropping, the stamping of the clothing of licensed girls with the name and address of the school, the licensing of girls without reference to the School Board and before their due time, and the keeping back of licensed girls' wages.

Despite a wealth of evidence condemning Miss Cotton's behaviour, the inspector's report supported and completely exonerated her. Inglis criticised Drew for over-reacting: for failing to give Miss Cotton the chance to explain her actions, most of which he argued were a result of the exercise of common sense, if perhaps a little severe and strict at times.[89] No doubt the inclination for criticism of the management of Leytonstone - if Inglis did, indeed, want to criticise - was hindered by the discovery that Miss Cotton had been running her school for twelve years without a set of rules approved by the Secretary of

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[88]. Various letters dated April 1898, from Agnes Cotton to Mr Rudolf of the Waifs & Strays Society, referring to CS case 281, a girl transferred to Cold Ash from Leytonstone when it closed.

[89]. Leytonstone C.I.S.: P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17047, inspector's report, 1894. See R&RJ, cclxxi (1895), pp. 237-8.

State, the issuing of which was a responsibility of the inspector's office, and the omission of which should have been spotted at once by Colonel Inglis.[90] Miss Cotton was delighted that she had been exonerated, and expressed much thankfulness at the latitude which had been permitted to one who was still influenced by her long experience as a voluntary school manager who had not been subject to any external supervision.[91] This was despite having been under Home Office inspection for a decade.

This episode in industrial school history illustrates how poor the standard of inspectoral supervision could be in practice; and how easy it was for important items to be overlooked amongst the excessive business of an under-staffed department. Under James Legge, things began to improve. However, reverence for longevity in the field still hampered the inspectors and their office in the performance of their duties, making them unwilling to act ruthlessly against once respected and forward-thinking philosophies and methods which had now become hopelessly ossified. When Miss Cotton passed on the Leytonstone school to the Clewer sisters in 1896, resigning the industrial school certificate

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90. P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17047, memo 17 Nov. 1894 by Lushington. However, the reformatory office seems not to have learned from this error. As the managers of Thorp Arch Industrial School pointed out, their school's approved rules, sent to the office in 1896, had still not been returned by 1898: P.R.O. HO 45/9746/A56764, letter 3 Feb. 1898, clerk of Leeds School Board to Sir Matthew Ridley.

91. P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17047, letter 27 Nov. 1894, Miss Cotton to Secretary of State. It is worth noting that voluntary schools were not immune to scandal: see, for example, The Pall Mall Gazette (8 Aug. 1879), p. 11 and (20 Sept. 1879), p. 10 for an investigation into 'Miss Addiscott's Home', where one girl had died of starvation and the children lived in squalid surroundings. Also Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/A4, minutes, R&RU Council meeting 5 Feb. 1879, on cruelty reported at Manchester Female Orphanage.

at the same time, Legge noted that

> The school has not been doing well for some years. Miss Cotton has spent her life and fortune on it, but her increasing age & infirmity have rendered her unfit to carry on a work requiring so much patience and strength. It is well that she should have quietly resigned the certificate, without having resignation forced on her by official [censure?].[92]

Better for the schools to limp on, with the potential for all kinds of abuse, better for them to use ineffective or old-fashioned methods for keeping the children in order under a repressive regime, better these things by far than to act in a way which would offend a zealous manager of the type who founded the system. Had Miss Cotton not resigned her certificate, how long might it have been before Legge would have reluctantly acted to protect the best interests of the Leytonstone girls?

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[92]. Leytonstone C.I.S.: P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17047, letter 30 Jan. 1896, Cotton to Legge, with added note by Legge.

Chapter Six

Order and Continuity: The Paid Staff

It is self-evident that every school needed a sufficient number of staff to undertake the education and training, maintain discipline, and generally supervise the day-to-day existences of the inmates. Within each school there was a hierarchy of employed staff, under the ultimate supervision of one or more voluntary managers. Throughout this chapter, the superintendents, matrons, and schoolteachers will be described as the 'superior officers', reflecting a habit of contemporaries, who seemed generally to consider these people as a unified whole. Such a label differentiates this group of paid workers from the 'inferior officers', such as the laundress, sewing mistress, and cook. This latter group were usually drawn from a lower social class than the superintendent and teachers, and often held the equivalent of domestic service situations in the school's household (though, of course, they retained power to control the inmates when in their respective departments).

This chapter examines, firstly, the qualities of class, education, and piety which reformatory system managers regarded as essential in their employees; and secondly, the conditions of service which employees experienced. The qualities which 'inferior officers' were expected to exhibit were much the same as those sought in 'superior officers', though for the lesser officers their capacity for successfully undertaking and completing their own special department of industrial work was naturally of very great importance.

(i) The Early Years: Missionary Work

The superintendent of a school was regarded as its 'mainspring,' since he or she was the person who was responsible for the daily functioning of the institution, and it was his or her duty to set the 'tone' and maintain discipline.[1] A 'matron' was either the principal female officer in a boys' school, her position deriving from marriage to the male superintendent; or, somewhat confusingly, it could be a title held by the chief officer of a girls' school for whom the title of 'superintendent' would have been inappropriate because the manager was called the 'Lady Superintendent'. Alternatively, a female superintendent could be called the 'matron' simply because it was felt to be more fitting for a female officer than 'superintendent'. Generally, the matron found herself in virtual control of the day-to-day running of the institution as it affected the domestic aspects of the household and the organisation of the time of female inmates.

High social status, experience, and substantial intellectual attainments were not prerequisites for appointment to a 'superior' position in a reformatory or industrial school, at least in the early decades. It was not uncommon for those appointed to have begun their careers working in Sunday or Ragged Schools, which gave them some experience of handling large groups of impoverished and perhaps unruly children. Moreover, such involvement was important as a sign of religious commitment - the main qualification for a

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[1]. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 16, para. 20 (Report of Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

position in the reformatory system. Background, education and experience were secondary considerations compared to religious zeal. This zeal was not only found in persons following non-conformist protestant denominations, such as the Society of Friends, Methodism, or Unitarianism, for a substantial number of reformatory workers were members of the evangelical wing of the Church of England, the most obvious example being the 'sisterhood' which ran the Princess Mary Village Homes. Those lay-people who staffed Catholic schools were drawn from the more pious branches of their religion; of course, the ultimate demonstration of piety was membership of a religious order.

In the early years of the system, the schools were, on the whole, staffed by well-meaning amateurs, attracted to the work by idealism and the motive of Christian charity. The system had the advantage of newness; the young and energetic were more likely to see a future in this venture than in the disliked and discredited Poor Law. Even a youthful and unworldly candidate would be considered a suitable person to fill a responsible post if he or she could show true religious vigour and an ardent desire to save lost souls. A number of male superintendents took up positions of great responsibility at a relatively early age,[2] but female superintendents tended to take up posts when more mature. Miss Anna Donovan, for example, was forty-three when she became the May Place superintendent; and Miss Sophia Stuart, matron of Red Lodge, was

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2. For examples, Mr Hibbins of Clifton Wood C.I.S., appointed aged 20 (R&RJ, ccxvii (1890), p. 413); Mr Plummer of Saltley Boys' Reformatory, died aged 39 (R&RJ, clxv (1886), p. 156); and Mr H.F. Fish, a later superintendent of Saltley Reformatory, died aged 33 (R&RJ, cclv (1893), p. 553).

fifty.[3]

The work was described as 'missionary' and was at times compared to the efforts of those taking Christianity to 'the benighted heathen'.[4] Its spirit was summed up in the motto of the Reformatory and Refuge Union, 'To seek and to save that which was lost.'[5] The Earl of Shaftesbury, addressing an audience of eight hundred at a Teachers' Soirée in June, 1862, said:

> We want men [*sic*] of good moral qualities, great perseverance and discretion, those who know much more of men's hearts than they do of men's books. The only book we really care about their knowing and loving is the Bible itself. We require a great love of the work in which they are engaged; we require that they should have a great desire to do good; we require that there should be an earnest seeking for the salvation of souls: these are the qualities that we require of the teachers.[6]

Throughout the eighteen-sixties, the Reformatory and Refuge Journal carried articles exhorting 'the workers' to greater acts of fervour and selflessness in the pursuit of their goal. Their mission was not simply to educate delinquent and destitute children in the ways of the world, but to wipe away their sins and make them love Jesus Christ. It is notable that these articles were often written by school officers themselves.

The very first article carried by the Journal set the tone. It was

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3. May Place Reformatory, L.C.R.A. 364 cat/6/2/1, maintenance allowance book, Aug. 1893. Red Lodge Reformatory, B.R.O. 12693/2, return to the Committee of Council on Education, 30 Oct. 1857. In accordance with contemporary social etiquette, records rarely reveal the age of female staff.

4. R&RJ, viii (1862): Rev. D.B. Nichols 'Sketch of a Reformatory Labourer' part 1, p. 104

5. Luke 19:10.

6. R&RJ, vii (1862), pp. 80-1.

entitled 'Work and the Way To Do It: to the Masters, Matrons, and Teachers'. The anonymous author asked the readers to give a high level of Christian commitment to their labours; to save lost souls, to be witnesses to the true faith and exemplars of Christian philanthropy. Officers were encouraged to labour in love, compassion, and understanding; and the work of the reformatory school officers was compared to that of Luther, Latimer, Wesley and St. Paul.[7] Yet whether the people entering the work were sufficiently zealous to satisfy the demands of philanthropist patrons is another question. Another writer, a mere one year later wrote that 'Zeal is the great desideratum among teachers. We have numbers, we have diligence, and even skill; but we are not equally in possession of zeal.'[8] In fact, religious enthusiasm as a motivating force may have been relatively short-lived. In a speech made in 1875, Alexander Falconer, the superintendent of Mossbank Industrial School in Glasgow, described his perception of the motivation of the earliest workers - of whom he was one - and his sadness at the passing of religious enthusiasm by saying that

> Few, if any, young men and women fired with love for this phase of Home Missionary labour are holding subordinate places in our principal institutions... We who were of this number fifteen years ago (and I see a good many in this meeting who were, and they recall the enthusiasm with which our daily work was done, and which shaped our ideals of duty and system...)look anxiously round for a new generation of the same mind and spirit, who will take our places... The charm, the romance of the thing has been transferred to other departments of the work...[9]

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7. R&RJ, i (1861), p. 4; and ii (1861), p. 24.

8. R&RJ, v (1862), p. 3: 'The Zealous Teacher,' by R.D.

9. Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/H3, Proceedings of the Reformatory & Refuge Union Conference of Managers (1875), pp. 131-2.

While Falconer's comments represent a nostalgic recollection of reformatory work, it is apparent that by the turn of the century, other commentators were placing less emphasis upon religion and more upon another quality, 'refinement.' This was increasingly seen to be essential in all officers, regardless of their social origins. Refinement was not to be confused with shallow 'gentility' which James Legge, the government inspector, described as characterised by 'table cloths, flowers, and Burne-Jones photographs in green frames.'[10] Refinement was the presence of good manners, modesty, calmness, and an appreciation of the higher things. It was a rejection of all coarseness and vulgarity. In these schools, it had to be a particular brand of refinement which would teach the inmates to emulate respectable ladies and gentlemen, whilst knowing their place. But the importance which school managers and other commentators placed on Christian motivation did not disappear. Though the 1896 Departmental Committee Report did not state explicitly that strong religious belief was a desirable characteristic of staff, it was implied in the way the report drew attention to the need for superintendents with 'a missionary spirit', especially in girls' schools.[11] The Reformatory and Refuge Union used the same phrase in describing its plans to train 'ladies' as high quality laundresses.[12]

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[10]. PP 1913 [Cd. 6839] XXXIX p. 403 (questions 7768 and 7769) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

[11]. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 16, para. 20 (Report of Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

[12]. Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/G4, minutes, Laundry Sub-Committee meeting 25 May 1897. See also PP 1913 [Cd. 6838] XXXIX p. 132 (Report of Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

Whether the religious motivation of staff declined or not over the course of the century, it is clear that in later years, the staff were more openly looking for something for themselves, rather than simply wanting to do good works for the benefit of others. As Mrs Hannah Harrison, the first Lady Assistant Inspector, noted in her evidence to the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools of 1911-13, the work was both philanthropic or religious, and a career in itself; and she stated that, in her opinion, the workers within the system were attracted by both factors.[13]

(ii) Who Became the Superior Officers?

There was considerable demand among both men and women for positions as 'superior officers' in reformatory and industrial schools. In 1868, fifty couples applied for the position of master & matron at the newly certified Gem Street Industrial School, Birmingham; while ninety-one candidate couples applied for the master & matron's posts at Stockport (mixed) Industrial School in 1869.[14] Forty applications for the assistant matron's post were received at

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13. PP 1913 [Cd. 6838] XXXIX p. 194 (questions 1851-3) (Report of Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). The first female assistant inspector was appointed in 1904.

14. Gem St C.I.S.: B.C.L. MS 253/1, minutes, General Committee meeting 9 June 1868, p. 285. Stockport C.I.S.: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/7/2, minutes, General Committee special meeting, 26 July 1869.

Stockport Girls' Industrial School in 1875.[15] The jobs did not wane in popularity: in 1900, the managers of Stockport Boys' industrial school received 190 applications for the joint position of superintendent & matron.[16] One reason for the popularity of these positions was probably the limited alternatives offering security and accommodation open to candidates as a result of their relatively low social class.

In April, 1870, a Reverend Maguire, addressing the workers at the Annual General Meeting of the Reformatory and Refuge Union, said that:

> you are not generally of the great and the rich and the mighty, but you are oftimes recruited out of the ranks of the very poor, who, some people would think, would have enough to do to look after their own children.[17]

There was some feeling that this was exactly as it should be. The Reverend Nichols of Chicago wrote that a person 'who knows not the pinching hand of want...is not the person to exert the greatest influence over this class of minds'; and argued that only a person who had felt poverty could truly sympathise with the inmates of these institutions.[18] It was, perhaps, considered preferable for workers to lack high social status so that they would be more likely to conform to the wishes of the management committee, which was invariably gentry and middle-class in composition. It would have been difficult for a committee to

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[15]. Stockport C.I.S.: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/7/3, minutes, General Committee meeting 29 July 1875.

[16]. R&RJ, cccxli (1900), p. 185.

[17]. R&RJ, xlvii (1870), p. 44. Unfortunately, lack of evidence makes it impossible to systematically quantify the proportions of staff who could be assigned to different social classes.

[18]. R&RJ, ix (1863), p. 19: 'Sketch of a Reformatory Worker' part 2.

have felt comfortable giving orders to or dismissing a person of an equal or higher social status than themselves.[19] But it is difficult to believe that the majority of the 'superior officers' would have been drawn from such a very impecunious group, for they would have lacked sufficient education and social presence to have been successful, either in the provision of satisfactory education or in their dealings with management committees.

It is more likely that, in the early years of the system, a large proportion of superior officers, especially in boys' schools, were lower-middle-class, from which social group many candidates came forward. Some workers came from clergyman stock, as did Mrs Higginbotham of the Albert Memorial (mixed) industrial school.[20] Occasionally, superintendents of boys' schools were recruited from the armed forces because of their disciplinary skills.[21] However, this particular source of men was less often used than it was for recruitment to prison staffs, in which the majority of the officers, both senior and junior, had come from the army; or, similarly, in workhouses, where ex-servicemen were preferred as masters.[22]

A small proportion of male superintendents began their careers as

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19. See M. Jeanne Peterson, 'The Victorian Governess: Status Incongruence in Family and Society,' in Suffer and Be Still, ed. Martha Vicinus, pp. 3-19, for a discussion of this kind of problem.

20. R&RJ, clxiv (1886), p. 148. See also R&RJ, cxcvi (1888), pp. 127-8.

21. For example, R&RJ, cc (1889), p. 201.

22. J.E. Thomas, The English Prison Officer since 1850 (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1972), pp. 47-50; see also PP 1895 [7702] LVI pp. 670-5 (Report of Dept C. on Convict Prisons, on prison governors). Crowther, Workhouse System, p. 116.

certificated schoolmasters in ordinary elementary schools.[23] However, this was relatively uncommon, as there were comparatively few certificated schoolteachers at work at any level within the system as a whole. Since superintendents were often drawn from the teaching staff of reformatory and industrial schools, it follows that a lack of certified teachers in the classroom would lead to superintendents also, generally, being without a teaching qualification. Since a smaller proportion of women teachers were in possession of a certificate, this lack of a formal qualification was even more likely to be true of female superintendents. Not one example of a schoolmistress who was definitely certificated, and who went on to be a reformatory system superintendent has been found.

In 1896, the Departmental Committee investigating the reformatory system calculated that in a total of 176 reformatory and industrial schools there were only 148 certificated teachers, principal or assistant; and that in twenty-eight reformatories and twenty-nine industrial schools, there was no certificated teacher at all. The problem of an under-qualified teaching staff was not confined to the reformatory system; in the same year, the Poor Law Committee investigating pauper education in the Metropolis found that a substantial number of its own teachers were not trained or certificated. Both Committees concluded that, as a result, their respective schools were liable to be suffering from inferior teaching.[24]

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23. For example, R&RJ, xcvii (1880), pp. 155-6; cxc (1888), p. 44; and xcv (1880), p. 140.

24. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 41 (Report of Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools); PP 1896 [C. 8027] XLIII p. 44 (Report of Dept C. on Poor Law).

Unfortunately, teachers in reformatory schools laboured under a particular career disincentive. A certificated teacher working in a reformatory could not claim the Treasury allowance payable to industrial and elementary school teachers. In order to attract qualified teachers, it would therefore be necessary for the schools themselves to make good the loss to the individual. This was something to which few managers would agree. Thus advertisements in the Reformatory and Refuge Journal rarely asked for candidates for teaching positions to hold a certificate; sometimes they stated explicitly that a certificate was not required.[25] Uncertificated teachers were not, perhaps, as efficient as the certificated, but they were attractive to managers because they were much cheaper.

However, the ambitious young uncertificated teacher thinking of working in a reformatory or industrial school also faced a disincentive. He or she could not rely upon any service in such a school to be a qualification for the certificate. A pamphlet written by the governor of the Boys' Refuge, Whitechapel described how young teachers were misled into believing that by giving two years satisfactory service in a certified industrial or reformatory school, they would qualify for a certificate. While in theory this should have been the case, in practice it was not.[26] In 1875, the Education Department made the concession of allowing teachers with a 'literary' certificate and two years service in a reformatory or industrial school to apply for a 'parchment'

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[25]. For example, R&RJ, cxxxvi (1892), cover.

[26]. T. Langford, The Hindrances Presented by the Education Department to the Engagement of Efficient Teachers in Certified Industrial Schools (privately printed, 1875).

certificate once they took up a position in a public elementary school, thus eradicating part of the problem. But this still meant that teachers had to leave the reformatory system in order to become fully qualified; and would still not receive the treasury grant if they subsequently returned to a reformatory.[27]

Aside from the certificated teachers, it is apparent that a large number of the unmarried women who became employees within the reformatory system, especially in girls' schools, were of the domestic servant class. This is similar to a tradition established in the penal service of the employment of former servants in women's prisons.[28] Some women officers, such as the industrial instructors, retained their servant status within the institution, but those who became superintendents gained a new respectability from their position of responsibility. Miss Eliza Plomer, for example, who had spent twelve years in service before becoming the matron of the certified 'Cripples' Home', was deemed to merit a long and respectful obituary in the Reformatory & Refuge Journal upon her death in 1863.[29] It is likely that many such women were of the group who, had they not been in a school, would have been housekeepers or higher servants in large households. Certainly, these women needed to have a 'presence' and bearing which would elicit respect from children and management alike, if they were to run their institutions effectively. Archival material shows, however, that there was no doubt that these employed female superintendents

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27. P.R.O. HO 45/9606/A2457, especially letter 31 July 1875, F. Sandford of Education Department to Sydney Turner.

28. Zedner, Women, Crime, and Custody, pp. 198-9.

29. The Cripples' Home: R&RJ, xvi (1864), p. 47.

remained firmly subordinate to their managers: instances of insubordination and unauthorised initiative were severely criticised.[30]

There was probably a gradual decline in the number of women drawn from the servant group. Giving evidence to the Departmental Committee investigating Reformatory and Industrial Schools which reported in 1913, James Legge was asked:

> (7766) Would you not say that in some cases, at any rate, the woman in charge of an Industrial School is a woman who would if not in the school, probably be in the upper branches of domestic service? - No, I do not think so now.
> (7767) I think there are some now. - There may be; that was the case when I first knew them, but I should not have thought that that was so now except in a few exceptional cases.[31]

As the system became an accepted part of the establishment, fewer people were drawn into its orbit from outside employment. The servant-women and well-meaning lower-middle-class amateurs were gradually replaced by a group of individuals who had themselves grown up in association with the system and for whom the reformatory system was a familiar source of financial and psychological security. For example, Miss Vinall, assistant matron of Shustoke Boys' Industrial School, Birmingham, worked under her father, the superintendent, and her mother, the matron; while the Williams family produced the superintendent, matron, and assistant matron of Oxford's Day Industrial

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[30]. For example, at Devon & Exeter Reformatory, the matron was reprimanded for altering the dietary and the time of morning prayers: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/5, gentlemen visitors' entries, 11 Oct. and 3 Nov. 1858.

[31]. PP 1913 [Cd. 6839] XXXIX p. 403 (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). Legge became inspector in 1896 without having previously been an assistant inspector.

School as well as the schoolmistress of Halstead Girls' Industrial School.[32] It is not possible to estimate the proportion of officers who had come to the work through existing family connections, but the frequency of references to relatives also on certified school staffs strongly suggest that a self-perpetuating staff had gradually developed. This suited both the officers and the schools. Staff who had themselves grown up in association with reformatory institutions, either as inmates or officer's offspring, were most likely to have absorbed the 'correct' ethos and be most in sympathy with the methods used to convey it.[33]

In boys' schools, the superintendent was often married, and his wife usually lived in the institution and worked as matron. There was no preference for childless couples; in fact, though there was no official policy, the possession of offspring could have been considered a sign that they had the necessary understanding of childhood character. The young children of staff could sometimes be accommodated as quasi-inmates of the institution, as was the case with those belonging to the widowed house-mothers at the Princess Mary Village Homes; older children were more likely to be sent away to school, as seems to

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[32]. R&RJ, clxiv (1886), cover; clxix (1886), p. 203; and civ (1880), p. 224. Such a situation was to be found both in girls' and boys' schools: John Craster, superintendent of Wellington Reformatory, was succeeded by his son, also John Craster (R&RJ, ccxviii (1890), p. 421). The governor of Bedfordshire Reformatory, John Jones, left all five sons at work on reformatory school staffs at the time of his death in 1899 (R&RJ, cccxxii (1899), p. 478). There are many other examples.

[33]. A small number of inmates became inferior officers in the schools where they had grown up, usually, in the case of girls, working as laundresses. For example, Elizabeth, who became laundress at Red Lodge in 1898: B.R.O. 12693/8, meeting 16 July 1898. See chapter 10 for further discussion of this.

have happened to the daughter of Mrs Burns, matron of Red Lodge.[34] Many superior officials in the boys' schools had children of their own: for example, in 1890, the Reformatory & Refuge Journal carried an appeal for charitable assistance for a little son of the deceased superintendent of the East London industrial school, the child being one of eleven siblings. The following month the Journal announced that the death of John Bosomworth, of Devon and Exeter Boys' Reformatory, had left four children orphaned.[35] This was a situation apparently quite unlike that facing potential workhouse masters & matrons, who were expected to be without dependents, and which may have been one reason for the popularity of reformatory system posts over those of workhouses.[36] It was also relatively unusual for the female superintendents of girls' reformatory and industrial schools. These women were always unmarried, either spinsters or widows. This was for practical reasons as much as anything else: it simply would not do to have difficult adolescent girls coming into too much regular contact with men. The male teachers who were sometimes drafted into girls' schools to teach drill or singing could easily find themselves at the receiving end of unspecified 'trouble.'[37] From the point of view of the inmates, the importance of this was that while detained boys grew up in a sex-mixed environment, such as they would have experienced outside the institution,

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[34]. P.M.V.H.: Open Doors (March 1884), pp. 72-3; Red Lodge Reformatory, B.R.O. 12693/4, account book, first entry.

[35]. R&RJ, ccxi (1890), cover, and ccxxii (1890), p. 365.

[36]. Crowther, Workhouse System, p. 117.

[37]. For example, at Red Lodge: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry 17 Sept. 1858, p. 60.

the girls were largely placed into one based upon sex-segregation.

(iii) The Inferior Officers

The 'inferior officers' of reformatory and industrial schools fell into two categories: industrial trainers and household servants, though, apart from the cook, the latter were rare in girls' institutions since the labours of the inmates and trainers combined were usually sufficient to ensure the completion of necessary household chores.[38] At boys' schools, the trainers were usually tailors or shoemakers, and at girls' schools they were laundresses and needlewomen. The cook filled an ambiguous position, being more an instructor and less a servant in girls' schools, and vice versa in boys' schools. Additionally, drill instructors - who gave classes in military drill to boys, Swedish drill or gymnastics to girls - can also be included under the general heading of inferior officers, though, like most free-lance certificated cookery teachers and singing masters, drill instructors rarely lived on the premises of reformatory or industrial schools, instead plying their trades peripatetically.

These 'inferior' staff could be a source of enormous difficulty for the managers and superintendents of schools, because, unlike the 'superior staff', well-trained industrial instructors seem rarely to have exhibited any loyalty to the institutions, and were prepared to throw in their jobs at short

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[38]. A housemaid was temporarily employed at Devon & Exeter Reformatory for £12 per year: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, meeting 24 Aug. 1859.

notice, presumably safe in the knowledge that their skills were marketable elsewhere. On the other hand, the posts were attractive to a range of unqualified and unsuitable candidates, perhaps attracted to the schools for much the same personal reasons as the senior officers. Though religious enthusiasm, good character, and so on, were considered important qualifications for all officers, including the industrial instructors, it was a simple fact that unless candidates for such posts could actually undertake the technical duties, they were fundamentally unsuitable. However, this did not stop the unsuitable being employed when schools were desperate.

The appointment and retention of a good laundress seems to have been a great problem at, for example, Red Lodge Reformatory. This may have arisen partly because the laundress's duties did not just include laundrywork. By Miss Carpenter's rules, she had to give training in the art of laundrywork to selected girls; supervise the inmates generally as required and, more particularly, the bathing of the inmates every Saturday; and accompany the girls to church on Sundays. She was also sometimes ordered to administer corporal punishment under Miss Carpenter's eye.[39] For these duties, she earned an annual salary of between £20 and £30, was allowed to have alternate Sunday afternoons off, and was not permitted to use the house parlour, which was reserved for the sole use of the matron and mistress.[40] With ungenerous wages and unappealing

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39. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/3, Rules & Regulations (1854), p. 20; 12693/2, journal entries 19 Apr., 23 May, 1859 and 20 July 1860, pp. 83, 89, 117.

40. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/3, Rules & Regulations (1854), p. 24.

conditions of service, it is hardly surprising that the committee which took over Red Lodge on the death of Miss Carpenter found the laundry to be a constant problem due to the inefficiency and general incompetence of the women employed to run it. This problem was greatly exacerbated by their frequent departure after short periods. Between 1878 and 1887, the school employed twelve different women as laundress. So desperate were the committee at one stage that one of these women was employed without having any previous experience in a laundry, the plan being to put her through a training course at the local public laundry.[41]

Red Lodge was not alone in experiencing such difficulties. In 1876 alone, five laundresses, three needlewomen and three cooks passed through the portals of the Devon & Exeter Girls' Reformatory School.[42] The only difference to Red Lodge was that, in this school, the post of cook was considerably more difficult to fill than that of laundress. In 1893, for instance, only one woman applied for the position; and by 1898, the managers were concluding, with something of a jaundiced air, that 'as usual, the cook proves very unsatisfactory & has received her notice.'[43]

The women who became laundresses could also prove to be

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[41]. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/7, minutes, Committee meetings 25 July, 27 Sept. and 24 Oct. 1878; 28 Aug. 1879; 24 Nov. and 22 Dec. 1881; 25 May, 29 June, 26 Oct. and 23 Nov. 1882; 22 Mar., 4 Oct. and 25 Oct. 1883; 24 July 1884; 26 Mar., 28 May, 23 July and 24 Sept. 1885; 27 Jan. and 28 Apr. 1887.

[42]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/2, matron's journal entries for 1876: 2 Feb., 27 Feb., 12 Mar., 18 Mar., 25 Mar., 5 Apr., 3 June, 29 July, 16 Aug., 7 Nov., 21 Nov. and 11 Dec.

[43]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/7, house visitor's reports 28 Nov. 1893 and 21 Apr. 1898.

unsuitable because they were of an insufficiently high moral calibre. One notable incident happened when the laundress of the Devon & Exeter Reformatory returned 'from Church' one Sunday afternoon totally intoxicated, reeled into the girls' Bible class and proceeded to ridicule it. Unsurprisingly, the woman was rapidly dismissed, having been warned before for being drunk on the premises.[44] Oddly enough, the managers of the Devon & Exeter Reformatory gave their officers a pint of beer a day as part of their wages: a curious departure from normal practice in this type of school which always otherwise promoted strict temperance.[45]

(iv) Salaries

The salary paid to officers is the obvious starting point in any consideration of the material incentives offered to reformatory and industrial school workers. Salaries varied widely between schools, as they were determined independently by the individual managing committees. Another factor which should be taken into account, apart from money payments, is that officers in these institutions received payments in kind, in the form of board, rations, sometimes a uniform, and usually laundry. John Burnett has calculated that

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[44]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/1, matron's journal entry 10 Oct. 1858; and 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting 20 Oct. 1858. A brief article in The Pall Mall Gazette, no. 6341 (July 1885), p. 4, suggested that all laundresses suffered from the temptations of drink.

[45]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting 14 Aug. 1861.

among the middle-classes, eight to ten per cent of their earnings went on rent, with forty-four per cent going on food. Among the working-classes, food costs absorbed between a half and two thirds of earnings, with rent potentially consuming the remainder.[46] It is clear, therefore, that these additional benefits of board and lodging could constitute a substantial increase in the income of the individual reformatory or industrial school officer. For the most lowly officers at the Devon & Exeter Reformatory, the managers calculated that, at a salary of £16, the value of board and lodging was worth £15, which would double their income. The matron and schoolmistress were even better off, enjoying an extra £20 in food and room, and the laundress and needlewoman, board and lodging worth £18.[47]

It is difficult, however, confidently to evaluate the worth of these extra emoluments. They need to be kept in mind, but an initial comparison with the financial position of people engaged in alternative occupations can best be made by turning to a concrete statistic, the money salary. A good basis for comparisons is provided by the records of Red Lodge Reformatory which offer a long series of salary figures for all the officers, which are recorded below in Table 10. [48]

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[46]. John Burnett, A Social History of Housing 1815-1985 (Methuen, London, 1986 2nd edn.), pp. 147-8.

[47]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/A1/1, Third Annual Report (1861); and 3899F/M2/5, minutes, House Committee meeting 25 June 1862.

[48]. **Table 10:** 1. The Matron: Miss Carpenter herself held the title and power of Lady Superintendent, and exercised a daily supervision of the premises before 1860. After that date she retained the title, but passed the functions of superintendent to the matron. 2. The Laundress: Some years the school ran through a succession of women, and the salary given is the sum of the various *pro*

Table 10: The Red Lodge Reformatory for Girls: Staff Salaries

Year	Matron	Mistress	Laundress	Sewing Mistress	Other Teachers
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
1857	45	45	21 14 3	--	--
1869	50	38 10	22 4 2	25 19	--
1872	44	38	20 17 6	19 5 4	--
1873	47 10	30	24 3 4	21 9	--
1874	50	38 15	27 10	19	--
1875	50	40	30	20	65
1876	51	40	30	28 15	--
1877	54 7 4	unclear	30	25	--
1878	50	36(?)	unclear	unclear	--
1879	49 19 8	37 8 13	26 17	24 16 4	--
1880	34 2	25	30	25	73
1881	50	30	30	--	--
1882	50	30	20 0 4	--	--
1883	50	30	29 7 1	--	--
1884	50	34 10 36	31 6	--	--
1885	50	36	23 12	--	74
1886	50	36	20 0 6	--	--
1887	50	36	10 5 8	--	--
1888	50	36	16 8 9	--	--
1889	50	36	20	--	--
1890	50	37	20	--	76
1891	50	40	21 5	--	--
1892	50	41 5	25	--	--
1893	57 10	45	25 15	--	--
1894	60	45	28	--	--
1895	60	45	28	--	80
1896	60	45	28	--	--
1897	60	45	28	--	--
1898	60	45	23 15	--	--
1899	60	45	20	--	--
1900	60	45	20	--	84 10 0
1901	60	55	--	--	--
1902	--	--	--	--	--

rata payments. e.g. 1882, 1883: four laundresses; 1857, 1884, 1887, 1898: two laundresses. 3. Sewing Mistress: After 1881, sewing was supervised by a sub-matron with other duties. 4. Other Teachers: For the purposes of comparison, the average annual salaries, at 5 yearly intervals, of female elementary school teachers, drawn from Asher Tropp, The School Teachers (1957), appendix B, p. 273. ***Sources:*** Red Lodge Account Books, B.R.O. 12693/4 and /5.

It can be seen from this that payments to the schoolmistress and matron at Red Lodge were at first the same, due in part to the newness of the institution and the equality imposed upon the staff by the early difficulties which it faced, as described in Mary Carpenter's journals. However, they soon diverged; generally, the schoolmistress was paid about three quarters of the salary of the Matron. The high point for the schoolmistress was 1872, when she earned 86% of the matron's salary (though, it should be noted that this was caused by a decline in the latter's salary), and the low point the early eighteen-eighties, when she earned only 60%.[49] This suggests that there was a monetary incentive for teachers to seek promotion to superintendent. After

Table 11:
Selected Salaries of Red Lodge Staff as a Percentage of the Annual Average Salary of Female Elementary Schoolteachers.

Year	Matron (%)	Mistress (%)
1875	76.9	61.5
1880	46.7	34.2
1885	66.7	48.6
1890	65.8	47.4
1895	75	56.3
1900	71	53.3

[**Note:** Unfortunately, it is unknown whether the matrons and schoolmistresses at Red Lodge over the period were certified.]
[**Sources:** B.R.O. 12693/4 and /5; Asher Tropp, School Teachers, p. 273.]

49. In January 1880, Miss Langabeer was recruited as matron at £40 per annum. At the same time, her sister was promoted from industrial assistant to schoolmistress with a salary of £25. It seems to have been common practice for managers to take advantage of changes in staff to reduce expenditure on salaries. B.R.O. 12693/7, minutes, Committee meeting 22 Jan. 1880.

many changes in the first twenty-five years, with the salary as likely to fall as to rise, the income of both the Matron and the Mistress steadied and experienced few alterations, though those that did occur were substantial. However, in comparison with the income of public elementary school teachers, the reformatory school's officers were badly paid, as Table 11 suggests.

Salaries at other reformatory system institutions appeared just as poor,[50] and it was widely agreed that the income offered to potential workers was too low. Inspector Sydney Turner, for example, in his report for 1871 commented:

> I am bound to say that in many of the schools I think the scale of salaries and allowances for the chief officers of the staff lower than the responsible and almost incessant duties devolving on them might fairly claim.[51]

Assistant schoolmistresses in these institutions were particularly badly paid: between twenty and twenty-five pounds seems to have been the going rate. At Gem Street (mixed) Industrial School, the female assistant, working under a male principal, was paid £25 in 1868.[52] In Stockport Girls'

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50. For example, at Stockport Girls' C.I.S., the schoolmistress was paid £40 in 1882, rising to £45 in 1885. This latter figure represents about 61% of the annual average salary of a female elementary schoolteacher: Stock. A.S. B/W/6/7/3, minutes, General Committee meeting 30 Mar. 1882; B/W/6/7/4, minutes, General Committee meeting 13 May 1885. At NVH the salary was much higher, £60; but it remained unchanged throughout the 1880s and 1890s (e.g. T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/44, minutes, meetings 2 Aug. 1884 and 19 May 1892).

51. PP 1872 [C. 628] XXX p. 398 (15th Annual Report).

52. Gem Street C.I.S.: B.C.L. MS 253/1, minutes, General Committee meeting 12 May 1868, p. 281.

Industrial School, in 1896, the female assistant received a paltry £18.[53] In comparison, an assistant mistress in a poor law school received on average £38 9s 8d with board and lodging; some individuals were paid as much as £65.[54]

Turning for comparison to the experience of domestic servants, it is apparent that superintendents earned substantially more than female upper servants, who, in the early eighteen-nineties, were said to be earning a total annual income of about £46 (including board and lodging) in large households, and about £40 in infirmaries.[55] Such sums were comparable to the annual income of a reformatory system laundress, who earned between £20 and £40 in cash, plus the value of her board and lodging; but the lowly needlework instructress, like the assistant schoolmistress, was lucky to see £25 per annum, as the Red Lodge figures in Table 10 suggest.[56]

In terms of their money salary, while 'inferior' officers might have been quite badly off in comparison to their peers employed elsewhere, it is apparent that when the value of the lodging and food received by officers as payments in kind are included in calculations of their income, 'superior' reformatory system officers were far from being the impoverished poor

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[53]. Stockport C.I.S.: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/5/2, minutes, Ladies' House Committee meeting 9 July 1896.

[54]. PP 1896 [C. 8027] XLIII p. 44, para. 148: Salaries in Poor Law Schools in 1896.

[55]. PP 1899 [C. 9346] XCII. 1 (Report by Miss Collet on the Money Wage of Indoor Servants for Board of Trade Labour Dept).

[56]. See also Stock.A.S. B/W/7/4/A, a paper summarising the returns from a number of industrial schools made in answer to a questionnaire sent out by the Stockport school managers, 1893.

neighbours of the non-institutional worker. They may, in fact, have had a much greater disposable income. In financial terms, the principal difficulty facing long serving reformatory system officers was that once they retired they were plunged into penury, for very few received pensions from their managing committees and they were not eligible for government superannuation.[57] This was, no doubt, one reason why officers stayed in their posts till a great age, if they were fortunate enough not to be incapacitated by ill-health.

(v) Conditions of Service

Quite separate from the question of salaries is the issue of the general conditions of service under which these officers worked. It is apparent that they often experienced a regime as restricted in its own way as that governing the inmates. Freedom of movement and the making of friendships were, for example, strictly governed by school rules.[58] At the Northumberland Village Homes, each "cottage" was run by a 'house mother', the whole being

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[57]. The Reformatory & Refuge Union established its own contributory pension scheme, the Provident and Benevolent Fund, in an attempt to circumvent the lack of government-funded superannuation: R&RJ, xcix (1880), pp. 169-178. See also R&RJ, ccxxiii (1891), p. 3; cccxxxiv (1900), pp. 46-56; and cccxlviii (1901), pp. 331-41. The issue of superannuation was one which particularly troubled the National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools (NACRIS): see Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/F92, minutes, Council meetings 20 Feb. 1884, 22 Mar. 1887, 16 Mar. 1892, 7 Apr. 1892, 15 June 1892, 20 Apr. 1893, 8 June 1893, 22 Feb. 1894, and 15 Oct. 1894; D239/D6/4/F94, minutes, Council meetings 27 May 1895, 22 Nov. 1895, 17 Apr. 1896, and 6 Dec. 1897.

[58]. e.g. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/23, Rules 1894, no. 12.

overseen by a head matron. It was agreed by the ladies' committee in 1882 that each 'house mother' should be allowed one day's holiday a month, beginning at 1 p.m. and ending at a quarter to ten the same day. The general committee agreed that the 'mothers' should always be present at mealtimes and take their meals with the children in their charge; and also that they were not to leave the Homes without having first obtained permission to do so from the head matron or the honorary secretary.[59] A set of printed rules, dated 1894, laid down that not only was such permission to be sought, but every mother was to record her absences from the Homes in a book provided for the purpose. It even went so far as to dictate that any mother absent in the evening was to return at the latest on the train arriving at Whitley Bay at 10.05pm.[60] At these Village Homes, the schoolmistress was not expected to live within the institution, but it was assumed that she would live close enough to give evening lessons at short notice when necessary.[61] Similar regulations applied to male staff in boys' schools.[62]

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[59]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S T375/NVH/42, minutes, Ladies' Committee meeting 11 Dec. 1882. T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/44, minutes, General Committee meeting 21 Feb. 1882.

[60]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/23, Rules 1894, no. 10.

[61]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/38, schoolmistress' book: printed sheet inside front cover.

[62]. Stockport Boys' C.I.S. provides a typical example. All officers and teachers were expected to rise at 6 am at the latest (7am on a Sunday) and to be ready to retire at 11pm when all the lights were to be turned out. There were always to be two officers, besides the superintendent, on duty in the evenings, which, of course, restricted their freedom to go out. When any officer did leave the premises, he was to inform the superintendent before doing so. He was to return by 10pm at the latest, and report his arrival to the superintendent. This

Access to the wider world through longer holidays was restricted by the discretionary powers of managing committees, though they could show a recognition of the 'arduous nature' of the superintendent's duties by giving quite a generous holiday allowance. At Stockport Girls' Industrial School, the schoolmistress was to have a month's holiday a year.[63] At May Place Reformatory in 1887, the honorary secretary of the Liverpool Catholic Reformatory Association informed the superintendent that she was to be allowed five weeks holiday a year, but that she was not allowed to take more than a fortnight at a time.[64] In contrast, elementary schoolteachers generally received six week's holiday a year, plus - and this was an extremely important difference - free weekends.[65] However, in comparison to the holiday provision received by prison staff, the reformatory system officers were generously treated; and, unlike the workhouse officer, they were not expected to pay for a substitute worker from their own resources to cover their absence.[66]

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indicates that the officers lived inside the school and also that the superintendent was expected to be within the institution at 10pm each night. Stock.A.S. B/W/7/4/A, Rules & Regulations for Teachers [no date]. See Sean McConville, A History of English Prison Administration (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1981) [hereafter McConville, Prison Administration] pp. 271, 280 for a comparison with prison governors.

[63]. Stockport C.I.S.: Stock. A.S. B/W/6/7/3, minutes, General Committee meeting 16 Nov. 1874.

[64]. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/3, letter 5 Apr. 1887, Yates to Donovan.

[65]. PP 1896 [C. 8027] XLIII p. 559 (questions 9409-10) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Poor Law).

[66]. McConville, Prison Administration, pp. 281-2; Crowther, Workhouse System, p. 143. Matrons at Broadmoor Hospital were to have one month's holiday per annum: PP 1863 (517) XLVIII p. 333 (Rules for Guidance of Officers

Where staff lived in, the accommodation provided for them was determined by the taste and the sense of economy of the managing committee. Nevertheless, even though privacy and space were limited for both inferior and superior officers, it is possible that the secure and respectable accommodation offered by reformatory system schools was superior to that which the staff could have afforded if they had been in other non-institutional occupations. It also appears to have been considerably better than that on offer to workhouse officers.[67] However, staff accommodation varied a great deal from school to school, and the comments of the officers themselves suggest that, in many cases, it was considered quite unsatisfactory. The size and situation of staff rooms were a constant source of complaint. Miss Donovan stated that a competent and reliable laundress had left May Place specifically because of the 'very defective officers' quarters'. At Stockport, Miss Wotherspoon, the matron, insisted that the officers' bedrooms were not 'sufficiently commodious.' Furthermore, their windows overlooked the dormitories, thus depriving both girls and staff of privacy.[68] The staff at Stockport girls' industrial school were at least fortunate in having a small common room to share, which was provided with oil cloth, a couch, and an easy chair in 1882.[69] Plans for creating a staff

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at Broadmoor).

[67]. Crowther, Workhouse System, p. 132.

[68]. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/5, minutes, meeting 6 May 1894. Stockport C.I.S.: Stock. A.S. B/W/7/2/3, minutes, Building Committee meetings 8 Apr. 1888, 14 May 1888.

[69]. Stockport C.I.S.: Stock.A.S. B/W/7/2/3, minutes, Building Committee meeting 14 Sept. 1882.

recreation room at May Place were shelved in 1896: at £6 the cost was considered too great.[70] In the Village Homes structure, provision for officers was much better. As an emulation of the family home, each house mother at the Northumberland Village Homes possessed a parlour and a separate bedroom; though this was as much to provide rooms in which the girls could practice their housewifely arts, as to give a comfortable living space to the mothers.[71]

(vi) Conclusion

Having looked at the conditions of service and the view of managers, it is necessary to ask what inspired people to enter service in these schools and what encouraged them to stay. Given the austere conditions and difficulty of the work, it could be expected that there would have been a high level of staff wastage, that is, of people taking up employment, quickly becoming discouraged, and leaving for positions elsewhere or, in the case of single women, marriage.[72] However, this type of short term commitment was uncommon.

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70. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/5, minutes, meeting 20 Oct. 1896.

71. T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/87: George Luckley, Northumberland Village Homes - A Monograph (1901), p. 15.

72. As was the case with most employments of this nature, women were expected to resign upon marriage. However, since it was common for single female officers to marry their male counterparts, it was not always the case that they had to give up the work entirely. For example, Ralph Blackboro', schoolmaster of Albert Memorial C.I.S., Birkenhead, married a woman who had worked both there and at Bath Girls' C.I.S. (R&RJ, cclxxxv (1896), p. 433).

Generally, people worked in the system for a very long time, and it was not unusual for individuals to spend most of their lives in a single post. If a superintendent was found to be satisfactory by her employers, and generally felt capable of undertaking the work, it was normal for such an officer to remain in her post till overtaken by ill health or even death.[73] This resulted in long periods of service: for example, Mrs Craig, head matron at the Northumberland Village Homes, served for seventeen years; and Miss Donovan was employed as superintendent at May Place Reformatory for twenty years.[74]

It is evident that those who took up positions could not have been looking for comfort or an easy life. From the point of view of respectability, the jobs were eminently suitable for single women, in that they combined chaperonage with domesticity. For some, the work also offered a rise in social status. Former domestic servants taking up superior positions found themselves endowed with greater freedom for personal initiative than they had previously experienced. These posts offered power to the otherwise powerless; and a potential career for those who wished for independence rather than marriage or who had no prospect of marriage, even if it was desired. It could be argued that

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[73]. For example, in 1859, Miss Stuart was compelled to retire as Matron of Red Lodge because her health was 'unequal to carry on the school': B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry, 7 May 1859, p. 32. Fears were occasionally voiced that those entering 'the work' were often already in poor health before they began: e.g. R&RJ, clxxxvii (1888), p. 16 (meeting of the Provident & Benevolent Fund).

[74]. This was little in comparison to the great periods of time for which some male officers were engaged. The difference was largely due to the age at which the officers were first appointed. For example, Mr Heap, superintendent of Macclesfield Boys' C.I.S., retired in 1900, having been in the job for forty-two years (R&RJ, cccxxxviii (1900), p. 137); while John Craster died aged 66, having spent thirty-one years at Wellington Reformatory (R&RJ, ccxviii (1890), p. 421).

these jobs even offered a fulfilment of the maternal role without the need to bear children. The relative importance of these types of motivation is, unfortunately, impossible to assess, since the officers seem to have left no personal records.

In its beginnings, the reformatory system appealed to the idealism of the Christian. Supporters of the institutions believed that their principal task was to save souls, all other duties being secondary to this vital mission. Originally, philanthropists had urged the workers to enter their offices without accepting a monetary reward. This proved to be an unrealistic desire, for few had the private income necessary to make this possible. Yet the early workers still responded to the call as missionaries and witnesses to the true faith. Not everyone who entered the work proved equal to its demands: workers had to combine the qualities of patience, compassion and sympathy, whilst having the capacity to be strict disciplinarians. The scandals.of neglect and cruelty which periodically shocked the public were in part caused by the difficulty of finding a combination of all the necessary qualities in staff.

Those who worked within the reformatory system could have been candidates for positions in the extensive network of voluntary refuges and homes for children in need of care and protection; yet they chose employment in a group of schools whose inmates were potentially older and more difficult to control. Voluntary schools had one major disadvantage in comparison to reformatories and industrial schools: being funded without a Treasury grant, they were more ephemeral in their nature. When private charitable interest in a particular voluntary refuge declined, there was no regular income to rely on and

little chance of that refuge surviving. The great investment of government funds in the reformatory system meant that these schools acquired a permanence and inherent stability unavailable to the institution wholly dependent on charitable donations. The security of employment this implied must have been apparent to potential workers.

In summary, in the first decade or so of the reformatory system's existence, the schools were staffed, at least at the higher levels, by a set of religiously motivated amateurs who saw in this new system an opportunity for doing good works which was not available in existing institutions. Then, as the certified reformatory and industrial schools became firmly established, a group of workers were attracted who were lower in social status than the pioneers and who were encouraged to take up employment by the stability and inherent security of the system, and the consequent financial and social security it offered to individuals. From both of these groups another was created which took the reformatory system forward into the twentieth century: the offspring of officers who understood the aims and ethos of the system, and for whom it offered familiarity and a continuing respectability.

The motivation of the workers was probably always a complex mixture of religious fervour and personal needs. With the rise of a group of officers who were engaging in what had become the family trade, it is arguable that there was a lessening of religious fervour, and a corresponding increase in the number of people who saw the reformatory system as a career. However, it would be wrong to dismiss religion entirely. Religious zeal, in itself, may not have been an essential qualification for potential workers by the turn of the

century. Certainly, records of the time seem considerably less 'missionary' in their outlook. But the zealous spirit of the pioneers lived on in the sense that, for the superior officers at least, work in the reformatory system remained more a vocation than simply a job.

Chapter Seven

'She Must Submit to the Will of Others.' Exerting Authority and Maintaining Control.

The explicit objective of all reformatories and industrial schools was to retrain their hitherto wayward inmates into accepting the values of honesty and respectability. Schools for girls had the additional objective of encouraging their inmates to conform to a particular working-class ideal of femininity centred on modesty and chastity. As earlier chapters have discussed, evidence of sexual immorality on the part of the child herself or any of her female relatives, though most particularly her mother, formed a strong contributory element in establishing whether a girl should be committed to a certified school.[1] Having entered such a school, any evidence of the sexual immorality which had brought a girl there was to be suppressed as far as humanly possible in accordance with the ideal of chaste femininity. Any behaviour exhibited by an inmate in contravention of this ideal was liable to result in punishment. However, in relation to a girl inmate, the ideals of femininity and honest respectability were interlinked to the extent of being indivisible. Every punishment inflicted for an offence which mitigated against honesty was also a punishment for deviancy from a current ideal of femininity. Honesty and chastity formed two halves of the same agenda.

Girls entering reformatory and industrial schools were described as

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[1]. See chapters two and three.

'extremely rude, ignorant, and reckless'[2] and were often wilful, noisy, disrespectful, and possessed of unclean personal habits. By the time they were discharged, it was hoped that they would have become quiet, orderly and industrious model workers and domestic servants. While discipline was fairly rigid in boys' schools, girls suffered from the added burden of gender expectations. They had to learn to be polite, submissive and self-sacrificing, in a way not expected of the boys. As Mary Carpenter said in a paper delivered in 1857, a girl's

> irregular impulses must be curbed...She must...be made to feel that it is necessary for her to submit to the will of <u>others</u>.[3]

She noted that 'impatience of control, love of enterprise and independence of character' were good traits in a boy, but not in a girl.[4] Such opinions underpinned the differences between the disciplinary regimes of boys' and girls' schools.

This chapter examines the organisation of the disciplinary regime principally from the perspective of the managers and staff, looking at the kind of offences for which girls were regularly punished and also the kinds of punishment they actually received. Comparisons are made where possible with the experiences of boys and of the inmates of other residential institutions. Most of the evidence presented in this chapter is drawn from the records of

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2. PP 1883 [C. 3716] XXXIV p. 56 (26th Annual Report).

3. Mary Carpenter, 'Reformatories for Convicted Girls,' <u>Trans.N.A.P.S.S. for 1857</u> (1858), p. 343 [original emphasis].

4. Mary Carpenter, 'On the Disposal of Girls from Reformatory Schools,' <u>Trans.N.A.P.S.S. for 1858</u> (1859), p. 416.

reformatories rather than industrial schools and thus relates to the control of older, more worldly, and more criminally experienced girls than were generally to be found in industrial schools. Industrial schools for girls were not entirely without corporal punishment or punitive elements to their regimes, but these were regarded as more controversial than in reformatories, as the discussion of events at Leytonstone Industrial School and the Princess Mary Village Homes, in chapter five, suggested. Unfortunately, evidence relating to the disciplinary regimes of industrial schools generally relates to particular scandals or events and so is not strictly comparable to the daily testimony of reformatory records. Also it should not be forgotten that in a semi-penal institution such as a reformatory or industrial school, every facet of the school's organisation contributed to the disciplinary effect, from the diet to the arrangements of accommodation.

Since most reformatories and industrial schools were privately owned institutions, the disciplinary regime varied from school to school and was devised largely at the discretion of the managing committee in consultation with the superintendent. The Home Office issued model rules which outlined the official view of discipline and punishment. They stated that boys were liable to receive up to a maximum of eighteen strokes with the birch in a reformatory; this recommended level was retained by the new model rules issued in 1890.[5] Industrial school superintendents were empowered to deliver up to twelve strokes

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[5]. Model Rules, 1880 and 1881: P.R.O. HO 45/9581/85757. Model Rules, 1893-4: PP 1893-4 [C. 7119] LXVIII p. 253-9.

of a birch or six strokes of a cane on boys.[6] Before 1876, the model rules permitted the corporal punishment of girls in both reformatories and industrial schools, but in that year Home Secretary Cross decided that such a form of punishment should no longer be allowed in girls' schools, and the rules were duly re-drafted.[7] The new model rules recommended that girls should not receive corporal punishment of any kind.[8] However, Mr Robertson, the sub-inspector, acknowledged this was difficult to enforce since the model rules had, in fact, no statutory force. Thus the use of the birch and cane was left largely to the discretion of the managers.[9] There was also the problem that any girls' school certified before 1876 which had never had its rules reviewed continued to conform to the old standards of the model rules and were quite entitled to birch.[10] Thus many schools continued to consider physical punishments a necessary part of their armoury against misbehaviour and, on occasion, put the

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6. PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 845 (Minutes of evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

7. P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17047, memo 17 Nov. 1894, Godfrey Lushington.

8. PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 843 (Minutes of evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). Interestingly, the Home Office Model Rules for Irish reformatories did not forbid the corporal punishment of girls: PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 848, Appendix B25, 'Reformatories in Ireland' (General Rules).

9. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 361 (questions 12,984-88) (Minutes of evidence, Dept. C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). The government inspector did, however, have the power to recommend changes to the disciplinary regime of a school. Failure to comply with his recommendations could result in the withdrawal of a school's government certificate and Treasury support. For example, P.R.O. HO 137/2, letter 2 Nov. 1878 from Matthew Ridley to Inspector William Inglis noting that the certificate of Freshfield Girls' C.I.S. had been withdrawn in compliance with the inspector's request.

10. P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17047, memo 17 Nov. 1894 by Godfrey Lushington. See also Seeking & Saving, cccxliii (1901), p. 247.

threat into action against both boys and girls.

(i) Corporal Punishment

There was a great deal of controversy among those involved in reformatory schools during this period over what was meant by corporal punishment. In its widest sense, which will be used in this chapter, it can be defined as the striking of a person's body with either an implement or the hand; but this would not necessarily have matched the definition used by some Victorians. For instance, George Ricks, inspector for the London School Board, told the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools that corporal punishment was not always recorded in the punishment records of residential schools because people understood different things by the phrase. He stated that

> on visiting a school last summer, I said I should like to see the corporal punishment book, and the matron said, 'We do not have corporal punishment; it is not allowed.' I said, 'What do you do if a child declines to obey orders?'--'We slap her, of course,' was the answer. Of course [concluded Ricks], the question of corporal punishment has different meanings to different people; some think it means only the cane or birch, but corporal punishment may be administered in many other ways.[11]

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11. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 846 (question 28,656) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). Note also Barnett, Young Delinquents, p. 131, where she says that corporal punishment was 'seldom used' in girls' schools, and was best not used as it was a 'drastic' method; but on p. 133 describes 'other' forms of punishment including 'slippering' and 'spanking', of which she disapproved, but which she did not regard as corporal punishment. The philosopher Thomas Hobbes defined corporal punishment very broadly as 'that which is inflicted on the body...such as are stripes or wounds, or deprivation of

The attitudes of the Good Shepherd sisters at Arno's Court should also be mentioned in this connection. Though the sisterhood's rule and its philosophy, as articulated by the foundress, was fundamentally opposed to the use of corporal punishment, the sisters used a ferule to correct girls in the classroom; but do not seem to have regarded this as being contrary to their stated convictions.[12] The fact that they did not use the birch or the cane satisfied them that they were not engaging in corporal punishment.

In order to place reformatories in context, however, it is necessary to recognise that physical chastisement was in use throughout society. Until 1881, flogging was used in the army and navy. It continued to be used in military prisons until 1906 and naval prisons till 1955. In the navy, the birch was in use on cadets until its abolition, also in 1906.[13] It was used against convicted male criminals, both as a sentence in itself until 1948, and as a disciplinary measure within civil prisons until 1962.[14] The flogging of women had ended in

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such pleasures of the body as were before lawfully enjoyed.' Leviathan (Everyman edition, London, 1973), p. 167.

12. Arno's Court Reformatory: G.S.Prov. R-15/7, schoolmistress's book, March and Sept. 1900. Information on the Good Shepherd sisters' rules derived from The Good Sisters Information Booklet 2: Values & Lifestyle, a recruitment brochure, and conversation with Sister Columban, archivist of the East Finchley house.

13. PP 1897 (230) LIV p. 521, military prisoners receiving corporal punishment 1891-6; PP 1867 (220) XLIV p. 345, sailors receiving flogging through court martial, 1862-7; PP 1880 (71) XLIII p. 703, instructions of 1st Lord of Admiralty restricting no. of lashes. See also Ian Gibson, The English Vice: Beating, Sex and Shame in Victorian England and After (Duckworth, London, 1978), pp. 168-78 [hereafter Gibson, English Vice].

14. P.R.O. HO 45/9452/69888, various correspondence dated 1862, with rules of Millbank Prison (male prisoners), 1846; and P.R.O. HO 144/67/98230, an account of a flogging, 1880. See also PP 1882 (230) LIV p. 519, on corporal

1820.[15] It had been regarded as too indecent to strip a woman and inflict physical punishment on her; it was also coming to be felt that women were not physically able to stand beating and that being beaten might prove damaging to their primary functions of child-bearing and child-rearing.[16]

Just as the arguments against the flogging of men were not applied to the birching of boys, so the squeamishness which had stopped the flogging of women did not extend in all quarters to the flogging of girls. From various sources - though the motivation for some of them might be suspected - it is apparent that it was often considered perfectly acceptable, with certain qualifications, to administer corporal punishment to girls of all social classes. To remain within the bounds of decency it had to be given by a woman, preferably over clothing.[17] As Ian Gibson has described, the letter columns of respectable magazines often gave space to discussions of the pro's and con's of the flogging of girls.[18] In 1868-9, a controversy raged in the conversazione

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punishment in prisons, 1881; Gibson, English Vice, pp. 152-168.

15. Public whipping of women stopped in 1817. The Whipping of Female Offenders Abolition Act, 1820, forbade the whipping of women in either public or private.

16. "Revd W.M. Cooper" [James Bertram], Flagellation and the Flagellants: A History of the Rod in All Countries from the Earliest Period to the Present Time (John Camden Hotten, London, 1870) p. 145 [hereafter "Cooper", A History of the Rod].

17. "Cooper", A History of the Rod, p. 466.

18. Gibson, English Vice, pp. 218-27, warns that much of this discussion appears to have been little more than pornography dressed up as serious debate, as does "Cooper", A History of the Rod, p. 465. On the other hand, George Ryley Scott treats it as an absolutely serious debate: The History of Corporal Punishment (Werner Laurie, London, 1938), p. 102.

column of The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine concerning the propriety of corporal punishment of 'young ladies' in the home and the school.[19] The discussion spilled over into The Daily Telegraph, Punch, The Family Herald, Queen, and The Saturday Review, renewing a discussion which had been underway for twenty years.[20] Opinions were given for and against. On the whole, the editors came down against beating 'young ladies', a conclusion which Gibson argues was no more than a reflection of reality, namely that upper- and middle-class girls were very rarely birched.[21] Satirising the whole discussion, the Saturday Review concluded by asking

> Is it possible that before long the only creatures in Europe, besides cattle, that are flogged will be English criminals and English girls?[22]

Females below the age of eighteen were viewed rather ambivalently. They were simultaneously both potentially sexual and sexually innocent. While it was possible for a nine year old girl to be rejected by an industrial school as a 'contaminating influence' because she had 'fallen',[23] it was also possible for a girl to be seen as an asexual creature. A middle- or

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19. Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine, vol. 4 (Mar. 1868), p. 166; (Apr. 1868), p. 222; (May 1868), p. 278. Vol. 5 (July 1868), pp. 53-4; (Nov. 1868), p. 280. Vol. 6 (Mar. 1869), pp. 164-5.

20. For example, The Family Herald, vol. 25 (18 May 1867), p. 44; vol. 26 (20 Feb. 1869), p. 684; Punch (13 Feb. 1869), p. 63; The Saturday Review (17 Apr. 1869), pp. 509-10. See "Cooper", A History of the Rod, chapter 44.

21. Gibson, English Vice, p. 80. Gibson does not argue, however, that the absence of birching signalled the absence of all punishment that could be considered corporal.

22. Quoted in "Cooper", A History of the Rod, p. 471.

23. She had been raped by her father's lodger: CS case 94.

upper-class adolescent girl of decent upbringing was believed to be innocent of sexuality, thus she could be beaten with the confidence that it would not awaken base instincts within her. Any girl of eighteen was, however, acknowledged to be too old for flogging, presumably because she would be fully physically developed. It is not clear whether this accepted restriction was aimed at controlling the sexual excitability of the flogged or the flogger. Certainly, a powerful argument against allowing the beating of any young woman, usually only implied, was that such a flogging could have a sexually stimulating effect upon the flogger, even if that person was a woman.[24]

Corporal punishment was in use in almost all institutions for children of whatever social class, so that the exercise of physical punishment in reformatory system schools was far from being out of the ordinary. The most famous 'flogging regime' was that of Eton, where boys were charged a guinea a term for birches, whether they had been flogged or not.[25] The cane was certainly in evidence in public elementary schools, well into the twentieth century, for use against both boys and girls.[26]

In workhouse schools, the birch and cane remained in official use against girls until about 1893, when the Local Government Board issued an Order

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24. Scott, The History of Corporal Punishment, pp. 19-20, 102, 196-7, 210-12, discusses the question of whether beating is sexually exciting for both flogger and flogged.

25. Gibson, English Vice, chapter 3.

26. Henry Salt, The Flogging Craze (Allen & Unwin, London, 1916), pp. 35-8. Stephen Humphries, Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working Class Youth (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1981), chapter 3 [hereafter Humphries, Hooligans or Rebels?].

that their use against girls was to stop. It appears that most Poor Law school authorities adhered to the order.[27] A Poor Law scandal in 1894 indicated that corporal punishment was still being applied in some places, but it also showed that its use was deemed increasingly indefensible. A nurse named Gillespie was sentenced to five years penal servitude for cruelly beating the infants of both sexes in her charge at Brentwood District School. One of the girls mistreated subsequently died, which is how the cruelty came to light.[28] The witnesses who gave evidence to the Poor Law Schools Committee in 1895 and 1896 felt they had to emphasise that such an occurrence was extremely rare and that, in the schools of which they had personal knowledge, girls were not generally subject to beating, certainly not with a birch.[29]

(ii) Mary Carpenter and the Wisdom of Corporal Punishment

Mary Carpenter is renowned among historians for her approval of this attitude. In Reformatory Schools, she argued against the use of the birch

[27]. PP 1896 [C. 8027] XLIII pp. 447, 809 (questions 6935, 15,462-4) (Minutes of evidence, Dept Committee of Local Gov't Board to Investigate Poor Law Schools). The birch and cane were officially retained for boys.

[28]. PP 1896 [C. 8027] XLIII p. 184 (appendix A (3)), p. 336 (questions 3,753-7) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. to investigate Poor Law Schools). In 1841, a man called James Miles of Hoo Union workhouse was tried at the assizes for flogging girls aged 12-13 with birch rods: "Cooper", A History of the Rod, p. 531. It seems that attitudes towards corporal punishment depended much on the circumstances of particular incidents.

[29]. PP 1896 [C.8027] XLIII pp. 281, 336, 468 (questions 2,224-6, 3,753-7, 7,498-7,501) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. to investigate Poor Law Schools).

on children, stating that corporal punishment in all its manifestations

> ought to form no part of the punishments inflicted in schools, where not the spirit of fear, but of power and of love, and of a sound mind, is to be the prevailing one.[30]

In her biography of Mary Carpenter, Jo Manton subscribes to this view of the philanthropist, arguing that she was wholly opposed to the use of corporal punishment and that the appearance of a cane appalled her. Moreover, Manton insists that when it was used at Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory, only ill-health prevented Miss Carpenter from taking issue with the officers involved.[31] However, Miss Carpenter's principles were sometimes sacrificed to expediency. Manton does not recognise this because her interpretation of Miss Carpenter's actions is based on a number of misreadings of her journal. For example, Manton argues that Mary Carpenter was absent from Red Lodge between March and May 1858 and that, during this period, her temporary deputy ordered corporal punishment, much to Miss Carpenter's dismay. However, she was not absent during this period, and it is quite clear that corporal punishment was given on her authority. On one occasion, Miss Carpenter - not the temporary superintendent, as Manton says - ordered a girl to be beaten.

> On Saturday Apr. 17 [1858], Mary Clayham when reproved ...acted with such insolent & daring defiance that I at once summoned Miss S[tuart] to cane her & being doubtful how far she would do this effectively I determined to be present, taking with me Annie Davies who had been witness at her daring and smiled at it. Miss S merely struck her clothes in a manner which could not really hurt her so I ordered her shoulder bared & myself held her hands while

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30. Carpenter, Reformatory Schools, p. 91.

31. Red Lodge Reformatory: Manton, Mary Carpenter, for example, pp. 134, 137. For example, compare B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry 13 May 1858, p. 39 to statement at end of p. 134.

> several sharp strokes were given & she was really hurt and thoroughly humble...I warned her that similar consequences would arise whenever I witnessed such insolent rebellion in her or anyone else. I then led her into the classroom...announcing what had taken place. The result has been most satisfactory in the general support of discipline.[32]

Moreover, Mary Carpenter placed the cane by her own decision into the hands of Miss Swanbourne, a new mistress, for there is no record that Swanbourne 'demanded' power to cane, as Manton claims.[33] Similarly, Manton is mistaken when she describes Carpenter's distress at this teacher always keeping the cane with her, for it was Miss Andrews, a friend of Miss Carpenter who temporarily looked after Red Lodge during one of Carpenter's absences, and not Miss Swanbourne, who felt she could not control the inmates unless the cane was sitting on her desk.[34]

It is thus clear that although Mary Carpenter disliked the idea of personal chastisement, believing that in a well-run school the inmates should be controlled by the personal influence of the staff, she regarded corporal punishment, as a last resort, to be an essential element in the discipline of the school, especially when faced with very obstinate and violent children. There are a number of incidents which can be cited to support this assertion, in addition to the example already given. In 1857, Miss Carpenter was alarmed to hear

> wild, rude noise, proceeding from Kelly and Cowan who were in so

[32]. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry, Apr. 1858, pp. 34-5. Compare Manton, Mary Carpenter, p. 134.

[33]. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry, 1 May 1858, p. 37; Manton, Mary Carpenter, p. 137.

[34]. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry, 26 Feb. 1859, p. 74.

> daring a state that I directed Miss S[tuart] to take them to the cellar & give each a whipping if not soon humble...They sang daringly & she whipped them until they were humble.[35]

Though no incidents of caning (the birch was not used) appear in Miss Carpenter's journals before August 1857, thereafter they are regularly mentioned.[36] A few girls came in for particular attention, one of the most regularly beaten being McNally, who on one occasion was flogged with two canes simultaneously by one of the staff in front of Miss Carpenter for biting and tearing up the strait-jacket. Miss Carpenter later described this in her journal as 'a most disgraceful scene'.[37] Another time, Miss Carpenter decided to punish McNally for stealing from the other girls.

> As no other punishment had any serious effect on her, I thought it right that she should be thoroughly caned in my presence & then kept a week on bread and water. I had down 4 strong girls [to hold her]...Mrs Arberey [the laundress] caned her. She was extremely humble, though not seriously hurt.[38]

It must be noted that quite aside from what appears to be careless reading of the records, part of Manton's confusion arises from a misinterpretation of Miss Carpenter's motivations. She did believe that regular

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35. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry, 28 Dec. 1857, p. 14.

36. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/1, journal entry, 24 Aug. 1857, pp. 99-100; 12693/2, journal entries for 1858: Mar. (p. 30), 27 Mar. (p. 31), 1 May (p. 37), 13 May (p. 39), 17 May (pp. 40-1), 9 Sept. (p. 58). Also 22 May (pp. 88-9), 23 May (p. 89), and 6 July (pp. 94-5) 1859. Manton says that corporal punishment is first used at Red Lodge in May 1858: Mary Carpenter, p. 134.

37. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry, 14 Dec. 1859, p. 107.

38. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry, 29 July 1860, pp. 116-7. See also journal entry, 4 Aug. 1859, pp. 97-8.

recourse to punishment was the mark of a poor officer; however, the issue of corporal punishment became something of a battleground in which she felt it necessary to assert her authority and curb the attempts of officers to become independent of her. Miss Swanbourne was warned that she was not to use the cane without Miss Carpenter's 'express sanction';[39] and upon Swanbourne's departure, Carpenter recorded that she had 'certainly done harm by using the cane.' The implication was not that the use of the cane was wrong in itself, but that Miss Swanbourne's frequent resort to it without the authority of Miss Carpenter had made the girls resentful and filled with a sense of injustice.[40] Of Miss Robertson, an earlier schoolmistress, Miss Carpenter wrote critically that she

> is evidently resolved to have independent authority...Miss R expressed herself with most unbecoming self-confidence & [independence?] on her views of punishment, on which she appears greatly to rely for her power of controul *[sic]* & cannot bear to be in any way subordinate to Miss S[tuart, the matron]...Miss R will not act with Miss S...She is a conscientious person, extremely self-sufficient & narrowminded. I can hardly judge of her yet, but fear that she has not enough humility and love in her for this work.[41]

Carpenter even went so far as to tell Sydney Turner that she would rather resign the Red Lodge certificate than allow her matrons to usurp her authority.[42]

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39. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry, Jan. 1859, pp. 72-3.

40. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry, 30 July 1859, p. 96.

41. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/1, journal entry, Sept. 1857, pp. 107-8. Manton, Mary Carpenter, p. 127, reads 'self-sufficient' as 'inefficient.' Original emphasis.

42. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry Jan. 1860, p. 112.

(iii) The Devon & Exeter Girls' Reformatory: Inside a Disciplinary Regime

For bad or unacceptable behaviour, school authorities had recourse to a large number of punishments besides the birch or cane. The following is principally a discussion of the regime at the Protestant Devon & Exeter Reformatory for Girls, since it is the only school with an extant nineteenth century punishment register; but from hints and information scattered among other records, it is clear that most of the following comments are applicable to the majority of girls' reformatories and many industrial schools. It should be noted that this particular school was frequently described by the Inspector in glowing phrases, going so far as declaring in 1890 that 'Nothing can be better than the way in which the school is managed.'[43]

At the Devon & Exeter Reformatory, there was a range of punishments of differing severity. The lightest form of retribution was to be called before, and given a verbal reprimand by, the managing committee. This might lead to a forfeiture of privileges, such as attending church on Sunday or receiving letters from parents.[44] A common punishment was the substitution of bread and water for one or more meals.[45] Solitary confinement was

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43. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: PP 1890-1 [C. 6477] XLIV p. 64 (34th Annual Report).

44. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: for example, D.R.O. 3899F/M2/6, minutes, House Committee meetings 21 Feb. 1866: girl reprimanded, and 26 May 1868: girl forfeits visits from parents; 3899F/Z2/2, matron's journal, entry 9 Jan. 1870: whole school forfeits church attendance.

45. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: for example, D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/4, punishment book, entry dated 3 Oct. 1879: three girls given bread and water for one meal. Note that between 1879 and 1889, this punishment is the most

possible in a cell, either in the house or in the garden. There is evidence that this particular school also possessed a dark cell.[46] If the cell was considered too severe for a particular offence, a girl could instead be placed in separation, that is, kept apart in an ordinary small room, fully employed, as was not the case in the cell; or she could be sent to bed during the daytime.[47] Violent girls could be restrained in a strait-jacket or handcuffs; constantly impudent girls were likely to be dressed in the yellow and black canvas 'disgrace dress'.[48] Hair cropping was commonly employed in conjunction with any of these punishments, and also as a punishment in its own right.[49] Backing all this up

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frequently recorded type given. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry 15 June 1858, p. 47.

[46]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: for example, D.R.O. 3899F/M2/6, minutes, House Committee meetings 25 May 1870: Reynolds in the garden cell, and 16 Aug. 1865: Coppin in the dark cell; 3899F/M2/2, minutes, Directors' meeting 5 Feb. 1867, coke shed transformed into a 'night cell'. See also Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry 2 Oct. 1857, for cells being made; and B.R.O. 12693/7, minutes, Committee meeting 30 Mar. 1882, for the woodhouse being used to confine girls. Also May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letter 11 Jan. 1884, Yates to James Bryne, architect, on cells.

[47]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: for example, D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Director's meetings 18 Apr. 1860, Brookes kept unemployed in cell; 3899F/Z2/4, punishment book, entry dated 12 Jan. 1877, Dyer and Pearson locked in separate rooms instead of cell.

[48]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: for example, D.R.O. 3899F/M2/5, minutes, House Committee meeting 31 Oct. 1860, strait-jacket ordered; 3899F/M2/6, minutes, House Committee meeting 16 Aug. 1865, strait-jacket in use, and meeting 22 May 1867, Murray threatened with cuffs; 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting 17 Oct. 1860, Watkins to wear the disgrace dress. Punishment dress also in use at Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/8, minutes, Committee meeting 24 Sept. 1890; and a strait-jacket and handcuffs, 12693/2, journal entry 1 Sept. 1859, p. 101.

[49]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: for example, D.R.O. 3899F/M2/6, minutes, House Committee meeting 14 Nov. 1866, Evans receives hair-cut; and meeting 1 May 1867, Dolman is whipped, given bread and water, has a hair-cut, and is

as a last resort was the infliction of corporal punishment with a birch or a cane.[50]

The entries in the punishment book for 1876 to 1901 can be considered quantitatively, though it is first necessary to judge whether they are an accurate reflection of the levels of punishment in the school. The government inspectorate was aware that superintendents did not always keep punishment records as precisely as they should have. They controversially suggested that the record should be displayed in each school's classroom so that, by keeping the record before the eyes of the children, abuse of authority would be more likely to come to light.[51] The accuracy of the Devon & Exeter punishment book can be assessed to some extent by comparison with other records of the school, though the overlap is fairly limited. The punishment book for 1877 to 1881 inclusive mentions seventy-eight instances of punishment. Of these, ten are also mentioned in the minutes of the House Committee. However, these minutes reveal a further two incidents of confinement and one of a verbal reprimand which were not recorded in the punishment book.[52] The period May 1890 to

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placed in the cell. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/8, minutes, Committee meetings 26 Sept. 1894 and 23 Nov. 1898, for hair-cutting.

50. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/4, punishment book, entries dated 27 May 1884, Ash and 9 Dec. 1901, Moore. Note that, with the exception of corporal punishment, this range of punishments was similar to those allowed in women's convict prisons: R. Dobash, R.E. Dobash and S. Gutteridge, The Imprisonment of Women (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1986), pp. 84-6 [hereafter Dobash et al, Imprisonment of Women].

51. P.R.O. HO 45/9613/A9566, especially memo 20 Oct. 1881, Godfrey Lushington.

52. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/7, house committee minute book. The entries not recorded in the punishment book are July 1879,

May 1899 produced sixty-five instances of punishment recorded in the punishment book, of which four appear in the House Visitor's book, too; but the latter also recorded two further examples of confinement, three of dietary reduction and at least two of verbal reprimand.[53] In sum, this suggests that the punishment book was a fairly accurate record, particularly of the serious punishments, such as corporal punishment, but that verbal reprimands and other rapidly undertaken punishments were not generally considered important enough to warrant incorporation.

The punishment book's entries reveal that the majority of disciplinary offences fell into the categories of 'disobedience' and 'impertinence'. Violent behaviour, theft, and absconding occurred far less frequently than simple refusal to obey an order. In fact, the range of offences noted in the punishment book is no different to that which would be expected in an average Victorian elementary school or in a modern comprehensive. These common offences generally did not receive severe punishments. Of fifty-six girls guilty of 'disobedience' between 1876 and 1901, four were put into separate confinement and seven were birched. In addition, two girls were sent to bed. Of forty 'impertinent' girls, seven were birched and six confined. The remainder were all punished by a dietary reduction, in most cases the substitution of bread and

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Bartle under 14 days' confinement; 19 Aug. 1879, Harwood under three days' confinement; and 6 Dec. 1881, Hartnell reprimanded.

53. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/7, house visitor's book. The additional punishments are: 20 May and 19 Aug. 1890, reprimands ('some' girls were reprimanded on the first occasion); 2 May 1899, three girls on dietary reduction; 30 June 1896, Ingle in confinement; and 9 Oct. 1896, 'one or two' girls in confinement.

water for a single meal. However, the fact that some girls were birched or confined for these offences shows that there were no hard and fast rules that certain offences earned certain punishments. A close examination of the punishment book and other related material does not show that these more severely punished offences were generally out of the ordinary, nor that the individual inmates involved were especially troublesome.[54] An examination of other specific named offences also shows that particular punishments were not directly linked to offences. All were allotted in a fairly random fashion.

A substantial proportion of the disciplinary infractions which earned corporal punishment at the Devon & Exeter Reformatory were of a violent or threatening nature. However, not all such infractions earned corporal punishment. In contrast, girls received as many as fourteen strokes or such non-violent crimes as lying and theft of property from the officers.[55] This was a fairly unusual level of punishment, as the average was eight strokes, with a minimum of four, but it was as many strokes as would have been administered in a boys' school against an offender. It is impossible to know from the simple punishment record how painful such a chastisement would have been, for there were many variables. For example, it is not clear whether the strokes were

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54. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: 154 individuals were recorded in the punishment book, receiving an average of one or two punishments each. Very few are recorded as having earned more than three. Extraordinary levels of punishment were experienced by Emily, punished eight times (seven in 1882 alone), Ada punished eleven times between 1889 and 1894, and Pearson, punished nine times between 1877 and 1879.

55. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/4, punishment book, entry dated 26 May 1880, Hartnell, for theft; entry dated 30 Oct. 1879, Wallace for lying.

administered over clothing or upon uncovered skin. It seems that in 'young ladies' schools, punishment given upon a reportedly naked body was, in fact, given over a light shift.[56] Such concessions to delicacy might not have been considered necessary in a reformatory. Boys were usually flogged on the buttocks, but it is not clear whether girls were beaten there or across the shoulders. It may have depended on the implement being used. From 1898, both the birch and the cane were in use at the Devon & Exeter Reformatory.[57] Elsewhere, the tawse was popular. There was some debate as to the relative merits of these implements. For instance, James Legge, the third Inspector of Reformatories, regarded the cane as dangerous.[58] It had some advantages, though, since it was more generally administered on the hand than the posterior, and thus was considered less degrading for the child punished.[59]

With so many forms of disciplinary control in evidence it is tempting to conclude that either the regime at the Devon & Exeter was utterly repressive or the inmates were extraordinarily difficult to manage. However, it should not be overlooked that there was a considerable quantity of misbehaviour of a kind which, even today, would be regarded as serious and which earned

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[56]. "Cooper", A History of the Rod, chapter 43: 'On the Whipping of Young Ladies.'

[57]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: first mention of cane, D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/4, punishment book, 29 Oct. 1898, Frost given four strokes for quarrelling. D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/4, entry dated 18 Jan. 1900, Davis given six strokes with birch for absconding and tearing up bed cover.

[58]. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 977 (question 32,208) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

[59]. Scott, History of Corporal Punishment, pp. 104-5.

severe punishment, such as fighting, bullying, absconding, theft, and wanton damage to property.[60] There was also a long series of incidents of the girls defecating on the dormitory floor, 'wilfully defiling the water closets', and otherwise engaging in 'filthy practices.'[61]

A contemporary comparison of regime is provided by the punishment book of Saltley Boys' Reformatory, near Birmingham. At that school, corporal punishment was used often, and there was an increasing dependence on the birch and cane to keep order. For example, in 1877, there were forty-nine instances of boys receiving punishment, sixteen of whom earned the cane, the remainder receiving confinement in the cell or dietary reduction; but by 1890, the punishment of caning was given in response to every one of the fifty-six recorded incidents of misbehaviour. This would fit in with Issac Briggs' description of the regime in the reformatory where he had been an inmate; but, whether it was typical of boys' reformatories or not, this level of personal chastisement certainly had no counterparts among girls' schools.[62]

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[60]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: for example, D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/1, matron's journal, entries 9 Nov. 1858 (destruction of cabbages), 21 Feb. 1859 (burning of several articles), and 3899F/Z2/2, matron's journal, entry 3 May 1882 (bullying). Also D.R.O. 3899F/L2/1, letter 12 Mar. 1865, p. 54, concerning absconders; 3899F/M2/6, meetings 2 Sept. and 9 Sept. 1863, regarding thefts.

[61]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/6, minutes, House Committee meetings 23 Apr. 1864; 16 May, 23 May and 12 Dec. 1866; 4 Aug. and 5 Aug. 1868. On the last occasion, a number of girls were ordered to sleep on straw as a punishment. Also meetings 11 Aug. and 24 Nov. 1868; 21 June 1871, when 36 girls were placed on a bread and water diet for a week; and 2 Sept. 1872, when it was ordered that the girls should not be given any meat till their conduct improved.

[62]. B.C.L. MS 244, Saltley Boys' Reformatory punishment book, 1857-1978. Issac Briggs, <u>Reformatory Reform</u> (Longmans, London, 1924), esp. p. 52-3.

(iv) Positive Influences: Rewards for Good Behaviour

The foregoing has concentrated on negative forms of disciplinary control. This needs to be balanced by an acknowledgement that a number of schools, particularly, though not solely, industrial schools, tried to maintain order and good conduct by using positive influences. These fell into three categories: mark systems leading to the accumulation of money or objects; annual prize-giving; and the granting of positions of responsibility.

Many of the certified schools had annual prize-giving, with books, workboxes, writing cases, and similar objects being given to girls selected for their high levels of achievement, not only in the three R's, but also in industrial work, scripture, tidiness, cookery, stocking-darning, general good conduct, and so on.[63] Where annual prizes were not given, this was a matter worthy of comment.[64] Prizes could be distributed on the basis of a mark system, as they were at St Matthew's Reformatory in Ipswich and later at the Northumberland Village Homes;[65] but more often mark systems were used to allow girls the chance to accumulate a little money for their benefit on release. Mark systems seem generally to have followed the pattern suggested by Miss Christian Nicoll

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63. For example, R&RJ, lxx (1876), pp. 34-5, Princess Mary Village Homes; clxxxviii (1888), pp. 22-3, Northumberland Terrace C.I.S., Liverpool; cci (1889), p. 220, Field Lane C.I.S., London; ccxcvii (1897), p. 50, Coventry C.I.S.; cccxxi (1899), p. 459, Stanhope House, Bristol. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/91/1, Northern Daily Express, clipping 15 Aug. 1884; and T375/NVH/91/3, 21st Annual Report (1901).

64. Devon & Cornwall C.I.S.: R&RJ, cxcix (1889), p. 197.

65. St Matthew's Reformatory: R&RJ, cci (1889), p. 219. Northumberland Village Homes: PP 1893-4 [C. 7084] XLVIII p. 194 (36th Annual Report).

based on her experience at Hampstead Reformatory. In this scheme, six good conduct marks were the maximum possible per day, divided between the various departments of the school. Marks were to be deducted for bad behaviour; and the grand weekly total for each girl was to be displayed on the schoolroom wall. After a probationary period of six months, girls could earn between a penny and threepence a week if they forfeited no more than eight marks, with a sliding scale linking the money to the number of marks lost. Money thus earned was placed in a bankbook and handed to the girl after her release.[66] Such a scheme was sometimes complicated, as it was at the Devon & Exeter Reformatory, by the introduction of different 'grades' of girl, with different rewards obtainable in different grades for the same level of conduct or work, and with movement between grades being itself a reward or a punishment.[67]

It was common for positions of responsibility in the school household to be filled only by trusted girls, for whom such positions were regarded as a mark of honour: a practice which persists in schools to the present day. In this way, the school could develop an internal hierarchy based upon good behaviour, with girls aspiring to the positions bestowing a measure of personal status. In turn, staff hoped that ambition and admiration among the girls would engage peer group pressure to ensure conformity.[68]

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[66]. R&RJ, cxciii (1888), p. 78.

[67]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting 4 Mar. 1861. D.R.O. 3899F/M2/2, minutes, Directors' meeting 8 Nov. 1881, new scheme introduced. See also R&RJ, cclxvii (1894), p. 133.

[68]. For positions of honour, see, for example, Arno's Court Reformatory: G.S.Prov. R-15/10, Rules VI (9); Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/1, journal entry, p. 52; Beckett Home: Our Waifs & Strays (Aug. 1889), p. 4.

(v) Conclusion

It seems that those who ran girls' reformatories did not believe that reward systems or responsibility alone could ever maintain order and they always fell back on corporal punishment, dietary reduction, confinement, and similar punitive responses. It also seems likely that every-day 'normal' chastisement never made it into punishment books or official records. It will never be known how many single slaps and cuffs were given by officers that went unrecorded; nor can it be known how frequently, or for what petty misdemeanours, verbal correction was given.

It should be remembered that controversy was not confined to the use of corporal punishment. All of the alternative punishments available also had opponents. In some quarters, commentators argued against the use of the cell, believing it to be the cruellest punishment possible for a child.[69] Others disliked dietary reductions, believing them to harm health.[70] James Legge's view of the problem must have been fairly clear to his contemporaries. In 1898, he noted in an internal memo that

> [t]he effect of absolutely prohibiting corporal punishment is simply that it is carried on though unauthorized, or objectional substitutes are provided such as dietary punishments, locking up, and "crucifixion" as at Walthamstow, or the girl knowing that however violent she becomes no one in the school dare lay a finger on her,

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[69]. Sub-Inspector Robertson did not approve of the use of cells for girls: PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 361 (questions 12,980-1). But Legge strongly favoured 'seclusion': PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII pp. 976-7 (questions 32,171-181) (Minutes of evidence, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

[70]. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 979 (questions 32,267-8) (Minutes of evidence, Dept. C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

is finally sent to prison.[71]

The question which must be addressed is whether an extraordinary level of punishment was employed in these schools in comparison with the level deemed acceptable by society as a whole. In terms of corporal punishment alone, the answer appears to be negative, although it is easy to find examples of discipline which strike the modern reader as nothing less than cruelty. Indeed, there were cases when the discipline in force proved unacceptable even to contemporaries. But reformatory and industrial schools were not the only ones engaging in these forms of disciplinary control. It may be that workhouse girls after the eighteen-nineties were not subject to corporal punishment, but if so, they were probably the only group of girls escaping. It seems that in most residential institutions for lower class children personal chastisement with a cane by the schoolteacher in the classroom was not deemed corporal punishment and so went unrecorded. Working-class children in elementary schools were subject to the cane, as were girls and boys in establishments for the children of the middle- and upper-classes. The inmates of reformatory and industrial schools were not alone in suffering repressive institutional regimes.

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[71]. P.R.O. HO 45/9746/A56764, memo 13 Feb. 1898. The "crucifixion" reference relates to a punishment at a boys' industrial school, in which boys were made to stand for long periods with their arms outstretched in the shape of a cruciform.

Chapter Eight.

'Malicious Mischief' or 'A Strong Case of Hysteria'? Active Resistance to Authority

Everything has gone on happily. (Too good a state of things to last.)[1]

This chapter will examine the internal disciplinary regime of reformatory and industrial schools from the perspective of the inmates. From the children's point of view, disruptive behaviour can be interpreted as a form of action which was designed to resist the repressive efforts of the school authorities to change their characters and socialize them into particular behavioural stereotypes.

Stephen Humphries, in Hooligans or Rebels?, has explored the behaviour of working-class youth as just such a resistance to authority in its many forms. Using oral history evidence, Humphries has considered many kinds of social situation, including, and most importantly for the purposes of this study, the experience of boys in reformatory schools around the turn of the century. The word 'boys' is used deliberately here, for the principal deficiency of Humphries' discussion is the absence of real consideration of the experiences of girls, though, stating it to be 'an extremely complex phenomenon', he acknowledges that this is a gap in his analysis.[2] Through the evidence of former

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1. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/1, matron's journal, 28 July 1858.

2. Humphries, Hooligans or Rebels? p. 237.

inmates, Humphries is able to describe a reformatory regime which was brutal and brutalising, in which violence and fear was the norm. This violence arose from the relationship between the staff and the inmates, but also as part of the inmate sub-culture, a factor which has also been vividly discussed in the memoirs of two former inmates.[3]

While the regime of girls' reformatories and, indeed, industrial schools was without doubt repressive in many ways, they seem to have been without the constant overt violence which is reported by former inmates of boys' schools. There was almost certainly some kind of distinctive inmate sub-culture in the girls' reformatories and industrial schools but, in the absence of first-hand evidence, it is extremely difficult to assess its values and norms and their pervasiveness and effects on inmate behaviour, for example, in the establishment of distinctive roles or hierarchies. However, there are plenty of examples of conduct which are expressive of a desire among the inmates to subvert authority. Indeed, 'insolence' and 'insubordination' were universally used terms to describe inmate behaviour which was contrary to the desires and expectations of the staff and managers. Some types of inmate misbehaviour, or forms of resistance, both serious and petty, were common to boys and girls. They both on occasion fought, committed arson, absconded and rioted, just as both sexes were verbally defiant. However, when such conduct was engaged in by girls, it was always liable to be interpreted, not as a manifestation of boredom, frustration or sheer contrariness, but as an indicator of inherent mental instability.

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[3]. "Mark Benney", Low Company (1936), esp. pp. 136-151; and Issac Briggs, Reformatory Reform (1924).

(i) Individual Resistance: Hysteria and 'Breaking-out'

Recent feminist criminology has highlighted the tendency of the judicial and penal systems to view female offenders as being more in need of psychiatric treatment than any other form of rehabilitation and, equally, of being more in need of such medicalised treatment than their male counterparts.[4] While male offenders are judged to have committed offences from overwhelmingly rational motives, female offenders have been viewed as having behaved irrationally and, therefore, as having shown signs of inherent mental imbalance.[5] This interpretation of female offending is grounded on the assumption that all women display inferior mental characteristics.[6]

Historians have located the construction of these prejudices in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. In this period, woman's nature was increasingly viewed as intrinsically mentally unstable, essentially as a result of arguments focusing on biological determinism.[7] For example, in the eighteen-eighties, the governor of Millbank prison was said to regard all misbehaviour among the female prisoners as resulting from mental instability:

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4. For example, Carol Smart, Women, Crime, and Criminology: A Feminist Critique (Routledge, London, 1977), pp. 144-9; Pat Carlen & Anne Worrall, Gender, Crime, and Justice (Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1987), p. 140; Dobash et al, Imprisonment of Women, pp. 6, 120-9.

5. Dobash et al, Imprisonment of Women, p. 109.

6. See, for example, Smart, Women, Crime, and Criminology, pp. 148-9.

7. See Vieda Skultans, English Madness: Ideas on Insanity, 1580-1890 (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1979), chapter six, for a brief outline of a longer history of woman's supposed constitutional proneness to nervous disorders.

> [H]is sole idea was to hand them over to the medical officer as patients requiring medical care and treatment, and so to get them out of his jurisdiction for the time being. He seemed to have an idea that all women were mad.[8]

Medical authorities, educationalists, and similar vocal groups argued that females were ruled by their reproductive systems, in which circumstance all women were liable at all times to display irrational behaviour, neurasthenia, hysteria, and so on, most particularly around menstruation and pregnancy.[9] The most dangerous time for a female's mental health was judged to be puberty, when 'disturbances' might lead a girl to engage thoughtlessly in sexual and other moral delinquencies, and when the demands of her reproductive organs were such that any stresses produced by external pressures - such as school examinations - were deemed liable to disrupt her physical development and her mental stability. On evidence of little repute, the medical profession concluded that girls who were called upon to engage in competitive or stressful pursuits during this dangerous time would risk a sickly adulthood.[10]

The manifestation of mental illness was, however, arranged along class lines. The feeble, fragile woman trapped by her nerves in a darkened room was expected to be middle- or upper-class. Working-class women and girls could not enjoy such luxuries and the native, indeed primitive, strength of their social

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8. R.F. Quinton, Crime and Criminals (Longmans, London, 1910), p. 42.

9. Ruth Harris, Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law and Society in the 'fin de siécle' (Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 36; Dobash et al, Imprisonment of Women, pp. 113-4; Elaine Showalter, The Female Malady (Pantheon Books, New York, 1985), pp. 55-6, 121-3 [hereafter Showalter, Female Malady].

10. See, for example, Joan Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (Croom Helm, London, 1980), chapter five; Showalter, Female Malady, pp. 124-6; Dobash et al, Imprisonment of Women, p. 119.

class was advanced as an explanation for their freedom from the debilitating effects of neurasthenia in particular. From an early age, the working-class girl was expected to earn her living by manual work, most particularly in the drudgery of domestic service in the very middle-class homes where female invalidism caused by over-exertion was so feared.[11] It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find an almost complete absence of discussion of the dangers of 'over-exertion' for mental and physical health in relation to the training of reformatory and industrial school girls. For such girls, labour during adolescence was necessary, healthy, and inevitable. Nor were the dangers thought inherent in puberty ever widely discussed in relation to reformatory or industrial school girls: a more surprising omission, for it would have provided a convenient explanation for some of the girls' more outrageous and unfeminine behaviour during their detention.[12]

However, despite being free of the mental diseases which were thought to attack only the refined and sensitive, reformatory and other working-

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[11]. See Showalter, Female Malady, pp. 134-37, on connection between neurasthenia, over-exertion, and social class.

[12]. See CS case 233, Esther, for a rare expression of the idea that an appearance of insanity was linked to a girl's time of life. She had shown enormous jealousy of another girl, Kate, and had planted a stolen picture in Kate's box in order to incriminate her. It was discovered and the deed was soon known to be Esther's doing. 'She confessed she had taken it, that God had told her to confess, but Satan had told her to drown herself in the bath or cut her throat. She has been heard to say she would poison Kate.' (letter 1 June 1896, Mrs Glascodine, visitor at Mumbles Home, to Mr Rudolf.) It is clear that the staff at Cold Ash fully believed they had a mad girl on their hands; and, indeed, these statements, as they were recorded by the staff, do suggest a real mental illness, such as schizophrenia. However, the school's doctor disagreed, arguing that she had an age-related temporary mental imbalance. 'She is in,' he reported,'...an excitable neurotic state which is probably associated with her age.' (letter 4 June 1896, Mrs Glascodine to Mr Rudolf.)

class girls were still believed to be at the mercy of a temporary insanity of a peculiarly feminine type: hysteria.[13] The experience of this was practically unavoidable as it was 'caused' by the weaknesses of female biology. Hysterical outbursts or 'breakouts' were apparently a routine feature of prisons and other residential institutions for women of all social classes. It was a sudden, violent, and rebellious rejection of the constraints of discipline and the standards of conduct demanded of the individual; and an occurrence the definition of which hinged upon the perception of girls and women as inherently mentally unstable. It was an expression of overwhelming frustration and resentment; and seems to have been restricted to females.[14]

Arguably the most vivid description of a 'breakout' has been left by Mrs Susanna Meredith, founder of the Princess Mary Village Homes, who witnessed one at a women's prison to which she went as a visitor. Hearing that her 'special protegée' C.M. had 'broken out', she went to speak to the prisoner. C.M. was in a straitjacket, but this was not preventing her from 'spitting violently all round the cell, so that no one could approach within any distance of her without risk.' Appealing to C.M.'s good sense, Mrs Meredith reported that the woman 'burst into violent fits of weeping, frequently repeating "They have treated me like a beast and I have become one." ' Pressed further, C.M. explained that she ' "did it for variety. Oh, the monotony of a prison life! I had

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[13]. Showalter, Female Malady, pp. 129-30, 147-9.

[14]. Anon, 'The Petting and Fretting of Female Convicts', Meliora, 4 (1864), pp. 45-53. See Showalter, Female Malady, p. 81. In 1859, there were 154 'breakouts' in Millbank Prison alone: Zedner, Women, Crime, and Custody, p. 209. No evidence of breakouts have been found for boys' schools, but this does not prove that they never broke out.

to smash the glass of the cell and glass everywhere I could or I should have gone mad." '[15]

Emotional outbursts from the inmates of girls' reformatory and industrial schools were interpreted by contemporaries in such a way as to suggest that they shared many characteristics of the adult 'breakout'. The records of schools reveal numerous cases of individuals apparently exploding with frustration and anger. A common theme in descriptions of them all was the use of images of irrationality. For example, in 1886, at the tiny Northamptonshire Reformatory for Girls, 'one of the girls in a violent fit of passion threw a knife at a companion, which might have killed her,' but which did no harm.[16] At the Princess Mary Village Homes in Addlestone, a little girl was admitted who was styled 'an Infant Prize-Fighter' by the managers because of the way in which she attacked one of the cottage mothers. 'With her wooden shoe...she was kicking her in the stomach, and delivering straight blows wherever she could on the poor woman's body.' The child was captured in a sheet by one of the gardeners and taken inside, where 'She had to be fastened to the bed, and the doctor...sent for, as the case presented the aspect of delirium.' She was, in addition, reputed to have 'expressed regret that she had "not finished off somebody, and scored one

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[15]. M.A. Lloyd, Susanna Meredith: A Record of a Vigorous Life (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1903) pp. 183-5 [original emphasis]. See also Philip Priestley, Victorian Prison Lives: English Prison Biography 1830-1914 (Methuen, London, 1985) pp. 208-10 [hereafter Priestley, Victorian Prison Lives]. Judith Walkowitz states that 'the breaking of glass was stereotyped protest behaviour for women under confinement.' Walkowitz, Prostitution, p. 224.

[16]. Northamptonshire Girls' Reformatory: PP 1887 [C. 5102] XLII p. 92 (30th Annual Report) [emphasis added].

for herself." '[17]

An inmate of May Place Reformatory, Agnes Hector, was described as

> Altogether a remarkably violent girl. [She] put [her] hand [head?] through window. Said was attempted suicide in police cell [*sic*]. Brought to reason with cold water.[18]

Also, in June 1897, it was reported to the management committee of the same school that McMahon, a girl who was regularly in punishment, had been subjected to 'prolonged confinement in the cells,' the reason being that she was '<u>in a state of hysterical frenzy</u>, broke two windows and a wooden panel.'[19]

James Legge stated that there were two types of girl with whom the reformatory could not succeed: the juvenile prostitute and the hysteric. The latter, he wrote, 'has the cunning to observe that, if she is only noisy and violent enough for a sufficiently long period, she is likely to earn her discharge.'[20] This ambivalent attitude was quite commonly expressed by those in authority when faced with actions apparently caused by mental instability. The descriptions staff and managers gave of 'hysterical' outbursts and similar incidents often suggest that they believed the girls involved were quite capable of holding back their anger and emotions if they chose to do so. Thus their out-

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17. P.M.V.H.: <u>Open Doors</u>, (Nov. 1887), p. 166 [emphasis added].

18. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/5/1, draft minutes, Committee meeting Oct. 1873 [?], p. 15.

19. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/5/1, draft minutes, Committee meeting 14 June 1897, p. 163 [emphasis added].

20. <u>R&RJ</u>, cccxxvi (1899), p. 556.

bursts were indicative of a moral, rather than a strictly psychological, defect.[21] There was, for example, no suggestion that Mabel Holland, a thirteen year old inmate of Middlesex Girls' Industrial School who had bitten and kicked the officers and spat in the face of the matron, had been acting without discernment even though her actions could easily have been interpreted as evidence of mental imbalance.[22] Mabel was taken to be an example of a very difficult type found within the certified schools, the 'incorrigibles.'

The matron of the Chelsea School of Discipline described the problem of 'incorrigibility' thus:

> it is often very hard [she wrote] to discriminate between stupidity and wickedness; the wickedness often seeming almost disease, or perversion of the mind. Some girls of this description will be found in every school. They form a kind of "awkward squad".[23]

It was a convenient, frequently-used label, which simultaneously implied mental weakness and calculated wilfulness. Girls discharged as incorrigible had demonstrated an incapacity for conformity to the school's code of conduct. Schools were not often willing to admit defeat by difficult cases, since they were confident that reformatory training was uniquely suited to dealing with the juvenile delinquent and the unpromising child. But if a school did admit defeat

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[21]. Some doctors of the period suspected that all hysterical outbursts were shammed and recommended punitive treatment: Showalter, Female Malady, pp. 137-8.

[22]. Middlesex Girls' C.I.S.: R&RJ, ccxci (1896), p. 536. It is probably Holland who is referred to in the Inspector's report as appearing seventeen times in the school's punishment book before being taken before the magistrates: PP 1897 [C. 8566] XLI p. 353 (40th Annual Report). See also R&RJ, ccxcii (1896), p. 548.

[23]. R&RJ, xcvi (1880), p. 144, from 'Our Old Girls' by Miss Simon.

and discharge an inmate because she could not be made to conform, there was the implication that this was caused by an innate inability on the part of the girl: namely, that she could not be made to see that conformity was for her own good. This wilfulness bordering on derangement was said to characterise such girls, as Inspector Inglis suggested when he described:

> One young girl still in the [Devon & Exeter Reformatory] school, [who] seemed incorrigible. I doubted her being quite sane.[24]

However, the stubborn non-conformity of such girls can as easily be interpreted as a powerful resistance of authority. Indeed, even contemporaries seem to have accepted this interpretation in some cases. For example, Emily Butt, an inmate of the Devon & Exeter Reformatory who was discharged before the end of her sentence, had succeeded in wearing down the patience of the staff by being 'very violent and bad' and by her absolute refusal to work or to submit to any of the school rules.[25] She insisted that she had been committed above the age of sixteen and her misbehaviour was interpreted as arising from this assertion.[26] Since she had an apparently legitimate and sensible grievance underlying her rebelliousness, she was not described in language which suggested anything other than a calculated naughtiness.

In fact, much of the behaviour which was described in terms of insanity could be otherwise interpreted as the calculating adoption of such

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[24]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: PP 1890-1 [C. 6477] XLIV p. 64 (34th Annual Report); see also PP 1875 [C. 1311] XXXVI p. 533 (18th Annual Report).

[25]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/2, matron's journal, entries 11 Mar., 17 July and 21 Aug. 1874.

[26]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/2, minutes, Directors' meeting 14 July 1874.

behaviour in order to resist or subvert school authority. At St Joseph's Roman Catholic Reformatory, Sister Stephanie was thoroughly alarmed by the activities of a girl called Ann Mack who was 'a dwarf' and had twice tried to set fire to the dormitory. Sydney Turner recommended that Ann be sent to a lunatic asylum, but none could be found to take her in the absence of a patron to pay her expenses, and she was eventually committed to the workhouse.[27] It is impossible to know whether Ann Mack really was of unsound mind or whether she was driven to commit her acts of arson for the same, comparatively rational reasons as had motivated an earlier arsonist at Red Lodge. In 1855, Mary Carpenter had been saddened to discover that one Agnes had set fire to the school in the belief that by doing so she would be securing the return home of all the inmates. In that instance, there was no hint that the arsonist was acting under an insane compulsion, Miss Carpenter instead interpreting her actions as rational if rather naive.[28]

The case of Reynolds, an inmate of Devon & Exeter Reformatory, demonstrates further the potential confusion between mental defect and wilful resistance to pressures for conformity. This girl was certainly disruptive to the school's discipline, but her recorded behaviour does not strike the reader as

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27. St Joseph's Reformatory: Sheff. A.S. MD 7138/11/78, letter 15 Apr. 1867, Sydney Turner to Sister Stephanie; MD 7138/11/118, letter 21 Aug. 1867, John Graham[?] to Sister Stephanie; MD 7138/11/123, letter 28 Aug. 1867, Mr Rogers of Lancashire County Lunatic Asylum to Sister Stephanie; MD 7138/11/129, letter 7 Sept. 1867, Sister Stephanie to Gainsford; MD 7138/11/143, letter 24 Sept. 1867, Mr Rogers to Gainsford; MD 7138/12/7, letter 8 Jan. 1868, Sister Stephanie to Gainsford.

28. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/1, undated journal entry [1855], pp. 5-6.

irrational if interpreted as resistance to the powers of conformity. In May 1870, Reynolds had been placed in the garden cell for twenty-four hours and spent much of the time ringing the emergency bell, to the extreme annoyance of the staff.[29] Such an action was unlikely to worsen her position much further as she was already undergoing lengthy and fairly elaborate punishment for profound insolence. In these circumstances, her act of defiance and the annoyance it so clearly caused might have given the recalcitrant and unrepentant girl considerable satisfaction. However, such an interpretation was not made by the managers. They recorded a few days later that

> The conduct of the girl Reynolds warrants the belief that she is of unsound mind, Insane or a Lunatic who by disease or accident has lost the use of her reason...She...may be considered a fit object for Admission into a Lunatic Asylum. Punishment has no effect upon her.[30]

It is apparent that insanity was suspected, at least in part, because Reynolds did not respond to punishment. Any rational, mentally-sound girl, so the managers no doubt reasoned, would soon come to realise that conformity would bring punishment to an end; and since punishment was undesirable, the girl would do her best to see it end. This, after all, is the logic which underpins all punishment regimes. However, the managers were not taking into account that a girl could fail to conform not because she was mentally weak, but because she was mentally strong, and was prepared to resist all attempts to make her conform no matter what the consequences were likely to be.

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[29]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/6, minutes, House Committee meeting 28 May 1870.

[30]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/6, minutes, House Committee meeting 1 June 1870.

Reynolds was again experiencing punishment in February 1871. She and another girl had caused a panic by shouting "Fire". The girls had stampeded in fear, overpowered an officer in order to get her keys, and had tried - but failed - to open the outer door of the school. The managers had little doubt that the two girls had been trying to abscond, causing a scene to conceal their escape.[31] This use of cunning and, presumably, some forward-planning, was hardly the work of a near-lunatic; and there is no suggestion in the records relating to this incident that the managers regarded Reynolds' actions in this instance as anything other than calculating and rational.

How each girl was viewed greatly affected what action was taken against her. Girls whose actions were deemed to have arisen from 'mental disturbance' were subjected to immediate control. For example, Agnes at May Place was doused with water, another girl was drugged, and one was shut up in the school cell, but no further, harsher, action was taken by the school authorities. Those whose behaviour was not excused for psychological reasons were treated rather differently. The spitting girls at the Middlesex and Leytonstone schools, and Brannon from May Place were, initially, confined in their schools' punishment cells.[32] When they failed to reform their bad behaviour, they were taken before the magistrates.

School managers were, however, disappointed by the attitude of

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[31]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/6, minutes, House Committee meeting 13 Feb. 1871.

[32]. PP 1897 [C. 8566] XLI pp. 353, 321 (40th Annual Report). The cell at May Place was described by the government inspector as 'rather formidable'(PP 1898 [C. 8996] XLVIII p. 175 (41st Annual Report)) and 'too suggestive of a dungeon' (PP 1901 [Cd. 511] XXXIII p. 116 (44th Annual Report)).

magistrates in dealing with cases of the individual insubordinate girl. The magistrates failed to take the complaints seriously, giving no or only token prison sentences and suggesting that if matrons of schools administered 'loving care' to a wayward individual and 'treated her kindly', she would improve. For example, Mabel Holland, the inmate of Middlesex Industrial School mentioned above, was placed on probation for five weeks, not imprisoned as the managers would have liked.[33] 'Of course,' complained Miss Cotton, the founder of Leytonstone Industrial School, 'the girl returns [from prison] more insolent and disobedient, and generally I am obliged to get her discharged as incorrigible.'[34] The attitude of the average magistrate faced with such a case was summed up by the superintendent of May Place Reformatory. Discussing Brannon's case, Miss Donovan complained that

> Mr Stewart [the magistrate] thought she ought to be transferred to another school, treated the whole affair in a very flippant way, sentencing the girl to one day.

That the school authorities regarded Brannon's bad behaviour as extremely serious is shown by the fact that

> On her return she was...kept about a week in the cells, while a girl M. Cabe who had provoked wilfully Brannon on threat [*sic*] was punished likewise with a week in the cells.[35]

However, although the attitude of magistrates to unruly behaviour was considered unsatisfactory when faced with one girl, it was altogether different

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33. Middlesex Girls' C.I.S.: R&RJ, ccxci (1896), p. 536

34. R&RJ, ccxcii (1896), p. 548.

35. May Place Reformatory:L.C.R.A. 364 cat/5/1, draft minutes, Committee meeting 2 Nov. 1896, p. 131.

when placed in the context of a riot.

(ii) Mass Resistance: Disturbances and Riots

A number of boys' and girls' reformatories experienced riots among their inmates. Given the large scale of the reformatory system, riots were unusual events and, with a single exception, were unknown in industrial schools.[36] Riots are, even so, worth singling out for examination because they represent the ultimate breakdown of authority and extreme of inmate resistance. A number of riots will be mentioned in this section, principally those which occurred in the eighteen-seventies and eighties at Limpley Stoke Girls' Reformatory, May Place Girls' Reformatory, Bleasdale Boys' Reformatory, and the Duke Street Reformatory for Boys in Glasgow.

Riots committed by reformatory boys and reformatory girls shared many characteristics. One activity engaged in by both groups was the committing of damage to school property as acts of defiance. Crockery and windows were particular targets. At May Place Reformatory, for example, during a riot in 1880, the windows in the dormitory were smashed as was a large quantity of crockery in the breakfast room. 'One of the girls said they would smash every pane of glass in the house.'[37] Similarly, it was reported of the

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[36]. The exception was Leith Industrial School: Leith Burghs Pilot (2 Oct. 1880), p. 3 col. d.

[37]. May Place Reformatory: The Times (3 Feb. 1880), p. 4.

outbreak at the Doncaster Girls' Reformatory in 1876, that 'The girls smashed thirty eight panes of glass in the course of their proceedings.'[38] Riots involving boys could cause similar damage to school property. For example, as a consequence of a riot at the Duke Street Reformatory in Glasgow in 1878, twenty-seven boys were charged before the magistrate with 'malicious mischief, by breaking 83 windows, damaging 30lbs of cheese, 2lbs of tea, and 56 lbs of bread.'[39] The difference was that for boys, window-smashing and other damage of property constituted only part of the riot or was a means to an end, for instance, to enable them to escape; whereas for girls, such behaviour was the principal manifestation of their rebellion.

It has been said of prison inmates that 'women were more prone to vent suppressed emotion on their immediate surroundings than on the personal representatives of authority'.[40] This was also true of female reformatory inmates. The fury they directed against their physical environment was the limit of the violence they employed during a riot. The behaviour of boys could be very different. They were more likely to engage in personal violence during riots, with staff coming under a threat of injury from boys using improvised weapons and missiles. For example, during the Duke Street Reformatory riot in 1878, the nightwatchman discovered the boys 'behaving in a riotous manner...singing and shouting...throwing boots and furniture about, and breaking up the fittings of the

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38. Doncaster Girls' Reformatory: R&RJ, lxxiii (1876), p. 134.

39. Duke Street Boys' Reformatory: Glasgow Evening News & Star (11 Apr. 1878), p. 2 col.e.

40. Priestley, Victorian Prison Lives, p. 208.

house' which they then used as missiles. During the tumult, the deputy-governor of the school was seriously injured by being hit across the face with a piece of wood by an inmate who was subsequently sentenced to sixty days' imprisonment for the offence.[41] Another extremely grave incident of violence against the person took place at the Carlisle Boys' Reformatory on the evening of the 20th September, 1880, during which the superintendent of the Reformatory was attacked by a group of boys: 'One knocked at his head with a hockey-stick, but it did not open, and several others attacked him violently and left him stupified.'[42] It must be stressed that there were no recorded instances of personal violence directed by reformatory girls against their school staff which even begin to compare with these incidents.

During a riot, girls were also less likely than boys to assault their fellow inmates. Several reports commented on the means by which bigger and older boys coerced their reluctant younger brethren into cooperation, for example during riots at Mount St. Bernard Boys' Reformatory in 1875 and at Leith Industrial School in 1880, where the older boys were openly inciting, indeed, were forcing the younger to rebel.[43] No such coercion appears to have

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[41]. Duke Street Boys' Reformatory: Glasgow Evening News (8 Apr. 1878), p. 3 col. b.; (10 Apr. 1878), p. 2 col. e; and (11 Apr. 1878), p. 2 col. e. On the Sunday following the riot, forty boys absconded on the way to church: R&RJ, lxxxi (1878), p. 410.

[42]. Carlisle Boys' Reformatory: Leith Burghs Pilot (25 Sept. 1880), p. 3 col. d. All forty three boys in the school absconded and about half were still at large a week later. The reporter evidently found the whole event titillating, noting that a riot has a 'comical side' and was 'alike a grave and an amusing occurrence.'

[43]. Mount St Bernard's Boys' Reformatory: Leicester Chronicle (20 Nov. 1875), p. 5 col. f. Leith Industrial School: Leith Burghs Pilot (2 Oct. 1880), p. 3

taken place in girls' schools. It is likely that had girls engaged in personal violence on a scale comparable to that of the boys' it would have been reported, for no one doubted that individual girls could be violent - one only had to consider the evidence presented by individual 'breakouts'. It thus seems that the use or absence of violence against the person was one very important difference between the mass outbreaks of reformatory boys and girls.

A further ostensible difference between boys' and girls' riots seems, on examination, to have little basis in fact. This was the issue of whether riots were premeditated, to some extent organised, had ring-leaders and arguably justifiable motives. Those who were actually involved in dealing with riots tended to suspect some kind of premeditation in them all, but those who merely commentated upon them tended to emphasise that boys committed organised outrages, whist girls merely responded spontaneously to a short-term trigger. It is certainly the case that some boys' riots were planned in advance. There can be little doubt, for example, that the riot at the Bleasdale Boys' Reformatory was premeditated: one inmate stole the Master Tailor's keys and released the boys from their dormitories after they had retired one evening. Other boys broke a bed and used the posts to smash out some windows through which to escape. Much damage was caused and there was a general absconding.[44]

The reporting of girls' riots could, however, emphasise their spontaneity at the expense of suppressing evidence of forward-planning. In

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col. d.

[44]. Bleasdale Boys' Reformatory: Preston Herald (7 Feb. 1880), p. 5 col. b; (11 Feb. 1880), p. 7 col. c; and (14 Feb. 1880), p. 6 cols f-g.

relation to the Limpley Stoke Girls' Reformatory riot of 1873, for example, the reporter for The Bath Argus produced no evidence to support either a conclusion of premeditation or one of spontaneity. However, though he stated that 'hitherto smothered discontent assumed the form of open insurrection,' implying that the girls were harbouring deep-seated grievances,[45] he also emphasised that they 'broke out' into rebellion, suggesting that it was an impulsive response to a short-term factor: in this case the appointment of an unpopular laundry matron.[46]

This question of motive and pre-planned strategy links back to the issue of how female behaviour was interpreted in the light of ideas of mental instability and hysteria. Though, very rarely, the riots of boys might be described in the language of hysteria,[47] it was most often applied to girls. Reports of the uprising at May Place Reformatory in 1880 emphasised that the girls had been 'howling in the most frantic...[and] abominable manner', such that they had become 'utterly wild'. It was said by witnesses that they had been 'dancing, singing, and the rest, like mad creatures': indeed, 'as if it were a mad house' rather than a reformatory.[48] However, though their behaviour during the riot was described in language which emphasised the presence of hysteria,

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45. Limpley Stoke Reformatory: Bath Argus (26 July 1873), p. 5 col. c.

46. Limpley Stoke Reformatory: Bath Argus (2 Aug. 1873), p. 5 col.a. There is no comment on why the laundry matron was unpopular.

47. For example, in reports of the Mount St. Bernard riot, hysteria was hinted at in the descriptions of boys 'howling' and moving 'in a frantic manner': Leicester Chronicle (20 Nov. 1875), p. 5 col. f.

48. May Place Reformatory: The Times (3 Feb. 1880), p. 4; The Liverpool Daily Courier, (2 Feb. 1880), p. 3; L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letter 30 Jan. 1880, Richard Yates, honorary secretary, to Assistant Inspector Rogers.

the startling behaviour of these girls was not judged to be wholly indicative of a deeper-seated mental instability. It was, instead, interpreted more as a kind of 'mass incorrigibility'. The Honorary Secretary of the school was convinced that the girls had behaved outrageously by choice, not simply because they were under the influence of uncontrollable passions. He feared that the girls had risen up in the belief that they would be transferred to other, more congenial reformatories. Hoping to prevent the rioters reaping an anticipated benefit, he wrote anxiously to Assistant Inspector Henry Rogers that

> we think that [St Joseph's Reformatory] Sheffield is the school to which it is least desirable to transfer girls for the reason that those who return to May Place...may regard it as an advantage to be sent to Sheffield & may therefore misconduct themselves or make others in the hope of being removed thus.[49]

At least some managers then, unlike the newspaper reporters who sensationalised the outbreaks, accepted the notion of a riot which could be both 'hysterical' in expression, yet pre-planned and organised. One item over which the two groups did seem to agree, however, was the question of ring-leaders. All riots require some leadership if they are to have an impact on those against whom the riot is directed; but reports of girls' riots from all sources played down the significance of leaders. While reports of boys' riots usually named one or more individuals as ringleaders, specific girls were rarely identified. This may have been a reflection of delicacy on the part of the editors of newspapers, who were not, however, above printing the names of women 'outrageously assaulted' or participating in 'amusing breach of promise cases'. The suppression of the

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49. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letter 6 Apr. 1880, Yates to Rogers.

names of female leaders, with its implication that a leaderless outbreak was inevitably destined to disintegrate, may have been part of a policy to emphasise the harmlessness of girls' riots. Nevertheless, some found them threatening. Local residents of Limpley Stoke Reformatory were certainly anxious when they received news of the rebellion there, apparently expressing 'considerable alarm'.[50] Perhaps the horror of a girls' riot was caused by the deep chasm which separated such misbehaviour from the passive, obedient, feminine ideal.

A further means by which reportage of girls' riots failed to do them justice was in largely ignoring the possibility that the rioters could be engaging in misbehaviour for arguably justifiable reasons. Only the rioters at Limpley Stoke reformatory were reported as having clearly articulated grievances and it was, no doubt, the scandalous nature of their accusations which ensured they were mentioned in newspaper reports. The most prominent issue was a shortage of food:

> They...stated that they were kept on short food...The prisoners said they always were fed well just before the inspector or any other gentleman came there.

The magistrate treated the complaint sympathetically, suggesting that the government inspector, who was present at the trial, should investigate their claims.[51] Male rioters were more often reported to have excused their behaviour by linking it to a deep-seated sense of injustice. For example, the Bleasdale rioters defended their actions as a response to the unreasonable thrashing of a boy named Wilkinson by the schoolmaster for defective knowledge

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50. The Record, quoted in R&RJ, lix (1873), p. 100.

51. Limpley Stoke Reformatory: Bath Argus (2 Aug. 1873), p. 5 col. a.

of mental arithmetic.[52] One inmate stated in his defence that

> he wanted to get away as the schoolmaster was thrashing them for nothing...There was never a night passed without five or six of the lads being thrashed, some for nothing, and some for talking.[53]

During this riot, one of the officers was chased with a knife.[54]

At May Place Reformatory, it was quite clear that the girls were simply taking advantage of a change in management.[55] Indeed weak management was a common cause of trouble in reformatories and industrial schools. Inspector Sydney Turner attributed the mass disturbances at a number of schools to the incompetence of school staff and the inability of the schools to find officers of the right calibre. Discussing the disturbances at Limpley Stoke Reformatory, Sydney Turner stated that he did

> not think that the chief officers of the school have sufficient moral influence or authority, and without these elements the institution will always be liable to disturbance.[56]

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52. The schoolmaster was temporarily in charge due to the death of the superintendent, Mr Grant King. PP 1881 [C. 3004] LIII pp. 16, 73 (24th Annual Report).

53. Bleasdale Boys' Reformatory: Preston Herald (14 Feb. 1880), p. 6 col. g. For similar defence at Duke Street Reformatory, see Glasgow Evening News (8 Apr. 1878), p. 3 col. b. Also at Mount St. Bernard Reformatory in 1878, see PP 1878-9 [C. 2412] XXXVI p. 69 (22nd Annual Report).

54. Bleasdale Boys' Reformatory: R&RJ, xcvii (1880), p. 160. For similar incident on the Clarence in 1886, see L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/3, minutes, Committee meetings 1 Feb. and 9 Aug. 1886.

55. May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/1, letter 30 Jan. 1880, Richard Yates to Assistant Inspector Henry Rogers.

56. Limpley Stoke Reformatory: PP 1874 [C. 1058] XXVIII p. 555 (17th Annual Report). See also Doncaster Girls' Reformatory: PP 1877 [C. 1796] XLII p. 549 (20th Annual Report); May Place Reformatory: PP 1881 [C. 3004] LIII p. 77 (24th Annual Report); Duke Street Boys' Reformatory: PP 1878 [C. 2117] XLII pp. 351-3 (21st Annual Report); Bleasdale Boys' Reformatory: PP 1881 [C. 2117]

In 1876, three inmates of the Kent County Industrial School for Girls, Greenwich, amid 'much restlessness and bad feeling among the girls,' attempted to burn down the school by setting fire to a mattress.[57] Turner blamed the school officers who had been recklessly 'engaged in undermining each others authority and influence, regardless of their plain duty and responsibility.'[58] The inspector believed that girls were just as liable as boys to take advantage of temporary weakness among the staff as an opportunity to rebel against authority. For example, he noted that in October 1866, Toxteth Park Reformatory had experienced

> an outbreak of insubordination among a number of girls...more due to the mismanagement and want of judgement of the officers of the school than to any specially bad conduct or riotous disposition

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LIII pp. 16, 73 (24th Annual Report); and Leith Industrial School: PP 1881 [C. 2117] LIII p. 228 (24th Annual Report).

57. Kent County C.I.S.: R&RJ, lxxi (1876), p. 66. Two or three girls tried to set fire to the Lisson Street Training Refuge, Marylebone: PP 1867-8 [C. 4066] XXXVI p. 305 (11th Annual Report); R&RJ, xxxv (1867), p. 47. In 1879, a thirteen-year-old inmate of the King Edward Industrial School at Mile End, New Town, committed arson by setting fire to a teacher's dress box and placing it under a bed: R&RJ, xc (1879), p. 72; PP 1880 [C. 2680] XXXVI p. 181 (23rd Annual Report). Arson attacks were not unknown in the boy's institutions, especially school ships. e.g., in Jan. 1874, 5 boys from the Southampton (industrial) training ship were charged before Hull Police Court with attempting to fire the ship by building fires, spreading oil about, and attempting to light a cask of tar: R&RJ, lxii (1874), p. 228; PP 1875 [C. 1311] XXXVI p. 644 (18th Annual Report); The Times (23 Jan. 1874), p. 10, col. f. The ship was again partially burned in 1879, on which occasion the arsonists were sentenced to one month in prison plus five years in a reformatory: Hull & Lincolnshire Times (29 Nov. 1879), p. 7 col. f, (6 Dec. 1879), p. 7 col. g; R&RJ, xcvi (1880), p. 147; PP 1880 [C. 2680] XXXVII p. 198 (23rd Annual Report). See also PP 1881 [C. 3004] LIII p. 16 (24th Annual Report) for arson on the Clarence.

58. Kent County C.I.S.: PP 1877 [C. 1796] XLII p. 588 (20th Annual Report).

among the girls.[59]

The implication was that while the girls had not planned to break-out as a group, given a poverty of authority on the part of the officers, the girls had made the most of their opportunities.

The final difference between boys' and girls' riots that boys were more likely than girls to abscond *en masse* during a riot, or to create a riot solely in order to allow them to abscond. The clearest example of this is the huge riot which took place at Mount St. Bernard's Roman Catholic Reformatory in 1875. At the time of the government inspector's visit, in July, there had been 'an undercurrent of discontent and unruliness which boded ill for the school.'[60] The riot was prepared in advance by a group of older inmates, who started it by giving a signal to the others to rebel on Saturday evening on the way to chapel. The boys 'rushed about in a frantic manner' while 'the ringleaders kept shouting and howling.' Several armed themselves with coal to throw at their pursuers.[61] About 160 boys absconded, some apparently compelled to do so by their elder comrades. They dispersed about Leicestershire, but most were recovered within twenty-four hours.[62]

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59. Toxteth Park Girls' Reformatory: PP 1867 [3889] XXXVI p. 681 (10th Annual Report).

60. Mount St Bernard's Boys' Reformatory: PP 1876 [C. 1534] XXXIV p. 539 (19th Annual Report).

61. Mount St Bernard's Boys' Reformatory: Leicester Chronicle (20 Nov. 1875), p. 5, col. f.

62. Mount St Bernard's Boys' Reformatory: Burton Chronicle (18 Nov. 1875), p. 2, col. e; Derby & Chesterfield Reporter (19 Nov. 1875), p. 2, col. c; R&RJ, lxx (1876), p. 35; PP 1876 [C. 1534] XXXIV p. 538 (19th Annual Report).

In contrast, girls would sometimes shut themselves into a part of the reformatory building or occupy a particular space and refuse to move. During the riot at Limpley Stoke Girls' Reformatory, for example, amid general discontent, eleven of the laundry girls - about a seventh of the school - led an open insurrection, eight barricading themselves into a dormitory. But, unlike the boys at Mount St. Bernard, the girls seem to have made no attempt to abscond or to injure the school staff. Police were called and twenty four officers arrived to deal with the rebellion.[63] A further example is furnished by Doncaster Girls' Reformatory. In July 1876, Inspector Inglis noted 'a mutinous tone' in the school which ended in 'a general outbreak, nearly the whole of the girls turning out into the grounds, and conducting themselves in a most riotous manner, breaking some of the windows and doing other damage.' The girls obstinately refused to go back into the house, but they did not attempt to run away.[64]

In some respects, these latter kinds of action could be seen as more defiant than simply absconding, for they kept the evidence of blatant insubordination on the authority's territory. Boys, by absconding, left the scene of authority's humiliation and so were not engaged in such a flagrant denial of discipline. When caught, escaped boys seem to have submitted quietly to disciplinary action, whereas recaptured girls continued to defy their school

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[63]. Limpley Stoke Reformatory: Bath Argus (26 July 1873), p. 5 col. c and (2 Aug. 1873), p. 5 col. a.; Bath Chronicle (31 July 1873), p. 5 col. e; PP 1874 [C. 1058] XXVIII p. 554 (17th Annual Report).

[64]. Doncaster Girls' Reformatory: PP 1877 [C. 1796] XLII p. 549 (20th Annual Report).

officers verbally and even physically up to and including appearances in court.[65]

This saucy attitude adopted by the girls may have contributed towards the severity adopted by magistrates called upon to judge female rioters. The maximum prison sentence possible for insubordination, or 'wilful refusal to conform to the Rules of the school', which covered 'breakouts' as well as riot, was three months with hard labour.[66] While 'breakouts' were treated almost as amusing distractions which should not come before a court, rioters were considered dangerous and were to be punished accordingly. It appears from the small sample available that female rioters consistently received more severe sentences than their male counterparts.

The Limpley Stoke rioters were given sentences ranging from seven days to three months in gaol, with hard labour;[67] five girls from Doncaster received sentences from one to three months with hard labour;[68] and fourteen May Place girls also received three months imprisonment with hard labour.[69] The male rioters from Carlisle Reformatory certainly received exceptionally harsh sentences, ranging from eighteen months to fourteen days with hard labour, but it should be remembered that that riot had witnessed exceptional scenes of

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65. e.g. Limpley Stoke Reformatory: Bath Argus (2 Aug. 1873), p. 5 col. a.

66. Reformatories: 29 & 30 Vict. c.117, section 20. Industrial Schools: 29 & 30 Vict. c.118, section 32.

67. Limpley Stoke Reformatory: Bath Argus (2 Aug. 1873), p. 5 col. a.

68. Doncaster Girls' Reformatory: R&RJ, lxxiii (1876), p. 134.

69. May Place Reformatory: The Times (3 Feb. 1880), p. 4.

violence directed against the governor.[70] Otherwise, the sentences imposed on rioting boys were considerably shorter than those on the girls; for example, twenty days for the offenders from Leith Industrial School. The rioters at Mount St. Bernard were not even taken before a magistrate, the school authorities choosing instead to birch all the offenders over a period of two days.[71]

(iii) Conclusion

The actions of both sexes in riot situations were described in much the same terms. In their riots boys shouted and swore, threw furniture, broke crockery and smashed windows. So did girls. When a riot took place in a girls' school it created as much fear among the staff and as much destruction of property as in one for boys. Moreover, girls' uprisings seem to have been thought more terrible than those of boys, for there was an acceptance that boys were inherently volatile and boisterous, whereas girls were expected to be submissive and obedient. Such a model was, after all, the aim of the training and socialization which wayward girls received in reformatory and industrial schools. There was a fairly widespread recognition that females were more difficult to

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70. Carlisle Boys' Reformatory: R&RJ, civ (1880), p. 224.

71. Leith Industrial School: Leith Burghs Pilot (2 Oct. 1880), p. 3 col. c. Mount St Bernard's Boys' Reformatory: Leicester Chronicle (20 Nov. 1875), p. 5 col. f.

deal with in institutions than males;[72] but, despite this, riotous girls seem to have been considered a far more horrifying spectacle than rebelling boys.

The way in which insubordinate girls were treated by the courts indicates that they were sometimes regarded as being as dangerous as boys. The fact that their mass uprisings could have rational motivations and ringleaders, though the existence of these may have been suppressed in the reportage, indicates that girls were as capable of wilful action and a denial of authority as were males. It is not possible glibly to conclude, as convention might have it, that such girls were being carried away by their emotions. These girls could choose to express their frustration and dissatisfaction either individually or in unison. When they did so, the authorities feared the potential consequences of, and attempted firmly to suppress, their gestures of independence, as if the girls' riots were as threatening to life, limb, and social order as were the boys' - which seems not to have been the case. The rioting of the 'gentler sex' was, no doubt, utterly abhorrent to the school managers and their public in a way which was not true of male uprisings. It was, perhaps, seen to pose the greater threat to the perceived natural and moral order of society.

Wayward girls who created disturbances as individuals were often, though not invariably, viewed as mentally deranged. Girls acting together in a substantial breakout were less likely to be thought of as manifesting psychological disturbance, though the language of hysteria was casually employed by those reporting events, perhaps to make them more understandable to others.

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[72]. e.g. Showalter, The Female Malady, p. 81. House of Lords 1847 (49) XXIV p. 301.

Subsequent to a mass disturbance, girls were dealt with on the same terms as boys, that is, as calculating and refractory. The courts seem to have agreed with the aggrieved managers and staff that all rioters had to be dealt with severely by the law in order to deter those who might copy them. A breakdown of order could not be tolerated and so the sex of the people involved was largely immaterial.

In the context of isolated, individual breakouts, gender expectations were much more important. Femininity, to Victorian middle-class commentators, was characterised by a nature which was calm, obedient and submissive, yet at the same time easily excited and overwrought. This inability to withstand stress, together with the perceived tendency of females to respond to events emotionally rather than intellectually, was seen to be an inherent part of femininity itself. The 'breakout' was a rejection of the ideals of obedience and good manners. If a girl 'broke out' she was rejecting the finer attributes of femininity, and had therefore succumbed to her baser instincts, which, paradoxically, was also feminine, as it was a sign of mental illness. But there was a point at which femininity was not an excuse for misbehaviour and it became interpreted as arising from a wilful wickedness which marred the child's character. Losing the shelter of preconceptions about her biological feminine nature, the 'incorrigible' girl was exposed to treatment more on a par with that meted out to unruly boys.

Chapter Nine

Towards Model Working-Class Femininity: Education and Industrial Training

(i) The Purpose of Education

There is little doubt that elementary education aimed at working-class girls and boys was arranged in accordance with the preconceptions held by higher social classes in relation to both gender and class. A working-class girl's education was designed to prepare her for a life of private domesticity in her own home or as a servant in someone else's.[1] A working-class boy's education prepared him to be a family breadwinner, earning money and respectability through the steady pursuit of manual occupations. It is true that the ideology behind the education offered by reformatory and industrial schools differed little from that of Board and other day schools for the working-classes, but, because of their residential nature, certified schools reflected that ideology in a more intense form.

As in so many other areas of public policy, a major influence on reformatory and industrial school education was the concept of 'less eligibility'.

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[1]. See, for example, Deborah Gorham, 'The Ideology of Femininity and Reading for Girls, 1850-1914,' in Lessons for Life: the Schooling of Girls and Women (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1981), (ed) Felicity Hunt, pp. 39-59; Meg Gomersall, 'Ideals and Realities: the Education of Working-Class Girls, 1800-1870,' History of Education, 17 (1988), pp. 37-53 [hereafter Gomersall, 'Ideals and Realities']; and Carol Dyhouse, 'Towards a "Feminine" Curriculum for English Schoolgirls: The Demands of Ideology, 1870-1963,' Women's Studies International Quarterly, 1 (1978), pp. 291-311.

Many contemporaries believed that children who found their way into reformatory or industrial schools should not be educated to a level above that of their free, honest counterparts, else a 'premium' would be placed upon crime. It was feared that this would lead to parents encouraging their offspring to commit offences in the expectation that they would then be given a good start to life at the expense of the tax-payer. Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools T.B. Brown declared that

> it is unjust to teach trades to children in reformatories, or to give them such an intellectual education as would raise them above the necessity of manual labour;... the object in view is to make them useful agricultural labourers, sailors, soldiers, or domestic servants, and above all to impress upon them the distinction between right and wrong, to give then sound moral and religious education, not that kind of knowledge which has a marketable value.[2]

Inspector Jelinger Symons agreed, declaring that he believed 'school instruction' to be 'the least important of all the elements of reformation' and arguing that secular instruction should be offered principally as a reward and a privilege earned by good behaviour.[3] Matthew Davenport-Hill was adamant that the object of reformatory education was 'not to raise them [the inmates] out of the rank to which they were born.'[4] Inspector Sydney Turner also favoured this conservative view, writing in 1857, of his hopes that:

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2. PP 1857 (sess. 2) [2238] XXXIII p. 1004 (Report by H.M. Inspectors of Schools on Workhouse and Reformatory Schools). Before the creation of the Reformatories Office in 1857, reformatories were inspected by the ordinary Inspectors of Schools.

3. PP 1857 (sess. 2) [2238] XXXIII pp. 1081-2 (Report by H.M. Inspectors on Workhouse and Ref. Schools).

4. Matthew Davenport-Hill, Practical Suggestions...in a Letter to... Lord Brougham, pp. 6-7.

> in time all children under detention will be...instructed in so much of economic science as may make them understand the duties and relations of the labourer and mechanic to his employers, and the true conditions of their own welfare and industrial life.[5]

From waking to sleeping, inmates were to be subjected to a regime designed to put them in their place and keep them there.

However, a tension existed within the certified school system which challenged the 'less eligibility' argument. It would, indeed, have been felt both hopeless and inappropriate to try to raise stigmatised reformatory boys and girls out of the working-classes, but those organising and managing the schools aimed to use their powers to engage in some more modest social engineering. Reformatory and industrial school inmates were not to be raised out of their class, but were to be raised within it: from the residuum to respectability. This move from deviance and dishonesty to conformity and veracity was, after all, the overt objective of the certified schools.

Managers aimed to facilitate this upward social movement by concentrating on skills and information which they thought would be of greatest use to their charges after release. It was hoped that a good general training for work and life would be provided by a blend of religious instruction, industrial work and secular education. In relation to girls, gender expectations ensured that primacy was given to attainment of various 'domestic arts'. This meant that, until the eighteen-nineties at least, priority in time and resources was allotted to industrial training, from which managers believed that their girls would be guaranteed to derive an honest living in their future adult lives. In

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[5]. PP 1857-8 [2426] XXIX p. 820 (1st Annual Report).

addition, numerous workers in reformatory and industrial schools, not least Mary Carpenter, stated their belief that such experience as girls gained in the schools would also fit them for their future roles as wives and mothers.[6] The industrial training at the Northumberland Village Homes was openly described as 'instruction in household duties, which are strictly such as a woman would have to discharge in a poor man's home' and was intended to be training which would enable the girls 'to be useful according to their standing and abilities.'[7] Unfortunately, the training provided was not necessarily related to the needs of the labour market or, indeed, the realities of homemaking. As will become apparent, the rhetoric of managers and the experiences of inmates did not always match, and there was continuous tension between the needs of the inmates and those of the institutions.

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6. B.R.O. 12693/30: Mary Carpenter, Suggestions on the Management of Reformatories (1864), p. 9.

7. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/44, printed circular describing formation of the Homes, 1879; PP 1884 [C. 4147] XLIV p. 220. See also the comments of the Bishop of Newcastle in 1882, praising the Homes for not over-educating the girls: Hayward, James Hall (vol 2), p. 227. Also Anon [Miss Poole?], 'Our Young Servants', Longman's Magazine, 25 (1894-5), p. 644; and Open Doors (Nov. 1888), p. 110. The domestic ideology remained a potent force in twentieth-century girls' residential institutions: see Meda Chesney-Lind, 'Judicial Paternalism and the Female Status Offender: Training Women to Know Their Place,' Crime & Delinquency, 23 (1977), pp. 121-130, in which she describes a school which, in 1972, still supplied 'training' in 'domestic skills' and 'beauty culture' with a view to producing model home-makers.

(ii) Industrial Training

The male inmates of reformatory and industrial schools engaged in a range of 'industrial' pursuits, encompassing, over the course of the decades, wood-chopping, tailoring, farming, gardening, shoe-making, printing, and naval skills. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, managers believed that boys needed to be prepared for one of a wide range of trades and occupations suitable to their social station in life, though it was accepted that it was not necessarily the case that inmates would go into the trades for which they had been specifically trained.[8] Secondly, the occupations in which the boys were engaged were chosen for being lucrative and thus of general benefit to their reformatory or industrial school. Certified schools were always in need of income, despite receiving a guaranteed Treasury grant, and it was principally to inmate labour that the managers turned to make up the financial short-fall.

The industrial occupations selected for reformatory and industrial girls were also chosen on the basis of the same criteria. The range of work pursuits offered to girls was far narrower than that on offer among boys' schools and all were selected for being both money-making and appropriate to the girls' gender and social class. In addition, industrial training formed part of the disciplinary regime of the institution, ensuring that the inmates were constantly

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[8]. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV pp. 49-50 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools); Sheff. A.S. MD 7138/8/125, letter 3 July 1864, Revd James Nugent to R. J. Gainsford. For example of agricultural labouring, see Anon, 'In a Reformatory School,' Chamber's Journal, 69 (1892), pp. 637-9. For other trades, see R&RJ, throughout: e.g. R&RJ (Xmas issue, 1887), pp. 420-1. The Journal carried many comments and articles on boys' trades.

busy, easily supervised and generally exhausted. Only two areas of work fully satisfied all these requirements: laundrywork and needlework. Other kinds of industrial work were merely ephemeral experiments by comparison.[9]

Apart from religious instruction, laundrywork was arguably the single most important component in the girls' school time-table. All except the very smallest, youngest girls would be involved, though it generally absorbed more and more of a girl's time as she grew older. The main reason for this was that the type of washing undertaken in reformatories and industrial schools to generate profit was generally of the roughest kind, often the bedding and clothes of the neighbouring boys' institutions. Such heavy work required physical strength which many of the younger girls simply did not possess. Sometimes local residents, prepared to take the risk of damage to their property, would send their linen to a reformatory or industrial school laundry for the benefit of their discount prices.[10] However, few delicate lace flounces passed through the

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9. Nursery work was possible at the Princess Mary Village Homes: PP 1876 [C. 1534] XXXIV p. 623 (19th Annual Report), and other inspector's reports. Agricultural labour was anticipated at Arno's Court R.C. Reformatory: G.S.Prov, R-15/10, Rules 6 (2). (Sewing) Machine work was taught to those 'adapted for it' at Hampstead Reformatory: PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 216 (Minutes of evidence, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). Hampstead Reformatory also provided instruction in cookery (ibid.). However, until the turn of the century, this was the exception rather than the rule. An appendix to the Departmental Committee report of 1896 gives a table showing the provision of cookery teaching in girls' schools: PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV pp. 285-6 (Minutes of evidence, Dept. C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). The entry for Ipswich Reformatory reveals that it was taught as a reward for good behaviour and hard work in other areas of 'industrial training'.

10. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/7, minutes, Committee meeting 22 Dec. 1881, noting decline in laundrywork due to rumours of damage and poor standards; B.R.O. 12693/7, minutes, Committee meeting 21 Sept. 1882, discussing compensation for customers' clothes destroyed by laundry fire, possibly arson; and B.R.O. 12693/7, minutes, Committee meeting 23 July 1885, compensation of

hands of these trainee laundresses.

Laundrywork as taught in the certified schools was technically undemanding and unlike the kind of washing which girls would be called upon to perform in private households or private laundries. As such, it was a poor preparation for anything other than a career as a laundrymaid in a public laundry. This deficiency did not go entirely unnoticed. Towards the end of the century, Mr Robertson, the government Sub-Inspector, cast doubt on the merits of rough washing as training, arguing that far from being beneficial, 'it is calculated to give the girls a distaste for work'.[11] However, it continued to be a staple of 'industrial training' into the twentieth century.[12]

Needlework, both 'plain' and 'fancy' (i.e. embroidery) and including darning and knitting, was the only other item seriously vying for space in the time-table. It took up many hours of each day for every girl, whatever her age, and whatever her other occupations.[13] A well developed skill with the needle was thought an essential part of every well-trained feminine woman's character

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£3 agreed for damage to customer's bed linen.

11. Stockport Industrial School: Stock.A.S. B/W/7/1/2, Visitors' Book, 9 Feb. 1897.

12. Barnett, Young Delinquents, pp. 139-144, describes a system of training almost identical to that of the nineteenth century.

13. In this, the reformatory system girl was no worse off than her counterpart in the ordinary elementary school. From 1862 onwards, needlework had to be taught to girls in elementary schools if grants were to be given by the Treasury in accordance with the Revised Code. This often replaced arithmetic for girls; thus it seems that the pursuits of the ordinary female pupil may not have been that different to those of detained girls: J. Lawson & H. Silver, A Social History of Education in England (1973), p. 286. The National Society expected its schools to have girls engaged in needlework for half of every day: Gomersall, 'Ideals and Realities,' p. 45.

as it combined discipline with cleanliness and the promise of thrifty behaviour. Moreover, like laundrywork, needlework was particularly beneficial to a reformatory or industrial school for the income it could generate. Many institutions engaged in large scale shirt, stocking and cap making. Carefully organised, it was possible to combine this with other, smaller, money-making activities. It is quite clear that these young girls were kept very busy. For example, in the late eighteen-eighties, the Cold Ash Home had caps on offer for sixpence a piece, producing 280 for sale in one month alone. In addition, the girls made jam, selling at fivepence a pound.[14] The Charlotte Street Industrial School made socks, marmalade and potted meat for sale; Sloane Street produced servants' underwear; and Stanhope House made bread.[15] In 1901, the inmates of the Northumberland Village Homes made 400 white shirts - about four per girl - every week, plus other garments 'beyond numerical calculation.'[16] Some schools offered their wares through advertisements placed in magazines such as the Reformatory and Refuge Journal, while others organised regular orders from institutions. Most depended on local sympathy to generate sales, though it was always emphasised that the goods for sale were value for money.

The income generated by girls' laundry, needle and other industrial work could be a very important part of the financing of a school. For instance,

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14. Cold Ash Industrial School: Our Waifs & Strays (July 1889), p. 4; and (Dec. 1889), p. 13.

15. Charlotte Street and Sloane Street Industrial Schools, London; and Stanhope House C.I.S., Bristol: Thirteenth Report of the Reformatory & Refuge Union (1869), pp. 31, 33, 42.

16. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/87, George Luckley, A Monograph (1901), pp. 32-3.

in 1870, the managers of Gem Street Industrial School spent £1579 4s. 9d. with £451 14s. 9d. of the school's income coming from the labour of the inmates.[17] At Red Lodge Reformatory, industrial profits were, from 1885, always only second in importance to the Treasury grant in the finances of the institution.[18] These were by no means isolated examples.

Unfortunately for financial stability, profits from inmate labour were highly variable. A few schools were able consistently to create sufficient profits to reduce the cost of maintenance per head by two or three pounds per annum.[19] Other schools occasionally experienced a loss. In 1871, the mean industrial profit of sixteen girls' reformatories was £175 5s. 7d., an average concealing a range from £469 12s. 2d. profit to £38 7s. 5d. loss. To take a further example, in 1876, an average profit of £251 19s. 6d., for sixteen schools, disguised a range from £650 13s. 5d. to only £54 16s. 7d.[20] The profits (or losses) sustained by each school depended very much on its location, for example, in a town or near other institutions, and upon the age of the inmates. The industrial work of girls' reformatories tended to be more profitable than that of industrial schools for girls, largely because the inmates were older and stronger and spent a very great part of their time in laundrywork. Reformatory

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17. Gem Street C.I.S.: B.C.L. MS 994/228, 21st Annual Report, pp. 3, 10-11.

18. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/5, annual accounts, 1885-1901.

19. For example, PP 1882 [C. 3352] XXXV p. 90 (25th Annual Report), Warwickshire Girls' Reformatory reducing by £3 per head; pp. 99-100, Doncaster Girls' Reformatory by £2 per head; and p. 55, Sunderland Girls' Reformatory by £6 per head.

20. Figures for industrial profits calculated using the annual published inspector's reports.

laundrywork was also more consistently profitable than any industrial work undertaken in boys' certified schools.

Central to laundrywork, needlework and housework, the three principal areas of 'industrial training' selected for girls, was an insistence on cleanliness and an involvement with processes of purification. If ever a set of organisations held that cleanliness was next to godliness, it was the schools of the reformatory system. Scrubbing away at floors and furniture, washing, whitening and ironing clothes, the girls were engaged in a fight against dirt and disorder. Mary Carpenter had no doubt of the importance of cleanliness as a part of the 'moral training' of the inmates of Red Lodge.[21] She summarised her beliefs by stating that

> Personal cleanliness must form [a] great object in the general arrangements of such schools; and not only for the obvious reasons of regard to appearance and the sanitary condition, but because it produces a direct moral influence...
>
> Nor should the cleanliness inculcated be a merely external one; it should be connected as much as possible in the child's mind with that feeling of purity which is essential to holiness, and he [*sic*] should be led to regard it not as a mere habit, but as a sacred duty.[22]

Needlework reinforced the virtue of cleanliness since it required clean hands, as did cookery which also required a hygienic environment, to be achieved by the application of water and soap in housework. As the girls scrubbed away at the dirt and physical impurities around them, they were symbolically scrubbing away

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21. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/3, Rules & Regulations [1854?], pp. 7, 15.

22. Carpenter, Reformatory Schools, pp. 80-1.

their own faults.[23] The process of decontamination, experienced by all on their first day in the school, was unrelenting, and attempts were made to engage the minds of the inmates in actively pursuing the link between physical, mental, and spiritual purity.[24]

(iii) Religion

Occupation in the laundry and workroom was not, however, all the education that it was incumbent upon the reformatory system to provide for its female charges. Instruction had two strands besides industrial training: the religious or moral, and the secular or intellectual. The statement of objectives published in 1856 by the newly formed evangelical Reformatory and Refuge Union suggested that industrial, religious and secular training were to be viewed together as constituent parts of a greater whole, but it is clear that primacy was given to religious understanding. The general aim of the Union was:

> To promote the religious, intellectual, and industrial education of the inmates of such institutions; and, without interfering in their management, to encourage those who conduct them in every effort

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23. Leonore Davidoff, 'Mastered for Life: Servant, Wife and Mother in Victorian and Edwardian England,' Journal of Social History, 7 (1974), p. 413-14, notes the dichotomy between dirt/vice and cleanliness/virtue in Victorian thought; and that women guilty of sexual relations outside marriage were enclosed and submitted to "anti-pollution rites".

24. See, for example, Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/23, Rules, 1894, no. 20, urging house mothers 'to endeavour in every way to inculcate the spirit of truthfulness, obedience, and habits of cleanliness, and to instil into the minds of the children the importance of always maintaining their self respect.'

to elevate and reclaim the neglected and criminal class, by educating them in the fear of God and the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.[25]

Proper religious education, leading to Christian understanding, was generally believed vital for ensuring the success of reformatory and industrial schools. Managers firmly believed that industrial and secular education might provide the hitherto wayward inmates with a means to live honestly and respectably, but only religious training could provide them with a reason and justification for doing so. Prior to the creation of the certified school system in the eighteen-fifties, writers on juvenile delinquency had generally agreed that ignorance was a fundamental contributor to criminality, and drew attention to the finding that many adult criminals were totally devoid of schooling. However, these writers also agreed that to teach the three R's alone was not enough: any moderately acute person could pick up the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic, but without moral education such skills would simply produce more effective criminals able to perpetrate an even wider range of offences.[26] Effective religious instruction was, therefore, considered to be of enormous importance. It was also apparent that lessons on reading and writing could be used quite effectively to transmit religious and scriptural information: indeed, there is much evidence that religious subjects were regularly used for dictation

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[25]. Liv.U.A. D239/D6/4/A2, statement of objectives 1856, no page number.

[26]. Antrobus, The Prison and the School, p. 13; Carpenter, Reformatory Schools, p. 27; Anon [J. Hannay], 'Lambs to be Fed,' Household Words, 3 (1851), pp. 544-49; Frederic Hill, Crime: Its Amount, Causes & Remedies (John Murray, London, 1853), p. 36; Anon, 'Reformatory Schools,' The Ladies Companion and Monthly Magazine, 1 (Jan. 1852), pp. 16-18.

and other lessons which might appear, from face value, to have been secular.[27]

The leading reformatory worker, Mary Carpenter, was a firm believer in the power of scripture to reform the girls under her control at Red Lodge. Although the daily school time-table she drew up in 1854 allotted a substantial period of time to industrial work, the religious principle pervaded all the activities of the day. About two and a half hours a day were to be used for religious education and exercises, with prayers at the start and end of every day. But, in addition, the 'regular intellectual training', which would also have included some biblical material, filled three hours a day.[28] Even though Miss Carpenter employed a schoolmistress, she enjoyed giving some of the lessons herself, as she felt that her personal influence over the children was an important factor in keeping them orderly. She liked, above all else, to teach scripture and geography, partly because these could be taught as related subjects.[29] Under the guise of an examination of the general schooling of twenty-one pupils before a party of interested ladies and gentlemen in 1855, Miss Carpenter required the girls to read from the Bible, sing and recite hymns, answer questions on the history and geography of the Holy Land, and show

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[27]. It should be stressed that not only was this thought to be the most appropriate type of subject matter in reformatories, but it was also considered appropriate for ragged school and ordinary elementary school pupils at this time. See J.S. Hurt, Education in Evolution: Church, State, Society, and Popular Education, 1800-1870 (Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1971), pp. 23-5, 35-7, 69, 202-5; and Humphries, Hooligans or Rebels?, pp. 33-41.

[28]. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/3, Rules & Regulations [1854?], pp. 5, 8.

[29]. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O.12693/1, journal entry 28 Dec. 1855, p. 14.

knowledge of the gospels: demonstrating quite graphically how the time given over to 'intellectual education' could be commandeered by the demands of religious instruction.[30]

By 1860, the managers of the Devon and Exeter Reformatory had also placed religious instruction at the centre of the reformatory process. Instruction in reading and writing already used the Acts of the Apostles as the text, and the geography lesson was based on Palestine.[31] Lady visitors were appointed, first to give instruction on scripture on a casual basis, and then to give regular instruction to classes every Saturday afternoon.[32] Such ladies would also read to girls engaged in their industrial labours from worthy books, such as The Pilgrim's Progress, for their edification.[33] Well behaved girls were given the privilege of attending a Sunday morning service at the local church, in addition to the evening worship which was led by the school chaplain.[34] Sir John Kennaway succinctly explained the aims of the school with regard to the moral reformation of the children by declaring to the annual general meeting that

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[30]. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/23, newspaper clipping from the Bristol Mercury, 5 Jan. 1856.

[31]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/1, matron's journal, entries 30 July and 5 Aug. 1858.

[32]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: PP 1860 [2688] XXXV p. 799 (3rd Annual Report); D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting 18 April 1860.

[33]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/6, visitors' journal, 16 and 21 Sept. 1858.

[34]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: PP 1860 [2688] XXXV p. 799 (3rd Annual Report).

> when the inmates of this house were sent out into the world, acting on Christian principles, indulging Christian hopes, and setting a Christian example, the benefit to society could not be measured by mortal rules - and was known only to the great Searcher of Hearts.[35]

However, there was a tension between such apparently strongly held opinions as these and practical concerns. When the schoolmistress had attempted to broaden the education she offered to inmates, the managers admonished her, insisting that, amongst other restraints, geography lessons were to be used solely for the illustration of scripture.[36] Yet, within a year, the managers had decided to discontinue the Saturday afternoon scripture lessons in favour of increased industrial labour.[37]

At Arno's Court, as would be expected in a school run by a religious order, religious education was even more pervasive. The rules stated that between eight and nine hours a day were to be used for industrial work, with one and a half to two hours devoted to both religious and all other forms of instruction. When the list of 'other' subjects is considered, encapsulating as it did reading, writing, grammar, dictation, mental arithmetic, cyphering, geography, map of England, and anything else thought 'of practical utility', it is apparent that the coverage of non-religious subjects could only be, in a period of an hour or so, fairly cursory. In addition, on festival days and Sundays, the

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35. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/A1/1, newspaper clipping, report of 1860 A.G.M..

36. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting 16 Dec. 1863. 'Less eligibility' was, of course, also a factor in determining this directive.

37. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meeting 16 Mar. 1864.

eight or so hours usually given over to industrial work were used for religious instruction; and every meal and lesson was to begin and end with prayer.[38]

In such schools, the religious education was central to the disciplinary and educational regime, and, despite the increasing secularization of society, instruction in the tenets of their faith was never displaced from a position of prime importance.[39] This was as true of the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society homes and of the Princess Mary Village Home, which was run by Mrs Meredith's evangelical sisterhood, as it was of the Roman Catholic schools. However, the latter were particularly inspired to religious zeal because of their sometimes hostile relationship with the Protestant majority. Clearly, the Catholics often felt defensive and besieged. Even the integrity of the government inspector was not held to be above suspicion. Sydney Turner was particularly open to attack as he was an Anglican minister.[40] He engaged in a brief struggle with the Arno's Court authorities over his right to examine the girls on their catechism, but was eventually forced to capitulate for fear of causing embarrassment.[41] The appointment of an Anglican minister as government inspector presumably reflected the concerns of many of the early

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38. Arno's Court Reformatory: G.S.Prov. R-15/10, Rules, Section 4 (5)(10)(17), Section 7 (9).

39. On secularisation, see Owen Chadwick, The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge University Press, 1975).

40. For a strong attack on Turner, see Anon, 'Reformatory Schools,' Dublin Review, 3 (1864), pp. 455-482. See also Sheff. A.S. MD 7138/10/72, letter 10 July 1866, R.J. Gainsford to Revd Cookson of Liverpool.

41. Arno's Court Reformatory: G.S.Prov. 2/2 (1)(1), letter 29 Nov. 1858, Bishop Clifford to Sydney Turner; 2/2 (2)(1), letter 3 Dec. 1858, Clifford to Turner; 2/2 (3), letter 13 Sept. 1859, Sister Superioress to Bishop Clifford.

reformatory campaigners - of whom Turner was himself, of course, one of the most prominent - and guided the formation of priorities in the schools. He was in no doubt that no school could be deemed satisfactory in which the inmates were not well taught in spiritual knowledge.[42]

(iv) 'Intellectual' Education

Throughout the Victorian period, schoolroom instruction in non-religious subjects seems to have been regarded as a second-class pursuit, always apt to be abandoned if extra industrial work appeared at short notice or a special event was arranged to disrupt the usual daily schedule. This willingness to forsake mental education in favour of, in particular, lucrative industrial work, contributed to a poor level of achievement throughout the reformatory and industrial schools for girls.[43]

The inferior position of non-religious classroom education in the certified schools went largely unchallenged by the inspectorate until the eighteen-nineties, and even then the inspectors continued to show an ambivalent attitude towards its importance. The first important event to shake the complacency of the reformatory sector was the delivery of a scathing attack

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42. Arno's Court Reformatory: G.S.Prov. 2/2 (1)(2), letter 1 Dec. 1858, Sydney Turner to Bishop Clifford.

43. PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 16, para. 16 (Report, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 46 (Report, Dept. C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools): Assistant Inspector Henry Rogers asserted that 'in girls' schools the industrial work is more apt to encroach on the time for education' than in boys' schools.

upon its educational provisions by George Ricks, Inspector for the London School Board. In a highly critical report, Ricks noted that reformatory and industrial schools were supposed to adhere to two requirements, firstly, that schoolwork should take up three hours a day, and secondly, that instruction should be in a range of elementary subjects. He claimed that the schools systematically set one or both of these requirements aside and failed to awaken or develop the intelligence of the inmates, a failing largely due to mechanical teaching methods and a limited range of subjects being offered. He concluded that the children so taught were left so unappreciative of the benefits of education that they actually preferred to scrub floors.[44]

It is clear that Ricks' view of education and that of the reformatory system managers were entirely at odds. To the managers, there was nothing contradictory in the assertion that education was beneficial and that children liked to scrub floors, for they regarded industrial work as part and parcel of the educational process, and one that was in no way inferior to the book-learning which Ricks so obviously had in mind. They would no doubt have been delighted by the suggestion that the inmates had come to take pleasure in even their most menial tasks.

Assistant Inspector Henry Rogers took up Ricks' challenge and in his reply undoubtedly echoed the views of the managers he had been supervising for over twenty years. He agreed that much of the education given was 'somewhat mechanical', but argued that this did not stop it being good or valuable for the children involved. He refuted absolutely the idea that children

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[44]. P.R.O. HO 144/349/B14343, report by George Ricks, 21 Jan. 1893.

learned their reading books by heart, and claimed that, in handwriting and dictation, industrial school inmates often surpassed the achievements of elementary school pupils. He agreed with Ricks that 'the schools might do more in an Educational point of view solely,' but he argued that this would actually be a mistake, a foolish distraction from the fundamental work of the schools. He contended that, given the poor standard of the teaching staff in combination with difficult children 'drawn from the very lowest and most degraded classes of society', it was a miracle that the schools achieved as much as they did. Rogers was a believer in the efficacy of industrial training rather than schoolwork to bring about reformation and stated his belief that

> Hard Work is the secret of any success which has been realized in these schools and must continue to be or they will speedily lose their value.[45]

He was not alone in doubting the value of more sophisticated teaching methods and classroom subjects. Hugh Hoare, M.P., and future member of the Departmental Committee of 1895-6, may have expressed the feelings of many when he wrote to the under-secretary of state at the Local Government Board, George W.E. Russell, in dramatic vein:

> Personally, I sh[oul]d not care if the examination (into school work) did not take place oftener than once in two years. What on earth does it matter when we are trying to obliterate the old bad expression on the face of the young 'criminal' whether 'Spelling in Standard III was rather defective'--! To be worrying about these trivialities when we are engaged in a death grapple w[ith] the devil in these children![46]

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45. P.R.O. HO 144/349/B14343, report 7 May 1893, by Henry Rogers.

46. P.R.O. HO 144/370/B17446, letter 24 Nov. 1894, Hugh Hoare to G.W.E. Russell.

Under-Secretary of State Godfrey Lushington, at the Home Office, commented on Roger's answer to Ricks' accusations that it

> appears to me to contain an admirable justification of the principles upon which the special education required in Industrial Schools is & ought to be given; and training children to habits of industry, while not forgetting the elementary subjects of education, appears to promise higher and better success than rushing a few of these neglected waifs & strays of sharper intelligence into the higher Standards.[47]

However, Lushington was sceptical about the overall value of the certified schools, and his further comments revealed a hostility to the whole basis upon which industrial schools, at least, were organised. 'It is quite unfair,' he continued,

> to compare an Industrial School with an ordinary elementary School... In the first place the boys may be taken to be, not perhaps the stupidest, but the most idle, the most vicious & the most neglected in the community... Then at the school these neglected boys associate with other neglected boys and with nobody else for several years. During these years the life is spent wholly within the school & is most monotonous, nothing of family or social life or out of doors freedom... Then as to the teachers - these voluntary institutions from want of means cannot afford to pay for highly qualified Teachers... We must therefore be prepared to expect to find the boys poorly and to a certain degree unintelligently taught.[48]

The thrust of Lushington's reasoning seems to have been that, while the reformatory system adhered to its existing format, it would be a mistake to try and change it in minor respects. This would doubtless prove pointless and disruptive. Lushington favoured a more far-reaching idea: the abandonment of the system in its existing form and the adoption of some alternative which would

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47. P.R.O. HO 144/349/B14343, memo 16 May 1893 by Lushington, p. 2.

48. P.R.O. HO 144/349/B14343, memo 16 May 1893 by Lushington, pp. 3-4.

overcome the problems of institutionalisation, contamination, teaching standards, and so on, which were obviously to be found in reformatory and industrial schools.[49] Thus while Rogers and Lushington appeared to be in agreement, taking a stance firmly opposed to George Ricks, in fact the two men were motivated by radically different perceptions of the future of the reformatory system.

Soon after George Ricks made his criticisms of industrial school education, Inspector William Inglis retired to be replaced by James Legge, a career civil servant. Legge brought with him an apparently cynical and pragmatic view of the reformatory system. Almost at once, he turned his attentions to the standards of education in reformatory and industrial school classrooms, but not in an attempt to raise them. He issued instructions to the effect that the standard of academic education demanded from the schools was actually to be lowered. He argued that, hitherto, the educational code issued by the reformatory office had demanded a higher level of achievement in the lower standards than in elementary schools, though this was, in fact, an extremely debatable assertion. Legge agreed that, in the light of the low level of the knowledge of the inmates on committal, ambitiousness in intent was to be praised. How ever, he argued that such ambitiousness placed the detainees at a disadvantage, for it forced them to stay longer in the lower standards. The alteration to the educational code was duly approved by the Home Secretary, and from that date reformatories and industrial schools were to conform to the code

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[49]. See P.R.O. HO 144/370/B17446, letter 24 Nov. 1894, Hoare to Russell, in which Hoare says that Lushington 'doesn't think Ind. Schools do much, if any, good.'

of regulations for day schools as issued by the Privy Council Committee on Education.[50] Perhaps the most significant point which can be made about this change is the relatively poor standard of education which it suggests must have been acceptable in ordinary schools: for, if it was true that the much criticised teaching of the reformatories provided education of a quality exceeding that in elementary schools, at least up to Standard IV,[51] then some of the education received in Board Schools must have been poor indeed. However, it would be entirely plausible to interpret Legge's move as an administrative one, bringing the theoretical standards of the reformatory and industrial schools closer to their true standard.

Certainly, the Departmental Committee reporting in 1896, did not subscribe to the view that the certified schools were achieving better results than their ordinary counterparts. Indeed, they stated that the instruction given in the classrooms of reformatories and industrial schools was generally of a poorer standard than that of public elementary schools. High levels of proficiency were more rarely achieved in reading, writing, or arithmetic; while, overall, a narrower range of subjects was taught. About thirty per cent of detainees left Reformatories having passed Standard V, about thirty per cent having passed Standard IV, twenty per cent Standard III, with the remaining twenty per cent between Standard II and total failure.[52] Compared to the

50. P.R.O. HO 45/9904/B19983, code of regulations from day schools, 1895.

51. T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/91/2, printed circular from James Legge, Dec. 1895.

52. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII p. 1011 (question 33,152) (Minutes of evidence, Dept. C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

achievements of ordinary elementary schools, these results were very poor indeed. Children at elementary schools were expected to pass Standard VI if they wanted a certificate at the age of thirteen; and, if they were over thirteen, at least Standard IV if they were to receive a certificate permitting them to take paid work. It was noted that contemporaries did not consider it unusual for fourteen year olds to pass Standard VI or VII in ordinary day schools.

Curiously, the level of achievement attained in reformatories was not reached overall in industrial schools. About twenty per cent of industrial school children were only reaching the lower Standards III to IV at the greater age of fifteen or sixteen,[53] despite a substantial proportion, at least amongst those in the care of the Waifs & Strays Society, having received some schooling before detention.[54] Such a result was regarded as particularly scandalous given the regular attendance which should have been possible among reformatory and industrial school detainees.[55]

Given the contemporary prejudices against an academic education for girls, it is to be suspected that standards in girls' schools were worse than in boys', though unfortunately no archival evidence on this point is extant. When

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53. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV pp. 39-40 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). The report does not make it clear whether this was the highest or the lowest level of achievement common in industrial schools: i.e. whether this was the <u>top</u> or the <u>bottom</u> twenty per cent of inmates.

54. Of the 343 Waifs & Strays sample, 77.3% were believed to have had 'some' education (either day or Sunday school) prior to committal, with only 6.7% being said to have had none at all. See chapters three, ten and eleven for further discussion of this group of girls.

55. PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 16 (Report, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 39 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

the Inspector of Reformatories examined pupils at reformatory and industrial schools, he recorded the results in his annual report in subjective terms such as 'fair', 'good', 'improving' and so on. Since he did not give his criteria for using one term rather than another, it is impossible to know whether 'good', for example, meant the same in the case of a girl's performance as it did in the case of a boy's. The inspector's expectations may have been lower when examining girls; this would have been in tune with the feelings of many contemporaries who felt that girls could not cope with intellectual pursuits without harmful effects.[56] It is also the case that the recorded results of school examinations must be treated with great caution as the exams themselves appear to have been very cursory, though probably no more so than in ordinary elementary schools. A special sub-inspector, Mr Robertson, was appointed in 1882 to accompany the inspector on his rounds with the specific purpose of conducting classroom examinations, thus lightening the chief inspector's workload. In the course of the exams, each child would read, spell, and write from dictation, and perform four or five sums.[57] From 1895, the examination became even less thorough, with the inspector setting four questions for each child, two correct answers constituting a pass mark.[58]

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56. See Joan Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (Croom Helm, London, 1980), chapter 5; also John Roach, Public Examinations in England, 1850-1900 (1971), chapter 5, and Josephine Kamm, Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History (Methuen, London, 1965), esp. pp. 250-1.

57. P.R.O. HO 45/9830/B9213, statement of duties performed by Mr Robertson, 13 Dec. 1890.

58. T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/91/2, printed circular from Legge, dated Dec. 1895.

(v) Educated or Miseducated? The Expectations of Future Employers

It was always necessary for school managers to bear in mind the needs of the employment market. Managers wanted to provide their girls with work skills which would make them acceptable domestic servants, the form of occupation which they believed to be most suitable for potentially vulnerable females. In doing so they had to take care that the education would be considered appropriate by those who would be employers. As members of the middle classes, they had a clear understanding of what was needed and a delicate balance was sought between content and quantity. Young servants were sometimes criticised for being idle, stupid, incompetent: hardly the status symbols sought by socially ambitious middle-class families. On the other hand, they could also find themselves criticised for being 'over-educated', though this did not preclude condemnation for incompetence. The greatest disapproval was reserved for Board School girls, though 'charity girls' also came under attack.[59] It was bad enough for a Board School girl's expectations to be raised by her education so that she held service in contempt, but for this to happen to an industrial school girl was quite unacceptable. A Mrs Hawes echoed the feeling of many commentators when she stated that

> servants have changed more than their mistresses during the last two years. They are not only more educated, they are miseducated. They are taught to play the piano, to sketch, but not

[59]. Anon, 'The Average Servant', Cassell's Family Magazine, 4 (1878), p. 79; Anon, 'Modern Servant Girls', Cassell's Family Magazine, 20 (1894), p. 12.

to sew, or to rub, sweep, and polish properly...[60]

In 1887, the editor of Our Waifs & Strays felt compelled to assure a correspondent, fearful that the acquisition of a piano by the Cold Ash Industrial School would 'be a snare and a temptation, and turn the girls out discontented and avaricious', that there had never been any intention of teaching the girls how to play it.[61]

Clearly, education was to serve a limited function for lower class girls, fitting them for an adulthood in which expressions of refinement were never to overstep the bounds of social propriety. A minimum level of refinement was considered to be desirable in a servant to allow her to fulfil her role as a perfect instance of a type of womanhood. However, such elements of 'gentility' as the servant required were to be obtained vicariously through the influence of the ladies with whom she came into contact. If a girl was able to command social graces through her own education, then what would become of the relationship between girls of the lower classes and their social betters? This was obviously a worry for Mrs L.J. Campbell, manager of the Toxteth Park reformatory, who, when giving evidence before the 1895-6 Departmental Committee, was amazed to be asked by Hugh Hoare whether she ever asked girls to tea. 'To tea?' she asked. 'With me or the servants?' And went on to explain that inviting such girls to her drawing-room 'would rather put them out of their place' and would encourage in them 'a spirit of equality; not a spirit of

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[60]. Mrs Hawes, 'Domestic Servant Difficulty' (part iii), The Lady's Realm, 2 (1897), p. 216.

[61]. Cold Ash C.I.S.: Our Waifs & Strays, 34 (Feb. 1887), p. 4.

submission and reverence for those who are above them.'[62]

An explicit confusion of social and educational insecurity appeared in 1894 in an article satirising the tiresome personal characteristics of contemporary servant girls. The writer, supposedly an exasperated mistress, described a young girl in her service, called Amelia, who proved to be quite hopeless at sweeping. The mistress encouraged Amelia to copy the sweeping technique of Jane, the servant living next-door.

> 'That girl!' Amelia cried contemptuously, flourishing her broom, 'I've been at school with 'er. Why, the girl's a perfect fool. She were past twelve year old, and couldn't move the decimal point.'
>
> I was bound to confess that although much more than twelve years old myself, neither could *I* move the decimal point - whatever that may be.[63]

Middle-class ladies claimed a public role in philanthropy by arguing that they offered an influence over the poor, based on the innate virtues of matronhood and the prestige of their elevated social class. Would the granting of a relatively sophisticated education to potential servant-girls, such as Amelia, cause middle-class ladies to become redundant in the philanthropic sphere? It has been argued many times that middle-class women developed a more public role through the oppression of working-class women;[64] and this appears to be

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62. PP 1897 [C. 8290] XLII pp. 296-7, 305-6 (questions 10,870-10,879, 11,230-11,243) (Minutes of evidence, Dept. C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

63. Anon, 'Modern Servant Girls', Cassell's Family Magazine, 20 (1894), p. 14.

64. For example, by Judith Walkowitz, 'Male Vice & Feminist Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in 19th Century Britain', History Workshop Journal, 13 (1982), p. 81; and Lynda Nead, Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1988), chapter 7 throughout.

a further example of mistresses seeking to restrict the type of educational opportunity deemed suitable for the potential servant-girl in an attempt to defend what might be termed their vested interests. These inter-class tensions and the demands of the employment market no doubt encouraged managers and superintendents in their reluctance materially to alter and improve the education they offered to their girls. It seems, therefore, that the relevance to these girls of the proposed enhancement in education was questioned and found wanting. A general reliance upon the proceeds of lucrative but low-skilled industrial training, combined with a confidence that the institutions were based upon fundamentally correct suppositions, led to a general resistance to change. It was only with structural change to the labour market and advancements in technology which eliminated the need for many of the conventional reformatory trades, that schools were compelled to reassess whether the education they provided was truly what their inmates needed.

(vi) Conclusion

John Hurt has commented critically on the education provided by reformatories and industrial schools, arguing that 'the inmates...existed for the benefit of the institution', and that the instruction on offer was practically without value, for it was of too limited a kind, given for too short a period each

day, and relegated to the most inappropriate times.[65] This view of the school authorities as exploitative is, at least in the case of girls, an oversimplification of the ambitions they had for their charges. It is quite true that industrial occupations were selected with a view to assisting the financing of the institution, but far from using the girls simply as money-making machines, managers sought to give girls experience in the occupations which they believed would most benefit them in the long term.

Before the eighteen-nineties, religious instruction and hard, physical industrial training vied for pre-eminence in the time-tables of reformatory and industrial schools. Other education, even including the basic literacy skills, were regarded as optional except insofar as they facilitated the transmission of religious knowledge. In the last decade of the century, more concern began to be expressed about non-religious education, but little headway was made in improving standards. The will to force change was simply not there. Inspector James Legge was well aware of the certified schools' failings, but he lacked the enthusiasm for the institutions as a whole which might have revitalised them. And without pressure from the inspectorate, little was going to change. As chapter five suggested, the managers of these schools had become so thoroughly institutionalised themselves that they regarded all suggestions of change with the greatest suspicion. Thus reformatory and industrial school education started the twentieth-century still dominated by the mid-Victorian agenda of Christian belief, hard washing and basic literacy.

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65. John Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools Before 1933,' History of Education, 3 (1984), p. 56.

It was hoped that by inculcating the girls with a combination of a specific religiously-inspired code of virtue and an education in the justice and supposed naturalness of the traditional feminine role, these schools would go some way towards mitigating the tensions between the classes and rehabilitating the residual underclass. Yet it is hard to see how school managers could believe their charges were destined to become model mothers through the influence of the 'industrial training' received in the schools; for it signally failed to prepare girls for duties specific to mother- and wife-hood. Cookery was not universally taught; and girls were seldom allowed to have money or to take responsibility for managing even the simplest of personal finances, even though, as Leonore Davidoff has said, the balancing of the household budget was the most important task undertaken by the working class housewife.[66] Philanthropic ladies and gentlemen constantly lamented the imprudent and wasteful lifestyles of the poor, but, given the opportunity to model future mothers, they failed to identify the means and direction which effective socialization needed to take in order to correct this supposed fault.

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66. Leonore Davidoff, 'Mastered for Life: Servant and Wife in Victorian and Edwardian England,' Journal of Social History, 7 (1974), p. 420.

Chapter Ten

'Out in the World': Leaving School

(i) Release

Since reformatory sentences could be as long as five years, it was possible for inmates to be, depending on their age at the time of committal, as old as twenty-one when they first encountered the world as 'reformed' girls.[1] Until 1894, the sentences of industrial school inmates automatically came to an end at the age of sixteen, at which point they had to be released from detention. After 1894, when an Industrial Schools Amendment Act was passed, inmates became liable to continued supervision by their schools until they were eighteen. They were not to remain within the institutions, but were liable to be recalled to them for short periods if their behaviour or circumstances were judged to be unsuitable.[2]

Some inmates were released from detention, prior to the expiry of their sentence, on license. This was intended to form a transitional period in the girl's life, giving her greater freedom and responsibility whilst maintaining her links with the institution and ensuring that the school authorities continued to

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1. Census records show that some inmates of the St Joseph's R.C. Reformatory were still there at the age of twenty and twenty-one: 1871 census, RG10/4664, folio 96b; 1881 census, RG11/4626, folio 97 (Public Record Office, Chancery Lane).

2. 57 & 58 Vict. c.33. The Act did not apply to cases committed under the elementary education legislation.

control her movements.[3] The power to license was not, however, used as frequently as it might have been. The Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools, in its report of 1896, criticised the tendency of the superintendents of both reformatory and industrial girls' schools to keep the inmates inside the school to the very last day of their period of detention, suggesting that this was because older girls could take on more lucrative industrial work than their younger counterparts.[4]

A few industrial school girls were kept in school beyond the prescribed end of their detention. This generally occurred after the passing of the 1894 Act. The Waifs & Strays Society sometimes, wrongly, interpreted the entitlement provided by this Act as one allowing them to keep a girl in residence in a school after the age of sixteen, as they did in the case of Primrose, who was retained in the Hemel Hempstead Home for twenty-eight months in excess of her period of detention, on the grounds of unsuitability to go to service through feeble-mindedness.[5] In fact, of course, the 1894 Act merely gave them the power to recall for a very short time a girl who was not doing well or giving

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[3]. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV pp. 54-5 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). Licensed children were to be contacted monthly by their schools: Sheff.A.S. MD 7138/11/61, printed circular from Sydney Turner, 25 March 1867.

[4]. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 60 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). However, this policy was not uniformly adhered to. For example, the Waifs & Strays Society preferred to take advantage of the right to license prior to discharge: of the 343 girls discussed in chapter three, 261 were licensed. On the monetary value of industrial work, see chapter nine.

[5]. CS case 221, report 21 Nov. 1901.

satisfaction in a place.[6]

There were a number of possible destinations for reformatory and industrial school girls when they were allowed to leave their institutions on license or discharge. Firstly, it was possible that they could return to their parents, though this was much frowned upon. Secondly, they could be emigrated, generally to Canada, usually going into domestic service upon arrival. Thirdly, girls could remain inside an institution: they could be transferred as an inmate to another one such as a 'laundry home' or a 'penitentiary', the choice of which depended on the girl's character and circumstances; or a girl could decide to join the staff of her own school as an 'inferior' officer. Fourthly, girls could go into employment as a factory-hand, seamstress, laundress, or some other occupation. Or, lastly, and most commonly, the former inmate could be placed in a domestic service situation in a private household.

This chapter describes some of these destinations using three main sources. It must be emphasised that they are all derived from the records of industrial schools and are not, therefore, the same as were used to discuss discipline and resistance in chapters seven and eight. No discharge records relating to reformatory school girls have been discovered. The first source used is the substantial sample of 343 girls committed to the care of the Waifs &

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6. It was relatively easy for this power to be abused, as the girls, no doubt, had no awareness of their legal entitlements, and no one to protect their interests beyond the over-stretched inspector's office. See also CS case 179, a girl kept for an extra six months, though without any reference to the 1894 Act; and CS case 326, whose parents mistakenly believed that the Society retained control over their daughter until the age of eighteen. This latter girl was committed under the 1876 Elementary Education Act, to which children the 1894 Act did not apply, a fact which the Society tended to forget.

Strays Society in the years 1881 to 1900 and previously considered, in chapter three, in relation to the committal process. The second source relates to the Northumberland Village Homes. Its archives of individual cases are unusually complete, making it possible to follow the lives of most of the inmates for a number of years: from the point of committal, through their school career, to the instant of discharge and the beginning of their adult life.[7] In order to prevent the quantity of data becoming unmanageable, the following discussion will be limited to the girls who constituted the 1881 and 1891 cohorts of committals, a total of forty-nine girls.

The third set of evidence is provided by the register of discharge covering the years 1881 to 1911 for the Portsmouth & South Hants Girls' Industrial School, which has found its way into the Princess Mary Village Homes archive.[8] Cases were often chronicled in this register in the most superficial way, and there is little doubt from the kind of references it contains that the managers put the onus of staying in contact upon the girl, not upon themselves. In a few cases, however, they were forced to admit that there was no discharge record because their agent had failed to keep one. This cursory record-keeping worsened over time, so that by the turn of the century the register contains little of any import.

There are other problems in the records as a whole: for instance,

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[7]. Using orders of committal, registers and discharge registers: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/3, /4, /5, /11, /12, /13, and /14.

[8]. Surrey R. O. 2591/3/2. The reason for the discharge register being in the P.M.V.H. archive is unknown. It is not apparent that the P.M.V.H. received the inmates by transfer or took over the operation of the Portsmouth & South Hants when the latter closed in 1915. The school was founded in 1881.

the discharge registers and other records which have survived rarely cover more than a few years of the ex-inmate's adult life, and this has made it impossible to estimate with any confidence the incidence of marriage among these girls. Nonetheless, they have proved to be a valuable source for judging the extent to which the schools' philosophy did or did not dominate the first five to ten years of a former inmates' freedom from overt restraint.

(ii) Domestic Service: Private and Institutional

Domestic service was an ideal occupation from the point of view of school managers because it simultaneously provided employment and shelter for the ex-inmate. Managers anticipated that it would thus protect the girl from any pernicious external influence which could damage the carefully nurtured virtues of the school; and it placed her in a supervised semi-institutional occupation which resembled the school's internal structures. Contemporaries also stressed that domestic service was an ideal temporary occupation for females whose ultimate goal was held to be marriage and motherhood, for it kept her pure and virtuous whilst providing 'training' in housekeeping skills which would benefit her future family.[9]

School managers were aware of the much discussed connection

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[9]. See, for example, Anon [Miss Poole], 'Our Young Servants,' Longman's Magazine, 25 (1894-5), p. 644; Mrs Catherine Buckton, Comfort and Cleanliness (Longmans, London, 1898), p. 46; and C.V. Butler, Domestic Service: An Enquiry by the Women's Industrial Council (Bell & Sons, London, 1916), p. 64.

between domestic service and prostitution. It was widely understood that an ill-supervised servant girl could be a target for sexual advances from the male members of a household and also that a large proportion of the inmates of penitential refuges were former domestic servants. Such young women were usually portrayed as betrayed and ruined innocents, seduced by the evil men who held power over them, men such as the sons of the employer or the household's upper-servants. It was rarely acknowledged that servant girls could be drawn into sexual encounters as willing participants, either by exercising active choice or through simple ignorance.[10] Contemporaries also realised that institution girls were at much greater risk of 'falling', for whatever reason, than their peers who had been brought up to be conversant with the ways of the world. They were, after all, being released into comparative freedom after many years of absolute restraint, into a life where they were not constantly under a supervisor's eye, and into the company of men who must have seemed to some to be nothing less than alien creatures. Nevertheless, reformatory system managers firmly believed that domestic service was the best place for their girls as the risks were outweighed by the benefits such an occupation was sure to convey; and the risks could, in any case, be minimised by careful vetting of prospective employers. Managers would not have been too disappointed by the results of their decision for, among those for whom records have survived, very few girls appear to have turned to prostitution in their young adult lives.

The first destination for girls released from industrial schools was,

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[10]. For example, Logan, An Exposure, pp. 11-13; Florence Hill, Children of the State: The Training of Juvenile Paupers (Macmillans, London, 1868), p. 27; and Waugh, The Gaol Cradle, p. 150.

thus, overwhelmingly domestic service in a private household.[11] Table 12, relating to the Waifs & Strays Society sample, shows it to have been well ahead of any rival employment.

Table 12: First Destination [12]
(Waifs & Strays girls admitted 1881-1900)

Destination	Frequency	Percentage
Private domestic service	194	61.6
Other institution as inmate	58	18.4
'Returned to friends'	30	9.5
Institutional domestic service	12	3.8
Emigration	7	2.2
Other employments	15	4.5
Total	315	100.0

[*Table 12:* No information, 25; Dead, 3]

The Northumberland Village Homes, as Table 13 indicates, followed the same pattern, as did the Portsmouth & South Hants Industrial School. The majority of the Homes' 1891 cohort went into service as 'general' servants or 'maids-of-all-work.' It is not entirely clear whether this was the common pattern of domestic service employment for former inmates of girls' industrial schools, as conflicting evidence is provided by the Portsmouth & South Hants

[11]. This also appears to have been true of reformatory school girls: see, for example, the comments of James Legge in R&RJ, cccxxvi (1899), p. 558.

[12]. This table is based on the first occupation or destination of each girl at the end of her period of residence as an inmate of a certified school, whether her departure was due to discharge or licensing.

Industrial School. Of 114 girls admitted to this institution between 1881 and 1901, eighty-two went into service on release. They went into a whole range of above- and below-stairs positions, with nineteen becoming housemaids, eighteen kitchenmaids, and thirteen between-maids. Only nine entered service as 'generals', though a number took up 'maid-of-all-work' positions later in their careers.

Table 13: First Destination
(Northumberland Village Homes, 1881 & 1891 cohorts)

Destination	1881	1891	Total	%
Private domestic service	8	16	24	49
Emigrated to service	8	--	8	16
Remained in school laundry	--	7	7	14
'Returned to friends'	2	4	6	13
Convalescence	1	1	2	4
Transferred to other school	2	--	2	4
Total	19	28	49	100

[*Table 13:* No information, 3; Dead, 2]

Few girls stayed in the type of service to which they were initially appointed. Some changed from general to more specialised work, while a few began in one specialism and moved into others. For example, one Northumberland Village Homes girl began work as a laundrymaid, then took a job as a nursemaid.[13] Another started as a general servant in a private home, then

13. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5, discharge register, case 16.

took up hospital cleaning, eventually becoming the hospital pantry-maid.[14] Other more specialised posts mentioned are under-laundrymaid and scullerymaid, a division of labour which indicates that the girls involved had entered service in fairly substantial households.

Discussing workhouse and industrial school girls, Frank Prochaska has argued that the demand for these 'bargain basement', institution-trained, servants came from the artisan class, rather than the middle-class proper, a view which was supported by at least one contemporary writer, who criticised these lower social groups for employing servants, rather than supplying them for other families as they had hitherto.[15] Prochaska argues that many pauper and charity girls would have been in service with families of limited resources, earning about £1 a year in the eighteen-sixties, with few increases over the course of the century.[16] However, Prochaska's conclusions cannot be applied uncritically to the products of industrial or reformatory schools. Wages were not as low for girls from these types of school as Prochaska would suppose and there is much to support the thesis that, in a domestic service pecking order, industrial school girls were not at the bottom of the pile.

In most circumstances, reformatory and industrial school managers

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14. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5, discharge register, case 87.

15. Frank Prochaska, 'Female Philanthropy & Domestic Service in Victorian England', Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research, 59 (1981), pp. 79-85. Anon, 'The Average Servant', Cassell's Family Magazine (1878), p. 78.

16. Prochaska, 'Female Philanthropy,' pp. 82-3. For a lively discussion of the likely experiences of such girls in service, see Lionel Rose, The Erosion of Childhood: Child Oppression in Britain, 1860-1918 (Routledge, London, 1991), pp. 36-50.

were very quick to spot prospective employers who merely sought to exploit the ex-inmate, and would reject overtures from potential mistresses who were offering as little as sixpence a week in the expectation of obtaining a cheap, hardworking little 'slavey'.[17] While wages for former reformatory and industrial school girls who entered service inevitably varied according to household and location, the sums they received were, in fact, quite respectable. Girls from the Portsmouth & South Hants, out in service, commanded an average wage of eight pounds, two shillings per annum for their first position.[18] The cohorts of Northumberland Village Homes girls received on entering service a mean annual income of eight pounds, fourteen shillings. In 1880, girls from the King Edward's Industrial School, Southwark, were said to be receiving between seven and nine pounds a year on discharge.[19] These amounts are much higher than Prochaska's estimates, though substantially below those suggested by Edward Higgs, who has calculated that the general servant earned an average money wage per annum of fourteen pounds between 1883 and 1887, rising to sixteen pounds between 1888 and 1892, though presumably Higg's figure includes older and experienced, as well as inexperienced, generals.[20]

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17. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/6, minutes, House Committee meeting 8 Aug. 1863.

18. Figure derived from Surrey R.O. 2591/3/2. There is no evidence that this figure is distorted by income levels generally rising over time: while girls released in 1895 were given £10 per annum, one girl going to service in 1909 was offered only £5.

19. King Edward's C.I.S.: R&RJ, xcv (1880), p. 133.

20. Edward Higgs, 'The Accepted Image of Nineteenth Century Domestic Service' in A.V. John (ed), Unequal Opportunities, pp. 125-144, Table 4.2 on p. 138. Higgs notes on p. 137 that pauper girls were sometimes employed in return

It is likely that these relatively high wages offered to industrial school girls, in comparison to the single pound or so per annum which Prochaska asserts was the lot of pauper girls, may be accounted for by the higher social class of those generally employing the former. A large proportion of the employers of the 1881 and 1891 cohorts released from the Northumberland Village Homes were substantial middle-class householders, for example, manufacturers or ship-owners, with a number of the county gentry and even the local aristocracy taking on ex-inmates. Only a couple of girls found employment in the households of craftsmen or shopkeepers.[21]

In so far as it can be discerned, reformatories had more difficulty than industrial schools in 'disposing' of their charges into service. Although generally older and stronger than industrial school girls, former reformatory inmates had to deal with the consequences of the taint of proven criminality including, till 1893 at least, the stigma of having served a prison sentence. Archival evidence drawn from daily administrative records and draft annual reports reveals that the problem of finding 'suitable' situations was acute: suitability was defined in terms of an employers' willingness to be firm without being excessively demanding, while being respectable, interested in the moral, spiritual, and physical well-being of the girl, and willing to pay a reasonable sum in wages.

Scrupulous vetting of employers caused the 'disposal' problem to

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for board and lodging only.

[21]. Information on employers derived from various Kelly's Directories, for the years 1883, 1886, and 1902; also Burke's Peerage (1901) and Kelly's Handbook of the Titled, Landed & Official Classes (1909).

be particularly grave for Roman Catholic schools, as their managers deemed it essential to place Roman Catholic girls in households of the same religious persuasion, even though there were relatively few such acceptable households in existence. The situation cannot have been helped by the fact that a substantial proportion of England's Catholic population consisted of poor Irish immigrants who were not in a position to hire servants.[22] Sister Stephanie, Superioress at the St Joseph's Roman Catholic Reformatory, wrote in her annual report for 1865 that the school experienced

> very great difficulty in procuring suitable situations, few, very few persons, will give these poor girls a trial, hence we are sometimes obliged to put them in places more or less unfit for them.[23]

It is certainly not the case that this difficulty manifested itself only in Sheffield, for the sisters in charge at Arno's Court Roman Catholic Reformatory in Bristol and the managers of the May Place Roman Catholic Reformatory in Liverpool were equally troubled by finding situations for their children on licence or at discharge.[24] So strongly felt was 'the unjust prejudice that exists against Reformatory School girls' that, in 1887, when other circumstances permitted the change, the managers at St Joseph's Reformatory transformed the institution

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22. Walter L. Arnstein, Protestant versus Catholic: Mr Newdegate and the Nuns (University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 1982), p. 50.

23. St Joseph's Reformatory: Sheff.A.S. MD 7138/9/159, draft report for 1865. The same view was repeated by Sister Stephanie in her reports for 1867 (MD 7138/12/16,L) and 1869 (MD 7138/13/113,D). See also the views of the Reverend James Nugent: Sheff.A.S. MD 7138/10/94, letter 7 Sept. 1866, Nugent to "sir".

24. Arno's Court Reformatory: PP 1865 [3527] XXV p. 373 (8th Annual Report). May Place Reformatory: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/3, 23rd Annual Report (1885), p. 7.

into an industrial school.[25]

Prejudice does indeed seem to have been less of a problem for industrial schools, though it is apparent that managers and workers felt it necessary to go out of their way to defend their girls from the slur of criminality.[26] The managers of the Northumberland Village Homes emphasised that their girls were not, and had never been, criminals: a statement supported by the sympathetic Northern Daily Express in an article which argued that because the Homes guaranteed their girls to be innocent of crime 'ladies would not hesitate to take servants from them.'[27] By 1882, the ladies' committee of Stockport Girls' Industrial School had such confidence in their ability to place inmates, that they felt able to decline an offer made by another school to emigrate some girls to Natal, saying that 'all the good girls are in great demand at home.'[28]

However, the stigma of institutionalisation seems to have lived on, despite the great demand for servant girls. Its manifestation was not, for those

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25. St Joseph's Reformatory: Sheff.A.S. MD 7138/19/121, memo [1887]. Highlighting the divide between the two sorts of school, the managers of St Joseph's Reformatory apparently had no trouble placing their girls once they had transformed into an industrial school, though there were, no doubt, other factors influencing the increased popularity of the girls with employers: e.g. PP 1897 [C. 8566] XLI p. 376 (40th Annual Report).

26. Defences which the Departmental Committee treated with scepticism: PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV pp. 15-16 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

27. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/91/1, clipping, 1 Nov. 1882. This clipping suggests that there was some rivalry between schools over which could claim the most innocent inmates.

28. Stockport Industrial School: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/5/1, minutes, Ladies' House Committee meeting 26 Oct. 1882.

from an industrial school, principally a difficulty in obtaining a place: it was more the unpleasant experience of being held in contempt. 'Fellow servants', wrote the matron at Stockport, 'do not always speak kindly and think well of one who has been brought up in an industrial school.'[29] It was not only fellow servants who showed their disdain. Fannie, a Waifs & Strays girl, wrote to Mr Edward Rudolf, the Director of the Society, asking him to find her a new place

> as I am most unhappy hear *[sic]* I shall never get on with this lady, every time she gets cross she always says that she cant afford to keep me to eat and drink and tells me of what I did when I was in the Home and calls me a waif and stray which is not very nice and that gets me into a dreadful temper...[30]

Evidently, the stigma of having been an industrial school girl could be hard to shake off.

One way a girl could side-step the problems of stigmatization was by entering into a form of domestic service in another institution, or even in the same school in which she had grown up. There were, for example, seven girls who elected to remain in the Northumberland Village Homes, working in the laundry, after their time had expired.[31] For a couple of them this was a temporary expedient to fill a gap of potential unemployment. However, at least two of the girls virtually joined the school's staff, staying as long as any

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[29]. Stockport C.I.S.: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/3/2, report 31 Dec. 1901.

[30]. CS case 165, letter Apr. 1898, Fannie to Rudolf.

[31]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/11, discharge register, case 205, 208, 247, 262, 419. T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/13, discharge register, case 453. T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5, discharge register, case 179. In addition, girls 236 and 440 returned to the school laundry after a period in domestic service: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/11.

industrial instructor in other reformatory and industrial schools.[32] Louisa, who stayed at least three years and eight months after her time had expired, remained because she was 'anxious to qualify herself for a Laundress', suggesting that the decision that she should stay had been made as much by the girl as by the school authorities.[33] Caroline, who stayed five years and three months after discharge, had also made a request to be allowed to stay.[34] This enthusiasm for remaining within the school was despite the pittance such girls were paid for their labour, a mere three pounds and twelve shillings a year, though this was presumably augmented by board and lodging.[35] The attraction of such posts to these institutionalised girls is clear. Committed at an early age, they knew little of the world or its potential, but, no doubt, had been made fully aware of its dangers. Almost certainly out of touch with their parents, the Homes' authorities became their family and refuge from peril. Though institutional life may have been hard on the young inmates, its realities were all the girls knew. What could be more natural for those who had learned to conform than to want to remain somewhere secure and well-known?

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[32]. See chapter six on staff.

[33]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5, discharge register, case 179.

[34]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/11, discharge register, case 205.

[35]. Northumberland Village Homes: Figure derived from discharge registers, case numbers 205, 262 (T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/11), and 179 (T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5), who each received six shillings per month.

(iii) Emigration

Emigration was a popular means of disposing of children from 'voluntary' homes, especially Dr Barnardo's.[36] However, though there was a steady stream of children sent overseas from reformatory and industrial schools, there was never a policy of wholesale emigration. The number of detained boys emigrated, a total of 5,345 or about 7% of the total detained between 1854 and 1901, was undeniably substantial, but fewer girls were sent abroad: only 646 or about 2.5% of the total number during the same period.[37] It must be stressed that different schools had different policies and some emigrated far more girls than others. A mere seven (2%) of the 343 Waifs & Strays girls were sent abroad at the end of their period of detention. The Portsmouth & South Hants Industrial School emigrated a far larger proportion of the total of 114 girls committed between 1881 and 1901, namely thirteen or 11%. Eleven of these thirteen went to Canada, one to Australia, and one to Brazil. That a school's follow-up to emigration could be careless is shown by the fact that no address was known for the latter two girls; in other words, the school had arranged for them to be sent abroad, but had not taken the precaution of recording, perhaps even of finding out, where it was they were going to live.[38] A little more contact was kept

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36. See June Rose, For the Sake of the Children: Inside Dr Barnardo's, 120 Years of Caring for Children (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1987), esp. pp. 82-111 on emigration.

37. PP 1902 [Cd. 1301] XLVIII pp. 465, 529, 577 (45th Annual Report, part 2). PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 30 (Report, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

38. Portsmouth & South Hants C.I.S.: Surrey R.O. 2591/3/2, discharge register, pp. 10, 13.

up with the girls in Canada, presumably facilitated by the network of agents which the various emigration societies had put in place,[39] but even this was minimal and depended on the girl taking the initiative, as Mary did in writing to report her marriage to an Ontario tradesman.[40] Since it was reported that eight of the emigrated girls had been 'adopted' by receiving families, this was perhaps interpreted by the school managers as releasing them from further responsibility.

At the Northumberland Village Homes, emigration was, at first, a popular means of disposal. As Table 13 above indicates, of the nineteen girls forming the 1881 cohort of the Northumberland Village Homes, eight were placed in service in England; a further eight (42%) who were emigrated were all placed in domestic service in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, Ontario.[41] Four of the eight initially in English service eventually went abroad as emigrants, three to Canada and one accompanied her employer's household to Australia.[42] However, after early enthusiasm among the managers, emigration may have experienced rapidly declining support at this school for, though over half of the 1881 cohort eventually emigrated, not one of the 1891 cohort was known to have

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39. For example, Miss Maria Rye's and Miss Annie Macpherson's agencies. For a critical review of the activities of child-saving organisations in the field of emigration, see Bean & Melville, Lost Children.

40. Portsmouth & South Hants C.I.S.: Surrey R.O. 2591/3/2, discharge register, p. 5.

41. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5, register, cases 12, 14, 15, 36, 39, 40, 60, 68.

42. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5, discharge register, cases 16, 24, 26, 33.

done so at any point in their lives.

There is no evidence that Northumberland Village Homes girls were coerced into emigrating. Only one emigrant is known to have returned to England, and even she went back to the colony when she found she could not settle in service in England as she had in Canada.[43] The Waifs & Strays' records also show a generally positive response of the child emigrants to their new situations, though the historian should beware of drawing favourable conclusions from this. As Bean & Melville note, letters could be tampered with, and even suppressed if they were not to the liking of the colonial agencies or the child's employers.[44] Letters such as the one from Esther and Rosa, describing how much they enjoyed working on a farm, learning to milk, and going to the Sunday School, were of the type which was entirely acceptable.[45]

It was a long process to obtain the required permission for emigration to take place, as the Home Secretary needed to be convinced of the merits of emigration in each case. Requests were not simply "rubber-stamped" by the Home Office: there were a number of cases where emigration was refused or postponed because the Home Secretary was not satisfied that the child had understood the important implications of agreeing to go abroad, or because he felt that insufficient investigations had taken place into the character of the

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43. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5, discharge register, case 15.

44. Bean & Melville, Lost Children, p. 47.

45. CS case 143. Letter, n.d.[1897?], to Miss Bailey, matron of the Beckett Home.

parents before their wishes had been over-ridden.[46] It was also the case that, generally, emigration declined in popularity among school managers over time, despite the passing of an Act in 1891 which permitted schools to send children overseas against the wishes of the parents.[47] In part the problem was one of authority: after 1888, the Canadian authorities insisted that children be discharged before emigration, not simply sent abroad on licence;[48] this gave the children the power to completely evade the school's control, which was already strained by geographical separation.

There were also significant political considerations. Many middle-class English people strenuously objected to the emigration of girls when there was such a perceived demand for young servants at home.[49] Since these were the very people upon whom the reformatory system depended for managers and subscriptions, they naturally had a considerable influence on discharge policies. The great disparity between the number of boys emigrated and that for girls was also no doubt due in part to the hard nature of the work which reformatory system emigrants were expected to undertake, and the isolation of the children on farms and in small towns. Under such circumstances, there could be no

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46. P.R.O. HO 144/495/X42032, various letters and notes dated 1893-4. The permission of the Home Secretary was not required for the emigration of cases from voluntary schools.

47. Industrial Schools Act, 1891: 54 & 55 Vict.c.23.

48. P.R.O. HO 45/9672/A46505B, circular from reformatory office dated 20 Jan. 1888.

49. e.g. Anon, 'The Average Servant,' Cassell's Family Magazine 4 (1878), p. 79. Mary Carpenter believed emigration inappropriate for girls: 'Reformatories for Convicted Girls,' p. 340 and 'On the Disposal of Girls from Reformatories,' pp. 416-7.

guarantee that the girl's moral well-being would be sufficiently guarded, even when she was placed in service.

(iv) Further Experience of Institutionalization

If girls could not be sent to domestic service or emigrated for health or behavioral reasons,[50] and if it was determined by school managers that they were not of respectable family - which was likely given the bias towards children taken from families of apparently dubious occupation - it was probable that they would be removed to a place in another institution. (see Table 13) This was sometimes only the second step in a lifetime of institutionalization. As Table 14 shows, the third step in the post-school lives of eighty-two Waifs & Strays girls was to become inhabitants of further institutions, such as a 'penitentiary', a refuge for unmarried mothers, the voluntary St. Barnabas' Home, and the Clapham House of Refuge. A couple of girls in this group, such as Martha who stole a shawl and bonnet from the Matron of the Home to which she had been transferred, were committed to reformatories.[51] It is apparent that most of the girls who were sent on to other institutions had very little say in the matter, as it was the power of the school or the Waifs & Strays Society or similar agencies which dictated the girl's fate.

50. Forty-two (12.3%) of the 343 Waifs & Strays girls were suffering from ill-health at release.

51. CS case 105.

Table 14: Subsequent Destinations
(Waifs & Strays, girls admitted 1881-1900)

Destination	**Second Dest.**	**Third Dest.**	**Fourth Dest.**
Domestic service	104 (38.8%)	73 (48.3%)	44 (39.6%)
Further institutions	82 (30.6%)	42 (27.8%)	35 (31.5%)
'Returned to friends'	27 (10.1%)	15 (9.9%)	11 (10 %)
Returned to same school	43 (16.1%)	10 (6.6%)	2 (1.8%)
Joined school staff	3 (1.1%)	2 (1.4%)	--
Emigrated	3 (1.1%)	2 (1.4%)	2 (1.8%)
Other destination	6 (2.2%)	7 (4.6%)	17 (15.3%)
Total	268 (100%)	151 (100%)	111 (100%)

[*Table 14: 2nd Dest*: No information or not applicable, 72; Dead, 3.
3rd Dest: No information or n.a., 188; Dead, 4.
4th Dest: No information or n.a., 231; Dead, 1.]

Victoria, for example, who entered the Winchester Industrial School in 1884, was subsequently, in 1886, transferred into the care of the Waifs & Strays Society as an inmate of the Cold Ash Home. From there she was sent on license to a voluntary home, St Chad's, from where she was returned to Cold Ash. She was then, in 1894, sent to the Handsworth Home, a laundry home, in Birmingham, and after that to a third voluntary institution, the Newark Home in Nottingham. After 1901, when she first went out to service, until at least late in 1905, she went in and out of the Newark Home at regular intervals.[52] A further example of this pattern is provided by Lottie, an inmate of the Ashurst Home from September 1887 to November 1888. Suspected of being sexually

52. CS case 11.

knowledgeable and a contaminating influence, she was then transferred to Lord Clinton's Home in Devon as a voluntary case. Deemed too dangerous for even this specially classified school, Lottie was placed in the Home of the Clewer Sisters in London. From there she was transferred to the Clewer's Oxford branch at Holywell Manor, but the sisters refused to keep her and it seems that, at the age of fourteen, Lottie was passed on to a 'penitentiary'. Though she was still under the legal control of the Society, no more is known of her.[53] Girls from industrial schools were also sometimes transferred to reformatories because of their repudiation of the required behavioral standards. Ellen, for example, a member of the 1881 cohort of the Northumberland Village Homes, had been a great trial to the staff, and was committed to a reformatory after threatening other girls with a knife.[54]

Girls could be returned to a life of institutionalization even after being placed into employment. If a Waifs and Strays girl failed to satisfy a number of mistresses, or if her behaviour in her initial place was deemed such as to preclude her from taking further situations, then the Society would try to find her a place in a refuge of some description, sometimes one of their own, particularly those described as laundry or knitting homes because of the industrial work they provided, or in such shelters as those provided by the Metropolitan Association for the Befriending of Young Servants in London.[55]

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53. CS case 94.

54. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5, discharge register, case 8.

55. For example, Katie, CS case 17, was sent to a M.A.B.Y.S. refuge by the Matron of the Hemel Hempstead Home when she failed to please as an under-

Should the former inmate's fault be deemed to be of a moral kind, the Society would try to have her admitted to a 'penitentiary' or other rescue home.

(v) Conclusion

The range of options open to a girl leaving a reformatory or industrial school were very limited. They were limited not only by the general employment situation which dictated the kinds of job open to a young working-class woman, but also by the nature of the ex-inmate's narrow education and the expectations of the managers and staff who were engaged in determining her future. Aside from domestic service, the labour market seemed to offer little. A former reformatory or industrial school girl may have been an ideal candidate for the sweated trades, but it was unlikely that she would find herself engaged in one in the few years following her release. The managers and staff sought above all to place girls in protected, respectable occupations which were to continue their training in feminine skills and duties. Thus domestic service, either in Britain or the Empire, was held to be the only real option for an employable girl. The unemployable might find herself in another institution or possibly returned to her parents. However, the determination of post-release destinations for inmates provided only a beginning in the assessment of a school's success in re-forming the characters of its inmate. There were a number of measures of success - and some of failure.

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laundrymaid, a situation which she had held for less than two months.

Chapter Eleven

'What a Blessing it has Been': Measures of Success

I had been brought up in [a home], what a blessing it has been, and when I went to Ramsgate this winter, I thought what a blessing it would have been for a few more of the poor little children to be brought up like I was...[1]

(i) Monitoring Success

Once a girl had been released from the confines of her school, the managers were expected to collect information on her progress for three years. This information would be transmitted to the government inspector for use in the appendices to his annual report, which gave the number of inmates discharged in the previous three years who had been 'doing well', 'doubtful', convicted or unknown in the past year. Historians have questioned the reliability of these figures; and certainly, some contemporaries, not least the members of the Departmental Committee which reported in 1896, were highly critical of their subjectivity and the arbitrary way in which categorisation was assigned to individuals.[2] Only 're-committed' could have an unambiguous interpretation:

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1. CS case 53: letter from Iris to Mr Rudolf, 1894. She had been to a lecture on the Church of England Homes and afterwards stopped to make this statement to the speaker.

2. For example, Radzinowicz & Hood, A History of English Criminal Law, pp. 224-227. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV pp. 67-84 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). The issue had been earlier raised, without a conclusion being drawn, in the Royal Commission's report of 1884: PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 12.

namely that the former inmate had found her way either into a prison or possibly, if formerly an industrial school girl, into a reformatory. It was regularly claimed that 75% or more of former inmates were 'doing well', a declaration to which some with practical experience of the children after discharge, such as Miss Poole, of the Metropolitan Association for the Befriending of Young Servants, could not subscribe.[3]

The notion of 'doing well' can be examined in the light of the implicit gender and class values of the reformatory system. It appears to have been true that, as far as the institutions knew, few former inmates were reconvicted after discharge. However, many contemporaries were convinced that this was not a sufficiently discriminating measure of the success of the system. The real question was, how far had the children fully absorbed its moral and social values in the broadest sense? For girls, these were values represented by a range of commonly idealised virtues: principally chastity, honesty, purity, innocence, and religious conviction.

As Part One of this study suggests, a major aim of the reformatory system was the control and containment of the sexuality of the inmates. The training they received was intended to channel physical desires towards a forum in which they could be legitimately contained - namely marriage - or towards a celibate life in domestic service. These conventions of respectability stood in direct opposition to the much feared deviancy of prostitution. The successful

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3. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV pp. 79-80 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). As early as 1856, Her Majesty's Inspector Jelinger Symons was casting doubt on the reliability of these chosen measures of success: PP 1857 (sess.2) [2238] XXXIII p. 1077 (Report, H.M. Inspectors of Schools on Workhouse & Ref. Schools).

inmate was the girl who had achieved the desired level of a childlike femininity, with its attendant virtues of innocence, dependency and modesty. In addition, the 'reformed' girl would be hardworking and obedient, the perfect domestic servant.

The length of time a girl kept to the occupation which the managers had selected for her was taken as one indicator of transference of loyalty. Even though discharge had rendered her autonomous, the obedient and affectionate ex-inmate would, if she remained in the occupation selected for her, demonstrate her willingness to accept the guidance of the school authorities. Such deference was also evidence that the girl had absorbed some of the virtues promoted by the school.

Given the apparently unsatisfactory nature of the familial relationships which characterised the backgrounds of cases selected for committal,[4] an important measure of the success of the reformatory process was whether the girl broke her relationship with her natural parents. Generally, girls who returned to their parents, or whose loyalty to their parents proved unshakeable, were considered a failure or, at best, 'doubtful'; whilst those who were 'awakened' to a 'true' appreciation of the unsavoury dispositions of their natural parents, and who chose to avoid them, were deemed successes.[5] The emotional side of a girl's relationship with her parents was to be transferred to

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[4]. See chapter three above.

[5]. It is not the case, however, that girls were encouraged to reject entirely a sense of familial obligation. It was considered praiseworthy for a girl to think about the material needs of her parents. See, for example, R&RJ, vi (1862), p. 38.

her former matron or managers, and her loyalty to school was to replace her loyalty to family, so that, for instance, consideration of the school's good name was substituted for a care for the family's reputation. The relationship between the girl and her old school was, thus, to be quasi-familial, with the ex-inmate looking to the managers for guidance and material assistance in times of need.

A corollary to the quasi-familial relationship between inmate and school was a need for her to show an appropriate level of gratitude and appreciation to those who had 'rescued' her from the 'corrupting' environment in which she had lived her early life. Gratitude, it should be stressed, was expected from a girl from the moment of her arrival in a school, but in the enclosed context of the institution it was not an obviously distinct class of sentiment since it became subsumed within the various categories of ideal behaviour. Expressions of appreciation became more important when the girl was 'on the outside': when her attitude and behaviour could be held up as proof that the reformatory system succeeded in its task of transforming wild girls, supposedly criminal in inclination and potential prostitutes, into something approaching the middle-classes' models of ideal working-class femininity.

(ii) Reconstructing the Familial Bonds

Between a quarter and a third of all reformatory system inmates were returned, with the regret of their school's managers, to their parents.[6] This tended to happen in one of three circumstances: firstly, if the parents were considered to be respectable, as was sometimes the case in instances where a girl was committed for being beyond control;[7] secondly, if a girl was thought to be incorrigible, that is, if it was beyond the powers of institutions to secure her reformation;[8] or thirdly, if she was suffering from some illness or disability which precluded her from industrial training and employment.[9] The Waifs & Strays industrial school material shows that, from that society, a more modest one tenth of the total number of girls in its care were returned to their families, a difference which may be due, in part, to the biases inherent in the selection of girls for committal to the Society's schools: namely, that a large proportion

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6. Radzinowicz & Hood, A History of English Criminal Law, pp. 211-12. See also Lord Monkswell, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools: Report of the Departmental Committee,' Fortnightly Review 67 (old series) (1897), pp. 235-6.

7. The definition of 'respectability' no doubt became less rigid when there were few alternatives: see May Place Reformatory, for example, L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/5, minutes, Committee meeting 7 Dec. 1896.

8. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: for example, D.R.O. 3899F/M2/5, minutes, House Committee meeting 30 July 1862; 3899F/M2/6, minutes, House Committee meeting 21 Sept. 1869 (Julia S.); 3899F/M2/7, minutes, House Committee meeting 24 May 1881 (Emily B.). Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/7, minutes, Committee meetings 26 Feb. 1880, 19 May 1881, and 26 Oct. 1882. Also CS cases 286, 325.

9. For example, Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/Z2/7, report of house visitor, 24 July 1894; and Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/7, minutes, Committee meetings 22 Dec. 1881 and 29 May 1884.

came from a lone mother household, of whom the majority were supposedly prostitutes.[10] Thus the Waifs & Strays Society made strenuous efforts to avoid returning girls home.

The majority of managers and staff were of one mind on this issue: since the failings of the natural parents were directly implicated in the causes of the child's committal, it was beyond the bounds of reason to suggest that the parents should have any claim on their offspring, as of right, once they reached the time for discharge into the outside world.[11] The idea that schools should assist in the development of a new relationship between the 'worthless' parent and the 'reclaimed' child was anathema to them.[12] Managers argued that no child returned to the corrupting circumstances from which it had been originally rescued could hope to stay honest and pure. The girl would be once again on the road to crime, prostitution, and 'a life of vice', as Mary Carpenter warned the

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[10]. See chapter three above.

[11]. For example, Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/10, letter 17 Feb. 1893, Mrs Craig to clerk of Newcastle School Board saying that she did 'not think the interests of the parents should be considered, it is frequently through their neglect that children are sent to Industrial Schools.' The managers of this and other schools also argued that parents were only interested in girls for their earning capacity: for example, T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/10, letter 11 June 1884, James Hall to the Clerk of South Shields School Board. See also Hayward, James Hall (vol. 2), p. 192; and for Stockport Girls' C.I.S.: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/3/1, matron's journal, entry 2 Mar. 1893.

[12]. Only one school, the Devon & Exeter Girls' Reformatory tended to contact the natural parents of girls nearing release to inform them that it was their responsibility to find their daughters a place: D.R.O. 3899F/L2/1, letterbook, pp. 154-5, and throughout. Why this school almost always looked to the parents to find employment, when no other school is known to have followed such a course, is unclear.

Red Lodge girls.[13] There are numerous examples of this view in contemporary sources. The editor of Open Doors, for instance, told of the death of 'Nellie', just as she was to be discharged, concluding that it had been a merciful act by God to save her from her worthless, drunken mother.[14] Miss Pettit, matron of the Sale Girls' Industrial School stated that most girls had parents 'who can only be regarded...as unmitigated evils'; while Miss Maria Poole also believed that girls who returned to their parents upon discharge usually went to the bad.[15] The 1884 Royal Commission report accepted the assurances of the school managers that children released into service or employment would only 'turn out well' if 'they were not unduly interfered with by their parents.'[16]

Mere agreement among the managerial and political figures involved in the schools could not, however, ensure that the relationship between the child and the natural parent was severed. Though some parents seem to have taken advantage of the removal of their children to melt away into the

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13. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/1, journal entry 30 Dec. 1856, p. 50. See also Mary Carpenter, 'On the Disposal of Girls,' p. 414.

14. P.M.V.H.: Open Doors (May 1884), pp. 133-7.

15. Miss Pettit: R&RJ, cii (1880), p. 203. Maria Poole: PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 67 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

16. PP 1884 [C. 3876] XLV p. 12 (Report, R.C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools). The anti-parent line was strong in the Home Office. Godfrey Lushington advised that if a child was to be emigrated under the provisions of the 1891 Industrial Schools Act and the parent objected, the onus of proof should fall on the parent to show that he was a fit person to influence the decision, not that the school should have to prove that the parent was unfit: P.R.O. HO 45/9838/B10399A, memo 1 June 1892. Radzinowicz and Hood, A History of English Criminal Law, pp. 213-14, 216-19.

populace,[17] many clung with considerable tenacity to the relationship based on blood, and fought the efforts of schools to eradicate it.[18] Equally, the children themselves sometimes showed great interest in their families 'on the outside.'[19] Thus, under these circumstances, schools felt obliged to enlist a number of means to undermine the original relationship and then to supplant it with one based on the pseudo-familial structures of the institution.

The first of these was to keep children within the schools for as long as possible. It was constantly argued by reformatory school workers that it was very hard, if not impossible, to 'reform' an inmate in less than five years.[20] There were a number of other reasons for a long period being preferred, not least the disciplinary benefits that stability in the population of girls within the institution was likely to bring. It was also believed to be the case that girls committed for a shorter period - especially to an institution in their home area, which was not uncommon - were unlikely to lose the local connections and extra-familial loyalties which it was felt had brought them down. To a large extent, the length of time for which a girl was committed to a reformatory school was beyond the control of managers and at the discretion of the magistrates. Thus it could not be guaranteed that girls would be committed for the ideal five-year term. Figures derived from official reports

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17. For example, CS case 70.

18. For example, CS cases 32, 261, 274, 308.

19. For example, CS case 252, who wrote three letters to a brother which were not forwarded by the school. Also CS case 290.

20. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 54 (Report, Dept. C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

indicated that, at least in the eighteen-nineties, reformatory girls actually experienced an average reformatory term of three years and 184 days, slightly longer than their male counterparts, but somewhat less than the five-year ideal.[21]

As industrial school girls were usually committed until the age of sixteen,[22] the length of their detention was obviously dependent upon their age at the time of committal. Many girls experienced long periods of detention. The twenty-one girls forming the 1881 cohort of the Northumberland Village Homes were kept there for an average of four years, eight and a half months before they were released, generally on licence. The 1891 cohort was retained in the Homes for an even longer time, a mean of six years, four months, one girl experiencing a huge twelve years, nine months in the Homes.[23] As for those committed to the care of the Waifs & Strays Society between 1881 and 1900, the average length of time a girl was actually resident in a school was three years, nine and a half months, though the median was greater, four years, five months.[24] All of these figures were considerably in excess of the three years

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[21]. John Watson, 'Reformatory & Industrial Schools,' Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 59 (1896), pp. 255-312, esp. p.283.

[22]. The Waifs & Strays sample shows 314 girls from 343 (91.5%) committed to age sixteen.

[23]. This was due largely to the difference in the mean age of the two groups, the 1891 girls having a mean age of eight years on committal, considerably younger than the 1881 girls, with a mean age of ten. The 1901 cohort of eleven girls had a mean age of eleven. Figures derived from T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/14, orders of committal.

[24]. Few Waifs & Strays girls spent the whole period of their sentence in a school. Looking at the orders of detention, it appears that it was anticipated that inmates would spend a mean of five years and six months actually living

recommended by the 1896 Departmental Committee Report, which favoured early release on license.[25]

Within the school regime, one disabling power available to the managers in the fight to alienate their charges from their parents was the ability to interfere with post addressed to girls both before and after release and generally to withhold information as they saw fit.[26] Letters from mothers and fathers were ignored, as were requests for information from other relatives.[27] For example, the ladies' committee of Stockport Industrial school noted that

> Letters have been received from the mother and sister of A-- B-- asking for her address, which the Committee have advised Miss Wotherspoon [the school matron] not to give. A-- has been in a situation at Bramhall Green for 2 years and has done well...for the girl's good it is thought best that her mother shall not have any communication with her.[28]

Conversely, if an ex-inmate asked for information about her parents, the school authorities might deny knowing the parents' whereabouts, even in instances

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within an industrial school. The minimum period of detention was envisaged as twelve months, the maximum as thirteen years and nine months.

25. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 56 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

26. For example, D.R.O. 3899F/M2/2, minutes, Directors' meeting 6 Oct. 1868, when the Devon & Exeter Reformatory managers withheld a letter to J.S. from her mother because of J.S.'s bad behaviour. Also D.R.O. 3899F/M2/6, minutes, House Committee meeting 15 March 1865, when two 'improper' letters were destroyed. Inmates did not necessarily accept this process passively: see B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry 11 July 1859, p. 96 for a Red Lodge Reformatory girl accusing Mary Carpenter of with-holding letters.

27. For example, CS case 39, whose brother tried, for five years, to get the Society to reveal the girl's whereabouts. CS case 311, letters from mother ignored on order of Mr Rudolf.

28. Stockport Industrial School: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/5/3, minutes, Ladies House Committee meeting 25 Oct. 1900.

where the parents were actively seeking to re-establish contact. This concealment of information might continue even when the ex-inmate was much older.[29]

While at the school, all contact with blood relations was strictly limited. For example, at Sparkbrook Girls' Industrial School, parents were to be allowed a one hour visit once a month, a privilege which could be forfeited if the girl was guilty of misbehaviour.[30] At the Devon & Exeter Reformatory, parents were to visit no more than once in three months, and parents living in Exeter were forbidden to write letters to their daughters.[31] As Jane Barnes has put it, 'remaining links between child and home were ruthlessly cut' in an attempt to overcome the 'hereditary evil'.[32] Presumably, the senior staff attempted to create in the minds of the children an ideological basis for their actions by exhorting them to acknowledge that their parents had been wicked and sinful, and that they should strive to have completely different lives. They seem to have had some success. For example, J.G., a former inmate of the Princess Mary Village Homes, was said to have related that

> I have not written to my mother for more than a twelve month, and I hope never to see her again. I am really quite afraid of her, but I do not mean to be annoyed with such a woman. I am much

[29]. For example, CS case 234, whose mother persisted for a number of years in trying to reach the girl through the Society. Yet the girl was told, in 1946, that the Society had no records of the mother.

[30]. Sparkbrook C.I.S.: Birmingham School Board Minutes, 1870-1873, p. 625.

[31]. Devon & Exeter Reformatory: D.R.O. 3899F/M2/1, minutes, Directors' meetings, 21 Mar. 1860 and 14 May 1862.

[32]. Jane Barnes, Irish Industrial Schools, 1868-1908 (Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1989), p. 88.

better off without a mother at all, than to have such a one as I have.[33]

Sister Stephanie was able to report as early as 1864 that many girls regretted leaving St Joseph's Reformatory, 'and are most desirous not to be sent to their homes, which we consider to be the best proof of their change for the better.'[34] By the turn of the century, the sisters at Arno's Court Reformatory were trying to discourage any girl set upon such a course by allowing her to visit her parent's homes for a short while before discharge, which, Inspector Legge reported, 'is often found to disgust her with it, and to make her readier to accept a place found for her by the school.'[35]

Negative forces such as these worked well up to a point, but it was clear from the outset that, if girls were to reject their natural parents and all they symbolised, an alternative source of guidance and succour was needed. It was also clear that, even while encouraging the girls to turn away from their parents, the schools had a duty to impress them with the 'real', strong, and pure values of family life. Thus the schools, particularly the industrial schools, sought to engage their ex-inmates in a relationship in which the managers and staff became older and wiser 'parent' figures, the school became the 'family home' to which the girl could return in times of need or celebration, and the ex-inmate became the dutiful 'daughter' accepting her position of dependence, expressive

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33. P.M.V.H.: Open Doors (Feb. 1884), p. 52.

34. St Joseph's Reformatory: Sheff. A.S. MD 7138/8/227, draft report for 1864 by Sister Stephanie.

35. Arno's Court Reformatory: PP 1901 [Cd. 511] XXXIII p. 110 (44th Annual Report).

of gratitude for the benefits conferred by the school-family, and appreciative of the sacrifices which had been made by others to give her a good start in life. In Susannah Meredith's words, girls would 'pass out into the world no longer destitute of home ties, having known by experience what the word "Home" and its sweetness mean.'[36]

The creation of a genuine emotional attachment between staff and children, and its substitution for that with the natural parents, was considered much more important in the post-discharge supervision of girls than of boys; and was a topic of some interest to contemporaries. "L", writing in 1863, stressed the value of staff forming a close friendly relationship with girls before they were discharged, as it was only by making them aware of the existence of true sympathetic feeling that they could be persuaded to stay in communication.[37] Mary Carpenter, in a similar vein, hoped that her Red Lodge girls would realise that the school would never abandon them in time of need.[38] For reformatory and perhaps more especially industrial school girls, it was clear that just as the character of their mothers had been an important factor contributing to their selection for committal, it was the mother-substitute provided by the institution who was to be of prime importance in guarding their morality after release. Thus the establishment of a warm 'mother/daughter' relationship became essential. Mary Carpenter clearly believed this. From early in 1856, she took

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[36]. Anon [Mrs Meredith?], Mrs Meredith's Institutions (1892), p. 5.

[37]. R&RJ, xii (1863), pp. 74-82. The issue was still considered important in 1880: R&RJ, xcv (1880), pp. 133-8; xcvi (1880), pp. 141-5.

[38]. Red Lodge Reformatory: R&RJ, xlv (1869), p. 277.

to visiting each Red Lodge girl in turn at bedtime for 'an interchange of affection'.[39] She wrote:

> The girls seem greatly to enjoy my nightly visits to them when in bed. I can then indulge the little ones in their warm embraces which I think necessary for children & the older ones take the opportunity to tell me their little secrets and feeling. These visits make them <u>feel</u> what I tell them - that I love them as a mother.[40]

This small amount of affection seems to have been greatly valued by the girls, who reputedly wept loudly if they were overlooked by Miss Carpenter in her evening round.[41]

A considerable portion of the Waifs & Strays girls voluntarily kept in touch with either the Director, Mr Rudolf, or their former matrons. Their letters to the latter often expressed a genuine love of the matron and the school. It was not uncommon for girls to sign themselves, 'your loving daughter' or 'your loving child', and address the letter to 'my dear mother' or 'Mater'.[42] These were occasions when it is obvious that the girls were choosing to refer to their relationship with the staff in familial terms. However, it should be noted that

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39. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/1, journal entry Feb. 1856, p. 24.

40. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/1, journal entry March 1856, p. 28 [original emphasis].

41. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/2, journal entry June 1858, p. 49.

42. For example, CS case 185 (letter to matron, 19 Sept. 1900); CS case 54 (letter to Matron, [July?] 1891). CS case 53 (letter to Rudolf, 1894). Worth noting in relation to this is CS case 136, who corresponded regularly with Mr Rudolf in a respectful and grateful vein, trying to get his support against complaining mistresses, but who was reputed by one of them to have 'a great hatred of the Home' (letter, 13 May 1895). The 1896 Report notes that superintendents often became 'real parents' to their charges, especially in girls' schools and in those run by religious communities: PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 16 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

this might simply have been a habit arising from a custom imposed upon the girls. Certainly, at the Princess Mary Village Homes, girls were encouraged to call the women in charge of the cottages 'mother' and they were never referred to as anything else; in fact, this title was applied to them even before the Homes were built.[43] How truly this reflected the nature of the relationship between the house-matrons and the girls, it is impossible to say.

Stockport Girls' Industrial School seems to have been a model of success in building an emotional tie with its former inmates. The matron's reports catalogue the number of letters and visits received during the course of each month, and the results are impressive. For example, during January 1890, twenty-five ex-inmates made contact, during July 1891, the figure was thirty.[44] However, the school did not leave it entirely up to the girl to keep in touch. The matron sent Christmas cards to sixty of the old girls in 1891. She also invited girls to spend their holidays at the school, which a number did.[45] The links thus produced were long standing: letters were received from girls who had left ten years before or more.[46] Ex-inmates came to visit bearing gifts

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43. P.M.V.H.: R&RJ, li (1871), p. 167; lxvii (1875), p. 401. References to the 'cottage mothers' can be found throughout Open Doors. Also true of the Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/91/1, 6th Annual Report (report by a visitor, Jan. 1886).

44. Stockport Girls' C.I.S.: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/3/1, matron's reports 6 Feb. 1890 and 30 July 1891.

45. Stockport Girls' C.I.S.: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/3/1, matron's report 31 Dec. 1891; B/W/6/3/2, matron's report 30 Aug. 1900.

46. Stockport Girls' C.I.S.: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/3/1, matron's reports 29 Sept 1897 and 25 May 1898; B/W/6/3/2, matron's reports 8 May 1900 and 22 Aug. 1901.

of sweets for the present inmates.[47] The matron was invited to the weddings of her former charges.[48] Altogether, the regime at the Stockport Industrial School seems to have succeeded in producing a close-knit group of girls bonded in real affection to their former superintendents. Moreover, the success of the schools in achieving the internalisation of their values can be measured by the willingness of girls to use peer pressure to ensure conformity. In 1891, for example, a former inmate of the school was found 'living in a most disreputable manner' by two other former inmates who, showing they had learned their lessons well, compelled her to return to the school.[49]

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47. Stockport Girls' C.I.S.: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/3/1, matron's report 24 Oct. 1895.

48. Stockport Girls' C.I.S.: Stock.A.S. B/W/6/3/1, matron's report 2 Mar. 1893. See also CS case 212: the matron of the Cold Ash Home attended Lily's wedding in 1912 to give her away, and also provided the wedding bouquet. The newly-weds bought a house close to the school so that Lily could visit regularly. She wrote that: 'Although I am married I still feel to belong to the Home a little bit *[sic]*...I remember many happy days there, and am thankful for all that was done for me.' And this girl was still periodically visiting the Home in 1950.

49. Stockport Girls' C.I.S.: Stock. A.S. B/W/6/3/1, matron's report, 25 June 1891. See also Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/8, minutes, Committee meeting 26 Feb. 1890, an absconded girl recaptured through the good offices of a former inmate.

(iii) Essential Gratitude

It was anticipated that any well-reformed girl would know that she should feel indebted to the system and its workers.[50] This was an important element of the relationship between girls and their schools, as meekness and reverent admiration were part of both the characteristic feminine and ideal working-class stereotypes. This was especially necessary since these girls were being taught to appreciate the value of their pre-determined stations in life, born to selflessly serve the class from which were drawn those who had seen fit to rescue them from 'a life of vice and crime'[51] and thus from a far more awful spiritual damnation.

Innumerable expressions of appreciation for help received were preserved by schools and philanthropic societies. In 1893, for instance, letters were received from 170 of the 871 girls released to date from the Princess Mary Village Homes.[52] They were useful propaganda in the fight for greater recognition of the system's work by government and public, as well as, presumably, appealing to the personal vanity of those to whom such statements

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50. See, for example, the Annual Report of the P.M.V.H. which described the encouraging result of the schools' system of training 'notwithstanding a few instances of ingratitude': Open Doors (Aug. 1887), p. 126. Also Anon [Arthur Maddison?], Out in the World (1895), girl S.R.

51. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/91/1, clipping, Jan. 1881. (Quote used as title of this study.)

52. P.M.V.H.: Surrey R.O. 2591/1/21, 23rd Annual Report (1893), p. 6. The management of Red Hill boys' reformatory also preserved and published selections of letters of gratitude from former inmates, e.g. letters from emigrants in each Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School at Red Hill, Surrey, (1860) pp. 24-45; (1872), pp. 40-59; (1898), pp. 63-95.

were addressed. One girl wrote that she thought 'the Home has done so much for girls that girls ought to do something for the Homes.'[53] A similar feeling was echoed by Mary who, in 1987, wrote a eulogy of the Waifs & Strays Society (by then known as the Church of England Children's Society), expressing great gratitude for 'the encouragement and training they gave me.'[54] Lizzie, writing to Mr Rudolf in 1898 after her marriage, stated that she could never forget the kindnesses she had experienced at the Cold Ash Home because a portrait of it hung in pride of place in her living room.[55] In 1896, just before her discharge, Maisie felt moved to write to Mr Rudolf that 'I thought I should like to express my thanks to you for benefits received' and promised to try hard to be good.[56]

Emigrant's letters were held to be an excellent source of expressions of gratitude which could be publicly disseminated in support of the work of the system. In 1888, the Northumberland Village Homes' Ladies' Committee was able to enjoy some which were

> wonderfully expressed and they one and all seem to have an affectionate feeling for the 'Homes' where they have been trained.[57]

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[53]. Hemel Hempstead: Our Waifs & Strays (Aug. 1901), p. 137.

[54]. CS miscellaneous: 87.032 Mary of St Mary's - An Old Girl's Appreciation (handwritten, 1987). Mary had been an inmate around the time of the Great War.

[55]. CS case 92, letter 31 Dec. 1898. See also Open Doors (Aug. 1884), p. 197: a girl asking to be sent a picture of the Princess Mary Village Homes as a wedding present.

[56]. CS case 18, letter 17 Sept. 1896. This kind of pre-discharge expression of gratitude is rare, thus it seems likely to be a reflection of genuine feeling as opposed to part of an orchestrated letter-writing.

[57]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/42, minutes, Ladies' House Committee meeting 9 July 1888.

A selection of these letters were reproduced in James Hall's biography. They were carefully chosen to enhance the public reputation of the Homes, and it is quite impossible to judge whether they are representative of the letters received, or even whether the reproduction was faithful: it was, after all, virtually impossible to check the authenticity of the authorship or content while the girls from whom such letters were said to come were safely abroad. Such letters are, however, a clear expression of the sentiments which were sought by the managers of such institutions. 'God will bless you for your kind undertakings and the good work at our Homes', Hannah Gibbons was said to have written from Ontario. Barbara Thompson's message was even more direct: 'We owe everything to you,' she wrote, 'you have my prayers and gratitude.'[58]

Sometimes words were not enough, and girls expressed their sense of indebtedness by giving gifts of money to the relevant school or organisation. Our Waifs & Strays reported in 1901 that five 'old girls' of the Hemel Hempstead Home had joined the 'Guild of Gratitude', an organisation the sole aim of which was the receipt of donations from ex-inmates.[59] Further examples include Mary who, seventeen months after emigrating from the Northumberland Village Homes, sent a donation of one pound via the head matron, Mrs Craig, 'as a small

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58. Hayward, James Hall, pp. 333-347 for a selection of letters supposedly received by those connected to the Northumberland Village Homes. See also for P.M.V.H., Open Doors (Feb. 1884), pp. 49-53; (Aug. 1884), p. 197; and (Aug. 1888), p. 79 for similar comments contained in printed letters described by the editor as 'spontaneous productions'.

59. Hemel Hempstead Home: Our Waifs and Strays (Aug. 1901), p. 137.

token of her gratitude.'[60] Bessie sent a postal order for the same amount in 1887, almost three years after her discharge.[61] Giving could even become institutionalised in the former inmate's household: Dora wrote to the Matron of the Cold Ash Home in 1922 that her ten year old son gave a portion of his pocket-money to the Waifs & Strays Society every week.[62]

(iv) Failure

Of course, not all discharged inmates were keen to keep up contact or a correspondence with their old schools. Harriet, for instance, who was often criticised for being a liar and a trouble-maker when resident in the Northumberland Village Homes, was lost sight of very quickly once she had emigrated.[63] Letitia absolutely refused to have anything to do with the Waifs & Strays Society, much to her employer's dismay.[64] Rebecca ran away from

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[60]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5, discharge register, case 14.

[61]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5, discharge register, case 15. CS case 28 sent a pound to the Waifs & Strays Society in 1925, expressing deep gratitude. See also CS case 39, who sent six shillings to the Waifs & Strays Society every Christmas. See also Anon, Out in the World (1895), girl C.W. with annual subscription of 2s 6d.

[62]. CS case 282, letter 1922.

[63]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/12, register, case 28; T375/NVH/5, discharge register, case 68.

[64]. CS case 309.

her second place and was never seen again.[65] Such girls, no doubt, had few fond memories of life in the Homes, and many grudges which would make them determined to sever all communication.

By the standards of the schools, some former inmates turned out very badly indeed. Katie, a girl from Leytonstone Industrial School, ran away from her first place, and attempted to commit suicide in her second by drinking carbolic acid.[66] Maggie from Red Lodge was convicted of abducting her master's child and sentenced to three months hard labour.[67] Reverend James Nugent, a Roman Catholic philanthropist of Liverpool stated, in 1864, that because of the difficulties of finding girls good places, some had rapidly found their way back onto the streets to a life of shop-lifting and worse.[68] Such a failing was attributed to Blanch and Alice, two sisters who were rescued from their street-walking careers by a missionary.[69] Some pledged themselves to a career in prostitution even before their release. Cooper, for example, having vowed to live by these means, disappeared over the wall at Red Lodge and was never heard of again.[70] Winifred, discharged from the Portsmouth & South

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65. CS case 21. Similar is CS case 151.

66. Leytonstone C.I.S.: P.R.O. HO 45/9887/B17047: report of the Chairman of the London School Board, 25 Sept. 1894.

67. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/8, minutes, Committee meeting 25 Sept. 1889.

68. Sheff.A.S. MD 7138/8/125, letter 3 July 1864, Nugent to "sir".

69. CS cases 65, 66.

70. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/1, journal entry Summer 1855, pp. 6, 8.

Hants school as an imbecile, was last heard of operating as a prostitute.[71] Even worse, Evangeline was accused of complicity in a murder in 1902, about two years after leaving the Beckett Home.[72] More unusually, and indicating the kinds of details which determined the school's official judgements on the post-discharge character of a former inmate, Sister Stephanie of St Joseph's Reformatory noted with regret that, in 1867, McKenzie had 'relapsed', having gone on the stage as a dancer.[73]

Nor were girls always successful employees. In 1898, a Mrs Parker-Jarvis complained of Cecilia that:

> she is just as firm in disobeying rules if she chooses as she can be capable of doing well...It could hardly be forgetfulness after one and a half years that made her persist in not getting up when called, or reading in bed, or not washing up when the things were under her hands, could it! [74]

Similar behaviour exasperated countless mistresses. Esther's employer complained of her outright refusal to work, her propensity for late rising, and her casual cocoa drinking; while Bernadette was reported to be very insolent, singing at her mistress when spoken to about her bad work.[75] Elsie adamantly refused to wash herself when in service, and often alarmed her employers by standing

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71. Portsmouth & South Hants C.I.S.: Information derived from Surrey R.O. 2591/3/2, discharge register.

72. Beckett Home: CS case 278, letter 29 Nov. 1902, Matron to Rudolf.

73. St Joseph's Reformatory: Sheff.A.S. MD 7138/11/75a, letter 9 Apr. 1867, Sister Stephanie to Honourary Secretary Gainsford.

74. CS case 156, letter 10 Mar. 1898, Mrs Parker-Jarvis to matron.

75. CS cases 30, letter 17 Jan. 1895; and 275, letter 5 Apr. 1904, Miss Sutcliffe to matron.

perfectly still and silent for up to five hours.[76]

Even the carefully nurtured reliance and dependency upon a school could backfire and create more problems than it solved. Some girls clearly became so institutionalised as a result of their long sentences that they could not cope with the pressures of the outside world. For example, a Waifs & Strays girl employed by a Mr Cadwer left after six months without a moment's notice. He felt moved to express his annoyance to the Society's Director, Mr Rudolf, at the way events had then progressed.

> I learn from my wife [he wrote] that Miss Lockwood [a school matron] had very kindly brought another girl to take Eliza's place...Needless to say, my wife accepted Miss Lockwood's offer...and the new girl...was duly installed. Lunch which was then ready was taken, and upon my wife going into the kitchen immediately afterwards to instruct the girl in her duties...the girl refused to stay, saying she felt lonely, and must go back to the Home, which she did.

Mr Cadwer believed he could not declare forcefully enough the great difficulties which were resultant from the girls' awareness that, no matter what their failings, they would not be turned away by the Waifs & Strays Society.[77]

Such faith in the Society was well-founded. It was loath to abandon girls while there was some hope of them keeping to legitimate and respectable occupations, even though supporting such people might take considerable time and organisation. Julia, for example, was an "in and out" girl. She was initially sent to domestic service in 1906. Between then and 1917 she held twelve situations, all of them found by an agent of the Society, and she stayed in the

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76. CS case 90, letter Jan. 1899, employer to matron..

77. Letter 5 July 1905 from CS case 308.

Society's House of Refuge at Clapham on eleven occasions.[78] Kate was in serious financial difficulties in 1899, living in a rough part of London and reputedly in danger of falling into prostitution through her poverty. The Society stepped in to prevent this by providing her with clothing suitable for domestic service.[79]

Yet, once in a while, the Society would decide that no more could be done for particular individuals and they were cut adrift, as happened in 1904 to Bessie, a girl who was frequently dismissed from situations for bad temper.[80] On occasion the school authorities would be pleased to see a girl go, and had no desire to keep in touch with her, despite their obligations. For example, Mrs Fry of the Mumbles Home, writing to Mr Rudolf, asked

> to know by return if Beth is to be taken back to her home or left to go where she pleases. She has always proved an unsatisfactory "waif" & exercised a bad influence in the Home, that it will prove a benefit to it when she has left us...

And no more is heard of the girl.[81] Similarly, the managers of Red Lodge refused to help one ex-inmate to emigrate, because she had been convicted for theft since her discharge; and another girl who notified the school that she intended to leave her place was told that if she returned to Red Lodge, steps

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[78]. CS case 258. Other examples of long term care are furnished, for example, by CS cases 62, 138, 145, 208, and 265.

[79]. CS case 241. Kate was not a success, however, as she had an illegitimate child in 1902 which she subsequently refused to give up to the Society's care; indeed, she seems to have hidden the child away to stop it being taken from her.

[80]. CS case 239, letter Nov. 1904, Rudolf to girl.

[81]. CS case 78, letter 1 Mar. 1889.

would be taken to have her committed to another, stricter, reformatory.[82]

(v) A Proper Devotion to Duty: Girls in Service

It was regarded as particularly important that girls in domestic service exhibit constancy to their occupation. 'Modern servant girls' were sometimes criticised for their restlessness and their willingness to forfeit an easy place for the lure of more money. Tempted into wandering by the ease of travel provided by the railways, they failed to take on the role of loyal family retainer.[83] A survey undertaken in 1899 claimed that 54% of all domestic servants in England and Wales had been in their places for less than two years.[84] Reformatory and industrial girls were not immune to this restlessness. Once discharged from the supervision of school authorities, some tended to change their situations often, showing considerable geographical and positional mobility. Such behaviour did not, however, escape criticism; and girls who behaved in this way were likely to be condemned by their former guardians

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82. Red Lodge Reformatory: B.R.O. 12693/7, minutes, Committee meetings 26 Feb. 1885 and 28 Nov. 1888.

83. Anon, 'The Average Servant,' Cassell's Family Magazine 4 (1878), p. 78. See also Anon, 'The Domestics,' Saturday Review 77 (1894), p. 120; and Ruth Lamb, Servants and Mistresses (The Religious Tract Society, London, 1889), p. 83.

84. Theresa McBride, The Domestic Revolution: The Modernization of Domestic Service in England and France, 1820-1920 (Croom Helm, London, 1976), p. 76 (Table 4.2).

as 'unsatisfactory'.[85] Fidelity to an employer and general good behaviour was encouraged by a number of schools with the giving of money, clothing, or other valued items to former inmates who kept the same place for a year or longer.[86] For example, in 1888, twelve former Princess Mary Village Homes inmates were rewarded with prizes of work-boxes, dresses, and umbrellas for remaining in the same place for more than twelve months.[87]

It is possible to calculate the length of time which 197 of the 343 Waifs & Strays girls spent in their first job or at some other first destination. The range is from less than one month to forty-six years.[88] The majority of girls stayed at their first destinations between three months and twenty-two months. Since school managers were convinced that former inmates should enter a place in the expectation of remaining in it for a substantial length of time, these figures perhaps indicate that girls were, quite rapidly and fairly commonly, rejected by their employers. About a fifth of the girls returned to their schools at the end of their time at their first destination

However, a couple of individual cases, drawn from the records of

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[85]. For example, May Place girls criticised for changing places: L.C.R.A. 364 cat/2/3, 23rd Annual Report (1885), p. 7; L.C.R.A. 364 cat/7/3, letter 27 Feb. 1888, Hon. Secretary to a subscriber.

[86]. Princess Mary Village Homes: R&RJ, lxx (1876), pp. 34-5. King Edward's Refuge: R&RJ, xcv (1880), p. 134. Hampstead Girls' Reformatory: R&RJ, cxciii (1888), p. 78.

[87]. P.M.V.H.: Open Doors (Aug. 1888), p. 77.

[88]. CS case 162: a girl who was given up by the Waifs & Strays Society for adoption in 1892, though no legal form then existed. She contacted the Society in 1938, as her adoptive parents had died. She had lived with these people throughout the intervening period, never having taken paid employment.

the Northumberland Village Homes, will show that even a regular changeover in places was not necessarily indicative of inconstancy or misbehaviour. Edna was committed at the age of thirteen for having no visible means of subsistence, her father being dead and her mother very poor but respectable.[89] She behaved well during her stay at the Homes, sometimes criticised for untidiness, but generally praised.[90] In 1884, she was awarded the school prize for being the best cook and baker in the Homes.[91] The Matron took account of Edna's desire to become a cook by finding her a first situation in 1885 as a scullery-maid at a country house. Three letters were received from Edna in the first six months of her placement and a further three in 1886, in the first of which she reported that her employers had raised her wages because of her good work. Ill-health overcame her in July 1887. She returned to the Homes to convalesce, during which time her conduct was considered exemplary. After a short placement with a middle-class family, she agreed to emigrate, sailing in June 1888. Upon arrival in Canada, Edna achieved her ambition and became the cook at an orphanage in Hamilton, Ontario.[92]

Amelia was committed aged seven for having no visible means of subsistence. Her mother was said to be a woman of good character, but in

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89. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/14, orders of committal, case 27.

90. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/12, register, case 31.

91. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/91/1, scrapbook: cutting from Northern Daily Express, 15 Aug. 1884.

92. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/5, discharge register, case 24.

difficult circumstances having been deserted by her husband. Amelia was usually a well-behaved child, though after the death of her half-sister she suffered bouts of bad temper. Upon discharge, she was sent to work as a general servant for a Yorkshire clergyman, who, unfortunately, died within the year. Amelia subsequently spent a little time at a place in Scotland as a nursemaid. Returning to England, she appears to have found a place for herself at a country house in Northumberland as third housemaid. Amelia did not prove to be a letter-writer, so Mrs Craig* was usually dependent on the employers for news of the girl. She did, however, make a visit to the Homes in December 1893 during which she is said to have expressed contentment with her place. Shortly afterwards her employer died. This gave Amelia the opportunity to better herself, which she did by obtaining a place as second housemaid in the household of Lady Jerningham.[93]

(vi) Conclusion

It is always extremely difficult to make generalisations about all aspects of the experiences and behaviour of those involved in the reformatory system. So much depended on local conditions and individual personalities, that two similar sets of circumstances could produce quite different results in two situations. What was true of one school's organisation and ideology was not

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[93]. Northumberland Village Homes: T.W.A.S. T375/NVH/12, register, case 35; T375/NVH/14, orders of committal, case 30; T375/NVH/5, discharge register, case 115.

* Matron of the N.V.H.

necessarily true of another, just as the needs and wishes of one group of managers or inmates would always be significantly different to all others. This was inevitable in a system of independently run institutions linked by only a few overt principles.

It is by no means clear that the measures of success used by schools were uniform. A girl who was regarded as 'doing well' by one school might have been considered 'doubtful' by another. Nonetheless, all schools at base evaluated their success using two fundamental measures. The first was regarded by the authorities as fairly objective: the level of re-committals into custody. Most schools claimed a very high level of success based on this criterion and only 187 former industrial schools girls were known officially to have been re-committed of all those discharged between 1857 and December 1895.[94] The second measure of success was a subjective one and was, broadly described, the individual girl's level of conformity to the ideals promoted by the school regime.

As described in preceding chapters, in the long term the schools sought to produce paragons of femininity placed firmly in a respectable working-class milieu. These models centred on the servant and the maternal wife. The successfully reformed girl tried her best - or perhaps did not need to try - to be as good a servant, and subsequently as good a wife, as she could be. Nineteenth-century novels suggest the ideal of servanthood which the schools were striving to create: an ideal of submissive, quiet, modest, honest, chaste, and respectful

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94. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 566. This figure is not available for reformatories and is difficult to calculate with any accuracy as the figures were presented by the inspector annually as the sum of the previous three years.

womanhood which altered little over the course of the century.[95]

In this context, as much as in the straightforward one of reconviction, the schools seem to have had considerable success in achieving their aims. No school could claim that every one of its former inmates conformed to the pattern of life into which they had been released, but the girls who departed from the 'straight and narrow' seem to have been in a minority.

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95. Anon [Amelia Bristow], The Faithful Servant; or the History of Elizabeth Allen (1824); Charlotte Adams, Little Servant Girls (1848); Miss Poole, Without a Character (1870).

Chapter Twelve

Conclusion

Certified reformatory and industrial schools were only a part of a panoply of nineteenth-century institutions which dealt with social deviance. Like many other institutions, they grew out of a sincerely felt philanthropic and religious zeal among a section of the middle-classes who sought to rescue the poor, neglected and sinful from earthly and spiritual damnation; and also to save society at large from the dangers of an uneducated and undisciplined underclass. Such ladies and gentlemen went on to manage and finance reformatories and industrial schools, spending considerable amounts of their own time and money on activities from which there was little personal gain to be had beyond private satisfaction and some public renown.

Reformatory and industrial schools shared many further characteristics of other residential institutions of the period, being subject to rules, timetables, hierarchies and a host of other perceived organisational necessities. Victor Bailey has written that, by 1911, when Winston Churchill became Home Secretary, reformatories and industrial schools 'had acquired an awesome reputation for penal regimentation.'[1] However, he was treating these schools in artificial isolation from similar institutions and as a homogeneous mass. Reformatory and industrial schools were, without doubt, repressive and highly ordered establishments by late twentieth-century standards, but they were

[1]. Victor Bailey, Delinquency and Citizenship: Reclaiming the Young Offender, 1914-1948 (Oxford University Press, 1987) p. 48.

not more repressive than a great many charitably funded, uncertified homes of the period for poor children or working-class adults. Nor was a quasi-militaristic regime of uniforms, roll-calls, brass bands and hard digging the norm in all certified reformatories and industrial schools. No doubt there were variations even among boys' schools; but, most importantly, the girls who entered certified schools did not experience this kind of regime. Instead, girls were subject to a system which enforced strict discipline of a rather different kind.

The cause of this difference were the diverse long-term aims of schools for boys and girls. Unlike boys, girls were not being trained for a harsh outdoor life or for a life in the army or merchant navy. The managers and staff of reformatory and industrial schools for girls sought to take neglected young waifs and unruly adolescents from the street or disorderly house and turn them into models of deferential, working-class femininity. These philanthropically active men and women were driven not only by the need to protect society from the lasting consequences of neglecting girls - the mothers of the next generation - but also by the desire to benefit individual children by restoring to them what were thought to be their proper characteristics: innocence and dependency.

They sought girls seemingly endangered by the contaminating influences of their own or their family's sexuality, particularly that of their mothers, and endeavoured to enclose them in a purifying environment based on cleanliness and spirituality. Importantly, though girls were being picked out for committal at least in part because of the sexual activities they had witnessed and in which they had possibly engaged, once they had entered a school all reference to such matters was suppressed. Managers and staff did not want to

know what their charges had experienced in the outside world and they did not want the girls to learn from each other. They set out to create an ideal of sexless womanhood and all discussion of its opposite was to be stifled. However, there remained a tension between the need to protect the innocent and the need to rescue the fallen. It was never really settled whether reformatories and industrial schools were intended to shield the vulnerable individual from moral danger or to defend society from those already contaminated with sin and dangerous depravity.

Parallel to, and in many respects indivisible from, their desire to create an ideal of asexual femininity was the managers' wish to mould their charges into models of an industrious, humble working-class. They attempted to do this through a number of means. Discipline in the shape of rules, regulations and time-tables, with concomitant rewards and punishments, was intended to train the girl in obedience, punctuality, cleanliness, meekness and other similar virtues. Numerous forms of punishment, including the rod and the cell, were always at the ready to deal with expressions of boldness, wilfulness and insubordination, as well as the sins of laziness, untidiness and waste. Girls did not always respond passively to these threats and were capable of disruptive action without regard for the consequences. However, reformatory and industrial schools for girls only rarely experienced serious breakdowns of order. It seems that most of the inmates decided to conform, at least outwardly, most of the time, although the underlying tension between conformity and rebellion was more disruptive to good order in the long-term than the very rare riots.

The other principal way in which school authorities sought to model

their charges was through the medium of education and training. Lessons in the classroom, which concentrated on a combination of Christian religious instruction and domestic pursuits (eventually to be formalised as Domestic Economy), were intended to produce young women steeped in a reverence for domesticity and femininity with an aptitude and desire to create, in time, a perfect home in which they would find personal fulfilment and could benefit society through their good influences over a husband and children.

Until the day they were in a position to run their own households, however, the ex-inmates were expected to work for their living in paid employment. Their education did not prepare them for some of the better paid work, such as typewriting, which was gradually becoming open to women from the eighteen-eighties, and it discouraged them from entering the unskilled but comparatively independent world of factory-work. It was instead planned that ex-inmates would go into domestic service: safe, supervised jobs that would, it was hoped, continue to train them for future wife and mother-hood. Laundrywork, needlework and household chores ate away at the daily timetable in the attempts of school staff and managers to ensure that girls would be employable in this quintessentially feminine labour market.

Unfortunately, the qualities which reformatory and industrial schools promoted in their inmates did not intersect perfectly with those sought by employers. The inmate was rarely expected to think for herself; if she did, she was likely to be reproached as 'bold' and 'self-willed'.[2] Yet mistresses and

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2. For example, by Mary Carpenter: B.R.O. 12693/1, journal entry Feb. 1856, p. 24 and generally throughout her journals. For comparison, note the comments of the Sheffield & Rotherham Independent reporter who praised the inmates of

the writers of magazine articles mourned the lack of initiative and independent thought exhibited by their young servants. An article about model workhouse schools noted that 'the unhelpfulness of girls who leave poor law and other public institutions for domestic service' could be accounted for by the rigid institutionalisation they had experienced:

> everything is done for them - each hour of the day arranged and each piece of work exactly squared, so that labour becoming merely mechanical, there is no room left for the exercise of judgement.[3]

Clearly, more than simple obedience and conformity was required of the servant, but this the schools were not geared to provide.

Nor was it apparent to everyone that the schools had succeeded in imposing moral integrity upon their former inmates. Miss Maria Poole, secretary of the Metropolitan Association for the Befriending of Young Servants, detected an undercurrent of dissatisfaction among some employers of reformatory and industrial school girls. Despite long years of confinement under strict discipline, it was sometimes complained that they compared unfavourably to Poor Law girls who had experienced a less pervasive regime. Industrial school girls were, Miss Poole said, 'more dishonest, and more unsteady' than Poor Law girls, with 'many more cases of loss of character' and a general roughness about their manner.[4] Miss Poole's comments were, however, those of an outsider, whose dealings with

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the St Joseph's Reformatory for being 'meek and modest...tractable and docile, obeying the slightest command...': Sheff.A.S. MD 7138/8/185, clipping 27 Oct. 1864.

3. Anon, 'Model Workhouse Schools', The Sunday Magazine, 26 (1890), p. 232.

4. PP 1896 [C. 8204] XLV p. 80 (Report, Dept C. on Ref. & Ind. Schools).

industrial school girls were relatively infrequent. The evidence of individual schools concerning their former inmates suggests that girls who could be described as failures were less common than dissatisfied employers, perhaps with unrealistically high expectations, would have believed.

Certainly, some girls rejected the lessons and beliefs of their institutions and conducted themselves in ways which the school managers and staff and interested commentators thought morally unacceptable. Yet, in many other cases, the certified schools succeeded in making girls feel a sense of self-respect and a commitment to decency and trustworthiness which was considered praiseworthy. While the regimes of some schools were undeniably repressive, what evidence there is of the adulthoods of former Victorian industrial school girls suggests that the managers and staff had a substantial measure of success in achieving their aims. The complex interplay of punitive techniques and quasi-familial affections which characterised the regimes of many certified schools led a large proportion of former female inmates into an adult life of comparative respectability and steadiness. Few girls were known to reoffend; many seem to have broken all ties with their family and former acquaintances, instead substituting a reverence for their superintendents; and a substantial number regarded their former schools with affection and gratitude as the places which had given them a good start in life.

The existing historiography of reformatories, which has, for the most part, considered reformatory and industrial schools as an amorphous mass undifferentiated by questions of gender, has not come to these conclusions. One reason for this is that the studies which form this historiography have been based

principally on secondary sources and official records which tell only part of the story. It has been influenced by later discussions of the failings of institutions designed to house and educate vulnerable juveniles and has, thus, been overshadowed by the perception of reformatories and industrial schools as fundamentally flawed experiments which could not help the children within them. It has neglected to investigate the feelings, experiences and aspirations of those who were in daily contact with the schools. It has also concentrated on the institutions for delinquent boys, who were experiencing a regime quite different to that of the girls. As this study has tried to show, these more positive conclusions are suggested by surviving every-day records of the girls' schools and their inmates. Each school was different, making it difficult to generalise about the experiences of inmates from a wide range of independently managed institutions. But, although reformatories and industrial schools suffered from the inevitable problems of 'total institutions' which remove their inhabitants from the realities of ordinary society, they offered to the girls within them relatively safe and secure places in which to live and, overall, it seems, a sense of belonging for which many remained grateful.

APPENDICES

1. Statistical Tables:

Table 1: *Annual committals of girls under 16 to incarceration of some form, 1861-1893*

Table 2: *Annual committals of boys under 16 to incarceration of some form, 1861-1893*

Table 3: *Percentage of total number committed to gaol only or to a school (derived from Tables 1 and 2), 1861-1893*

Table 4: *Total number of boys and girls detained in certified reformatory schools at 31 December of each year, 1856-1901*

Table 5: *Total number of boys and girls detained in certified industrial schools at 31 December of each year, 1860-1901*

2. A List of Reformatory and Industrial Schools for Girls Arranged by Date of Certification.

Appendix 1, Table 1:

Annual committals of girls aged 16 or less to some form of incarceration (gaol only, gaol plus reformatory, or industrial school), 1861-1893.

[Note: For 1878, available figures are for six months only.]

Year	Gaol only	Gaol & Reformatory	Industrial School	Total
1861	1,167	261	148	1,576
1862	1,068	201	93	1,362
1863	1,064	187	72	1,323
1864	1,129	192	60	1,381
1865	1,034	256	102	1,392
1866	1,006	251	134	1,391
1867	1,108	238	359	1,705
1868	1,135	242	337	1,714
1869	1,102	256	319	1,677
1870	1,122	257	326	1,705
1871	917	239	430	1,586
1872	993	300	430	1,723
1873	1,047	250	404	1,701
1874	811	262	364	1,437
1875	687	206	341	1,234
1876	693	213	363	1,269
1877	685	286	580	1,551
1878	----	----	496	----
1879	636	237	400	1,273
1880	567	226	451	1,244

Girls: total number committed to incarceration

Year	Gaol only	Gaol & Reformatory	Industrial School	Total
1881	565	230	465	1,260
1882	515	238	572	1,325
1883	488	252	699	1,439
1884	357	195	691	1,243
1885	379	189	577	1,155
1886	392	184	675	1,251
1887	335	185	617	1,137
1888	401	199	753	1,353
1889	317	182	651	1,150
1890	268	148	673	1,089
1891	255	135	672	1,062
1892	249	103	607	959
1893	127	151	621	899
Total	22,619	6,951	14,482	44,052

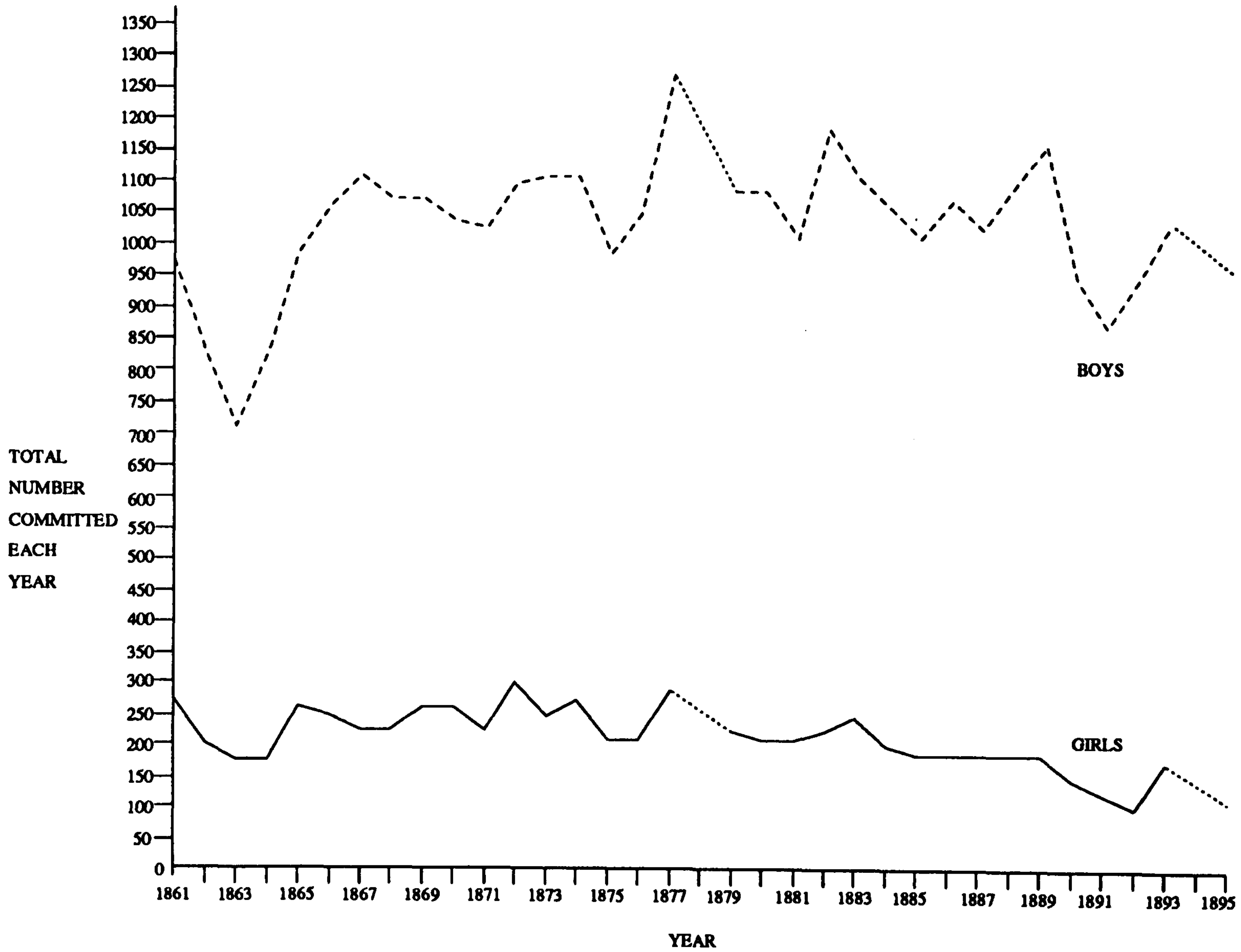
Appendix 1, Table 2:

Annual committals of boys aged 16 or less to some form of incarceration (gaol only, gaol & reformatory, or industrial school), 1861-1893.

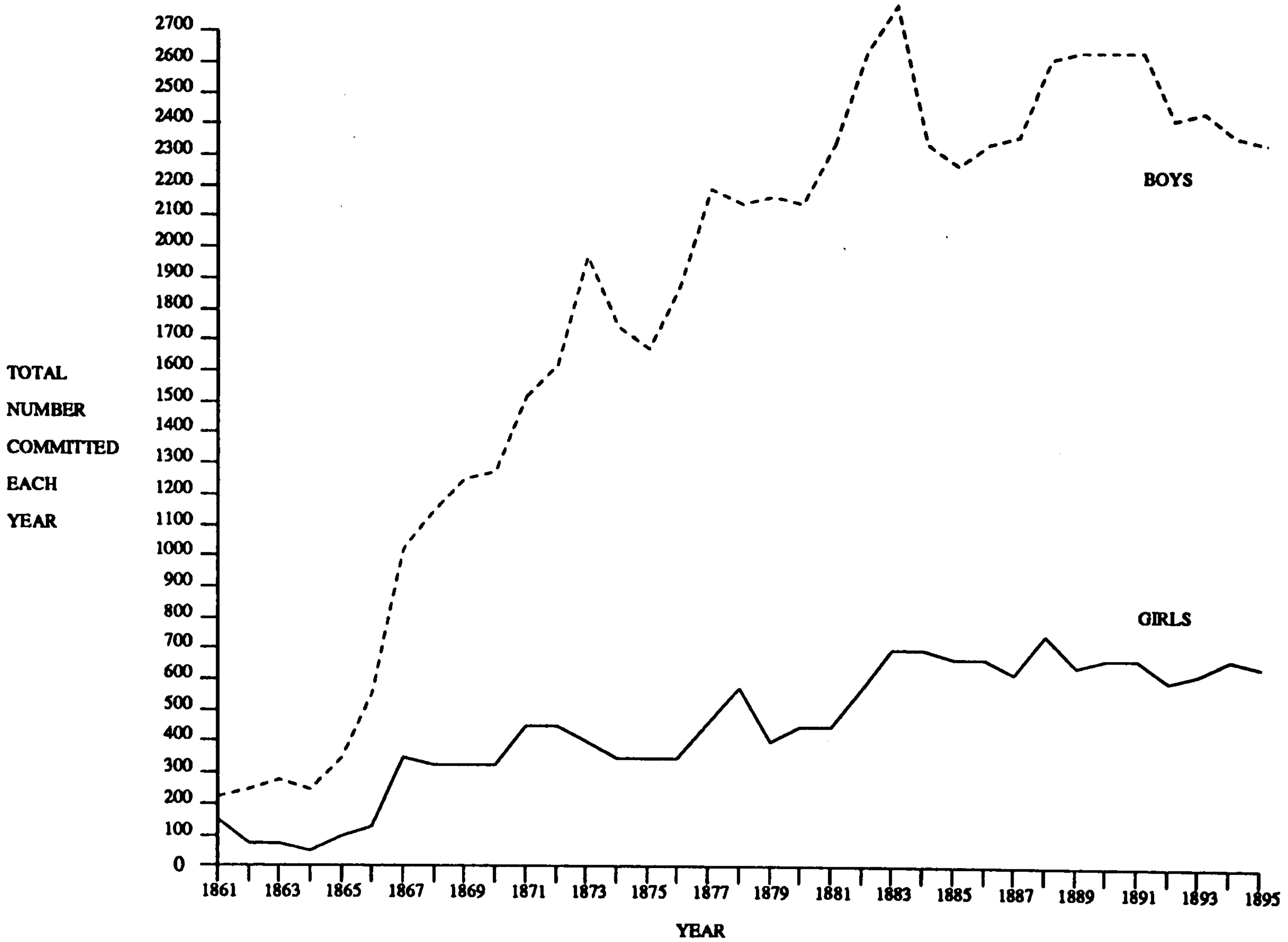
[Note: Figures available for 1878 are for six months only.]

Year	Gaol only	Gaol & Reformatory	Industrial School	Total
1861	6,395	978	210	7,583
1862	6,255	825	255	7,335
1863	6,483	725	280	7,488
1864	6,706	830	245	7,781
1865	7,357	993	373	8,723
1866	7,035	1,064	543	8,642
1867	7,175	1,110	1,019	9,304
1868	7,630	1,072	1,146	9,848
1869	7,881	1,075	1,258	10,214
1870	7,572	1,047	1,281	9,900
1871	6,798	1,023	1,527	9,348
1872	6,963	1,107	1,620	9,690
1873	6,946	1,116	1,991	10,053
1874	6,755	1,115	1,731	9,601
1875	5,328	991	1,687	8,006
1876	5,182	1,050	1,868	8,100
1877	5,339	1,272	2,200	8,811
1878	----	----	2,169	----
1879	4,844	1,093	2,182	8,119
1880	3,694	1,092	2,156	6,942

Year	Gaol only	Gaol & Reformatory	Industrial School	Total
1881	3,669	1,019	2,338	7,026
1882	3,759	1,188	2,634	7,581
1883	3,426	1,109	2,864	7,399
1884	3,267	1,060	2,368	6,695
1885	3,234	1,011	2,292	6,537
1886	3,277	1,071	2,328	6,676
1887	3,294	1,028	2,385	6,707
1888	3,365	1,100	2,615	7,080
1889	2,702	1,155	2,666	6,523
1890	2,508	948	2,655	6,111
1891	2,580	885	2,630	6,095
1892	2,729	955	2,414	6,098
1893	1,612	1,034	2,457	5,103
Total	159,252	33,141	58,387	250,780



ANNUAL COMMITTALS TO CERTIFIED REFORMATORY SCHOOLS
1861 TO 1895



ANNUAL COMMITTALS TO CERTIFIED INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS
1861 TO 1895

Appendix 1, Table 3:

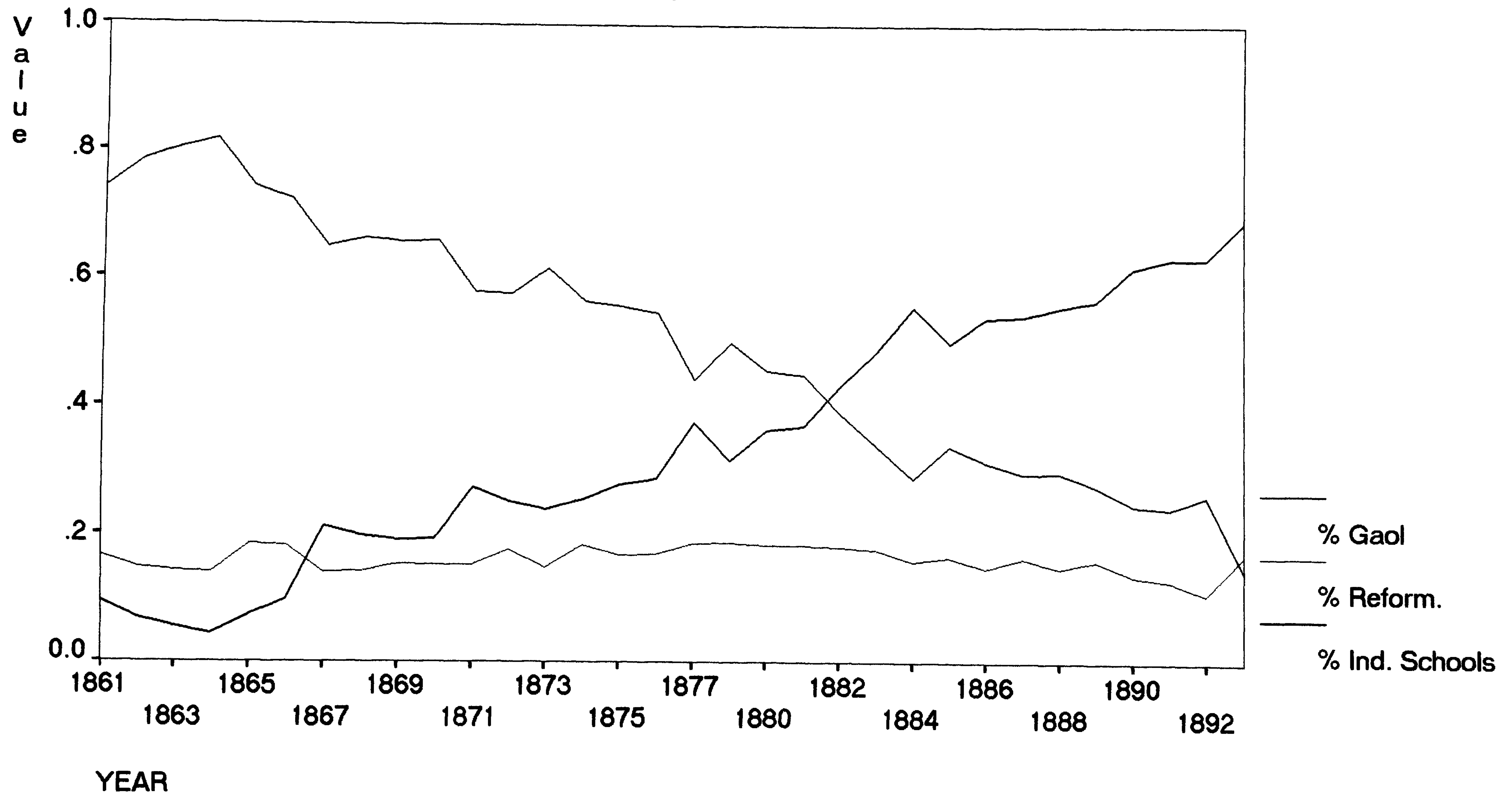
Percentage of total number of children aged 16 or less who were committed to a form of incarceration (gaol only, gaol and reformatory, or industrial school), 1861-1893.

[Note: This table has been generated using appendix 1, tables 1 and 2. Of these two tables, columns 2, 3 and 4 (i.e. children committed to gaol only, those committed to gaol plus reformatory, and children committed to industrial school) have been calculated as a percentage of column 5 (i.e. total number of children committed to all institutions). All figures in the table below are percentages.]

	Gaol Only		Reformatory Schools		Industrial Schools	
Year	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1861	84.3	74.0	12.9	16.6	2.8	9.4
1862	85.3	78.4	11.2	14.8	3.5	6.8
1863	86.4	80.5	9.9	14.1	3.7	5.4
1864	86.2	81.8	10.7	13.9	3.1	4.3
1865	84.3	74.3	11.4	18.4	4.3	7.3
1866	81.4	72.4	12.3	18.0	6.3	9.6
1867	77.1	64.9	11.9	14.0	11.0	21.1
1868	77.5	66.2	10.9	14.1	11.6	19.7
1869	77.2	65.8	10.5	15.2	12.3	19.0
1870	76.5	64.7	10.6	16.2	12.9	19.1
1871	72.8	57.8	10.9	15.1	16.3	27.1
1872	71.9	57.7	11.4	17.4	16.7	24.9
1873	69.1	61.5	11.1	14.7	19.8	23.8
1874	70.4	60.7	11.6	14.0	18.0	25.3
1875	66.6	55.7	12.4	16.7	21.0	27.6
1876	64.0	54.6	13.0	16.8	23.0	28.6
1877	60.6	44.2	14.4	18.4	25.0	37.4

Percentage of children committed to gaol only or to a school

	Gaol Only		Reformatory Schools		Industrial Schools	
Year	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1878	----	----	----	----	----	----
1879	59.6	50.0	13.5	18.6	26.9	31.4
1880	53.2	45.5	15.7	18.2	31.1	36.3
1881	52.2	44.8	14.5	18.3	33.3	36.9
1882	49.6	38.8	15.7	18.0	34.7	43.2
1883	46.3	33.9	15.0	17.5	38.7	48.6
1884	48.8	28.8	15.8	15.7	35.4	55.5
1885	49.4	33.6	15.5	16.4	35.1	50.0
1886	49.1	31.3	16.0	14.7	34.9	54.0
1887	49.1	29.4	15.3	16.3	35.6	54.3
1888	47.6	29.6	15.5	14.7	36.9	55.7
1889	41.4	27.6	17.7	15.8	40.9	56.6
1890	41.1	24.6	15.5	13.6	43.4	61.8
1891	42.3	24.0	14.5	12.7	43.2	63.3
1892	44.7	26.0	15.7	10.7	39.6	63.3
1893	31.6	14.1	20.3	16.8	48.1	69.1


Percentage of Girls Committed to
Gaol only, Reformatory Sch. or Industrial Sch.
Value
1.0
.8
.6
.4
.2
0.0
1861
1863
1865
1867
1869
1871
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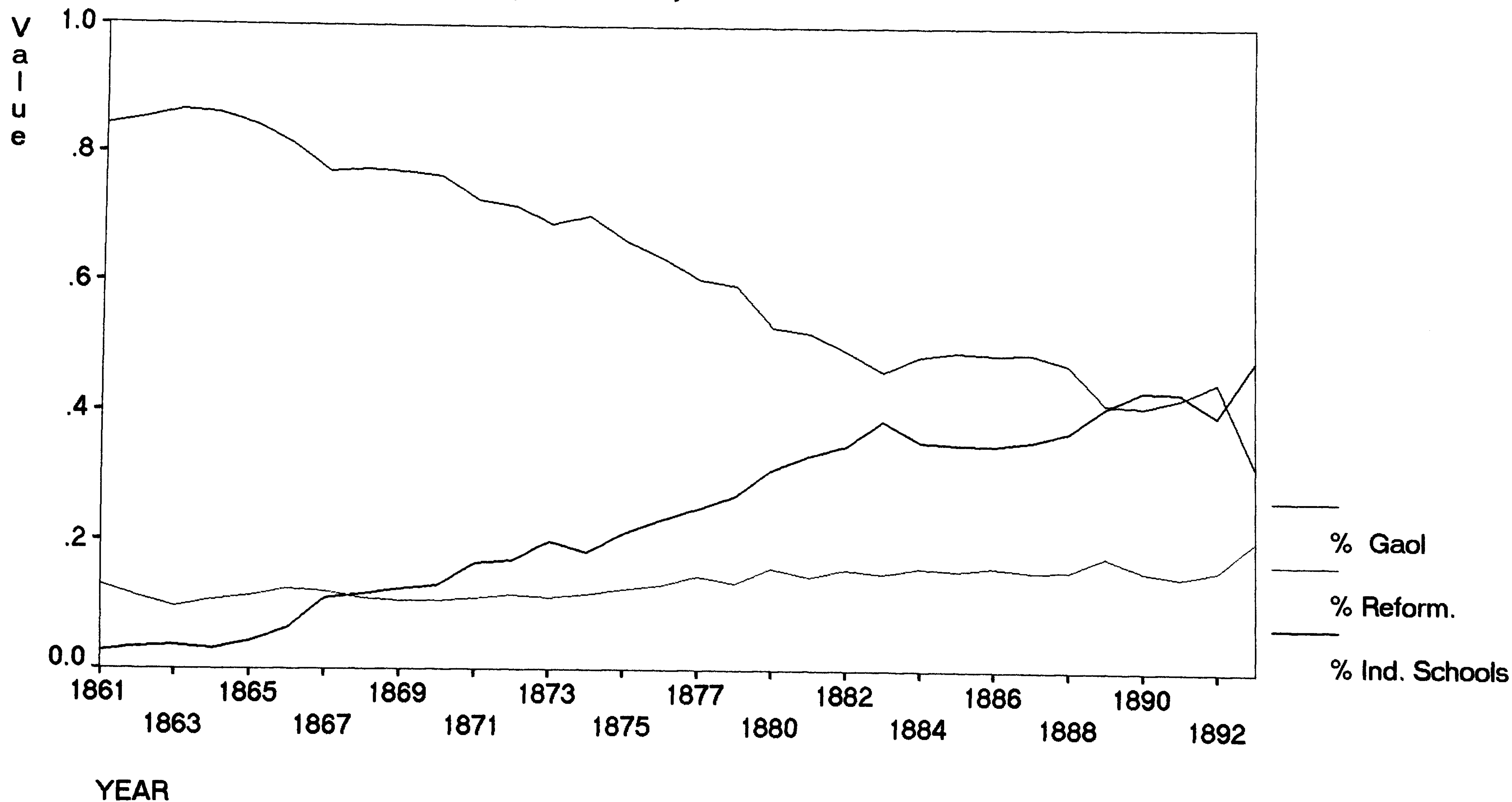
YEAR
% Gaol
% Reform.
% Ind. Schools


Percentage of Boys Committed to
Gaol only, Reformatory Sch. or Industrial Sch.
Value
1.0
.8
.6
.4
.2
0.0
1861
1863
1865
1867
1869
1871
1873
1875
1877
1880
1882
1884
1886
1888
1890
1892
YEAR
% Gaol
% Reform.
% Ind. Schools

Appendix 1, Table 4:

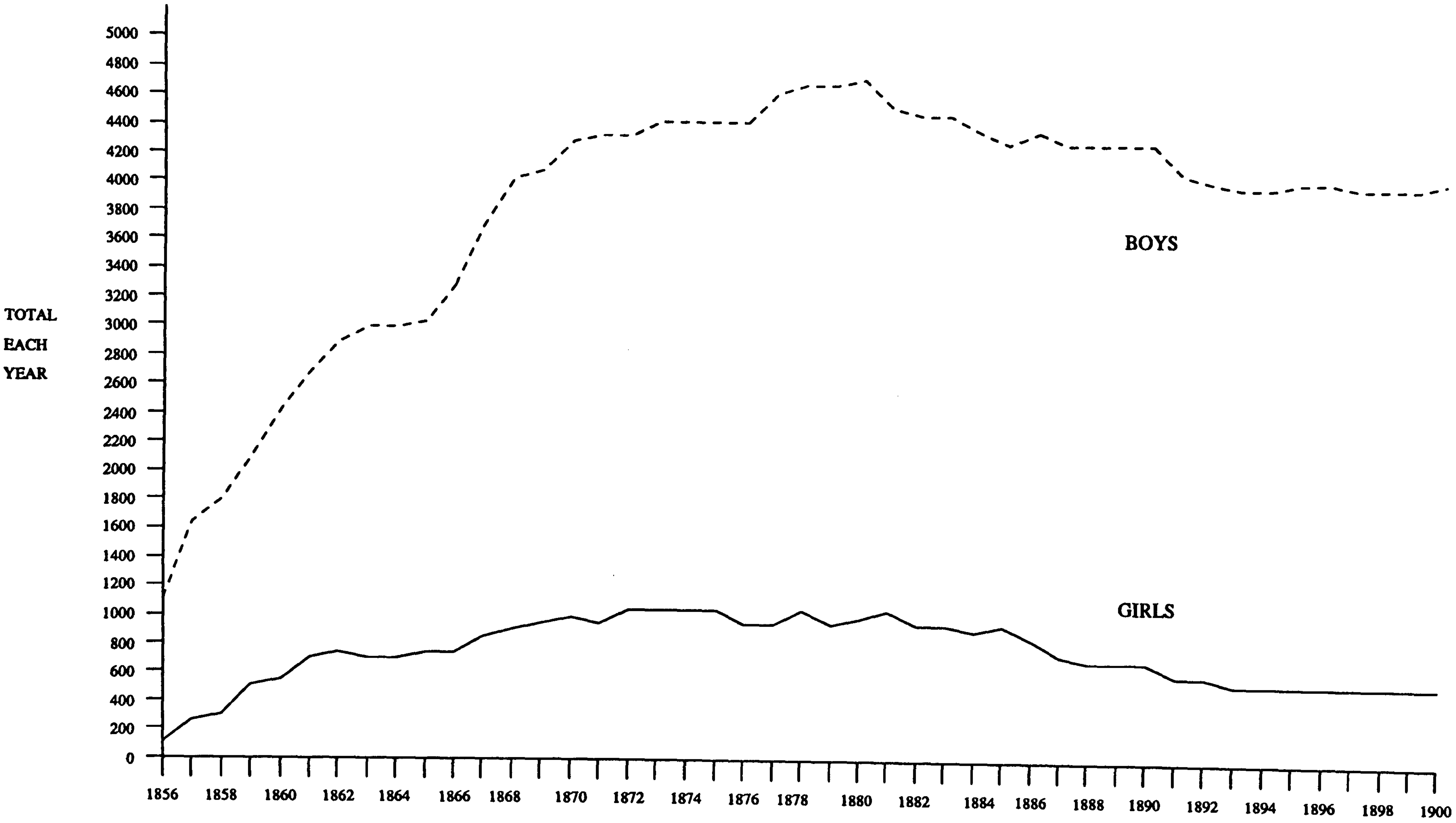
Total Number of Individuals detained in Certified Reformatory Schools (England & Wales), on 31 December of each year, 1856-1901 (including absconders and licensees).

Source: Annual Reports of the Government Inspector.

Year	Boys	Girls	Total	% Girls
1856	1,048	124	1,172	10.6%
1857	1,609	257	1,866	13.8%
1858	1,830	354	2,184	16.2%
1859	2,120	474	2,594	18.3%
1860	2,451	584	3,035	19.2%
1861	2,796	691	3,487	19.8%
1862	2,889	752	3,641	20.7%
1863	3,001	670	3,671	18.3%
1864	2,965	716	3,681	19.5%
1865	3,070	750	3,820	19.6%
1866	3,332	786	4,118	19.0%
1867	3,744	841	4,585	18.3%
1868	4,021	884	4,905	18.0%
1869	4,164	936	5,100	18.4%
1870	4,233	985	5,218	18.9%
1871	4,305	960	5,265	18.2%
1872	4,322	1,034	5,356	19.3%
1873	4,471	1,044	5,515	18.9%
1874	4,482	1,054	5,536	19.0%
1875	4,464	1,015	5,479	18.5%

Reformatory School Detainees (Boys and Girls)

Year	Boys	Girls	Total	% Girls
1876	4,481	972	5,453	17.8%
1877	4,658	983	5,641	17.4%
1878	4,759	1,011	5,770	17.5%
1879	4,745	995	5,740	17.3%
1880	4,785	1,003	5,788	17.3%
1881	4,489	1,013	5,502	18.4%
1882	4,433	974	5,407	18.0%
1883	4,463	989	5,452	18.1%
1884	4,399	900	5,299	17.0%
1885	4,315	977	5,292	18.5%
1886	4,412	834	5,246	15.9%
1887	4,337	771	5,108	15.1%
1888	4,304	725	5,029	14.4%
1889	4,311	717	5,028	14.3%
1890	4,287	706	4,993	14.1%
1891	4,144	616	4,760	12.9%
1892	4,033	597	4,630	12.9%
1893	3,987	584	4,571	12.8%
1894	4,078	584	4,662	12.5%
1895	4,112	598	4,710	12.7%
1896	4,094	584	4,678	12.5%
1897	4,024	622	4,646	13.4%
1898	4,024	586	4,610	12.7%
1899	3,997	576	4,573	12.6%
1900	4,189	555	4,744	11.7%
1901	4,286	571	4,857	11.8%



DETAINEES IN CERTIFIED REFORMATORY SCHOOLS
1856 TO 1900

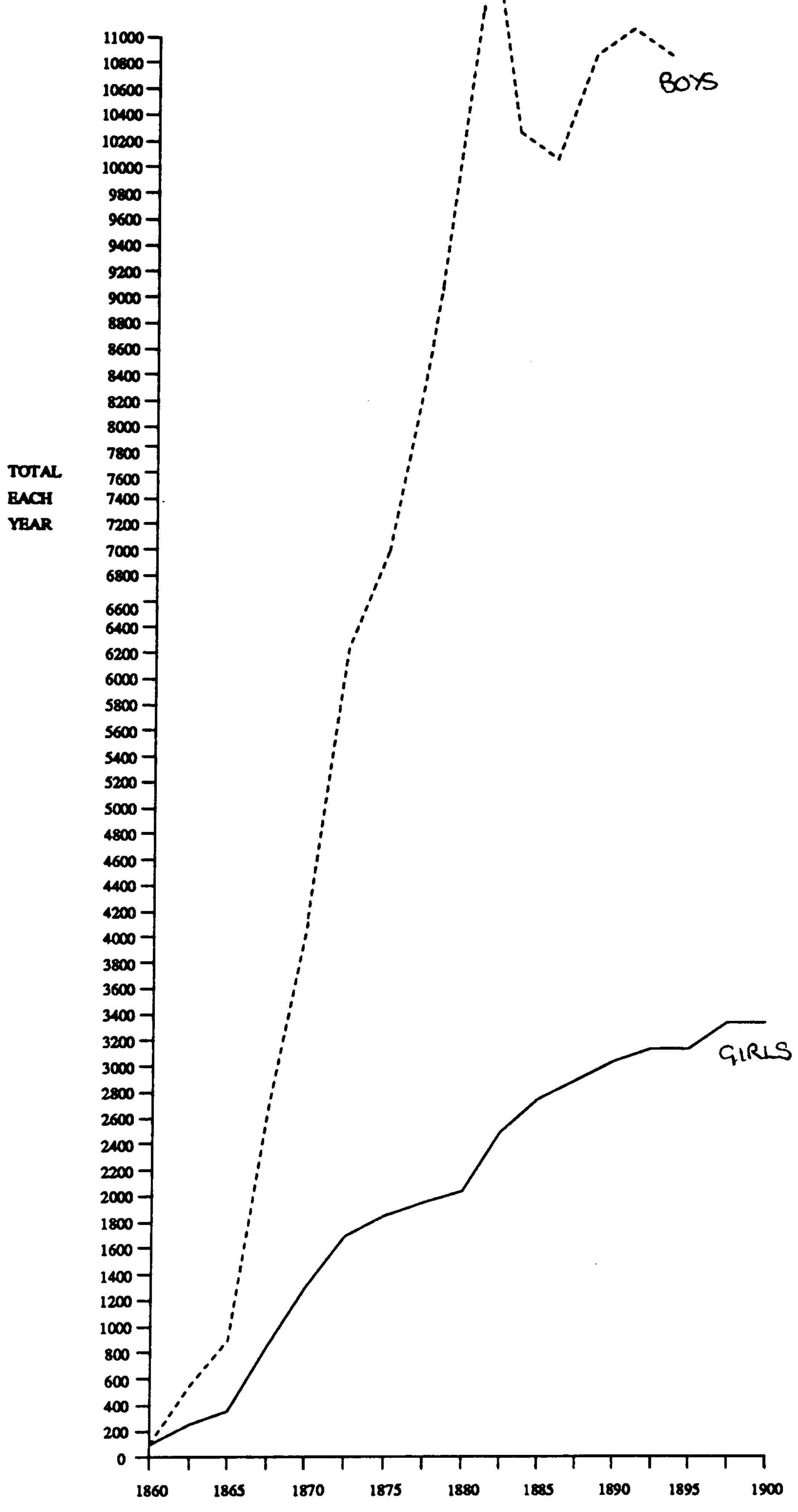
Appendix 1, Table 5:

Number of individuals detained in Certified Industrial Schools (England & Wales), at 31 December of each year, 1860-1901 (including absconders and licensees).

<u>Source</u>: *Annual Reports of the Government Inspector.*

Year	Boys	Girls	Total	% Girls
1860	95	74	169	43.8%
1861	149	102	251	40.6%
1862	366	165	531	31.1%
1863	593	212	805	26.3%
1864	720	237	957	24.8%
1865	882	290	1,172	24.7%
1866	1,186	332	1,518	21.9%
1867	1,934	601	2,535	23.7%
1868	2,724	853	3,577	23.8%
1869	3,499	1,065	4,564	23.3%
1870	4,177	1,258	5,435	23.1%
1871	4,863	1,485	6,348	23.4%
1872	5,442	1,677	7,119	23.6%
1873	6,279	1,781	8,060	22.1%
1874	6,713	1,837	8,550	21.5%
1875	7,096	1,837	8,933	20.6%
1876	7,540	1,804	9,344	19.3%
1877	8,176	1,829	10,005	18.3%
1878	8,596	1,936	10,532	18.4%
1879	9,379	1,984	11,363	17.5%
1880	9,714	2,063	11,777	17.5%

Year	Boys	Girls	Total	% Girls
1881	10,155	2,102	12,257	17.1%
1882	10,690	2,257	12,947	17.4%
1883	11,641	2,491	14,132	17.6%
1884	10,132	2,648	12,780	20.7%
1885	10,223	2,745	12,968	21.2%
1886	10,137	2,779	12,916	21.5%
1887	9,025	2,852	11,877	24.0%
1888	10,184	2,974	13,158	22.6%
1889	10,531	2,998	13,529	22.2%
1890	10,838	3,068	13,906	22.1%
1891	11,076	3,177	14,253	22.3%
1892	11,002	3,168	14,170	22.4%
1893	10,993	3,178	14,171	22.4%
1894	10,864	3,208	14,072	22.8%
1895	10,809	3,193	14,002	22.8%
1896	10,790	3,198	13,988	22.9%
1897	10,954	3,317	14,271	23.2%
1898	11,057	3,339	14,396	23.2%
1899	10,930	3,319	14,249	23.3%
1900	10,873	3,329	14,202	23.4%
1901	10,843	3,245	14,088	23.0%



DETAINEES IN CERTIFIED INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS
1860 TO 1900 (5 YEAR INTERVALS)

Appendix 2:

A List of Reformatory and Industrial Schools for Girls Arranged by Date of Certification, to 1901.

Sources: Annual Reports of the Government Inspector of Reformatories and Industrial Schools; the Reformatory and Refuge Journal; The Reformatory and Industrial Schools Directory (HMSO, London, 1915-6, 1920); The Classified List of Child Saving Institutions (Reformatory & Refuge Union, London, 1920, 1935); Directory of Home Office Approved Schools (HMSO, London, 1961, 1965); and D.H. Thomas, An Annotated List of Reformatory and Industrial Schools (1989). The last I consider to be the least reliable of the sources, as the dates (etc) which Thomas gives sometimes disagree with those given by the inspector. He does not consistently give addresses, nor founders.

(i) Reformatories

Red Lodge Reformatory, certified 9 December, 1854.
Founder: Miss Mary Carpenter.
Location: Park Row, Bristol.
Closed: 11 December, 1918 (building now a museum, 1993).

Toxteth Park Reformatory, certified 19 March, 1856.
Founder: Mr Herbert Campbell.
Location: Toxteth Park, Liverpool.
Closed: 3 November, 1921.

Arno's Court Roman Catholic Reformatory, certified 22 April 1856.
Founder: The Sisters of the Order of the Good Shepherd and Mr Gillow of Bristol.
Location: Bath Road, Arno's Vale, near Bristol.
- from 1920 known as *St Joseph's Training Home*.
Closed: Became an Approved School, still open 1935, closed by 1961 (building now a four star hotel, 1993).

School of Discipline, Chelsea, certified 9 June, 1856.
Founder: Mrs Elizabeth Fry.
Location: Paradise Row, Chelsea (since 1825).
- Re-certified as an Industrial School: 9 July, 1859 (see below).

Allesley Farm Reformatory, certified 27 June, 1856.
Founder: Lady Leigh.
Location: Tile Hill, near Coventry.
- relocated to Coventry and recertified 17 Feb. 1869, under name *Warwickshire Reformatory for Girls* (see below).

West Riding Reformatory, certified 18 October, 1856.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Wakefield.
Resigned Certificate: 1866.

Birmingham Girl's Reformatory, certified 20 December, 1856.
Founder: (probably) Mr Alfred Hill, J.P.
Location: originally in Camden Street, Birmingham as a voluntary home; moved to 'The Coppice', Smethwick on 19 Dec. 1856.
Resigned Certificate: September 1879 (Thomas says closed 18 March, 1879).

Mount Vernon Green Reformatory, certified 12 June, 1857.
Founder: The Liverpool Reformatory Association.
Location: 6, Mount Vernon Green, Liverpool.
Closed: 11 December, 1916 (site of building now a park, 1993).

Beauchamp Lodge Roman Catholic Reformatory, certified 24 July, 1857.
Founder: The Sisters of the Order of the Good Shepherd.
Location: Hammersmith, London.
Closed: 13 June, 1859.

Rescue Society's Reformatory, certified 19 December, 1857.
Founder: The Rescue Society.
Location: 28, Church Row, Hampstead.
Resigned Certificate: 1860 (Thomas says closed 9 June, 1861).

St Matthew's Industrial Home, certified 18 June, 1858.
Founder: Samuel B. Chapman, esq.
Location: 8, Blackhorse Lane, Ipswich.
Resigned Certificate: 1920.

Devon & Exeter Reformatory, certified 26 June, 1858.
Founder: Committee of the Devon & Exeter Refuge for Discharged Prisoners.
Location: Polsloe Road, Exeter.
Closed: Became an approved school - *Farringdon House* - closed 1983 (now "The Nichols Centre", 1993).

Sunderland Reformatory, certified 26 June, 1860.
Founder: The Durham & Northumberland Reformatory and Industrial Schools Society.
Location: 3, Tatham Street, Sunderland.
Closed: 5 May, 1919.

Hampstead Girls' Reformatory, certified 29 December, 1860.
Founder: Miss Christian Nicoll.
Location: 9, Church Row, Hampstead; then in 1877, Heathfield House, Lower East Road, Hampstead.
Resigned Certificate: 1891.

Limpley Stoke Reformatory, certified 9 January, 1861.
Founder: Mrs Mary Sheppard.
Location: Limpley Stoke, near Bath.
Closed: Spring 1896, due to an outbreak of diptheria.

Yorkshire Roman Catholic Reformatory, certified 26 July, 1861.
Founder: Revd Michael Burke and others.
Location: Fulton Road, Howard Hill, near Steel Bank, Sheffield.
- Re-certified as an industrial school: September 1887 (see below).
- also known as *St Joseph's Roman Catholic Reformatory*.

Doncaster Girls' Reformatory, certified 6 September, 1861.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Doncaster.
Resigned Certificate: 1891.

Eagle House Roman Catholic Reformatory, certified 1862.
Founder: The Sisters of the Order of the Good Shepherd.
Location: Brook Green, Hammersmith, London.
Resigned Certificate: 1863.

Surrey Girls' Reformatory, certified 4 Feb. 1862.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Wandsworth Road; then in 1870, Clapham Old Town; then in 1882, Netherton House, Clapham Old Town.
Resigned Certificate: 1890.

Warwickshire Reformatory for Girls, certified 17 February, 1869.
Founder: At Allesley Farm, Lady Leigh (see above).
Location: 61, Little Park Street, Coventry.
- Becomes *Knowle Hill Approved School* - still open 1965.

Lancashire Roman Catholic Reformatory, certified 23 June 1869.
Founder: The Sisters of Mercy.
Location: Blackbrooke, St. Helen's, near Liverpool.
Closed: 1876.

Northampton Reformatory, certified 15 November, 1871.
Founder: The Northampton Society.
Location: St Giles' Street, Northampton.
Certificate Resigned: September 1886.

Lancashire Roman Catholic Reformatory, certified 24 November, 1876.
Founder: The Liverpool Catholic Reformatory Association.
Location: Broad Green Road, May Place, Old Swan, near Liverpool.
- also known as *May Place Girls' Reformatory*.
Certificate Withdrawn: 31 March, 1922.

London Female Preventive, certified 28 December, 1877.
Founder: Dr Holt Yates.
Location: 5, Parson's Green, Fulham.
Resigned Certificate: 1893.

(ii) Industrial Schools

Brockham Industrial Home, certified 1857.
Founder: Hon. Mrs Emmeline Way.
Location: Reigate, Surrey.
Certificate Resigned: 1862
- recertified as a home for Poor Law girls.

Tre-Wint Industrial Home, date of certification not known.
Founder: Wilbraham Taylor and Henry Robarts.
Location: Mare Street, Hackney.
Certificate Resigned: 1862.
- Continued as a voluntary home.

York Street R.C. Girls' School, certified 1858 (probably)
Founder: Miss Stanley.
Location: York Street, Middlesex.
Certificate Resigned: 1863.
- girls transferred to St Margaret's Industrial School, Queen's Square (not certified till 1866), and Miss Stanley went with them as new Superintendent. This school stayed open as a voluntary refuge.

Bromfields Industrial and Ragged School, certified 1858 (Thomas says founded 1858, certified 1865).
Founder: Not known.
Location: Bradford.
- girls' section closed 1877.

York Ragged and Industrial School, certified July, 1858.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Monkgate, York; later 84, Lowther Street, York.
- originally mixed, girls' department closed 1874 and girls transferred to Leeds; new girls' school opened and certified 25 June 1877.
- by 1920, girls' school known as *St Hilda's Industrial School.*
Closed: Some time between 1920 and 1935.

Manchester Industrial and Ragged School, certified 6 April, 1859. (Thomas says certified 8 April, 1857).
Founder: Not known.
Location: Ardwick Green, Manchester.
- girls' transferred to *Sale Industrial School* in Autumn 1876.

Paddington Girls' Home, certified 9 April, 1859.
Founder: Not known.
Location: 18, Conduit Place, Paddington.
Certificate Resigned: 1862.

Lisson Street Training Refuge, certified 20 April, 1859.
Founder: Not known.
Location: 1, Lisson Street, Marylebone Road, Paddington.
Closed: May 1867 following arson attack.

Sloane Street Industrial Home, certified 20 April, 1859.
Founder: Not known.
Location: 125, Sloane Street, Chelsea.
Certificate resigned: 1897.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Industrial and Ragged Schools,
certified 3 June, 1859.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Jubilee Road, then Axwell Park, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Closed: Still open 1920 for boys only - became a boys' Approved School.

School of Discipline, certified 9 July, 1859.
Founder: Mrs Elizabeth Fry.
Location: Queen's Road West, Chelsea; then from March 1890 at Elm House, 11, Parson's Green, Fulham.
- Formerly a reformatory school, certified 9 June 1856.
Closed: Became an Approved School, still open 1935.

Soho Street Industrial and Ragged School,
certified 19 November, 1861.
Founder: Not known.
Location: From 1861 at Soho Street, Liverpool (Mixed); then from 1864 as *Liverpool Industrial School* at Everton Terrace; separate girls' building at 27, Northumberland Terrace from 1878.
Closed: 1920.

St. Elizabeth's R.C. Industrial School, certified 30 December, 1861.
Founder: Sisters of Mercy.
Location: 64, Breckfield Road, Liverpool.
Closed: Between 1920 and 1935.

St George's R.C. Industrial School, certified 30 December, 1861.
Founder: Sisters of the Augustine Order.
Location: Derby Road, Liverpool; then from June 1867 at Prescot Road, Fairfield, Liverpool; then from 1877 at Freshfield, near Formby.
Closed: 1881 (probably)

Hull Industrial and Ragged Schools, certified 24 March, 1862.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Norfolk Street, Hull.
- girls transferred elsewhere, 1875.

Leeds Industrial and Ragged Schools, certified 25 March, 1862.
Founder: (Thomas says School Board, which is, of course, impossible.)
Location: Edgar Street, Leeds.
Closed: Not known.

Coventry Industrial Home for Girls, certified January, 1863.
Founder: "One benevolent lady" (16th Ann. Rep. R&RU, p. 43).
Location: 43, Leicester Street, Coventry.
Closed: Became *Newfield Approved School*, Cash's Lane, Coventry, still open 1965.

Winson Green Industrial Home, certified 24 February, 1863.
Founder: Miss Weale.
Location: Winson Green, Birmingham.
- formerly the voluntary Island Cottage Home at Handsworth.
Certificate Resigned: Autumn 1869, due to ill-health of Miss Weale.

Chester Industrial School, founded Nov. 1853, certified 3 July, 1863.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Boughton, Cheshire.
- girls' section closed 1902, school closed 1907.

Cripples' Home and Industrial School, certified 27 February, 1864.
Founder: Miss Blunt.
Location: Hill Street, Dorset Square, Middlesex.
- also known as *the Hill Street Refuge*, founded 1851.
Closed: Between 1901 and 1915.

St Jude's Industrial School, certified 22 December, 1864.
Founder: Hon. Mrs Eliza Farrar.
Location: Franklin's Row, Chelsea.
Closed: 1890, due to ill health of Mrs Farrar, who died 17 May 1891.
- also known as *the Franklin's Row Industrial School.*

Stockport Industrial School, mixed school certified 1866 (founded 1854); separate girls' school certified 6 February 1877.
Founder: Large group of interested gentlemen, led by James Watts.
Location: From 1876, 58, Church Gate, Stockport; later at Dialstone Lane, Stockport.
Closed: Between 1920 and 1935 (building now a three star hotel, 1993).

Albert Memorial Industrial School, certified 14 February, 1866.
Founder: William Jackson, MP.
Location: Hamilton Street, Birkenhead.
- girls' section closes 3 March, 1899, school closed 1924.

Macclesfield Industrial and Ragged School, certified 7 May, 1866.
Founder: Marquis of Westminster.
Location: Brook Street, Macclesfield.
- girls' section closed 1875, school closed 1922.

Vale Street Industrial School, certified 25 September, 1866.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Vale Street, Birmingham.
Closed: August 1876, due to site being required for railway building.
- girls transferred to *Sparkbrook Industrial School.*

St Margaret's R.C. Industrial School, certified 24 October, 1866.
Founder: Sisters of the Order of St Francis.
Location: Queen's Square, Middlesex; then Mill Hill, Hendon; then East End, Finchley.
Closed: Between 1901 and 1915.

Charlotte Street Industrial Home,
certified 4 May, 1867; and 27 October, 1874.
Founder: Rev. F.D. Maurice with Duke of Argyle and Dean of Westminster.
Location: 22, Charlotte Street, Portland Place, London; later at 7, Mattock Lane, Ealing.
- otherwise known as *Maurice Girls' Home.*
Closed: Still open and certified in 1920, under management of the Waifs & Strays Society. By 1935, listed as an uncertified voluntary home.

St. Anne's Industrial School for R.C. Girls, certified 13 June, 1867.
Founder: Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul.
Location: 62, Mason Street, Liverpool.
Closed: Still open 1920.

Bristol Girls' Industrial School, certified 23 October, 1867.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Stanhope House, Cotham Road; later at 14, Somerset Street, Kingsdown, Bristol.
Closed: Between 1915 and 1920.

Gem Street Industrial School, certified 28 March, 1868.
Founder: Revd Grantham Yorke, with the Governors of King Edward's Grammar School.
Location: Gem Street, Birmingham.
- girls' section closed Autumn 1873, became *Tennal Road Approved School* and closed 1985.

Alresford Industrial School, certified 5 May, 1868.
Founder: Miss S.A. Arabella Onslow.
Location: Old Alresford.
Certificate Resigned: 1884.

Falkner Street R. C. Industrial School, certified 16 October, 1868.
Founder: Sisters of the Order of Notre Dame.
Location: 47a, Falkner Street, Liverpool.
Closed: 1906.

Norfolk Industrial School, certified 17 November, 1868.
Founder: Mrs Robert Hammond.
Location: Fakenham, Norfolk.
Closed: 1903.

Abbot Memorial School, Durham, certified 27 January, 1869.
Founder: Mrs Abbot.
Location: Durham Road, Shipcote, Gateshead-upon-Tyne, Durham.
- girls section closed 1905, school closes 1929.

Halstead Industrial School, certified 12 March, 1869.
Founder: Miss Lucy Greenwood.
Location: Halstead, Essex.
Closed: 1921.
- By 1915, management was in the hands of the Essex Meeting of the Society of Friends.

Sunderland Girls' Industrial School, certified 27 August, 1869.
Founder: Durham and Northumberland Reformatory and Industrial School Society.
Location: From 1901, at Tatham Street, Sunderland.
- also known as *Durham and Northumberland Girls' Industrial School.*
Closed: Between 1915 and 1920.

Bolton Industrial School, certified 13 June, 1870.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Lostock Junction, Bolton.
- girls' section closed Spring 1877.

Bath Girls' Industrial School, certified 22 September, 1870.
Founder: Mr Sheppard.
Location: Bailbrook Lodge, London Road, Bath; then from 1876, 17 Walcot Parade, Bath.
Closed: *Becomes Avonside Approved School*, still open 1965.
- Miss Sheppard still a manager in 1915.

Leeds Industrial School, certified 22 September, 1870.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Windsor Street, Burmantofts, Leeds.
- also known as *Windsor Street Girls' Industrial School.*
Closed: 1910.

Holy Trinity Industrial School, certified 3 October, 1870.
Founder: Not known.
Location: 77, Grafton Street, Toxteth Park, Liverpool.
- girls transferred to other schools, Summer 1877, school closed 1923.

St Elizabeth's R.C. Industrial School, certified 19 December, 1870.
Founder: Sisters of Charity.
Location: Exeter Street, Salisbury, Wiltshire.
Closed: Between 1920 and 1935.

St Mary's R.C. Industrial Home, certified 20 March, 1871.
Founder: Sisters of Mercy.
Location: Tarrington Lodge, Eltham, Kent; then from 1886 at Wellesley Road, West Croydon.
Closed: Became the *Ave Maria Approved School* at Glenmure Road, Eltham Park, London - still open 1965.

St Joseph's R.C. Industrial School, certified 2 August, 1871.
Founder: Sisters of the Order of St Vincent de Paul.
Location: Grindlow House, Manchester; then from 1882 at Richmond Grove, Longsight, Manchester; then from 1887 at Victoria Road, Manchester.
Closed: Between 1920 and 1935.

King Edward's Eastern Refuge, certified 15 February, 1872.
Founder: As a voluntary refuge in 1848, by Samuel Gurney, M.P.; certified under auspices of the London School Board.
Location: Albert Street, Spitalfields, Middlesex.
Certificate Resigned: 1887.
- girls transferred to King Edward's Refuge, Hackney.

King Edward's Refuge, Branch Home, certified 15 February, 1872;
enlarged and re-certified, 21 January, 1875.
Founder: London School Board.
Location: St Andrew's Road, Cambridge Heath, Hackney.
Closed: Between 1915 and 1920.

Addlestone Farm House Home, certified 26 February, 1872.
Founder: Mrs Susannah Meredith.
Location: Addlestone.
- temporary school, replaced by the *Princess Mary Village Homes.*

Princess Mary Village Homes, certified 26 February, 1872.
Founder: Mrs Susannah Meredith.
Location: Addlestone, Surrey.
Closed: Became an Approved School and closed in 1980 (demolished and site used for housing).

Dorset Industrial School, certified 29 February, 1872.
Founder: Not known.
Location: West Street, Poole.
- a voluntary home between 1856 and 1872.
Closed: 1931.

St Mary's Industrial School, certified 24 March, 1873.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Winchester.
Certificate Resigned: by 1875, only receiving voluntary cases.

Sparkbrook Industrial School for Girls, certified 16 April, 1873.
Founder: Birmingham School Board.
Location: Sparkbrook, Birmingham.
Certificate Resigned: 1877.

Kent County Industrial School, certified 13 November, 1873.
Founder: Not known.
Location: 15, Park Row, Greenwich.
Certificate Resigned: 1884.

Bristol Certified Industrial Council School, certified 7 July, 1874.
Founder: Bristol School Board.
Location: Fort Road, Bristol; then from 1874 at Carlton House, Southwell Street, Bristol.
Closed: 1924.

St Andrew's Home, certified 30 December, 1875.
Founder: Not known.
Location: 8, Upper High Street, Winchester.
Certificate Resigned: 1886.

Field Lane Industrial School, certified 6 June, 1876.
Founder: Mr and Mrs B. Worsley Chandler.
Location: 9, Church Row, Hampstead. Possibly formerly a mixed school at Saffron Hill, Farringdon Road, Middlesex since 1870.
Closed: 1902.

Sale Girls' Industrial School, certified 21 April, 1877.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Northenden Road, Sale, near Manchester.
Closed: Became *Northenden Road Approved School*, still open 1965.

St Mary's Industrial School, certified 27 August, 1878
(perhaps before 1867)

Founder: Not known.
Location: 35, Walton Street, Kirkdale, Liverpool.
Closed: Between 1901 and 1915.

Northumberland Village Homes, certified 6 June, 1879.
Founder: James Hall, esq.
Location: Whitley Bay, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Closed: Became an Approved School of same name, closed in mid-1980s and buildings turned into luxury housing estate.

Portsmouth and South Hants Industrial School, certifed 21 July, 1881.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Sydenham House, Waterloo, Cosham.
Closes: 1915.

Middlesex Industrial School for Girls, certified 14 September, 1881.
Founder: E.E. Antrobus, esq.
Location: Bedfont, Feltham, Middlesex.
Certificate Resigned: 1897.

Boyn Hill Industrial School, certified 23 March, 1882.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Boyn Hill, Maidenhead; then from 1886 at Langley Furze; then from 1889 at St Paul's Lodge, Bedford Park Road, Balham, Surrey.
Closed: Between 1901 and 1915.

Leytonstone Girls' Industrial School, certified 1 May, 1882.
Founder: Miss Agnes Cotton.
Location: Davis Lane, Leytonstone, Essex.
Certificate Resigned: 1897.

Wilton Industrial Home, certified 6 March, 1883.
Founder: Countess of Pembroke.
Location: Stoford House, South Newton, near Salisbury, Wilts.
Certificate Resigned: Winter 1892.

Plymouth Girls' Industrial School, certified 2 April, 1883.
Founder: Not known.
Location: 1, Marina Place, Tavistock Road, Mutley, Plymouth; then from 1896 at 13, Portland Villas, Plymouth.
- also known as *Devon & Exeter Industrial School for Girls.*
Closed: 1928.

Ashburton House R. C. Industrial School, certified 30 January, 1884.
Founder: The Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul.
Location: Newcastle.
Closed: 1906.

Ashurst Home, certified 28 February, 1884.
Founder: Ellice Hopkins (through The Waifs and Strays Society).
Location: Church Villa, Ashurst, Groombridge, near Tunbridge Wells, Kent.
Certificate Resigned: Winter 1888.

Hemel Hempstead Girls' Home, certified 7 October, 1884.
Founder: Church of England Waifs & Strays Society.
Location: Olive House, George Street, Hemel Hempstead.
- removed to Shipton-under-Wychwood in May 1900 and renamed *St Michael's Girls' Home.*
Closed: Became a voluntary home 30 June 1924; closed 12 Oct. 1931.

Hull Girls' Industrial School, certified 25 October, 1884.
Founder: Hull School Board.
Location: Park Avenue, Hull.
Closed: 1919.

Altrincham Girls' Home, certified 28 October, 1884.
Founder: Mr F.W. Crossley.
Location: Peelcauseway, Altrincham, Bowdon, near Manchester.
Certificate Resigned: 1890.

Preston Home for Girls, certified 10 November, 1884.
Founder: The Preston Ladies' Association.
Location: Yarrow Cottage, Croston, near Preston.
Certificate Resigned: 1893.

The Mumbles Home, certified 13 June 1885.
Founder: The Church of England Waifs & Strays Society.
Location: Mountview, The Mumbles, Oystermouth, Swansea.
Closed: October 1901.

Plainmellor Girls' Industrial School, certified 9 July, 1885.
Founder: The Northumberland Association.
Location: Haltwhistle, Northumberland.
Closed: 1907.

Nile Street Girls' School, certified 18 November, 1885.
Founder: Not known.
Location: 13, Nile Street, Liverpool.
Closed: Became *Holy Trinity Girls' Approved School, still open 1935.*

Cold Ash Girls' Home, certified 27 November, 1885.
Founder: Ellice Hopkins (through The Waifs and Strays Society).
Location: Newbury, Berkshire.
Closed: Still open as a certified school 1920, but an uncertified voluntary home by 1935.

Beckett Home for Girls, certified 19 May, 1887.
Founder: Miss Beckett (through The Waifs and Strays Society).
Location: Meanwood, near Leeds.
Closed: Became a voluntary home 1920; closed 24 May 1934.

St. Joseph's R.C. Industrial Home, certified September 1887.
Founder: As St Joseph's Reformatory, Revd Burke and others.
Location: Howard Hill, Sheffield.
Closed: Between 1920 and 1935 (chapel still standing, 1992).

Staffordshire Girls' Industrial School, certified 30 October, 1889.
Founder: Staffordshire County Council.
Location: Lichfield.
Closed: Between 1920 and 1935.

St Joseph's R.C. Industrial School, certified 11 March, 1893.
Founder: Not known.
Location: Carmel Road, Darlington.
Closed: Between 1920 and 1935.

Thorp Arch Industrial School, certified 4 January, 1896.
Founder: Leeds School Board.
Location: Thorp Arch Grange, Boston Spa, near Leeds.
Closed: Between 1920 and 1935.

Gordon House Girls' Industrial School, certified 1 December, 1897.
Founder: London School Board.
Location: Richmond Road, Isleworth.
Closed: 1922.

Nazareth House for Roman Catholic Girls,
certified 11 September, 1899.
Founder: The Sisters of the Order of Nazareth.
Location: Isleworth.
Closed: 1921.

St Helen's Industrial School, Blackbrook House,
certified 23 December 1899.
Founder: The Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul.
Location: St Helen's, Lancashire.
Closed: Became *Blackbrook House Approved School*, still open 1965.

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