

THE SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

1876 - 1903

Thesis submitted in accordance
with the requirements of the
University of Liverpool for the
degree of Doctor in Philosophy
by Francis Bernard Harris

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Summary

This study opens with a justification of the historical research undertaken. It is justified firstly as a contribution to the on-going investigation into the provision of education for the children of the urban poor during the School Board period, and secondly as a corrective to certain misconceptions and inaccuracies which have already found their way into the literature.

Chapter 1 relates the origins of the School Board Day Industrial Schools to the ideas and the initiatives of Mary Carpenter and shows how these culminated in Section 16 of the Elementary Education Act of 1876.

In Chapter 2 the progress of the establishment of the schools is explained with some account of the local background to each of them. Information is also provided about their precise locations, their dates of certification, and the kind of amenities and facilities they provided.

Chapters 3 and 4 are concerned with the ways in which the School Board Day Industrial Schools were managed and with the nature of the curriculum operating within them. Attention is paid also to the type of child admitted to the schools, to the staffs who taught in them, and to the way in which the school work, religious, secular and industrial, was carried out. Special reference is made to the manner in which the problem of accommodating Protestant and Roman Catholic children in the same school was resolved.

In Chapter 5 the provision made for caring for the health of the children in the day industrial schools is examined, and in Chapter 6 an attempt is made to evaluate the contribution of the schools to the solving of the problem of truancy in the most deprived areas of the large towns.

The conclusion is reached that, though not provided on the scale hoped for by Mary Carpenter and her supporters, a sufficient number of School Board Day Industrial Schools was established to make a valuable contribution to the task of securing the attendance at school of children of the poorest families in certain parts of the country. Furthermore this was done in a teaching environment more sympathetic and less repressive than that which prevailed in the residential institutions to which, otherwise, these children might have been committed.

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Note on References

In researching the British Sessional Papers for this study, use was made of microfiche material available at Liverpool University's Sydney Jones Library, and at Liverpool Central Library, William Brown Street. The microfiche page references do not always correspond with the page references in the printed Annual Reports of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools. To avoid confusion, therefore, the references shown in this study refer the reader to the title page of the appropriate report. This page is followed by a table of contents which shows clearly on which pages the general Report on Day Industrial Schools, the annual reports on individual schools and the appropriate appendices are to be found.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

J u s t i f i c a t i o n s f o r t h e S t u d y

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The power to establish day industrial schools was granted to School Boards under the terms of the Elementary Education Act of 1876. To these schools, magistrates would be able to commit children who, because of domestic neglect, had become habitual truants.

The new provisions of the Act were greeted by the School Board Chronicle with an article headed "The Day Industrial School." It began:

"This will be a new institution. It will deal with the residuum class of children in large towns in a manner not hitherto provided for." (1)

The article went on to say:

"The Day Industrial School, it may be hoped, will go far towards removing the difficulty with which the School Boards have to deal in the attempt to compel the attendance of very low classes of children at school." (2)

Evidently, the School Board Chronicle regarded the subject as one of considerable importance, returning to it on a number of occasions over the next few years. Since then, however, comparatively little interest appears to have been taken either in the extent to which School Boards availed themselves of the opportunities provided under the terms of the Act, or in the conduct and management of the day industrial schools brought into existence as a result of it. The main justification for this present study is that it will shed light on a hitherto largely neglected corner of educational history and will set out to correct certain inaccuracies and to modify certain assumptions which have already found their way into the literature on what is held to be a subject of much intrinsic interest.

For the most part the general histories of education have tended to ignore or overlook both the clauses in the 1876 Act which empowered

1. School Board Chronicle (30 September 1876) p. 319

2. Ibid.

School Boards to establish day industrial schools and the schools themselves. Thus, for example, Smith, Birchenough, Lowndes, Curtis, Jarman, Selleck, Lawson and Silver, and Middleton and Weizman have all written accounts of the development of education in Britain which include references to the School Board period without referring to them, and this list is by no means complete. (1) Armytage and Hurt both include reference to the Act in their respective texts, but concentrate on those sections which established school attendance committees and affected child labour. (2)

Almost alone among the general surveys, Mary Sturt does devote a paragraph to the School Board Day Industrial Schools in The Education of the People, but unfortunately one which includes a number of inaccuracies. On the search for a solution to truancy she writes:

"It took many years before anyone thought of a real answer to the problem. Only in 1895 was a Day Truant School opened in Goldsmith Street, Drury Lane, as a test of the new policy. The doors were open from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. and three good meals were provided. The teachers were kind. In no time average attendance reached 92% - 10% above the general level in an ordinary school. As Mary Carpenter had been advocating just this type of school since the 1850's, officialdom had been as slow as usual in assimilating a new idea." (3)

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- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Smith, F. | <u>A History of English Elementary Education, 1876-1902</u> (1931) |
| • Birchenough, C. | <u>History of Elementary Education</u> (1932) |
| Lowndes, G. A. N. | <u>The Silent Social Revolution</u> (1937) |
| Curtis, S. J. | <u>History of Education in Gt. Britain</u> (1957) |
| Jarman, T. L. | <u>Landmarks in the History of Education</u> (1963) |
| Lawson, J. and Silver, H. | <u>A Social History of Education in England</u> (1973) |
| Middleton, N. and Weizman, S. | <u>A Place for Everyone</u> (1976) |
| Selleck, R. J. W. | <u>The New Education, 1870 - 1914</u> (1968) |
| 2. Armytage, W. H. G. | <u>Four Hundred Years of English Education</u> (2nd Edition, 1970) p. 148 |
| Hurt, J. S. | <u>Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918</u> (1979) pp. 159, 189, 197, 204 |
| 3. Sturt, M. | <u>The Education of the People</u> (1967) p. 329 |

In fact the school referred to, properly designated a School Board Day Industrial School rather than a Day Truant school, was not the first, but the twentieth school of this type to be established. Sixteen different provincial School Boards had already taken the initiative and opened day industrial schools before the London School Board followed their example, and by 1895 the first of them had already been in operation for 18 years.

Mary Carpenter had indeed played a leading part in campaigning for the legislation which gave School Boards the power to establish these schools, and both her main biographers emphasise the importance which she attached to this work. (1) Both, however, are concerned primarily with the events of her life and, as she died one year after the passing of Sandon's Act, neither follows up the establishing of day industrial schools in later years in any detail. Indeed some of what Manton writes towards the end of an otherwise very well researched book, is rather misleading:

"The need and use of Day Feeding Industrial Schools lasted into the twentieth century, but they were never favoured by official opinion . . . The Day Industrial Schools were too often housed in the tumbledown relics of former ragged schools, and taught by the same pious eccentrics . . ." (2)

What is meant by "official opinion" is not clear but Her Majesty's Inspectors of Reformatories and Industrial Schools, though sometimes critical of individual schools, consistently praised the work of most of them and reported favourably on the system as a whole. Very frequently they expressed the view that more such schools should be established. As for being "too often housed in the tumbledown relics of former ragged schools," only two appear definitely to have fallen into this category. One of these, that

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1. Carpenter, J. E. The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter (2nd ed. 1881)
Manton, J. Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets (1976)
 2. Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 248

at St. James' Back, Bristol, was subsequently abandoned and the school moved to superior premises. The other, at Salop Street, Wolverhampton, was a solid and well built school and alterations were made to suit its new purpose. It is true that many of the School Board Day Industrial Schools were established in existing buildings, but in all cases these were adapted and improved, often at considerable expense, to meet the standards set by the Home Office. Furthermore, no fewer than nine of the schools were purpose-built to high specifications, with dining rooms, workshops, staff-rooms, washing and laundry facilities and sometimes swimming pools as well.

The staffs of the schools, far from being "the same pious eccentrics" who had taught in the ragged schools, were often carefully recruited from existing day industrial schools in distant parts of the country or were recruited from Board schools in their own area. Where they proved inadequate to the task they had undertaken, they could expect, and did receive, severe criticism from the Inspectorate. Sometimes they were replaced, but more often the staffs of the schools were complimented by H.M. Inspectors on the standards of dedication and proficiency they brought to their work.

If the School Board Day Industrial Schools have been treated with scant regard in the text books, they have fared little better in the historical journals. Hurt's article "Reformatory and industrial schools before 1933," in History of Education (1984) (1) provides a vivid and informative account of conditions in certain reformatories and residential industrial schools, but includes no mention at all of the day schools even though they accommodated more than 30,000 children between them during the School Board period. Hurt quotes Vernon Harcourt, the Home Secretary in 1884, as saying "The managers of industrial schools regard themselves as a sort of earthly providence and think the more children they can get and keep from the

1. Hurt, J. "Reformatory and industrial schools before 1933" History of Education, (1984) Vol. 13, No. 1 pp. 45 - 58

parents the better," (1) but by this time there had already been ten School Board Day Industrial Schools established precisely in order to maintain the link between the children committed to them and their parents. William Inglis, the Inspector of Reformatories and Industrial Schools, had already written:

" . . . once let every School Board recognise the necessity of a day industrial school forming part of its machinery we shall soon have a large reduction in the number of commitments to Industrial Schools." (2)

Bernard Elliott refers to the clause in the Elementary Education Act of 1876 which empowered School Boards to establish day industrial schools in an informative article entitled "School Boards and Industrial Schools: A neglected aspect of the 1870 Education Act" which appeared in the History of Education Society Bulletin (1978). He provides a brief description of how Lord Sandon amended the Act to provide the opportunity of "creating a whole new category of day, that is non-residential, schools," (3) and how this led to the establishment of such schools in Bristol, Leeds, Sheffield and Nottingham, and of a further two in London. In fact, however, there was no school of this type in Sheffield and the London School Board established not two, but three. Elliott concludes his article:

"Seven boards set up eight residential industrial schools, nine set up ten truant schools, and twelve fourteen day industrial schools." (4)

1. Ibid. (1984) p. 55

2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1882 XXXV 1
25th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

3. Elliott, B. "School Boards and Industrial Schools: A neglected aspect of the 1870 Education Act." History of Education Society Bulletin (1978) No. 22 p. 40

4. Ibid. (1978) p. 41

This is an under-estimate. The total number of School Board Day Industrial Schools established in England was twenty-three. These were set up by seventeen different School Boards. There was also one School Board Day Industrial School established in Scotland, in Edinburgh, under the provisions of a special Day Industrial Schools (Scotland) Act of 1893. (1)

D. H. Thomas has two articles, "Industrial Schools - Forgotten Precursors in Vocational Education," and "The Three Certified Day Industrial Schools in the North East of England: An Aspect of Truancy under the School Boards." (2) The first of these concerns mainly the industrial activities in which the children admitted to the schools were engaged, but the second provides an enlightening, if brief, account of the work of the School Board Day Industrial Schools established in Gateshead, Sunderland and Newcastle upon Tyne. He concludes that,

"Despite the poor background of the pupils, the school work

at all three schools was good, being rated at times as excellent." (3)

There are references to other School Board Day Industrial Schools in a number of studies of the work of individual School Boards. J. M. Thew in "Education in Gateshead 1870 - 1903", an unpublished thesis for the degree of M.Ed. (University of Durham, 1967), includes a section on the Gateshead day industrial school concentrating on the controversy which surrounded the design and the choice of location of the school (4) and

1. Hansard (1893) Vol. ix 1960

2. Thomas, D. H. "Industrial Schools - Forgotten Precursors in Vocational Education." The Vocational Aspect of Education (August 1981) Vol. XXXIII No. 85 pp. 51 - 53

3. Thomas, D. H. "The Three Certified Day Industrial Schools in the North East of England: An Aspect of Truancy under the School Boards." History of Education Bulletin (Spring 1985) No. 35 pp. 28 - 36

3. Ibid. (1985) p. 31

4. Thew, J. M. "Education in Gateshead 1870 - 1903" unpublished thesis for M.Ed., University of Durham (1967) pp. 92 - 111

I. R. Cowan, "The Work of the Salford School Board" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Durham, 1965) has an account of the work of the day industrial school in Salford. Cowan concluded that it was an "undoubted success." (1) Sister Angela Black in "The Background and Development of Industrial Schools for Roman Catholic Children in Liverpool during the Nineteenth Century," a thesis produced for the degree of M.Ed. (Liverpool, 1975), includes a section on Bond Street School Board Day Industrial School, a school which catered mainly for children of Irish Catholic immigrants. (2) This study is largely concerned, however, with the background of the children rather than with the management of the school. Another Liverpool M.Ed. thesis, "The Liverpool School Board Day Industrial Schools" (F. B. Harris) also examined the social and economic background of the children committed to the Liverpool day industrial schools and raised some of the questions which led to the present study.

An account of the work of London's Drury Lane School Board Day Industrial School in its very early years is provided by H. B. Philpott in London at School (3) but again this school is described in isolation from the others of its kind elsewhere in the country.

These disparate works, however, cover only a small number of the twenty-four schools established, and, especially as several of them include inaccuracies of the kind already referred to, they fail to convey any impression of the totality of the contribution made by the schools, or of the manner in which they were conducted. Gordon Rose dismisses them as "a kind of ragged school for the very poor, rather nearer in fact to Mary

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1. Cowan, I. R. "The Work of the Salford School Board" unpublished thesis for M.Ed., University of Durham (1965) p. 353
 2. Black, A. M. "The Background and Development of Industrial Schools for Roman Catholic Children in Liverpool during the Nineteenth Century" unpublished thesis for M.Ed., University of Liverpool (1975)
 3. Philpott, H. B. London at School: the Story of the School Board 1870 - 1904 (1904) pp. 224 - 241

Carpenter's original conception of day-feeding schools." (1) But Mary Carpenter's nephew-biographer attached very much more importance to them than this, and the chapter in which they are discussed in his book is entitled "The Work Crowned." He writes:

"On July 18th Lord Sandon proposed a clause authorising School Boards to establish Day-Feeding Industrial Schools
So the work of thirty years . . . was crowned at last." (2)

And yet this too is misleading. Mary Carpenter's work would not be crowned by the legislation alone, but by its widespread implementation by School Boards in subsequent years. The aim of this study, therefore, is to trace the links between Mary Carpenter and the 1876 Act and then to examine the extent to which this part of the legislation was taken up. In order to do this the precise location of every day industrial school established by a School Board needs to be ascertained, together with the date of certification by the Home Office. Also, an attempt will be made to show how the arguments for and against the establishment of such schools which were put forward in debates in the annual meetings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, and in the House of Commons, were mirrored in the meetings of the various School Boards eventually to open a day industrial school.

In order to test the truth of the assertion that they were "too often housed in the tumbledown relics of former ragged schools," the origins of the buildings adapted to the requirements of a day industrial school will be investigated, and, where possible, information provided about the nature and cost of adaptation. Where new schools were erected then the nature of the amenities provided, the design and cost incurred and the reaction of the Home Office Inspectors to them will be discussed.

Because the status of the School Board Day Industrial Schools was a novel one for day schools, operated as they were under the aegis of

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1. Rose, G. Schools for Young Offenders (1967) p. 10
 2. Carpenter, J. E. Life and Work of Mary Carpenter (1881) pp. 473-4

the Home Office but managed by local School Boards, the manner in which they were conducted will be the subject of investigation and an attempt will be made to determine whether they operated independently of each other or whether common goals, common standards and common rules and regulations were adopted. As "industrial" schools it was expected of them that the curriculum would include an "industrial" element, and that this element would go some way towards defraying the expense of running the school, as well as having the effect of instilling in the children the notion that they should contribute towards the cost of their meals and not rely on the rest of society to feed them. However, there was bound to be a conflict of ideals and practicalities here, for the kind of industrial occupation which could be taught quickly and produce a readily marketable product was unlikely to be of much educational benefit to the child in the long run. Part of the purpose of this study, therefore, will be to discover whether the authorities responsible for managing the School Board Day Industrial Schools recognised this as a problem, and, if they did, how they reacted to it.

In addition, in many parts of the country School Boards were confronted by a particularly difficult religious problem in respect of the establishment of day industrial schools. The problem was difficult enough when what was under consideration was the provision of separate denominational and Board schools for children of different religions, but in the case of the day industrial schools it was foreseen that they would have to accommodate Protestant and Roman Catholic children under one roof. The religious problem facing School Boards has been the subject of numerous studies including those by Dr. Murphy, (1) Dr. Hurt, (2) and Dr. Pritchard. (3) All point

-
1. Murphy, J. Church, State and Schools in Britain 1800 - 1970, (1971) pp. 60-3
 2. Hurt, J. Education in Evolution (1971) p. 224
 3. Pritchard, P. B. "The Churches and the Liverpool School Board, 1870 - 1903" Ph.D. thesis, Liverpool University (1981)

to the inevitable clashes and lengthy wrangling involved before anything approaching adequate school provision could be made. And yet the task of providing separate schools for children of different religions must have seemed relatively simple when compared to that of satisfying the requirements of Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Nonconformists and Unsectarians in a single building under the control of one set of managers and one superintendent. This study will examine how that problem could possibly be, and indeed was, resolved.

The School Board Day Industrial Schools were established primarily to help cope with the problem of truancy, and to do so in a way that was financially more advantageous than that of wholesale resort to residential institutions. This study will, therefore, also attempt an assessment both of the effects of the schools on levels of attendance and also of the financial implications of their establishment in the various localities.

Finally, the School Board Day Industrial Schools were set up at a time when a vigorous debate was in progress about the effects, on society as a whole, of the growth of a residuum of urban poor. In 1851 Joseph Kay had warned "that if children were neglected the city would become 'the training ground for crime and disaffection,' " and that this process "would deteriorate the physical and moral condition of the nation." (1) Reeder describes how it was not at all uncommon to find early- and mid-Victorian reformers expressing this suspicion, and how, from the early 1870's, the possibility that progressive 'hereditary degeneration' would develop, was a frequent subject of prophetic utterance in papers delivered to the Social Science Association. (2)

This debate is also examined by Marsden who describes how Thomson's fears about the destabilising effects of urban poverty in Aberdeen in the

-
1. Quoted in Reeder, D. A. "Predicaments of City Children" Urban Education in the Nineteenth Century (1977) p. 77
 2. Ibid. p. 77

1840's were echoed by MacCallam and Hargreaves in the 1880's in respect of London. Their worries, and those expressed by Booth in 1891, "promoted a stereotype of a slumbering, slum-bearing monster, awaiting the call to destroy the very fabric of society." (1) In "an overview of the disparities in educational opportunity which arose out of the splintering of towns and cities in the nineteenth century . . . into distinctive social areas" (2) attention is drawn to the need perceived in London and other large towns for schools which would cater for the population of social areas below even those occupied by the mass of the labouring poor. It was considered by at least one member of the London School Board that children belonging to this group could be categorised as "barbarians" who should be provided with "a sort of penal or purgatorial school - something distinctly unpleasant." (3) Whether it needed to be "unpleasant" or not was a matter of argument, but this study will show that such provision needed to be separate, because many schools, which happily accommodated the children of poor working class parents in a particular geographical area, frequently rejected those of what were perceived as a lower social group.

In eighteen towns, seventeen in England and one in Scotland, part of this separate provision took the form of School Board Day Industrial Schools. As it was feared that the children committed to them represented part of the hard core of the residuum, it was inevitable that underlying this establishment would be the ideology of social control. This is evidenced both by Mary Carpenter's own expressed belief "that society was under threat" from such children (4) and by the speeches made by the supporters

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1. Marsden, W. E. "Education and Urbanisation in Nineteenth-Century Britain" Paedagogica Historica (1983) XX XIII/1 pp. 105-6
 2. Marsden, W. E. "Urban Education and Social Geography" Urban Education in the 19th Century (1977) p. 50
 3. Quoted in Marsden, W. E. op. cit. (1977) p. 61
 4. Selleck, R. J. W. "Mary Carpenter: A confident and contradictory reformer" History of Education, (1985) Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 10

of Section 16 of the 1876 Education Act during the debate in the House of Commons. The more repressive aspects of the "control" ideology were, this study will argue, much softened by Miss Carpenter's frequently articulated concern for the plight of the very poorest children, and by the sympathetic attitudes adopted by most of those responsible for the management and conduct of the schools.

In Hooligans or Rebels? Stephen Humphries has collected oral evidence in order to correct what he sees as an imbalance in the study of the history of working class childhood. This imbalance, he argues, has been brought about by the nature of the evidence used by most historians:

"Since the control of manuscript and printed evidence by adults (normally middle-class adults) is absolute, most documentary sources present a biased and distorted view of the resistance of working class youth." (1)

His use of oral evidence leads him to portray reformatories and industrial schools as instruments of class oppression "whose fundamental purpose was to incarcerate the children of the dissolute poor and to inculcate in them habits of obedience, discipline, honesty, cleanliness, sobriety." (2)

Humphries' verdict is challenged by Springhall who argues that it:

" . . . overlooks the consensual nature of such virtues among the 'respectable' of all social classes in the second half of the nineteenth century, many of whom shared with the reformers the idea that the state had an obligation to enforce parental duties . . . Industrial schools in particular, were founded on the belief that the welfare of the child and the

1. Humphries, S. Hooligans or Rebels? (1981) p. 3

2. Ibid., p. 214 and

Springhall, J. Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain 1860 - 1960 (1986) p. 166

protection of the social order required the separation of uncaring parent and neglected child." (1)

In spite of their disagreements, what is common to the work of both Humphries and Springhall, and indeed to most writers on the subject, is that while they acknowledge and examine the characteristics and the purposes of reformatories and residential industrial schools for the children of "uncaring parents" and "the dissolute poor," they overlook another category of parent which was acknowledged by Mary Carpenter, by Lord Sandon and by at least eighteen School Boards. This was the indigent, often feckless, usually neglectful, but always sadly inadequate parent, incapable of looking after his children without help, but nevertheless not always deserving to have them taken away from him. It was for this parent and his children that the School Board Day Industrial School experiment was tried.

The aim of this study is to provide a record of that trial.

CHAPTER 1

THE ORIGINS OF THE SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

(1) The Need for Special Provision for the Education of Destitute and Neglected Children

From the time of Robert Raikes onward, the education of the children of the poor was widely regarded as a desirable aim. It would be good for the children themselves and, perhaps more importantly, good for society as a whole insofar as the moral values imparted to them would ameliorate any tendencies towards anti-social behaviour. Attempts to provide such education were, however, hedged about with problems. These problems were associated not only with finance, organisation and administration, but with the attitudes of those for whom such education was intended both to school attendance and to each other.

The poor in nineteenth century England were by no means a homogeneous section of society. Rather there were among them subtle and important sub-stratae and sub-sections, important not only to those who were attempting to provide education, but important also to the intended recipients. Any system which tried to reach the poorest children of the labouring classes would need to take account of these divisions or the attempts would founder.

Among those most aware of this problem was Mary Carpenter. Since the middle of the eighteen-forties she had striven to find ways of providing the children of what she called "neglected and criminal" (1) classes with schooling. Her heroic efforts in the ragged school at Lewin's Mead, at Kingswood and at Red Lodge, England's first reformatory school for girls, have been fully described in Jo Manton's Mary Carpenter and the Children

1. Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire how the Education of Destitute and Neglected Children may be most efficiently and economically assisted by any Public Funds (July 1861) para. 2161

of the Streets. Since 1846 she had been actively engaged in this type of work. Several times the negative response of many of the children and the indifference of the authorities had almost broken her health but without weakening her resolve. By the 1860's she had become a doughty and unyielding advocate on behalf of poor children.

In July 1861 Mary Carpenter was invited to give evidence to a select committee appointed "to inquire how the Education of Destitute and Neglected Children may be most efficiently and economically assisted by Public Funds." The invitation provided her with the opportunity of explaining to the committee's chairman, Sir Stafford Northcote, how she had come to the conclusion that the very poorest children formed a distinct class and could not be educated alongside the children of "respectable labouring persons" but needed separate provision. The problem was not simply one of failure to pay fees, for she had on occasion done this, as well as providing clothing, but that these children were regarded as belonging to an undesirable social group. Describing this aspect of her work in Bristol, she said:-

" . . . the experiments which I have tried of clothing children as well as paying fees for them, to send them to a British school, have so utterly failed, that I should never attempt to do it - nor would I give children clothing, but I would allow them to earn what they can from their own industry. With respect to that class, I may say that it is so distinct that on certain occasions when I have endeavoured to get the boys of the ragged school who appear to be superior to the others, into a boys' charity school, I have been waited upon by the managers of the school and informed that the school was intended for the children of respectable labouring persons and that it would be utterly injurious and painful to the parents of such children to have admitted into the school the children of the low irregular class that I was endeavouring to raise into it." (1)

Nor was the problem confined to boys. Mary Carpenter's efforts to transfer the best of her girl pupils from the ragged school had met with equal lack of success:

"On other occasions I have obtained permission for some little girls, who for some time had appeared to be steady and regular in their conduct, (to go) into a charity school and the difference was at once perceived between them and the ordinary children. It is well known that the parents of that class of children dislike the association of their own children with those of a lower grade as much as gentlemen would dislike the association of their children with those of shopkeepers." (1)

These divisions in outlook, existing in what from the outside might appear to be uniformly poor areas, were noticed by other observers of the social scene in Victorian cities. They reflected not only the economic distinctions perceived amongst themselves by their inhabitants, but also social differences and, especially, different attitudes to crime. One such observer was the Rev. D. Hume. Working in the Scotland Road - Vauxhall district of Liverpool in the mid-nineteenth century, he noted that it contained within it certain streets which were regarded in the locality as being "less respectable" and a few which were said to be "criminal."

"It may be stated in general terms that the area which poverty claims for its own contains within it smaller localities which are specially devoted to crime, vice and immorality." (2)

Hume identified these criminal streets as Chisenhale Street, Clement Street, Eaton Street, Gascoyne Street and Wigan Street. The difficulties created by the character of these five streets for any authority or institution

1. Ibid. para. 2163

2. Hume, Rev. D. "Condition of Liverpool, 1858" quoted in Tobias, "A Statistical Study of a Nineteenth Century Criminal Area" British Journal of Criminology (July 1974) p. 221

attempting to provide education for the district as a whole were simply that, even if the children from the "less respectable" streets were prevailed upon to attend, then it was more than likely that the parents of children in the more respectable areas would object.

A similar situation had been observed in Aberdeen by Sherriff Watson. Here not only the parents but the teachers objected to the presence of children from such streets in their schools. Sherriff Watson had devised a plan to provide tickets for children too poor to afford even the lowest school fees. These tickets would entitle the children to attend any school in the town for a period of three months, after which, if the teacher provided evidence of good attendance and progress, the ticket was renewed. District visitors had been appointed to supervise the scheme, which was expected to succeed, but which failed:

"I found two serious objections to that plan; first, that the children were so very filthy and ragged, and of such a low class, that the teachers objected to these children coming to their school; and in the second place the visitors who visited the poor people objected to sending children to school in this way, because when they went into a person's house, and found that he was so poor; and that he had nothing to eat, they thought it was like giving a stone instead of bread when they presented a ticket enabling the child to receive education without having the means to give it food." (1)

Sherriff Watson told the 1861 Select Committee, "We dropped the ticket system altogether" and that he was now in favour of the establishment of industrial schools for all the vagrant children in the town.

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1. Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire how the Education of Destitute and Neglected Children may be most efficiently and economically assisted by any Public Funds (July) 1861 para. 2525

For this group of children then, not eligible for the workhouse but shunned in the existing schools, it did seem that some alternative form of provision would be required. Indeed as the evidence before the Select Committee unfolded, its chairman was driven to ask Mary Carpenter,

"Do you consider that a special agency is required to deal with this class?"

Her reply was characteristically emphatic:

"I consider that the agency required is so special that, if the bulk of the children could be paid for, clothed, and even kept in a National or British school, such would not be the best agency for them." (1)

Miss Carpenter proceeded to support her argument further by referring to the experience of Saint Mary's Roman Catholic school in Bristol. This school, she said, had been established in an area already served by a ragged school. There were Roman Catholic children already in attendance at the ragged school and it was the hope of the Roman Catholic authorities that they would be able to persuade the parents of these children to transfer them to the Roman Catholic school. St Mary's had an excellent reputation, had been given excellent reports by the Inspector of Police, and was in the charge of a respected and sympathetic head teacher.

Furthermore, in order to give the maximum encouragement to his parishioners to enact the transfers, the parish priest appealed to his flock from the altar to withdraw any children they might have in attendance at the ragged school and send them to Saint Mary's. As a further incentive collections were taken in the church to pay the fees of children whose parents were unable to meet them.

However, despite these financial inducements and what must have constituted very great moral pressure, the withdrawals from the ragged school were few and the most needy children still roamed the streets.

1. Ibid, para. 2165

This situation, as explained by Mary Carpenter, plainly intrigued Sir Stafford Northcote and he was anxious for further clarification:

"Do you conceive that the kind of instruction, or the kind of influence which is obtained in ragged schools would be better suited to retain the children in the schools than the schools you mention?" (1)

Again, Miss Carpenter's answer brooked no equivocation:

"I do: in all the National and British schools, where the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic are made the exclusive objects, the whole attention of the master is obliged to be given to the intellectual training; whereas in the schools of which I am speaking the children are in such a condition that they require moral and religious instruction especially." (2)

Evidently Miss Carpenter implied that the approach adopted in Saint Mary's was similar to that in the National and British schools insofar as the main emphasis was on intellectual training, whereas she believed that most attention, in the case of the class of child with which she was concerned, should be devoted to "civilising" them. They needed most of all to be taught the rudiments of cleanliness and the value of good habits of punctuality and self-respect which were adopted voluntarily by children of "respectable" working people. Unless and until this was done the technical tasks of teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, tasks which were, she thought, in any case of less importance than the moral ones, would fail. Above all, she argued, these children must be drawn into society. It would be beneficial too if they could be dissuaded from the habits of begging and the desire for gifts, and imbued with sentiments of self-responsibility.

1. Ibid. para. 2168

2. Ibid. para. 2168

It was becoming plainer and plainer to the committee that what Mary Carpenter envisaged was the establishment of a type of school which would not compete with the British and National schools already established in the area, but would confine itself to the education of those children who, either from internal or external forces, were excluded from them. The schools would encompass some of the children catered for by the ragged schools but they would encourage a greater degree of self-reliance and would attempt to move away from the social stigma attached to those schools.

However, the financial implications of what Miss Carpenter was saying were not lost on the Committee and its chairman asked her if she considered that Government aid would be required for such schools.

Again, her answer was direct:

"I consider that it is very much required." (1)

Here then, fifteen years before Sandon's Education Act, Mary Carpenter was laying down the lines on which the School Board Day Industrial Schools would be developed. They would exist in the deprived areas of large towns, they would not compete with the ordinary elementary schools for pupils but would cater for those children who played truant from or were rejected by the ordinary schools; they would aim first at "civilising" their pupils and then at cultivating self-reliance and personal responsibility; and they would in some measure be state supported.

But if Mary Carpenter's vision seemed a distant prospect ten years before Forster's Education Act, it was in large measure shared by Mr Turner, head of a British school in Bristol, giving evidence to the same committee. It was suggested to Mr. Turner that the aims which he shared with Miss Carpenter could be met by resort to the workhouse schools. Mr Turner, in reply, objected that these were residential schools and that their use would mean the separation of children from their parents. Poor

1. Ibid. para. 2172

as their homes often were, he felt strongly that the children ought not to be separated from them. Indeed he believed that any attempt to separate parents and children would, and should, be stoutly resisted:

" . . . But they are boarding schools; I think that it would be a most improper thing to take all these children from their parents and put them into workhouse schools: even if it could be done it would be a monstrous action." (1)

Mr Turner pursued his point with two questions addressed to the chairman, accompanied, for good measure with a resolute assertion about the reaction of the typical mother:

"Who would have a right to take those children from her?
Would she consent to it? She would die first." (2)

Mary Carpenter shared Mr. Turner's views on the importance of the bond between mother and child. In 1852 she had witnessed a scene at Liverpool Assizes when a mother who had used her small daughter as an accomplice in shop-lifting had been sentenced to transportation. She had seen "the agony of parent and child when sentence was pronounced, their despairing grief when they were removed from the dock . . . and the child torn from the mother whose guilt she cannot comprehend." (3) Her sense of outrage at scenes like this led to a bold expression of outright indignation when she asserted to the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into Poor Relief that it should be made illegal to take children into workhouses:

"It is the nature of children to be in a home and to feel around them a family attachment and sympathy. I believe this is especially essential to the nature of girls; it is important

1. Ibid. para. 2202

2. Ibid. para. 2202

3. Carpenter, M. "Juvenile Delinquents, their condition and treatment."

Quoted in Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets Manton, J. (1976) p. 116

for boys, but it is particularly necessary for girls. But Boards of Guardians have as their chief aim a desire to keep down the rates." (1)

Serious attempts then, should be made to keep these children at home, and Miss Carpenter was further outraged at the injustice which often led to the imprisonment of children from the poorer classes for actions which would have been overlooked in the children of their 'betters'. In an article on "The Non-Imprisonment of Children" written for the Reformatory and Refuge Journal she wrote:

"The vagaries of boys in the upper classes are never looked on with such a serious eye,"

adding that everything showed

" . . . how completely neglected these poor boys had been, how impossible it was for them to lead anything but a life of crime, and how useless it was to keep sending them to prison time after time." (2)

All Mary Carpenter's experience then, and that of many of her contemporaries concerned with improving the social and educational standards of the poorest children in society, pointed to the need for local but separate educational provision; provision for feeding and for improving hygiene; and the maintenance of the home link. There would have to be some form of state or other public financial support for these schools, but the children would not have to gain the impression that this support would be unearned. Indeed both Mr Turner and Miss Carpenter, in their evidence, stressed that the children ought to be encouraged to regard earning and not begging as the acceptable way to provide for themselves. To this end, the curriculum in the proposed schools must include an element of productive work. This was as true for the existing ragged schools as it would be for those which might in due course replace them.

1. Ibid. p. 161

2. Ibid. p. 187

"The industrial element I consider as absolutely essential to the Ragged Schools, so much so that I would substitute the name "Industrial Schools" for "Ragged Schools." (1)

In their evidence to Sir Stafford Northcote and his committee then, Mary Carpenter and Mr Turner had, between them, spelt out how they thought the education of destitute and neglected children might most efficiently and economically be undertaken. Quite explicitly contained in their exposition were all the elements later to be found in the School Board Day Industrial Schools. There was the insistence on separation from other groups of working class children; there was the emphasis on maintaining the home-school link through day-time attendance; there was emphasis on the need for feeding and for the practice of hygienic principles. Along with this went the encouragement of habits of punctuality and regularity, the practice of industrial work, and the emphasis on moral training. Stressed just as forcibly was the need for public financial support;

"A child born into a civilized country has certain rights, something to expect from such a country. The country should not leave him without education . . . education is as necessary to a child as food is." (2)

This idea clearly disconcerted at least one member of the committee, Mr. Black, who asked:

"You have stated that education is as necessary to a child as food is - that a child is as much wronged by being left uneducated as by being left unfed . . . You do not see anything extravagant or absurd in these propositions?"

The answer was firm -

"I do not." (3)

However, it was to take another decade and a half of campaigning before anything remotely approaching her ideas was put into effect.

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1. Parliamentary Papers: Select Committee Report on Destitute and Neglected Children(1861)para. 2205
 2. Ibid. VII quoted in Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 161
 3. Ibid. p. 161

(ii) The Campaign for State Aid for the Education of Destitute and Neglected Children

By 1861 Mary Carpenter's ideas about how the education of destitute and neglected children should be organised were taking firm shape. She set them out in a lecture delivered to the Social Science Association and in a pamphlet entitled "What shall we do with our Pauper Children?" In it she argued strongly that workhouse children, street arabs and neglected children of the labouring poor were not outside society but part of it. Responsibility for their welfare and education rested with society. "They are our pauper children," she wrote, "and if we neglect our duty to them we shall suffer for it . . . crushed and neglected themselves, they will rear up children to be the same." (1) She went on to propose that ratepayers in every district should elect a School Committee and that the Guardians should contribute a sum of five shillings per week towards the schooling of every destitute child. The schools which these children attended should be inspected annually and should provide an education designed to "make the child feel the worth of his own soul and perceive that he is a member of society."

The possibility, however, of seeing any developments along these lines, appeared to recede with the appearance of the Revised Code of 1862. Up to now the ragged schools, though seriously deficient, did at least represent some means by which children of the class with which Mary Carpenter was most concerned, might receive some form of education. Such schools, though, had no hope of reaching the standards required for 'Payment by Results' and so were deprived even of the meagre grants they had hitherto received.

In 1864 Miss Carpenter published Our Convicts, a study of the effects of imprisonment on the inmates of prisons in which she took the opportunity

1. Carpenter, M. What shall we do with our Pauper Children?

London, (1861) quoted in Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 161

to praise the efforts of the ragged schools which:

" . . . sought out the very lowest and most neglected children they could find . . . tried to civilise them . . . to let them know in practice that they were not regarded as the offscourings of society." (1)

Nevertheless she welcomed the passage of Forster's Education Act in 1870 with its provisions for the establishment of School Boards and the powers vested in them to make education compulsory, powers which would, it seemed for a time, obviate the need for ragged schools.¹ Indeed in the debate on the Act in the House of Commons Forster had predicted that the School Boards should:

" . . . bring elementary education within reach of every English home, aye, and within reach of those children who have no homes,"

and Mary Carpenter herself had written:

"As soon as the School Boards were established the Ragged Schools should be annihilated." (2)

She closed the school at St. James' Back in Bristol in the expectation that the new Bristol School Board would provide universal free day-schooling.

It was at this point, however, that the factors noted in the previous section came into play. To many of the children themselves, attendance at school, even if compulsory, as it soon became in most of the large towns, remained an irrelevant intrusion into the essential work of begging, pilfering, pocket-picking, match and orange selling and all the various activities which entered into the serious business of keeping body and soul together. To many of their parents too, school was an alien world. Sometimes feckless, sometimes ignorant, such parents had more urgent priorities than the school

1. Carpenter, M. Our Convicts (Longmans Green) pp. 356-9

Quoted in Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 191

2. Manton, J. op. cit. pp. (1976) pp. 223 - 226

for surplus pence, and by active direction or sheer indifference, failed to encourage their offspring to attend.

Often when they did attend, in their unkempt and uncared for state, the poorest children met with a hostile reception not only from their more respectable peers but from the teachers as well. Indeed the first president of the National Union of Elementary Teachers, while in favour of compulsory attendance for "street arabs and wanderers," proposed that they should be accommodated in special ragged schools to keep them separate from more presentable scholars. (1)

Not surprisingly, in all of the large towns and cities, the mere enactment of bye-laws requiring compulsory attendance failed to draw into the school system large numbers of these "street arabs." The situation was as bad in Bristol as elsewhere and in June 1871 Mary Carpenter wrote an open letter to the members of the Bristol School Board urging them to encourage these children to attend by opening "feeding Industrial Day Schools."

When they failed to do so, she herself opened a day industrial school on New Year's Day, 1872, using the old buildings in St. James' Back, converted to their new purpose. (2)

The new school at once attracted large numbers of boys and girls, many of whom had previously attended the ragged school and some of whom were the children of parents who had attended there. The original plan had been to provide a mid-day meal of soup, stew or suet and treacle pudding, but this was later supplemented with a simple breakfast of oatmeal porridge after the teachers had reported that many of the children arrived at school so hungry that it was impossible to teach them. Later a third meal of cocoa and toast or bread and cheese was provided before the children went home.

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1. Tropp, A. The School Teachers (1957) p.111
 2. Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 229

The cost of providing this simple fare amounted to two shillings per week and was raised by public subscription.

The school had opened in January 1872 and by September Mary Carpenter felt able to report to a meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science that the physical condition of the children attending had improved significantly during the intervening period. She explained that the children were:

" . . . the very lowest that could be found, in so miserable a condition that they cannot be admitted into ordinary schools." (1)

She was very careful to point out though, that the school had not been able to raise the standard of pupils in Arithmetic, English etc., to those required by the Revised Code for an educational award.

A letter of complaint to W. E. Forster failed to allay his fear that Miss Carpenter's approach would encourage parents to get their children fed out of the rates. She was more successful, however, in her appeal to the Bristol School Board which was experiencing difficulty in securing the attendance of precisely this type of child and which agreed to certify the day industrial school as "fit and proper for children who will not attend other schools." Just as importantly, they agreed to pay one shilling and sixpence per week for each child. (2)

For a brief period it seemed then that Mary Carpenter was on the way to establishing a precedent that would lead to the type of school she had so firmly advocated in her evidence to Sir Stafford Northcote's committee of inquiry over a decade before. Here now was a school devoted especially to the "street arabs" of Bristol, a school which set out to civilise the very wildest of the city's waifs, which fed them, cleansed them, provided them with productive work, and which, above all, had secured public support and public funding.

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1. Proceedings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science 1872 quoted in Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 230
 2. Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 230

The elation though, if any she felt, must have been shortlived. The Education Council refused to recognise the school and in 1874 the certificated master in charge of the school left. He was replaced by a competent but uncertificated teacher and the School Board, bound by the regulations of the Revised Code, was compelled to withdraw its support.

The problem, however, refused to go away and now, three years after Forster's Education Act, it was overwhelmingly evident that the bye-laws which all the major School Boards had passed requiring compulsory attendance at school were failing to secure their objective. And not only were they failing, but they were failing on a massive scale. Even such an optimist as the Rev. Sydney Turner was driven to write:

"I had expected that the establishment of School Boards in our larger towns, and their exercise of the power of enforcing attendance at ordinary day schools, would have materially lessened the number of the disorderly and neglected children for whose better training and restraint the provisions of the Industrial Schools Act have hitherto been so freely applied, but my anticipations have as yet been entirely disappointed, and from the information I have received from the School Boards of our largest centres of population, I am led unwillingly to the conclusion that the 'arab class' of children as they are called, cannot be reached by the powers and provisions of the Education Act as it now stands, or by the purely instructional machinery which it recognises. (1)

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1. Turner, Rev. S. "Report on Reformatories and Industrial Schools, 1873." Quoted by Carpenter, Mary, in Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science(1874) p. 267

Some indication of the magnitude of the problem which faced urban School Boards had already been provided by the reports of the inquiry into school provision led by Fitch and Fearon. They had shown that, in Liverpool for example, out of a population of 84,842 children of school age, no less than 43,196 were not in attendance at any school. In Birmingham the reports showed that 23,644 children were not attending out of a school population of 60,141. Manchester and Leeds had 33,887 and 17,368 non-attenders respectively out of school populations of 61,815 and 33,887. (1) Liverpool had been among the first School Boards to enact bye-laws requiring compulsory attendance and yet as late as 1876 it was asserted in the House of Commons that there were still about 40,000 children outside the school system. On the same occasion it was claimed that London had more children not attending school than when the 1870 Act had been passed. (2)

In the intervening years Mary Carpenter had continued her campaign, most notably by taking advantage of the Annual Meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science which was held in Glasgow in 1874. At this meeting she delivered a paper on "Industrial Feeding Schools." Drawing once again on her long experience in Bristol and on her firmly held convictions, she argued that the most effective way to deal with those children of the poorer classes who had so far resisted efforts to get them into school, would be by providing them with day schools in which industrial work and moral training would be provided and in which some standards of hygiene would be laid down and the children would be fed. In presenting her argument she referred first of all to the failure of existing institutions to cope with the problem. Neither the reformatories

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1. Figures quoted in Curtis, S. J. History of Education in Gt. Britain (4th Ed. 1957) p. 274
 2. Hansard (1876) Vol. 230. 1538

nor the residential industrial schools had succeeded in encouraging or compelling these large numbers of neglected children to attend:

"It was hoped by some that the School Boards, in co-operation with these, would act upon the large mass of neglected and destitute children who are known to exist in all our large towns, and who supply these schools with inmates. This has not proved to be the case during the four years of the operations of the School Boards. The efforts of the Boards have indeed brought to light the existence of this large class of children who do not attend the ordinary schools, and for whom they are not at all suitable; their neglected condition makes them require civilising influences; industrial work and direct moral training as well as intellectual instruction." (1)

Miss Carpenter explained how London in particular had attempted to alleviate the problem of non-attendance by using residential industrial schools as both a deterrent and a cure for truancy. To such schools

"Up to March 1874, 1,281 had been sent, at a cost of £25 p.a. for each child or £32,025 per annum." (2)

Even had such a system shown signs of succeeding it was far too expensive to be used on the scale required to solve the problem on a national basis. To continue to use the residential schools for just a few children was, she argued, completely indefensible.

"When we know the miserable condition of the children, whose name is legion, in many parts of the metropolis, the impossibility of placing them in the ordinary Board School, both on account of the injury they would inflict

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1. Carpenter, M. "Industrial Feeding Schools" in Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, (1874) p. 266
 2. Carpenter, M. op. cit. (1874) p. 266

on the children of the decent working classes, and their inability to receive instruction in their actual half-starved and wretched condition, we must feel that to spend such enormous sums on a few, comparatively, while others are neglected, is not wise or right . . . Such employment of certified Industrial Schools by School Boards appears perfectly untenable." (1)

It was further pointed out that resort to the magistrates' courts was no solution either. It had been tried in her own city of Bristol and had failed to solve the problem there;

" . . . education was made as compulsory as the Education Act would allow. The Board passed bye-laws and appointed eight visitors, and in three years more than 1,000 parents had been summoned before magistrates." (2)

If then, as the Rev. Sydney Turner had argued earlier, the bye-laws passed by School Boards had failed to secure the attendance of the 'street-arabs'; if the threat of the residential industrial school had failed; if summoning, fining and even gaoling parents had failed; what type of institution might possibly succeed? Mary Carpenter's answer to the 1874 meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science was the same one as she had given to Sir Stafford Northcote's Committee of Enquiry thirteen years before. Indeed she had already been managing such a school in St James' Back. Not only that but in Scotland too, similar ventures had been tried with success in Edinburgh and Aberdeen. In Manchester and Liverpool too, some day pupils were admitted to certain certified industrial schools on a limited basis. The answer lay in the establishment

1. Carpenter, M. op. cit. (1874) p. 267

2. Whitwell, M. In the discussion following Mary Carpenter's paper on "Industrial Feeding Schools" in Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (1874) p. 267

of day industrial schools in which children were not taken away from the responsible control of their parents, nor was the responsibility for their education entirely removed from the ratepayers of the locality. In such schools the children would enjoy proper supervision for the greater part of the day, they would contribute to their own upkeep by industrial work and benefit from the training, recreation, hygiene and the regular supplies of simple food to develop their physical powers.

She concluded her argument:

" . . . it has been sufficiently proved during the last quarter of a century that where the most wretched children have attended such schools they have grown up respectable . . . Edinburgh and Aberdeen, Manchester and Liverpool can bear witness to this." (1)

To this conclusion Miss Carpenter added a final plea for a short Act of Parliament which would empower School Boards:

" . . . to carry out effectively a Day Industrial School wherever such a school is required to carry education to the very lowest stratum of society." (2)

The paper on "Industrial Feeding Schools" was followed by a long discussion during which Miss Carpenter's supporters and her opponents were able to put forward their various points of view or to report the views of local bodies which they represented. Most of those who spoke were in favour of calling for legislation along the lines which she had described. The fear voiced by many of them was that unless some measure of the type she outlined was enacted, then the 1870 Education Act would fail in its objective. This argument was expressed most succinctly by the Rev. Page-Hopps, a member of the Glasgow School Board. He said it had really become a question of whether the Act was to break down

1. Carpenter, M. op. cit. (1874) p. 269

2. Ibid. (1874) p. 270

or not. In Glasgow he expected to see

" . . . the decent children leaving by one door when the rougher children entered by another," (1)

unless the scheme were adopted.

He went on to praise the advantage of the day industrial school in not separating the child altogether from its parents:

"However poor might be the child's home and however bad its parents, it was our duty to preserve the home tie by sending a girl or boy back to it at night." (2)

The Rev. Page-Hopps further argued that there was an additional advantage in the child's returning home at night in that he or she might take home from the schools some of the instruction received during the day. In this way, it was hoped, the children would be "social and domestic missionaries to their parents." (3)

The opponents of the day industrial schools mounted their attack on two fronts. Mr. A. J. S. Maddison, who was the secretary of the Reformatory and Refuge Union, feared that the day industrial school would be of no service whatever as the Industrial Schools Act, as it stood, applied to:

" . . . children described therein as begging, wandering, having no home, orphans, and those whose parents were undergoing penal servitude or imprisonment." (4)

For such children the return home from school each evening was, he argued, either impossible, or if not impossible, undesirable.

Lord Houghton voiced the fears of other opponents that, by offering food to the children, the proposed schools would be a temptation to parents to evade their responsibilities, but Sherriff Watson of Aberdeen pointed

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1. Page-Hopps, Rev. Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science(1874)p. 272
 2. Ibid. p. 272
 3. Ibid. p. 272
 4. Ibid. p. 271

out that where parents were found to be "dissolute and dissipated" their children could be removed to the certified residential industrial school. He pointed out, however, that most of the children of the poor, the indigent and the infirm who attended the day feeding school in Aberdeen profited from the experience and extended the benefits of their schooling to their own families.

The most significant feature of the various inquiries, discussions and conferences centring on the question of the education of indigent and neglected children which took place during the twenty years or so preceding the Education Act of 1876, was that those who had most first hand experience had come to the same conclusion. It was the firm opinion of people like Mary Carpenter, Mr. Turner of Bristol, Mr. Sherriff Watson and the Rev. Page-Hopps that the education of this type of child called for the establishment of a new, separate type of provision; one that would offer food, industrial training and facilities for recreation and hygiene, and all in a firm but sympathetic environment. In brief some form of day-industrial-feeding school conducted along lines similar to those which had been adopted at St. James' Back. To those making the call was added the influential voice of the Rev. Sydney Turner when he wrote in his 1875 Report on Industrial Schools and Reformatories:

"I believe that the most effectual and extensive relief to the growing burden of our present system of industrial boarding schools would be the establishment, under somewhat parallel conditions, of Industrial Day schools, in which the disorderly young runagates of our large towns might be taught, employed, and fed and sheltered through the day, but not lodged at night." (1)

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1. H.M. Inspector of Reformatories and Industrial Schools Annual Report for 1875 Quoted in London County Council Report with regards to Industrial Schools, 1870 to 1904 (1904) p. 46

Towards the conclusion of the Glasgow conference of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science however, it was still evident that there lingered in some minds the fear that such a solution would encourage feckless parents to transfer the burden of bringing up their children to the state. Mary Carpenter met these fears head on in a typically vigorous final speech:

"We as a Committee are not to discuss whether we shall punish the parents but whether we shall save the children,"

and she concluded by expressing the hope that the Council of the Association would take positive action concerning the matter, as, if they did, she knew

" . . . from past experience that it would not be long before it was taken up by Government and Parliament." (1)

In the long run she was right, but there remained a few skirmishes to be fought before the battle was won.

1. Carpenter, M. in Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science(1874)p. 280

(iii) The End of the Campaign and the Education Act of 1876

In the months preceding the 1874 meeting of the Social Science Association in Glasgow, Mary Carpenter had been lobbying Members of both Houses of Parliament to support her cause in the hope of having a Bill introduced. In a letter to her ally, Sherriff Watson, she wrote:

"I have conferred with many M.P.s and Lords in London, chiefly Tories (they are the best in this work), and we think there must be a short Act for certifying the Day-Industrial Feeding Schools by the School Boards." (1)

As a result of her efforts in Glasgow she secured the support of the Social Science Association and felt justified in exclaiming later "The Day Industrial Paper has converted all." (2) Further action was required though, and she now co-operated with Sydney Turner in the drafting of a "Bill to enable School Boards to establish Day Industrial Feeding Schools." Copies of the draft were widely circulated and one of them drew a response from W. E. Forster:

"I have read attentively your draft Bill. The evil is clear enough and I do not doubt that for it your plan will be to a great extent a remedy. In fact your experience proves this. The question remains, could any publicly elected body work your plan without encouraging parents to get their children fed out of the rates? I must confess my fear on this point is not removed, but I should like to see your Bill brought before Parliament and well discussed." (3)

In stating this fear, Forster was expressing what opponents of Mary Carpenter's ideas had been afraid of since she had proposed them to the

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1. Carpenter, J. E. The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter (1881) p. 430
 2. Ibid. p. 431
 3. Ibid. p. 432

Select Committee on destitute and neglected children in 1861. They were to be voiced again in the debate in the House of Commons in 1876 and to be raised by opponents of the day industrial schools in virtually every School Board which discussed the subject. The prospect that there were hordes of parents just waiting for the first opportunity to shuffle off their responsibilities was one that appeared to haunt a large and influential sector of Victorian society and was almost certainly a factor in restricting the number of School Boards establishing day industrial schools when eventually the Act which permitted them was passed. Before that could be done, however, it was necessary to find a sponsor for the Bill in Parliament.

In May 1876 Disraeli's government was preparing an Education Act which would attempt to improve the deficiencies in existing legislation by establishing a minimum of compulsory education and which would impose penalties on parents who failed to send their children to school. This Act was to be introduced by Lord Sandon, Vice-President of the Committee on Education and one of three Members of Parliament representing Liverpool. Mary Carpenter learned of the proposals on her return from a visit to India and commented of them "Lord Sandon has been bringing in a Bill on Education which we consider extremely useless and injurious." (1)

What displeased her so much were certain provisions contained in the Bill for dealing with children "found habitually wandering, and either not under any control, or in the company of rogues, vagabonds, disorderly persons or reputed criminals." Under these provisions it was proposed that such children should be sent away for one month's detention in a Certified Industrial School and then be released from residence but compelled to attend during the day.

Mary Carpenter objected strenuously to these proposals for a number of reasons. In the first place they involved a period of separation from the home, something she had always regarded as being wrong in itself. Secondly she saw that the Bill grouped together two distinct types of children,

1. Ibid. p. 472

those who had been found guilty by magistrates of consorting with criminals and being involved in criminal activity, and those others, whom she always regarded as innocent victims of society rather than a threat to it, those whose only crime was to have neglectful, penurious, ignorant parents; or who were so unkempt and uncivilised that no ordinary school would accept them. To send such children to the residential industrial school was, she was sure, entirely wrong.

Hastily she circulated a plea to the managers of Certified Industrial Schools explaining her objections to the new proposals and calling for their support. Over many years she had been in correspondence with some of the major School Boards and now she was able to raise a high level of support from them too, for her own draft Bill. This was presented to Lord Sandon. In due course Miss Carpenter received a favourable letter of reply:

"Your case and views are in good and sympathising hands, and I trust that to a great extent you will be satisfied." (1)

The tangible outcome of the long campaign was the introduction of a clause into the Education Act of 1876 which, if passed, would empower School Boards to establish Day-Feeding Industrial Schools. In introducing the clause to the House of Commons Lord Sandon observed that

" . . . he did not wish to take to himself, or the Government, the credit of the scheme itself. The real credit of it belonged to many benevolent people outside the House, and amongst them he must mention the honoured name of Miss Carpenter, who had tried Day Industrial Schools under disadvantageous circumstances and with marked success." (2)

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1. Lord Sandon to Mary Carpenter: correspondence quoted in Carpenter, J. E. op. cit. (1881) p. 473
 2. Carpenter, J. E. op. cit. (1881) p 473

Among the "many benevolent people outside the House" would undoubtedly be included the Rev. Sydney Turner, H.M.I. of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, the Rev. Page-Hopps, and of course Mr. Sherriff Watson. There were allies too inside the House, most notably the other two Liverpool M.P.s, Mr. Torr, who spoke strongly in support of the clause in the debate, and Mr. Rathbone with whom Mary Carpenter had previously corresponded.

Lord Sandon introduced the relevant clause to the House of Commons on 18th July 1876. It is a long clause but needs to be quoted at length in order that the many implications may be discussed.

"Day Industrial School"

(Establishment etc. of day industrial schools)

"If a Secretary of State is satisfied that, owing to the circumstances of any class of population in any school district, an industrial school in which children are not lodged is necessary or expedient for the proper training and control of the children of such class, he may, in like manner as under "The Industrial School Act, 1866," certify any such school in the neighbourhood of the said population to be certified day industrial school.

"Any child authorized by "The Industrial Schools Act, 1866," or by this Act, to be sent to a certified industrial school, may, if the court before whom the child is brought think it expedient, be sent to the certified day industrial school, and may, during the period specified in the order, be there detained during such hours as may be authorized by the rules approved by the said Secretary of State." (1)

The onus then, initially, would be on the School Board to convince the Secretary of State that there existed, in the area for which the Board was responsible, a group of children for whom the ordinary school system was inadequate. The circumstances which would create such groups would,

1. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1531

as will be shown later, vary from school district to school district. They might be associated with casual labour and unemployment as in Liverpool; with temporary dislocation such as that caused by the construction of a new canal at Oxford; or economic depression as at Wolverhampton. But always there would be abject poverty, with its related problems of bad housing, poor diet and low standards of hygiene. Usually these were rendered worse by association with drink, petty theft, begging and the use of children to implement family income by selling such articles as matches, oranges and newspapers or by singing, dancing or performing acrobatics in public houses.

If the Secretary of State was convinced of the need, then the School Board Day Industrial School could be provided. Of necessity it would have to be situated within, or within short walking distance of, the deprived areas in which such poor children were housed.

However, the schools would not be ordinary Board schools, but schools certified "in like manner as under "The Industrial School Act, 1866" "- that is subject to the control of the Home Office rather than the Department of Education, and subject to inspection by the Inspectorate of Reformatory and Industrial Schools. In this respect, the Day Industrial School was in exactly the same position as the residential Certified Industrial school, and this was made clear in the first explanatory sub-section following the main clause:

"In the case of a day industrial school:-

1. A prison authority within the meaning of "The Industrial Schools Act, 1866" and a School Board shall respectively have the same powers in relation to a certified day industrial school as they have to a certified industrial school." (1)

A second paragraph stipulated that the government would provide assistance of no more than one shilling per head per week towards the costs incurred in the running of the school:

2. There may be contributed by Parliament towards the custody, maintenance and training of children sent by an order of court to a certified day industrial school such sums not exceeding one shilling per head per week and on such conditions as a Secretary of State from time to time recommends." (1)

Government grants however were not to be the main component in the maintenance of the child. It was further laid down that the child's parents should also contribute a sum not greater than two shillings per week and that if the parent was unable to meet this requirement he should be able to look for assistance from the Poor Law Guardians:

3. Where a court of summary jurisdiction orders a child to be sent to a certified day industrial school, the court shall also order the parents of such a child, if liable to maintain him, to contribute to his maintenance and training in the school such sum not exceeding two shillings per week as is named in the order; it shall be the duty of the local authority to obtain and enforce the said order; and every sum paid under the order shall be paid over to the local authority in aid of their expenses under this Act; if a parent is unable to pay the sum required by the said order to be paid, he shall apply to the guardians, who, if satisfied of such inability, shall give him such relief as will enable him to pay the said sum or so much thereof as they consider him unable to pay." (2)

A final, much more controversial and unusual paragraph allowed local authorities and parents to apply for permission for a child to be admitted to the **School Board Day Industrial School** without a court order. A child

1. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230.1532

2. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1532

admitted in this way would still be eligible for a government grant, though at a reduced rate. It was this clause in particular which gave rise once again, in the minds of some Members of Parliament, to the fear that idle parents would seize on this excuse to neglect their parental duties and, in part at least, impose the burden of raising their children on the taxpayer:

4. The managers of a certified day industrial school may, upon the request of a local authority and of the parent of a child, and upon the undertaking of the parent to pay towards the maintenance and training of such child such sum, not less than one shilling per week, as a Secretary of State from time to time fixes, receive such child into the school without an order of court; and there may be contributed out of moneys provided by Parliament in respect of that child such sum, not exceeding sixpence a week and on such conditions as a Secretary of State from time to time recommends." (1)

Perhaps because of the complexity of the clause, or because of the level of ignorance of the whole topic which appeared to prevail inside the House of Commons, there appears to have been a pause between Lord Sandon's introduction of his motion and the commencement of the debate. In any event Hansard records that:

"The O'Connor Don said that as no-one else had risen to make any remark on this clause, he felt bound to say that he entertained grave objections against the proposed system of industrial schools in which the children would be partially supported. This clause, if passed, would not only alter one of the essential principles of the industrial schools, which was compulsory confinement therein, but would also completely alter the character of the Board schools

1. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1532

as it would take out of them the class of children for whom they were originally established. It was for the education of this very class of children for whom these day industrial schools were to be set up that most of the Board schools had been erected. Moreover the new system would add enormously to the rates of the country if it were brought into operation to any great extent." (1)

Lord Sandon argued in reply that experience in Scotland indicated that this type of school was effective in encouraging attendance where it had been used:

"Day industrial schools were used . . . the result being that the small gutter children have been almost entirely got rid of. The plan of course only affected the town population, but it proposed to meet the case of a class which was the despair of the school boards, had eluded hitherto all our legislation, had only been very partially affected by the efforts of good and benevolent people, and which was the disgrace and the danger of our modern civilisation." (2)

Nevertheless, the opponents of the clause pressed their case. Their objections boiled down to two main points. First of all they feared that the clause would lead to the wide-spread establishment of such institutions with profound effects on the cost of the education service both nationally and locally. In the second place was the oft-repeated fear that parents would be all too ready to take advantage of the clause to abandon responsibility for the care of their children to the state.

Among those putting forward these points of view were Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Lord Eslington and Mr. Pell.

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1. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1533
 2. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1534

"Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice saw great dangers in the clause as it would hold out a temptation to magistrates to send children upon very slight excuse to these industrial schools; a new class of industrial schools would spring up all over the country." (1)

Lord Eslington thought that the expense of the scheme would be made higher by failure of parents to pay their share of the expenses and that an unhappy side effect would be to involve the police in what was a strictly educational matter. He demanded to know:

" . . . how his noble friend proposed to recover from parents the pay for which they were liable. At present it was collected through the police; but he thought it was very objectionable to employ the police in matters of education." (2)

Lord Eslington was followed in the debate by Mr. Pell who joined the many, both inside and outside the House, who saw the clause as an opportunity for abdication of the responsibilities of parenthood:

"Mr. Pell feared that the result of the clause would be to lead parents to evade their obligations by tempting them to neglect their children in order to gain the advantage of the industrial school." (3)

At this point in the debate W. E. Forster intervened with what, in the circumstances, appear to be somewhat curious questions. He said the Committee were rather in the dark in this discussion and asked:

"What would a day industrial school be? What industrial training would it afford? What food would be given to the children? Would there be half-time schooling?" (4)

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1. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1535
 2. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1535
 3. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1536
 4. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1536

Having regard to the fact that he had previously received, and acknowledged receipt of, a draft of Mary Carpenter's proposals for Day Industrial Feeding Schools (1) it would seem strange if he did not already know the answers. Perhaps his purpose was to provide Lord Sandon with the opportunity of clarifying certain points for the benefit of other, less well-informed, members. If this was the reason, then Lord Sandon accepted the opportunity with the patient skill he had shown throughout the whole of the discussion. He explained that:

" . . . these day industrial schools would be almost identical with the lodging industrial schools, minus the lodging. A certain amount of industrial training would be given, exactly as in the industrial schools, a good deal of latitude being purposely left with the Secretary of State and the able Inspectors to adapt the regulations according to the diverse requirements of various localities. Clothing might be given just as in the lodging schools, and one simple meal in the day would be provided." (2)

Lord Sandon was very well aware that the cost of the new institutions was one of the main factors behind the opposition to them and he attempted to allay these fears by pointing out:

"It was believed however, that day industrial schools would diminish the number of children in the lodging schools and so diminish expense." (3)

Opponents of the clause had also expressed doubts about the efficacy of a scheme which allowed the offending children to return to their homes in the evening and Sandon provided a practical example which he hoped would convince them:

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1. Carpenter, J. E. op. cit. (1881) p. 432
 2. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1537
 3. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1537

"Here was a case mentioned to him by a London police magistrate:- A dock labourer was bound to be at his employment at an early hour, and to continue there or he would lose his means of subsistence. The man might be a widower with four or five children who did not go to school, though he urged them to do so. What possible means had such a man of seeing that his children went to school? The magistrate said it almost broke his heart to have to fine such a man five shillings." (1)

Not everyone, however, was convinced by this illustration and Sir Walter Barttelot, while saying that it was quite proper that when a man was utterly incapable of controlling his children, as in the case of the dock labourer put by the noble Lord, he should be helped, thought nevertheless that the children should be sent away to a lodging industrial school, as he could not see the propriety of allowing the children to return to the home of such a parent every afternoon.

One of Liverpool's two other Members of Parliament, Mr. Rathbone, voiced the need for safeguards for the educational standards in such schools and suggested:

"These day industrial schools should be obliged to comply with the same requirements as to inspection and results as the board schools." (2)

At this point Lord Sandon received strong support from the third of Liverpool's Members, Mr. Torr, and from a London M.P., Mr. Mills. Mr. Torr reminded the House of the failure of the present system to secure the attendance of large groups of poor children, asserting that "there were something like 40,000 children in Liverpool still outside the control of any school," while Mr. Mills claimed:

1. Hansard (1876) Vol. 230. 1537

2. Hansard (1876) Vol. 230. 1538

"Although the London School Board has provided school accommodation for 120,000 children, there are said to be, at this moment, more gutter or wastrel children in London than there were six years ago." (1)

A rather wary W. E. Forster now put his tentative weight behind the clause. "He hoped," he said, "that the clause would be accepted, though he candidly confessed he had considerable fears about the result." He went on:

"Parliament was about to offer to the hard-working poor not only to relieve them of the care of their children, but to supply them with food cheaper than they could obtain it, and all the child suffered was the disgrace of a quasi-imprisonment." (2)

Support, however grudging, from such an eminent quarter seemed bound to sway opinion in the House in favour of the clause, but now its opponents attempted at least to remove that part of it which promised Parliamentary financial assistance. When the clause had been read a second time Lord Frederick Cavendish moved to omit the second sub-section, that which proposed moneys provided by Parliament up to the sum of one shilling per head per week. He was supported by Mr. Fawcett who complained that under the terms of the clause two "most serious" innovations would be introduced. In the first place, he argued, "Imperial Funds" would be given to schools "independently of their educational efficiency." Secondly, these funds would also be devoted to relieve "necessities which arose from the negligence of careless or improvident parents." (3)

To Mr. Muntz such objections only revealed the depth of ignorance which existed on the part of those who made them, as to the reality of

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1. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1538
 2. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1541
 3. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1541

of the situation. He found it amusing to hear these children spoken of as though they had parents who could be made responsible for them. The children who would be provided for in these schools, he pointed out, had no parents at all, or at least none who took care of them:

" . . . they seemed to swarm under the archways and in the alleys of our great towns as though they came by spontaneous generation. It would be a great pity if the proposals were marred by an attempt to carry out abstract theories. The government proposed to draw these children by offering them something to eat, they had to catch them as they would catch any other animal. If they went into a field to catch a horse they would find it better to take with them some corn rather than a whip." (1)

This earthy but vivid contribution to the debate had the effect which Mr. Muntz had hoped for, and Lord Frederick Cavendish withdrew his amendment. Subsequently,

"The Clause was agreed to, and ordered to stand in the Bill." (2)

So, in the words of Mary Carpenter's biographer "the work of thirty years, since the Ragged School had been opened on 1st August 1846, was crowned at last." (3) The way was now open for School Boards in the large towns, if they wished, to apply to the Secretary of State for permission to try the remedy of the day industrial school to the needs of the "perishing and dangerous classes."

However, if Miss Carpenter's supporters were satisfied, there remained a good deal of scepticism both inside and outside of the House. On the day following the debate on the clause The Times carried a long and detailed account of the proceedings together with a distinctly chilly editorial

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1. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1542
 2. Hansard(1876) Vol. 230. 1544
 3. Carpenter, J. E. op. cit. (1881) p. 474

comment. The whole day's debate was seen as a dangerous extension of the powers of the State into areas which properly should remain the concern and responsibility of the family. The comment began:

"We are no doubt going right in the matter of elementary education, but it must, we think, be owned that we are going rather surprisingly fast. We are being led on, whether we like it or not, to little less than a general State guardianship of all children in the country under the age of fourteen." (1)

The Times went on to comment that the response of the House of Commons had been less than enthusiastic and Members had resigned themselves into accepting proposals which, with deeper consideration, they would have done better to resist.

"There are things at which we simply have to shrug our shoulders and put up with them, and that seemed in great measure to be the feeling of the House of Commons in respect to Lord Sandon's proposals for day industrial schools. If we are to take care that hop-picking and harvesting do not trespass by more than six weeks upon a child's attendance at school, if we are to insist on a certain amount of learning being poured into the brain, why stop at intellectual nourishment? Why not proceed to food and clothing? The step, as we have admitted seems inevitable and Lord Sandon has taken it." (2)

The article went on to raise doubts about the whole scheme, to complain further about State encroachment into the life of the family, to re-state all the fears about encouraging fecklessness and irresponsibility among parents and concluded by offering the small consolation that the proposals were, after all, only an experiment:

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1. The Times Wednesday, (19th July 1876)
 2. Ibid.

"We must console ourselves by the assurances so frequently offered us that our present experiments are tentative, and we must hope that poor parents will not hastily jump to the conclusion that the Legislature is desirous to relieve them of all responsibility for their families." (1)

If The Times was hostile at least one provincial newspaper was prepared to give the scheme the benefit of the doubt. In Liverpool there had been intense interest in the debate not only because all three of the towns M.P.s had taken part, but because it was known that the School Board was prepared to put such a scheme into operation should the opportunity be provided and had in fact, in advance of the passage of the Act, already discussed the possibility. (2) The Liverpool Daily Post, while taking a sly dig at Mr. Torr, did acknowledge that something had to be done to cope with the situation in the town and that a day industrial school could hardly worsen the evil:

"There is something rather odd in Mr. Torr, who lately made expense the text of a diatribe against school boards, supporting a clause which is to add feeding to instruction as an expedient for making the primary education of the poorest children in our great towns a reality." (3)

Like The Times though, the Liverpool Daily Post could hardly forbear commenting on the dangers inherent in the scheme, which it regarded as "a strange and startling experiment," and it concluded:

"The attempt thus to obviate one of the most trying difficulties of the great task committed to our School Boards will be watched with more anxiety than hope by many; but, as it can hardly produce greater mischief than it is intended to cure, and as, after all, to get the children

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1. Ibid.
 2. School Board Chronicle (19th August 1876) p. 171 (Hereafter referred to as S.B.C.)
 3. Liverpool Daily Post Wednesday (19th July 1876)

somehow instructed is the best and longest step towards the removal of squalour, we join Mr. Torr in wishing the feeding system all possible success." (1)

It had been a long campaign and only the desperate situation in many of the large towns had induced Parliament to incorporate the relevant section into the Education Act of 1876 and empower School Boards to establish day industrial schools. It remained to be seen how often, and with what success, they would avail themselves of the opportunity.

1. Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

(i) 1876 - 1879

While The Times was antagonistic and the Liverpool Daily Post apprehensive with regard to that section of Sandon's Act which would empower School Boards to operate day industrial schools, the School Board Chronicle was enthusiastic. In its issue of 27 July 1876 it published a comprehensive commentary on the many clauses of the new Education Act, observing:

"The one which practical educationalists will value most is that for the establishment of day industrial schools. It is the most direct and vigorous effort to deal with "Arab" children that has ever received the assent of Parliament, and if it is worked judiciously, we have no doubt that it will prove a practical means of dealing with the greatest difficulty with which the School Boards have had to contend." (1)

The reference to "practical educationalists" was a compliment to those who, like Mary Carpenter and Sherriff Watson, had actively engaged themselves in the work of civilizing the children referred to and an implicit rebuke to those who had taken an ideological stance against the schools.

On 30 September an article devoted entirely to "The Day Industrial School" was published. Its purpose was to draw attention to this new type of institution and to explain the regulations concerning its management. The article outlined the procedures for the admission of children to the schools and went on to remind readers that the new Act provided for them to be built at the expense of the School Fund, but only in School Board districts:

"With the consent of a Secretary of State, a School Board may, on and after the commencement of next year, borrow

1. S.B.C. (22 July 1876) p. 89

money to erect and establish a Day Industrial School, spreading the cost over a period of fifty years, and the institution will be under the management of the School Board. (1)

Once again the journal was sympathetic towards the objectives of the new institutions and optimistic about their potential. It expressed the hope that they would go far "towards removing the difficulty with which the School Boards had to deal in their attempts to compel the attendance of very low classes of children at school" and outlined the circumstances in which they ought to prove valuable:

"Wherever there is no proper provision of food for the poor children, and no decent parental control, these institutions will step in and do the work which the public elementary school knows not how to perform. It may be that only in a few large and densely populated towns will these schools be needed; but there are a few places where there is a crying need for them, and where we expect to see steps taken for their establishment as soon as the new Act comes into operation." (2)

In fact, the first evidence that an authority was considering using the new legislation had already appeared in an earlier issue of the School Board Chronicle - that of 19 August 1876. This issue carried a report of a meeting of the Liverpool School Board which had taken place on 14 August under the chairmanship of Rev. Canon Hume. Under the heading "Separate Schools for Street Arabs" it had reported that the Board's District Education Committee had recommended the establishment of small, separate day schools "for a class of children that could not, from their condition, be forced into the existing public elementary schools." The Liverpool Board had decided that, while they agreed with the recommendation, they should

1. S.B.C. (30 September 1876) p. 319

2. Ibid.

wait the passage of Sandon's Bill through Parliament before taking any action. (1)

However, it was not in Liverpool but in Bristol that the first School Board Day Industrial School was opened. As has already been noted (Ch. 1 (b.)) Mary Carpenter had been conducting a day industrial school at St. James' Back since 1 January 1872. This school had been sited on the premises of the ragged school which she had opened in 1846 and closed in 1870 in the expectation that the new Bristol School Board would take up the task of educating her pupils. But St. James' Back, a "filthy lane" (2) in the worst part of Bristol's slums, was an area in which children needed much more than a mere bye-law to ensure their attendance at school, and the next two years had convinced Miss Carpenter of the need to re-open the premises. At first her new venture - she called it a "Day Industrial School" as she had always disliked the title "Ragged School" employing it only because it was a term conventionally used and understood - received no grant from School Board or Government. Within a few months however the School Board agreed to pay one shilling and sixpence per week for each child as it recognised the ability of the school to attract children who otherwise ignored the attentions of the School Attendance Officers and roamed the streets "noisy, wild and dirty as ever." (3) But from 1874, following the appointment of a new, efficient but uncertificated teacher, the grant was withdrawn and the school continued as a private charity.

A description of the work of St. James's Back Day Industrial School was provided by the School Board Chronicle for 30 September 1876. It read:

"To this school the children are admitted at eight o'clock in the morning and they remain there till six in the evening, the programme of the day consisting of three meals, elemen-

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1. S.B.C. (19 August 1876)
 2. Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) pp. 226 - 232
 3. Ibid. p. 230

tary education, industrial teaching and training, a course of cleanliness, etc. The pupils go to their homes at night." (1)

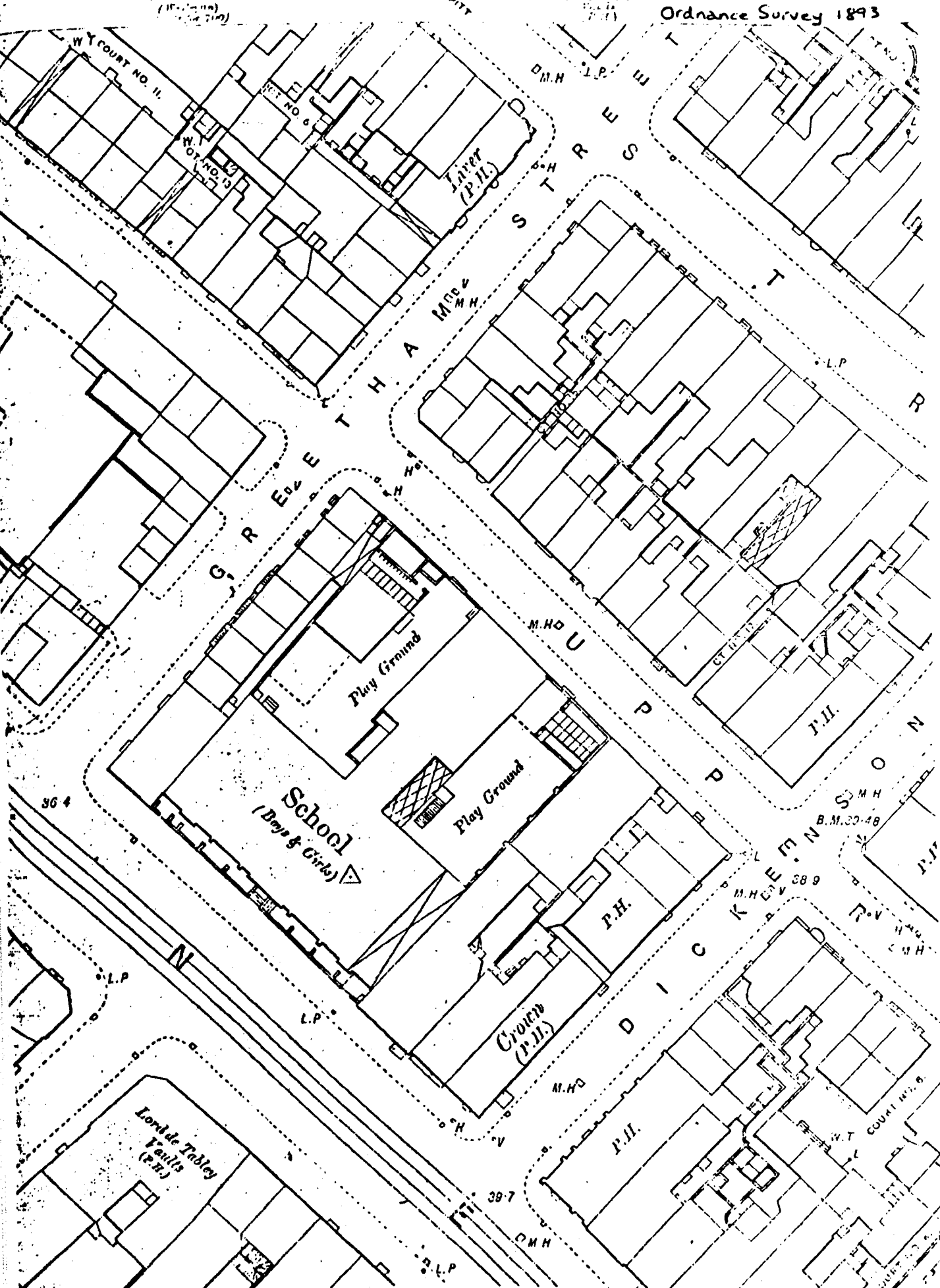
On 30 December 1876 the school was visited by Rev. Sydney Turner, H.M.I. and it was certified by the Home Office, as a Day Industrial School conducted under voluntary agency, on 14 April 1877. (2) It was soon apparent, though, that the premises were inadequate for the school's purposes and an alternative site was found in nearby Silver Street. It was subsequently agreed between the managers of the school and Bristol School Board that it would be desirable for the Board to take over the direct management and control of the school in order to reap the full benefits of the new Education Act, and a fresh certificate was granted on 3 October 1877. (3)

The new Bristol School Board Day Industrial School Silver Street underwent its first inspection by H.M.I. for Reformatory and Industrial Schools on 14 December 1877. The report noted:

"The premises are very suitable for the purposes in view. They include good schoolroom, class-room, dining room scullery and store-room. There is a playground of limited extent. Shed for industrial occupation, lavatory, bath and outdoor accommodation . . . The school is a Mixed School and is the first that has been certified under the provisions of the Elementary Education Act 1876, for the establishment of Day Industrial Schools." (4)

It seems entirely appropriate that the first School Board Day Industrial School to be certified by the Home Office should be the one which Mary Carpenter had founded and on the development of which she had exerted so profound an influence.

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1. S.B.C. (30 September 1876) p. 319
 2. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons, 1878 XL11 601
21st Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.



"The bane of Liverpool...narrow, unwholesome court-houses."

South Corporation School Board

Day Industrial School.

Next to follow Bristol's example was the Liverpool School Board. Liverpool had suffered very serious social problems arising from the character of two districts close to the docks to the north and south of the town centre. The Wapping district, to the south, was notorious for the "bane of Liverpool, the erection of narrow, unwholesome court-houses." (1) To members of the School Board it was equally notorious for truancy, and was precisely the sort of district Viscount Sandon had in mind when introducing Section 16 of his Act.

On 11 June 1877 the Board decided to try to meet the problem of truancy in Wapping by availing themselves " . . . of the power conferred by the 16th section of the Elementary Education Act, 1876 . . . to take the necessary steps for establishing, as soon as possible, a Day Industrial School." (2) This proposition was followed immediately by an amendment from the Rev. Lefroy, a Church of England member, that the District Education Committee be required "to report on whether the South Corporation School could not be, with advantage, converted into a Day Industrial School." (3)

This amendment was greeted with immediate opposition because the South Corporation School was the only Board school in the district and boasted the highest attendance. As there were, however, 1272 vacancies in the nine voluntary schools in the district, Rev. Lefroy pressed his case. If the school were to be converted into a day feeding school, he argued, then the 430 children presently attending the school could choose from among the others what school they would go to. Passing the amendment would be the first step in grappling with the problem of ensuring the attendance of "the gutter children who were at once their reproach and their

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1. Picton, J. A. Memorials of Liverpool History Vol. 2 (1895) p.295
 2. Proceedings of the Liverpool School Board (1876-7) p. 72
 3. Ibid.

difficulty." If, on the other hand, they failed to pass the amendment, he warned the Board that they would have to build a new school which would cost between £10,000 and £15,000, and wait some time for it to be completed. (1)

The Board decided to leave the making of a final decision to its District Education Committee.

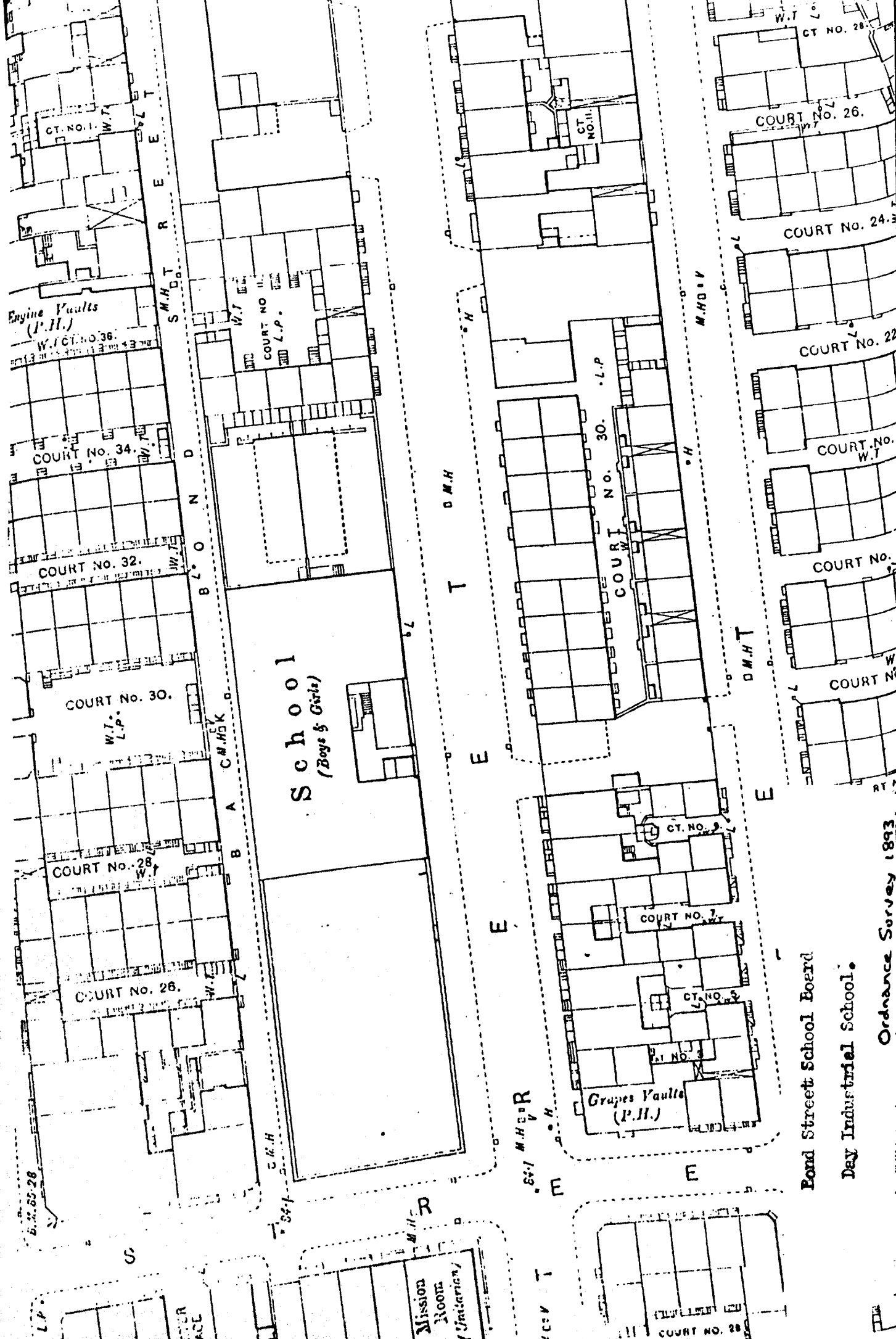
Faced with the urgency of the situation, and influenced, no doubt, by the financial implications, this committee decided " . . . that in their opinion the South Corporation Board School could with advantage be converted into a day industrial school." (2) Their decision won the support of the local paper, the Weekly Albion which wrote approvingly:

"On Monday, a new effort was made in the proposal to found an industrial school. Such schools will be a boon to the "waifs and strays" of the town and will reach a class that really ought to be the concern of the School Board. Long ago these schools should have been founded, but strange to say the Board had no power . . . until the 1876 Act was passed." (3)

On 14 January 1878 the District Education Committee appointed Mrs Charlotte Parry to be the school's first superintendant, and the school opened on 9 September the same year. (4)

Much of Liverpool's truancy at this time was associated with the children of casual workers at the docks and the orphaned, deserted and illegitimate children of sea-farers. It is not surprising therefore, given the extent of the dock estate, that the School Board should very soon consider the opening of a second day industrial school to the north of the town. Here between Scotland Road and Vauxhall Road lay one of the unhealth-

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1. Liverpool Daily Post (12 June 1877) p. 5
 2. Proceedings of the Liverpool School Board (1876-7) p. 84
 3. Weekly Albion (16 June 1877)
 4. Proceedings of the Liverpool School Board (1877-78)



School
(Boys & Girls)

Engine Vaults
(P.H.)
W.T. CT. NO. 36.

Grapes Vaults
(P.H.)
W.T. CT. NO. 9.

COURT NO. 32.
W.T.

COURT NO. 30.
L.P.

COURT NO. 26.
W.T.

COURT NO. 24.
W.T.

COURT NO. 22.
W.T.

COURT NO. W.T.

COURT NO. W.T.

COURT NO. W.T.

COURT NO. 30.
W.T. L.P.

COURT NO. 28.
W.T.

COURT NO. 26.
W.T.

COURT NO. 7.
W.T.

CT. NO. 5.
W.T.

CT. NO. 28.
W.T.

D. 2. 50-28

M.H.V.R.

M.H.R.

Bond Street School Board

Day Industrial School.

Ordnance Survey 1893

iest and most deprived parts of the town, and here the North End Domestic Mission had operated a ragged school known as Bond Street Ragged School since 1859.

The School Board first considered the possibility of taking over this school in 1872 but the buildings were found to be inadequate and a new Board school had been built in nearby Ashfield Street. However the ragged school children had not been readily absorbed into this school and so when in 1878 a site was sought for the new North End day industrial school it was inevitable that the Bond Street area should be considered.

Mr T. M. Reade, the Board's architect, was given the task of recommending a site and he suggested that a Church of England school in Bond Street might be successfully adopted. He sent to the District Education Committee a letter containing a plan of the school and a tracing showing how it might be converted into a day industrial school at, he estimated, a cost of about £1,200. (1) In the event the lowest tender turned out to be £1,663, but after only a brief discussion it was decided to recommend acceptance. The alterations were duly carried out and the school opened on 16 April 1879. Its first superintendent was Miss Lucy Ryan. She was asked to take up her appointment from 1 April so that she could spend some time at the South Corporation Day Industrial School observing the work being done there. (2)

The first inspection of Liverpool's two School Board Day Industrial Schools took place on 21 May 1879. Both buildings were praised by H.M. Inspector and he took the opportunity to express optimism about the future. Of the South Corporation school he said "The premises are carefully fitted up, and provide all the things required for carrying on a school of this kind." (3) He went on "I was gratified with the progress since establishment . . . the education was receiving special and careful attention."

1. Minutes of Liverpool School Board District Education Committee (5 June 1878)

2. Ibid. (26 March 1879)

3. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1880 XXXVII 1

Bond Street Day Industrial School had been open for only six weeks when inspected for the first time and there were only "45 inmates on the day of inspection." The inspector further noted "The school is principally intended to meet the needs of Roman Catholic children in a neighbourhood densely people by Roman Catholics, chiefly Irish."

He described the building as "large and commodious," with "proper provision." (1)

After Bristol and Liverpool, the next School Board to establish a day industrial school was Oxford. Since the passing of Forster's Act Oxford had in fact succeeded in securing higher attendance figures than the national average. In 1874 it had achieved 74.32% against a national average of 69.84%, and in 1876 the figure for Oxford had risen to 75.73%. (2) Nevertheless the School Board was not satisfied with this figure and was of the opinion that there existed in the city a hard core of truants for whom a day industrial school would be of great value.

At a meeting of the Oxford School Board on 5 June 1877, held under the chairmanship of the Rev. J. R. King, a letter was read from a Mr. Mallam which contained a message from the town's magistrates. It read:

"The difficulty experienced by the magistrates in enforcing the attendance at school of children arises from the fact that no school can be found to receive some children. The magistrates, therefore, hope that a school will be provided by the School Board at which such children may be certain to find admission." (3)

Many of the children referred to were from families employed on the Oxford Canal and of them it was said:

"In each neighbourhood these neglected and half-starved children are not only deteriorating in mind and body themselves,

1. Ibid.

2. Report of the Oxford School Board for the year 1879 p. 1

3. Minutes of the Oxford School Board, (5 June 1877)

but they lead into truancy and mischief others who, without their enticement, would be orderly and regular." (1)

It was felt by some members of the Board that a solution might be found in the use of Sandon's Act and a resolution was moved by Mr. Birketon and seconded by Miss Smith that ". . . it is desirable that communication be opened with the Secretary of State with the view of establishing a day industrial school at Oxford." (2)

Accordingly Mr Morrell the clerk to the School Board wrote to the Home Office describing how the town, with a population of 32,250, found itself with about ninety children who were constantly wandering the streets. He concluded his letter:

"The Board believe a day industrial school would be a means of dealing promptly with semi-vagrant children . . . that the payment required from the parent would prevent the pauperizing effect and neutralise the attraction of the meals provided in the school." (3)

Following the receipt of the Secretary of State's permission the Board formed a Day Industrial School Sites Committee for the purposes of procuring a site for the new school. On 15 December 1877 it was decided ". . . to purchase a site in St. Aldate's for the sum of £1,800 for the erection of a day industrial school." (4) The word "erection" is somewhat misleading here. In fact, none of the early School Board Day Industrial Schools were "erected" in the sense of being purpose-built, but, including that at St. Aldate's, were conversions of existing buildings. This was made clear by a minute of the School Board meeting of 9 April 1878 at which:

"The clerk reported that he had not yet received the £1,800 from the Loan Commissioners for the purpose of purchasing the buildings for the day industrial school, but the plans

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. S.B.C. (15 January 1878) p. 14

for the alterations had been approved by the Inspector . . . A tender of £897 was accepted to carry out the alterations." (1)

The Oxford Day Industrial School, St. Aldate's, received its certification on 29 January 1879, a married couple, Mr. and Mrs. W. Clarke having been appointed as superintendent and matron. They were informed by the Home Office that "they were at liberty to commence operations at once if they thought proper." (2) The Board did indeed think it proper that they should embark at once on their proposed school which opened on 25 February 1879.

As early as December 1879 the Oxford School Board felt able to report that the day industrial school had helped to improve attendance by receiving 28 difficult cases, a circumstance which had been considerably helped by new regulations requiring the registration of canal boats:

"The Canal Boats belonging to the Port of Oxford being now all registered, the Attendance Officer has been enabled to gain more control over the children belonging to families engaged in the Canal traffic." (3)

As for the day industrial school it was already exerting a favourable influence on the education provided in the town as a whole:

"Upon the other elementary Schools the establishment of this School is acting beneficially in two ways:- First, by ridding them of scholars who interfered in every way with their efficiency, and, secondly, by improving the attendance of those children whose parents have hitherto been careless about their regularity . . . (4)

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1. Ibid. (20 April 1878) p. 378
 2. Ibid. (22 February 1879) p. 182
 3. Report of the Oxford School Board for the year 1879 p. 1
 4. Ibid. p. 1

Oxford's experience was very soon drawn on by Great Yarmouth School Board which established a day industrial school on 17 May 1879.

For some years the Great Yarmouth School Board had been conscious of its failure to cope with the problem of truancy and in its Triennial Report issued in 1878 the Chairman commented frankly:

"With regard to the attendance . . . they could not be congratulated upon their success, because while he saw the returns at Norwich for July 1877 showed 80% on their books, their own attendance did not come up to 70%. (1)

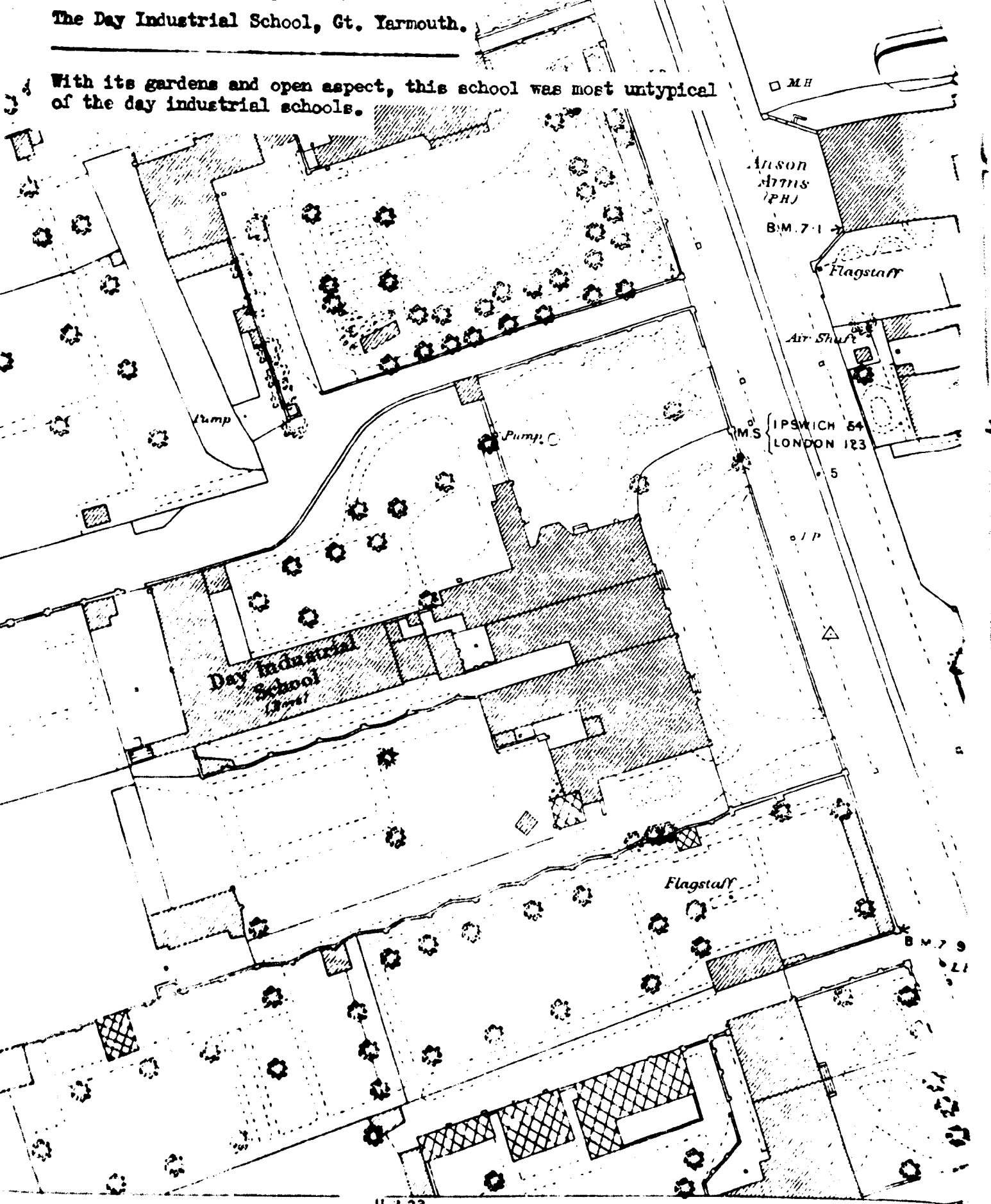
He went on to say that many parents when questioned by the Attendance Committee pleaded that their children were beyond their control and that they could not influence them to go to school. In later years H.M.I. Legge was to point to the attractions of the seaside, the funfair and the possibility of earning money from holidaymakers as reasons for truancy. (2) At this time, however, a different reason was advanced. Mr. Peaton, a member of Great Yarmouth School Board claimed that he had discovered that some boys who should have been at school had been employed by a Corporation official, who paid them to collect stones on the beach. These boys earned "some two shillings or three shillings - or half-a-crown per load for the stones they collected," and he personally had "seen the boys, of ages from 9 to 12 years." (3)

Mr. Peaton had already raised the problem of truancy before his fellow Board members on 1 April 1878 when he had asked them to consider the possibility of combining with other local School Boards to provide a residential industrial school or of establishing in the town a day industrial school - a solution which he thought would be "suitable and adequate"

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1. S.B.C. (2 March 1878) p. 211
 2. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1898 XLVIII 1
41st Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatory and Industrial Schools
 3. S.B.C. (4 May 1878) p. 426

The Day Industrial School, Gt. Yarmouth.

With its gardens and open aspect, this school was most untypical of the day industrial schools.



11.3.23

Zincographed and Published at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton.

1885

(Goleston and Southtown)

Scale

The Altitudes are given in feet above the Approximate Mean Water at Liverpool
Those indicated thus \square refer to Marks on Buildings, Walls &c

11.3.23

and preferable to a training ship or industrial school set up in combination with other East Anglian towns. (1)

The School Board's Vice-Chairman was opposed to this idea. He believed that such a school would be relatively expensive in that it would require two staffs, one academic and one provisional, and that it would be too small to function effectively. He proposed successfully that joint discussions between Yarmouth and Norwich should be initiated with a view to establishing a combined industrial school. In the event these talks failed to come to fruition and the Great Yarmouth Board decided to apply for permission to establish a day industrial school of their own. The most intractable areas of the town as far as attendance was concerned were Gorleston and Southtown where, in the first months of 1878, the Attendance Officer found "28% of the children were truants, and, he believed so, habitually." (2)

The Board therefore acquired a site in Southtown and at a meeting held on 20 December 1878, Mr. J. H. Orde, the Chairman reported:

"Several tenders were received for the alteration of buildings at Southtown for the day industrial school . . . It was . . . considered advisable to accept one of the tenders for the whole work and not divide it, and the tender of Messrs. Cork and Beach, Caistor Road, at £289 was accepted." (3)

The new school was certified on 17 May 1879.

The Great Yarmouth School Board had requested and received from Mr. Henry Rogers, H.M.I., a copy of the Rules and Regulations in use at the day industrial school at Oxford, and used these as the basis of proposed rules for their own school, although they did make one significant alteration. This concerned the Board's unwillingness to open the school on a Sunday, even on a voluntary basis. In spite of Mr. Rogers' pleas for

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1. Minutes of Great Yarmouth School Board (1 April 1878)
 2. S.B.C. (25 May 1878) p. 500
 3. S.B.C. (11 January 1879) p. 39

the matter to be re-considered, the Board persisted in its decision. (1)

Again, as at Oxford, a married couple, Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, were appointed to act as superintendent and matron. The premises which the Great Yarmouth School Board provided for its day industrial school were situated in the Southtown Road area and were unusual in that they had established gardens on the site. They were described by Henry Rogers as "quite suitable, (having) large schoolroom and capital work-room. The outdoor offices answer their purpose." (2)

In the three years following Sandon's Act then, five School Board Day Industrial Schools had been established. Those at Bristol and Liverpool clearly fitted into the categories described under Section 16 of the Act and, in view of the work done by Mary Carpenter and the interest of Liverpool's M.P.s in the debate, it is not surprising to find these School Boards taking early advantage of the new opportunities provided. It is more surprising to find that towns such as Oxford and Great Yarmouth should have emulated them so quickly. Quite clearly though the School Boards in both these towns considered that the "circumstances of certain classes of population" within their school districts warranted the establishment of such schools, and evidently the Home Office agreed with them. In both cases however it is clear from the School Board minutes that certain individuals, Mr. Birketon and Miss Smith in Oxford and Mr. Peaton in Great Yarmouth, exercised great influence in bringing about the decision in their respective towns. All three were "au fait" with the most recent thinking and legislation in this area and were sufficiently persuasive to urge the day industrial school solution to problems of truancy on less well-informed colleagues.

The five School Board Day Industrial Schools established before 1880 became the object of interest and examination of other School Boards considering whether or not to follow their example.

1. Yarmouth Gazette (10 May 1879)

2. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1882 XXXV 1

25th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatory and Industrial Schools

(ii) 1880 - 1889

The five schools established before 1880 were all set up in converted buildings and the distinction of providing the first purpose-built School Board Day Industrial School fell to the Gateshead School Board. In the course of time however it proved a matter of much controversy.

The proposal for the establishment of a day industrial school in Gateshead had been brought before the School Board as early as 14 February 1877 by Mr. W. Brevis Elsdon who had recommended;

"That steps be forthwith taken by this Board to establish and maintain a Certified Day Industrial School." (1)

Mr Elsdon had taken great interest in the work of Mary Carpenter and in the appropriate clauses of Sandon's Act and was well qualified to introduce the subject to his fellow Board members, so much so indeed that he was persuaded to publish the text of his introductory speech in the form of a pamphlet. (2) In this pamphlet he set out the financial arrangements provided by the 1876 Act and specified the types of children who were, and who were not, catered for by these new institutions:

"There are three classes of children to which a day industrial school cannot be applied - namely, criminals; those at the starting point of crime, that is, requiring absolute control; and pauper children. For the first class reformatories are provided; for the second, industrial schools; for the next, workhouses. The classes of children to which the day industrial school will apply are those occupying a condition betokening great neglect or sad destitution, caused either by the vice or by the extreme poverty of the parents." (3)

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1. S.B.C. (21 April 1877) p. 419
 2. Day Industrial Schools A speech by Mr. W. B. Elsdon, member of the Gateshead School Board (Published by request Newcastle-upon-Tyne; John Bell and Co., Railway Bank) quoted in S.B.C. (21 April 1877) p. 419
 3. S.B.C. (21 April 1877) p. 419

Mr. Elsdon went on to elaborate on the needs for such schools in general, described how the school in Bristol was conducted, and then referred to the need and expense, as he estimated it, of providing such a school in Gateshead:

"Provision ought to be made for at least 200 children, and the schoolhouse and buildings should be plain and substantial. A bath-house and work-sheds should be supplied, and the furniture and fittings ought to be as complete as possible. I estimate the cost of such a schoolhouse and adjuncts, with an acre of ground, at £15 per head . . . I estimate the annual cost of maintenance as follows:-

Salaries: A head master with a male and female assistant, a caretaker and his wife, the latter of whom should undertake the duties of cook, £400; food for fifty weeks, at the rate of 1s.6d per head per week, £750; sundries £150 - total £1,300."(1)

Mr Elsdon's arguments, and his calculations, were accepted by the Board and a search for a site was begun. At length it was decided to build on Windmill Hill, an elevated site with extensive views, and almost two years later, on 5 June 1879, at a civic ceremony of some pomp, the foundation stone was laid by the Mayor of Gateshead, Alderman Robinson. He was rewarded for his good offices with the presentation of a silver trowel and a luncheon at the Town Hall. (2)

The first hints that the school lacked universal support came however in the speech which the School Board chairman, the Ven. Archdeacon Prest, made during the presentation. He went to considerable lengths to explain the need for the school and to allay any fears that his audience might entertain about the financial implications of the venture. He assured his listeners that the Board had been extremely anxious not to overburden

1. Ibid. p. 419

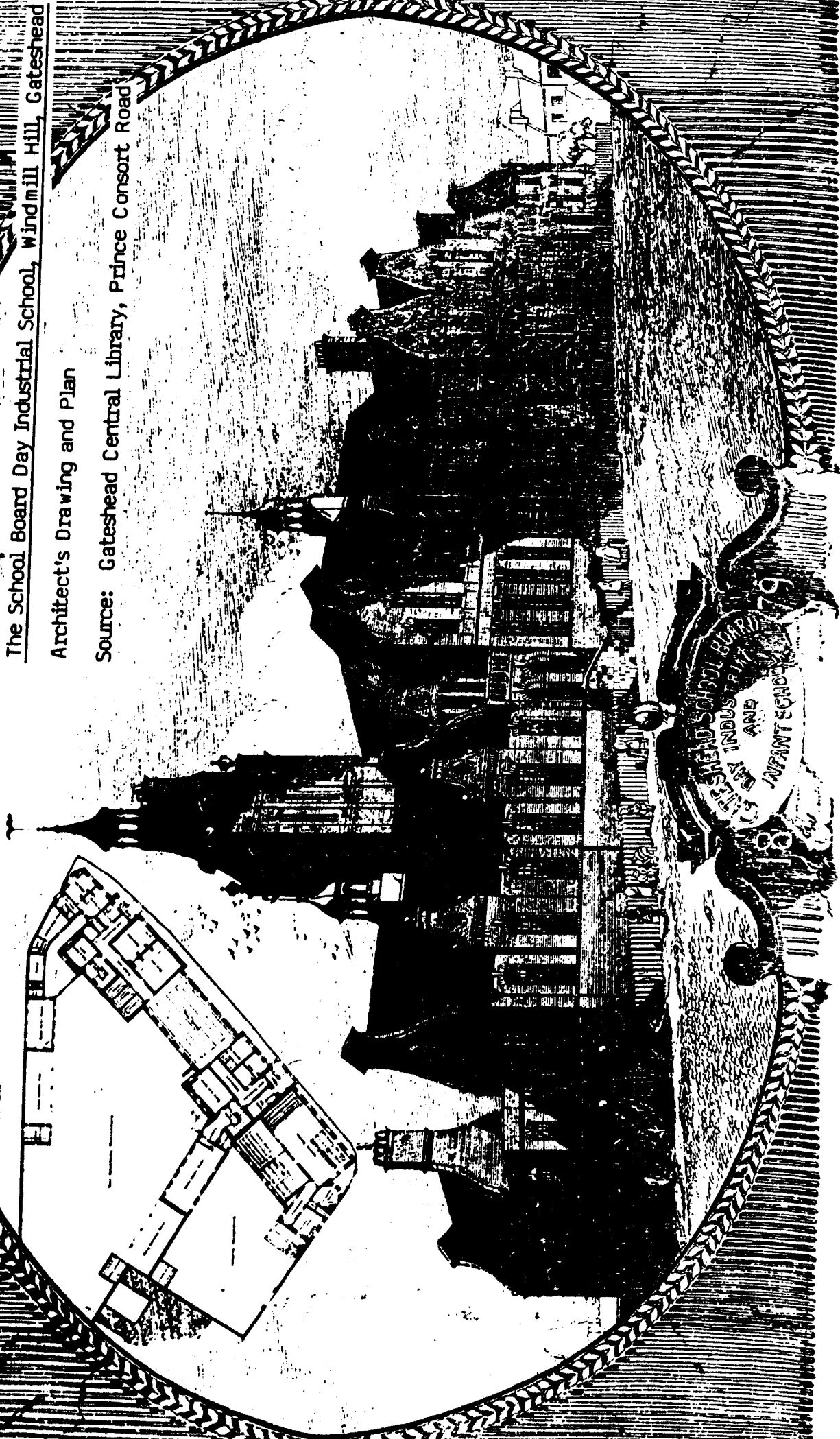
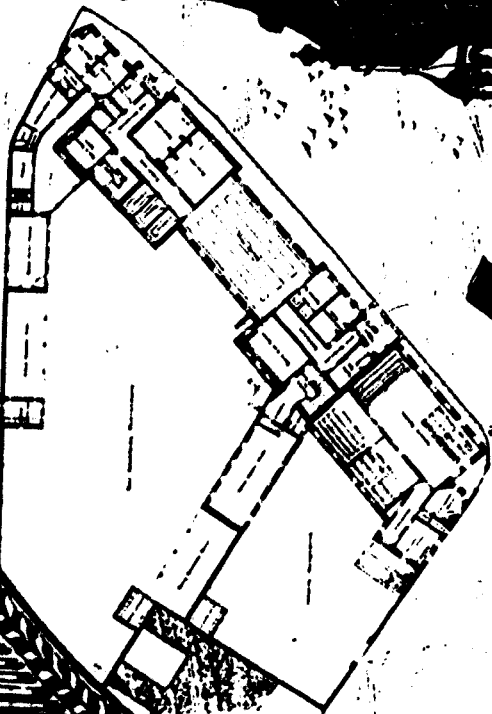
2. S.B.C. (21 June 1879) p. 588

SOLLIVER AND LEISSON ARCHT.

The School Board Day Industrial School, Windmill Hill, Gateshead

Architect's Drawing and Plan

Source: Gateshead Central Library, Prince Consort Road



GATESHEAD SCHOOL BOARD
DAY INDUSTRIAL
AND
INFANT SCHOOL

their constituents, that they had not commenced the institution until they had carefully considered the subject, and that before making definite arrangements they had got their officers to prepare returns which showed that there were 250 children in the town whom the magistrates would be likely to consider fit inmates for the school. (1)

The whole tone of his speech betrayed the fact that he was well aware that not all the town's ratepayers shared the Board's enthusiasm for the project. Perhaps one reason for the doubters' concern was the choice of site. Whereas it might be possible to envisage such a school in the most deprived and populous areas of the town, this school would rejoice in what seems to have been an enviable situation near a local beauty spot. At the foundation stone-laying ceremony Mr. W. H. James, M.P., standing in for Lord Sandon and W. E. Forster, neither of whom was able to accept his invitation to attend, "congratulated them upon the site they had chosen. They might travel through England and Europe and not find a more favoured and delightful scene than that viewed from the heights of Windmill-hill." (2)

By the following January the feeling that the new venture would prove a costly mistake had hardened, and on the fourteenth of the month a member of the Board, Mr. Rankin, proposed:

"That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the desirability of asking the Home Secretary for permission to convert the day industrial school into an ordinary elementary school, and to report to the Board thereon at the next meeting." (3)

1. Ibid. p. 588

2. Ibid. p. 588

3. Minutes of the Gateshead School Board (14 January 1880)

Mr. Rankin asserted that there was very strong feeling among ratepayers against the scheme. He had, he said, made enquiries which informed him that only a few towns in England had day industrial schools and the population of these towns was much larger than that of Gateshead. Sheffield, he believed, with its large population, had one, but there were only a few children in it. Yarmouth had a day industrial school which accommodated only 60 children.

It was clear from his speech, clear at least to those who understood the subject, that Mr. Rankin was confused as to the distinction between the various types of industrial school. Sheffield had no School Board Day Industrial School, and another Board member, Mr. Angus, was quick to point out Rankin's ignorance of the topic:

"With regard to the feelings of the ratepayers on the subject, he was sorry to say 99 out of 100 of them did not understand what was a day industrial school, and the mover of the motion did not seem to know what was the difference between a day industrial school and an ordinary industrial school which provided lodgings. He would remind them that they should not send boys or girls who were not fit to associate with the children of decent working men to the elementary schools." (1)

On this occasion the motion was narrowly lost, but so intense was local feeling on the matter that next month the School Board was lobbied by a group of ratepayers opposed to the new school.

At the meeting held on 11 February 1880 the Board's chairman was told that a deputation was waiting to be allowed to enter the Board Room to address the Board in support of a motion of which Mr. Rule had given notice. Against the wishes of the chair the Board voted by 5 votes to 3 to admit them. Mr. Wood addressed the members, urging that it would be unwise to burden the town with the cost of such a school, and Mr.

1. S.B.C. (31 January 1880) p. 107

Rule argued that the decision to erect the day industrial school had been made by the old Board at a time when the needs of the town with regard to elementary education had already been met. He went on:

"Were the recommendations of the Educational Department carried out, £12,000 would be required for buildings alone, giving an additional cost to the town of £1,200 per annum." (1)

When Mr. Rule had concluded his address the Board's chairman invited further discussion but no other members wished to speak. Archdeacon Prest thereupon said that, in his opinion, every argument put forward by Mr. Rule had been fully considered on previous occasions, and he proceeded to put the motion to the meeting. Mr. Rule however, evidently had very strong support for his motion as the Board split evenly, five for and five against, and the proposal was defeated only on the casting vote of the chairman.

The scheme was duly allowed to go forward and the new school was certified on 30 September 1880:

"I, the Right Hon^orable Sir William Vernon Harcourt, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, hereby certify the School Board for Gateshead Day Industrial School at Windmill Hill, Gateshead, as a Day Industrial School for the purposes of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, and the Order in Council of 20th day of March 1877.

W. V. Harcourt

Whitehall

30th day of September, 1880." (2)

The institution was opened on 28 October 1880 and inspected by H.M.I. Henry Rogers on 2 June 1881. He described the building as "very handsome and commodious" and "well provided with every convenience

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1. Minutes of the Gateshead School Board (11 February 1880)
 2. Gateshead School Board. Third Report of Proceedings (Nov. 1879 - Nov. 1882) p. 16



The School Board Day Industrial School, Windmill Hill, Gateshead, as completed

The school was opened in 1880 but operated in these premises for only two years. Objections from a group of School Board members resulted in an exchange of buildings with a nearby Higher Grade School. (See facing page)

for the class of school intended." He did comment however, "The scheme for the establishment of the school was not carried out without strenuous opposition" and he went on to express the hope that "Its future usefulness will perhaps convince the objectors that it has been founded on sound principles of economy and far-sighted humanity." (1)

By March 1881 there were 50 children in the school which had been designed to accommodate 250 and some indication that there may have been difficulty in filling the school is provided by the fact that in May 1881 the School Board accepted an application from the neighbouring Felling Board for the admission of a pupil. (2)

Mr. Rogers' hopes that the objectors would change their attitude to the school were misplaced and in October 1881 and again in January 1882 attempts were made to secure its closure. (3) Finally, in 1882 the objectors gained a partial success when they succeeded in persuading the Board to exchange the premises of the day industrial school with those of a neighbouring higher grade school. This they did without prior approval from the Home Office and the Board received a sharp official reprimand. (4) When he examined the school in its new premises on 28 November 1884, Henry Rogers observed that although the Board "has done its best to make the accommodation now provided suitable and sufficiently convenient . . . the Day Industrial School got the worst of the bargain." (5)

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1. Ibid. p. 19
 2. S.B.C. (28 May 1881)
 3. Thew, J. M. Education in Gateshead under the School Boards, 1870-1903
Unpublished thesis submitted for the degree of M.Ed.
(October 1967) Durham Un.
 4. Thomas D. H. "The Three Certified Day Industrial Schools in the North East of England: An Aspect of Truancy under the School Boards" History of Education Society Bulletin
No. 35 (Spring 1985) p. 30
 5. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1885 XX XIX 327
28th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatory and Industrial Schools

The first attempts by a School Board to establish a purpose-built day industrial school foundered then, but in its new premises the Gateshead school continued its work until 1895.

While these events were in train in Gateshead, an even more abortive experiment was being carried on in Gloucester. Here a part of the burden of educating the town's poorest and most neglected children was borne by a free school in Deacon Street. In order to secure some of the advantages offered by section 16 of Sandon's Act the governors and guardians of the free school suggested that a day industrial school might be opened in the Deacon Street premises sharing the use of the schoolroom with the existing school. This rather tentative scheme was introduced to a meeting of the Gloucester School Board by a Board member, Mr. Parker, on 28 February 1881. He announced that his object was "to induce the Board to test the capabilities of the day industrial school in Gloucester" and informed them that, at a meeting of School Board Clerks held in Manchester, the view had been expressed that such schools would "be sufficient for the reformation of the great majority of children now sent to more expensive industrial schools." (1)

Mr. Parker went on to explain something of the history of day industrial schools and the debt they owed to Mary Carpenter before proposing that the Board should support the committal of a number of boys to Deacon Street school. The proposal was adopted and the experiment began.

When the school was inspected for the first time on 16 August 1882 only 17 boys were present and the inspector explained the unusual arrangements:

"The buildings for the use of the industrial scholars have been built in connection with the Deacon Street School, but are separated from it, so that there is no communication

1. S.B.C. (19 March 1881)

between the two classes of scholars except in the school room, where, for the present, they received instructions together." (1)

When inspected again on 7 August 1883 there were only 13 boys present and the comment was made " . . . the education is provided for in the neighbouring school but the results are not very good."

There seemed indeed to be little commitment to the project. The cost per pupil per year amounted to only £3.12s.6d. at a time when the average cost per head in England was £11.2s.9d. (2) In 1885 H.M.I. reported:

"The managers of this small school found, after a few years' trial of the scheme, that, in the face of a free endowed school existing in the city, in which neglected and indigent children can be received, there was no great demand for a day industrial school. The school was accordingly closed, and their certificate surrendered. This took place on 3 July 1884." (3)

Meanwhile, the School Boards in Leeds and Wolverhampton were also turning to the institution of the day industrial school in order to ameliorate their problems of non-attendance.

In Leeds the most deprived area was that close to the town centre in the neighbourhood of York Street. The town had two residential certified industrial schools, one for boys and one for girls, but it had become evident by the late 1870's that further provision would have to be made to cope with truancy among the poorest children. Much of the burden of trying to accommodate these children was being shouldered by the York Street school but it was suggested to a meeting of the School Board on 13 February 1879 that more needed to be done:

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1. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1883 XXIV 1
26th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatory and Industrial Schools
 2. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1884 XLIV 1
27th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 3. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1885 XXXIX 327
28th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

"Mr. Thomas Harvey believed that if there was one school in Leeds more than another which was doing good work in the town it was that in York Street, because it was providing education for the children of the most impoverished part of the town . . . He was convinced that for the class of children attending there they must have either a free school or a penny fee." (1)

An opportunity was presented to the Board to take positive action when a decision was made to transfer the certified industrial school for boys from its site in Edgar Street to a new one in Shadwell Lane. This left the buildings in Edgar Street available for alternative purposes and it was decided to apply for permission to convert them for use as a day industrial school. Approval for the scheme was reported to the Board on 8 January 1880.

"A letter was read from the Home Secretary approving of the Board's project of establishing a Day Industrial School." (2)

The business of completing the transfer was handed over to the industrial schools committee and on 15 April 1880 its actions received the approval of the School Board:

"The proceedings of the certified industrial schools committee, including the conveyance to the Board of the school and playground attached to the Edgar Street school estate for £800 were approved." (3)

Edgar Street Day Industrial School was certified on 22 July 1881 and first inspected on 23 September and 26 September of that year when 28 boys and 3 girls were present. The H.M.I. report stated:

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1. S.B.C. (1 March 1879) p. 203
 2. S.B.C. (24 January 1880) p. 13
 3. S.B.C. (1 May 1880) p. 419

"The premises are those which were known as the Industrial School for Boys until the removal of that school to Shadwell: they have been altered to suit the present requirements. The schoolroom and dining room are spacious and well-ventilated; there are separate entrances, playgrounds and lavatories for boys and girls." (1)

Although there was a word of criticism about the kitchen arrangements, the inspector looked forward to the contribution the new school would make to the solving of Leeds' problems of non-attendance.

Wolverhampton was pressed to explore the advantages of establishing a day industrial school when a turn-down in economic activity in the town aggravated the already existing problem of truancy. At a School Board meeting on 3 January 1879, the chairman, Mr. Fuller reported that so many children were badly fed and clothed "in consequence of the present distress" that large numbers of them had been kept away from school. He went on to appeal to the public for contribution of left-off clothing which might be handed on to needy families in order to encourage school attendance. (2)

The response, however, proved inadequate. Truancy increased with the depression and it became clear that other possible solutions would have to be considered.

In April Mr. Fuller reported to the School Board that it was "highly desirable to establish an industrial school in the town at the right time." However, he went on: "that time could not be considered to have arrived in the present depressed state of trade." (3)

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1. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1881 XXXV 1
25th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. S.B.C. (25 January 1879) p. 88
 3. S.B.C. (3 May 1879) p. 424



The School Board Day Industrial School, Salop Street, Wolverhampton in process of demolition, c. 1953

Source: Wolverhampton Central Library, Snow Hill Ref. 13/RAG/E/1
(See facing page)

At about this time it had been decided to sell certain school premises in Salop Street and now Mr. Jones, a Board member, suggested that it might be desirable to retain the site for an industrial or part-time school to cope with the increased truancy problem which, he said, was made worse "during the progress of the erection of the new schools." The chairman, however, contended that the site was not a suitable one for an industrial school. (1) So pressing was the need, though, that during the next year the Board decided to act on Mr. Jones' suggestion, to apply to the Home Secretary for permission, and to convert Salop Street School into a day industrial school. Permission was duly granted and, on 19 August 1881, H.M.I. for Reformatories and Industrial schools visited the premises. The school had been designed for 150 children, boys and girls, and he reported of it:

"The building, an elementary school adapted to the special needs of a day industrial school, supplies all that is needed for a school of this kind and, it is believed, will greatly facilitate the work of education in a large town like Wolverhampton where there are so many neglected and necessitous children, too ragged and too wretched for the ordinary elementary school. The Board has spared no pains and no expense." (2)

On 5 September 1881 the new chairman, Rev. J. T. Jeffcock, explained to the Board that the premises had been inspected and approved and Mr. Fuller reported that a Miss Elizabeth Newman had been appointed superintendent. She was, he said, thoroughly qualified for the office as she had been assistant superintendent of the Gateshead day industrial school. (3)

1. S.B.C. (7 June 1879) p. 540

2. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1882 XXXV 1
25th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

3. S.B.C. (24 September 1881)

The Wolverhampton School Board Day Industrial school was certified on 2 September 1881 and commenced operations without delay. (1)

In his annual report on the day industrial schools for 1882, William Inglis, the chief inspector of Reformatory and Industrial schools, began by observing:

"There were 1,332 children, viz. 925 males and 407 females under order of attendance in the English schools on 31 December 1881."

Clearly he was very pleased with the way the new schools were developing, for he went on:

"The schools are working successfully and as I said in the earlier parts of the report, I hope to see the system very much extended. If useful in one place, it will be useful in all, and once let every School Board recognise the necessity of a day industrial school forming part of its machinery we shall soon have a large reduction in the number of commitments to Industrial Schools." (2)

Of the nine School Board day industrial schools then in operation, the two in Liverpool, South Corporation and Bond Street, had received excellent reports and the Liverpool Board were already exploring the possibility of establishing a third. Truancy was still a serious problem and on 9 February 1881 the Board had requested further information from the Clerk about the number of children waiting to be brought before magistrates. They were told that there were 1,414 outstanding cases of whom, the Superintendent of Visitors informed them,

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1. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1882 XXXV 1
25th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1882 XXXV 1
25th Annual Report of H.M.I. for Reformatory and Industrial Schools

" . . . one half the total number will probably have, in course of time, to be received into day industrial schools." (1)

The problem was particularly extensive in an area about two miles to the east of the South Corporation school and hence just on the fringe of its catchment area. This was an area in which:

" . . . The first houses built were of a respectable class, set back in gardens; but, before many years had elapsed, it was invaded by a low class of property, in courts and narrow streets extending back to Mason Street, which deteriorated the character of the neighbourhood. (2)

The District Education Committee instituted a search of the area to find premises suitable for conversion but the search proved fruitless and so the School Board decided to purchase land to build a new school. The Sites and Buildings Committee was authorized:

"To secure for the proposed day industrial school in the east end of the city, a plot of land in Queensland Street, Edge Hill, containing 1,050 square yards or thereabouts at a price not exceeding £2,230." (3)

Mr. T. Mellarde Reade, the Board's architect, was given the task of designing the new school, and application was made to the Public Works Loan Commissioners for the amount of £7,683.10s.0d. for its erection. (4) The result was a handsome brick building with sandstone elevations and equipped with classrooms, workshops, dining room, drill room, kitchen, bathrooms and medical room and ample playground space. Set amid the court houses and narrow streets it must have provided an imposing, if awe-inspiring, sight to the street arabs of the district.

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1. Minutes of the Liverpool School Board District Education Committee
(23 March 1881)
 2. Picton, J. Memorials of Liverpool History Vol. 2
Longmans, Green and Co. Liverpool, (1875) p. 295
 3. Proceedings of the Liverpool School Board (1881-82) p. 28
 4. Ibid.



Queensland Street Day Industrial School, Liverpool

This photograph was taken in 1976 when the building was being used as a pharmaceutical warehouse. It was demolished in 1986 to make room for the building of council houses.

(See pp. 64, 65)

The school was designed to cater for 250 boys and girls. First superintendent of the school was Mrs. Parry. She had been superintendent of the South Corporation Day Industrial School and had written to the School Board asking to be considered for the new post. She was to receive a salary of £170 p.a., an increase of £30 p.a. on her previous pay, and, unusually, her letter of appointment "desired her not to encourage any of her present assistants in seeking to obtain a transfer to the new school." (1)

Queensland Street School Board Day Industrial School, Liverpool, was certified on 1 February 1884 and opened on 9 February with 56 children, transferred from the South Corporation school. (2) They would find their new school a distinct improvement on the old one:

"The class-rooms are spacious and well ventilated, and the assembly and drill room at the top of the building is airy and commodious." (3)

By 1884 William Inglis was able, in his annual report, to summarise the position, as far as five years experience of day industrial schools allowed him to do. He had already, in his 1883 report, commended the work of the Liverpool and Wolverhampton schools, and now, after noting that Liverpool School Board had added this third day industrial school at Queensland Street, he commented:

"Anyone who has seen these Liverpool schools at their work will be ready to acknowledge that the practical worth and manifest utility of such schools are insufficiently recognised." (4)

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1. Minutes of Liverpool School Board Industrial Schools Committee
(28 February 1883)
 2. Proceedings of Liverpool School Board (1883-84) p. 65
 3. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1890-91 XLIV 1
34th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatory and Industrial Schools
 4. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1884 XLIV 1
27th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatory and Industrial Schools

Not all the news was good at this stage, however, for the report continued with the information that the "day industrial schools at Oxford and Great Yarmouth have not done well," and the terse comment: "that at Gloucester has been given up." (1)

At the time this report was issued three other School Boards were actively engaged in discussions and planning which would eventually result in the opening of three more such schools. These Boards were those of Sunderland, Salford and Newcastle.

As long ago as November 1881, two clerical members of the Sunderland School Board, the Rev. Fr. Turnerelli and the Rev. H. Martin, had proposed that the Board should consider the establishment of a day industrial school. The proposal was approved following further consideration by the industrial schools committee and premises were sought, unsuccessfully at first, until No. 9 The Green was purchased. This had been:

"Originally a private house, it had become a club, then a private school." (2)

At a meeting of the School Board on 19 April 1883, "The architect was instructed to inspect and report upon the premises." (3) and in the course of time the stables were converted into workshops and other necessary alterations were completed.

Before either the certificate was issued or the school opened, a very contentious meeting of the School Board took place over the question of the appointment of the superintendent. On 18 March 1884 the Education Committee of the Sunderland School Board submitted to the whole Board the names of two candidates for the post of headmistress of the day industrial school, Miss Sarah Jane Scott and Miss Laura M. Lottinga. At once the Roman Catholic member, Fr. Turnerelli, complained of the absence

1. Ibid.

2. Thomas, D. H. op. cit. (1985) p 30

3. S.B.C. (12 May 1883)p. 465

of a Miss Craig from the short list "because she happened to be a Catholic." (1) The charge was of course vigorously refuted and, as the School Board Chronicle put it, "The matter was then dropped." The affair was, however, a portent of difficulties lying ahead in other School Board districts.

On 7 June 1884 Sunderland School Board Day Industrial school was certified and it opened with "56 boys in attendance." (2) Its first H.M.I. Report stated:

"The School Board of Sunderland has long had a number of children under its cognizance who were living in a very neglected condition, never attending school, belonging to an extremely poor class, and too ragged, filthy and miserable to be admitted to ordinary schools. It was resolved therefore to make an effort to bring some of these children within range of moralizing influences by the agency of a day industrial school. Premises were taken, considerable outlay incurred, and a commodious school house has been raised, and was duly certified in the beginning of June 1884. The house so adapted supplies all that is required for a school of the kind. There are large and well ventilated class rooms, lavatory, baths, apartments for the superintendent and the caretakers, good office and work shed, engine and boiler, and good exercise ground." (3)

It served the town until 1906. (4)

By the time the Sunderland school had opened, the favourable reports being made about the Liverpool schools had already prompted the Salford

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1. S.B.C. (12 April 1884) p. 368
 2. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1885 XX XIX 327
28th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatory and Industrial Schools
 3. Ibid.
 4. Thomas, D. H. Op. cit. p. 32 (1985)

School Board to investigate for itself the way in which the day industrial schools in Liverpool were being managed. A deputation from the Salford Industrial Schools committee reported back to the main Board on 10 May 1882 concerning a visit they had made to the South Corporation school. The deputation went to some lengths to explain the size and nature of the school, emphasising the point that it was non-denominational, employing a Roman Catholic teacher to undertake the religious instruction given to children of that Faith. They further explained how the children were, for the most part, truants sent to the school by a magistrate's order, and how their meals and other expenses were financed partly by Government and parental contributions. They pointed out also that:

"The children were seldom detained after six months and many were licensed (to attend ordinary schools) after two months detention." (1)

Following its presentation, Mr. Harrison "moved the adoption of the report, and that the Board should establish a day industrial school for the borough . . . if suitable premises could be found." (2) Mr. Harrison went on to argue that great benefits arose from the institution in Liverpool and that it was very desirable that a similar one should be established in Salford in view of their own great difficulty in dealing with truant children. He thought that if a day industrial school were available, then the children could be sent there for a period which might not exceed two months. Liverpool's experience showed that a short stay subject to the type of discipline enforced in these schools made the children regular in their attendance and suitable for licensing out.

Mr. Harrison was supported by Mr. W. Mather who pointed out that truant children were so owing largely to the circumstances under which

1. S.B.C. (3 June 1881) p. 527

2. Ibid.

they lived - that was to say, their parents were exceedingly poor or drunken and the children were ill-fed and ill-clothed:

" . . . not being cleanly, they were naturally tabooed at the ordinary elementary schools. He thought it was their bounden duty to establish a school of the kind indicated." (1)

The motion was carried and the School Board Chronicle of 31 March 1883 reported that the Industrial Schools committee had been authorised to proceed with negotiations for the obtaining of a site and of building plans for the construction of a day industrial school in the borough. (2) By 23 June the same journal noted that Salford School Board had approved plans for a school of the type large enough to accommodate 240 children. (3)

By March of the following year a site had been purchased in Albion Street, plans had been drawn up, and at a meeting on the 13th of the month Mr. Harrison proposed the acceptance of a tender of £4,564 for the construction of the school, subject to the approval of the Home Secretary. (4) At this meeting also, the chairman of the Salford School Board made some interesting comments about the effects of the 1880 Education Act on the need for the establishment of day industrial schools. After acknowledging that he had in the past objected to them, he argued that recent legislation had almost made them necessary. In particular, there were clauses of the Act which, he said, to a great extent prevented the employment of the poorest classes of children on half-time labour. These clauses laid down that children should pass a certain standard before being allowed to take on such work. As a result, he argued, juvenile crime had greatly increased in the area. By establishing a day industrial school now, it might be possible to prevent the necessity of sending offending children

1. Ibid.

2. S.B.C. (31 March 1883) p. 318

3. S.B.C. (23 June 1882) p.640

4. S.B.C. (5 April 1884) p. 345

to reformatories for a term of years when they could be sent to this proposed new school for a period of weeks. (1)

Salford then became, after Gateshead and Liverpool, the third authority to provide a purpose-built day industrial school, and the tenth to provide one of any kind. The first H.M.I. report on the school stated:

"This school was certified on 6 October 1885. The building in which it is carried on was constructed expressly for the purpose and embodies every legitimate requirement for a school of the kind.

The plan was very carefully considered in every detail and the actual building is of a very satisfactory character

The accommodation is excellent.

By the end of the year 1885, 33 boys and 4 girls were in regular attendance." (2)

In keeping with what was now becoming a very common practice, the Superintendent appointed to take charge of the new school, Miss Hannah E. Lee, had previous experience of teaching in such a school, in her case one in Liverpool. (3)

By 1881 the level of truancy in Newcastle had led to the School Board setting up a committee "to enquire into the number of vagrant children in the district and the means of reaching them." (4) As a result, in April 1881, approval was given by the Home Secretary for the building of a day industrial school.

Evidence for the need of such a school, and that the Board was already using very distant residential schools, is provided in a number of School

1. Ibid.

2. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1886 XXXVI 1

29th Annual Report of H.M.I. for Reformatories and Industrial Schools

3. Ibid.

4. Thomas, D. H. op. cit. (1985) p.30

Board minutes taken during the next year. For example, on 16 February 1881 it was recorded that:

"The District Education Committee recommended that in view of the present and prospective deficiency in the local supply of certified industrial accommodation for boys, the Board take into consideration the making of a contribution of 3 shillings per head per week towards the children sent, or to be sent, by the magistrates and justices of the borough to the industrial school at Cockermouth . . ." (1)

Two months later:

" . . . the Board resolve to contribute 2 shillings and 6 pence per week towards the support of children sent . . . to Saint Stephen's Industrial School, London." (2)

By 1 June tenders had been received for the building of the day industrial school. The builders chosen, Messrs. Lamb, offered to build the school for £3,220 on the understanding that they would also receive the contract for building another Board school, the Royal Jubilee school. The builders declined to accept the tender for the day industrial school alone at the sum named, but stated their willingness to take it at once for 2½% more than the sum named. The Board evidently felt either that the urgency of the situation was such that the tender should immediately be accepted, or that the Royal Jubilee school should be built by a different concern. In any event they decided that the 2½% increase should be granted and the work of construction got under way. (3)

A four-storey building, the Newcastle Day Industrial School, was built in New Road, subsequently renamed City Road. It was not immediately, however, opened for its original purpose, but was for a time used to replace

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1. Minutes of Newcastle School Board (16 February 1882)
 2. Minutes of Newcastle School Board (20 April 1882)
 3. Minutes of Newcastle School Board (1 June 1882)

an elementary school which was being rebuilt. (1)

The Newcastle School Board appointed a small Day Industrial School Committee consisting of four members to look after the running of the school and this committee first met on 5 February 1886 under the chairmanship of Robert Spence Watson LL.D. The first minutes of the committee noted:

"As there will be probably children committed to this School on the 17th instant the Committee deem it advisable to make arrangements for opening of the School on the 15th instant.

The Committee instructed the Clerk to the Board to order the provisions necessary for the opening of the School and to obtain tenders for provisions, and to order all necessary books, apparatus and materials." (2)

In fact the school did not open until 8 March 1886 and it was first inspected on 29 May, at which time there were 12 boys and 2 girls present. The first inspector's report noted the fact that the school was certified on 28 January 1886, and went on to say that it had been "expressly erected" for a day industrial school but that it had temporarily been used as an "ordinary elementary school." The premises were described as "convenient and suitable." (3)

Only four days after the certification of the Newcastle school a further day industrial school was certified at Nottingham.

Ever since November 1871 when the Nottingham School Board introduced compulsory school attendance the problem of truancy in the town had been acute. In an attempt to cope with it, two visitors were appointed

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1. Thomas, D. H. op. cit. (1985) p.30
 2. Minutes of Newcastle School Board Day Industrial School Committee (5 February 1886)
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1887 XLII 1
30th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatory and Industrial Schools

in February 1872 and over the next six years resort was had to the use of residential industrial schools. The Nottingham Board initially used four such schools to place its children, Bradford Industrial School, York Industrial School and the training ships "Southampton" at Hull and "Clio" at Bangor. By 1878 though, Nottingham had 99 children placed in no less than 14 different institutions. (1)

In July 1880 the School Management and Bye Laws Committee discussed the possibility of using the former buildings of the Radford Union Workhouse as an industrial school, but the plan was shelved until February 1885 when the same committee put forward the idea of establishing a day industrial school. A sub-committee of the School Board visited Liverpool and its chairman, Mr. Packer, reported favourably on the work being done there. He emphasised particularly the licensing-out of children after only a short period at the school and that the cost per year per child attending the schools, at £9.7s.5d. was about half that of the residential school. (2) Favourably impressed by such information, the Nottingham School Board approved of the project and applied to the Home Secretary for permission to proceed.

The search for suitable premises resulted in the renting of a building in George Street for a rental of £100 p.a. and a sum of £500 was spent on conversion to make them suitable for their new use. (3) The buildings had had a chequered history:

"The new school is situate in George Street, and has been adapted from premises which had been used as a Jewish synagogue, and afterwards as a leather dresser's warehouse and more recently still as a register office for servants. The alterations to adapt the premises for their present purpose have been carried out under the direction of Mr.

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1. Nottingham School Board Management and Bye Laws Committee (July 1880)
 2. Ibid. (February 1885)
 3. Nottingham Daily Guardian (19 January 1886)

A. M. Bromley, architect, of Nottingham . . . The new premises have been admirably fitted up . . . There is an entrance hall capable of accommodating some 110 persons. The schoolroom which adjoins is of the same capacity. There is a capital bath-room fitted up with 15 wash basins for washing purposes. The bath itself is supplied with hot and cold water . . . " (1)

The Nottingham School Board appears to have had economy as a high priority both in their decision to establish the school and in that to rent and re-furbish rather than to purchase a site and erect a new building. The Nottingham Journal commented, "The School Board feel they have made a very good bargain." (2)

The verdict of Her Majesty's Inspector, when he inspected the new school on 6 September 1886, was more guarded: "The premises have been adapted and added to judiciously," he wrote, "and now form not unsuitable premises for carrying on a small Day Industrial School." (3) The first superintendent of the school was Miss Readman, and once again the Inspector noted that she had "previous experience in this kind of work." (4) She had in fact worked at the Wolverhampton day industrial school. (5)

Official approval continued to be expressed for the expansion of day industrial schools and the 30th Annual Report of H.M.I. for Reformatories and Industrial Schools, that issued in 1887, stressed their value once again:

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1. Ibid.
 2. Nottingham Journal (19 January 1886)
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1887 XLII 1
30th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatory and Industrial Schools
 4. Ibid.
 5. Nottingham Journal (19 January 1886)

"Day Industrial Schools continue generally to meet a want, and I am certain that an extension of such schools would be of the greatest advantage to the country. Quite recently the Manchester School Board has decided to establish one and I hope the example will be followed by other School Boards." (1)

The decision to establish a day industrial school in Manchester was taken after growing evidence of the need to set up institutions concerned to supply food, as well as education, to the city's neediest children. For many years school managers in the most impoverished parts of Manchester had appealed to the public for money with which to supply breakfast to those children identified by the school authorities as requiring it.

In March 1886 a sub-committee of the School Board was formed to collect money for the purpose of supplying breakfast to all children whose school fees were remitted by the Guardians and "in view of the severe weather the committee gave the teachers considerable latitude with regards to other classes of children whose parents were too poor to provide them with the meal." (2) During the month of February breakfasts were supplied to 2,500 children. (3)

Despite this inducement, however, there remained a hard core of children who resisted all attempts at coaxing them into school and to help enforce attendance on these it was decided by the Industrial Schools Committee to recommend the construction of a day industrial school. The decision was reported to the full meeting of the School Board on 20 December 1886:

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1887 XLII 1
30th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatory and Day Industrial Schools
 2. S.B.C. (20 March 1886) p. 297
 3. S.B.C. (3 April 1886) p. 344

"The minutes of the Industrial Schools Committee contained a resolution, passed by a majority, recommending the Board to adopt the proposal to erect a day industrial school to accommodate 300 children." (1)

In introducing the proposal, Mr. Broadfield, chairman of the sub-committee, took time to explain the nature of such schools, the powers which School Boards had to establish them, and he informed his fellow members that twelve other Boards had already done so. He went on:

"Their object was, if possible, to prevent children going to the ordinary industrial school when they were not quite beyond the hope of being saved without going there, and experience, and the reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors, showed that the result was remarkable." (2)

So far was so good, but at this point Mr. Broadfield was compelled to introduce a very problematical issue:

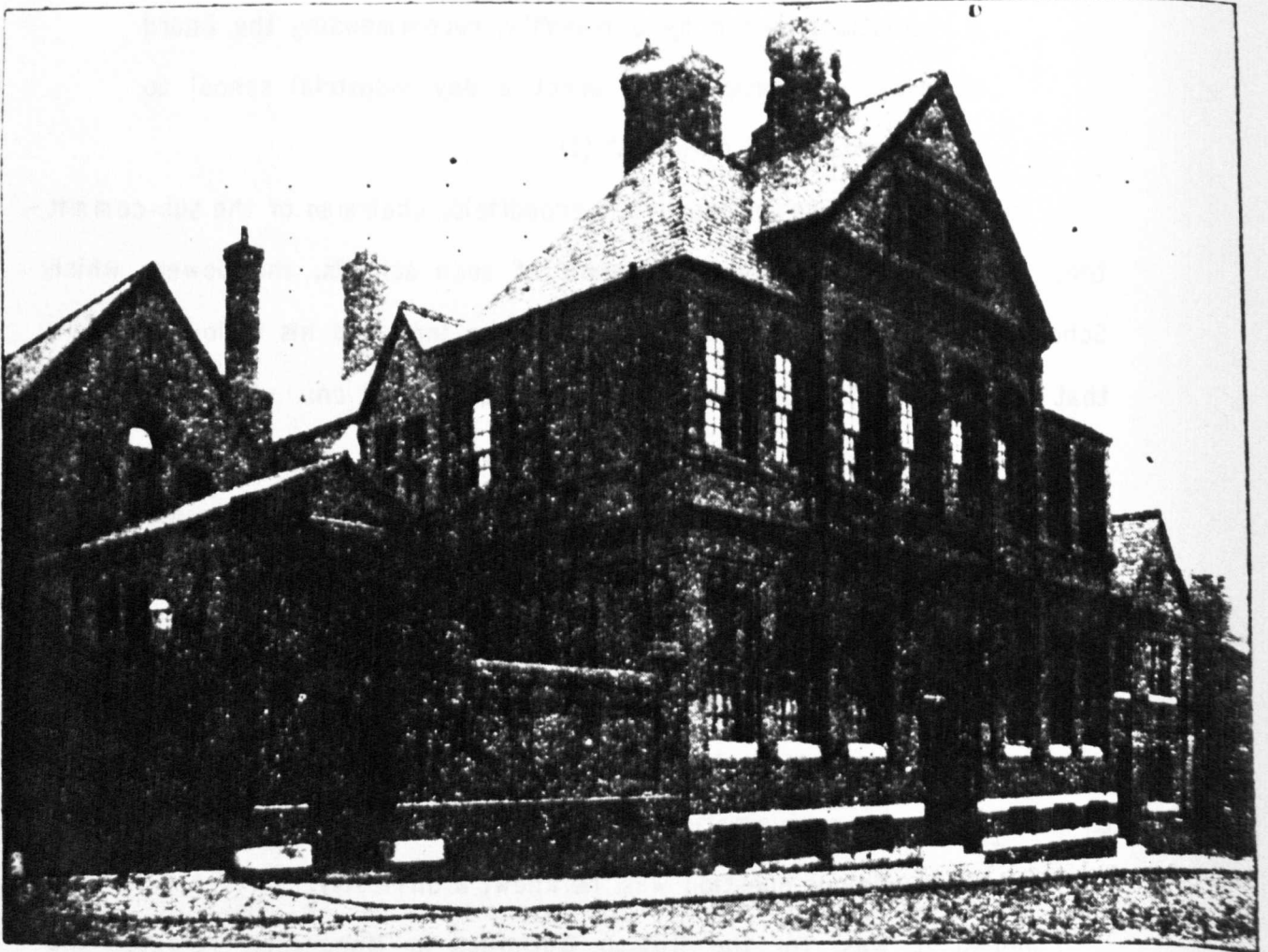
"The religious question was, he knew, a difficulty."

Indeed it was, for the Roman Catholics in Manchester rejected the solution which had been adopted in the Liverpool schools, and were seeking a solution of their own. In Liverpool the secular education was given to the school as a whole and distinctive religious instruction was given by ministers of the various denominations or by persons nominated by them. In Manchester the Roman Catholic authorities wanted, at first, a completely Roman Catholic school.

A full account of the way in which the problem was resolved will be given later, but the outcome was that in Manchester the School Board Day Industrial school was provided with separate schoolrooms for the teaching of secular subjects to Roman Catholic and Protestant children who were, however, permitted to mingle in the playground, the dining-room and the workshops.

1. S.B.C. (8 January 1887) p. 32

2. Ibid.



MILL STREET DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

Mill Street Day Industrial School, Manchester

Photograph supplied by Manchester Central Library, St. Peter's Square

The delay in settling the religious question meant that Manchester's School Board Day Industrial school was not certified until 11 January 1889. (1) It was a purpose-built school erected in Mill Street and was first inspected by Henry Rogers H.M.I. on 17 May 1889. In his report he noted:

"This large and important Day Industrial School, established by the Manchester School Board, was completed in 1888 and certified on 11 January 1889. It has large accommodation, has been built expressly for the purpose of a Day Industrial School and is furnished with every appliance for carrying on such work in the most efficient manner. It can readily deal with 250 cases. There are two schoolrooms, one for Protestants, the other for Roman Catholics." (2)

The other event of most significance, as far as the provision of day industrial schools was concerned in 1889, was the complete re-location and change of staff at the school in Bristol.

For many years the Bristol Day Industrial School had suffered adverse reports criticizing particularly the inadequate accommodation and the poor sanitary arrangements. In 1883 the premises had been described as "not adequate for the large number now attending" and the staff as not appearing "sufficiently strong or numerous to cope with the numbers placed under their charge." The annual report went on to say "There was more disorder on the day of inspection than I have been accustomed to witness in this school." (3)

Staff changes were favourably commented upon in the report in 1886, but the condition of the premises continued to give cause for concern

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1890 XXXVIII 1
33rd Annual Report of H.M.I. for Reformatory and Industrial Schools
 2. Ibid.
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1884 XLIV 1
27th Annual Report of H.M.I. for Reformatory and Industrial Schools

and the Bristol School Board finally responded in 1889 by transferring the school to a new building at Temple Back. The old certification was withdrawn and a new one issued. The new school was twice inspected, on 15 May and 29 July 1889, before the following comments were made:

"A new and commodious building has now been provided by the School Board of Bristol . . . The accommodation is suitable, and there is plenty of room for exercise and recreation . . .

The new premises are spacious and sanitary conditions have been carefully studied. The lavatories and bathing accommodation are on a good scale. There is a large swimming bath in preparation . . .

There are two good workshops in the new building." (1)

A new superintendent, Miss Barbara Ganson, had been appointed in June and Mr. Rogers, H.M.I., felt able to comment, "The school has now been entirely reorganised and is now being carried on under promising auspices." (2)

At the end of the decade William Inglis, in his report to the Secretary of State to the Home Department, again expressed his approval of the work of the day industrial schools. There were now fifteen of them in England, he wrote, adding, "I cannot help thinking that the time will come when such schools will form part of every large School Board system." (3) Of the fifteen schools to which he referred, fourteen were managed by School Boards and had been established under the terms of the Education Act of 1876. The exception was the Kirkdale Day Industrial School in

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1890 XXXVIII 1
33rd Annual Report of H.M.I. for Reformatory and Industrial Schools
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

Liverpool which was a voluntary institution. There would of course have been an additional School Board institution of this kind had not the Gloucester school been closed down.

To have had only fifteen day industrial schools established in the fourteen years since the passage of Sandon's Act must have been a disappointment to those who had campaigned so long and so vigorously for the legislation which permitted their establishment, the more so as the great majority of those which had been opened were receiving such high official recommendation. They received it again in the Annual Report for 1890. In that report, William Inglis was pleased to record that a second day industrial school was being built by the Leeds School Board, and he forecast that in the course of time a third would follow. He continued:

" . . . "And when that is done," (a member of the Board said to me), "we shall be able to do without the Industrial School." I was glad to hear him say this; it so completely expressed and endorsed my own opinion of the value of these day feeding schools and the fact that they are the schools in which School Boards should chiefly interest themselves." (1)

The full extent of this interest would manifest itself during the remaining thirteen years of the School Boards' existence. Meanwhile, already by 31 December 1889, 12,256 children had been admitted to the fourteen School Board Day Industrial schools still in operation. Of these children 8,589 were boys and 3,667 were girls.

The following table, compiled from statistics provided in the 33rd Annual Report of Her Majesty's Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial schools, shows the situation in full:

1. Ibid.

TABLE 1

SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS, 1889

| Name of School | Date of Certification | Total Number Admitted to 31st December 1889 | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---|-------|
| | | Boys | Girls |
| Bristol | 3rd October 1877 | 872 | 418 |
| Liverpool South Corporation | 4th May 1878 | 1,706 | 1,088 |
| Liverpool Bond Street | 15th June 1878 | 1,885 | 911 |
| Oxford | 29th January 1879 | 210 | 63 |
| Yarmouth | 17th May 1879 | 347 | - |
| Gateshead | 30th September 1880 | 528 | 256 |
| Leeds | 22nd July 1881 | 533 | 182 |
| Wolverhampton | 1st September 1882 | 336 | 117 |
| Liverpool Queensland Street | 4th February 1884 | 624 | 350 |
| Sunderland | 7th June 1884 | 321 | 23 |
| Salford | 6th October 1885 | 546 | 146 |
| Newcastle | 28th January 1886 | 270 | 40 |
| Nottingham | 1st February 1886 | 238 | 9 |
| Manchester | 11th January 1889 | 173 | 64 |

(1)

(iii) 1890 - 1903

Encouraged by the persistent good reports, and pressed by their continuing problems of truancy, the School Boards of Blackburn, Liverpool, Leeds and Oldham all had plans under way to open day industrial schools by the time Colonel Inglis submitted the 33rd Annual Report on Reformatory and Industrial Schools in 1890. For Blackburn and Oldham these would be the first of their kind to be established, while Leeds and Liverpool were adding a second and a fourth respectively. Experience was beginning to suggest that it was better in the long run to erect completely new schools rather than to adapt existing buildings and all four of the day industrial schools certified in 1890 and 1891 were purpose built.

The first of them was in Blackburn where, in spite of using the resources of no less than ten residential schools situated mainly in Lancashire, it was estimated that in 1887 there were still about 100 children in the town in need of "constant attention through being neglected by parents or guardians." The School Board set up a small sub-committee to investigate the alternative of establishing a day industrial school. (1) This sub-committee, consisting of Mr. Bowdler and Mr. Simpson, members of the Board, together with the Clerk, visited the schools already established in Wolverhampton and Nottingham "as probably offering better facilities for obtaining the special information required for our guidance than other towns where more extensive schools have been established." (2)

The report on their visit was presented to the Board in September 1887 and included a detailed description of the premises, playground and facilities provided in each of the schools as well as an account of the numbers of pupils, the licensing system, and the arrangements made for teaching both Protestant and Catholic children. It pointed out also that

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1. Blackburn School Board: Triennial Report for the years 1886, 1887 and 1888
 2. Blackburn Times (18 September 1887)

at present there were 107 Blackburn children in ordinary industrial schools where they would have to remain until they were 16. (1)

Blackburn School Board spent £1,375.9s.8d. on sending children to residential industrial schools in the three years ending in 1888 and the prospect of reducing future expenditure by providing a school which, if what they had been told in Wolverhampton and Nottingham was correct, would reduce the number of children committed to ordinary industrial schools by about 50%, (2) must have been an alluring one.

The decision to establish a day industrial school was taken late in 1887, at which time the School Board established a Day Industrial School Site Committee to find a suitable situation. (3) A number of existing buildings were inspected but all, either because of location or price, were rejected and on 25 January 1888 it was decided to insert an "advertisement for a site . . . in three issues of the Blackburn Weekly Papers." (4)

On 15 February the Blackburn Standard was able to report:

"The proposal to erect a Day Industrial School for truant children of Blackburn has at last found practical shape, and very soon we may expect building operations to begin on the site chosen between Mayson Street and Walker Street, purchased from the trustees of the late Henry Duckworth, at the moderate price of £436.2s.8d. . . ." (5)

A visit to the Salford Day Industrial School led to the drawing of a sketch plan which became the basis of Blackburn's own school, to take

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1. Ibid.
 2. Blackburn School Board: Triennial Report for the years 1886, 1887, 1888
 3. 'Blackburn Times' (18 September 1887)
 4. Minutes of the Blackburn School Board, (25 January 1888)
 5. 'Blackburn Standard' (15 February 1888)

responsibility for which an Industrial Schools Committee consisting "of the whole of the members of the Board" was formed. Among its duties were:

- " (1) To make all requisite arrangements for opening the new Day Industrial School now in process of erection.
- (2) To manage the same when opened." (1)

The building was near to completion in April 1890 and the Board submitted a copy of the Rules and Regulations they had drawn up for approval by Henry Matthews, the Secretary of State for the Home Department. Mr. Matthews, however, was not satisfied with the arrangements for Religious Instruction which were set out in Rule 18 and he refused to certify the school until this was changed to comply either with Rule 17 of the Salford Board or Rule 15 of the Manchester Board. An account of the point at issue is provided later (Chapter 4), but the effect of the dispute was to delay the opening of the school until 29 September. (2)

The first Superintendent of Mayson Street School was Mrs. Whittaker and she was provided with one Roman Catholic and one Protestant assistant teacher. The first inspection took place on 15 May 1891 when it was noted:

"This is a new Day Industrial School established by the School Board for Blackburn. It was certified in October 1890 . . . The school has been substantially constructed and supplies everything required for carrying on a day industrial school with efficiency." (3)

After its delayed start the school was to serve the town for seventeen years before its closure in 1907.

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1. Minutes of the Blackburn School Board (29 January 1890)
 2. Blackburn School Board: Triennial Report for the years 1892, 1893, 1894
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1892 XLIII 1
35th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

In Liverpool, even after the establishment of the new day industrial school in Queensland Street, the School Board was still concerned that the total number of places in the city's three schools of this type might be insufficient for its needs. They requested, therefore, from the three superintendents of the schools, estimates of the numbers of children likely to be retained in the schools until the expiry of their commitment, those who were likely to be licensed, and those who were difficult to place in either category. The returns were presented to the Industrial Schools Committee who published them, along with their conclusions, on 6 May 1889:

TABLE 2
SHOWING NUMBERS ATTENDING DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS
IN LIVERPOOL IN 1889

| Numbers of Children | South Corporation | Bond Street | Queensland Street |
|--|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1. who are likely to remain until the expiry of their commitment . . . | 201 | 170 | 160 |
| 2. who are likely to be licensed within a short period . . . | 118 | 80 | 58 |
| 3. in regard to whom it is doubtful into which category they will fall . . . | 95 | 150 | 28 |
| TOTAL | 414 | 400 | 246 |

(1)

1. Minutes of Liverpool School Board Industrial Schools Committee
(6 May 1889)

On receiving this information the Committee commented:

"In view of the large number of children at present under detention who, in the opinion of the superintendents, are likely to remain in the schools for the full term of their commitment, the Committee requested the Clerk to the Board to report to the District Education Committee as to whether the accommodation in the day industrial schools is sufficient to meet the future requirements." (1)

After further deliberation the School Board decided that the accommodation was insufficient and that a fourth day industrial school should be established. The site chosen was in Addison Street between the South Corporation school and Bond Street, and was purchased for £6,067. In addition £10,415 was spent on the construction of a new building and £474 on furniture. (2) The total of £16,956 made it by far the most expensive of Liverpool's day industrial schools and indeed it was intended as something of a show-piece. As well as large and airy classrooms and fully fitted craftrooms, it had a drill hall, spacious dining room, and medical and bathing facilities of very high standard.

Addison Street Day Industrial School was certified on 6 March 1891 and opened on 25 March. Its first superintendent, Miss Martha Tarry, had been superintendent at nearby Bond Street, and her successor in that school was her deputy Miss Mary Mallorie. (3)

H.M.I. Henry Rogers visited the school before it opened and again on 22 May when he reported:

"I find all promising well under kind and experienced management . . .

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1. Ibid.
 2. Liverpool School Board Manual (1899)
 3. Proceedings of Liverpool School Board (4 December 1890)

On some future occasion I look forward for a high class school, thoroughly well organised, and a model for all institutions of its class. I need not say that the magnificent building amply satisfies every requirement . . . I have no doubt that, with the blessing of Providence, the school will fully satisfy the expectations of the School Board for Liverpool in providing such a noble structure . . . " (1)

So convinced was the Liverpool Board of the value of its day industrial schools that each additional one was more expensive and better equipped than its predecessors.

While the Liverpool School Board had been considering the advisability of extending its day industrial school provision, that at Leeds had been similarly engaged. There the prime needs were to relieve the pressure on the certified residential industrial school at Shadwell and also to provide accommodation for non-attenders living on the south side of the River Aire. (2) A large site of 4,032 sq. yds. was chosen at Holbeck and permission granted by the Home Secretary for its purchase at 5/6d. per square yard. An additional strip of land adjoining Czar Street and containing 352 square yards was purchased for 9s. per square yard and plans were drawn up for the construction of a completely new school. In presenting the report of the Sites and Buildings Committee which had responsibility for choosing the site and arranging the completion of the plans, Mr. Fawcett, the Committee's chairman, advised the Board that:

"The new day industrial school would be similar to the existing school in Edgar Street. He believed it was a rule laid down by the stipendiary magistrate and his colleagues not to commit a boy who would have to walk more than

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1. H.M.I. Report on Addison Street School (22.5.1891) Reproduced from Minutes of Industrial Schools Committee,(1891)
 2. Minutes of Leeds School Board (9 May 1889)



Czar Street Day Industrial School, Leeds

Source: District Archives, Chapeltown Road

The picture shows children assembled prior to departure for summer camp, 1910

two miles from his home to reach it. That, he believed was a right principle; and by building this new school on the south side of the river they would provide accommodation for Holbeck, Hunslet and Armley." (1)

Czar Street Day Industrial School was certified on 20 October 1891.

It was:

"A fine building, airy and light, of the more or less conventional School Board type. There are a small swimming bath and two good playgrounds (and) a fine manual instruction shop." (2)

A much fuller picture of the type of accommodation being provided in these purpose-built day industrial schools is given in the Oldham School Board Report for the years 1889-91.

Oldham was the third School Board to complete a day industrial school in 1891. Increasing truancy, reflected in declining attendance figures, had provided the subject of discussions in the Oldham School Board in January 1888 when it was reported that average attendance had fallen to 74.5%, a decrease of 6.7% on the figures for 1886. (3) These discussions had resulted in the setting up of a standing committee to examine the possibility of establishing a day industrial school.

This committee reported to the Board on 12 November 1888. Their report revealed that they had visited Wolverhampton, Salford and Liverpool to examine the work of the day industrial schools already established in those towns, and what they had seen there, together with the very favourable comments of Colonel Inglis, encouraged them to recommend that the Oldham School Board follow their example. They stressed also that their investigations had led them to the conclusion that it would be advantageous

1. S.B.C. (28 December 1889) p. 688

2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1892 XLIII 1

35th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

3. S.B.C. (4 February 1888) p. 113

to find a site and construct a new building rather than adapt an existing one:

"Assuming that premises could be obtained in a central position (which will be difficult) and converted into a Day Industrial School, the cost would, at first, be certainly less than for erecting a building, but might ultimately prove very expensive . . . The advice given, both at Wolverhampton and Salford, was "if you intend to do anything in the matter, erect a new building." " (1)

The standing committee went on to argue that as the Board was already spending £350 p.a. towards the maintenance of children in industrial schools, and as this sum was increasing, the expenditure of about £3,000 on a new building would produce economies in the long run.

The report was unanimously approved, and on 10 April 1889 it was decided to apply to the Home Secretary for his agreement to the establishment of a school. (2) Despite the stated preference for a new building a number of offers were made to the Board from owners of property to sell their premises for the purpose, but none proved suitable. Eventually a plot of land off Walshaw Street was secured at a yearly rental of £51.9s.2d. (3) and Messrs. Winder and Taylor, Architects, were appointed to draw up plans. On 16 April 1890, the Board accepted a tender from Mr. E. Stephenson of £1,700 for excavating and draining the site, and for erecting the building at a cost of £6,430. (4)

The new building was two storeys high and provided with large cellars to accommodate storage for fuel as well as a large steam boiler for heating the baths.

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1. Report of the Standing Committee on the Day Industrial School
Oldham School Board (12 November 1888)
 2. Oldham School Board Report (1891-92) p. 35
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid. p. 36

On the ground floor a corridor six feet wide extended from the entrance "to nearly the whole length of the building" and gave access to the visitors' waiting room, the scholars' waiting room with disinfecting and bathroom attached, as well as to a large dining room capable of seating 200 children. On the other side of the corridor lay the boys' workshop, a plunge bath and lavatory.

On the first floor were two classrooms, a drill room, the superintendent's room, the teachers' room and the committee room. The interior was lit by gas and centrally heated. (1)

The school was known as the Gower Street School Board Day Industrial School and was certified on 30 December 1891. It was first inspected by Henry Rogers H.M.I. on 19 May 1892, when he remarked:

"This new building is most substantial and provides everything that is requisite for carrying on such a school with efficiency." (2)

With three schools in one year completed to such very high specifications, and with the plaudits of Her Majesty's Inspectorate now ringing annually in their ears, it must have seemed to the supporters of the day industrial schools that their ideas and their long campaign had, at last, been justified.

The favourable annual reports on the day industrial schools continued in 1893, 1894 and 1895, and it was in 1895 that London, nearly twenty years after Sandon's Act, opened its first school of this type. Not that it was a sudden decision, for the question of establishing a day industrial school had been occupying the London School Board for a number of years. (3)

It had first been raised as early as 1872 when a suggestion that the Board might possibly manage one, to be funded out of the school rate,

1. Ibid. p. 37

2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1893 XLVIII 1

36th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

3. S.B.C. (6 March 1880) p. 225 and (17 May 1890) p. 502

was considered. It was rejected as having a pauperising and demoralising effect, and because in any case legislation would be required before such a scheme could be implemented. (1)

In 1878 a proposal to open a School Board Day Industrial school in Spitalfields was rejected and again in 1885 the Board decided not to accept a recommendation of its Industrial Schools Committee for the establishment of two such schools, for "not more than 100 children each" as an experiment.(2)

On 30 January 1890 the question was once again brought directly to their attention when a member of the Board, Mr. Cyril Jackson, advised them that a meeting of school managers and head teachers of the Tower Hamlets division had passed a resolution calling on the London School Board to provide a day industrial school for neglected children. He told them that the Board's Industrial Schools Committee had already considered the matter and that he begged leave to report:

"That in the opinion of the Industrial Schools Committee the time has now arrived to carry out the section of the Elementary Education Act of 1876 respecting Day Industrial Schools." (3)

The report went on to recommend "that steps be taken for the establishment of two day industrial schools for not exceeding 100 children each, one on the south and one on the north of the river." (4)

Once again the recommendation was not taken up, but at a later meeting, on 20 March 1890, it was referred back to the Industrial Schools Committee with instructions that they should bring in a full report providing information about the way in which day industrial schools were working in Liverpool and elsewhere, stating whether these schools should be mixed

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1. London County Council. Report with regard to Industrial Schools 1870 - 1904 (1904) p.46
 2. Ibid. p. 47
 3. S.B.C. (17 May 1890) p. 502
 4. Ibid.

schools or not, and generally to give fuller information to the Board together with some information as to the costs involved. (1)

This report was prepared and presented to the Board. The discussions on it took place during two meetings in May 1890, at the second of which, on 22 May, Colonel Prendergast, the Chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee, moved:

"That the Board assent to the proposal of the Industrial Schools Committee to establish day industrial schools. . ."

on the basis which had previously been suggested. (2)

There followed an animated debate during which some of the reasons for the delay in establishing day industrial schools in London became apparent. Some members of the Board objected to the separation of neglected children from those more fortunate and argued that they should take their place in the ordinary schools. Mr. Lucraft was one who took this view. He was opposed to the motion and:

". . . wanted to see the lower strata of society filling the ordinary schools, and not made a class dependent upon those in a better position." (3)

The Rev. Arthur Jephson supported him, saying that he too:

". . . was opposed to marking children, and held that to send them to industrial schools would injure what self-respect they had." (4)

In support of the motion were, among others, the Hon. Lyulph Stanley and, demonstrating that the political "left" was not united in opposition to the day industrial schools, Mrs. Annie Besant. Lyulph Stanley not only wanted to see the schools established, but thought that their size ought not to be limited to one hundred, while Mrs. Besant argued that:

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1. Ibid.
 2. S.B.C. (24 May 1890) p. 528
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

" . . . the schools proposed were useful for a certain class of children who suffered through poverty and neglect of parents." (1)

When put to the vote, the motion was approved, including the suggestion that the schools should not be restricted to less than one hundred pupils.

Despite this decision, two years went by without action being taken and it was May 1892 before the matter was once more brought to the attention of the Board.

Again it was Mr. Cyril Jackson who raised the matter and he proposed:

"That as an experiment, one Day Industrial School be established by the Board and that, if practicable, such school should be opened in a building which is already under control of the Board and suitable for the purpose." (2)

In support of this proposal Mr. Jackson cited the experience of provincial School Boards, which, he argued, demonstrated that they worked well, and if they worked well in the country, he did not see why they should not work well in London. He produced figures to show that the day industrial schools were less costly than the ordinary industrial institutions and concluded that these schools had proved themselves the most satisfactory means of improving the attendance at ordinary schools of those scholars who were most likely to come before the magistrates as habitual truants. (3)

Mr. Jackson's proposal was supported by General Sim, but, immediately it had been seconded, the Rev. Andrew Drew, the new chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee, moved an amendment designed to wreck the whole scheme:

"That no further steps be taken with reference to the proposal; and that the resolution of the Board of 22 May 1890,

1. Ibid.

2. S.B.C. (7 May 1892) p. 400

3. Ibid.

so far as it relates to the establishment of two such schools,
be rescinded." (1)

There followed a debate which raised again all the objections which had been voiced in the House of Commons in July 1876. Even the terminology reverted to that used sixteen years earlier, with references to "feeding schools" and "worthless parents only too glad to hurry their children into them." It was almost as if the experiment had never been tried and no attempt ever made to evaluate the work of the schools.

Andrew Drew said he doubted that they could find one boy who ought to be in an industrial school and was not there. He spoke against the day industrial schools as, he said, the return of the children from them to their homes in the evening would be detrimental to any good learned there during the day. In addition, he went on, "the cost of these day industrial schools would frighten the ratepayers." (2)

Mr. John Lobb also spoke against the motion, which he dismissed as "arising from philanthropic motives." He contended that the schools were "semi-prisons" and that children sent to them were removed from the humanising effects of the better children and that after all that had been said about these institutions, there were still only sixteen of them in the country.

After further discussion the debate was adjourned, only to be resumed a week later when Mr. Sharp began by arguing that the ordinary Industrial Schools were preferable to those proposed because they were not "tied hand and foot to a radius of two miles," and that in them the discipline was not broken by the children's return home in the evening. He would prefer to see another Truant School for boys and one for girls. (3)

It was the Hon. Lyulph Stanley who turned the discussion back to the direction of current evidence:

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid. p. 400
 3. S.B.C. (14 May 1892) p. 314

"One of the reasons that led him to support the proposed experiment was the evidence that had been given in the matter by experts." (1)

He reminded the Board that day industrial schools had been found to be working well wherever they had been tried. Evidently Stanley had grown weary of the way in which opponents of the schools continually stressed parental responsibility as a reason for not establishing institutions which provided food for children, for he told the Board that, while he personally rejected all Socialist proclivities, he did think they were making "a fetish of the theory of parental responsibility where the thing was dead." An immense amount of good could, he said, be done by influence brought to bear upon neglected children even though it was only during portions of their school lives. The evidence from Liverpool, he told them, showed that after only three months in a day industrial school, children could attend the ordinary school with a regularity of something like 90%. (2)

Lyulph Stanley's contribution must have carried conviction for, when put to the vote, the motion was approved by 26 votes to 21.

Even so, attempts to establish a day industrial school in London continued to meet with difficulties and with opposition. The first search for suitable School Board premises failed and on 18 May 1893 the Board instructed its solicitors to complete an agreement with the Coopers' Company for the lease of a building in Schoolhouse Lane, Broad Street, Ratcliff. (3) However, the deal was abandoned in March 1894 when the Board objected to certain "stringent conditions" which the Coopers' Company insisted should form part of the arrangement. (4)

At its first meeting in June 1894 the School Board was informed by its Industrial Schools Committee that they had made enquiries about

1. Ibid. p. 314

2. Ibid. p. 314

3. S.B.C. (10 March 1894) p. 251

4. Ibid. p. 251

other suitable premises and decided to recommend the use of Drury-lane Board school. Changes which had taken place in the Drury-lane neighbourhood had reduced the numbers of children attending that school and there was now no possibility of any increase in the roll. The children currently attending the school could easily be accommodated at two neighbouring Board schools, both of which had vacancies. Members of the Committee had visited the site and now recommended that formal application be made to the Education Department to discontinue Drury-lane as a public elementary school, and to the Home Office for permission to convert the premises into a day industrial school. (1)

Once again the recommendation was, in the words of the School Board Chronicle, "blocked" (2) but a fortnight later when re-introduced by Rev. Andrew Drew, it was agreed to. (3)

The necessary alterations were carried out and the Drury-lane School Board Day Industrial school was certified by the Home Office on 23 August 1895. On the occasion of its first inspection, on 9 June 1896, it was described as:

"A tall high-shouldered building in Goldsmith Street, a narrow opening off Drury Lane. The building originally housed an ordinary elementary school. It provides ample accommodation for school work, dining, washing and drill." (4)

The prolonged delay in providing a School Board Day Industrial School in London appears to be explained by an informal alliance between two groups who opposed the establishment of such a school for very different reasons. On the one hand there were those like Mr. Lucraft and Rev. Jephson who believed that the day industrial schools injured the self-respect of the poorest children and deprived them of the right to an ordinary

1. S.B.C. (9 June 1894) p. 639

2. Ibid. p. 639

3. S.B.C. (23 June 1894) p. 686

4. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1897 XLI 1

education. On the other hand there were those like John Lobb, who feared that feckless parents would hive off their responsibilities on to the backs of the ratepayers, and Frederick Davies who believed that the proper place for persistent truants was the residential industrial school.

Between them these groups had obstructed and negated the efforts of the more pragmatic members of the Board who wanted to try out the day industrial school experiment to see if what the Home Office inspectors claimed was working in the provinces, would succeed in the Metropolis.

When at last the experiment was tried it would seem that the London School Board was happy with the results, for it was to open two further day industrial schools in 1901 and 1902. Before these schools were established, however, another English School Board, that at Bootle, decided to open one in an attempt to ameliorate its truancy problems.

The Bootle School Board was established in 1871 and it boasted that its Bye-Laws were only the second approved in the country. (1) At this early stage in its existence the Board felt that its need for places could be met by the voluntary schools. After 1881, however, the population increased rapidly with the opening of new docks and there was a shift in the population structure to more youthful members. (2) Attendance figures were as low as 61.8% in 1881 and eventually compelled the Board to succumb to Whitehall pressure and open two Board schools in 1886. (3)

The problem of truancy among the poorer classes remained, however, and became the subject of an article in the local newspaper in 1887 under the heading "The Board and Boy-Catchers." (4) The School Board attempted to meet the problem by resort to the use of industrial schools and the Truants' School at nearby Hightown, but in 1893 the situation was sufficiently serious for Francis Wilson, a member of the Board, to move that:

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1. Bootle School Board Triennial Report (1888)
 2. Marsden, W. E. "Variations in Educational Provision in Lancashire During the School Board Period." Journal of Educational Administration and History Vol. X No. 2 (July 1978) p. 21
 3. Final Report of the Bootle School Board, (1904) p. 17
 4. Bootle Times (17 September 1887)

" . . . the School Attendance Committee be requested to bring to the Board at its next meeting a report containing suggestions for dealing with the numerous children of school age constantly about the streets of the Borough during school hours." (1)

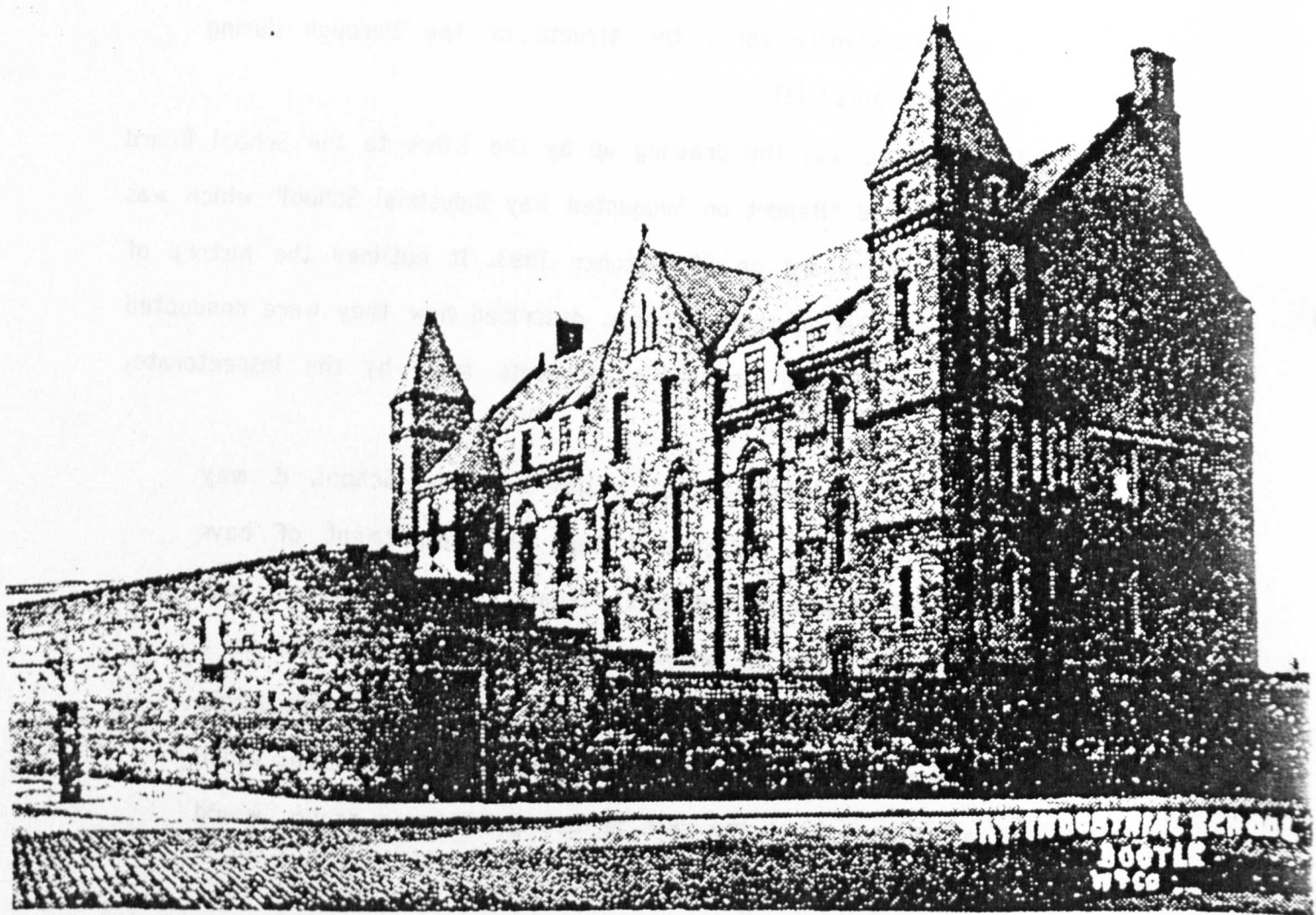
The response was the drawing up by the Clerk to the School Board of a very detailed "Report on Suggested Day Industrial School" which was presented to the Board on 20 October 1893. It outlined the history of the legislation covering these schools, described how they were conducted in Liverpool, noted the favourable comments made by the Inspectorate, and concluded:

"By the establishment of a Day Industrial School, it may confidently be anticipated that the commitment of boys to the Hightown Industrial Truants' School, and of both boys and girls to ordinary industrial schools, would to a very large extent become unnecessary, and thus a considerable portion of the Board's expenditure in that direction, which at present is at the rate of nearly £500 per annum, would be saved . . . " (2)

In this report the Clerk, Frederick Kirkman Wilson, had recommended that the capacity of the day industrial school should be 150 children. When the proposal was approved on 10 November 1893, an amendment was passed that this figure be doubled, so that a site had to be found which would accommodate 300 pupils. (3)

Premises for the new school were soon found. It was decided to purchase a building which had formerly housed a convent and artisans' dwellings,

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1. Proceedings of the Bootle School Board (13 October 1893)
 2. Report on Suggested Day Industrial School, Bootle School Board Office (20 October 1893)
 3. Proceedings of the Bootle School Board (1891-94) p. 235



1904—The Day Industrial School, Marsh Lane, Bootle.
The site is now occupied by the Brunswick
Boys' Club.

Source: Reference Library, Bootle

and was situated to the north of the borough at the junction of Marsh Lane and Irlam Road. The cost of the buildings and the site amounted to £5,894.18s.4d. and a further contract of £4,296 was entered into for the necessary conversions. (1) The architects responsible for the alterations were Messrs. Sinnott, Sinnott and Powell and the work was carried out by Messrs. Hughes and Stirling.

The Marsh Lane Day Industrial school was ready for opening in November 1895 and received its certification on 3 December of that year. A full account of the building and its amenities was provided by the local newspaper which greeted the establishment of the school as an event of considerable importance:

"First we visited the boiler house, and became acquainted with the large boiler and other heating appliances from which the steam and warmth are derived, and which are distributed throughout the numerous apartments. A little further on, and on the opposite side of the corridor, we are shown the plunge bath. This is capable of holding nearly 8,000 gallons of water and is 30ft long by 13½ feet wide, with a depth of 3ft 6 ins to 4ft. There are also spacious kitchens and wash-house on the ground floor of the premises, the former being fitted with cooking apparatus, large kitchen range and two boilers for making scouse, which are heated by steam; . . . the superintendent's room, receiving and bath-rooms are also found on the ground floor as well as a disinfecting room . . . The first floor contains the dining room, 35 x 30ft . . . There are separate lavatories for boys and girls and a teacher's dining room . . . On the second floor is the schoolroom, which is a bright and lofty apartment . . . third and top floor is a spacious drill room

1. Ibid.

58 x 35ft, and two work rooms about 34 x 23ft . . . A small five-room caretaker's cottage occupies the South-West corner of the site . . . " (1)

The school's first superintendent was Miss Mary Faulkner, a Roman Catholic, who had been employed as First Assistant at Liverpool's South Corporation school. Her appointment is an indication that the majority of the pupils committed to the school were expected to be from the Roman Catholic section of the population, most of whom were Irish, and who had migrated into the borough in the 1880's in search of casual work on the newly extended docks.

As well as the opening of the day industrial schools in London and Bootle, 1895 also saw the closure of that in Gateshead. The initial indifference and sometimes active resistance to compulsory education on the part of certain groups of parents and children had in some degree begun to wane in the years between the passing of the 1876 Act and the late 1880's when the Gateshead School Board was able to report:

"Happily the number of children rendering necessary the existence of Industrial Schools is likely to decrease and it may be necessary to somewhat vary the present arrangements of the school." (2)

Over the next five years, between 1889 and 1894, the average attendance at Windmill Hill declined from 93 to 64 and a committee was set up to enquire into the condition of the school. It reported in July 1894 that the sum of £409.0s.11d. had been required from the rates in the previous year to balance the accounts and that in the current year £500 would probably be needed. (3) In an unpublished thesis on the work of the Gates-

1. Bootle Times (30 November 1895)

2. Gateshead School Board: 5th Triennial Report 1888 quoted in Thew, J. M. "Education in Gateshead under the School Boards 1870-1903" Unpublished thesis for degree of M.Ed. Durham (1967)

3. Thew, J. M. op. cit. (1967) p.108

head School Board, J. M. Thew points out that the reason for this increased expenditure lay in the fact that the staff were now all on maximum salary, that profits from the sale of sacks made in the industrial workshops had declined, and that the number of children committed by the magistrates had been decreasing. As the Free Education Act had tended to remove one of the main obstacles facing poor parents, the Committee now wondered whether the school's certificate should be resigned and the limited number of children requiring the discipline of an industrial school be sent to the Abbott Memorial School, The Wellesley Training Ship, the Chadwick or some other institution. Finally, the committee pointed out that it was not only Gateshead, but several other towns, which were experiencing a decline in the numbers of children being committed to the day industrial schools. (1)

On 10 October 1894 the matter was considered by the whole Board and a proposal made to inform the Home Secretary of the intention to resign the certificate. On this occasion, however, the school was given a reprieve as an amendment was carried which deferred the decision for consideration by the new Board which was due to be elected. The reprieve was short-lived. On 20 March 1895 the new Board approved a proposal that the school be closed, the Home Office concurred and the staff were informed that the institution would be terminated as from 29 September. (2)

The same sort of situation that faced Gateshead's School Board was experienced by that in Great Yarmouth in 1897. A decline in the numbers being committed to the Southtown school, with a consequent increase in the per capita costs, led that Board too, to resign its certificate. The decision was received with some disappointment by the Home Office and led the chief H.M.I. to write an unusual, almost wistful, tribute:

1. Ibid. p. 109

2. Ibid. p. 110

"It is to be regretted from some points of view that the Day Industrial School at Great Yarmouth is about to be closed. This school has stood, perhaps highest of all Day Industrial Schools for the industrial training given to the children, and it is unfortunate that local conditions have militated against its success. It must be remembered that the inducements to truancy at Great Yarmouth, especially in the summer months, are particularly strong. With the attraction of its sea-front, it has always struck Her Majesty's Inspectors as marvellous that a child there could be got to school on a fine summer's day. To the Day Industrial School child the allurements must be all but irresistible. Not only has he the fun of the fair, but something of the profit of it as well, in the way of stray pennies for donkey driving, turning somersaults, attending coconut shies, side-shows and the like. Never was there a merrier Tom Tiddler's ground." (1)

The day industrial school at Great Yarmouth was the third to close during the School Board period. Co-incidentally, in the same year arose the case of a School Board applying for, and then withdrawing, a request for the certification of a day industrial school.

This happened at Plymouth where the Board resolved to replace an existing Truant school with such an institution. Given the responsibility of seeking a way to implement the decision the Board's Bye-Laws Committee introduced a report which said:

"The Committee have concluded that the least expensive, quickest and best way of carrying the Board's resolution into effect will be to convert the Treville Street Board School into a Day Industrial School . . .

1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1898 XLVIII 1
41st Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

Her Majesty's Inspector had expressed satisfaction in the building, his only suggestion being that there should be a little more playground . . . The situation was good because it was in the middle of the truancy district . . ." (1)

The report, however, was immediately greeted with quite virulent opposition. Mr. Carling said he had never read a scheme which was more unlikely to succeed and he hinted that the real reason behind it was to close a Board School and compel the children into neighbouring voluntary schools. He asserted that while the ostensible reason was that they wanted to abolish the Truant school, to his mind one of its objects was to provide improvident, intemperate and indifferent people in the locality, who cared not a fig for the education of their children, with means to shirk their responsibility and have their children housed and fed at the expense of the long-suffering ratepayer. He believed the scheme would never reach maturity, and he was right. Faced with such hostility and the opposition of Professor Anthony who contended that the Board had given no good reason why the Day Industrial School should be established, the scheme to convert Treville Street Board School collapsed and with it, eventually, the whole project. (2)

Despite the closures in Gateshead and Great Yarmouth the evidence persisted that there was still need in some of the larger urban centres for further provision of this type of institution.

In July 1898 Edinburgh School Board became the first and only Scottish school board to establish a Day Industrial School when it applied for special permission to do so. Scotland had a long tradition of providing schools for indigent children and the Rev. Page-Hopps of Glasgow and Mr. Sherriff Watson of Aberdeen had been doughty supporters of Mary Carpenter in the 1870's. Glasgow already had three day industrial schools certified

1. S.B.C. (14 August 1897) p. 158

2. Ibid.

by the Home Secretary, at Green Street, Rotten Row and Rose Street, but these, like the Kirkdale Day Industrial School managed by Major Lester in Liverpool, were voluntary institutions and not under the control of the School Board. Later, a fourth day industrial school was certified in Glasgow at Williamson Street on 19 August 1902, (1) and this too was a voluntary school.

In Edinburgh, however, the School Board converted into a Day Industrial School a building described as:

" . . . a plain, substantial and withal handsome structure in an open situation on St. John's Hill, with a clear view of Salisbury Crags." (2)

The school was certified on 18 July 1898, its first Superintendent and Headteacher being a Miss Clark. On the occasion of its first inspection on 3 March 1899 it contained 61 boys and 5 girls in its "commodious" and "well arranged" interior. (3)

In opening its school at St. John's Hill the Edinburgh School Board had taken advantage of the terms of the Day Industrial Schools (Scotland) Act of 1893. This Act had been promoted by an arrangement between Scottish members from both sides of the House of Commons in order to apply to Scotland the terms of England's Industrial Schools Act. (4) In particular there was a clause in the Act which enabled Scottish day industrial schools to enjoy the same financial benefits as those in England:

" . . . it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of contributions towards the expenses of children sent to Day Industrial Schools, not exceeding one shilling per head per week in

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1904 XXXVI 317
47th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1900 XLIII 1
43rd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 3. Ibid.
 4. Hansard(1893) Vol IX 1960

the case of children sent by order of court, and not exceeding sixpence per head per week in the case of children sent without an order of court, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to make provision for the establishment of Day Industrial Schools in Scotland . . . " (1)

The Act was passed on 17 March 1893. (2)

It was confidently anticipated that this new school would serve the Scottish capital as well as the new Drury Lane school was serving the English. In 1899 J. G. Legge, who had succeeded William Inglis as chief H.M.I. of Reformatory and Industrial Schools wrote:

"The Drury Lane School, London, has before now been instanced to show what can be done in the way of getting old pupils into regular employment. The new school which should, before long, be opened in the East End of London may confidently be expected to form another centre of useful works of the same kind; and already a third school, to serve the Surrey side, is contemplated. The poorer classes of children in London are no longer to be without the opportunities long enjoyed by their fellows in Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Salford and other towns." (3)

The "new school . . . in the East End of London" to which Mr. Legge referred was situated in Brunswick Road. The building was an old elementary school which had been "converted to its present use with much skill." (4) The situation was evidently a very noisy one because the class-rooms at the

1. Hansard(1893) Vol IX 1696

2. Hansard(1893) Vol X 340

3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons XLIV 1

42nd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

4. Ibid. XXXIX 273 46th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

front of the school had in the past been difficult to teach in. In the converted building they were turned into workshops, "while only the quiet rooms at the back are used as classrooms." (1)

In this second London School Board Day Industrial School, the positions of Superintendent and Headteacher were separated, Mr. J. W. Marsh being appointed to the former post while Miss Boon was appointed to the latter. The school was certified on 12 September 1901 for 150 children, opening with 55 boys and 12 girls. It was first inspected on 13 June 1902 when H.M.I. commented on the premises and their surroundings:

"The fact that the building is somewhat rambling gives it a homeliness which probably renders it especially attractive to the kind of children admitted . . . The neighbourhood of the docks makes the situation a lively one, which, under the zealous administration of the Superintendent, is likely to stimulate the imagination of the more active of the boys and lead them to a sea-faring life." (2)

On 7 April 1902, the third of London School Board's Day Industrial Schools received its certification. This was the last day industrial school established under the School Board system. (3)

The situation of this school was in Ponton Road, Nine Elms, and again, rather than providing a new building, the Board decided to convert an elementary school. In this case the conversion appears to have been a very successful one for H.M.I. commented in the first report on the school:

"As regards convenience of buildings and general arrangements, it is by far the best of the three." (4)

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

The school was indeed well equipped, with a dining room on the first floor, a separate officer's room, and classrooms and workshops leading off a spacious central hall on the second. (1)

Ponton Road Day Industrial School was granted its certificate on 7 April, 1902, but before this happened there had taken place the closure of two older established schools in the North of England.

Gower Street school in Oldham had suffered declining numbers over several years and there was "every indication that the numbers would continue to grow less." Added to this the diminution led to an increase in per capita costs from £10.9.2½ p.a. in 1898, to £11.0.0¼ in 1899. (2) Accordingly the School Board decided to apply to the Home Office for permission to surrender the certificate and the school was closed on 30 June 1900.

In Newcastle too, the level of admissions to the day industrial school had declined. There had been 107 children present when the school was examined in 1899, but by 1901 the numbers had fallen to 58. Despite excellent reports from H.M.I. in 1899 and 1900 the Board decided that the school should close on 10 June 1901. (3)

In all, eighteen school boards had taken advantage of the Education Act of 1876 to establish day industrial schools, and altogether twenty-four such schools were certified during the School Board period. Five had been closed, so that nineteen remained open when the Education Act of 1902 was passed.

A complete table showing the locations and dates of certification of all the schools is shown overleaf.

1. Ibid.

2. Oldham School Board Triennial Report (1898 - 1900) p. 22

3. Thomas, D. H. op. cit. (1985) p.33

TABLE 3

PROVISION OF SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

| School Board | Location | Date of Certification | |
|----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Bristol | Silver Street | 3rd October | 1877 |
| Liverpool | South Corporation | 4th May | 1878 |
| Liverpool | Bond Street | 15th June | 1878 |
| Oxford | St Aldate's Street | 29th January | 1879 |
| Great Yarmouth | Southtown | 17th May | 1879 |
| Gateshead | Windmill Hill | 12th September | 1880 |
| Gloucester | Deacon Street | 24th January | 1881 |
| Leeds | Edgar Street | 22nd July | 1881 |
| Wolverhampton | Salop Street | 1st September | 1882 |
| Liverpool | Queensland Street | 4th February | 1884 |
| Sunderland | The Green | 7th June | 1884 |
| Salford | Albion Street | 6th October | 1885 |
| Newcastle | City Road | 28th January | 1886 |
| Nottingham | George Street | 1st February | 1886 |
| Manchester | Mill Street | 11th January | 1889 |
| Blackburn | Mayson Street | 1st October | 1890 |
| Liverpool | Addison Street | 8th March | 1891 |
| Leeds | Czar Street | 20th October | 1891 |
| Oldham | Gower Street | 30th December | 1891 |
| London | Drury Lane | 23rd August | 1895 |
| Bootle | Marsh Lane | 3rd December | 1895 |
| Edinburgh | St John's Hill | 16th July | 1896 |
| London | Brunswick Road | 12th September | 1901 |
| London | Ponton Road | 7th April | 1902 (1) |

1. Table compiled from British Sessional Papers, House of Commons

Annual Reports of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools 1878-1904

N.B. In addition to the above School Board Day Industrial schools, there were four voluntary day industrial schools in Glasgow, and one in Liverpool, established during the period.

A total of twenty-four School Board Day Industrial Schools in eighteen different towns might seem scant reward for the tireless efforts of Mary Carpenter and her supporters, the more so as the Annual Reports of the Inspectorate of Reformatories and Industrial Schools had consistently urged further provision. As early as 1882 H.M.I. William Inglis had written "I hope to see the system very much extended." In 1886 he had reported, "the more I see of them the more I like them," and in 1890, "I cannot help thinking that the time will come when such Schools will form part of every large School Board system." (1) As late as 1900 his successor, James G. Legge, wrote "The upward movement in these schools continues . . . Day Industrial Schools should play a more important part than they do in the economy of every large centre of population." (2)

On further investigation, however, it can be argued that the reaction of the School Boards to the opportunity provided by Section 16 of the 1876 Education Act was in fact a significant one. It was clear from the debate on the clause, and from subsequent statements from the Home Office inspectorate, that it was from School Boards in the large towns that the greatest response was expected. A study of the abstract of census returns provided by B. R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane (3) shows that there were 32 towns in England and Scotland which had populations rising to 100,000 or more between 1881 and 1901. Of these, thirteen had School Board Day Industrial Schools established during the period, and a fourteenth, Glasgow, was provided with no less than four day industrial schools, operated by charitable agencies. In addition, Wolverhampton, whose population rose

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1882 XXXV 1;
1886 XXXVI 1; 1890 XXXVIII 1 Annual Reports Nos. 25, 29, 33
 2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1900 XLIII 1
43rd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 3. Mitchell, B. R. and Deane, P. Abstract of British Historical Statistics
Cambridge Univ. Press (1971)
pp. 24 - 27

to 94,000 in 1901 also had a School Board Day Industrial School, as did Bootle whose population(not given in Mitchell and Deane) had risen to just under 60,000. Yarmouth (population 51,000 in 1901) and Oxford (49,000) were exceptional for towns of this size in establishing day industrial schools.

A list of the towns in England and Scotland with populations rising to over 100,000 by 1901 is given overleaf. Those with School Board Day Industrial Schools are underlined.

Of the others, it is known that Plymouth School Board submitted, and withdrew, an application for certification of such a school, (1) and it must be assumed that, if the question was considered elsewhere, it was decided not to proceed. On the evidence of the arguments which took place in the School Boards which did establish the schools, it must be assumed that those who decided not to proceed did so for some combination of the following reasons. In the first place they may have felt that their school districts did not contain that "class of population" which would have qualified them for the financial support from the Home Office which the 1876 Education Act provided for. Alternatively, these Boards may have decided that truancy was a "vanishing evil" (2) which could, meanwhile, be treated effectively by resort to existing residential industrial and truant schools; or that the day industrial school was an experiment to be avoided for fear of encouraging, on the one hand, feckless parents, and on the other, state encroachment upon individual responsibilities.

Thirteen, or if Glasgow is included, fourteen towns out of thirty-two accepting the opportunity of establishing day industrial schools, might not have been the response hoped for, but it was by no means insignificant. Indeed, looked at regionally, it can be argued that in some of the most rapidly growing areas of the country, London, the North-West and the North-East, the School Board Day Industrial School was a significant factor in the movement towards universal compulsory education.

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1. S. B.C. (14 August 1897) p. 158
 2. Liverpool Daily Post (19 July 1876) p. 5

TABLE 4

TOWNS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND WITH POPULATIONS
GROWING TO 100,000

| Town | Population 1881 | Population 1901 |
|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Aberdeen | 106,000 | 154,000 |
| Birkenhead | 84,000 | 111,000 |
| Birmingham | 437,000 | 522,000 |
| <u>Blackburn</u> | 104,000 | 128,000 |
| Bolton | 194,000 | 280,000 |
| Brighton | 108,000 | 123,000 |
| <u>Bristol</u> | 207,000 | 329,000 |
| Derby | 81,000 | 106,000 |
| Dundee | 140,000 | 161,000 |
| <u>Edinburgh</u> | 295,000 | 394,000 |
| <u>Gateshead</u> | 66,000 | 110,000 |
| * Glasgow | 587,000 | 762,000 |
| Halifax | 81,000 | 105,000 |
| Hull | 166,000 | 240,000 |
| <u>Leeds</u> | 309,000 | 429,000 |
| Leicester | 137,000 | 212,000 |
| <u>Liverpool</u> | 553,000 | 685,000 |
| <u>London</u> | 3,830,000 | 4,536,000 |
| <u>Manchester</u> | 462,000 | 544,000 |
| <u>Newcastle</u> | 145,000 | 215,000 |
| Norwich | 88,000 | 112,000 |
| <u>Nottingham</u> | 187,000 | 240,000 |
| <u>Oldham</u> | 111,000 | 137,000 |
| Plymouth | 123,000 | 178,000 |
| Portsmouth | 128,000 | 188,000 |
| Preston | 97,000 | 113,000 |
| <u>Salford</u> | 176,000 | 221,000 |
| Sheffield | 285,000 | 381,000 |
| Southampton | 60,000 | 105,000 |
| Stoke-on-Trent | 125,000 | 215,000 |
| <u>Sunderland</u> | 137,000 | 146,000 |

(1)

Towns underlined had School Board Day Industrial Schools
* Glasgow had 4 voluntary day industrial schools

CHAPTER 3

THE MANAGEMENT AND CONDUCT OF THE SCHOOL BOARD
DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

(i) Establishing the Rules and Regulations

The first of the School Board Day Industrial Schools, that taken over by the Bristol School Board on 1 April 1877, had been established as a private charity five years earlier by Mary Carpenter. As a result the day-to-day conduct of the school, its hours of opening, its programme of three meals a day, elementary education, industrial training, its course of cleanliness, and insistence on maintaining the link between home and pupil, all stemmed from her vision of what best suited the needs and circumstances of the city's poorest children.

When, in 1878, the Liverpool School Board became the first one to have to draw up a list of rules and regulations and to negotiate with the Home Office over its form and content, it drew heavily on the Bristol experience. As a result the code governing the management of South Corporation Day Industrial School, Liverpool, resembled closely that of Silver Street, Bristol. Later the same "Rules and Regulations" were used by each of Liverpool's day industrial schools in turn. In 1879, when the Oxford School Board came to draw up its rules and regulations, the chairman said that:

" . . . they had availed themselves most freely of the labours of the Liverpool Board . . . They had done so carefully and the rules were recommended to them by the inspector of industrial schools." (1)

Later still, when the Yarmouth School Board was drawing up the rules and regulations for its Southtown Day Industrial School, the Clerk informed the Board that he:

1. Minutes of the Oxford School Board (14 January 1879)

" . . . had received a copy of the rules in use in the Day Industrial School at Oxford from Mr. Henry Rogers, an official of the Education Department to whom he had written for them for the Board's guidance." (1)

This process, of consultation with existing schools and with the **Home Office** over the matter of drawing up of rules and regulations, re-inforced by the custom of visiting existing institutions and frequently appointing as Supervisors teachers who had previous experience in such institutions, ensured that, for the most part, the ethos of the day industrial schools was uniform. Furthermore, the rules and regulations governing all the School Board Day Industrial Schools were almost identical, with variations being restricted in the main to the size of the school, and, sometimes to the religious character of the area in which the school was situated.

A study of these rules and regulations, when related to a study of school log books, minutes of School Boards, reports of H.M. Inspectorate and other relevant records, provides valuable evidence about the purpose, character and work of the day industrial schools and the manner of their development over the period of School Board control.

Responsibility for drawing up the rules was usually handed over to a sub-committee of the School Board concerned. Sometimes, as in Liverpool, Newcastle and London, this sub-committee would be known as the Industrial Schools Committee and would be responsible for all decisions relating to all types of industrial school. Sometimes, as at Salford, a separate Day Industrial School Committee would be set up, or, as in Nottingham, the work might be undertaken by a Bye-laws Committee. In Oxford the rules were drawn up by the Attendance Committee. Whatever arrangement was adopted a key part would be played by the Clerk to the School Board. It was he who would communicate with fellow clerks who had experience

1. S.B.C. (5 April 1879) p. 329

of completing this task and who would prepare draft rules and regulations for approval, first by the relevant sub-committee and then by the full Board. Once agreed they would be sent to the Home Office, for amendment or approval by the Inspector of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

Where disagreement arose between the Home Office and a School Board it was usually, but not invariably, settled with a leaning towards the opinion of Her Majesty's Inspector. An exception occurred when the Yarmouth School Board submitted its rules for approval. Henry Rogers replied noting that the Board did not intend to open their day industrial school on Sundays. Mr. Rogers regretted this, pointed out that the schools opened on a Sunday in other places on a voluntary basis, and asked the Yarmouth Board to re-consider. The Board argued that it would be wrong to ask the Master to work on the Sabbath after six days' labour. Mr. Rogers suggested that some other person might be employed, voluntarily or otherwise, to carry out the duties. The Board, however, thought otherwise and the point was conceded. (1)

Religious problems were indeed at the root of many of the disagreements between School Boards and the Home Office and on some occasions could result in prolonged correspondence. In Blackburn it resulted in a five month delay in issuing the certificate (see Chapter 4) but by the time the London School Board opened its first day industrial school, ways and means had been found of circumventing even the most apparently intractable of sectarian difficulties and the points of difference between the rules drawn up by different boards were of a more mundane and practical nature.

A detailed illustration of the way in which the rules and regulations for a day industrial school were finally agreed is provided by the following extract from the School Board Chronicle for 26 October 1895:

1. S.B.C. (24 May 1879) p. 497

"On the 27th June, the (London) Board finally adopted the Rules and Regulations for the Drury-lane Day Industrial School. On July 12th last, they were submitted to the Home Secretary.

Reply came on September 7th

Sir: I am directed by the Secretary of State to return herewith the Rules and Regulations for the Drury-lane Day Industrial School . . .

I am to call your attention to the alterations shown in pencil against rules 3, 12, 19 and 23, and to say with reference to them that as the Secretary of State considers that girls should not receive corporal punishment, that in the case of boys some provision should be made for punishment with the birch as well as with the cane, and that a weekly half-holiday should be arranged for, he will be glad to learn that the School Board will accept the amendments. He will then be prepared to accept the rules . . .

signed

Henry Cunynghame

Rules as Proposed by the Committee

Suggested Alternatives by the Home Office

Visitors

3. The school shall be open for inspection by visitors at convenient times, to be fixed by the managers

Omit the words "for inspection by" and insert the words "to H.M.I. at all times and to other"

School Hours

12. The school hours shall be on weekdays from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. In special circumstances children shall be allowed to enter the school buildings before 8 a.m. and the Governor shall make suitable arrangements for the supervision of such children until the arrival of the teachers and officers.

Insert after "6 p.m." the words "except on Saturdays, when the managers may, if they think fit, arrange for a half-holiday."

Secular Instruction and Training

19. The secular instruction shall include reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, drawing, singing, physical drill, and object lessons; and as far as is practicable, the elements of English History, grammar and geography

Insert after the word "arithmetic" the word "recitation"

The Industrial Training shall comprise such handicrafts and occupations as the managers may, from time to time, consider practicable and desirable for both boys and girls

Add after the word "girls" the word "respectively."

Punishments

23. Punishments shall consist, at the discretion of the Governor of . . . (d) Moderate personal correction with the school cane, not to exceed four strokes in the case of a child under 9 years of age, or six strokes in the case of any child

(i) Substitute for the first two sentences in (d) the following sentence:-

"In the case of boys, moderate personal correction with the school cane or birch, not to exceed three strokes in the case

above that age. In the case of the boys the birch may be used instead of the school cane. Such personal correction must not, however, be inflicted except in the presence of the Governor, and by a teacher or officer specially authorised by him; and it must not be inflicted by any other person or in any other manner which is not authorised by the foregoing resolution . . .

of a boy under 9 years of age, and four strokes in the case of any boy above that age."

(ii) Insert after the words "foregoing resolution," the following as a footnote:-

"The Governor shall not be at liberty to punish any child by corporal punishment and confinement in a separate room at the same time or for the same offence."

(1)

These suggested changes could hardly be described as radical yet a number of members protested, some as a matter of principle, others, like Mr. Barnes and Mr. Athelstan Riley, on a particular point. Both thought that the girls, as well as the boys, needed the sanction of corporal punishment, the latter pointing out that the caning of girls on the hand was already permitted in the Board's ordinary elementary schools. For a time the level of indignation was such that a request was made for a deputation to visit the Home Secretary to explain the reasons for the Board's version of the rules, and to challenge the alterations suggested by the Home Office. (2) After further consideration, however, it was decided to discharge the deputation and to accept the changes. (3)

Following this kind of negotiation then, each School Board was provided with its own set of "Rules and Regulations" for the management of its day industrial school or schools. Though no doubt of some significance locally, the variations between the "Rules and Regulations" of one Board and those of another seem mere matters of detail, when compared to the overall similarity between them.

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1. S.B.C. (26 October 1895) p. 429
 2. Ibid. p. 429
 3. S.B.C. (15 February 1896) p. 167

(ii) The "Object" of the Day Industrial Schools

The very first rule in each of the "Rules and Regulations" drawn up by the various School Boards concerned the "object" for which the school had been established. In those for Oxford, for example, approved on 7 January 1879, this rule was set out as follows:

" 1. The School shall be a Day Industrial School, Object
within the meaning of section 16 of the Ele-
mentary Education Act, 1876, for the recep-
tion and detention of children under the
provisions of that Act." (1)

Just over ten years later the Blackburn School Board worded the rule:

" 1. The School shall be a Day Industrial School, Object
within the meaning of Section 16 of the Ele-
mentary Education Act, 1876, for the recep-
tion and detention of children committed by
a magistrate's warrant, under sections 12 and
16 of that Act . . . " (2)

Bootle School Board employed the same wording in their "Rules and Regulations" drawn up in November 1895 (3) and Liverpool's School Board Manual of 1899 repeated them. (4) The words "reception and detention" were common to all the rules and regulations drawn up over the whole period.

The use of these words rather than "education" convey the impression that the schools were designed primarily as punitive institutions, and as

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1. Minutes of the Oxford School Board (7 January 1879)
 2. Blackburn School Board: "Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Mayson Street Certified Day Industrial School, Blackburn. Established April 1890."
 3. Bootle School Board: "Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Certified Day Industrial School, Bootle. Established November 1895."
 4. Liverpool School Board Official Manual, (1899) p. 47

far as many school board members were concerned, and many magistrates, and indeed the children committed to them, this must have been seen as their main purpose. Mary Carpenter though, had written that:

" . . . the children must be able to look back on the school as 'our happy home' " (1)

and there is some evidence to suggest that the inspectorate and many of the supervisory staffs of the schools shared this aspiration. For them the day industrial schools seem to have been seen as places in which an attempt might be made to rectify some of the social damage inflicted on what were seen as hapless victims of urban industrial society. The Annual Reports of H.M. Inspectorate frequently expressed the idea that the pupils committed to these institutions should be treated humanely and without undue harshness. In 1886, for example, Colonel Inglis wrote:

"On going through one of these schools one cannot but feel that it is doing good and without undue interference with the liberty of the children . . . in spite of their rags these children always interest me much; they seem brighter, more natural, more like children than those in schools of detention." (2)

There is the same sense of concern for the children in later reports:

"The children look cheerful and anxious to do their best, and there is an atmosphere of life and energy about which one sometimes misses in the schools of detention." (3)

. . . and later still,

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1. Carpenter, M. "Suggestions on the Management of Reformatories and Industrial Schools" Pamphlet (1864) quoted in Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 164
 2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1886 XXXVI 1
29th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1890 XXXVIII 1
33rd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

"It is a pleasure to see the motherly care taken in most of them by the superintendents and teachers . . . I confidently believe that if all the schools in the country were conducted in the spirit of these schools, wilful truancy would be practically unknown." (1)

There is further evidence of this "spirit" and "motherly care" to be found in some of the available school log books, where the attitudes of the Superintendents towards their pupils often appear as warm, humane and sympathetic. Here, for example, is Miss Ryan, Superintendent of Bond Street Day Industrial School, describing an outing to New Brighton:

"After dinner they amused themselves with donkey rides and swings and were often put onto the hobby horses and whirled round and round in ecstasies of delight" and later, "they made a hearty meal of buns, apples and raspberry wine." (2)

Examples like this, it can be argued, display not the language of harsh, or even indifferent, officials, but of caring teachers sharing the pleasure of their charges. The same concern is displayed a couple of years later when the annual trip is marred by a characteristic outbreak of English summer weather:

" . . . soon after this the rain came down again in torrents and we were obliged to look for shelter. A schoolroom was obtained which the children were allowed to use for the remainder of the day. In this they had a good tea with sweets and nuts and after these they sang songs. They went out of school in detachments for donkey drives and the merry-go-round and I think in spite of the two or three showers of rain they enjoyed themselves remarkably well." (3)

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1896 XLV 383
39th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. Bond Street Day Industrial School Log Book (23 September 1879)
 3. Ibid. (17 August 1881)

Outings of this kind were a regular feature of the School Board Day Industrial Schools and some of them in later years were extended to include a week or two spent in summer holiday camps. (1)

When observation revealed inadequacy in the clothing worn by the children in the schools, as when Mrs. Whittaker of Mayson Street School, Blackburn, noted many of them arriving "barefoot and clogless" in winter, or with "nothing on but a poor jacket," (2) the staffs of the schools usually took it upon themselves to try to remedy the situation in some degree.

Attempts to provide such children with clothing might range from the simple process of appeal and collection to more elaborate methods like the organisation of clothing clubs. When visiting the Salford school in 1890 Her Majesty's Inspector reported:

"I saw no less than 140 articles of clothing, boots, shoes and jackets, for distribution to deserving children and for commendable conduct." (3)

At Drury-lane Day Industrial School, "boot clubs" were formed among past and present pupils so that the boys could purchase the boots they made, while at Newcastle clothes were made in the workshop for the children themselves and even for their parents. (4)

Nor did concern for the pupils end with their leaving school. As time went by a number of the schools formed "old boys clubs" following a lead given by the schools in Liverpool. (5) The Log Book of Queensland Street

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1. Harris, F. B. op. cit. (1977) p.115
 2. Nottingham School Board Day Industrial School Log Book, 15 May 1886
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1891 XLIV 1
34th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 4. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1900 XLIII 1
43rd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Day Industrial Schools
 5. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1902 XLVIII 1
45th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Day Industrial Schools

School records how 52 old boys and old girls of the school returned to receive prizes of shillings and sixpences from Miss Eleanor Rathbone for "keeping regularly at work" (1) and later Miss Cregg, Superintendent of the school, records that "over 80 old scholars were present" at a Christmas re-union for which "one boy, J. Lablick, now a journeyman shoemaker, sent two bags of sweets for distribution because he was unable to come." (2)

The presentation of prizes, the holding of parties on special occasions and, especially in the later years of the School Boards, the maintenance of links with former pupils, were all important parts of the process of providing not simply for the "reception and detention" of children committed to them, but of trying to ensure that they were given, as far as was practicable, a caring and secure environment. Regularity was encouraged in positive, as well as negative ways; by the awarding of prizes for attendance as well as the administration of punishments for truancy. On 2 November 1888, for example, the Wolverhampton School Board resolved:

"That each child who attends punctually every time the school is open, for a period of 6 months, shall receive a prize of two shillings," and . . . "That at the end of each half year the three children who receive the best report from the Superintendent as to good behaviour in the school and workshop shall receive a special prize of two shillings . . . (3)

Festive occasions like Christmas afforded an opportunity for friends of the schools to join the staff and children in their celebrations and further to foster good spirit in the schools. In the early years of their establishment the schools were open on Christmas Day itself so that, at Bond Street the Log Book for 1879 could record:

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1. Queensland Street Day Industrial School Log Book (9 January 1903)
 2. Ibid. (6 January 1904)
 3. S.B.C. (17 November 1888)

"December 25th The children had a very good dinner of roast beef and plum pudding. Miss A. Rathbone of Greenbank Cottage assisted at the dinner and said the pudding was delicious. I never saw the children enjoy themselves better." (1)

In later years the schools were allowed a holiday on Christmas Day and the celebrations were brought forward. For example, in Newcastle in 1897 the Superintendent reported:

"On Thursday, 23rd inst., the children had their Annual Christmas dinner which took place at 1.30 p.m. Mr. Alder and Mr. J. Wallace were present on the occasion. Mr. J. Wallace very kindly brought down his Graphophone and the children were highly pleased with the musical selections which Mr. Wallace entertained them with. After cheering to their hearts' content, the children went home to begin their holidays . . . " (2)

Again it is not simply the fact that the celebrations took place which is of interest, but the enthusiastic manner in which the Superintendents recorded them. Over and over again the language used in the log books and the minutes of the committees responsible for the running of the School Board Day Industrial schools appears to provide evidence of warm relationships between staff and children and of identity of interest between them. Writing of the Drury-lane school in 1904 H. B. Philpott observes the same concern extended towards the children, not only when they are in the school, but after they have left:

"And it is the same when they go out from the school. They are not lost sight of. Periodical visits are paid to them at home or at their places of business, and they come

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1. Bond Street Day Industrial School Log Book, (25 December 1879)
 2. Minutes of Newcastle School Board Day Industrial Schools Committee (10 January 1898)

in great numbers to the school to seek Mr. Humphreys' advice, or merely to pay a friendly call. Mr. Humphreys knows the whereabouts and more or less of the history of hundreds of "Old Boys" and he is able to report that there are very few of them whom he regards as failures." (1)

It may, of course, be argued that such evidence, emanating as it does from "official" sources, the Inspectorate and the school Supervisors, is less than impartial; that those providing it have a vested interest in showing the schools in the best possible light. Yet even allowing for this, it seems fair to conclude that the objectives of those in charge of the School Board Day Industrial Schools went some way beyond mere "reception and detention."

1. Philpott, H. B. London at School: the story of the School Board 1870 - 1904 (1904) p. 239

(ii) The Children

The admission of children to all School Board Day Industrial Schools was governed by rules 3 - 7. These rules specified first of all that the schools were intended for children of all denominations (1) and that the minimum age for admission to the school was five years. (2) The normal leaving age was 14. With the exception of the school at Great Yarmouth which admitted only boys, and, for the brief period it was open, that at Gloucester which did likewise, all the schools were mixed. (3)

Physically and mentally handicapped children were specifically excluded from the day industrial schools, as were children suffering from "any loathsome or infectious disease." (4)

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1. Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Certified Day Industrial School, Bootle Rule 3 reads "The school shall be open for the reception of children of all denominations." This rule applied to all School Board Day Industrial Schools.
 2. Ibid. Rule 4. "No child shall be received into the school under 5 years of age." Some School Board Rules and Regulations also specify a maximum age for admission, e.g. Oxford, ". . . or over 13 years of age," and Blackburn, ". . . or over 14 years of age." In all cases the leaving age was 14, or, if admitted under 14, they might be "retained for the full term of their commitment."
 3. Ibid. Rule 5. "The school shall be open for the reception of children of either sex, and shall be conducted as a mixed school."
 4. Ibid. Rule 6. "No child shall be received into the school who is incapable, by mental or physical infirmity, of being benefitted by the instruction and discipline of the school, or who is suffering from any loathsome or infectious disease."

A licensing system allowed some children to attend ordinary elementary schools after a brief period at the day industrial schools, sometimes as short as two or three months. (1) Initially this practice was encouraged by most School Boards, but with certain safeguards. The policy in Liverpool for example was that:

" . . . children should not be detained in day industrial schools for a longer period than is, in the opinion of their respective Superintendents, necessary to secure regular attendance at an ordinary school but that they should not be licensed where, from the poverty or negligence of the parents, there is not a reasonable prospect of such regularity, or be permitted to remain on license when experience shows that such regularity is not thereby secured." (2)

These licensing arrangements met with mixed success. At times they appeared to be working well and a short period at the day industrial school seemed sufficient to accustom many children to regular and punctual attendance, so that they could be transferred to the ordinary schools without undue problems arising. In 1883 the South Corporation School in Liverpool had 388 children on license when it was inspected. Her Majesty's Inspector reported that "the system was working satisfactorily" but that " . . . it needs to be carefully worked and watched." (3)

Where it did succeed the licensing system undoubtedly saved money. A period in the day industrial school followed by licensing was vastly less expensive than the alternative of a period of detention in a residential or truant school, and this factor was very important in inducing some School Boards, like that at Nottingham, to open a day industrial school in the first place. (4)

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1884 XLIV 1
27th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. Minutes of Liverpool School Board Industrial Schools Committee (10 May 1882)
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1884 XLIV 1
27th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 4. Nottingham School Board Triennial Report, (1883 - 1886)

Sometimes, however, the child who left the day industrial school with a good attendance record felt out of place in the ordinary school, perhaps because of his conspicuous poverty, his difficulty in keeping clean, or the attitude of other children, and even staff, towards him. In these circumstances the child might begin once more to absent himself. For example, the head teacher of Holy Cross School, Liverpool, complained that children licensed to her school from Bond Street Day Industrial School were poor attenders (1) and Miss Parry, Superintendent of South Corporation Day Industrial School was at a loss to understand why boys like George Mutch, who " . . . had never once been absent from the day industrial school," should fail signally to attend the ordinary elementary school. (2)

In some of the later Annual Reports the short detention system came under criticism on the grounds that it was not giving the schools practising it sufficient time to exercise a beneficial effect on the more difficult cases, and that some pupils were getting into trouble again by being returned prematurely to the ordinary school system. An example of this situation is provided by the Nottingham School Board Day Industrial School in October 1902 when, out of 32 children on roll, 7 were boys whose licenses had been revoked for truancy from the ordinary school. (3) Her Majesty's Inspector commented scathingly:

"It is difficult to say anything in favour of this school . . . Whether the boys attempt to read, speak, walk, drill or even smile, the "larrikin" effect is predominant. This marks the essential difference between this and other industrial schools and there is little doubt that the wholesale

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1. Minutes of Liverpool School Board Industrial Schools Committee (3 May 1882)
 2. Ibid. (8 October 1882)
 3. Nottingham School Board School Management and Bye-Laws Committee (January 1903)

failure arises from the short detention system, which effectually prevents the staff from giving the continual personal influence which is necessary for this class of children." (1)

Where "continual personal influence" was exerted the evidence of the Inspectorate usually indicates that the response of the children was very positive. Typical of the comments made by H.M.I.s over the period are the following:

"The children, without exception, behaved remarkably well today. Each one did his best to please me and bring credit on his teacher. I could not wish to meet with children better behaved or more orderly."

(Oxford, 3 September 1880)

"All were well behaved and orderly in school."

(Great Yarmouth, 1 September 1883)

"The children give very little trouble in or out of doors . . . their quiet and willing obedience and self-control is beyond praise."

(Liverpool, South Corporation School, 25 April 1890)

" . . . the children presented a hopeful appearance . . . all were bright, cheerful and clean."

(Gateshead, 20 May 1890)

"Abundant evidence of the good tone prevailing in the School was supplied by the appearance and demeanour of the children."

(Bootle, 23 February 1899)

Such comments are all the more remarkable when it is borne in mind that these children had had to be compelled into regular attendance, and that their backgrounds were the most deprived imaginable. Insight into the living conditions which some of them were forced to endure is provided

1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1904 XXXVI 317

by a study of the Annual Reports of the Liverpool Society for the Protection of Children. This society, the first to be established in Britain and the forerunner of the N.S.P.C.C. had close contacts with the city's industrial schools, both day and residential, and its records frequently refer to them.

Case 28, for example, from the Reports for 1883-84, describes a sad case where the best efforts of the Park Lane (South Corporation) Day Industrial School failed to prevent a child's committal into residential care. In doing so it paints a vivid picture of the child's life-style.

"Case 28 - A girl of nine was sent out with a starved baby, of 18 months, to beg. The case was reported by us to the Parish, with a view to prosecution. The Parish would not prosecute but our persistent efforts put a stop to the exposure of the child, and we were able to give the address to School Board Officers, who were wanting the people for payment of the girl's board at Park Lane Day Industrial School. The wretched, drunken mother, deaf to all our entreaties, persisted in sending this girl out to beg the wherewithal for drink. The girl and a companion attempted to rob a till at a public house, both were charged before the magistrate, and both were committed to St. Anne's Industrial School, until 16 years of age." (1)

In the same set of Reports is one in which the School Board Day Industrial School is used for one of two unfortunate boys:

"Case 68 - Two boys of the age of ten were brought in by a Bible-woman, they were in a most wretched condition, filthily dirty, a mass of corruption. The hovel, called home, was visited many times by Superintendent. One boy was eventually placed with Mrs. Birt to be sent to Canada,

1. Annual Report of Liverpool Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1883-4) p. 6

and special attention was drawn to the other at South Corporation School, where payment has to be made for his board. The drunkenness of the parents is the cause of the evil." (1)

In spite of the consistent reports on their "willing obedience" it should not be too readily assumed that children such as these from desperately deprived homes, would be cowed and submissive as a result of their harsh upbringing. Indeed quite frequently the opposite seems to be the case and the very harshness of their circumstances often prompted them into active and lively initiatives. They are frequently discovered trading in the streets, selling oranges, matches or newspapers. One nine year old, found playing truant from South Corporation School, had "become what is called a mud-lark down at the edge of the river (and) picked up coppers also by standing on his head and reciting in public houses." (2)

Such boys did not automatically lose their spirit of enterprise, however misguided, on being admitted to the day industrial school as Mrs. Mills, Superintendent of the George Street School, Nottingham, discovered:

"I ordered the labour master to birch two boys, namely David Hague and James Conway. These two boys were committed here for stealing a horse and cart. On Tuesday morning they took a pony and trap containing six mackerels from the market-place and drove it several miles and then turned it out into the fields. They did not go home that night. Next morning they again drove the cart several miles and sold the mackerels." (3)

Far from finding cowed pupils in the Nottingham school, when he inspected it in 1886, Henry Rogers was "struck with the boldness and frank-

1. Ibid. p. 7

2. Ibid. p. 6

3. Nottingham School Board Day Industrial School Log Book
(30 April 1886)

ness exhibited and the remarkable force of character in many of the children." (1)

The same boldness may have inspired the nine boys from Edgar Street Day Industrial School, Leeds, who, according to their head teacher:

" . . . played truant on Tuesday and went off to York Races. They started on the Monday night instead of going home. From telegrams received by the parents from York Police on Wednesday I discovered that seven of them were in custody for wandering the streets." (2)

Properly harnessed though, and appropriately directed this force of character was undoubtedly of importance in enabling the children of a number of these day industrial schools to compete effectively against children of the ordinary Board schools in swimming, football, cricket and gymnastics. (3)

The question is raised then, as to how the high standards of behaviour and co-operation frequently noted in the Annual Reports were achieved and maintained.

In the first place it is most probable that the day industrial school was regarded by children outside of it, as a place of severe punishment. Because of the long hours, the attendance on Saturdays and the absence of any holidays (in the early years), and of prolonged holidays throughout the School Board period, committal must have been regarded as something to be feared. Doubtless also, after hearing rumours and exaggerations about the schools, which were bound to circulate in their neighbourhoods, new entrants must have arrived with a sense of foreboding and a strong impression of the need for compliance. The initial shock of committal would not, however, account for continuing good behaviour.

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1886 XXXVI 1
29th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. Log Book of Edgar Street Day Industrial School, Leeds 23 May 1895
 3. Harris, F. B. Liverpool School Board Day Industrial Schools
M.Ed. Dissertation Liverpool Un.(1977)p. 112
See also pp.196-7 of this study.

If sanctions are sought as a possible explanation, then there were indeed a good many available to the Superintendent. Again, the rules covering punishments in the day industrial schools were almost identical, commencing as those for Oxford did, with the formula:

" . . . The Superintendent shall alone have the power of punishing, or ordering the punishment of, children in the school, and shall be directly responsible for all punishments inflicted. These shall be of the following descriptions only:- (1)

There followed a list of punishments and sanctions beginning with:-

- " a. Forfeiture of rewards and privileges including recreation
- b. Reduction in quantity or quality of food - but no child shall be deprived of two meals in succession.
- c. Confinement in a separate, but not dark, room, during the school hours.
- d. In the case of boys, moderate personal correction by whipping with a common school rod or cane, not to exceed at any one time five strokes in the case of a boy under nine years of age, or nine in the case of a boy above that age." (2)

There were minor variations between schools concerning the amount of corporal punishment permitted. Drury Lane, London was limited to three strokes for a boy under 9 and four in the case of a boy over that age,(3) while Bootle allowed only two strokes for a boy under 9 but five for one

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1. Oxford School Board Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Certified Day Industrial School p. 3
 2. Ibid. pp. 3, 4
 3. London School Board Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Certified Day Industrial School, Drury Lane Rule 23

over that age. (1) In some schools, as at Drury Lane for instance, a birch might be used instead of a cane.

The actual administration of corporal punishment could be deputed to the caretaker or to the labour master but the Superintendent was required to be present, and in every case a record had to be made:

"All punishments, with the fault committed, shall be recorded in the book kept for the purpose, to be laid before the managers at their meetings, and to be open to the inspector for examination." (2)

Corporal punishment was certainly employed in the School Board Day Industrial Schools, and frequent references to its use are made in all the available log-books. However, bearing in mind that it was an accepted feature of schooling in Victorian times, its use in the day industrial schools does not seem to have been any greater than in the ordinary schools. Indeed in some ways these schools were more progressive than the general run of Board schools. Corporal punishment was restricted to boys, whereas in most other schools it was not, and some School Boards insisted that when administered, it should be in private.

"Corporal punishment shall not take place in the presence of other scholars. Any breach of this rule on the part of the assistants by striking a child shall be summarily dealt with." (3)

When corporal punishment was administered, it was, if the log-book evidence is to be believed, usually in the hope that it would serve some reforming purpose:

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1. Bootle School Board Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Certified Day Industrial School, Marsh Lane, Bootle p. 4
 2. Ibid. p. 4
 3. Proceedings of Bootle School Board, 1894-97 (7 October 1896)

"John Rusk, after three weeks absence, was brought in by Mr. Dakin. He was in a most deplorable state. He had slept in a brick-kiln most of the nights and had begged food from the men at the docks. I gave him his breakfast, then a thrashing, a bath, a new shirt (the article he had on I burnt). I had his trousers mended with two enormous patches and I sent him home in the evening a different boy (at least in some respects) to what he came in the morning." (1)

Mrs. Mills of Nottingham School Board Day Industrial School also looked to corporal punishment as a means of securing better behaviour:

"James Conway I find much improved after being birched," (2)

but Henry Rogers, H.M.I. is relieved when he can report of the school later,

"I am glad to find improved conduct with less punishment this year." (3)

Indeed wherever resort to corporal punishment did appear too ready, H.M.I. was usually quick to comment on it and to encourage a more enlightened approach. When he found an over-long list of punishments inflicted for truancy from the newly established Bootle school, James G. Legge expressed concern and went on to observe:

" . . . the offence of truancy may be expected to decrease as the relationship between the children and the officers becomes as friendly as in many of the old established industrial schools." (4)

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1. Bond Street Day Industrial School Log-Book (17 November 1879)
 2. Nottingham School Board Day Industrial School Log-Book (15 May 1886)
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1890 XXXVIII 1
33rd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 4. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1898 XLVIII 1
41st Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

The old established schools, like those at Oxford, Wolverhampton, Gateshead and Liverpool, seem to have exercised control by attention to close supervision and good personal relationships rather than by undue reliance on punishment, and frequent reference to this is made in the Annual Reports.

The children who attended the School Board Day Industrial Schools were, then, a special group, identifiable even among the poor by the extremity of their poverty. Even among the unwashed they were often conspicuous on account of their dirty condition:

"A bath given to a child to-day and the clothes have to be washed and brushed on account of the vermin. After this I ordered them to be burnt as they were even then in a dirty state." (1)

Washed, clothed and fed they might still be readily recognised when they appeared in the streets, perhaps with heads closely cropped and smeared with ointment.

"Luke Nolan and Catherine Fox admitted to-day. Both children were very dirty. They had each a bath and each had the hair cut and ointment rubbed in the head." (2)

That they came from the very poorest strata of society is made very evident in the Annual Reports, for example those of 1883, when Henry Rogers writes of the Gateshead children, "Inmates very much of the class for whom these schools were intended, being the children of people in extremely poor circumstances." Of those from Bristol he said "They are the poorest of the poor," and of the children from the South Corporation School, Liverpool, "They are gathered in from wretched houses of penury and dirt." The day industrial school children from Oxford were "from the poorest families," and those from Bond Street, Liverpool, from "neglected homes where disease is rife." Of all the day industrial schools open in

1. Bond Street Day Industrial School Log-Book (17 September 1879)

2. Ibid. (16 October 1879)

1883 only that at Yarmouth produced a slightly different report. At this school Henry Rogers found "several truant cases of respectable parentage." (1)

In addition to the children committed to the day industrial schools by order of a magistrate, it was, of course, possible under Section 16, Clause 4 of the 1876 Act for a parent to ask for a child to be taken into a school provided the School Board and the managers agreed, and provided the parent was willing to pay "not less than one shilling per week." Such cases were very much in the minority however, comprising less than one in twenty of the total numbers admitted. (2)

The wretched condition of most of the children committed to the School Board Day Industrial Schools in the early years of their existence failed to improve over the passage of time. In the late 1890's those starting at the Drury Lane school were described as:

" . . . a rickety lot of whom any savage nation would be ashamed and whom the ancient Greeks would probably have weeded out by some summary process of selection. They are pale, flaccid and headachy, symptoms accompanied by sores at the angles of mouth and nose and at the junction of the ears with the head. Their food is well prepared but . . . they are dainty, wanting in appetite and sometimes even averse to food. Of the 116 children admitted within the year, 47 were below the average height, 86 below the average weight, 79 were below the average chest measurements. Only a minority in fact were really healthy or perfectly formed children." (3)

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1. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1882 XXXV 1
25th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. See pp. 249 - 250
 3. Spalding, T. A. The Work of the London School Board (1900) p. 146

Such children then, formed the raw material upon which the staffs of the day industrial schools had to work. To generalise about them in any meaningful way, or to draw conclusions which are applicable to them as a whole, is not easy. Although they shared a level of poverty low enough to threaten their physical and mental development, they were by no means of uniform temperament. Some brought into the schools a degree of street-wisdom and a capacity for survival that would be foreign to most ordinary schoolchildren but which could be harnessed by perceptive teaching. However unfamiliar with discipline outside, inside the schools the children were usually amenable. Fed regularly, kept clean, generally treated with concern and often indeed with affection, most, it will be argued, benefited from the experience.

(iii) The Staffs of the School Board Day Industrial Schools

Every set of rules drawn up for the management of the School Board Day Industrial Schools included one on the appointment of staff. The wording of this rule was almost identical in each case, and in that of Blackburn read as follows:

"Rule 8. The Staff of the School shall consist of the following officers, viz:-

- (1) A certificated Mistress as Superintendent
- (2) Such number of assistant Mistresses as the Managers may, with the consent of the School Board from time to time consider necessary for the due instruction of the children in the School.
- (3) A male caretaker, who shall be required to superintend the industrial occupations of the boys, visit absentees, and perform such other duties as the Managers may direct.
- (4) A woman to act as a cook; and
- (5) Such further assistants as the Managers may, from time to time, with the consent of the School Board, prescribe." (1)

Almost the only variation to this rule applied to those School Boards, Great Yarmouth, Oxford and London among them, who wished to appoint male superintendents.

The post of superintendent was of course the key appointment as he or she had "sole charge of the school" and was "responsible for the good management thereof." (2) In addition to the educational work of the school,

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1. Blackburn School Board. Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Mayson Street Certified Day Industrial School Blackburn p 2, Rule 8
 2. Ibid. p. 2, Rule 9

the superintendent was also responsible for "the quantities and qualities" of the food and other supplies received for the school, for supervising the cleansing and health of the pupils, and for securing regular attendance. In carrying out these latter functions the superintendent usually had the assistance of a doctor appointed as medical officer, and of one or more visitors appointed by the School Board.

The paper-work required of the superintendent was considerable. In addition to a journal recording "all occurrences of importance" which had to be laid before the managers at their meetings, she had to keep the following books up to date:

- "(a) A register of admissions containing a record of the date of admission, name, age, residence, and religious denomination of each child received into the school and whether it was admitted under a voluntary arrangement, or an attendance order, or an order of detention . . . also, such particulars concerning its parentage, previous education, and circumstances as may be found requisite.
- (b) Registers of daily attendance, distinguishing therein the children according as they are received under voluntary arrangements, attendance orders or orders of detention . . .
- (c) A punishment book, in which all punishments and privations shall be recorded . . .
- (d) A stock and store book, containing particulars of all materials and provisions ordered and received for the school, and the manner in which they have respectively been consumed . . ."(1)

Where the School Board adopted a policy favouring the licensing of its day industrial school children to the ordinary elementary schools as soon as they appeared to be capable of regular attendance, then

"A license register, containing particulars of the name, address, and school attendance of each child placed out on license . . ." (1)

also had to be kept.

The working day of the superintendent and the teachers began at 7.45 a.m. and concluded at 6 p.m., and the regulations stipulated that no teacher could leave the premises during these hours without the express permission of the superintendent who was required to "enter the particulars thereof in the Journal." (2) The working week extended over five and a half days, Saturday being a half holiday when the schools closed at 1.30 p.m. (3) However, the superintendent and the teachers would be required to staff the schools on Sundays on a rota basis as, with the exception of that at Great Yarmouth the schools opened on that day on a voluntary basis. (4)

In the early years of the schools the children were allowed no holidays, even at Xmas and Bank Holidays, so that the teachers were also compelled to attend at these times, though there was some relaxation of this rule after a few years. In Liverpool, for example, truancy on public holidays always presented a problem and the superintendents began to question the wisdom of trying to enforce attendance on occasions when the rest of the family were not at work. On 6 June 1881, Miss Ryan of Bond Street School noted:

"June 6th, Bank Holiday. I have had several children prevented from attending school, some having been sent to sell

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1. Liverpool School Board Manual (1899) p.52
 2. Blackburn School Board. Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Mayson Street Certified Day Industrial School Blackburn p 3 Rule 13
 3. Ibid. p. 3, Rule 11
 4. S.C.B. (24 May 1879) p. 497

oranges and matches and others taken by friends or parents across the water. If the children were accorded half a day holiday on all Bank Holidays I think there would be fewer cases to report." (1)

No doubt too, such a half holiday would be welcome to the staff and they must have been pleased with the School Board's decision to introduce holidays at Christmas and Easter. These were confined, though, to Christmas Day itself, and to Good Friday, Easter Saturday and Easter Monday. Even then the schools were open on a voluntary basis so a rota had to be operated by the superintendent, but few children turned up.

"Dec. 25th 1882. Christmas Day. School opened but only

4 children attended. These children were sent home at 10.30 a.m." (2)

By the end of the 1890's Liverpool School Board was allowing two or three days holiday at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide and two days at August Bank Holiday, a practice which became common in the other day industrial schools. The long holidays enjoyed by the ordinary schools were, however, denied to most of the children of the day industrial schools for fear that a prolonged break would result in a reversion to the bad habits which had caused the children's committals in the first place. In consequence the staffs of the schools had to take their two or three weeks' holiday per term one at a time, being relieved by a supply teacher. As a result there are frequent entries in the log-books like these from the Wolverhampton school for 1894:

"Sept. 17th Miss Griffiths commenced her holiday.

October 8th Miss Griffiths returned from her holiday.

Miss E. Stokes commenced her holiday.

October 29th Miss E. Stokes returned from holiday." (3)

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1. Bond Street Day Industrial School Log Book, (6 June 1881)
 2. Ibid. (25 December 1882)
 3. Wolverhampton School Board Day Industrial School Log Book

It might be reasonable to expect that working longer hours and having shorter holidays than their fellows in the ordinary schools would mean that the turn-over of staff in the day industrial schools would have been high; especially as the work involved dealing with children many of whom had been rejected by the ordinary schools. This indeed seems to have been the case in some residential industrial schools. In his study "The Early Years of the Liverpool Industrial School, Kirkdale," William Duffy describes how, given large classes and long hours," teachers were not prepared to work under such conditions for long." (1) In contrast however, the School Board Day Industrial Schools appear to have been staffed for the most part by superintendents and teachers prepared to devote many years of service.

Pride of place in this respect must go to Mr. and Mrs. Williams of St. Aldate's School Board Day Industrial School, Oxford. Appointed a few months after the foundation of the school in 1879, they served as superintendent and matron until 25 December 1905 when the school was closed. (2) Their daughter, Miss Theodosia Williams also taught on the staff until her untimely death in 1886. (3) In paying tribute to her contribution to the school, on his annual visit on 13 August of that year, Henry Rogers wrote:

"The educational work here has been very well carried on for some years past, and this was chiefly due to the devotion and perseverance of Miss Theodosia Williams, daughter of the present superintendent. I regret to record that this excellent teacher died suddenly in April to the sorrow of her friends and the loss of the institution. (4)

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1. Duffy, W. The Early Years of the Liverpool Industrial School, Kirkdale, M.Ed. thesis, University of Liverpool(1976) p. 184
 2. Oxford Education Committee, Annual Report for 1905 p. 19
 3. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1886 XXXVI 1
29th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories' and Industrial Schools
 4. Ibid.

Miss McQuaker of Gateshead School Board Day Industrial School served as superintendent from the opening of the school in 1880 until its closure in 1895 when she "declined an 'offer by the board,' presumably of a post elsewhere." (1) She too had frequently been praised by H.M.I. for her "careful and kindly influence" (2) and for conducting "an excellent school." (3)

Miss McQuaker's first assistant teacher, Miss Newman, who was appointed to the Gateshead school in March 1881 (4) became the first superintendent of the Wolverhampton School Board Day Industrial School in September 1882. She resigned the Wolverhampton post in May 1883 to be succeeded by another of Miss McQuaker's assistants, Miss Readman. (5)

Liverpool also acted as something of a training ground for superintendents and was similarly distinguished with a number of long-serving teachers. The first superintendent appointed to the staff of a Liverpool School Board Day Industrial School was Mrs. Charlotte Parry. She commenced her duties at South Corporation School on 9 September 1879 and remained there until February 1884 when she became superintendent at the new Queensland Street School. She was succeeded at South Corporation by Miss Knight who had been headmistress of Butler Street Board School (senior girls department). (6) Miss Knight remained at South Corporation for over twenty years, being still there when the School Board was superseded by the Liverpool Education Committee. When Mrs. Parry retired from Queensland Street she was replaced by Miss Cregg who had taught at the South Corporation School and who, by 1903, had given fifteen years service to the Liverpool day industrial schools.

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1. Thomas, D. H. op. cit. (1985) p.32
 2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1889 XLII 1
32nd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 3. Ibid. 1891 XLIV 1, 34th Annual Report
 4. S.B.C. (26 March 1881) p. 179
 5. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1884 XLIV 1
27th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 6. Minutes of Liverpool S.B. Industrial Schools Committee (5 May 1883)

The first superintendent of Bond Street Day Industrial School was Miss Lucy Ryan. She served at the school from 1 April 1879 until her death in March 1882, being succeeded by Miss Tarry. Miss Tarry was in charge at Bond Street from 1882 until 1891 when she became superintendent of the new Addison Street Day Industrial School, a post she too held until the end of the School Board period. Her successor at Bond Street was Miss Mallorie who had been at the school since 1879. (1)

When the new School Board Day Industrial School at Salford was opened in October 1885 the post of superintendent was given to Miss Hannah E. Lee, a lady who "has had previous experience in a school of the same kind in Liverpool," (2) and the first superintendent of the new Bootle Day Industrial School was Mary Faulkner, whose previous post had been that of First Assistant at Liverpool's South Corporation School. Her stay at the school was a relatively brief two and a half years, marked by discord between herself, the caretaker, and the School Board, over their respective duties. In his inspection of the school in February 1898 H.M.I. James G Legge commented:

" . . . the school has not been as free from elements of friction as could have been wished . . . " (3)

Miss Faulkner resigned shortly after. Her place was taken by Miss Wall who also had experience of teaching in Liverpool, in her case at the Addison Street school where she had been first assistant for seven years. She was still at the Bootle school in 1905. (4)

There was a further link with Liverpool in the appointment of Miss Annie Swan as assistant mistress at London's Drury Lane Day Industrial

1. Harris, F. B. op. cit. (1977) pp. 81-2

2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1886 XXXVI 103

29th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

3. Ibid. 1899 XLIV 1 42nd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

4. Proceedings of the Bootle Education Committee (1902 - 1905)

School. Miss Swan had taught at day industrial schools in Liverpool and Blackburn before taking up her appointment in London. (1)

The London School Board followed a slightly different approach from the other boards in appointing male superintendents, sometimes referring to them as "governors," and appointing under each of them a mistress as head teacher. The most influential of these, because he was the first appointed, during the School Board period, was Mr. Humphreys of the Drury Lane school. His work received fulsome praise in the Annual Reports of the Home Office Inspectorate and later in the pages of H. B. Philpott's London at School. His head teacher was Miss Mary Stansfield, a teacher with thirteen years' experience at Tower Street Board School, (2) and consequently well known to the London authority. The superintendents and head teachers at London's other day industrial schools, Brunswick Road and Ponton Road, were respectively Mr. J. W. March and Miss Boon, and Mr. H. Hartland and Miss E. A. Arnold. (3)

Because the London schools were opened so late the length of service of their staffs to the School Board were obviously short but all three received praise from the Home Office inspectorate for their work, in the annual examinations to which they were subjected.

Among other long serving superintendents, Miss Kirby of the Wolverhampton School is deserving of mention. She succeeded Miss Readman and remained in charge of the school for over fourteen years. The Wolverhampton school was often commended by H.M.I. as a model to be emulated by others, and in the last report on the school before the transfer from the School Board to the Local Education Authority it was said of it,

"It is merely a simple statement of fact to say that this school is brimful of well-directed energy . . . a valuable investment for the town." (4)

1. S.B.C. (3 August 1895) p. 106

2. Ibid.

3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1903 XXIX 273

46th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools (part 1)

4. Ibid.

The day industrial school at Sunderland was another which had only one superintendent, Mrs. Goldsworthy, who was appointed in June 1884 and remained in her post until 1906 when the school was closed. (1) Her work too received generally favourable comment until the inspection in 1896 when both the premises and the industrial training of the girls were adversely criticised but the educational work remained "very fair" until the final examination under the authority of the School Board on 7 August 1903. (2)

The first superintendent of the Newcastle Day Industrial School was Miss Dewar. (3) Again, her work was generally favourably commented on by the Inspectorate and she was congratulated by the School Board. She was, however, reprimanded by the Day Industrial Schools Committee in 1891 for slapping a boy and later was the subject of a parental complaint when a boy was adjudged to have received excessive punishment at the hands of the labour master. She was asked to resign but the punishment was modified to a reduction in salary. (4) Miss Dewar left the school in 1897 having completed twelve and a half years service there, to be replaced by a male supervisor, Mr. John Winterbottom. (5)

The day industrial school in Bristol was adversely criticised at each of its early inspections because of the condition of the premises, and its first superintendent, Miss Mary Kent, and her staff, were the recipients of a very adverse report indeed in August 1883. Of the conduct and discipline of the children it was observed "The staff did not appear to me sufficiently strong or numerous to cope with the numbers placed under their charge;"

1. Thomas, D. H. op. cit. (1985) p.31

2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1904 XXXVI 103

46th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools (part 2)

3. Ibid. 1887 XLII 1 30th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

4. Thomas, D. H. op. cit. (1985) p.33

5. Minutes of Newcastle S.B. Industrial Schools Committee (10 January 1898)

of the educational standard of the children it was said ". . . not much is being done for them . . . more competent teaching power required," and the summing up read "The school failed to give me satisfaction." (1)

Miss Kent was replaced by her assistant teacher, Miss Hallet, but both the standards of instruction and of accommodation continued to give rise to concern until June 1889 when a "new and commodious building" was provided, and a new superintendent, Miss Barbara Ganson, was appointed. (2) Miss Ganson effected a marked improvement and was still in charge of the school fourteen years later when it was reported by H.M.I. that the "Staff are to be congratulated upon achievements in the schoolroom." (3)

The schools which opened later in the century continued with the custom of appointing experienced teachers and encouraging them to remain in office for an extended period. The first superintendent of Salford Day Industrial School was Miss Hannah E. Lee. Appointed in 1885, she married in 1892 but remained in her post until she was appointed superintendent of the Manchester school in 1895. Miss Greenwood, the first superintendent of the Oldham Day Industrial School remained in charge until its closure in 1900. Miss Blakey, appointed superintendent of Leeds' Edgar Street Day Industrial School in 1882, served there for nine years before becoming superintendent of the new day industrial school in Czar Street in 1891.

It appears from the Annual Reports and from the available log-books that there was a close relationship and identity of aim between the Inspectorate and those superintendents who gave long service to the School Board Day Industrial Schools. Oxford and Bristol, after uncertain starts, settled down to a series of favourable reports as the superintendents gained in

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1884 XLIV 1
27th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. Ibid. 1890 XXXVIII 1 33rd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 3. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 103 46th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools (part 2)

experience and as staff weaknesses were remedied. The four Liverpool schools, that at Wolverhampton and those in Lancashire and the North-East all experienced few or no changes of superintendent and, as far as the Inspectorate was concerned, were the better for it.

"There has been a gratifying feature in the changes that have taken place, and that is the high proportion of cases where the post of superintendent or governor has been filled up by the promotion of a schoolmaster already in the reformatory or industrial school service." (1)

Comments like the following were frequently made:

"The school is distinguished for its good method and effective organisation."

(H.M.I. Report on Gateshead S.B. Day Industrial School, 17.5.83)

"The school is a model of organisation and good management."

(H.M.I. Report on Queensland St. S.B. Day Industrial School, 28.4.86)

"All promising well under kind and experienced management."

(H.M.I. Report on Addison St. S.B. Day Industrial School, 22.4.91)

Favourable reports like these tended to continue throughout the period of the schools' existence wherever the management was stable. There was one exception, however, which tested this rule severely. When the Nottingham School Board Day Industrial School was opened in January 1886, its superintendent was Miss Readman, later to become Mrs. Mills. At his first inspection Henry Rogers noted with pleasure the general standard of discipline in the school which has made "a promising start under experienced direction. (2) In 1889 Mr. Rogers noted "I am glad to be able to report favourably on the condition and general management of the school,"

1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1896 XLV 383

39th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

2. Ibid. 1886 XXXVI 1 29th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

adding "My visit has satisfied and pleased me." (1) In 1893 the Annual Report so pleased the School Board that Mrs. Mills was rewarded with a bonus. (2)

From 1896 onwards, however, Mrs. Mills was at the receiving end of some very adverse reports indeed, culminating in that of 12 October 1903, which concluded with the words, "It is difficult to find anything to say in favour of this school." (3) Part of the reason for this change in attitude to the school may have lain in the change of chief inspector from Colonel William Inglis to Mr. James G. Legge. This change took place in 1895 and will be the subject of further examination later. It is clear though that Mr. Legge had a different attitude towards the licensing system from that which had been held by Mr. Rogers and Colonel Inglis and, as was noted in section 1 of this chapter, much of the reason for the decline in this school was laid at the door of its excessive use.

The episode does indicate though, that if the relationships between the inspectorate and its long serving staff were close, they were by no means cosy. The Home Office Inspectors, Colonel Inglis and Mr. Rogers and later Mr. Legge and Mr. Robertson, all had strong opinions as to how the day industrial schools should be conducted. For the most part these opinions seem to have been shared by the superintendents as their length of service and generally favourable reports would suggest, but when certain elements concerned with the running of the school, be they to do with industrial training, discipline, the condition of the premises or whatever, conflicted with the ideas of the inspectorate, then they were neither hesitant nor mealy-mouthed in pointing them out.

It is argued, then, that the generally favourable attitudes of H.M.

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1. Ibid. 1889 XLII 1 32nd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. Nottingham S.B. Management and Bye-Laws Committee (October 1893)
 3. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 1 46th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools (part 2)

Inspectorate, and whatever success the day industrial schools achieved, owed much to the loyalty and long service of their staffs. It is further argued that the ethos which prevailed in the schools resulted from the influence of the Inspectorate and the attitudes of the superintendents towards their work. This ethos was re-inforced throughout the schools as a whole by the systematic visitation and inspection and by the tendency for many appointments to be made within the day industrial school system. That concern for the work they were doing, rather than financial or other factors, was the reason for long service, may be argued from the fact that the salaries paid were generally no better than could be earned in the ordinary schools, and can hardly have compensated for the additional hours and extra duties worked, and the very much shorter holidays taken.

With regard to staff salaries, Mrs. Mills, on her appointment as superintendent of the Nottingham School in 1886 received a salary of £120 per annum, the school being licensed for 100 children. (1) Mr. William Clarke the first superintendent of the Oxford school which was licensed for 150 children but generally averaged less than 40, was paid £120 per annum, but lived rent free. (2) Salaries were higher in the larger schools. Mrs. Parry of South Corporation School, Liverpool, received £140 per annum in 1879, increasing to £170 per annum in 1884 when she became superintendent of the newly built Queensland Street School. The headmistress of a Liverpool Senior Girls Board School at the time would receive a maximum of £150 per annum. (3) so that in her later post Mrs. Parry would have been receiving a somewhat higher salary. However, this was not true of all teachers in the city's day industrial schools as evidenced by the fact that the first choice for Assistant Mistress to Miss Lucy Ryan at Bond Street refused the post on the grounds that the salary was less than she was already receiving. (4)

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1. Blackburn School Board, Triennial Report (1883-86)
 2. Minutes of the Oxford School Board (10 December 1878)
 3. Lyn-Jones, J. "Other Liverpool Firsts" in Yesterday's Schools Liverpool Education Committee (June 1980) p. 95
 4. Minutes of Liverpool S.B. District Education Committee (26 March 1879)

It seems fair to conclude that it must have been the nature of the work involved rather than increased salary that attracted and retained the teaching staffs of the day industrial schools.

Overleaf is a complete table showing the superintendents of all the School Board Day Industrial Schools between 1877 and 1903. A study of it demonstrates the long service given by many of those appointed, and the tendency to appoint to new posts from within the service.

TABLE 5

SUPERINTENDENTS APPOINTED TO SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

1877 - 1903

BRISTOL

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------|--|
| (Silver Street) | Miss M. Kent | 1877 - 1886 | |
| | Miss Hallett | 1886 - 1889 | |
| | Miss B. Ganson | 1889 - 1903 | |

LIVERPOOL

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| (South Corporation) | Mrs. C. Parry | 1878 - 1884 | (promoted to Queensland Street) |
| | Miss Knight | 1884 - 1903 | |

LIVERPOOL

| | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|------------------------------|
| (Bond Street) | Miss L. Ryan | 1879 - 1882 | (died in office) |
| | Miss Tarry | 1882 - 1891 | (promoted to Addison Street) |

OXFORD

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|
| (St. Aldate's) | Mr. W. Clarke | 1879 | (January to July) |
| | Mr. Williams | 1879 - 1903 | |

GREAT YARMOUTH

| | | | |
|-------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (Southtown) | Mr. Horth | 1879 - 1881 | |
| | Mr. Edwards | 1881 - 1883 | |
| | Mrs. Lamplugh | 1883 - 1885 | |
| | Mr. J. Goode | 1885 - 1890 | |
| | Mr. W. Goode | 1890 - 1897 | (school closed) |

GATESHEAD

| | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (Windmill Hill) | Miss M. J. McQuaker | 1880 - 1895 | (school closed) |
|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|-----------------|

GLOUCESTER

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|
| (Deacon Street) | Mr. Allen | 1881 - 1883 | (school closed) |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|

LEEDS

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| (Edgar Street) | Mr. T. O'Connor | 1881 - 1882 | |
| | Miss Blakey | 1882 - 1891 | (promoted to Czar Street) |
| | Miss Barber | 1891 - 1892 | |
| | Miss Wren | 1892 - 1903 | |

WOLVERHAMPTON

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------|-------------|--|
| (Salop Street) | Miss Newman | 1882 - 1883 | |
| | Miss Readman | 1883 - 1886 | |
| | Miss Kirby | 1886 - 1903 | |

LIVERPOOL

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| (Queensland Street) | Mrs. C. Parry | 1884 - 1888 | (formerly of South Corporation) |
| | Miss Cregg | 1888 - 1903 | |

SUNDERLAND

(The Green) Mrs. Goldsworthy 1884 - 1903

SALFORD

(Albion Street) Miss Hannah E. Lee 1885 - 1895 (married 1892, becoming Mrs. Harrison)
Miss Binns 1895 - 1903 (married 1898, becoming Mrs. Ward)

NEWCASTLE

(City Road) Miss Dewar 1886 - 1897
Mr. J. Winterbottom 1897 - 1903

NOTTINGHAM

(George Street) Mrs. Mills 1886 - 1903 (formerly Miss Readman of Wolverhampton D.I.S.)

MANCHESTER

(Mill Street) Miss Sutton 1889 - 1895
Mrs. Mackay 1895 - 1901
Mrs. Harrison 1901 - 1903

BLACKBURN

(Mayson Street) Mrs. Whittaker 1890 - 1895
Miss Quayle 1895 - 1903

LIVERPOOL

(Addison Street) Miss Tarry 1891 - 1903

LEEDS

(Czar Street) Miss Blakey 1891 - 1895 (formerly of Edgar Street)
Miss Dawson 1895 (died in office)
Miss L. Clark 1895 - 1898
Miss Dobbings 1898 - 1903

OLDHAM

(Gower Street) Miss Greenwood 1891 - 1900 (school closed)

LONDON

(Drury Lane) Mr. Humphreys 1895 - 1903

BOOTLE

(Marsh Lane) Miss Faulkner 1895 - 1898
Miss Wall 1898 - 1903

EDINBURGH

(St. John's Hill) Miss Clarke 1896 - 1903

LONDON

(Brunswick Road) Mr. March 1901 - 1903

LONDON

(Ponton Road) Mr. Hartland 1902 - 1903 (1)

1. Table compiled from Annual Reports of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools, Minutes of School Boards, Newspapers

As far as the non-teaching staff was concerned, the most important appointment was that of caretaker. As has been stated, the rule covering his appointment usually stipulated that he should be a male, that he should superintend the industrial occupations of the boys, visit absentees, and perform such other duties as the Managers may direct. This meant that, in addition to the usual tasks of maintaining the heating and general fittings, he was often given the task of escorting unwilling pupils into school:

"Patrick O'Reilly has given some trouble this morning. He was captured in the streets and brought to school by the caretaker." (1)

"Mr. Brotherton brought John Small to school this morning. The reason given for his absence (Friday afternoon) was caught in a shower of rain, got wet and had to remain home to dry his clothes." (2)

Sometimes this duty involved considerable travel:

"Peter Shields' mother visited twice to-day. No satisfaction was got from her. The caretaker was told the boy had gone to Tranmere with his aunt to sell gingerbreads. The caretaker went to Tranmere (this meant a trip across the Mersey by ferry and a two mile journey) but could not find him." (3)

And sometimes it meant an early start to the day:

"The caretaker went for Shields this morning at 6 o'clock." (4)

It was also not without its dangers:

"The caretaker of South Corporation School was assaulted bringing two truants in." (5)

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1. Bond Street School Log Book (19 May 1879)
 2. Wolverhampton S.B. Day Industrial School Log Book (8 October 1884)
 3. Bond Street School Log Book (10 June 1879)
 4. Ibid. (11 June 1879)
 5. Minutes of Liverpool S.B. Industrial Schools Committee (3 May 1882)

The caretaker's day started at 5.45 a.m. when he had to prepare the school for opening at six o'clock and his first duty (unless he had been out even earlier to pick up truants) was to take charge of the early arrivals:

"Rule 12. The caretaker shall be in attendance at 5.45 a.m., and shall have the School ready for the reception of children by 6 o'clock. All children arriving at the school before 8 o'clock shall until that hour be under his control, and he shall be responsible for their good conduct." (1)

During the afternoon the caretaker would be engaged in the supervision of the boys' industrial work. At Bond Street School, Liverpool, this meant that the first caretaker, Mr. Winder, taught the boys net-making, (2) at Gateshead Mr. Waugh supervised sack and bag making; at Edgar Street, Leeds, Mr. McGowan organised the business of wood-chopping. (3) Even when, in later years, instructors in shoe-making, tailoring or woodwork were introduced, it appears that the caretaker was still responsible, as the rule stating his responsibility still appears in the Rules and Regulations for the Bootle school as late as 1895 and in the Liverpool School Board Manual in 1899.

Nor did his teaching duties necessarily stop at industrial training. The Annual Report on Bond Street School for December 1901 records that new gymnastic apparatus had been purchased - horse, parallel bars, climbing ropes etc., - "and the caretaker has thrown himself into the breach, as instructor, with a zeal deserving a full meed of praise." (4)

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1. Blackburn School Board. Rules and Regulations of Mayson Street Day Industrial School p. 3, also, Liverpool School Board Manual (1899) p. 49
 2. Bond Street School Log Book (12 June 1879)
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1890 XXXVIII 1 (part 1)
33rd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 4. Ibid. 1902 45th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

If, as at Gateshead, he formally combined the duties of labour master and caretaker, he could also be called upon to administer corporal punishment so that it is quite clear that his status in the school must have been quite different from that of his counterpart in the ordinary day school. Frequently too, the caretaker would find himself in charge of teams of boys engaged in football or cricket matches against neighbouring schools, and nor would his working day necessarily cease with the locking up of the school at the end of the day:

"The children were taken from the school to the Philharmonic Hall at 6 p.m. The superintendent, assistant and caretaker accompanied them and took charge of them during the concert . . ." (1)

More often than not the caretaker was a married man whose wife was also employed at the school as cook. Thus Mr. and Mrs. McGowan were caretaker and cook at Leeds' Edgar Street school in 1890, Mr. and Mrs. Westworthy held the same positions at Bristol, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson at Nottingham, Mr. and Mrs. Steer at Wolverhampton. (2) In Liverpool's Bond Street school the caretaker, Mr. Winder received a salary of £80 per annum and his wife one of £40 so that between them they would appear to have achieved a comfortable standard of living. Unfortunately in this case their appointments were terminated because Mr. Winder arrived one afternoon "under the influence of drink." (3) He was subsequently dismissed and his wife resigned.

This case seems to have been an exception, though, and many of the caretakers and their wives gave as long service to the day industrial schools as did their superintendents. The presence of a married couple along with that of long serving and dedicated members of the teaching staff can only have enhanced the feeling of security and stability so often remarked upon in the H.M.I.'s Annual Reports.

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1. Bond Street School Log Book (29 June 1879)
 2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1880 - 1884
Annual Reports of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 3. Bond Street School Log Book (12 June 1879)

CHAPTER 4

THE CURRICULUM IN THE SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

The curriculum in the School Day Board Day Industrial Schools was divided into three distinct sections, each with its own separate set of rules. These sections were; religious, secular and industrial. The time to be allocated to each was clearly set out in the "Rules and Regulations" which also required the superintendent of each school to display a time-table:

"The hours for religious and secular instruction, industrial work, recreation, meals, etc., shall be regulated by a time-table to be approved by the Inspector of Day Industrial Schools, and to be hung up in a conspicuous position in the school-room." (1)

The time-table for the South Corporation Day Industrial School, shown below, was subsequently adopted for all the Liverpool School Board Day Industrial Schools. It was later altered slightly to take account of new arrangements for religious instruction but, on the whole, is typical of the time-table used in these schools all over the country.

TABLE 6

TIME-TABLE FOR SOUTH CORPORATION DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

| | |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| 8.00 - 8.30 | Washing and Singing |
| 8.30 - 9.00 | Breakfast |
| 9.00 - 9.30 | Religious Instruction |
| 9.30 - 12.30 | Secular Instruction |
| 12.30 - 2.00 | Dinner and Play |
| 2.00 - 4.00 | Industrial Occupation |
| 4.00 - 5.00 | Secular Instruction |
| 5.00 - 6.00 | Tea and Play |

* Saturday afternoon to be a half-holiday and the children to either walk out or play." (2)

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1. Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Certified Day Industrial School Established by the Oxford School Board Rule 21, p. 3
 2. Minutes of Liverpool School Board District Education Committee (29 August 1877)

(i) Religious Education in the Day Industrial Schools

One rule concerning Religious Instruction was common to all the School Board Day Industrial Schools. It read:

"The school shall be open for the reception of children of all denominations." (1)

However, the manner in which this rule was to be implemented, and the way in which the religious instruction was to be carried out, proved to be matters of contention in many School Boards, and especially in those in which it was foreseen that a significant proportion of the children committed to the day industrial school would be Roman Catholics.

When Parliament had debated Section 16 of the 1876 Education Act, it had been pre-occupied with a number of questions. These questions related to the need for the establishment of day industrial schools, the financial arrangements to be made for them, the possible effects of their establishment on feckless parents, and the whole question of the proper role of the state vis-a-vis the individual. The religious question was not seen as problematical.

As a result, when the Act was passed, the Secretary of State was given power to certify a day industrial school "in like manner as under the Industrial Schools Act, 1866." (2)

Now the Industrial Schools Act of 1866 had envisaged the establishment of residential schools, and thus was conscious of the need to provide the kind of religious education which the parents would have preferred had their children remained at home. In practice this meant that in these schools the State had "frankly accepted denominationalism" - denominationalism supported by "parents rights" - for the Reformatory Schools Act, 1866, specified:

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1. Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Certified Day Industrial School Established by the Oxford School Board Rule 3, p. 1
 2. -39 and 40 Victoria. An Act to make further provision for Elementary Education (1876) Section 16

" 14. In choosing a certified reformatory school, the Court . . . shall endeavour to ascertain the religious persuasion to which the youthful offender belongs, and, so far as is possible, a selection shall be made of a school conducted in accordance with the religious persuasion to which the youthful offender appears to the Court . . . to belong . . . "

and similar provisions are to be found in the Industrial Schools Act, 1866 (1)

This meant, as the School Board Chronicle of 21 December 1878 was quick to point out, that a day industrial school "was not subject to the same conditions as those prescribed under Forster's Act for a Board school which was a public elementary school." (2) That is, that it was exempt from the regulation under Section 14 of the 1870 Act, the Cowper-Temple clause, that "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination" should be taught. (3)

The way appeared to be open for a School Board to set up a day industrial school which was in fact a Church of England, a Wesleyan or a Roman Catholic Board school. The School Board Chronicle went on to argue that such an eventuality would be "exceedingly improbable," (4) but nevertheless the question of whether a School Board Day Industrial School was first and foremost a Board school or an industrial school, disturbed the peace of many a Board meeting over the next dozen years or so. Even as the School Board Chronicle had been going to print, it was creating problems within the Liverpool School Board.

When Liverpool's first School Board Day Industrial School had been set up, in the South Corporation school, it had an intake of both Protestants and Roman Catholics. The following rule had been agreed:

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1. Riley, Sadler, Jackson "The Religious Question in Public Education" (1911) p. 309
 2. S.B.C. (21 December 1878) p. 594
 3. Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol CCII Col. 275 quoted in Cruikshank, M. Church and State in English Education (1963) p. 30
 4. S.B.C. (21 December 1878) p. 594

" 17. (a) The ordinary religious instruction shall, as in the Board's public elementary schools, be governed by the following rules, viz:-

Prayers and hymns shall be used, and the Bible read daily, and there may be given from the latter, by the responsible teacher or teachers of the school, such explanations and instructions in the principles of religion and morality as are suited to the capacities of children;

Provided always -

1. That in the selection of the prayers and hymns (which shall be made from books approved by the Board), and in explanations and instruction from the Bible, the provisions of the Elementary Education Act, 1870 (especially in sections 7 and 14) shall be strictly observed, both in letter and spirit, viz., that no attempt be made to attach children to, or detach them from, any particular denomination.
2. That the Authorized Version of the Bible be used - but when the Roman Catholic children in the school are sufficiently numerous to form a class, they shall receive instruction from the Douai version of the Bible.

While any religious observance or instruction is going on in the school, none of the scholars or teachers shall be employed in any other manner in the same room.

(b) The religious instruction and observances shall take place each day from 9.0 to 9.30 a.m., and from 5.40 to 6.0 p.m.

(c) During the times set apart for the religious instruction and observances of the school, any children whose parents

object under the conscience clause to their attending such instruction or observances, shall, in another room, either receive secular instruction, or, at the option of the parents, attend religious instruction or services conducted by Ministers of their respective creeds, or by persons delegated by such Ministers of their respective creeds, or by persons delegated by such Ministers with the approval of the Board.

(d) Facilities shall be provided for special religious instruction being given at stated times on Sunday, by volunteers, to such of the children of their respective churches as of their own free will may attend such instruction." (1)

These rules have been included in full for two reasons. Firstly, because the District Education Committee of the Liverpool School Board resolved to send a copy of their "Rules and Regulations" to each of the principal School Boards in the country, so that they became an influential element in assisting other Boards to draw up their own sets of rules in general, and those relating to religious instruction in particular. (2) Secondly, because in this way they show clearly how the Liverpool School Board at first intended to deal with the religious problem. By deliberately introducing into the rules a direct reference to the 1870 Act, they were circumventing the possibility of a completely denominational school being created by too rigid an adherence to the 1866 Industrial Schools Act.

By permitting the use of the Douai version of the Bible, and by the appointment in due course of a Roman Catholic assistant mistress, the co-operation, if not the enthusiastic approval, of the Roman Catholic church authorities was secured.

The South Corporation school had been an inter-denominational school between 1836 and 1842, and now, once again, it was to undertake the task

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1. Proceedings of the Liverpool School Board (1878-9) Appendix, p. 3
 2. Liverpool S.B. District Education Committee Minutes (13 March 1878)

of educating Roman Catholic and Protestant children under the same roof. The irony of this situation would not have been lost on the older members of the School Board. Less than forty years earlier this school had been one of the two Corporation schools taking part in the "crucial experiment" so expertly examined by James Murphy in his book of that title. (1) This inter-denominational experiment of the 1830's had foundered largely because of a virulent campaign waged against it by the Rev. Hugh McNiele, an Ulster man and a member of the evangelical wing of the Church of England. His objections to the use of agreed extracts from the Bible, rather than the complete Authorized Version, had led to the use of the slogan "The Bible, the whole Bible and nothing but the Bible" by his supporters, and the allegation that it had been banned by the school authorities.

When the Conservative council elected in 1842 had ordered the abandonment of the agreed syllabus and the restoration of the Authorized Version, the Roman Catholic children had been led out of the school in protest. The situation caused intense bitterness and prompted the Roman Catholics to intensify their efforts to build their own school system with the establishment of the Catholic Poor School Committee in 1847.

Whatever the deficiencies of the rules and regulations later adopted for the religious instruction in the day industrial school by the School Board, and there would prove to be some, it was nevertheless an achievement to have arrived at a compromise that resulted in the return, not only of inter-denominational secular instruction in the South Corporation school, but also of the use of both the Authorized and the Douai versions of the Bible.

But there now arose in the town a situation just as sensitive as the earlier one had been.

The rules for the new South Corporation school had hardly been tested when the School Board announced its plans, and received approval for,

1. Murphy, J. The Religious Problem in English Education: The Crucial Experiment (1959)

a second day industrial school to be established in Bond Street.

Bond Street was situated at the centre of an area overwhelmingly populated by Roman Catholics, almost entirely composed of Irish immigrants and their descendants. It was reasoned then, with justification, that the new school would be almost, if not entirely, filled by Roman Catholic children. The likelihood of this happening was increased by the presence on the fringe of the area of the Kirkdale Day Industrial School, a voluntary institution managed by the Rev. Major Lester, a Church of England clergyman. Any Protestant children committed by the magistrates to a day industrial school would, it was felt, be more likely to go there, leaving Bond Street to the Catholic Irish.

It appeared then, and the School Board Chronicle speculated on this, (1) that the Liverpool School Board might still be on the point of establishing a Roman Catholic Board School, albeit of a very special nature, but nonetheless establishing what its opponents would see as a very dangerous precedent indeed. The situation was considered all the more serious in view of the sympathetic stance adopted towards the Roman Catholic cause by the Board's chairman, Samuel Rathbone.

In what might be described as a pre-emptive strike, Mr. Hakes, a member of the Board opposed to the idea of a Roman Catholic Board School, moved the following recommendation of the District Education Committee at a meeting of the full Board on 9 December 1878:

"That, subject to the consent of the Secretary of State, the Board do adopt, for the Bond Street Day Industrial School, rules similar to those at present authorised for the South Corporation Day Industrial School . . . and that the additional paragraph be inserted in Clause 17, viz.
"The children may, every day before eight or after six (for which interval a timetable shall be prepared) attend morning and evening devotions of such a nature as the

1. S.B.C. "Denominational Board Schools" (21 December 1878) p. 594

superintendent shall approve; and the superintendent shall be instructed that he or she has permission to invite children to be in attendance before eight or after six for that purpose." (1)

Quite clearly Mr. Hakes saw the inevitability of the school being overwhelmingly a Roman Catholic one. By approving the additional paragraph the Board would be allowing the use of the building for Roman Catholic services, but maintaining the integrity of the school as a Board school. This was made much clearer when he explained to the Board the purpose of his intervention:

"The only reason why the subject came up was because Bond Street was in the midst of a Roman Catholic area, and it was supposed therefore that the greater number of children who would be brought into the school would be of that denomination." (2)

He went on to argue that if it were to be a Roman Catholic institution it should be built by the Roman Catholics and not the School Board. The Industrial Schools Act of 1866 should not be applied in this case because there was a great difference between ordinary industrial schools and day industrial schools, insofar as the ordinary industrial schools kept children over the week-end. The children to be admitted to Bond Street need not attend on Sundays, and so could go to their own church and attend their own devotions there. Mr. Hakes continued:

"According to the Act (of 1876) they were responsible for children between eight and six, and they proposed that if parents of the children were anxious for religious instruction to be given . . . they would allow for the schools to open early and remain open late."

In this way there would be a clear distinction between what the school did as a Board school, and what was done in the building, outside of school

1. Ibid. p. 589

2. Ibid.

hours, on a voluntary basis, by the superintendent and staff.

Mr. Hakes' motion was seconded by Mr. Oulton, and then the chairman, Mr. Rathbone, put forward his anticipated amendment. It was long and carefully worded, pointing out that the Education Act of 1876 and the subsequent Orders in Council which regulated the religious instruction in day industrial schools, placed the schools in the category, not of ordinary Board schools, but of ordinary industrial schools, and imposed on those managing such schools the responsibility of facilitating the instruction of children in the creeds of their parents. His amendment continued:

" . . . by reason of the omission of the Cowper-Temple clause, it is desirable that, as in the Board's truant industrial school, the staff at Bond Street Day Industrial School should be of the same creed as the majority of the children, and that the following rules, applicable to the truant school, should also apply to Bond Street Day Industrial School, viz:-

(a) The children shall every day, at times set apart in the time-table, attend morning and evening devotions of such a nature as the superintendent of the school shall select.

(b) The time-table shall also provide at nine o'clock each day for religious instruction consisting of the reading of the Douai version of the Bible, with suitable comments, by the superintendent or other Roman Catholic teacher specially authorized by the Board;

(c) In addition to the above mentioned religious instruction and devotions, the time-table shall provide that, between 4.30 p.m. and 5 p.m. on the Tuesday and Friday each week, the ministers of the Churches to which the children respectively belong may attend to give religious instruction or hold services." (1)

Mr. Rathbone supported his argument by pointing out that if Mr. Hakes' motion was carried there was a danger that the importance of daily prayers would be disparaged in the eyes of the children, being relegated, so to speak, to a position outside the normal framework of the school.

Mr. Rathbone's amendment was seconded by Mr. Browne, who urged its acceptance on the grounds that if there were any restriction at all in the religious instruction, the Roman Catholics would not use the school. However, the prospect of initiating a denominational Board school proved too much for the majority of the members and the amendment was voted down by seven votes to five.

Mr. Hakes then put his original motion but withdrew the additional paragraph referring to the use of the school before eight and after six, saying that he had only included it in the first place for the benefit of the Catholics.

After all the discussion then, the rules approved for Bond Street were identical to those which had been previously approved for the South Corporation School. A Roman Catholic, Miss Lucy Ryan, was appointed superintendent, the Catholics did not boycott the school, and Bond Street became, within the limits of the regulations, a "de facto" if not "de jure," Roman Catholic school.

The Liverpool School Board was careful that its decisions on the content and method of religious instruction should be conveyed to all parents of children committed to its day industrial schools and on 21 May 1879 its District Education Committee decided to circularise the following information:

"The religious instruction and observance in this school provided by the School Board consists of:

For Protestant children - the Authorized Version of the Bible taught by a Protestant teacher

For Roman Catholic children - the Douai Version taught by a Catholic teacher

And books of prayers and hymns arranged by the School Board." (1)

So that the parent or guardian could indicate his wishes in the matter, a form was provided worded as follows:

"I object to my child(ren) attending the religious instruction and observance provided by the School Board. I desire that he/she/they receive instead of it -

Secular Instruction

Religious Instruction from

* A C. of E. priest or teacher appointed by him

* An R.C. priest or teacher appointed by him

* A Non-Conformist minister or teacher appointed by him."

A further section was provided:

"To be signed by Roman Catholic parents who desire it:

I also desire my children to be withdrawn from the school on the days of obligation of my Church for the time needed for them to attend appointed service." (1)

This was the basis on which the Liverpool School Board set about coping with its religious instruction, and the details were circulated to other Boards requiring them.

One of the first School Boards to be faced with the task of devising its own regulations for religious instruction was that at Oxford. Here there was no similar pressing problem so far as the presence of Roman Catholics was concerned so that the Oxford Board could use most of the wording of the Liverpool rules, but without specific reference to the use of the Douai version of the Bible. Instead, to cater for the needs of denominations other than the Church of England, the Oxford rules included the following:

" (c) Arrangements - to be approved in each case by the Secretary of State - may be made to enable ministers of religion or other qualified persons to give special religious instruction to the children in the school." (2)

1. Ibid.

2. Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Certified Day Industrial School Established by the Oxford School Board Rule 16 pp. 2, 3

The teaching of religion in the Oxford Day Industrial School was undertaken by Rev. A. M. W. Christopher of St. Aldate's Rectory. He had written to the School Board on 6 January 1879 offering his services. In his letter he explained that, as a layman, he had been head of La Martiniere school for boys in Calcutta from 1844 to 1849 and could supply references from the Bishop of Calcutta and others, including the Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic, and the Senior Presbyterian Chaplain in Calcutta, vouching for the efficiency of the religious instruction scheme he had used there. His letter continued:

"If the School Board wish me and my curate to undertake the religious instruction of the children in their industrial school, I shall be willing to carry it out on the Martiniere system, with which I am familiar, and which seems especially suited to the circumstances of School Board schools . . . " (1)

In a post-script to his letter, the Rev. Christopher added:

"The School Board will, I am sure, bear in mind that their industrial school is in my parish, and I shall be thankful to them if they commit the religious instruction to me and my curate."

He went on to explain that he would be prepared to give one morning a week, and his curate another. If the school was opened on Sundays he would take some measures to attend the children on that day and, as there was room in St. Aldate's Church, he thought it would be a good plan for those who came on Sundays to go to church in a body.

Such a generous and enthusiastic offer was too good to miss and the Oxford School Board accepted it gratefully, the Rev. J. R. King, the chairman, observing that he felt "it would be advantageous for the children to have intercourse with a highly educated person, especially one with religion at heart." (2)

1. S.B.C. (25 January 1879) p. 85

2. Ibid.

Apart from the difference of opinion regarding the question of opening the school on Sundays already referred to, (P. 50) the Great Yarmouth School Board had no difficulty either in accepting the wording of the Liverpool School Board in formulating its own rule governing religious instruction. It did so with a slightly truncated version of Liverpool's rule 17 (a) 1., to read "Provided always that in such explanations and instructions (of readings from the Bible) the provisions of sections 7 and 14 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, shall be strictly enforced both in letter and in spirit." (1)

The Liverpool version of the rule on religious instruction was subsequently approved for Gateshead and Wolverhampton by the Secretary of State for the Home Office, H. V. Harcourt. He also approved the rule for Leeds School Board which was essentially the same but substituted for section (a) the words:

"The religious exercises and instructions shall be the same as in the Public Elementary Schools of the Board and as laid down in the Board's General Scheme of Education; the provisions of Sections 7 and 14 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, shall be strictly enforced both in letter and spirit."

Harcourt also approved the regulations for Sunderland which were worded almost identically to the above. (2)

The Nottingham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne "Rules and Regulations," which again used a version of the formula drawn up by the Liverpool School Board, were approved by Harcourt's successor, Richard Assheton Cross. (3)

In all of these schools the religious instruction appears to have been undertaken to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, although the discussions in the Sunderland School Board which took place before their day industrial school opened were a reminder that accommodating the requirements of the Roman Catholic community could still provoke strong feelings.

1. Referred to in correspondence between Blackburn School Board and the Home Office. (Blackburn Record Office, S.2. May)

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

At a meeting of the Sunderland School Board on 18 March 1884, the Board's Education Committee submitted the names of two candidates for the post of head mistress of the day industrial school. They were Miss Sarah Jane Scott and Miss Laura M. Lottinga. (1) At once a Roman Catholic member of the Board, the Rev. Fr. Turnerelli, complained that in rejecting Miss Craig, the only candidate with industrial school experience, the Board had acted through expediency or through religious bias. He said he was "compelled to say that he considered it unfortunate that the committee were so pressed by circumstances as to deny a Catholic applicant . . . the exercise of her rights merely because she happened to be a Catholic." (2)

Not unnaturally other members of the Board took exception to Fr. Turnerelli's allegation, the Chairman, Mr. Cameron and another member, Mr. Wood, arguing that the appointment of a Roman Catholic headmistress might impair the usefulness of the school, as non-Catholic parents would be unwilling to allow their children to be sent to it. Mr. Wood regretted this, saying

"I would be glad if we could banish ignorance and superstition and intolerance and bigotry from the minds of all those who profess the Christian faith, but we have not come to that yet." (3)

Until that stage was reached, he argued, the best that could be done under the circumstances, and to secure the usefulness of the day industrial school, was to proceed with an appointment. This argument may not have satisfied Fr. Turnerelli completely, but he allowed the matter to drop. In the event the successful candidate resigned before the school opened, to be replaced by Mrs. Goldsworthy, who was in charge of the school throughout its existence and managed it to the satisfaction of both Protestants and Catholics for over 20 years. (4)

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1. S.B.C. (12 April 1884) p. 368
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Thomas, D.H. op. cit. (1985) p.31

Before the opening of the School Board Day Industrial School at Salford a sub-committee had visited Liverpool's South Corporation school and reported that "one of the teachers was a Roman Catholic and she undertook the religious instruction of all Roman Catholic children in the school." (1) However, when the Salford Board drew up its own rules and regulations for religious instruction it did not follow the formula already established by Liverpool but submitted instead a new form of words:

" 17. The religious instruction shall consist of a graduated course of teaching to be carried on by means of oral instruction, passages of scripture committed to memory, and suitable exercises in reading and writing, and shall include family worship, hymns and the reading of scriptures. This rule is subject to the 23rd clause of the Order in Council, which provides that no child shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects to which observance or instruction his parent objects." (2)

The rules also included a reference to the times to be allocated for the religious instruction:

"The hours for religious instruction and observance shall be from 9.0 to 9.50 a.m. and from 5.30 to 5.50 p.m. except on Saturdays when the time shall be from 9.0 to 9.20 a.m. only."

It was anticipated that there would be a large number of Roman Catholic children committed to the new school and for these it was proposed that:

"Arrangements shall be made for the religious instruction of children of Roman Catholic parents by a teacher of their own creed, subject to the approval of such teacher and such course of instruction by the School Board." (3)

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1. S.B.C. (3 June 1882) p. 257
 2. Correspondence between Salford School Board and the Home Office regarding Certificate issued in respect of Salford Day Industrial School HO 45. 9635/A28889
 3. Ibid.

These rules were submitted to the Home Office for approval in July 1885 but in early August they were returned to the Salford Board for correction. On 19 August H.M.I. William Inglis wrote to Mr. Parsons, the clerk to the Salford School Board,

"Perhaps the best compromise would be for the Board to arrange to have one of the three teachers (to be appointed to the school) a Roman Catholic, as at Liverpool. The Roman Catholic teacher could take the Roman Catholic children during the time devoted to religious teaching." (1)

The Salford School Board decided to adopt this course of action and, to expedite matters, to adopt also the wording of rule 17c of the Bond Street Day Industrial School in place of their own wording. The new version of the rules and regulations were approved in September 1885 and the certificate was issued on 6 October.

For three years this system proceeded smoothly, until September 1888, when the new School Board ordered an investigation into the religious teaching done by the Roman Catholic teacher and carried a motion stating that the practice should cease, as no money should be paid out of the rates for denominational teaching. Evidently this had been a sore point with certain members of the Board for some years and they had chosen their time to act.

Their action, understandably, drew an indignant response from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, Bishop Vaughan, who wrote in protest to the Home Secretary:

"

24th October 1888

Sir,

I beg to call your attention to a grievance under which the Catholic poor of Salford are now suffering in consequence of a recent resolution carried into effect by the Salford

1. Ibid.

School Board . . .

By a decision of the Board the Catholic teacher till about ten days ago used to give Catholic instruction to the Catholic children, in a room apart, during the time set apart for religious instruction. This worked satisfactorily to all parties except for a certain section of the Board which declared that no denomination should receive religious denominational instruction from any of the teachers employed in that school.

On Wednesday, 10 October, the Board met and a discussion arose on the conduct of this sub-committee, and a vote was carried (7 voting for, 6 against and 1 abstaining) to the effect that Catholic children were no longer in future to receive instruction in their religion from the Catholic teacher."

Bishop Vaughan's letter went on to raise objections to this decision, to point out the difficulties it created for the Catholic community, and to ask that the School Board be "compelled to make the necessary provision." (1)

In a note on the reverse side of this letter, now lodged in the Public Record Office at Ke'w, William Inglis expressed his opinion that the Board was strictly correct (even though, as has been stated, on 19 August 1885 he had suggested the compromise in the first place) but Henry Matthews, the Secretary of State for the Home Department commented that he thought the withdrawal of the teacher unreasonable.

The controversy continued for some weeks and on 22 December Mr. Parsons wrote to the Home Office requesting legal clarification. He asked:

" 1. Whether it is compulsory upon the Committee (the Industrial Schools Committee) as managers of the school, to provide religious instruction according to the Roman Catholic faith for such children, in the event of a minister of their own creed being unable to attend the school

1. Ibid.

for that purpose." (1)

He had, he wrote, discovered a case quoted in the Education Acts Manual (by Hugh Owen) 16th edition, p. 108, in which a School Board, being the managers of a certified residential industrial school had been required to do so, but he wanted to know:

"Does the principle laid down apply to a Certified Day Industrial School?"

Secondly, on the legality of paying a teacher to teach the Roman Catholic children their religion, he asked:

" 2.If the provision of special religious instruction for Roman Catholic children by the managers of the school is not compulsory, are they at liberty, if they think fit, to make such provision by the employment of a paid teacher for the purpose, or would such a course be illegal?"

Before a reply was received the Salford School Board reversed the decision and in early January agreed by nine votes to six to resume the practice of providing religious instruction for the Roman Catholic children through the use of the Catholic teacher, but they were still anxious for the legal clarification and instructed Mr. Parsons to write again to the Home Office on 10 January 1889.

This time the reply, dated 17 January, came from Henry Rogers. It included the paragraph:

" . . . I can see nothing illegal in this arrangement. It has already been in force for some time since the establishment of the school and has only recently been upset. Now a majority of the Board is in its favour. It seems to me to be the best and most reasonable compromise possible."

On the reverse of the copy of this letter in the Public Record Office is a note which indicates the way in which Mr. Rogers' mind was working. It reads:

"I presume there could be no legal objections provided the teacher gave the religious instruction solely in his capacity of a Roman Catholic individual delegated to the duty by the authorities of his denomination . . . and not in any way as an official exercising function by direction of the school authorities." (1)

It was a neat, if rather jesuitical, line of thought, but it did enable the Salford School Board to revert to the previous arrangement with a working majority permanent enough to preserve it through the remaining years of the life of the school.

Although the events referred to in Salford did not surface until September 1888 it may possibly have been rumours of discontent there that prompted the neighbouring Manchester School Board to apply a completely different solution to the religious problem when it established its own day industrial school. In any event, when Mr. Broadfield introduced the matter to a Board meeting on 20 December 1886, he made it clear that the Industrial School Committee favoured a novel approach. He knew, he said, that the religious question was a difficulty, adding that it appeared to him that the solution applied in the three Liverpool School Board Day Industrial Schools had great disadvantages connected with them. Their Catholic friends in Manchester had, he said, demonstrated that they would prefer to have a school in which all the children would be Roman Catholic, but they had agreed to a proposal for a combined day industrial school in which Catholic and Protestant children would receive both secular and religious instruction separately but would share in common the workshops, playgrounds and dining rooms. Mr. Broadfield concluded that he "ventured to hope the experiment would have the encouragement of an almost united Board." (2)

In supporting Mr. Broadfield's proposal, the Rev. J. Henn, a Church of England member, said that he had heard it stated by a Roman Catholic

1. Ibid.

2. S.B.C. (8 January 1887) p. 32

member of the Board that the institution of a separate school for all education purposes for the Catholic children was a vital feature of the proposed day industrial school, and that they would not have entertained the scheme at all if they had not been quite certain on the point from the first.

The Board's Chairman, on the other hand, said that, having consulted the relevant Orders in Council, he was of the opinion that they made no provision for special denominational education in any but denominational schools. He was, however, in a minority and the decision to establish the school on the basis proposed by the Industrial Schools Committee was approved by eight votes to five. (1)

Such was the intensity of feeling over the decision, however, that the whole question was re-opened on 25 April 1887 when Mr. J. A. Newbold moved:

"That in the opinion of this Board it is not desirable to build and maintain entirely at the public cost what would practically be a purely denominational school, and that, therefore, the resolution of the Board passed on 20th December 1886, providing for separate secular instruction for Roman Catholic children in the day industrial school be rescinded." (2)

Mr. Newbold argued that the need for a day industrial school was accepted but that the principle of separate secular education was not. If they accepted his resolution, he said, they would simply be acting in harmony with the practice in Salford and Liverpool. If, on the other hand, they admitted the principle of separate secular instruction then logically they should extend it into the dining-room, the workshop and the playground.

Mr. Broadfield expressed bewilderment. He regarded the resolution, he said, "as the most extraordinary one that he could remember in the whole course of his work on the Board." (3) He pointed out that the decision

1. Ibid.

2. S.B.C. (7 May 1887) p. 468

3. Ibid.

had only been made in December and yet now, only four months later, when the land for the new school had been purchased, it was again called into question. He could respect honest conviction, he said, but when it became aggressive he wondered what would become of the administration of public affairs.

Mr. Broadfield did promise that, if after a year it was found that any inconvenience was caused, he would be glad to reconsider the matter; but his indignation had been loud enough to silence the opposition. The experiment, once begun, lasted throughout the entire life of the school.

If the settlement of the religious question at Salford and Manchester had raised problems, they were slight in comparison with those associated with the establishment of the School Board Day Industrial School at Mayson Street, Blackburn. This school was purpose-built to high standards and ready for occupation by the end of April 1890. With some optimism that they would quickly be approved, the Blackburn School Board sent a proof copy of its "Rules and Regulations" to Henry Matthews on 14 April.

The rule pertaining to religious instruction was rule 18 and it was set out as follows:

- " 18. The Religious Instruction shall be subject to the following conditions:
- (a) While any Religious Observance or Instruction is going on in the school, none of the teachers or scholars shall be employed in any other manner in the same room.
 - (b) During the time set apart for Religious Instruction and Observances in the School, any children whose parents object under the conscience clause to their attending such Instruction or Observances shall in another room receive secular instruction.
 - (c) The Roman Catholic children in the School shall receive their Religious Instruction from an Assistant Mistress of that faith.

- (d) No Religious Catechism or Religious Formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the School. (1)

These rules were very similar in most respects to those in use in nearly all of the day industrial schools already open, differing mainly in that there were specific references to the conscience clause in 18. (b) and to the use of catechisms and formularies in 18. (d), whereas most of the others contented themselves with references to "the provisions of Sections 7 and 14 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870," without specifying what these clauses meant. The rules for Manchester and Salford omitted any reference to catechisms and formularies whatever.

The reply from Whitehall was not written until 29 May 1890 and then it was to the effect that approval for the religious instruction regulations were withheld.

"Sir,

With reference to your letter of 14th ultimo forwarding for approval a copy of the Rules and Regulations for the Mayson Street Day Industrial School, I am directed by the Secretary of State to transmit to you herewith, to be laid before the Blackburn School Board, copies of Rule 15 in force at the Manchester S. B. Day Industrial School and Rule 17 in force at the Salford S. B. Day Industrial School, and I am to say that the Secretary of State desires to recommend the adoption of one or other of these Rules in place of Rule 18 of the set submitted . . . "

Within the week William Ditchfield, clerk to the Blackburn Board had written back, in somewhat injured tones, pointing out that the Board had

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1. Rules and Regulations for the Management of Mayson Street Day Industrial School Blackburn, Established April 1890 p. 4
 2. Correspondence between Blackburn S. B. and the Home Office, (S. 2. MAY) dated 29 May 1890

"carefully examined the Rules of Manchester and Salford as well as Leeds and other Boards," that they had made provision for the appointment of a Roman Catholic teacher "whose duty it will be to give the religious instruction to the children of that faith," and that they would appreciate an early reply.

They received one exactly a week later, on 10 June. It began "I am directed by the Secretary of State to say that he observes that the Rules submitted to him are silent as to visits by a Priest for the religious instruction of the Roman Catholic children" and went on to say that it left such religious instruction dependent on the presence of a "sufficient number to form a class." The Secretary of State further thought that this omission and limitation prevented the rule in question from giving due effect to the Order in Council of 20 March 1877, and that the rules of the Manchester and Salford schools were "better calculated for that end." (1)

Ditchfield was told to reply to the effect that the intention of the Blackburn Board had always been to respect the religious convictions of Roman Catholics and that they were willing to alter the section so that it would read:

"The Roman Catholic children in the School shall receive their Religious Instruction from an Assistant Mistress of that faith from the Douai version of the Bible in a separate room." (2)

On 27 June, after a letter requesting an early reply, the Board received a letter stating that the rule should run as follows:

"The Roman Catholic children in the School shall receive their religious instruction from an Assistant Mistress of that faith." (3)

The omission of the reference to the Douai version of the Bible seemed to indicate that the Secretary of State would prefer the nature of the

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1. Ibid. dated(10 June 1890)
 2. Ibid. dated(16 June 1890)
 3. Ibid. dated(27 June 1890)

religious instruction to be left open and after a further exchange of letters had still not resulted in agreement, Mr. Matthews was asked if he would receive a deputation consisting of the Rev. J. A. Rushton, Rev. Dean Woods, Rev. Fr. Maglione and Edward Cooper. (1) The very next day a letter was sent from Whitehall acknowledging the request but asking first for a written explanation of the purpose of the deputation.

Mr. Ditchfield wrote to the Home Office a week later. His letter came straight to the point:

" . . . The majority of the members of the Board are of the opinion that no Religious Catechism or Religious Formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination can be legally taught in the Mayson Street Day Industrial School, which, it will be remembered, is a School provided by the Board." (2)

It went on to say that a small minority of members contended that distinctive religious teaching could be given during school hours in a day industrial school, if not by a teacher paid by the Board, at any rate by Ministers of the religious denomination to which the children belonged. The members of the deputation wished to know how, if the minority were right, it "comes about that in the day industrial schools of Nottingham, Gateshead, Wolverhampton, Newcastle, Leeds, Liverpool, Sunderland and elsewhere, Section 14 of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 - which forbids the use of a Religious Catechism or Religious Formulary in a School provided by a School Board, is specifically imported into the Rules of these Schools and specially emphasised?"

The exchange of letters had now been going on for more than three months and the issue had at last been brought starkly into the open. The majority on the Blackburn School Board regarded Mayson Street as, first and foremost, a Board school, and wished to use the 1870 Act to preserve it as an undenominational institution. The Home Office, as they were about

1. Ibid. dated (7 July 1890)

2. Ibid. dated(15 July 1890)

to learn if they had not appreciated it already, was equally adamant that the school should be first and foremost an industrial school, and that the religious instruction provided should be based on the 1866 Industrial Schools Act and the Orders in Council which followed it:

"

Whitehall

25th July 1890

Pressing

Sir,

With reference to your letter of 15th inst. relative to the Regulations proposed for Mayson Street Day Industrial School, I am directed by the Secretary of State to acquaint you, for the information of the Blackburn School Board, that he has carefully considered the matter, and regrets that he is unable to confirm the Rules for the Mayson Street Day Industrial School submitted to him.

The Secretary of State fully appreciates that the School in question is provided by the School Board and is supported by funds drawn from the Rates of the District, but the strictly undenominational administration of ordinary Elementary Schools does not appear to him to apply to Day Industrial Schools in which the children attend under special circumstances of coercion and discipline, and in which the Order in Council of the 20th March, 1877 expressly provides that religious instruction shall be given to the children by Ministers of the religious persuasion to which they belong." (1)

Now came the clearest possible statement of the conclusion to which Henry Matthews had come, and towards which he had been urging the Blackburn Board all this time:

1. Ibid. dated(25 July 1890)

"To forbid the use of distinctive religious books in the hours specially set apart for religious instruction appears to him to nullify the whole principle of separate religious instruction." (1)

The letter concluded once again with a request that the Board withdraw its Rule 18 and substitute a rule similar to that in use at Salford. The deputation, it concluded, appeared to be unnecessary.

The Blackburn School Board called a special meeting to discuss the Home Secretary's letter and an amended set of rules was sent to Whitehall on 15 August, but once again they failed fully to meet the wishes of the Home Office. This time Henry Matthews pointed to the failure of the new rules to allow that " . . . religious instruction or services may be conducted in the Blackburn School by Ministers or Members of the Creeds to which the children belong or by persons delegated by such Ministers with the concurrence of the Board." (2)

By now the Blackburn Board was desperately anxious to get the school open and a special meeting agreed at last to adopt the Salford rules, but, as they informed the Secretary of State, "with the addition of the following words:- 'provided that the persons so delegated are not paid servants of the Board.' " (3)

On 24 September, Mr. Ditchfield, clerk to the Blackburn Board acknowledged "receipt of telegram intimating that the Home Secretary has decided to sanction the Rules for this school . . ." (4)

Mayson Street Day Industrial School opened immediately and on 1 October 1890 the Industrial Schools Committee resolved:

"That a receipt of a letter from Canon Maglione stating that a particular person had been delegated to give the

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1. Ibid. dated(25 July 1890)
 2. Ibid. dated(30 August 1890)
 3. Ibid. dated(10 September)
 4. Ibid. dated(24 September)

Religious Instruction on behalf of the Roman Catholics,
such delegation be approved . . . " (1)

Many conclusions might be inferred from this drawn out correspondence, and from the debates and their conclusions in Liverpool, Sunderland, Salford, Manchester and elsewhere, but two are identified here as being of most significance.

In the first place the religious question, though fraught with difficulties, was not unsolvable. Those School Boards which wished to establish day industrial schools did so, resolving eventually the problems which beset them, and managing to achieve compromises which allowed Protestant and Catholic children to share the same school, and, apart from Manchester, the same teachers. This was no mean achievement. There may be a temptation, with hindsight, to regard some of the attitudes adopted within certain Boards as examples of sheer prejudice, but to the Board members what they were dealing with were matters of the gravest principle. Obviously a good many individuals remained unconvinced, but in time all the Boards involved, with the aid or the urging of the Home Office, produced regulations which enabled the schools to function.

The second conclusion is that, over the course of time, the preference of the Home Office for the employment of Roman Catholic teachers to provide the religious instruction of Roman Catholic children, and of teaching aids directed towards denominational instruction, prevailed. The School Boards concerned eventually acquiesced.

Three further pieces of evidence in support of these conclusions will be invoked.

First of all, in mid-September 1890, at the height of the controversy concerning the day industrial school at Blackburn, Henry Rogers, the Home Office assistant inspector, wrote to Mr. Hance, the clerk to the Liverpool School Board. The purpose of the letter was to provide guidance on the subject of denominational religious instruction. After remarking that he

1. Blackburn S.B. Industrial Schools Committee Minutes (1 October 1890)

had been led by various circumstances to form a decided opinion on the subject, he added:

"Under the present system the large body of the children get very little Religious teaching at all - they are chiefly Roman Catholics - (and) are withdrawn in most instances from such religious teaching as is given by the Board's teachers, and what they get from the voluntary teachers of their own faith amounts to little more than a religious act of worship and service, valuable in itself to the highest degree, but insufficient . . . for instructing such children in the very elements of their religious belief.

Now what is the remedy? It must be founded on a large hearted and broad appreciation of the wants and necessities of the children themselves. I say again boldly and openly that such children have an indefeasible and absolute claim to receive instruction in the elementary principles of their own belief . . .

Should the children be Roman Catholic and the teachers also Roman Catholic in the same school, I think it would be impolitic in the highest degree, to prevent such teachers instructing the children in the peculiar articles of their own faith - but always during the period of time allotted in time-table to religious instruction - and without any interference . . ." (1)

If this really was the policy being promoted by the inspectors it is hardly surprising that Henry Matthews resisted so stubbornly the efforts of the Blackburn Board to introduce a reference to catechisms and formularies.

1. Letter from Henry Rogers to Mr. Hance, deposited in Minutes of Liverpool S.B. Industrial Schools Committee, (17 September 1890)

Even more revealing than the letter itself is a post-script which shows clearly that the advice Mr. Rogers is giving to the Liverpool School Board is already common practice elsewhere:

"P.S. In some other Day Industrial Schools there is no difficulty - there is no interference as to what shall be taught in the allotted time - and, the schools being smaller, sometimes the teacher, when a Roman Catholic, takes the religious teaching . . ." (1)

Just as interesting is the very ready response of the Liverpool Board which approved the resolution without delay:

"That in the Board's Day Industrial Schools religious instruction and observances in accordance with the practice of the creeds to which the children severally belong, may be given by the responsible teacher or teachers (if any) professing such creeds, to children of the same faiths respectively, in separate rooms, during the times set apart for religious instruction and observances; and that, subject to the consent of the Secretary of State, the rules of the Day Industrial Schools be amended accordingly." (2)

The rules were indeed amended accordingly and were adopted also by the Bootle Day Industrial School in 1895.

The second piece of evidence comes from the London School Board which also adopted, in general terms, the Rules and Regulations drawn up by the Liverpool Board. The first chairman of the managers of the Drury Lane Day Industrial School was Athelstan Riley. An interview with Mr. Riley for the journal "Church Bells" was reported in the School Board Chronicle for 14 September 1895. In it he shows that he is in no doubt about the nature of the religious instruction to be undertaken in the school and of the implications of what the London School Board was doing:

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid.

"The school (which had an intake about one third Roman Catholic) is to be worked entirely on Denominational lines . . . As affecting the whole School Board system, this is of indirect as well as of direct importance; because if it be found possible to work a Day Industrial School on Denominational lines, this would be an irresistible argument for working the Board's ordinary day schools on the same lines, should an alteration of the law permit it." (1)

Finally the Blackburn School Board which had striven for six months to maintain the undenominational line, and which had attempted to resist the possibility of a "paid servant of the Board" giving the denominational religious instruction, also finally yielded to the trend. Its triennial report for 1897 - 1900 includes a copy of the Annual Report on Mayson Street Day Industrial School after which is printed the information that "The Roman Catholic children have been annually inspected by the Religious Inspector of the Diocese of Salford. As regards the last inspection the following letter was received:

Dear Sir -

I beg to inform you that the Rev. D. Walshe, who examined the Catholic children in religious knowledge at your Day Industrial School, reports favourably of the work done by the mistress for both boys and girls.

With the expression of my regards, I am, dear sir,

faithfully yours

Geo. Richardson " (2)

For a Roman Catholic clergyman to have written such a letter to the clerk of a School Board would have seemed unimaginable in 1876, and would probably have strained the credulity of a good many even in 1900. How many of those who were to echo Dr. Clifford's cry against "Rome on the Rates" a couple of years later were aware, one wonders, that in some School Board Day Industrial Schools it had already been there for a decade or more?

1. S.B.C. (14 September 1895) p. 268

2. Blackburn S.B. Triennial Report (1897 - 1900) p. 56

(ii) Secular Instruction in the School Board Day Industrial Schools

By comparison with the religious instruction, the rules for which had often been a matter of dispute and prolonged discussion, the defining of the secular instruction in the School Board Day Industrial Schools was straightforward. There was agreement everywhere over the wording of the rule, the only difference being that some School Boards also laid down the time to be allotted, while others did not. The Oxford and Blackburn rules, for example, stated:

"The secular instruction shall consist of reading, spelling, writing, dictation, arithmetic, vocal music, and drill; and as far as practicable, of the elements of grammar, geography, and English history." (1)

To the above wording the Liverpool and Bootle School Boards added:

"It shall be given on Saturday for three, and on each other week day for four hours." (2)

In trying to ascertain the nature of the work done, and in attempting some assessment of it, heavy reliance has to be placed on the Reports of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools. These reports were issued every year and, until 1896, they were based on one notified annual visit of inspection and one or two occasional visits made without warning. After 1896 the schools were formally inspected at least twice and sometimes three times a year and the number of unnotified visits was increased.

The Annual Reports are the only continuous source of information, but additional insights into the secular instruction can sometimes be gleaned from the available log books and the minutes of the committees responsible for the management of the schools.

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1. Rule 19 of the Blackburn S.B. Rules and Regulations (1890) p. 4 and Rule 17 of the Oxford S.B. Rules and Regulations (1879) p. 4 for the Management of the Day Industrial School
 2. Rule 18 of the Liverpool S.B. Rules and Regulations (School Board Manual, 1899) p. 51 and Rule 20 of the Bootle S.B. Rules and Regulations (1895) p. 3 for the Management of the Day Industrial Schools.

From the Annual Reports it is clear that two factors militated against high achievement in secular instruction. These factors were, firstly, the very low standard of attainment of the vast majority of the pupils on admission; and secondly, the system of licensing, which very often removed children from the care of the day industrial school before the teaching had had time to prove itself effective.

Evidence for the low standard of attainment of pupils on admission to the schools comes from a variety of sources. In her first year as superintendent of the Bond Street Day Industrial School, Miss Ryan recorded her concern in the log-book:

"There are now twelve children in the second standard, and this is the highest standard in the school. There are 42 children in the school who scarcely know the alphabet." (1)

At about the same time as Miss Ryan was making these observations, Mr. Clarke, the first superintendent of St. Aldate's, Oxford, Day Industrial School, was preparing a report on the school for the School Board. Of his first intake of pupils, he wrote:

"One boy over 13 has passed standard 3. Four are said to have been in it when last at school, in each case (with one exception) this was some long time since. The remainder are about equally divided between standards 2 and 1, and seven knew neither letters nor figures. Those who could read a little were but little acquainted with writing or arithmetic. As may well be supposed, of such things as geography, grammar or history, they knew nothing beyond a hazy notion that the world was round, and that there was water as well as land. Until shown a map they did not appear to know that their own country was an island." (2)

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1. Bond Street Day Industrial School Log-Book (4 September 1879)
 2. S.B.C. (12 April 1879) p. 374

In passing, it is interesting too, in view of the intensity of the discussions which were later to take place in many School Boards on the subject of religious instruction, to read Mr. Clarke's impressions of the level of knowledge and interest which his new charges brought to that subject:

"Of the first batch only two knew the Lord's Prayer or had any knowledge of the Scriptures or Commandments. Of a Superior Being the majority seemed to know little or nothing beyond making profane use of His name." (1)

A similar picture of low level of intake is provided by Henry Rogers' first report on the inspection of the School Board Day Industrial School established at Windmill Hill, Gateshead. Mr. Rogers writes:

"Being the first inspection, it was my business to arrange the children in their classes. 34 were in the First Standard, 6 in Second Standard, 1 in Fifth Standard, and 9 were infants." (2)

Finally, the picture of very poor attainment levels is confirmed by a study of a random sample of entries in the Admissions Register of the Wolverhampton Day Industrial School, one of only a handful which appear to have survived. A sample of 36 entries was taken, covering the years 1895 - 1900. During this period the total admissions numbered about 200. The ages of children admitted ranged from eight years to thirteen years, the average age being ten and a half. All had attended other schools at some time, 24 of them at Board Schools, 10 at Church of England schools and 2 at Roman Catholic schools; and each is described in the admission book as "Truant." Of the sample, exactly half could "Neither Read nor Write;" sixteen could only read and write "very imperfectly" or "imperfectly" and two, (thirteen year olds) could read and write "well."

1. Ibid.

2. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1882 XXXV 1

25th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

Improving the standards of attainment of such children would be difficult enough under the most advantageous of circumstances, but it certainly was not helped by the system of early licensing adopted by some School Boards, notably those of Liverpool and Nottingham. It seems that these Boards, in the early years at least, considered the work of the day industrial school to have been accomplished as soon as the pupil had been cleaned up sufficiently not to offend the senses of the staff and children of the nearest Board or Voluntary school, and as soon as he showed promise of regularity in attendance. As a result the Annual Report of H.M.I. for Liverpool's South Corporation School for 1883 read in part:

"Owing to the system of short periods of detention and transfer on license to the elementary school, the classes have fallen off, and but a few scholars could be presented for examination." (1)

In time the Home Office Inspectorate became increasingly critical of the licensing system (2) and their urgings towards longer periods of detention in the day industrial school were, in the main, heeded; although as late as 1899 it could still be reported of Queensland Street School, Liverpool:

"Education carefully attended to, but as children are allowed on license as soon as feasible there is not much time to effect a good deal." (3)

It remained the fact, throughout the School Board period, that the staffs of the day industrial schools were working with pupils who had at best had a very poor start in the ordinary schools, and at worst had had no start at all. But it is possible to demonstrate that most of them did improve their standards in secular education to some extent over the course of time.

1. Ibid. 1884 XLIV 1, 27th Annual Report

2. See pp. 126 and 127

3. British Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1899 XLII 1

To do this a comparison has been made of the numbers of children in certain grades in some of the schools over a period of five years. The years selected are 1883 and 1888. The year 1883 was chosen because in that year the number of School Board Day Industrial Schools had reached eight, and all eight had had at least one year's experience. By 1888 they had had sufficient time to settle down to an established routine. The schools referred to are those in Gateshead, Bristol, Liverpool (South Corporation and Bond Street), Great Yarmouth, Oxford, Wolverhampton and Leeds (Edgar Street).

TABLE 7
STANDARDS ACHIEVED IN EIGHT SCHOOL BOARD
DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

| 1883 | Number of Pupils | Percentage of Total | 1888 | Number of Pupils | Percentage of Total |
|------------|------------------|---------------------|------|------------------|---------------------|
| Standard V | - | (0) | | 8 | (1.22) |
| " IV | 32 | (8.5) | | 83 | (12.65) |
| " III | 87 | (23.2) | | 143 | (21.8) |
| " II | 139 | (37.06) | | 220 | (33.54) |
| " I | 117 | (31.2) | | 202 | (30.8) |

(1)

As further day industrial schools were opened after 1888 the standards continued to rise slowly.

Table 8 shows the numbers of children in standards 1 - 6 in the year 1900 in all the schools open at that time. It will be observed that the day industrial schools at Great Yarmouth and Gateshead had closed by 1900 but that standards at the other six schools referred to in Table 7 had maintained the slight upward trend.

1. Ibid. 1884, XLIV 1; and 1889, XLII 1; 27th and 32nd Annual Reports

TABLE 8

NUMBERS OF CHILDREN IN STANDARDS 1 - 6 IN SCHOOL BOARD
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS IN THE YEAR 1900

| Standard | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|--------------------------------|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| <u>School</u> | | | | | | |
| Sunderland | 1 | 7 | 11 | 34 | 21 | 24 |
| Bristol | 2 | 7 | 38 | 42 | 46 | 33 |
| Liverpool South Corporation | - | 12 | 29 | 39 | 51 | 56 |
| Liverpool Bond Street | - | 4 | 21 | 35 | 42 | 51 |
| Liverpool Queensland Street | - | 5 | 29 | 45 | 54 | 47 |
| Liverpool Addison Street | - | 4 | 14 | 21 | 40 | 35 |
| Manchester Protestant | 2 | 10 | 27 | 39 | 23 | 15 |
| Manchester Roman Catholic | - | 9 | 16 | 30 | 23 | 13 |
| Salford | - | 5 | 28 | 42 | 57 | 41 |
| Blackburn | - | 1 | 8 | 18 | 19 | 15 |
| Oldham | - | 4 | 9 | 17 | 10 | 12 |
| Bootle | 8 | 3 | 16 | 42 | 51 | 38 |
| London Drury Lane | 2 | 9 | 9 | 42 | 28 | 43 |
| Newcastle | 2 | 5 | 18 | 34 | 29 | 37 |
| Nottingham | - | - | 22 | - | 14 | - |
| Oxford | 2 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 2 |
| Wolverhampton | 1 | 8 | 10 | 26 | 13 | 16 |
| Leeds Edgar Street | - | 2 | 10 | 31 | 36 | 48 |
| Leeds Czar Street | - | 5 | 11 | 34 | 29 | 23 |
| Edinburgh | - | - | 7 | 12 | 49 | 39 |

(1)

1. Ibid. 1901 XXXIII 187 44th Annual Report, Part 1

In 1903 the general standard of education in all but three of the schools was described as "very good" or "good." The exceptions were at Sunderland and Oxford where the general standard was described as "very fair," and at Nottingham which had not yet recovered from a scathing report the year before, and was now "just above fair." (1) But the claims made for some of the educational work were quite remarkable. In his Annual Report for 1902 Chief H.M.I. Legge wrote:

"The work done in the class-rooms of many of these schools is excellent; it would be difficult to find, in any school, work more intelligent, neat and accurate than, e.g. in the Edinburgh and Bootle Day Industrial Schools." (2)

Along with this steady improvement in the basics there took place a broadening of the curriculum taught, so that the annual reports for many of them began to include comments similar to that made of South Corporation School in 1899:

"The curriculum has been much extended during the past few years, but this has not been attended with any sacrifice of essentials." (3)

The extended curriculum referred to in this school now embraced singing, composition, recitation, object lessons and physical training. In the teaching of history here, as in Bond Street school, "In all above standard II, History readers have been used with good advantage" (4) and the geography teaching included map drawing for standards III and upwards. At Bond Street Day Industrial School the junior standards were taught clay modelling and flower making and a note in the Annual Report for 1902 recorded that:

"Nature study has been taken in the summer and autumn, a branch of the Kyrrtle society sending flowers, and some children showed knowledge of the country unusual in a town." (5)

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1. Ibid. 1904 X X X VI 103; 46th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1903 X L V III 465; 45th Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1899 X L I V 1; 42nd Annual Report
 4. Ibid. 1904 X X X VI 103; 46th Annual Report
 5. Ibid.

The recitation was described as "Good" with the "pieces well selected and well rendered," and the singing as "exceptionally good."

The Bristol school had introduced cardboard modelling and paper laying into its curriculum by 1903 and Czar Street, Leeds, taught both clay and cardboard modelling. Also, by 1903, drawing had been introduced into the curriculum of all the schools and several of them, like the Liverpool schools, submitted work for the certificates awarded by the Science and Art Department.

Visits from outside lecturers, especially in connection with societies such as those dedicated to abstinence, were also a regular feature, and a number of log books, like that of Czar Street, Leeds, record the events:

"Mr. J. Addison delivered a lecture to 58 children in the school on Monday afternoon April 17th. The subject being "The Chemical Properties and the Physiological Effects of Alcohol." (1)

Visits to places of educational interest outside the schools were also quite a regular feature. The Bond Street Log Book records:

"The children were taken from the school to the Philharmonic Hall . . . " (2)

That for Queensland Street includes such items as:

"The children paid a visit to the Art Gallery which they much appreciated." (3)

and

"Miss Rathbone took a number of boys from the upper classes to the Art Gallery this afternoon." (4)

Quite frequently the visits combined educational and recreational aspects. The children from the Oxford school were taken on an annual

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1. Log Book of Leeds Czar Street Day Industrial School (17 April 1893)
 2. Log Book of Liverpool Bond Street Day Industrial School (29 June 1879)
 3. Log Book of Liverpool Queensland Street Day Industrial School (5 December 1902)
 4. Ibid. (5 March 1903)

trip up the Thames, those from Newcastle to Jesmond Dene or the seaside and those from Oldham to St. Annes-on-Sea. (1) These children may be judged to have fared rather better than those of the two Leeds day industrial schools whose outings were to Shadwell Industrial School! Even there, though, an instructive and enjoyable experience seems to have been the result:

"All the children from this school and also from Edgar Street went to Shadwell for the day to visit the Industrial School there. The children assembled before 8 a.m., had breakfast, and went for special electric cars from Wellington Bridge to Roundhay, and thence walked through the lanes . . ." (2)

Dinner, buns, sweets, tea and lemonade followed and then a sports day with competition between the three schools, and also a swimming contest.

Music in the form of singing (Sol-fa) was a consistent element in the curriculum of all the schools and was frequently praised by successive inspectors, and by the end of the School Board era in some of the schools it had progressed to the playing of musical instruments. Drury Lane and Ponton Road schools in London both taught some boys to play brass instruments and both looked to the vocational aspects as much as to the educational ones. Of the Drury Lane school, H. B. Philpott wrote:

"The introduction of a brass band - a recent innovation and an immensely popular one with the boys - will be the means, it is hoped, of enabling some of the restless lads, who do not take kindly to handicrafts, to obtain positions in army bands directly they leave school, and so escape the danger of falling into indolent and loafing ways." (3)

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1897 XLI 1
40th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. Log Book of Czar Street Day Industrial School, Leeds (2 August 1899)
 3. Philpott, H. B. op. cit. p. 240 (1904)

While of Ponton Road school, the Annual Report for 1903 noted that the school was:

" . . . hoping to introduce instrumental music. There is no reason why the boys here should not be brought up to a pitch which should render them welcome recruits in an army band." (1)

However, somewhat surprisingly in view of the poor physical state of many of the pupils on admission, the greatest progress, and the greatest success, in the secular curriculum, seems to have been in the sphere of physical education.

The rules laid down that "drill" should form a part of the secular curriculum and in the early years of the schools at Bristol, Oxford, Great Yarmouth and Liverpool's South Corporation, this is exactly what they got, usually with the caretaker supervising the boys in simple exercises. By the 1890's, however, standards in many of the schools had risen enormously and the use of apparatus, especially in those schools which boasted a drill room or a hall, was commonplace. The Annual Reports on the day industrial schools for 1903 reveal that the Ponton Road School was using vaulting horse and dumb bells; Brunswick Road was providing daily lessons in gymnastics; the teachers at Bootle were providing musical drill with Indian clubs for both girls and boys; and even Nottingham, of which school H.M.I. had commented "It is difficult to find anything to say in favour of this school," was providing a small amount of free gymnastics. (2)

The Liverpool schools came in for particular praise. Of Bond Street, the Annual Report said:

"P.T. - This has reached a high peak of efficiency. In addition to physical drill a sound display of work on the horse and

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1904 XXXVI 103
46th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. Ibid.

on the parallel and horizontal bars was given. It is no wonder that the physique of many of the boys was strikingly good." (1)

In Addison Street school the physical training was described as "Painstaking and good. A squad of boys gave a smart display of physical drill with arms." At Queensland Street:

"Club drill has been introduced this year for the boys and the girls have a series of graceful exercises with cymbals." (2)

Swimming also was a feature of most of the schools, those like Oldham and Bootle, with their own plunges or swimming pools obviously being at an advantage, but with most of the others using nearby Corporation facilities. In Blackburn these lessons continued despite protests from members of the public about the use of the local baths by day industrial schoolchildren, and the Mayson Street School won a swimming cup in competition with all the elementary schools in the town. Bristol too was enjoying success in this sphere but in 1899 the Annual Report for the Bristol school noted:

"The boys, it appears, are excluded from the local competition for swimming. No doubt, as proved by the victory of the little Czar Street day industrial school last autumn over all other schools in Leeds, they are antagonists which it requires some courage to face." (3)

The other schools in Bristol must have relented though, because the Annual Report for 1903 reveals that the day industrial school was "proud of the Swimming Shield which it now holds." Ponton Road school boys in the same year "distinguished themselves in competition with other schools" not only in swimming, but in gymnastics and football as well. (4)

Even the little day industrial school at Oxford did its best by taking the children " . . . Bathing occasionally in Tumbling Bay during summer," (5)

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. 1899 XLIV 1; 42nd Annual Report

4. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 103; 46th Annual Report

5. Ibid. 1897 XLI 1; 40th Annual Report

while the boast at Bootle was that "most of the boys can swim." (1) As usual, the Liverpool day industrial schools were well to the fore with Bond Street winning the A. L. Jones Junior Swimming Challenge Cup for all elementary schools to add to the schools shield for cricket, the Melly Cup for gymnastics, the John Houlding Senior Challenge Cup for football and the Navy League Cup. With self-evident pride the superintendent made the following entry in the log book:

"Today we received the magnificent Navy League Cup, which is transferred to us from the last holder, the Bedford Road (Girls) Board School, Bootle. It is valued at 60 guineas and in its rosewood case, flanked by the other two cups the boys have won, together with the shield and 27 silver, gold-centre, and gold medals made quite an imposing show." (2)

Where there was failure in the secular curriculum, the Inspectors were quick to point it out. Most dissatisfaction was expressed about the standards in Nottingham's George Street school of which it was reported in 1899:

"There was such gross copying . . . that all confidence in the honesty of the work generally was shaken . . . The children were fairly intelligent but were troublesome to examine, owing to their inveterate habit of prompting one another." (3)

There can be few teachers who would fail to recognise the frustration expressed in the Inspector's final comment on the "bigger boys," whom he describes as "chiefly remarkable for a good humoured listlessness."

However, progress was made in most parts of the country where day industrial schools were established, indicating that the Home Office Inspectorate and the superintendents and staffs of the schools were not content

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1. Ibid. 1900 XLIII 1; 43rd Annual Report
 2. Log-Book of Bond Street S.B. Day Industrial School (19 December 1902)
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1899 XLIV 1
42nd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

to see their roles only in terms of "civilising" street arabs to the point at which they were considered fit to attend the ordinary elementary schools. Rather does it appear that, with regards to secular instruction, aspirations for the children in their charge increased with the passing of time; and perhaps the greatest compliment paid to the staffs of the schools was that, almost yearly, the expectations of the Inspectorate rose. Over the years of School Board control the breadth of the secular curriculum expanded and the standards achieved were expected to, and did, improve.

(iii) The Industrial Training in the School Board Day Industrial Schools

The industrial training appears to have been the least satisfactory aspect of the work of the School Board Day Industrial Schools, especially in the early years of their existence, although determined efforts were made to improve the situation after 1896 when J. G. Legge became Inspector of Reformatories and Industrial Schools in succession to Lt. Col. William Inglis. (1) The root of the problem lay in the lack of clarity of aim, and the existence of confusion as to whether the primary purpose of the industrial work was the raising of income or the teaching of skills.

During the debate on the relevant clauses of the 1876 Act in the House of Commons, fears had been expressed about the expense of establishing and running day industrial schools, so that anything which might lessen the cost would be beneficial. Income raised by the industrial occupations engaged in by the children would be more than welcome. Fears were also expressed that the children, if provided with food without effort on their part, might develop into shiftless adults dependent on the state. Giving them work to do in the schools would awaken in them sentiments of self-reliance, of "earning their crust."

These arguments were very much in line with the "self-help" philosophy prevalent at the time and were promoted over the next few years from a number of platforms. For example, the justifications for productive industrial labour in the schools were set out by Alfred Hill in an article in the Contemporary Review when he described the practice which prevailed in Sheriff Watson's Aberdeen school:

"The whole produce of the children's work went to defraying the expense of the establishment thus attaining several important objects; reducing the expense of the school and teaching the children practically the value of their industry

1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1896 XLV 383

39th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Day Industrial Schools

in procuring for them food and instruction." (1)

Enthusiasts for the idea were in favour of advancing it far beyond the industrial schools and into all areas of schooling. Samuel Smith M.P. in a later article, put forward the notion:

"That Eton, as well as Seven Dials, should have industrial education." (2)

An amusing example of just how far the "self-help" philosophy reached was provided by Huw Weldon in a B.B.C. programme, "The Royal Heritage" Broadcast on Monday, 25 August 1986, the programme explained how Queen Victoria's children were each given small plots of land in the royal gardens and were paid by the hour for cultivating them!

When it came to the School Board Day Industrial Schools, the wording of the rule concerning industrial work was itself indicative of the uncertainty of the balance between "training" and "occupation." It said, in the case of the Liverpool and Bootle School Boards:

"The industrial training shall consist -

For the Boys - Of such industrial occupations, including mat-making, simple joinery, wood chopping, sack-making, netting, paper bag-making, etc., as the Board or the managers may from time to time consider practicable and desirable.

For the Girls - Of plain sewing, cleaning, and other domestic work." (3)

There were slight variations in the wording of the rule by other School Boards, Oxford, for example, including "boot-making" (4) and Blackburn

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1. Hill, Alfred "Our Industrial Schools" in Contemporary Review, Volume XLI (January 1882) p. 108
 2. Smith, Samuel "The Industrial Training of Destitute Children" in Contemporary Review Volume XLVIII (1885) p. 122
 3. Liverpool School Board Manual 1899 p. 47 and Bootle School Board, Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Certified Day Industrial School, Bootle p. 4
 4. Oxford School Board Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Certified Day Industrial School p. 3

"clog-making" (1) in the list of occupations. However, the lack of clear distinction between "training" and "occupation" remained.

The low status afforded to the training in the early years is further indicated by the fact that it was not a teacher, but the male caretaker who was required "to superintend the industrial occupations of the boys." (2) Given also that early licensing would militate against prolonged and complicated training in any particular craft, it is not surprising to find that the emphasis was on simply taught occupations which might have some potential as revenue raisers.

For most of the boys this meant wood-chopping, perhaps with the leavening of some other activity, but often without. As a result the Annual Reports for 1882, for instance, include the following descriptions of industrial training - at Bristol , "wood chopping and a little shoemaking;" at Gateshead, "mat making and wood chopping;" at Great Yarmouth, "mat making and wood chopping." (3)

Already however, the emphasis on making money was causing concern among the Inspectorate and in his Annual Report for 1882, H.M.I. Inglis warned:

"The value of the industrial training given in a school must not be gauged by the amount of profits made by the school. It is frequently quite the reverse. Large profits are often made by work which affords little industrial training. I may instance wood chopping . . ." (4)

Even so, in 1883 we learn that at Gateshead, "The boys do mat and bag-making and chop sticks for firewood;" at Bristol, "The boys occupy a portion

1. Blackburn School Board Ibid. p. 4

2. Ibid. p. 2

3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1883 XXXIV 1

26th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

4. Ibid. 1882 XXXV 1 25th Annual Report

of their time in wood chopping and a little shoemaking;" at Oxford there was "wood chopping;" at Great Yarmouth, "wood chopping and net making;" at Wolverhampton, "net making and wood chopping;" at Leeds, "wood chopping." (1)

For the girls at this time, industrial training usually meant "keeping the house in order." (2) This involved the girls in floor scrubbing (often assisted by boys), polishing, laundering, or they would "assist in cookery." (3) Where they performed this latter task, to judge from the dietaries available, bread slicing must have been the female equivalent of the ubiquitous wood chopping.

There were some attempts to widen the industrial occupations at this time but they seem to have been prompted by a search for a simple way to produce some cheap saleable commodity rather than from a systematic attempt to improve skill levels. At the Bond Street School, Liverpool, for example, an experiment was tried briefly in picture-frame making, but it was soon abandoned. The superintendent, Miss Ryan, recorded:

"I have tried four of the smaller boys at making fancy frames and with success; the materials for this kind of work cost very little and I believe it would be suitable employment for the little boys. They can be taught to make dinner-mats, boxes, baskets etc., when they can master picture framing." (4)

But just over a week later she writes:

"The work done by the younger boys is now at a standstill as I cannot find any tradesman who can supply either the laths or the wood to make them." (5)

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1. Ibid. 1884 XLIV 1 27th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. Report on Silver Street S.B. Day Industrial School, Bristol.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Bond Street School Log Book (9 August 1879)
 5. Ibid. (27 August 1879)

In any case, efforts to vary the industrial work must have been undermined by the knowledge that, however inadequate it was as a means of industrial training, wood chopping was one of the surest ways of raising income. In 1883 the small school at Oxford made a profit of £5.13s.10d; that at Great Yarmouth, £24.1s.9d; Leeds, Edgar Street made £29.6s.10d; and Wolverhampton £47.9s.8d, nearly all from the sale of firewood. (1)

Nevertheless, it was clear that the Inspectorate was still not happy about the menial character of much of the industrial work and comments like ". . . more varied employment should be introduced" (2) began to appear frequently in their reports and after 1883 there is some evidence of greater variety. Gateshead had begun to manufacture sacks for use in the coal trade, Bond Street to make mattresses for sale to the shipping lines taking emigrants from Liverpool to the United States, but the skill levels involved remained low and became an increasing cause for concern. (3)

The turning point came with the publication of the Report of the Reformatories and Industrial Schools Commissioners in 1884. These Commissioners had been given the task of surveying and reporting on Home Office provision in the area of industrial and truant schools, and their conclusions applied not merely to the day schools, but to the industrial schools as a whole. Of the industrial training being given they concluded:

"That labour should result in a return which will reduce expenses is a legitimate, though it should only be a secondary objective. If it becomes a primary motive the true industrial interests of the children are disregarded; the hours of work are likely to be unduly prolonged; the other functions of the institution . . . are likely to suffer; the children feel

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1884 XLIV 1
27th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. Ibid. Report on Silver Street S.B. Day Industrial School, Bristol
 3. Ibid. 1884 XLIV 1 27th Annual Report

that they are being turned into mere instruments of gain." (1)

From this time onwards the Inspectorate became increasingly critical of repetitive and mechanical industrial occupations and began to insist on a change to more skill training. The process of change was, however, a slow one, and far from complete even in 1903 when the School Boards relinquished control.

One reason for the slowness of the transition was the need for improved workshops and equipment, although the day industrial schools provided after 1890 tended to have such provision built in. But another reason was the profit that could be gained if a school managed to procure a secure outlet for its produce.

By far the most successful school in achieving this was that at Windmill Hill, Gateshead. In 1881 it was reported of the industrial training there, that: "The boys had begun to manufacture mats and were doing some wood chopping" and in 1883 that they: "do some mat and bag making and chop sticks for firewood." Their profits were "Nil." By 1884 they had developed "wood chopping and jute sack making - in these departments a large amount of work is done." The industrial profits that year soared to £102.0s.2d. As the cost per head of maintaining each of the schools' 105 pupils in that year was £11.12s.3d, it is clear that the profits from the industrial occupation made a significant contribution to the finances of the school. (2)

On 26 May 1885, H.M.I. reported of the Gateshead school:

"The boys do a good deal of sack making and wood chopping and turn out a large quantity of work." (3)

The industrial profits in that year were £126.1s.0d, a significant proportion of the £829.4s.8d. spent on running the school, but even better results lay ahead.

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1884 XLV 1
Report of the Reformatories and Industrial Schools Commissioners
p. 15 Section 14
 2. Ibid. Annual Reports on Windmill Hill School for 1881 (1882 XXXV 1)
1883 (1884 XLIV 1), 1884 (1885 XXXIX 327)
 3. Ibid. 1886 XXXVI 1 29th Annual Report

On 24 May 1886 the Annual Report on the Gateshead school stated:

"The boys do a large quantity of sack making, and address themselves to the work very earnestly. A good deal of wood chopping is performed also." (1)

In that year the industrial profits reached £204.3s.8d. The total cost of the school was £718.15s.3d for the year with per capita costs of £10.2s.6d. The industrial occupation was paying, roughly, for about 20 childrens' keep.

In 1890 the industrial profits at the school soared to £470.14s.2d, though a note attached to the figures states that it included "sale of stock," so that this very high figure was exceptional. H.M.I. commented that year:

"The Industrial Training has been much extended and improved. Mat making was being carried on more vigorously and some sack making had answered very well. I saw some excellent coal sacks being manufactured, for which there was a good demand." (2)

In 1891 the industrial profits at Windmill Hill topped £200 again, reaching in fact £207.13s.11d, over a quarter of the total sum of £804.9s.7d required to manage the school, (3) but in the next year the profits fell to £67.12s.2d and the first critical comments were made about the industrial training:

"Some technical work should be introduced." (4)

In 1893 the criticisms were amplified to some extent and the first warnings appeared that the period of high industrial profits was approaching its close:

"The boys do a great deal of wood chopping and some sack making, but the school has to a great extent lost its trade in sack making, as sacks are mostly made now by machinery.

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1. Ibid. 1887 XLII 1 30th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1891 XLIV 1 34th Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1892 XLIII 1 35th Annual Report
 4. Ibid. 1893-4 XLVIII 1 36th Annual Report

Technical instruction in drawing and its application to wood-work should be introduced." (1)

The profits were still substantial in that year at £114.11s.11d but thereafter a decline set in and the loss of the lucrative sack trade was a factor in bringing about the closure of the Gateshead school in 1895. In its peak year, 1888, it had produced 50,000 sacks. (2)

The other North-Eastern schools strove to emulate their neighbour but without ever achieving anything like the profit levels reached at Windmill Hill.

The first trade practised in the day industrial school at Newcastle-upon-Tyne was the manufacture of containers for paint and oil:

"A special occupation had been introduced, the manufacture of iron kegs for paints and oils from the plate. Several of the boys were becoming familiar with the process." (3)

In a short article on the subject, D. H. Thomas points out that the markets for these kegs were uncertain. As a result the school subsequently introduced a hand driven circular saw and later one driven by a gas engine. (4) These were used mainly for chopping firewood which was delivered by handcart, the chief customers being other Board schools. Eventually small profits were achieved but there was a loss of £136.8s.2d in 1889 following the installation of the first saw, and H.M.I. disapproved both of the implement and the mode of transport:

" . . . I did not like the circular saw; it was to some extent unsafe and the labour of turning it was rather too hard for the boys." (5)

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1. Ibid. 1894 XLVI Part 1 1 37th Annual Report
 2. Thomas, D. H. op. cit. (1985) p. 32
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1887 XLII 1
30th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 4. Thomas, D. H. op. cit. (1985) p. 32
 5. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1890 XXXVIII 1
33rd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

And later:

"The wood is delivered by boys with handcarts which must be a severe strain in the winter." (1)

The Sunderland school also boasted a circular saw with the aid of which it produced a profit of £136.10s.1d in 1891, (2) but the school which received most praise for its industrial training was the boys-only school at Great Yarmouth. The net making and wood chopping which characterised its early years gave way in 1889 to the manufacture of ships' fenders, although the production of firewood was continued along with it. Between them they produced profits rising to £57.2s.2d in 1889 and £44.0s.6d in 1892, significant contributions to the finances of a school at which the annual cost per head was £14.3s.2d, and which housed only 27 boys. (3)

The Annual Report issued to the school at Great Yarmouth, following three visits in 1896, commented:

"An interesting feature of the industrial training is its application to the circumstances of the locality. The boys make cork fenders, rough mats and do a little rope splicing and knotting. Nine boys receive instruction in cookery to fit them for service in smacks." (4)

His visits to the school prompted H.M.I. Legge to say of it in his Annual Report for 1898 that it had stood "perhaps highest of all Day Industrial Schools for the industrial training given to the children." (5)

By the time Mr. Legge had written these words the situation with regards to industrial training in most of the day industrial schools had undergone a great change. Ever since the Commissioners' Report of 1884 there had been pressure from the Home Office to move towards training in place of manual work and the process, though necessarily slow, was

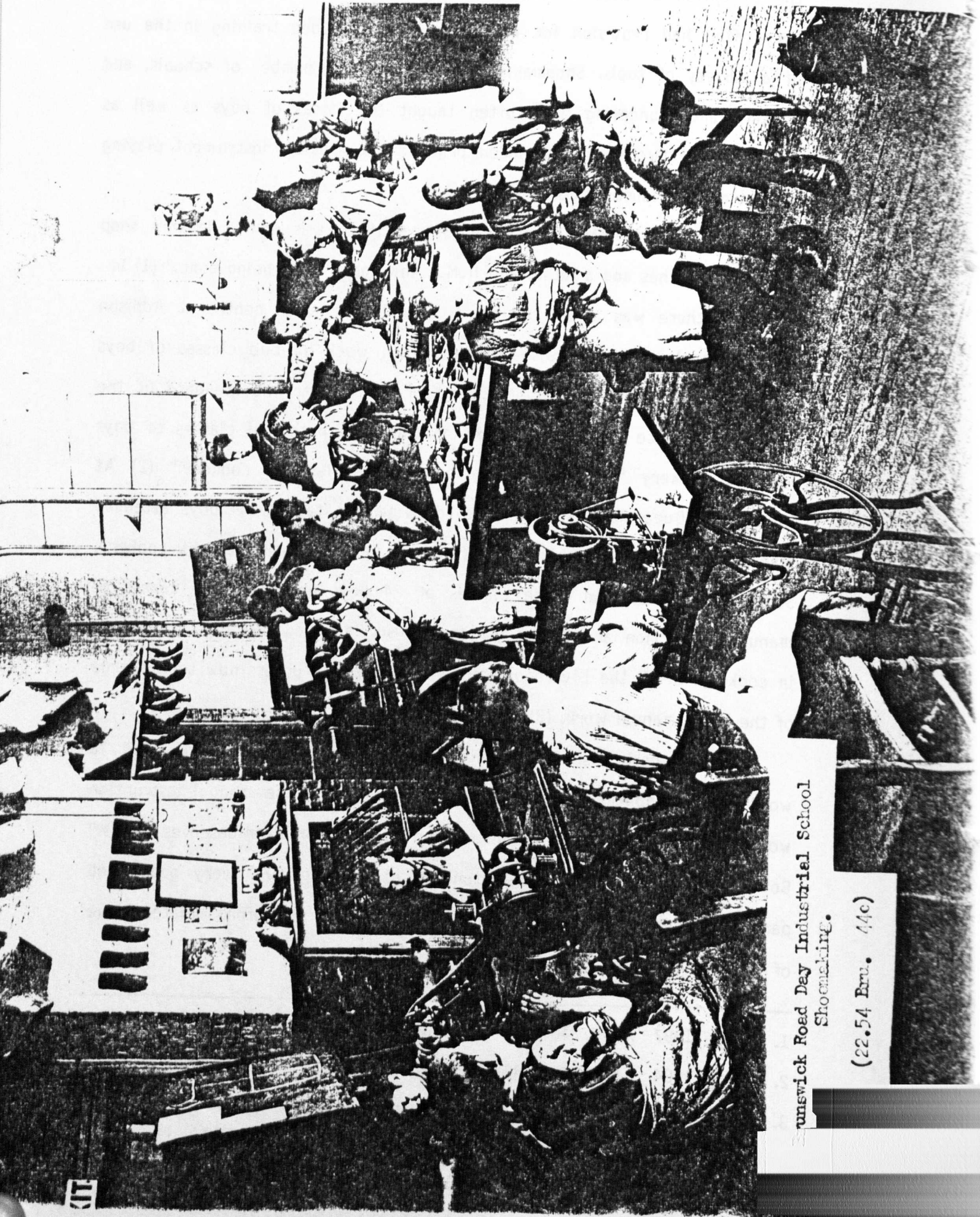
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1. Ibid. 1897 XLI 1 40th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1892 XLIII 1 35th Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1890 XXXVIII 1; and 1892 XLIII 1 33rd and 35th Annual Reports
 4. Ibid. 1897 XLI 1 40th Annual Report
 5. Ibid. 1898 XLVIII 1 41st Annual Report

was now well under way. By the end of the School Board era drawing, free-arm and mechanical, had been introduced into all the schools with the exception of that in Nottingham, and in manual instruction the boys very often had provision for woodwork which included training in the use of a variety of tools. Shoemaking was taught in a number of schools, and cookery and laundering were often taught to classes of boys as well as girls. One or two schools included printing and musical instrument playing as part of the industrial curriculum.

At the day industrial school in Bristol there was now a joiner's shop with four benches and a lathe, and H.M.I. saw "good work being done." (1) In Liverpool there was a well equipped manual instruction centre at Addison Street school which was also attended each week by two classes of boys from Bond Street. Both schools taught drawing up to the standard of the *Science and Arts* Departments' examination, and both had classes of boys learning cookery "which may develop into regular sea cookery." (2) At Liverpool's Queensland Street school drawing was taught, 44 boys attended manual instruction classes, and both boys and girls were taught cookery. South Corporation had three classes of 24 boys undertaking a course of manual instruction and "about a dozen" also had the advantage of lessons in cookery. In all the Liverpool schools qualified instructors now took charge of the boys' manual work. (3)

The Manchester school, in its Annual Report for 1903 received "a word of commendation" for the standards achieved in the manual instruction workshop, and "the intelligent instruction by the bootmaker deserves praise." Both here and in Salford the standard of drawing was "very good" and particular mention was made of the way in which Salford related some of its drawing to the work in the bootmaker's shop. (4)

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1. Ibid. 1897 XLI 1 40th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 317 47th Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 317 47th Annual Report
 4. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 317 47th Annual Report



Sunswick Road Day Industrial School
Shoemaking.

(22.54 Err. 44c)

The Bootle Day Industrial School, whose educational standards had already come in for special praise, now had drawing at a "distinctly advanced" level, and operated a manual instruction course, a shoe repairing class for nine children and a boys' cookery class. All the remaining schools received some degree of commendation for their attempts to improve the industrial training element, and Oxford was unique in offering occupation in the garden and "painting, plumbing and so forth" under the direction of the superintendent. (1)

Pride of place though, went to the London schools. As can be seen from the illustrations Brunswick Road and Ponton Road had excellent workshop facilities with a variety of woodworking equipment, and the Drury Lane school boasted a printing department and a shoemaker's shop in which the instruction was described as "really good." At Brunswick Road, where instruction in the shoemaker's shop was also "very good," the Inspector was informed that "all who have left have gone into this trade." In this school also "a drum and fife band thirty-five strong" had been formed. A friend of the school had supplied uniforms for them in which the bandsmen looked "very good," and they had fulfilled two engagements. (2)

Ponton Road school also had a band and looked forward to great improvement in performance and to the possibilities of employment which musicianship would create, especially in the army. This school also taught drawing, manual instruction and shoemaking. (3)

Not all the day industrial school boys who went into the army, however, went as musicians. During the Boer War H.M.I. Legge wrote to all the superintendents of the School Board Day Industrial Schools to ascertain the number of old boys engaged in the fighting in South Africa. With some pride he reported:

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1. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 317 47th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 317 47th Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 317 47th Annual Report



Ponton Road Day Industrial School
Manual Training.

(22.113 Pon. 66/7759)

"The superintendents . . . were able to trace as many as 233 of their old boys at the front. The most prominent places are held by the Bond Street, Liverpool, and Salford schools, which could account for 40 and 34 boys respectively." (1)

For the girls the industrial training, in the early years of the schools' existence, was mainly involved with domestic work about the school, with some additional instruction in knitting and sewing. Typical of the descriptions of the industrial occupations provided for them are the following:

"The girls assist in the cooking, keep premises clean, receive instruction in plain needlework and wash the childrens clothes as far as possible."

(Annual Report on Silver Street, Bristol 12 August 1881)

"Girls assist in cooking and house cleaning and in the laundry. They receive instructions in knitting and plain sewing."

(Annual Report on Windmill Hill, Gateshead 9 June 1882)

"The girls are taught cooking, plain sewing, knitting and machine work. They keep the premises clean."

(Annual Report on Bond Street, Liverpool 19 May 1882)

This domestic work would usually be supervised by the matron or cook who, as has been shown, was very often the wife of the caretaker. (Ch. 3, p. 155) The more formal teaching of sewing and knitting was, especially after 1884, undertaken by the assistant mistress.

Limited as it may appear, it was considered by the Home Office Inspectorate that the industrial training of the girls was, at this time, superior to that of the boys and it was hoped that the skills they were absorbing at school would have beneficial effects in the home. In 1886 H.M.I. Inglis wrote:

"It is not found practical to teach the boys much in the way of Industrial Training, but the girls learn to sew and

1. Ibid. 1900 XLIII 1 43rd Annual Report

knit and many of them show great proficiency, and I have no doubt carry back into their own homes some of the lessons of tidiness and order learnt in the schools." (1)

Over the next few years though, while the girls industrial training remained confined to the domestic sphere, the emphasis changed from helping with the cooking to formal cookery lessons, from helping with the washing to formal lessons in laundering, and from knitting and sewing lessons to the cutting out and making up of garments. They still had much of the domestic work about the school to do however, and even as late as 1903 the Annual Report on Ponton Road School reported of the girls - ". . . they have much useful experience in the scullery." (2)

But there had been improvements, and in 1900 Liverpool led the way further by appointing specialists to organise and teach the girls:

"In Liverpool a noteworthy departure during the year 1900 was the appointment to each school of an Industrial Matron whose business it is to give the girls as thorough a domestic training as possible." (3)

Most of the other day industrial schools, if they did not exactly follow suit, did formalise the teaching of the domestic subjects, and the language used in the Annual Reports reflects the change. No longer were there references to the girls "keeping the premises clean." Instead, at Bristol, the girls were given "lessons in cookery and laundry work by the Board's special teacher;" at Salford, "Cookery lessons are given and recipe books neatly kept;" and at Leeds Edgar Street school, ". . . the girls do sewing, pattern cutting. Cookery is taught to twelve girls who keep note books." (4)

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1. Ibid. 1886 XXXVI 1 29th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 317 47th Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1902 XLVIII 465 Part 2 45th Annual Report
 4. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 317 47th Annual Report

It is interesting to read at this point the evidence of one who was very closely concerned with the industrial training of both boys and girls, and to see how he saw the differences between them. Mr. Thomas Humphreys was the governor of Drury Lane School Board Day Industrial School, and each year he presented to the managers of the school a report on his work. In his report for 1902 he refers to the matter in these words:

"The difficulty of transforming the slatternly girl of the slum into the neat, tidy and capable domestic servant is far greater than that of turning a wayward lad into a steady workman. The teaching of darning and mending, patching of clothes and re-making of garments has been tried, and the girls enjoy the change from book-learning. How to make a bed, how to lay a fire, how to clean a lamp, how to dust, how to keep a room airy, how to wash linen, how to buy food and how to cook it, how to treat the baby, and how to feed it and keep it clean - these are some of the "hows" we try to teach all our girls, and on more than one occasion I have myself been delighted to observe the "motherliness" of some of the elder girls, and the ability with which they have been able to prepare and serve up the dishes cooked in their own homes for their parents, brothers and sisters." (1)

There may seem to be hints in this passage of a hidden social agenda operating within the curriculum, the implications of which will be the subject of consideration in a later chapter, but it is included at this point in order to reveal very clearly the nature of the task imposed on the school as seen through the eyes of the person in authority.

When James G. Legge was appointed H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools in March 1896, among the reforms which he was determined

1. Humphreys, T. quoted in Philpott, H. B. op. cit. (1904) p. 233

to introduce into the day industrial schools were a concern for the placing of pupils in work and the keeping of a record of what happened to them after they left school. The response was inevitably a mixed one but from some of the schools it was immediate and enthusiastic. Of Bond Street School, H.M.I. reported in 1903:

"Efforts are made to find situations for children, and much pains are taken to keep in touch afterwards. A record is kept as far as possible . . . A specially fine feature is the 'old boys' club." (1)

Addison Street School was also making efforts to place children in work when the time came for them to leave school and they were aided in this by an Order of Roman Catholic nuns who were particularly anxious that Roman Catholic girls, if going into service, should be placed in good homes:

"The Sisters of Charity have been very helpful in continuing the training of the girls and finding them situations." (2)

Girls from the Edinburgh school too were frequently found to be going into service on leaving, and in order to help them to find employment they were taught "to wait at table" as well as to knit, cook and sew. (3)

In the matter of finding situations however, it seems that the London schools, and Drury Lane in particular, were most effective. In his Annual Report for 1902 H.M.I. Legge had this to say:

"As regards industrial training and its corollary, viz. effective disposal, Drury Lane school in London is still pre-eminent, though it will soon be run hard by its younger brother the new school at Brunswick Road, Poplar." (4)

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1904 XXXVI 317
47th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 317 47th Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 317 47th Annual Report
 4. Ibid. 1902 XLVIII 465 Part 2 45th Annual Report

At Drury Lane the industrial occupations engaged in by the boys were woodworking, shoemaking and printing. In his chapter on the day industrial schools in London at School, H. B. Philpott makes the point that the Drury Lane school was in the midst of the printing quarter in London and that the local firms were pleased to take on boys who had some knowledge of the trade. He asserts that there were more applications made for boys from the school than there were boys available and that of 105 children discharged in the school year 1902-3, "good and prospective employment was found for 87." (1)

However, the idea of using the industrial occupation as a means of raising income had not completely died out before the end of the School Board era. The day industrial school in Sunderland still maintained wood chopping as "the staple occupation of the boys;" Queensland Street School, Liverpool took in "a little private work" to its laundry; Manchester did likewise; and Wolverhampton still sold firewood. (2) Nevertheless, the emphasis had swung away from productive work to training and the prospects of raising income had diminished as the following table reveals. It shows the cost of running each of the eighteen School Board Day Industrial Schools in the year 1901 and the profit or loss made by each as a result of the industrial training.

1. Philpott, H.B. op. cit. (1904) p. 233

2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1904 XXXVI 317

47th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

TABLE 9

ANNUAL COSTS, AND PROFITS AND LOSSES ARISING FROM INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS IN THE SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS, FOR THE YEAR 1901

| Name of School | Industrial Profit or Loss | Annual Cost |
|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| <u>Blackburn</u> | | |
| Mayson Street | Profit £ 1.16. 2d | £ 743. 9.11d |
| <u>Bootle</u> | | |
| Marsh Lane | - | £2,217. 8. 7d |
| <u>Bristol</u> | | |
| Silver Street | Loss £ 1. 4. 1d | £1,853. 9. 9d |
| <u>Leeds</u> | | |
| Edgar Street | - | £1,007.10. 5d |
| Czar Street | - | £ 920.18. 1d |
| <u>Liverpool</u> | | |
| South Corporation | Profit £ 2. 6. 8d | £2,390. 5. 7d |
| Bond Street | Profit £ 1. 1. 6d | £2,903.11. 3d |
| Queensland Street | Profit 17.10d | £2,244. 3. 5d |
| Addison Street | - | £2,180.14.10d |
| <u>London</u> | | |
| Drury Lane | Profit £142.17. 0d. | £2,336. 1. 3d |
| Brunswick Road | - | £1,229.12.10d |
| <u>Manchester</u> | | |
| Mill Street | Profit £ 36.19. 6d | £2,291. 0. 9d |
| <u>Nottingham</u> | | |
| George Street | Profit £ 6.13. 1d | £ 620.17. 6d |
| <u>Oxford</u> | | |
| St. Aldate's | - | £ 483. 2. 5d |
| <u>Salford</u> | | |
| Albion Street | Profit £ 2.15. 0d | £1,854.16. 0d |
| <u>Sunderland</u> | | |
| The Green | Loss £ 52. 9. 1d | £ 849. 3.11d |
| <u>Wolverhampton</u> | | |
| Salop Street | Profit £ 44. 3. 6d | £ 704.16. 8d |
| <u>Edinburgh</u> | | |
| St. John's Hill | - | £1,215. 3. 2d |

(1)

As can be seen from the table, only London's Drury Lane school with its printing and shoemaking made a substantial profit. Sunderland and Wolverhampton, still producing firewood, and Manchester, with its laundry, each earned between £35 and £55. Plainly though, when the total expenses of each school is taken into account, the profit or loss on the industrial occupation would no longer be a vital factor in determining the continuation or the closure of any school as it had been in the case of Gateshead's Windmill Hill.

However, even with the increased emphasis on industrial training the day industrial schools never produced work of the standard reached in the residential schools. In 1901 an exhibition of work produced in the Home Office schools of the area was held in Liverpool. The "Akbar," a line of battle ship used as a reformatory for Protestant boys and anchored in the Mersey, listed sail-making, carpentry and rope and canvas work as its industrial contribution. The Liverpool Farm School at Newton-le-Willows displayed tables, fretwork, suits of clothes and listed joinery, tailoring, shoe repairing, baking, printing and metalwork as its industrial occupations. (1)

By contrast Bond Street day industrial school included a paragraph which read:

"Formerly the making of mats, bags, boxes, etc., constituted the greater part of the Industrial Work, but of late years an increase in the amount of Scholastic Work has reduced the Industrial portion to the ordinary cleaning of the school premises with training and Manual Instruction in Woodwork for the boys and Cookery, Needlework and rough laundry work for the girls." (2)

Bond Street's exhibits included specimens of handwriting, arithmetic, drawing, maps, paper flowers, needlework, cookery and woodwork.

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1. Official Guide Book of the Home Office Schools Exhibition, Liverpool(1901)
 2. Ibid.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the curriculum in the School Board Day Industrial Schools was not static, but that it developed over the period in response to the directions of Her Majesty's Inspectors. This was especially true of those schools, like those in Liverpool and London, which had the enthusiastic support of the School Boards.

The problems surrounding the religious question, and the instruction of Protestant and Roman Catholic children in the tenets of their particular faiths, were resolved, if not to universal satisfaction, then at least to the point where Protestant and Roman Catholic children and teachers could work together under one roof.

The teaching of the secular curriculum was hampered by the low level of attainment of the pupils at intake, and also by the licensing system. However, some progress was made in most of the schools and in the best of them, like those in London, Bootle, Liverpool and Wolverhampton, the curriculum was expanded and a degree of success achieved. By the end of the School Board period many of the day industrial schools had pupils leaving from the sixth standard, and many also had developed physical training to a high degree.

In the industrial section of the curriculum the emphasis was removed from "occupation" and the production of simple commodities for sale, and transferred to "training" and the development of skills. The standards achieved in craft training never matched those reached by the most proficient boys in the best of the residential schools, mainly because of the much shorter time spent at school, but nevertheless, in many of the day industrial schools, good work was done and increasingly efforts were made to place the children in employment and to monitor their progress on leaving.

Such, then, was the open or overt curriculum. However, beneath such curricula, it has been argued, there might lie a hidden curriculum the purpose of which was " . . . not to elevate the child, but to prepare him by the acquisition of industrious habits for a life of unremitting honesty and stren-

uous labour in his own social station." (1) As far as the day industrial school pupil is concerned the second half of the statement might well be true. The curriculum was certainly designed to inculcate habits of industry, to encourage the child to be honest and to work hard. It is open to argument, however, whether the first part of the statement is really applicable. It seems much more likely, from the evidence of the Annual Reports and of the log books, that the Home Office Inspectors and the superintendents of the schools saw the whole purpose of the curriculum as being precisely the opposite; that is to try to elevate the child, to raise him out of what was seen as shiftless, abject squalor to a more purposeful and comfortable existence.

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1. May, M. "Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" Victorian Studies, (September 1973) Vol. XVII, No. 1 p. 29

CHAPTER 5

HYGIENE, HEALTH AND HOLIDAYS

A theme of common concern among social scientists and other observers of the social scene in the second half of the nineteenth century was that of a potential mental and moral deterioration of society resulting from the concentration of the poor in the large towns. Evidence was collected and presented, not only by commentators of the calibre and reputation of Engels, Mayhew and Booth, but also by numerous lesser known authorities like Doctors Duncan and Trench of Liverpool, and John Edward Morgan of the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association, who, in 1865, examined the problem in great detail in a paper graphically entitled The Danger of Deterioration of Race from the too rapid increase of Great Cities.

However, if there was widespread recognition of the problem, there was the same division of opinion as to cause and cure that surrounded all attempts at social amelioration during the period, whether they applied to crime, poverty or disease. On the one hand were those "Horrorified investigators" who perceived the condition and behaviour of the children of the urban poor "in terms of an animal-like existence. 'English Kaffirs,' 'Street Arabs,' 'ownerless dogs,' were the epithets applied, and strong contrasts were drawn with an idealised obedient middle-class child." (1) For such people the causes of under-nourishment and disease resided to a large extent among the poor themselves, and the answer to the problem was reform, a change in behaviour on the part of the poor and an adoption by them of the self-reliant attitudes of the middle-class. State intervention would only exacerbate the already serious situation:

"In 1877 a special committee of the Charity Organisation Society explained that society must never lighten the load or "remove the spur to exertion and self-restraint" needed

1. May, M. op. cit. (1973) p. 19

by all respectable workers . . . state intervention would lessen the need for "intemperate and improvident" parents to reform." (1)

On the other hand were those who believed, like J. Kent of the Social Democratic Federation, that "If justice were done, charity would be unnecessary," and who advocated, with the Fabians and the S.D.F., that the state should provide one free meal per day for every child, not as a charity but as a human right. (2)

The need for improving the nutrition of the poor one way or the other was self-evident, not only for the benefit of the poor, but of the nation itself. It is well known that the failure of many would-be recruits to pass their military physical examinations during the Boer War brought the state of health of the nation into sharp focus. But as W. J. Reese observed:

" . . . the socialist trade unions and various settlement workers who proposed increased state entry into nutritional projects would never have secured legislative attention to their cause unless the ruling classes above them simultaneously perceived that an inferior racial stock meant the destruction of the empire and their current political and social dominance." (3)

Dr. T. J. Macnamara, a Liberal Imperialist, stated the position starkly at the turn of the century when he argued that the nation must learn to fear "not Krupp guns and Continental jealousy" but the "wastrel, the ne'er do well, the social wreck, and the criminal" element that undermined the empire and the national health," (4) adding later, " . . . Empire can not be built on rickety and flat-chested citizens." (5)

It is clear from the evidence available that the School Board Day Industrial Schools had more than their fair share of the "rickety and flat-chested."

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1. Reese, W. V. "After Bread, Education: Nutrition and Urban School Children, 1890-1920." Teachers' College Record Vol. 14. (Summer 1980) p.503
 2. Ibid. p. 499
 3. Ibid. p. 512
 4. Ibid. p. 512
 5. Ibid. p. 513

Their response, at superintendent and staff level at any rate, appears to have been pragmatic rather than ideological, concentrating on the need to improve the physical condition of each individual child.

Reference has already been made to the comment in Spalding's The Work of the London School Board that "Many of the children on admission are a rickety lot, of whom any savage nation would be ashamed," (1) and he goes on to record, "Only a minority, in fact, were really healthy and perfectly formed children." What was true of London was true of most of the other areas in which School Boards established this type of school. The Bristol children were described as "the poorest of the poor" (2); those in Sunderland as "very neglected . . . too ragged, filthy and miserable to be admitted to ordinary schools," (3) and the same picture emerged elsewhere. Of the twenty-four children admitted to the Oxford day industrial school in 1879, the superintendent reported:

" . . . only one could be said to be fairly clean either in clothes or person. The remainder was what might be termed filthy, their clothes and bodies being overrun with vermin, in some cases evidently, judging by the state of their skin, of very long standing." (4)

In such cases the first priority was cleansing and it was the superintendent who made the initial inspection of the children and who decided on the immediate course of action. In this particular instance he found ". . . dirt on the extremities of some . . . encrusted, resembling gas tar, and sores on their feet and ankles in consequence." (5) The children were thoroughly scrubbed, their hair cut, and their clothing washed.

1. Spalding, T. H. The Work of the London School Board (1904) p. 146

2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1884 XLIV 1

27th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

3. Ibid. 1885 XXXIX 327 28th Annual Report

4. S.B.C. (12 April 1879) p. 374

5. Ibid. p. 374

When the Gateshead school opened in 1880 it was reported that:

" . . . the appearance of the children on their first admission is simply deplorable, in many cases the children are covered with vermin, and are by no means fit for association with children attending the ordinary day schools." (1)

Again it was the responsibility of the superintendent to mete out appropriate treatment and again the children would be bathed, their clothing cleansed, their hair cropped. In extreme cases the children's heads would be shaved, ointment would be rubbed into the scalp and their clothing burnt. (2) The latter precaution however would be a very extreme one indeed, as the schools received no grant for clothing and could only replace items which had been destroyed by appealing for gifts from the public. Such gifts never remotely met the need however, and throughout the School Board period the day industrial school children were frequently described as being dressed in rags, and many attended school barefoot.

Initial cleansing would not suffice to keep the children free of vermin though, and so the bathing facilities available in all of the day industrial schools were in constant use. The Sunderland school appears to have been the worst provided in this respect and H.M.I. drew an adverse comparison between this and the other schools, reporting that: "The children seem to get a bath but once in three weeks through the winter." (3) Even so, a bath once in three weeks would represent an improvement on what many townschildren outside the day industrial schools were getting, and a considerable advance over those who, in some northern industrial towns, were being "sewn up" in brown paper and goose-grease for the winter! Much more typical than Sunderland's of the standards maintained in the best of the day industrial schools was the regime in Bootle:

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1. Gateshead School Board, Report of Proceedings (1879 - 1882) p. 17
 2. Bond Street Day Industrial School Log Book (5 September 1879)
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1898 XLVIII 1
41st Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

"They (the children) receive particular attention in the matter of cleanliness: each morning every child is required to wash, stripped to the waist, and twice a week to use the plunge bath, and there is also special cleansing of those in a filthy condition." (1)

To achieve long-term improvement it was necessary not only to maintain standards of cleanliness but to exercise continuous surveillance of the state of health of the pupils. Throughout the period this remained the responsibility, first and foremost, of the superintendent, although increasingly, as time went by, the schools could come to expect the assistance of a qualified medical practitioner. By 1897 the School Boards of Bristol, Oxford, Liverpool, Manchester, Salford, Wolverhampton, Newcastle, Bootle and London all employed the services of a doctor to oversee the health of the children in their day industrial schools. (2)

The most advanced Board in this respect was that in Salford, where, in July 1896, a doctor had been appointed with the following duties:

- " 1. To visit the school at least once a week.
2. To make a quarterly inspection of all the children.
3. To visit in their own homes children in whose case it is desirable to verify statement of sickness.
4. To report to the Committee on sanitary matters." (3)

H.M.I. Legge commented approvingly of these arrangements that they were a step in the right direction, adding that a useful addition to them would be a requirement on the part of the teachers to report to the superintendent any cases of children with defective eyesight or hearing, so that they could receive special attention.

The Manchester School Board Day Industrial School was also well provided for. Since September 1896 it had enjoyed the services of two doctors, a male for the boys, and a lady doctor for the girls. The boys were examined

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1. Bootle School Board, Triennial Report(1895-97)
 2. Brit. Sessional Papers, House of Commons 1898 XLVIII 1 41st Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1898 XLVIII 1 41st Annual Report

monthly and the girls "more frequently." Mr. Legge's report on the school in 1897 made the point that the examinations, in their first full year of operation, had proved successful in detecting a number of cases of lateral curvature of the spine among the girls. They had ensured too that the condition of teeth and glands were kept under constant survey and that proper attention had been paid to vaccination procedures. He urged that the custom adopted in the Salford and Manchester schools should be followed elsewhere.

In Bristol, by 1897, the day industrial school was being visited weekly by a doctor, and in the Liverpool schools a medical officer visited once a month to examine cases drawn to his attention by the superintendent, and, more especially, to see that the children had been "properly vaccinated." (1) In Newcastle the doctor examined all new admissions to the school and also visited the school fortnightly.

Elsewhere the doctor appointed to the school seems to have attended only when called to do so by the superintendent. This was certainly the case at the Drury Lane school, where Dr. Parker of King's College Hospital was the medical officer, while other schools, like that at Great Yarmouth, sent sick children to the local hospital for treatment.

The early Annual Reports linked together "Health" and "General Condition" in their accounts of the conduct of the day industrial schools so that references to specific illnesses are very rare, and the condition of the children is referred to only in a very general way. Thus, of the Gateshead children in 1883 it is said "All seemed in fair health and improving;" of those at Gloucester, ". . . the children looked well and cheerful;" and at Great Yarmouth, "I was well satisfied with their appearance." (2)

After 1895, however, the reports on the health of the children became much more detailed and it is possible to discover what ailments and afflictions most affected them.

1. Ibid. 1898 XLVIII 1 41st Annual Report

2. Ibid. 1884 XLIV 1 27th Annual Report

In the Annual Reports for 1898, for example, it is recorded that the Bristol day industrial school suffered 36 cases of ringworm, 6 of eczema, 4 of sore eyes, 3 of tonsillitis, 6 of strumous glands, a few of sore throats, and 1 or 2 slight accidents. Measles affected the Sunderland school and caused the closure of the Newcastle school for a month over Christmas.

Ophthalmia, bronchitis and chilblains were other ailments that visited a number of the schools, but the surprising thing about the reports are the absence of widespread epidemics, and the frequency with which it is reported that the "general health appears good." (1)

When epidemic did threaten, the medical officer was immediately informed and remedial action taken by the superintendent:

"John and Edward Traynor reported today as having taken the small pox. The children live in Everton, where, I am told, the disease is prevalent. Mrs. Traynor informed the caretaker that the children were going into hospital to-day.

Wrote to-day to Dr. Bligh asking him to suggest some precautions to keep the school healthy. In the meantime, I have had each room sprinkled with carbolic acid, chloride of lime put into the sinks, and each child has rubbed his or her hands with camphor after the washing." (2)

The Liverpool schools liaised closely with the city's Medical Officer of Health. Whenever the M.O.H. became aware that infectious disease had broken out in the home of a day industrial school pupil, the superintendent was immediately informed so that the pupil concerned could be excluded. When such advice was received it was recorded in the log book:

" 17th October, 1882. Received notification from the Medical Officer that Michael and Philip Burns and Mary Bergin come from homes where there is fever." (3)

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1. Ibid. 1898 XLVIII 1 41st Annual Report
 2. Bond Street Day Industrial School Log Book (20 June 1881)
 3. Ibid. (17 October 1882)

On other occasions the school would notify the M.O.H. so that his department could take appropriate action:

" 2nd December, 1903. Mary Moran was taken to the Shelter last night. She has attended here since September last, but in spite of constant cleansings she has come to school in such a dirty condition that I reported the case to Dr. Hope with the result that she is now in the Shelter." (1)

However conscientious the superintendent was, and however efficient the medical services provided, the health of the children could not have been maintained at a satisfactory level unless they had been fed at school. The evidence indicates that they were not adequately nourished at home, not at all surprisingly in view of the very deprived backgrounds from which they were drawn. What Philpott writes of the Drury Lane schoolchildren could be said with confidence of day industrial school pupils everywhere:

"To very many of these children three square meals a day is a condition of quite unwonted luxury." (2)

The three meals a day which were provided for the children of the School Board Day Industrial schools had to conform to the standards required of the Home Office, and the dietary had to be approved by the Home Secretary. When the Nottingham school was opened and the event reported by the local newspaper, the following information was included:

"Three meals will be provided daily - breakfast, dinner and tea - and the diet will be according to a table approved by the Home Secretary, and which is as follows . . . " (3)

There then followed a copy of the daily menus as provided in the School Boards' "Rules, Dietary and Timetable Booklet."

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1. Queensland Street Day Industrial School Log Book (2 December 1903)
 2. Philpott, H. B. op. cit. (1904) p. 235
 3. Nottingham Daily Guardian (19 January 1886)

NOTTINGHAM S.B. DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

DIETARY

| | Breakfast | Dinner | Tea |
|------|--|---|--|
| Mon. | $\frac{3}{4}$ pt. tea, coffee, cocoa, with milk, sweetened. 6/8 oz bread with treacle, dripping | 4 oz. cooked meat without bone. 8 oz potato 2 oz bread | $\frac{3}{4}$ pt. tea, coffee, cocoa with milk, sweetened, 6 oz bread, treacle or dripping. |
| Tue. | do. | 1 pt. soup with veg., peas, barley meat. 4 oz bread. Currant dumpling | $\frac{3}{4}$ pt. hot milk and water sweetened. 6 oz bread |
| Wed. | do. | 8 oz bread 2 oz cheese | As Monday |
| Thur | do. | 1 lb rice pudding. 2 oz bread | do. |
| Fri. | $\frac{3}{4}$ pt. hot milk & water sweetened 6-8 oz bread | $\frac{1}{2}$ lb fish with sauce. 2 oz bread 8 oz potato | do. |
| Sat. | do. | 4 oz tinned meat 6 oz bread | Half holiday |

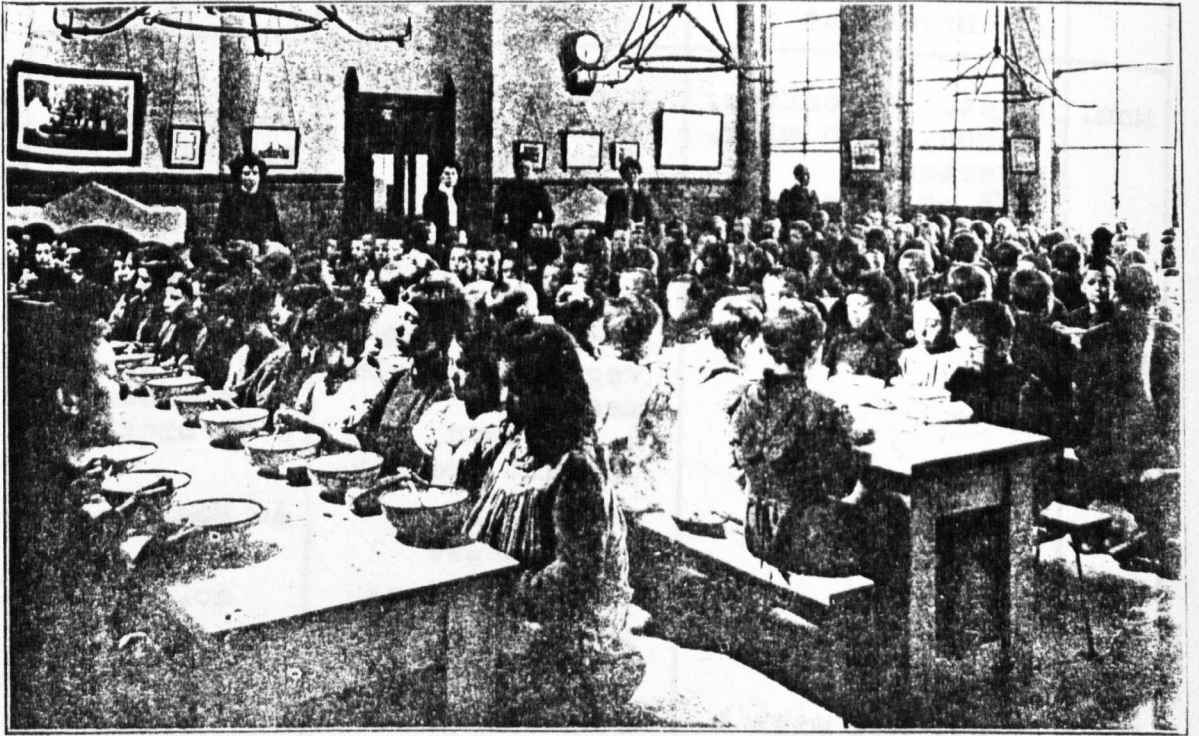
Ingredients for every 10 children.

Tea. $1\frac{3}{4}$ oz. Coffee 2 oz. Milk $1\frac{1}{2}$ gills. Sugar 6 oz.
Treacle 6 oz. Dripping 5 oz.

Currant dumpling. Currants 4 oz. flour $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. suet 6 oz.

Rice pudding. Raw rice 2 lbs, milk $2\frac{1}{2}$ pts. sugar 10 oz.

Soup. (to every 10 pints.) Peas $1\frac{1}{2}$ pts. bones 3 lbs, meat 10 oz.
barley 4 oz. vegetables.



ADDISON STREET DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL. DINING ROOM.

The food provided in the day industrial schools was nourishing if unexciting and appears to have been greeted by the children as an unfamiliar but welcome treat:

"That some were evidently strangers to regular feeding, the poor state of their bodies and the ravenous manner in which they ate their food plainly showed." (1)

This diet, which included tinned meat on Saturdays, was not without its hazards though, as the canning of meat at this time was far from being completely safe. At the Wolverhampton Day Industrial School its use led to the following item appearing in the School Board Chronicle for 27 June 1896:

"The Clerk reported that on a recent date a number of children became ill at the Industrial school after a dinner of tinned meat - he reported that it had been removed from the dietary and bacon substituted." (2)

That the matter of the children's diet was treated with the utmost seriousness is further indicated by the following entry in the minutes of Liverpool School Board's District Education Committee. It shows how what appear to be quite minor alterations to the dietary of the South Corporation School were one of a number of items discussed at a very high level, namely at a meeting between Henry Rogers H.M.I. and Mr. Hance, the distinguished clerk to the Liverpool School Board:

"The Clerk to the Board reported as follows concerning several of the matters about which he had proceeded to London last week viz: (1) With reference to the Dietary for the South Corporation Day Industrial School; that he had had an interview with Mr. Rogers, who considered that instead of roast meat, potatoes and bread for Tuesday's dinner, 12 ozs of suet pudding baked or boiled with treacle should be substituted; and that a similar dinner on Thursday might with advantage, especially in winter, be changed for Irish Stew." (3)

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1. S.B.C. (12 April 1879) p. 374
 2. S.B.C. (27 June 1896) p. 770
 3. Liverpool S.B. District Education Committee Minutes (30 October 1878)

Even minor departures from the dietary were recorded in the school's log-book, so that if, for instance, a meal was ill-cooked or otherwise spoiled, and an alternative (usually bread and syrup) was substituted, the matter would be duly noted down.

In his Annual Report for 1902 Mr. Legge recorded that the whole question of dietary was being carefully studied in Liverpool and that "the effects of more nourishing food, coupled with greater attention to physical drill in improving physique is unmistakable." (1). The improvements in diet in this later period may be seen when the greater variety, and the increase in milk and meat consumption in the diet sheet for the Bootle Day Industrial School in 1895 is compared with that for the Nottingham school ten years earlier.

| <i>Day.</i> | <i>Breakfast.</i> | <i>Dinner</i> | <i>Tea.</i> |
|-------------|--|---|--|
| Sunday | $\frac{1}{4}$ Pint Cocoa, and 6 to 8 ozs. Bread, with Margarine or Syrup | School | Closed. |
| Monday | Porridge and Milk, and 2 ozs. Bread with Jam | Meat Soup, and 6 ozs. Bread | $\frac{1}{4}$ Pint Cocoa, and 6 to 8 ozs. Bread with Margarine |
| Tuesday | $\frac{3}{4}$ Pint Tea, and 6 to 8 ozs. Bread with Syrup or Margarine | 8 ozs. Rice Pudding with Sugar, Currants, and Milk | $\frac{1}{4}$ Pint Cocoa, and 6 to 8 ozs. Bread with Syrup |
| Wednesday | Porridge and Milk, and 2 ozs. Bread and Jam | 6 ozs. Stewed Meat $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Potatoes, and 2 ozs. Bread | $\frac{1}{4}$ Pint Tea, and 6 to 8 ozs. Bread with Margarine |
| Thursday | $\frac{1}{4}$ Pint Tea, and 6 to 8 ozs. Bread with Syrup | Soup made from Bones or Peas), and 6 ozs. Bread | Milk, and 6 to 8 ozs. Bread with Margarine |
| Friday | $\frac{1}{4}$ Pint Cocoa, and 6 to 8 ozs. Bread with Syrup | $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Fish $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Potatoes, and 2 ozs. Bread and Jam | $\frac{1}{4}$ Pint Tea, and 6 to 8 ozs. Bread with Margarine |
| Saturday | Bread and Milk | 10 ozs. Scouse, and 4 ozs. Bread | |

Every child receives $\frac{1}{4}$ Pint Milk each day.

1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1902 XLVIII 1

The Drury Lane day industrial school had already begun the process of monitoring the development in physique of its pupils by 1895 and a careful record was kept of the weight and measurements of children at the time of admission and at intervals afterwards. It was claimed that "the abundance of good, plain food, combined with plenty of healthful exercise" often effected a striking change:

"A little boy of ten will add one and a half or even two inches to his chest girth in a few months, and some children gain three or four pounds in weight within a fortnight of their admission." (1)

Evidence of the permanence in the improvement in health sometimes brought about by a period spent in the day industrial school may be found in the number of "old boys" passed as fit for service in the Boer War. This was referred to in the previous chapter. (p. 210) Given the concern over the poor physical condition of many potential recruits, it was some testimony to the schools that 233 former pupils were later found "at the front." It might also provide circumstantial evidence for those who believe that one reason for such feeding of poor children as was carried on at the time might have been, as Macnamara was later to advocate, the building of Empire. But what would be the source of Mr. Humphreys' satisfaction as he noted the increase in chest girth of his Drury Lane boys? Would it lie in the improvement it indicated in the health of the child, or in the belief that as his pupils' measurements increased the threat they posed to the social order diminished?

It was said of the food at Drury Lane that, though quite plain, it was unstinted in quantity. The dinners consisted "of roast or stewed meat with vegetables two or three times a week, pudding twice, and fish on Fridays." (2)

1. Philpott, H. B. op. cit. (1904) p. 235

2. Ibid. p. 235

The cost of feeding a child at the Liverpool day industrial schools remained fairly steady over the whole period of School Board control at between 7/6d and 7/9d per month, the tendering for foodstuffs being carried out first by the Board's District Education Committee and later by the Industrial Schools Committee:

"A statement prepared by the Board's book-keepers and showing that the average cost per head of feeding the children at South Corporation Day Industrial School was, in November last, 7s.8½d and in December 7s.6½d was submitted and noted." (1)

The improvement in physical training and in most schools, swimming, which took place over the School Board period was commented on in the previous chapter. Together with the emphasis on maintaining the highest possible standards of hygiene and the regular diet, the physical exercises contributed to the situation in which it was possible for H.M.I. to report so frequently that the resistance to sickness of the day industrial school children had helped them to escape the worst effects of diseases prevalent in the children's homes:

"Measles in the homes common, but children seem to have escaped except in two cases."

(H.M.I. Report on South Corporation School 20.2.1903)

"There has been a good deal of sickness in the district, but the children themselves seem to have escaped wonderfully well."

(H.M.I. Report on Bond Street School 4.8.1903)

In the case of the Manchester day industrial school the effects of the time spent at the summer camp were credited, along with the diet, for the favourable state of the children's health:

"Health . . . astonishingly good considering the class of child due no doubt to regular and nourishing food and to the bracing effects of life in camp . . . " (2)

1. Liverpool S.B. District Education Committee Minutes (15 January 1879)

2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1904 XXXVI 317

By 1903 a number of schools had adopted the practice of taking the children away for a week or two to be spent at a summer camp, and others tried at least to provide a day's excursion.

In his report on the School Board Day Industrial School in Bristol in 1897, Mr. Legge was pleased to report: "The children are to camp out in the country for a week." (1) By this time the children of the day industrial school at Oldham were being taken for a week's camp at St. Anne's-on-Sea, and those at Newcastle and Oxford for outings to Jesmond Dene or the seaside, and up the Thames respectively.

An impetus to this sort of venture had been provided by an exchange of letters between the Chief Constable of Wolverhampton and the Home Office in the summer of 1894. On the first of August, L. R. Bennett, the Chief Constable concerned, had written about the plight of some boys from Salop Street Day Industrial School on whose behalf he had intervened:

"Thirteen little boys of from 10 to 13, from the Industrial School here, were brought before the Stipendiary this morning having absented themselves from school yesterday afternoon; their plea was that all the other schools had holidays. The Stipendiary dismissed the cases, although the manager of the school asked that they might be birched. It seems to me awfully hard on these small boys who have to attend.

The boys I have mentioned only went to the country for a walk and had a long, hot afternoon without food, were arrested on their way back and if I had not taken upon myself to send them home to their parents, would have been locked up in the cells at night as well." (2)

Mr. Bennett's very humane plea was forwarded to Asquith and as a result the whole question of the provision of holidays for the pupils of School Board Day Industrial Schools was investigated. Letters were

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1. Ibid. 1898 XLVIII 1 41st Annual Report
 2. Public Record Office, Kew. Home Office Papers, H0 45.9885/B16788

sent to each of the School Boards responsible for day industrial schools asking what policy they adopted with regards to the question, and what holidays, if any, they allowed for the pupils in these schools.

The answers to the enquiries showed that there was no consistency whatever in the matter, each Board having evolved its own separate practice. Most Boards allowed between 14 and 21 days per year, but spread out mainly over the Bank Holiday periods. The others ranged from Oxford which allowed 6 weeks and 2½ days, and Bristol, which allowed 5 weeks and 2 days, down to Blackburn which allowed only 1 week. (1)

The matter was referred by the Home Office to the Education Department which advised that the children should be given holidays but Colonel Inglis, then in his final year as Inspector of Reformatories and Industrial Schools, warned that a run of two or three weeks on the streets would be most undesirable in the case of day industrial school children, and that it could not be sanctioned. (2)

It seems certain that Inglis was correct in holding this view, for, quite apart from the temptations to further mischief which might arise during this period, the health of many of the children would suffer from the prolonged period without the advantage of the schools' diet and sanitary provisions. It became clear that the Home Office preference was for holidays to be organised by the schools themselves in the form of summer camps.

Not that all the organised holidays dated from this time. The Liverpool schools, as in so many other ways, had already taken the initiative in this sphere also.

As early as 1890 an annual summer camp had become a feature of each of the Liverpool School Board Day Industrial Schools. These camps were held in the Newton area of the Wirral Peninsula, between Meols and West Kirby. They were designed both as an educational and a recreational experience with organised rambles, games, and help with the fatigues and chores which formed a part of camp life.

1. Ibid. H O 45, 9885/B16788

2. Ibid. H O 45, 9885/B16788

At first the camps for boys and girls were arranged separately but later the whole school was taken together. The log book of the Bond Street school contains such entries as these for 1890:

"Friday, 13th June. The boys went to the camp at Meols."

"Friday, 20th June. The boys returned from the Camp after a very enjoyable week, and the girls went for their week's holiday." (1)

The Queensland Street log-book tells how the members of the Camp Committee, a group of benefactors of the day industrial schools in Liverpool who raised funds for, and helped to organise, the camps, visited the children during their holiday:

"August 6th, 1903. Children taken to camp at Newton near West Kirby."

"August 20th, 1903. Returned to Liverpool. In spite of wet days the fortnight's holiday has been thoroughly enjoyed. Councillor Burke, Miss Melly and Miss Florence Melly and Miss Cullen visited during the fortnight. The ladies and gentlemen of the Camp Committee were frequent visitors and they gave the children several treats of fruit, sweets etc." (2)

As far as diet, hygiene, physical training and recreation were concerned it would appear that the children in the best of the day industrial schools were better provided for than many of their counterparts in the ordinary Board schools and were considerably better off than most pupils in the voluntary schools situated in similar urban environments. Indeed it was alleged in the Bootle Times that some parents were declaring their children incorrigible in order to have them admitted to the day industrial school, and Bootle, with 82 children admitted without order of court, out of a total of 1,031 children admitted between 1895 and 1903, had one of the highest percentages of "voluntary" cases in the country. (3)

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1. Bond Street Day Industrial School Log Book (13 and 20 June 1890)
 2. Queensland Street Day Industrial School Log Book (6 and 20 August 1903)
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1904 XXVI 103
46th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

There were still problems of course. In 1903, the last year for which the School Boards were responsible for the day industrial schools, there were five deaths among the pupils. Two of these were in Bristol, both from pneumonia, one case following rheumatic fever, the other from "lung trouble." (1) Two others, a boy and a girl, from Liverpool's South Corporation School, also died of pneumonia, and one, from the Nottingham School, died from consumption.

In that year also, ringworm remained a problem at Bristol and eczema and other skin trouble at Liverpool's South Corporation and Bond Street and at London's Drury Lane School. There were outbreaks of measles at Bootle and at Leeds Edgar Street. The most common affliction appears to have been infection of the eyes with cases reported at Bristol, Liverpool, Wolverhampton and Nottingham; and of course "colds" were recorded everywhere.

Much more remarkable though were the favourable reports. The Sunderland School was "free from sickness," the children of Liverpool's Bond Street had escaped sickness "wonderfully well;" at Manchester, "astonishingly good" and Blackburn had "no serious sickness" to report. At London's Drury Lane School the "general health was good," and at Ponton Road, "absences were not numerous." The day industrial school at Oxford reported "no illness during the year;" in both schools at Leeds, "general health was good," and Edinburgh reported "only slight ailments." (2)

The record was helped of course by the rule common to all the schools that "No child shall be received into the school who is incapable, by mental or physical infirmity, of being benefit'ed . . . or who is suffering from any loathsome or infectious disease," although one mentally handicapped child at least had evaded the rule and there may have been more. The annual report on the work of the Mayson Street Day Industrial School at Blackburn included the observation:

1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1904 XXXVI 317

47th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

2. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 317 47th Annual Report

"There is a half-witted voluntary case in the school. I doubt whether he is profiting much by his detention. The case is eminently one for a special institution." (1)

This rule notwithstanding, given the fact that the children entered the day industrial schools ill cared-for and generally undernourished, the over-all state of health achieved, often after only a short period of time, reflected well on the efforts of the Home Office Inspectorate and the majority of the School Boards concerned, and on the co-operation between superintendents and medical officers. In most aspects concerning the health of the pupil the practices in the School Board Day Industrial Schools before 1903 were well in advance of those proposed under the legislation providing for school meals in 1906 and the medical inspection of children in 1907.

CHAPTER 6

ASSESSING THE VALUE OF THE SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

(i) The Official View

Governmental responsibility for the administration of the certified day industrial schools rested in the Home Office. It was to the Home Secretary that Her Majesty's Inspector of Reformatories and Industrial Schools addressed his Annual Report. This report covered the work of the Reformatories, the Industrial Schools and the Truant Schools, all of which were residential institutions, as well as that of the Day Industrial Schools. Every annual report began with a summary of the work of each type of institution before proceeding to a report of the results of the annual inspection of individual schools.

From the summary of the work of the Day Industrial Schools it is possible to discover the overall view being presented to the Home Secretary by his chief official in the field. It is clear from the outset that H.M.I. Inglis held a high opinion of them.

In his report for the year ending 31 December 1880, when there were only five School Board Day Industrial Schools in existence, those at Bristol, Liverpool (South Corporation and Bond Street), Great Yarmouth and Oxford, he wrote:

"Day Industrial Schools appear to be working so well wherever they have been established that it is a question if any more Industrial Schools should be certified at present, at any rate in towns of any size, until the cheaper machinery of the Day Industrial School system has had a trial." (1)

By "working so well," Inglis meant that they were securing the regular attendance of the great majority of the children committed to them, and they were doing so without imposing either residence or an unnecessarily harsh regime - a point which Inglis stressed frequently in later reports

1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1880 XXXVII 1

23rd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

and which will be returned to when the question of the ethos prevailing in the schools is discussed later in this chapter. (section iv) Although "cheapness" is mentioned here, and it certainly was a factor in persuading some School Boards to try the experiment, it was not financial considerations, but a continuing belief in the system which was emphasised in Inglis's later reports.

In his general comments on the Day Industrial Schools for 1882, he had this to say:

"The schools are working successfully, and . . . I hope to see the system very much extended." (1)

In his next report, that for 1883, Inglis was critical of the lack of progress made at the day industrial schools at Oxford, Great Yarmouth and Gloucester, attributing it both to the small size of the schools, which rendered them relatively expensive, and to some members of the School Boards who were over-conscious of the costs and insufficiently alert to the potential of the schools. Inglis dismissed their doubts as "shortsighted," and went on to single out certain other schools for praise:

"No-one can visit these schools in Liverpool, Wolverhampton or Glasgow without acknowledging their utility." (2)

On this occasion though, he once again introduced the financial element. Referring favourably to the licensing system which had been introduced by the Liverpool School Board and commenting on the "measure of success attained" by it, he added:

"In this manner the Day Industrial School deals successfully with cases of truancy, and, while equally efficacious, is less expensive than the Truant Boarding School." (3)

The question of the financing of the School Board Day Industrial Schools and their costs relative to residential institutions will be considered in greater detail in a later section. (iii) The point now being made is that

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1. Ibid. 1882 XXXV 1 25th Annual Report
 2. Ibid 1883 XXXIV 1 26th Annual Report
 3. Ibid 1883 XXXIV 1 26th Annual Report

while H.M.I. was conscious of the cost advantage of this type of school over the residential variety, the financial factors were always subordinated to those relating to the performance of the schools and their perceived benefits to the children. At no stage did Inglis put forward the opinion that the day schools were less efficacious than the residential ones or that they should be established simply because they were less expensive. On the contrary the merits of the day industrial schools were often emphasised and the residential institutions compared unfavourably with them.

In his Annual Report for 1886, for example, Inglis recorded:

"I have now had some experience of Day Industrial Schools, and the more I see of them, the more I like them . . . (the children in them) . . . seem brighter, more natural, more like children than those in schools of detention." (1)

And again, in 1890, he wrote:

"Day Industrial Schools are always pleasant schools to visit; the children look cheerful and anxious to do their best, and there is an atmosphere of life and energy about which one sometimes misses in the more expensive schools of detention." (2)

The Annual Report on the day industrial schools for 1890 included the information that there were now fifteen such schools in England, fourteen of them being managed by School Boards and one, in Kirkdale, Liverpool, being a voluntary institution. Inglis looked forward to the prospect of a second, and possibly third such school being opened in Leeds and reported that he had been gratified to be told by a member of the Leeds School Board that they hoped, by using the day industrial school system, eventually to dispense with the residential school. Inglis commented further that he had been "glad to hear this" as it endorsed his own opinion of the value of the day industrial schools. (3)

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1. Ibid 1886 X X X V I 1 29th Annual Report
 2. Ibid 1890 X X X V I I I Pt. 1 1 33rd Annual Report
 3. Ibid 1890 X X X V I I I Pt. 1 1 33rd Annual Report

In the same Annual Report an effort was made to quantify the advantages of the day industrial school system by calculating the percentages of children who, having been admitted to the day industrial schools, had had to be transferred into reformatories or residential industrial schools. The argument was that, without the existence of the day schools, the children would have had to be committed into residential care in the first place. Therefore the extent to which the day schools had been able to retain and assure the attendance of their pupils would be a measure of their success. The following table shows the results of the calculation:

TABLE 10
SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN SENT TO INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS
AND REFORMATORIES WHO HAVE PREVIOUSLY BEEN IN DAY INDUSTRIAL
SCHOOLS

| School | Sent to Reformatory | | Sent to Industrial School | |
|-------------------|---------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| Gateshead | 1.1 | 0.4 | 4.0 | - |
| Sunderland | 1.9 | - | 3.4 | - |
| Bristol | 0.7 | - | 27.0 | 21.7 |
| Liverpool - | | | | |
| South Corporation | 0.4 | - | 8.7 | 3.4 |
| Bond Street | 0.7 | 0.4 | 20.3 | 5.0 |
| Queensland Street | 0.2 | 0.3 | 7.0 | 2.8 |
| Salford | 2.2 | - | 6.6 | 2.7 |
| Manchester | - | - | 6.9 | 4.7 |
| Great Yarmouth | 1.4 | - | 6.0 | - |
| Newcastle | 1.1 | - | 20.3 | 2.5 |
| Nottingham | 2.5 | - | 7.5 | - |
| Oxford | - | - | 3.3 | 3.2 |
| Wolverhampton | 2.4 | 0.8 | 3.0 | 1.7 |
| Leeds | 1.0 | - | 7.0 | 1.6 |

(1)

1. Ibid 1890 XXXVIII Pt. 1 1 33rd Annual Report

A feature of the figures is the very small percentage of children (especially girls) who committed offences necessitating their transfer to Reformatories. There are rather more transferred to residential industrial schools, the chief reason being continued truancy, but again with the exceptions of Bristol (for both boys and girls) and Bond Street and Newcastle (for boys), the evidence shows that the day industrial school was, at this time, able to cope with the problem of truancy in over 95% of cases.

Home Office approval, as expressed by the Annual Reports, continued in 1891 when Col. Inglis wrote:

"I have seen nothing during the year to alter the good opinion I have always had of Day Industrial Schools." (1)

The reports continued to be favourable each year up to 1895 when Inglis issued the last one to appear under his name. It ended with the words "Day Industrial Schools are, without exception, going on well and doing good work." (2)

On 19 March 1896, Inglis was succeeded by James G. Legge, whose previous appointment had been as Secretary to the Prison Committee. (3) In the first report to be issued under his signature Legge wrote:

"I confidently believe that if all the schools in the country were conducted in the spirit of these schools, wilful truancy would be practically unknown." (4)

However, the individual reports on which this general judgment was based had been drawn up following inspections made during 1895, the year before he was appointed. The first report Legge issued, after visiting the schools himself, was very different in tone and in content from any which had preceded it.

This report, the 40th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools, began by referring to the day industrial schools with

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1. Ibid. 1890-1 XLIV 1 34th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1895 LVII 1 38th Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1896 XLV 383 39th Annual Report
 4. Ibid. 1896 XLV 383 39th Annual Report

these words:

"Encomiastic references to Day Industrial Schools in official reports, including that of Her Majesty's Inspector for 1895, provoke a word of warning. They are pleasant places to visit, but visitors should not allow their feelings to run away with their judgment." (1)

The clear implication was that previous inspectors had allowed their feelings to do so, with the result, perhaps, that their judgments were impaired.

Legge then proceeded to explain some of the factors which might have brought about this failure of judgment:

"The class of children attending the Day Industrial School . . . is a fascinating class . . . they have the special advantage of being highly picturesque, so many of them wear an easy undress of rags and have, at least in the North, no shoes or stockings. To see these bright eyed, sharp featured street arabs eating porridge or bread and milk in the morning, or gulping down soup in the middle of the day . . . is a sight that will make even a dull face glow . . . but let it be remembered that if they are really to do the work for which they are founded, they (the day industrial schools) ought to be more than mere schools . . ." (2)

The "special advantage" of being dressed in rags and barefoot on the way to school at seven o'clock on a January morning in Sunderland or Oldham might not seem very obvious at first, but Legge made rather more clear what he meant later in his report. The "easy undress" roused sympathy in the observer and could be used as an aid to begging:

"At more than one big railway station in the country my colleagues and I have been able to detect, among the loafers

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1. Ibid. 1897 XLI 1 40th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1897 XLI 1 40th Annual Report

and corner boys, ex-pupils of the local Day Industrial School. I myself was implored by a boy at half-past-five one evening to give him a penny "just to buy a bit of bread with" although I had seen him eat eight ounces of bread and a bowl of soup in the Day Industrial School at two o'clock that afternoon, and since then he had had tea.

This is the sort of thing that a Day Industrial School ought to destroy." (1)

In fact, the whole tone of this report conveys the impression that Mr. Legge would not have been entirely sorry to see many of the day industrial schools themselves destroyed, for he referred to some of them as having been founded "when the School Board was experiencing a hot fit of philanthropy," and noted that "the fit may pass." Furthermore, he quoted with evident approval the words of the Rev. Canon Pennefather, chairman of the Newcastle School Board, who confessed " . . . that to me it is a very great question whether the Day Industrial School, as at present constituted, is worth carrying on at all." Canon Pennefather complained that the children returned after tea to their homes, or worse still to the streets, and that in many cases, he feared, " . . . all the good that is done in the daytime is counterbalanced and counteracted during the hours of the evening and of the night."

James Legge's conclusion was that:

"To be thoroughly efficient there is no doubt the more a Day Industrial School approximates to an ordinary Industrial School the better." (2)

These remarks, following as they do almost twenty years of comments to the opposite effect, must cast doubts on the validity either of these, or of previous judgments. What they do, however, is to make clear that in Mr. Legge the researcher has a witness who is very sceptical about

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1. Ibid. 1897 XLI 1 40th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1897 XLI 1 40th Annual Report

previous evidence, and who may be relied upon to heed his own warnings when drawing his conclusions in the future.

It is interesting therefore to observe how he assessed the Newcastle day industrial school over the remaining years of its existence, and how further experience as H.M.I. affected his perceptions of the day industrial schools as a whole.

The School Board Day Industrial School in City Road, Newcastle, was inspected twice in 1896, on 11 June and 12 November. There is nothing in the Inspector's reports to suggest that in his opinion the school is deserving of closure. Indeed after describing the educational standard as "very fair," the report concluded of the work as a whole that it had been "Good deserves some encouragement in the form of a better building on a more extensive site." (1)

In 1897 the school was inspected by Mr. T. D. M. Robertson, Assistant Inspector of Reformatories and Day Industrial Schools. He insisted on certain improvements which Canon Pennefather and his supporters must have been reluctant to carry out as the School Board proceeded to debate the whole future of the school and only approved its continuation by a majority of one. The chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee, the Rev. W. Walsh, had threatened to resign unless the school continued as his experience had convinced him "that there will always be a neglected class to deal with who cannot attend an elementary school with advantage, and whom it would be a gross injustice to shut up in a certified school until they were sixteen years of age." (2)

Improvements were carried out in the school and in 1899 it received a warm tribute when the Annual Report said that the work of the school was as high as it had ever been and that:

"The Board are to be congratulated on the advance which has been made in the school during the year." (3)

1. Ibid. 1897 XLI 1 40th Annual Report

2. Thomas, D. H. op. cit. (1985) p. 33

3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1900 XLIII 1

In 1901, far from wanting to see the school closed, the Inspectorate was urging the appointment of "a more numerous staff of the best class of teachers." (1)

This change in attitude on Legge's part did not apply only to the Newcastle school, but to the day industrial school system as a whole. Following the warnings and criticisms contained in his Annual Report for 1897, in 1898 he wrote:

"There is, however, no question but that these schools, if properly worked . . . are capable of doing beneficial work." (2)

By 1900 he felt impelled to write:

"Day Industrial Schools, properly conducted, are amongst the most excellent of institutions." (3)

In his Annual Report for 1902 he wrote:

"It is difficult to say too much in favour of some of these schools." (4)

And by 1904, commenting on the work of the schools during 1902, he concluded:

"This class of school is so valuable an engine of social amelioration that it is a pity if any large town is without one, or having one allows it to languish solely for want of a proper appreciation of its functions and merits." (5)

Several reasons may be put forward for the changed attitude on the part of Mr. Legge toward the day industrial school system. In the first place he had himself introduced reforms which, he believed, had contributed towards improvement. The annual inspection was substituted by at least two, and sometimes three inspections during the year, and the number of

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1. Ibid. 1901 XXXIII 187 44th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1898 XLVIII 1 41st Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1900 XLIII 1 43rd Annual Report
 4. Ibid. 1902 XLVIII 465 45th Annual Report
 5. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 103 46th Annual Report

"surprise" visits increased. In addition the format of the annual report was altered to provide a fuller and more detailed account of the work than had been the case hitherto, and a new insistence was made on the keeping of medical records.

H.M.I. Legge also mounted a vigorous campaign for closer monitoring of the progress of pupils once they had left the schools and far greater efforts on the part of the school to place them in suitable occupations before they left. It was the case also that some of the most successful schools, the three in London and the one in Edinburgh, had opened during his period of office, replacing schools like those at Gateshead and Great Yarmouth which had gone into decline due to falling rolls and increasingly apathetic School Boards.

But it may also be that some of his comments in the 1897 report were over-hasty, and that with more experience and insight he was better able to appreciate the value of what was being done in the schools. After all, as has been shown earlier, the superintendents of many of the schools were the same people who had been in positions of responsibility when Col. Inglis had been H.M.I., and the staffs of the schools also tended to be stable.

It is true that Legge remained extremely critical of what he regarded as inefficient schools, but rather than blame the day industrial school system, he tended, despite his reference to Canon Pennefather in the 1897 report, to lay responsibility for failure on those School Boards which provided inadequate support. Thus, after his very adverse report on the Nottingham school in 1903, a school at which he had been calling for improvements for some time, Legge wrote:

"One thing is certain. Try as they may, under existing conditions the staff is never likely to do much better." (1)

1. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 103 46th Annual Report

In the same year the two schools at Leeds had been given very good reports but Legge thought they were underused and that there must be more children in the city needing the kind of attention the schools provided than were in attendance:

"Attention of the New Authority is earnestly invited to the question as to whether these two schools are being utilized to the fullest extent necessary in a large city like Leeds." (1)

He had similar remarks to make about the Sunderland, Manchester and Blackburn schools, all of which were beginning to show a decline in numbers.

As had by now become customary, the Annual Report for 1903 included a table showing the day industrial schools still in existence, together with the number of pupils who had been admitted to the schools since their establishment and the numbers who, during that time, had been committed to reformatories or to residential industrial schools. For the School Board Day Industrial Schools the figures were as follows:

1. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 103 46th Annual Report

TABLE 11

SHOWING NUMBERS OF PUPILS ADMITTED TO SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS BY THE YEAR 1903, AND THOSE COMMITTED TO REFORMATORIES OR INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS *

| School | | Committed by Magistrate's Order | Admitted without Order | Committed to Reformatory | Committed to Industrial School |
|---------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Sunderland | Boys | 1063 | 73 | 22 | 48 |
| | Girls | 90 | - | 1 | 3 |
| Bristol | Boys | 1780 | 87 | 17 | 498 |
| | Girls | 845 | 17 | 2 | 147 |
| Liverpool - S Corporation | Boys | 2824 | 233 | 38 | 328 |
| | Girls | 1695 | 24 | - | 86 |
| Bond Street | Boys | 2949 | 349 | 21 | 749 |
| | Girls | 1562 | 13 | 7 | 132 |
| Queensland St. | Boys | 1453 | 160 | 3 | 182 |
| | Girls | 772 | 32 | 1 | 43 |
| Addison St. | Boys | 781 | 88 | 15 | 168 |
| | Girls | 380 | 20 | - | 41 |
| Salford | Boys | 1702 | 19 | 14 | 148 |
| | Girls | 480 | 4 | - | 11 |
| Manchester | Boys | 1665 | - | 20 | 177 |
| | Girls | 460 | - | - | 17 |
| Blackburn | Boys | 468 | 1 | 18 | 45 |
| | Girls | 91 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Bootle | Boys | 669 | 62 | 22 | 17 |
| | Girls | 280 | 20 | 1 | 6 |
| London - Drury Lane | Boys | 766 | 4 | 2 | 72 |
| | Girls | 116 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Brunswick Rd. | Boys | 116 | 11 | - | 2 |
| | Girls | 21 | 7 | - | - |
| Ponton Rd. | Boys | 44 | - | - | 3 |
| | Girls | 6 | - | - | - |
| Nottingham | Boys | 836 | 71 | - | 2 |
| | Girls | 26 | 1 | - | - |
| Oxford | Boys | 385 | 4 | - | - |
| | Girls | 157 | 5 | - | - |
| Wolverhampton | Boys | 792 | - | - | 1 |
| | Girls | 272 | - | - | - |
| Leeds - Edgar St. | Boys | 1327 | 2 | 12 | 126 |
| | Girls | 446 | - | - | 12 |
| Czar St. | Boys | 441 | - | 2 | 32 |
| | Girls | 189 | - | - | 3 |
| Edinburgh | Boys | 351 | 49 | 19 | 20 |
| | Girls | 42 | 2 | 3 | 1 |

* Figures compiled from 46th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

(1)

It might be objected that the verbal assessments quoted so far in this section could be subjective, that they might represent the personal prejudices of Inglis and Legge rather than any objective measure, although a counter argument drawing attention to Legge's initial scepticism could be invoked to point to their probable reliability. The official figures however can be considered more objective and of considerable help in assessing the value of the schools in a number of ways. They provide totals for the whole period on which a number of conclusions may be based. It should be remembered that the returns shown here exclude the schools at Gloucester, Gateshead, Great Yarmouth, Oldham and Newcastle, all of which, (with the exception of that at Gloucester) had been closed but not without expressions of regret emanating from the Inspectorate. In order to remedy this omission, Table 12 has been compiled from the Annual Reports for 1884, 1896, 1898, 1900 and 1902, so that a complete record of School Board Day Industrial School admissions for the whole period may be provided.

TABLE 12

| School | | Committed by Magistrate's Order | Admitted without Order | Committed to Reformatory | Committed to Industrial School |
|-------------------------------|-------|--|------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Gloucester (1881 - 1883) | Boys | 17 | - | - | - |
| | Girls | - | - | - | - |
| Gt. Yarmouth (1879 - 1897) | Boys | 558 | - | 10 | 33 |
| | Girls | - | - | - | - |
| Gateshead (1880 - 1895) | Boys | 843 | 187 | 11 | 51 |
| | Girls | 360 | 27 | 1 | 3 |
| Newcastle (1886 - 1901) | Boys | 1265 | 27 | 5 | 379 |
| | Girls | 182 | 4 | - | 27 |
| Oldham (1891 - 1900) | Boys | 441 | 6 | - | 55 |
| | Girls | 208 | 5 | - | 3 |

(1)

1. Ibid 1896 XLV 383 39th Annual Report
- 1902 XLVIII 465 45th Annual Report
- 1898 XLVIII 1 41st Annual Report
- 1900 XLIII 1 44th Annual Report
- 1884 XLIV 1 27th Annual Report

The figures show that during the School Board period a total of 33,832 children were admitted to the School Board Day Industrial Schools. Of these, 24,969 were boys and 8,863 were girls.

Out of this total 3,675 children had to be committed to residential industrial schools because of persistent truancy, and 267 to reformatories for criminal offences. Thus a total of 3,942 children had to be transferred out of the day industrial schools to residential institutions. This figure represented 11.7% of the total intake. Once again though, as in 1890, the figures were very much affected by the Bristol, Bond Street and Newcastle schools where the percentage of children sent to reformatories and industrial schools in each case exceeded 18%, and where the large numbers involved greatly affected the whole picture. Even so, the figures demonstrate that over the whole period 1870 - 1903, 29,890 children attended day industrial schools and completed their education there, or else were successfully licensed out to ordinary elementary schools. Given that most of these children (not all, because some had been admitted without a magistrate's order) would otherwise have been eligible for sending to residential industrial or truant schools, then the savings to the School Boards concerned were considerable. Not only this, these children were also spared the punishment of being separated from their parents, and the not always beneficial experience of institutionalised residence.

The School Board Day Industrial Schools would appear to have been successful in securing the continued attendance of over 88% of the children committed to their care without the need to resort to residential institutions.

Under section 16 of the Elementary Education Act of 1876, a child could attend a day industrial school without an order of court at the request of the local authority and of the parent, provided the managers agreed. The parent had to undertake to contribute not less than one shilling per week and the Government grant for such a child was not to exceed sixpence. Altogether, according to the official figures, 1616 children attended under this section of the Act. This represented about 4.8% of the total admissions.

It might be argued that this small percentage gave the lie to those who had persistently expressed the fear that this part of the Act would result in large numbers of parents abandoning their domestic responsibilities to the state, but it may also reflect the reluctance of certain School Boards to accept such children given the low level of Government support. As H.M.I. Legge pointed out in his Annual Report for 1900, the Government grant in the case of day industrial schools had remained unchanged since 1876 while that to the ordinary schools had been increased:

"To other day schools more public money has been given year by year; the Day Industrial School has been left, like Cinderella, in the background." (1)

Whatever the reason there was no great influx of children into the day industrial schools without a magistrate's warrant and over the School Board period over 95% of the children admitted had been committed by court order.

In spite of James Legge's initial doubts and his and Col. Inglis's criticisms of individual schools, the view of the Home Office was that the day industrial school system, where it had been used, had proved valuable and useful in securing the attendance of the poorest and most neglected children. The figures provided for admissions to the day industrial schools and referrals to residential institutions appear to support their conclusions.

Consistently, throughout the period and right up to the annual report for 1904 which covered the final year of School Board control, the Inspectorate was expressing the view that an expansion of the system would be beneficial and that, where already established, day industrial schools were deserving of strong support.

1. Ibid. 1900 XLIII 1 43rd Annual Report

(ii) The Effects of the School Board Day Industrial Schools on Attendance

It was argued in the previous section that, by making use of the evidence provided by H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools in his Annual Reports, it is possible to demonstrate that the School Board Day Industrial Schools were successful in securing satisfactory levels of attendance on the part of at least 88% of the pupils admitted to them. It could further be argued that in achieving such levels of attendance, these schools had fulfilled the main purpose for which they had been established. This is an argument which is expressed by H. B. Philpott in London at School in the following words:

"If the Drury Lane School did nothing but convert some scores of truants into regular attendants at school, it might be held to have justified its existence . . . " (1)

Statements like this however do not answer the question "Just how 'regular' was 'regular attendance'?" Were the levels of attendance at the day industrial schools expected to equal those in the ordinary schools? Were higher standards expected? Or, in view of the very poor home circumstances and the general inadequacy of clothing and footwear, were the Home Office and the School Boards prepared to accept lower levels of attendance as being 'satisfactory' for this type of pupil?

In attempting to answer this question the Annual Reports are of only limited assistance as they do not provide figures to show percentage attendance levels achieved either by individual schools or by the day industrial schools as a whole. What they do provide are the numbers on roll in each school at the start of the year, together with the total number of discharges and admissions during the year. They also provide the average number of children present during the year.

However, as the process of admission and discharging went on throughout the year, it is not possible to calculate from the Annual Reports either the total number on roll at any particular point in the year, or the average number on roll during the whole year.

1. Philpott, H. B. op. cit. (1904) p. 236

In attempting to assess the actual levels of attendance then, it is necessary to look at local, rather than national, records. Given the paucity of surviving registers, the most useful records for this purpose appear to be the Reports of Attendance Committees, The Reports, Annual or Triennial, of School Boards, and, where available, School Log Books. Taking examples of all these sources from different School Boards and at different times, the consistent impression gained is that the day industrial schools aimed at, and achieved, higher levels of attendance than those attained in the ordinary schools. This tendency was noted by the Liverpool School Board as early as 1882:

" . . . notwithstanding the unpromising class of children by whom these schools are filled, the regularity of attendance has considerably exceeded that which is secured in the ordinary schools." (1)

Figures provided by the Oxford School Board Attendance Committee for the whole period 1884 - 1903 make it possible to attempt a numerical analysis, though not without making certain assumptions and reservations. The data was collected on one day in the month shown and is as follows:

1. Liverpool School Board Triennial Report (2 November 1882) p. 5

TABLE 13

ATTENDANCE AT OXFORD SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

| Date | Numbers of Children | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|---------|------------|---------------|------|
| | On Books | Present | On License | Out of Oxford | Sick |
| January 1884 | 42 | 39 | - | 2 | 1 |
| September 1884 | 44 | 33 | 6 | 3 | 2 |
| January 1885 | 44 | 31 | 9 | 2 | 2 |
| July 1885 | 57 | 35 | 13 | 2 | 2 |
| April 1886 | 60 | 37 | 14 | - | 9 |
| January 1887 | 49 | 33 | 8 | 6 | 2 |
| October 1887 | 39 | 26 | 8 | 4 | 1 |
| February 1888 | 39 | 27 | 10 | 1 | 1 |
| January 1889 | 49 | 38 | 8 | 1 | 2 |
| March 1890 | 66 | 48 | 13 | - | 5 |
| January 1891 | 70 | 53 | 12 | - | 2 |
| January 1892 | 63 | 48 | 12 | - | 3 |
| January 1893 | 53 | 42 | 10 | - | 1 |
| January 1894 | 53 | 40 | 12 | - | - |
| January 1895 | 52 | 40 | 8 | - | 4 |
| January 1896 | 53 | 39 | 7 | - | 6 |
| January 1897 | 46 | 35 | 6 | - | 5 |
| January 1898 | 40 | 32 | 6 | 2 | - |
| March 1899 | 35 | 25 | 1 | 6 | 3 |
| February 1900 | 34 | 25 | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| April 1901 | 49 | 34 | 4 | 7 | 1 |
| March 1902 | 31 | 24 | - | 2 | 2 |
| March 1903 | 27 | 20 | 1 | 5 | - |

(1)

Adding together the "numbers present" (804) and the "numbers on license" (171), and assuming that the latter were present in their various schools and not "Out of Oxford" or "Sick," and expressing this total (975) as a percentage of the total "On Books" (1095), then the average attendance over the whole period at the Oxford day industrial school would be in excess of 89%. The attendance in the ordinary schools in Oxford in 1876, a contributory factor in bringing about the opening of the day industrial school, was 75.73%, (1) so that it seems reasonable to claim, as the Oxford School Board did, that the day industrial school was successful in "improving the attendance of those children whose parents have hitherto been careless about their regularity." (2)

In fact the average attendance at the Oxford school might well have been in excess of the figure calculated here, because, as can be seen from table 13, a large number of the figures shown were collected in January and February, months in which attendance would be expected to be below average as a result of adverse weather conditions.

Samples taken from the log book of Czar Street Day Industrial School, Leeds, provide evidence of very much higher average attendances than those at Oxford. For the week ending 15 July 1899 the attendance is shown as 97.3%, for the week ending 22 July it is 97%, and for that ending 29 July it is 96%. But the same log book shows clearly the difficulty of calculating percentages over a long period as during these three weeks the number on roll fluctuates between 124 in the first, 125 in the second and 117 in the third. (3)

In the six weeks commencing 24 October 1892, the same set of log books gives the average attendances as 97%, 97%, 98%, 98%, 97% and 98%. During the same period the number on roll rose from 54 to 72. (4) Between 22 April 1893 and 10 June 1893, the average weekly attendances are given as 97.5%, 97%, 97%, 98%, 98.6%, 98.3% and 98.4%. Again, the

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1. Report of Oxford School Board for the year(1879) p. 1
 2. Ibid. p. 1
 3. Czar Street School Board Day Industrial School Log Book (1899) p. 107
 4. Ibid. 1891 p. 1

number on roll changes every week, varying between 113 and 120. (1) Similar very high figures are recorded for Leeds' Edgar Street School in May 1895, with percentages of 98.7% and 97.9% in the weeks beginning 18 May and 25 May. (2)

Just as remarkable are the figures provided in the Triennial Report of the Oldham School Board for 1892-4. For the year 1892 the "Percentage of Attendances possible made by Children in the Day Industrial School" is given as 99.05%, and for 1893 as 97.8%. (3) The same source for 1898-1900 gives only the average numbers in attendance, but it seems reasonable to assume, given the lack of adverse comment in the Annual Reports on the school, that the very high standards of attendance were being maintained. (4)

Equally good are the returns provided in Nottingham School Board's Triennial Report for 1886 which gives the following information:

TABLE 14

ATTENDANCE STATISTICS FOR NOTTINGHAM SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL: YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 1886

| | |
|--|------|
| Number of children admitted during the year | 113 |
| Number of children licensed to ordinary elementary schools | 53 |
| Number of children discharged | 7 |
| Number of children attending on 31 December | 53 |
| Number of children attending local elementary schools | 53 |
| Total number under orders of detention | 106 |
| Percentage of possible attendances | 97.2 |

(5)

1. Ibid. (1893) p. 21
2. Edgar Street School Board Day Industrial School Log Book (1895) p. 3
3. Oldham School Board Triennial Report (1892-94) p. 55
4. Ibid.
5. Nottingham School Board Triennial Report (1886 - 1889)

Even higher than the 97.2% attendance shown here are samples of weekly attendances taken from the log book of the Wolverhampton school for October 1884 and May 1885. These show returns of 99.5% for the school itself and 99.8% for the children licensed out to local elementary schools.

Whatever the type of evidence consulted then, and whatever the date, the attendances achieved at these day industrial schools appear to have been very high indeed. However, attendance returns for the Bootle School Board Day Industrial School for 1896 and 1897 show less remarkable figures:

TABLE 15
AVERAGE ATTENDANCE AT BOOTLE SCHOOL BOARD
DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

| Date | Total on Roll | Average Attendance | Percentage Attendance |
|------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 29. 2.1896 | 122 | 120 | 98.4 |
| 6. 5.1896 | 142 | 126 | 88.7 |
| 3. 6.1896 | 170 | 142 | 83.5 |
| 1. 7.1896 | 187 | 166 | 88.8 |
| 5. 8.1896 | 197 | 173 | 87.8 |
| 2. 9.1896 | 184 | 156 | 84.8 |
| 7.10.1896 | 207 | 160 | 77.3 |
| 4.11.1896 | 215 | 170 | 79.1 |
| 7.12.1896 | 225 | 180 | 80.0 |
| 3. 2.1897 | 199 | 185 | 93.0 |
| 3. 3.1897 | 192 | 168 | 87.5 |
| 7. 4.1897 | 180 | 151 | 83.9 |
| 2. 6.1897 | 166 | 158 | 95.2 |
| 7. 7.1897 | 154 | 144 | 93.5 |
| 4. 8.1897 | 149 | 135 | 90.6 |
| 1. 9.1897 | 155 | 136 | 87.7 |
| 3.11.1897 | 150 | 134 | 89.3 |
| 30.11.1897 | 164 | 142 | 86.6 |

(1)

The average percentage attendance over these two years is 87.54%, a relatively low figure when compared to those found elsewhere, but still higher than the 86.4% given as the average for Bootle's ordinary schools in 1896. (1) By 1900 though, the school was regularly achieving between 95% and 97% attendance. (2)

As can be seen from table 15, during the months of October, November and December 1896, the average attendance at the Bootle day industrial school was 80% or less. That these figures were exceptionally low is evident from the Annual Reports on the day industrial schools for that year. It is very rarely indeed that H.M.I. felt the need to comment on truancy from any of the schools, but in his report on the Bootle school James Legge notes that the list of punishments for truancy is a long one, adding:

"At any rate the offence of truancy may be expected to decrease as the relationship between the children and the officers becomes as friendly as in many of the old established Industrial Schools." (3)

It is interesting to note that Legge attributed the success of the schools in maintaining high levels of attendance, in part at least, to the good relationships which he found to exist between staffs and pupils. Doubtless too another factor was the provision of food. However, a study of the records does create the impression that the most important factor was the attitude of authority, at every level, to truancy. Absence from school, even for half a day, was regarded as a serious matter, a cause for immediate enquiry and immediate action, until the reason for the absence was ascertained, or, if there were no good reason, until the transgressor was returned to school.

Almost weekly the available log books contain entries like the following, which show how promptly action was taken, and how often the work of

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1. Ibid. (1894-97)
 2. Bootle School Board Triennial Report (1897 - 1900) p. 32
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1897 XLI 1

40th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

the attendance officer was given material assistance by teachers, caretakers and fellow pupils, all of whom might be given the task of bringing truants back to school:

"October 7th, 1884 . . . John Small absent this afternoon . . .

October 8th, 1884 Mr. Brotherton (caretaker) brought John Small to school this morning. The reason given for being absent . . . was caught in a shower of rain, got wet, and had to remain at home to dry his clothes. Mr. Giles (attendance officer) and myself cautioned the boy; should it occur again he should be punished." (1)

At times, apparently, the business of bringing in truants even took priority over the time-table:

"June 2nd, 1887 Assistant out after truants till 10.15, labour master till 11.15. Time Table not kept to-day." (2)

The ultimate sanction, of course, against playing truant from the day industrial school was the threat of committal to a residential school. This committal might take the form of a transfer to a certified industrial school, in which case the period of detention might be as long as five years, (3) or it might take the form of a "short sharp shock" - a stay of about 90 days in the strictly disciplined atmosphere of a Truant School. Such a prospect evidently deterred many potential truants, but it did not always work:

"May 18th, 1895 The boy Driffield who I mentioned a fortnight ago for playing truant was absent all the week until Friday when he was picked up for begging and committed to Shadwell." * (4)

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1. Wolverhampton School Board Day Industrial School Log Book
(October 7th, 8th, 1884)
 2. Ibid. (2 June 1887)
 3. Oldham School Board Triennial Report (1886-88) p. 70
 4. Leeds Edgar Street School Board Day Industrial School Log Book
(18 May 1895)

* Shadwell Certified Industrial School

The difficulties of calculating an overall percentage figure for attendance at the day industrial schools has already been pointed out. From the samples taken, however, and from the evidence of the Annual Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors, it is clear that high attendance levels were expected from pupils admitted to these schools, and that the schools themselves were effective in securing them.

Prominent among the factors involved in achieving this success must have been the fear of punishment and particularly the fear of transfer already referred to. Of equal importance though, must have been the more positive aspects of life in the day industrial school, the regular supply of food and the occasional one of clothing. H. B. Philpott regards the provision of food as especially significant:

" . . . the abundance of good, plain food, combined with plenty of healthful exercise, often effects a striking change . . . The food, though quite plain, is unstinted in quality, and undoubtedly proves one of the chief attractions of the school And what is the outcome of all this care and hard work on behalf of London's street Arabs? As regards the immediate object of securing regular attendance, it has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations." (1)

The close and friendly relationship which existed between pupils and staff is also referred to as a reason for regular attendance (2) but the most important reason of all appears to have been the attitude of the authorities to truancy, and the constant vigilance and alertness on the part of the superintendents and staffs of the school to the problem of non-attendance. The child who played truant from the day industrial school knew that he

1. Philpott, H. B. op. cit. (1904) p. 235

2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1897 XLI 1

would be pursued, that his absence would be followed up immediately by a call from the attendance officer, a member of the staff, perhaps even the superintendent herself. If necessary a 5.45 a.m. call by the caretaker might be made and an escort provided for the journey back to school. Staying away was a serious business and would provoke a serious response.

(iii) The Financial Aspects

Every year, the School Board Day Industrial Schools were required to produce a statement of income and expenditure. This statement had to be published by the School Board responsible for the management of the school, and to be submitted to the Home Office. The income for each school was then published in an appendix to the Annual Report together with a calculation of the average cost per annum for each pupil in that school. A figure was then produced by the Home Office to show the national average cost of maintaining a pupil in the day industrial school system.

In the year ending 31 December 1879 there were only 287 pupils in the day industrial schools making it meaningless to try to draw conclusions about national average costs in that year, but by the end of 1880, when there were 1005 pupils in six different schools, a clearer picture began to emerge. In 1880 the average cost of maintaining a pupil in these schools was £10.7.6d. (1) In 1881 the figure was £9.10.1d (2) and in 1882, £10.12.8d. (3) It is true that this average included the figures for the two Glasgow voluntary day industrial schools and the voluntary school in Kirkdale, Liverpool, but by now the vast majority of the 1692 pupils were in School Board Day Industrial Schools, so the overall average was little affected.

The Annual Reports also included figures for the annual per capita costs in the residential industrial schools. These were not averaged out to produce one overall figure, but were published separately for mixed schools, boys schools and girls schools, and for England and Scotland. Thus the figures for 1881, for example, are as follows:

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1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1881 LIII 1
24th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 2. Ibid. 1882 XXXV 1 25th Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1883 XXXIV 1 26th Annual Report

TABLE 16

ANNUAL COST PER PUPIL IN RESIDENTIAL INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS
1881

| | Mixed | Boys | Girls |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| In England | £14.10.0d | £16.4.10d | £16.3.3d |
| In Scotland | £13.15.3d | £13.3. 5d | £12.4.1d |

(1)

There was a great preponderance of single sex over mixed industrial schools. By 1890 there were 57 boys schools, 45 girls schools and only 4 mixed schools in England, so that the per capita average cost was always closer to the average in the single sex rather than in the mixed schools. (2)

By 1890 the average cost per pupil per year in the residential schools had risen to over £17, while that in the day industrial schools was £9.1.7d. (3)

By 1900 the average annual cost per head in the residential schools had risen to over £20, that in the day industrial schools to £10.10.2d. (4) In effect over the period 1880 to 1902, the costs in the residential schools rose steadily year by year, while those in the day schools fluctuated around the same figure. To demonstrate this, Table 17 has been constructed using the residential figures for England only, as it is with the English schools that the School Boards would draw their comparisons, and it was to the residential industrial schools in England that they would send their children.

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|---------|-------------|-----|--------------------|
| 1. | <u>Ibid.</u> | 1882 | X X X V | 1 | 25th Annual Report |
| 2. | <u>Ibid.</u> | 1890-91 | X L I V | 1 | 35th Annual Report |
| 3. | <u>Ibid.</u> | 1890-91 | X L I V | 1 | 35th Annual Report |
| 4. | <u>Ibid.</u> | 1901 | X X X I I I | 187 | 44th Annual Report |

TABLE 17

COMPARATIVE PER CAPITA COSTS IN RESIDENTIAL AND DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

| | Residential Mixed | Residential Boys | Residential Girls | Day Industrial |
|------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1880 | £14.16. 1d | £17.16. 3d | £16.12. 4d | £10. 7.6d |
| 1884 | £16. 4. 7d | £18.13.10d | £18. 4. 9d | £ 9. 7.5d |
| 1888 | £15. 1. 0d | £18. 1. 0d | £17. 8. 0d | £ 9. 8.9d |
| 1892 | £15. 7. 8d | £18.10.10d | £17.10. 6d | £ 9. 4.7d |
| 1896 | £16. 4.10d | £18.17. 3d | £18.10.10d | £11. 4.8d |
| 1900 | £16. 7. 8d | £21. 5. 2d | £19. 7.11d | £10.10.2d |

(1)

Clearly then, over the whole period, there was a comparative cost advantage in establishing a day industrial school, and undoubtedly this was a factor in encouraging some School Boards to establish one. In their considerations of the matter, for example, the Oldham School Board, referring to the expense of using existing residential industrial and truant schools, had this to say:

"This sum is an increasing one, and the cost of each child committed involves a heavier expenditure than most people are aware of. From evidence given before the Royal Commission on Education it is stated:

"That the average detention in a Boarding Industrial School is five years and three-quarters, and the average cost rather more than £20 a year per head; each child, therefore, detained in such institutions costs on an average in the whole about £115, of which about £85 falls upon the local authorities

1. Ibid. Annual Reports for 1881, 1885, 1889, 1893, 1897, 1901

and Her Majesty's Treasury, the balance being derived from private sources, and, to a very small extent, from payments received from the parents."

The great expense thus incurred, . . . has led many Boards - Liverpool, Wolverhampton, Nottingham, Salford and Manchester - to avail themselves of the powers set forth in the Elementary Education Act 1876, and provide Day Industrial Schools . . . " (1)

It seems then that there was a clear financial incentive to establish day industrial schools in areas where truancy was a serious and persistent problem. However, this was not the whole story, for while the comparative cost advantage of day industrial schools over residential ones was wide and increasing, the cost advantage of day industrial schools over ordinary elementary schools was narrow and diminishing. In the case of voluntary pupils, i.e. those not committed by order of a magistrate, there was, by the end of the School Board period, a positive financial disincentive to School Boards to admit such children to the day industrial school.

This situation had arisen because the Government grant, fixed at a maximum of one shilling per week for pupils committed to the day industrial schools by magistrate's order, and at 6d per week for those admitted under a voluntary arrangement, had remained unchanged since 1876, while Government contributions to ordinary Board schools had risen. H.M.I. Legge drew attention to this anomaly in his Annual Report for 1904:

"The position of the Day Industrial Schools deserves special consideration. In 1876, by the Elementary Education Act of that year, the maximum government grant to these schools was fixed at £2.12.0d per annum for each committed case and £1.6.0d per annum for each voluntary case. In that year the Government's contribution towards the maintenance of each child in an English Board school appears, from Summary Table 28 of the Board of Education's Statistics of Elementary

1. Oldham School Board Triennial Report(1886-88) p. 70

Day Schools published in 1902, to have been 9s 6d. But while there has been no increase in the grant to Day Industrial Schools, the contributions in respect of children attending ordinary Board schools had risen by 1901 to £1.11.2d. Thus a voluntary case attending a Day Industrial School actually brings the School Authority a smaller contribution from the Exchequer than if the child were attending an ordinary Board school." (1)

This circumstance might go some way towards explaining the small numbers of voluntary pupils in some, and the complete absence of voluntary pupils in other, School Board day industrial schools. It certainly helps to clarify the predicament facing School Boards when they tried to decide whether or not to establish a day industrial school. On the one hand, if they saw a widespread and prolonged truancy problem ahead of them, then the day alternative to long term residential schooling was, financially, a preferable option. On the other hand, if it was felt that there would at some time arise a situation when the day industrial school would be only partially filled, or if there were prospects that an efficient school attendance service would, by reducing truancy, increase attendance at the ordinary schools, then it might be preferable to strengthen the attendance service and, for the diminishing number of persistent truancy cases, to carry on using the residential alternative.

The overall picture is further clouded by the fact that the average costs published for the schools as a whole obscured great differences between those at individual schools. In 1882 for example, when the national average cost was given as £10.12.8d, the per capita cost in Liverpool's South Corporation School was only £4.6.5d, while that at the small Great Yarmouth school was £23.12.3d. (2) Although the gap between the most and the least economical did narrow as the schools filled up, the smaller schools tended to be

1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1904 XXXVI 317

47th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

2. Ibid. 1883 XXXIV 1 26th Annual Report

more expensive. In 1888, for example, when the average cost per head per annum for all day industrial schools was £9.8.9d, that for South Corporation, which had 348 pupils present on the day of the annual inspection, was £6.5.7d, while Great Yarmouth, with only 31 present, cost £13.18.0d per head. (1) This was by no means an invariable rule, but the following table (with Wolverhampton as the exception that tests it) does illustrate the general tendency.

TABLE 18
COMPARATIVE COST PER HEAD IN SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL
SCHOOLS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31 DECEMBER 1891

| | Average Number in Attendance | Cost per Head |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Blackburn | 57 | £14. 8. 3 d |
| Oldham | 84 | £13.19. 6 d |
| Great Yarmouth | 33 | £13.13.10 d |
| Liverpool | | |
| Addison Street | 119 | £11. 8. 9 d |
| Oxford | 52 | £11. 1. 2 d |
| Nottingham | 56 | £10. 8. 1 d |
| Gateshead | 91 | £ 8.16.10 d |
| Bristol | 152 | £ 8.13. 6 d |
| Salford | 196 | £ 8.10. 0 d |
| Sunderland | 125 | £ 8. 5. 8 d |
| Newcastle-upon-Tyne | 165 | £ 7.11. 6 d |
| Wolverhampton | 85 | £ 7. 9. 9 d |
| Liverpool | | |
| Bond Street | 302 | £ 7. 8. 8 d |
| Queensland Street | 230 | £ 7. 7. 6 d |
| Manchester | 281 | £ 6.19. 2 d |
| Liverpool | | |
| South Corporation | 369 | £ 6.16. 8 d |
| Leeds | | |
| Edgar Street | 208 | £ 6.15. 0 d |

Using financial considerations alone to decide whether or not to establish a day industrial school must have involved a certain amount of crystal ball gazing. If, in the future, the School Board foresaw an undiminishing number of children absenting themselves from school because of adverse home circumstances, then one or more day industrial schools would appear a sensible investment. For Liverpool, London, Bootle, Manchester, Salford

1. Ibid. 1889 XLII 1 32nd Annual Report

2. Oldham School Board Report (1892) p. 68

and Leeds this was the case, and their day industrial schools survived the end of the School Board era to give some years of service to the newly established Local Education Authorities. For Great Yarmouth, Gateshead, Newcastle and Oldham the financial equation turned against them, and, in spite of pleas from the Home Office, reducing rolls and increasing costs brought about closure. The figures for Oldham show the situation clearly. After two expensive years when numbers were building up, average costs fell to economic levels, only to climb inexorably as the intake declined, until a point was reached in 1900 when the Board decided on closure. The school had always enjoyed good reports and, by helping to reduce truancy in the town, had, so to speak, helped to work its way out of a job.

TABLE 19
AVERAGE ATTENDANCE AND COSTS PER HEAD IN
OLDHAM SCHOOL BOARD DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

| | Average Attendance | Net Cost to Rates per Head |
|------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 1891 | 84 | £13.19.6½ d |
| 1892 | 84 | £12. 3.0 d |
| 1893 | 116 | £10. 6.7½ d |
| 1894 | 135.7 | £ 6.18.5¼ d |
| 1895 | 112.5 | £ 8. 8.0¼ d |
| 1896 | 90.2 | £ 8.14.9 d |
| 1897 | 73 | £10.11.6 d |
| 1898 | 69.9 | £10. 9.2½ d |
| 1899 | 62.6 | £11. 0.0¼ d |

(1)

The Treasury contribution to the day industrial schools, which might amount to 52 shillings a year for children attending under order of detention, and to 26 shillings a year for children attending voluntarily, was paid according to the following table:

1. Oldham School Board Report (1898 - 1900) p. 74

TABLE 20
TREASURY PAYMENTS FOR CHILDREN IN ATTENDANCE AT
DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

| | For children sent under order of detention | For children attending otherwise |
|---|--|--|
| <u>Quarterly</u> for average number in attendance | 10s | 5s |
| <u>Annually</u> - | | |
| For <u>proficiency</u> in Reading, Writing and | | |
| Arithmetic | 6s | 3s |
| " " " Special Subjects, viz. | | |
| Recitation and Elementary | | |
| Geography or Grammar | 2s | 1s |
| For <u>Discipline and Organisation</u> , on a | | |
| satisfactory report from | | |
| Inspector | 4s | 2s |
| | 52s a year | 26s a year |

(1)

Although the School Boards could normally expect these payments to be made in full, and the Annual Report evidence indicates that they usually were, this was not invariably the case. The Annual Report for the Nottingham School Board Day Industrial School for 1898 reads in part:

"There was such gross copying . . . that all confidence in the honesty of the work generally was shaken and no award can be given." (2)

This case seems to have been quite exceptional, however, and in the vast majority of instances School Boards could rely on the Treasury grant to supply a regular and consistent form of income.

1. London County Council: Report with Regard to Industrial Schools, (1870 - 1904) p. 48

2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1899 XLIV 1

42nd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

The same could not be said for the parental contribution and here the experience of different School Boards varied. The Oxford School Board found enforcement of the payment extremely difficult:

"The expenses of the School are defrayed partly from the rates, partly by a capitation grant from Government, partly by the contributions of the parents . . . This payment is extremely difficult to enforce, but the Board has lately been taking vigorous measures for the purpose. Twenty-four parents have been summoned before the magistrates, five were committed to prison for seven days, and distress warrants were issued in the remaining nineteen cases." (1)

As a result of these efforts the Oxford Board secured parental contributions of £49.15.2d in 1879. Lest it be thought that such a reward hardly justified the effort involved, it should be borne in mind that in most School Boards Victorian rectitude would consider otherwise. When the Gateshead School Board was considering the practicalities of operating a day industrial school, the deputation drawn up to investigate the situation in existing schools pointed out that considerable difficulty could be experienced in collecting fees, that in Bristol the cost of collection was almost equal to the fees collected, but, they added:

" . . . the authorities quite rightly insist on payment." (2)

The Gateshead School Board later expressed satisfaction with their own arrangements for the collection of parental contributions:

"The Board attach the highest importance to the necessity of parents, who have neglected their duty to their offspring, not being allowed to throw their children upon the rates without being compelled to contribute to their support.

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1. Report of the Oxford School Board for the Year 1879 p. 2
 2. Minutes of Gateshead School Board Vol. C pp. 170 - 183 quoted in Thew, J. M. op. cit. p. 94

The duty of collecting these amounts is discharged by the officers of the Board, and during the last year they have collected no less than £197.8.9d. It is worthy of notice that this is in striking contrast to the amount collected by the Police on account of children committed to the Abbot Memorial School and Training Ship." (1)

They went on to point out that the Police had only managed to collect a much smaller amount from the parents "for a larger number of children."

The London School Board too, seems to have experienced little difficulty over the matter of the collection of parental contributions:

" . . . the majority of parents pay their contributions with regularity. When difficulty is experienced in obtaining the amount, on account of the poverty of the parents, leniency is shown and time is given in which to pay off the arrears." (2)

Lenient or not, there were occasions when the law was invoked against parents of children in the London School Board Day Industrial Schools following the initiative of the Attendance Officer:

"Bertie Grinham has a father, mother and elder brother (17 years of age) all earning money, and from my two visits to their home, I believe them well able to pay the contribution ordered.

It was decided to apply for a summons against the parent." (3)

On occasion the work of the Attendance Officer was made difficult by the conspiratorial links between close-knit members of the absentee's family, as the minutes of the Drury Lane school managers reveal:

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1. Gateshead School Board Third Report of Proceedings, (November 1879 - November 1882) p. 17
 2. London County Council: Report with Regards to Industrial Schools, (1870 - 1904) p. 48
 3. Minutes of the Governors of Drury Lane School Board Day Industrial School (12 November 1895)

"Richard Collins has only been here two weeks but his parents have paid nothing. They have however given us a great deal of trouble . . . The boy's parents live in Red Lion Market, Whitecross Street, and he has a grandmother living in Little Sutton Street . . . When I go to the parents' house they say he is at his grandmother's and on going there we are told he is at his parents' house . . .

It was decided to take proceedings to enforce payment." (1)

In spite of these two cases arising at one managers' meeting, the Superintendent was able to assure them that:

"In nearly every instance the parents' contributions are brought to the school by the children themselves and I experience but little difficulty in obtaining them." (2)

Between them, the parental contributions and the Treasury grant would comprise a significant proportion of the expenditure involved in running the schools. In 1882, according to the Annual Report, parental contributions amounted to £2,183.14.7d and Treasury grants to £2,592.1.4d. The total expenditure on the institutions for the year was £13,494.11.5d, so that between them parents and Treasury met 35.4% of the cost. (3) Obviously a fall in the number of children in any school, although it would reduce the amount spent on food, would reduce both parental contributions and Treasury grant while leaving most fixed charges unchanged, and so threaten the continuation of the institution.

In conclusion then financial considerations were important in the decision whether or not to establish a day industrial school. However, while the national average figures always showed a comparative cost advantage in favour of the day industrial school as against the residential institution,

1. Ibid. (12 November 1895)

2. Ibid. (12 November 1895)

3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1883 XXIV 1

this advantage applied most consistently to large School Boards which experienced, and anticipated the continuation of, a truancy problem associated with parental neglect and poverty. The cost advantage was less evident where the numbers of non-attenders was small and where it was possible that they would decline further in the future.

The financial implications of establishing a day industrial school varied from locality to locality and with the passing of time. Uncertainty about the future, and an optimistic or pessimistic prognosis about truancy levels, would be just as influential in decision making as would national average costs. In some School Boards the arithmetic might appear so finely balanced that in the final analysis it may have been prejudice, in favour of or against the principle of rate support for poor families, rather than financial considerations, which most influenced the decision to open a new day industrial school or to keep open an existing one.

(iv) The Ethos of the School Board Day Industrial Schools

In an article entitled "Mary Carpenter: A confident and contradictory reformer," R. J. W. Selleck points to what he sees as contradictory elements in her approach to education. On the one hand he refers to her intense feeling for the worth of the unfortunate children whom she set out to serve:

"The principle which governed her work and which she expected to govern those who worked with her, she stated simply: 'there must be . . . a strong faith in the immortality of the human soul, the universal and parental government of God, and the equal value in His sight of each one of these poor and perishing young creatures with the most exalted of our race.' For many people such words were clichés . . . Mary Carpenter meant them, she believed literally and unswervingly that there was 'an indestructible germ of a divine nature in these unhappy little beings,' and that belief brought to her work a consuming ardour and intensity." (1)

From this evidence her work might be seen as springing either from unselfish motives and a profound sympathy for poor children, or from a religious fundamentalism which imposed on her the duty of saving souls. Either way, the object of concern, and the motivating factor in Mary Carpenter's response, is the 'perishing young creature.'

On the other hand, Selleck refers also to her use of the term "the perishing and dangerous classes" the effect of which is, he says:

" . . . to define these classes not in terms of their individual worth, or even of their immortal souls . . . but in terms of a threat to society." (2)

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1. Selleck, R. J. W. "Mary Carpenter: A confident and contradictory reformer." History of Education, (1985) Vol. 14, No. 2 p. 108
 2. Ibid. p. 114

Such a threat may be countered by education:

"Her programme was based on the optimistic Enlightenment belief that children, even those in the perishing and dangerous classes, could be saved by education." (1)

But in this case the motivation is less concern for the deprived individual than the desire to preserve society from submersion by the lower orders:

" . . . she shared with philanthropists and other advocates of education the hope that it would guard society against challenge and disruption." (2)

It is in this distinction between the perception of the individual child, however deprived, as an equal in the sight of God and therefore having the right to education, and the perception of these children and their parents, en masse, as "the perishing and dangerous classes" and therefore in need of education "as a remedy for social evils" (3) that Selleck perceives the "contradictory" element in Mary Carpenter and in her ideas about schooling. He goes on to say that she:

" . . . would not have been impressed with terms such as 'hidden curriculum' for there was nothing hidden about her values or her intentions . . . And when those she seeks to improve are described as 'dangerous' or 'perishing' the social judgments can hardly be more explicit." (4)

In thus drawing attention to what he sees as a dichotomy between Mary Carpenter's attitude to the individual and to the class to which he belonged, Selleck emphasises his point. The effect of using the term "perishing and dangerous classes" is "to define these classes not in terms of their individual worth or even of their immortal souls (as she otherwise did) but in terms of a threat to society." (5)

1. Ibid. p. 108

2. Ibid. p. 108

3. Ibid. p. 114

4. Ibid. p. 114

5. Ibid. p. 114

Selleck's depiction of Mary Carpenter as a 'contradictory' reformer would not necessarily receive universal agreement for it is possible to see, in the desire to save souls and the desire to protect society, two sides of the same coin of a rigid rescue ideology or two aspects of a "heart tender." (1) Selleck himself ends his article with the question "Which is the true Mary Carpenter, the female paternalist or the intense reformer . . . ?" and concludes "The answer, of course, is both - and both at once." (2)

Whatever view is taken of Selleck's description, and it is a much more complicated one than that presented by her first biographer (3), his article does raise important questions about the ethos which prevailed in the School Board day industrial schools, the establishment of which she had done so much to make possible. Did a uniform ethos prevail in the schools? To what extent did Mary Carpenter's ideas permeate and influence their management? Did the schools exist primarily to provide for their pupils the possibility of a fulfilled and worthwhile life, or to influence their behaviour and attitudes in such a way as to serve the purposes and protect the values of the more privileged?

It has already been argued (Chapter 3) that a number of factors militated towards the maintenance of a uniform ethos among the day industrial schools. In the first place, before a School Board established such a school, it became usual for it to organise a deputation to visit existing institutions. If the deputation approved of what it saw, as those from Salford and Oldham approved of what they saw in Liverpool and Wolverhampton, then the Board concerned would attempt to emulate the example in its own school. If the deputation did not like what it saw, as when that from Swansea to Bristol reported that they found the school so "dirty and miserable . . . that (they)

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1. Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 14
 2. Selleck, R. J. W. op. cit. (1985) p. 115
 3. Carpenter, J. E. op. cit. (1881) *passim*.

decided not on any account to start a day industrial school . . . , " (1) then none was built. In passing, it is worth recording that this visit was made to the building in St. James' Back which was subsequently condemned by the Home Office Inspectorate and replaced by superior accommodation, and eventually a completely new staff, in Silver Street, (2) so that the decision may have been over-hasty.

In addition, when negotiations were entered into with the Home Office for the certification of a proposed day industrial school, School Boards would correspond with each other through their clerks to seek advice on the framing of rules and regulations. These had, in any case, to be approved by the Home Secretary who would obviously be keen to see that they conformed with the patterns already adopted, and with the wishes of the Inspectorate. Staffs too (p. 137 et seq.) were often recruited from existing day industrial schools and it is to be expected that they would bring with them to their new schools attitudes which had been shaped in their old. It is clear also from the Annual Reports that the Inspectorate held firm ideas about how the schools should be managed and were in a strong position to see to it that superintendents and staffs conformed to them.

Mary Carpenter died during the night of 14 June 1877, (3) exactly two months after the first of the School Board day industrial schools, that at St. James' Back, Bristol, received its certification. Some three months later it was transferred to new premises in Silver Street, (4) and it was nearly a year later that the second day industrial institution was opened in Liverpool's South Corporation school. (5) Obviously, therefore, she wielded no direct influence on the ethos of any of the schools. However, her ideas about how the schools should be conducted were passed on in

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1. S.B.C. (14 December 1878) p. 569
 2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1890 XXXVIII 1
33rd Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 3. Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 240
 4. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1878 XLII 601
21st Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 5. Ibid. 1880 XXXVII 1 23rd Annual Report

a number of ways. The very opening hours adopted were, for example, based upon those which she had established in the first Bristol school, as were the main outlines of the time-table, and also the custom of providing three meals during the day. She herself had often expressed the conviction that "Love must be the ruling sentiment of all who attempt to influence and guide these children," (1) and that they should be made to "feel the brotherhood of man." (2) There is some evidence to be found to support the view that these aspirations were shared by those responsible for managing the day industrial schools in the years following her death.

Over and over again the reports written by William Inglis and Henry Rogers, point to and approve of the benevolent and "motherly" attitudes adopted by the staffs of the schools towards those in their care:

"I find all promising well under kind and experienced managements." (3)

"It is a pleasure to see the motherly care taken in most of them by the superintendents and teachers: in nearly all cases these are women and it is doubtful whether the results would have been as good under any other system." (4)

More than once H.M.I. Inglis made the point that the fact that the schools were largely under the control of women was important in producing the right kind of atmosphere and he sometimes expressed puzzlement over the attitudes of some School Boards towards them:

"I cannot understand why Day Industrial Schools are not more appreciated by School Boards . . . They are in most cases managed by women, who are certainly far better qualified to deal with puny children than men, and it would be impossible to find more efficient superintendents and assistants than those who are now engaged in the work." (5)

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1. Carpenter, M. Reformatory Schools (1851) p. 74
 2. Ibid. p. 75
 3. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1892 XLIII 1
35th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools
 4. Ibid. 1896 XLV 383 39th Annual Report
 5. Ibid. 1892 XLIII 1 35th Annual Report

It was of course the major part of the work of Inglis and Rogers to visit the residential institutions, reformatories, industrial schools and truant schools, and perhaps the contrast between the atmosphere in many of those schools and that in the day industrial schools prejudiced them in some way towards the latter. In a few short years in the 1880's they had to deal with, for example, two attempts to set fire to Kingswood Reformatory, the deliberate burning of the "Clarence," an attempt to set fire to the "Mars" (all in 1883), a mutiny on the "Akbar" in 1887 and the deliberate destruction by fire of the "Cumberland" in 1889. (1) Granted that the reformatories dealt with a different type of offender, but nevertheless it is a remarkable testimony to the way children were handled in the day industrial schools that, by contrast, in all the annual reports there is only one case recorded of a threat to a member of staff. This followed an incident in the Newcastle school in 1889 when one boy attacked another with a knife and a teacher intervened. (2) Of course there may have been, probably must have been, other incidents, but their absence from the records and the frequent references to the kindly relationships between staffs and pupils do insinuate that in the schools as a whole a caring ethos was aimed for and, in the main, attained.

It was certainly sought by H.M.I. Inglis and he left no doubt about his feelings on the subject in his 1895 report. Writing about his inspection of the fourteen truant schools he said:

"Since Truant Schools came into existence I have never ceased to protest against the strict treatment, the excess of corporal punishment, and the absence of recreation or anything like reward for good conduct.

Useful schools they are, but though I could name two or three that have always been conducted on moderate or sensible lines, there have been others into which I have never

1. Ibid. 1884 XLIV 1; 1888 XLIX 1; 1890 XXXVIII 1

2. Thomas, D. H. op. cit. (1985) p. 31

entered without feeling more sympathy for the inmates than for the Truant School system." (1)

It is possible to sense the relief with which he turns to the day industrial schools in the same report:

"Day Industrial Schools are, without exception, going on well and doing good work. It is always a pleasure to go into these schools and to see the order apparent everywhere, and the children almost invariably look bright and cheerful. (2)

Reference has already been made (p. 241) to the contrast between the attitude of William Inglis to the schools as compared to that held, initially at least, by his successor James Legge. However, Legge's scepticism can once again be invoked as support for the observations of his predecessor. He too is witness to the caring attention given by the staffs of the schools to the children, the difference between himself and Inglis lying not in the facts of the matter, but in their reactions to them. Where Inglis was approving, Legge is dubious:

"To see these . . . street arabs . . . having an aching tooth or ear attended to by a kind teacher is a sight that will make even a dull face glow. That children should be kindly treated is good, and no one will deny that in this regard the Day Industrial Schools deserve their reputation, but let it be remembered . . . that if they are only to exist as feeding elementary schools then the benefit of them is limited indeed." (3)

As has been shown though, his attitude to the schools changed as he came to know them better and to see how willing many of them were to adopt the suggestions he put forward with regards to finding employment

1. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1895 LVII 1

38th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

2. Ibid. 1895 LVII 1 38th Annual Report

3. Ibid. 1897 XLII 1 40th Annual Report

for the children before they left school, and to providing opportunities for them to remain in touch with the school after they had left. This more sympathetic attitude to the work of the schools and to the children in them is nowhere better illustrated than in Legge's reaction to Liverpool's Bond Street school.

The vast majority of Bond Street's pupils were Roman Catholics of Irish descent. Out of nearly 300 children in attendance in 1896 only 14 were Protestants. (1) James Legge had very firm ideas about the Catholic Irish. In 1897 he expressed it as his opinion that the character of the low Roman Catholic home was worse than that of the low Protestant one, adding:

"In the low quarters of Liverpool . . . of course, you only get the dregs of the Irish population, those without the qualities of the Irishmen who stay at home, or who have emigrated and conquered fortune in the Colonies." (2)

It is scarcely surprising that the annual report on Bond Street school for 1896 should include the observation that ". . . in the evenings many of them frequent the low music halls" - where admission was only one penny.

Legge's further acquaintance with the school did, however, lead him to acknowledge the existence there of a lively corporate ethos and a willingness on the part of some children to spend some at least of their after-school hours outside of the numerous low places of amusement with which the school was surrounded:

"Bond Street, Liverpool has been extraordinarily successful in open competitions at all kinds of exercises, and the display of trophies in the assembly hall is well calculated to make the children proud of their school." (3)

Legge went on to commend the establishment in Bond Street of a special evening continuation school run on a purely voluntary basis which he declared

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1. Ibid. 1897 XLII 1 40th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1897 XLII 1 40th Annual Report
 3. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 103 46th Annual Report

to be worthy of official recognition and imitation elsewhere. (1)

In his annual reports issued between 1898 and 1904 Legge showed himself to have been reassured about the merits of close and friendly relations between teachers and pupils in the day industrial schools and on a number of occasions he paid individual schools the kind of compliment awarded to that in Bristol, now much improved since the visit by the deputation from Swansea.

"The school has a well deserved reputation for the sympathetic and kindly character of its management." (2)

Away from the official reports it is more difficult to discover a continuous body of evidence reflecting on the ethos which prevailed in the schools. The available log books are a possible source and it has already been suggested (p. 119) that the tone of, and the language used, in some of these are indicative of caring attitudes on the part of the superintendents and an identification of interest with the pupils. "Our boys played cricket yesterday with Clint Road," writes Miss Clegg of Queensland Street, and "Our lads won two rounds of the tug o'war" writes Mrs. Parr of Bond Street, (3) both with evident pride. Miss Kirby of Wolverhampton day industrial school takes obvious pleasure from recording of the children's Christmas dinner, "The children had the best time they ever had." (4) None of the log books studied reveal undertones of antipathy or indifference towards the pupils as a whole nor that the superintendents regarded their function as purely a punitive one.

Comments from outside of the system are harder to discover but, where they have been found, do tend to confirm the picture of the day industrial

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1. Ibid. 1904 XXXVI 103 46th Annual Report
 2. Ibid. 1899 XLIV 1 42nd Annual Report
 3. Queensland Street School Board Day Industrial School Log Book (16th June 1904)
Bond Street School Board Day Industrial School Log Book (27 June 1902)
 4. Wolverhampton School Board Day Industrial School Log Book (7 January 1901)

schools as caring and not unduly harsh institutions. Both Spalding and Philpott express favourable opinions about the Drury Lane school. Spalding describes the main object of the training as being to induce "self-restraint, self-respect and self-reliance," quoting in addition the opinion of the Governor that:

"unconsciously and quietly many a child has acted as a missionary and has been the instrument of improving a dirty and desolate home." (1)

Philpott is more fulsome in his praise, both of the people responsible for the running of the school and of the atmosphere which pervades it. Interestingly, he too uses the word "motherly" in his description:

"The Board has been specially fortunate in securing for its pioneer school the services of such a large-hearted and zealous worker for children as Mr. Humphreys. And in the Chairman of the Managers, Mrs. Dibdin, the children have another most devoted and sympathetic friend, who knows every one of them by name and takes quite a motherly interest in them all." (2)

Of the atmosphere in the school, Philpott writes:

" . . . it is pleasant to note the air of orderliness which is yet combined with a good deal of freedom. There is little to suggest the institutional life. The spirit of the adventurous London urchin is chastened but not broken." (3)

The same combination of orderliness and freedom was noted by a reporter from the Bootle Times on a visit to the day industrial school in the borough. He (or she) refers to the children as "little folks" rather than "street arabs" and reports that he has been received "kindly and courteously." His description of the way the children are marshalled and paraded back into school

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1. Spalding, T. A. The Work of the London School Board (1900) pp 146-7
 2. Philpot, H. B. op. cit. (1904) p. 241
 3. Ibid. p. 237

after play-time conveys an impression of warmth even though the activity is a very formal one:

" . . . when word is given they march two abreast, keeping excellent time, and pass up to the schoolroom, their little feet, bootless and stockingless, striking the stairs step by step together, each boy saluting in military style as he passes by. The Bootle Day Industrial School, conducted as it is at the present time, should wield an influence for good in the borough . . . " (1)

In 1901 the day industrial school in Queensland Street, Liverpool, was inspected no less than four times, on 28 January, 7 March, 6 June and 6 December. In summing up the results of all these visits the annual report read:

"The school merits all the favourable remarks which have been given to it in the past. If there is one good feature which may be singled out for mention this year it is the happy relationship which clearly exists between the staff and the children." (2)

It may be worth recording here the almost completely unsuccessful attempt to gain a pupils'-eye view of the School Board Day Industrial Schools in Liverpool. In 1976 an attempt was made by means of an advertisement in the local press to make contact with any (very) old pupil who had spent time in one of the schools towards the close of the nineteenth century. It prompted only one reply, and that not from a former pupil, but from a lady whose mother had attended Queensland Street school at the turn of the century. She described how her mother had told her that she had been

1. Bootle Times (29 August 1896)

2. British Sessional Papers House of Commons 1902 XLVIII 1

45th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools

sent to the school for staying away from the elementary school because she had no shoes. She told of being followed through the streets to her home on one occasion by a group of children who chanted "Queenie Bum" after her - a reference both to the name of the school and to the voluminous brown knickers it supplied to its needy girls. But the same lady described how happy she was at the school, how she "loved it, and loved doing jobs for the teacher and didn't want to leave." (1)

One lady's recollections do not of course clinch the argument either way, but it is of interest, if no more, that this hearsay evidence does accord with the view of the inspectorate at the time that many day industrial schools were places where children could feel secure and where the links between children and staff were close.

The final question, that of whether the schools were essentially institutions which offered their pupils some opportunity of freeing themselves from the crippling effects of adverse environment, or whether they existed to help certain groups in society to control and protect themselves against another, is more difficult to resolve. It is not impossible that any answer provided will reveal more about the attitudes and prejudices of the researcher than about the attitudes and prejudices of the schools. A study of the illustrations provided by the London County Council in its Report with regard to Industrial Schools 1870 - 1904 (2) will not answer the question but may, at least, clarify the view of contemporary authority.

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1. Interview with Margaret Newall (May 1976)
 2. London County Council Report with regard to Industrial Schools (1870 - 1904) p. 46

Illustrations of Industrial School Work.



DRURY LANE DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.
BOY ON ADMISSION.



DRURY LANE DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL —
SAME BOY AFTERWARDS.

The pictures show, on the left, a boy in process of admission to Drury Lane Day Industrial School. He is dressed in rags and barefoot standing beside a police sergeant who is holding a document, presumably to do with his committal by the magistrate. He is shown again on the right, cleaned up, dressed in a good suit of clothes, well shod and well groomed. Significantly, he is hand-in-hand with authority - perhaps the Governor himself.

What has happened to him? Has he been delivered or defeated?

Selleck writes:

"Mary Carpenter (wiser in her generation than many historians have been since) did not see the lower classes as passive victims of upper-class oppression . . . With an insight lacking in many of her contemporaries she realized that the beggars'

"filth and rags" were not annoyances to them, but the imple-
ments of their trade . . . " (1)

Has the boy been robbed then, not only of the tools of his trade but of his niche in society? One cannot help but wonder what will be his reception when he goes back, in his new apparel, to the court or alley where he lives. And yet there seems to be little doubt that the schools regarded themselves as existing to save the children from their surroundings, to point the way out of the combination of deprivation and squalor rather than to become involved in any ideology or scheme to transform it. In the schools themselves the approach appeared to be pragmatic. If the child was dirty, clean him. If he was hungry, feed him. If he was absent, go and get him. In looking to the child's future the schools did not go beyond seeing the boy as, at best, a tradesman, a shoemaker, tailor, joiner, but more usually a seaman, infantryman or labourer. The girl was destined to become his wife after, perhaps, a few years spent in service or as a shopgirl or seamstress. But was this all that different from the aspirations of most elementary schools for most of their children at this time? It was certainly seen as preferable to the life of neglect, petty crime and grinding poverty that had been the lot of most of the parents.

And at least it seems to have been done for the most part with a degree of concern that was lacking in many of the residential institutions to which the children might otherwise have been sent, and perhaps even in some of the ordinary elementary schools they might have attended.

Selleck concludes his article by pointing to what he sees as a final contradiction in Mary Carpenter's attitude:

"Moreover, and in this she was a true child of the Poor Law's 'less eligibility' principle, she asked for legislative action 'to compel all such parents as can maintain their children, but who by their criminal neglect allow them to be injurious to society, to pay the cost of their maintenance'

1. Selleck, R. J. W. op. cit. (1986) p. 112

in an industrial school. Thus a person who placed such stress on 'the holy duties of a parent' was willing to compel the separation of parents and children, though once separated, the children were to be brought up in industrial schools permeated with a family atmosphere." (1)

This is true as far as it goes, but it applies only to children whose home background has completely broken down, and even then, it is clear from her comments elsewhere, that Mary Carpenter regarded separation as a last resort, deeply to be regretted:

"We must not say all parents are wicked . . . We should not sever the family ties of all these young persons, or place the hand of the policeman on so many thousands of the rising generation" (2)

Selleck nowhere mentions the day industrial schools in his article, but it was with Sherriff Watson and the Rev. Page-Hopps, both of whom campaigned consistently for the preservation of the home link, that Mary Carpenter allied herself, not with Lord Houghton. and those who argued that a return home in the evening would destroy the good work done in the school during the day.

The School Board Day Industrial Schools would become, she hoped, places where children could be given an environment "permeated with a family atmosphere" without the need for separation from parents. This is what Inglis and Rogers wanted too, and, to judge from what the London County Council and Henry Rogers wrote, what, in large measure, they achieved:

"Year by year it has become more and more apparent that the Day Industrial schools supply a need which is not met either by the residential Industrial school or by the Truant school. Mr. Henry Rogers, late Assistant Inspector of Industrial schools wrote of them in 1897 as follows:

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1. Ibid. p. 115
 2. Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 112

'I can testify, however, that the Day Industrial schools now at work have been so organised, so managed and controlled and the children's necessities so thoroughly felt and understood, that it has been nothing else than a keen sense of satisfaction to enter their doors and gaze on the spectacle presented. No matter what the outward condition or aspect of the poor children or the sufferings and privations to which they had been or are exposed, within the walls of this refuge there may be found harmony, rest, and peace.' " (1)

Harmony, rest and peace are qualities not usually associated with the type of neighbourhood in which the School Board Day Industrial Schools were situated, and they were in no way characteristic of the reformatories, residential industrial or truant schools. That such an observation could be made of the day industrial schools and that it should be said that in them the children's necessities were thoroughly felt and understood, is testimony of the extent to which the staffs of the schools succeeded in providing secure and sympathetic environments for the children in their care.

In comparison with the residential schools, control in the day industrial schools was maintained with a very light hand indeed.

1. London County Council: Report with regard to Industrial Schools
(1870 - 1904) p. 48

Conclusion

As has already been noted, there existed in Britain, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a body of opinion which held that the social control of the children of the residuum of urban poor was best effected by the separation of the child who failed to attend school both from his parents and from the environment in which he had grown up. The attitudes and the activities of those who held this view, and their influence on the institutions established for the education of the urban poor, have been discussed and documented by a number of historians, including in particular Marsden, Selleck, Hurt, Humphries, Springhall and Reeder. (1) Less attention has been paid to a counter-view which also existed at the time and which maintained that the link between child and parent should be preserved whenever possible. Those who subscribed to this view insisted that the link could be preserved in the great majority of cases if an appropriate educational institution was provided. This institution, which would set out to civilise, cleanse, feed, educate and train children without removing them entirely from the hands of their parents, would need to be supported out of public funds, both national and local. It took practical shape in the form of the School Board Day Industrial School.

At various points during the course of this study conclusions have been drawn about the factors which motivated those who advocated this type of school. They may be summarised as falling into one or more of three categories. In the first were those who, like Mary Carpenter, Sherriff Watson and the Rev. Page-Hopps, believed that it was wrong in principle

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1. Marsden, W. E. op. cit. (1983) pp. 105 - 115
Selleck, R. J. W. op. cit. (1985) p. 114
Hurt, J. op. cit. (1984) p. 55
Humphries, S. op. cit. (1981) *passim*
Springhall, J. op. cit. (1986) p. 166
Reeder, D. A. in Reeder, Ed. op. cit. (1977) pp. 85 - 87

to separate child from parent and that doing so could only be justified as a matter of last resort:

"We should not sever the family ties of all these young persons." (1)

Secondly, there were those who favoured the day industrial schools mainly because of the financial advantages which, under certain circumstances, they could provide. And finally, there were those who feared the evil effects which all too often befell children who were incarcerated alongside hardened offenders. All three were referred to by Edward Hance, clerk to the Liverpool School Board in an address to the Annual Conference of School Board Clerks in Manchester in 1878:

"Our Board strongly share Miss Carpenter's opinion, that in other than very exceptional cases, to commit a child to an ordinary industrial school merely because it will not go, or, which is more frequent, because its parent neglects to send it, to an ordinary school . . . is a complete perversion of the original intention of these schools, and one fraught with many dangers. It involves a severance of the natural tie between parent and child, a course which is always evil and only to be justified when it is absolutely necessary . . . It condemns the children to an artificial training, which makes their contact with the rough realities of life doubly difficult to bear; and it has the radical defect of being so expensive that where children of this class are at all numerous it is impossible to deal with them all in this way, and thus, while many children are necessarily neglected, large sums of money are expended on a few." (2)

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1. Carpenter, M. quoted in Manton, J. op. cit. (1976) p. 112
 2. S.B.C. (7 December 1878) p. 546

Not all of his audience agreed with him and when the clerk to the Hull School Board put forward the suggestion that the residential industrial school really did provide a more suitable environment for poor truant children, Mr. Hance quickly refuted the notion:

"The effect of the industrial school was not by any means all good. Revelations of awful depravity in industrial schools had come under his notice." (1)

Chief among the arguments raised against the establishment of day industrial schools was that children committed to them would return in the evening to the very environment that had been the cause of their committal in the first place, so that any beneficial influences experienced during the day would be negated. In addition, it was argued by some that the day school was simply not sufficiently punitive - ". . . all that the child suffered was the disgrace of quasi-imprisonment," (2) while the use of such institutions only encouraged negligent parents to act even more irresponsibly. Finally, it was often argued, schools which ventured into the practices of cleansing children and supplying them with food represented a further encroachment by the State into what ought to be areas of private responsibility.

There can be no doubt that these objections helped to restrict the provision of School Board Day Industrial Schools for, despite the fact that they had been successfully challenged in the debate on the 1876 Education Act in the House of Commons, they continued to be raised whenever School Boards discussed the desirability of establishing such a school. Even so, the conclusion drawn from this study is that the twenty-four schools that were established under the terms of the Act represented a not insignificant response, and that most of the 30,000 plus pupils who were admitted to them fared better than they might have done had they

1. S.B.C. (14 December 1878) p. 569

2. Hansard (1876) Vol. 230 1539

been committed to residential schools, or had they continued to wander the streets. Furthermore, in certain parts of the country, notably in the North-West, the North-East, in Leeds, and latterly in London, the day industrial schools made an important contribution to solving the problem of truancy and to bridging the gap between the 1870's, when school was regarded by too many parents in the poorest parts of the larger towns as an irrelevant intrusion into the serious business of staying alive, and the early 1900's when schooling was generally accepted as a normal part of life.

There are two reasons for coming to this conclusion. Firstly, there is good evidence (p. 251 et. seq.) for believing that the School Board Day Industrial Schools were effective in bringing about the regular attendance of the vast majority of the children committed to them. Secondly, within the schools themselves, in spite of the limitations imposed by low levels of attainment on entry, and by the licensing system which often took children out of the schools after a short period of detention, there was a genuine and sustained effort to extend the curriculum and to improve standards. Far from accepting low attainment as "only to be expected," some of the schools, like those in London, Bootle, Wolverhampton and Edinburgh, continually surprised and impressed the Inspectorate with the levels of work produced. In many of the schools the standards of physical training, as demonstrated by the number of trophies won in competition with ordinary Board schools, were remarkable; the more so when it is borne in mind that the majority of the pupils entered the schools under-nourished and under-developed.

Within the schools too, the emphasis in the industrial section of the curriculum gradually changed from the repetition of mechanical tasks to training and the acquisition of skills. If progress in this area was slow, at least it can be said that the Home Office inspectors and the superintendents and staffs of the schools did recognise the problem and were not

complacent about it. Some schools, notably those in Great Yarmouth and London, were highly commended for the progress they made and for the success they achieved in placing pupils in occupations on leaving school. Others, like Bond Street and Drury Lane, were praised for the efforts they made to provide some form of after-care for their school leavers.

While it would be wrong to exaggerate the achievements of the School Board Day Industrial Schools, they were, nevertheless, socially significant and historically interesting. True, the 30,000 plus children accommodated over the period represented only a small proportion of the total dealt with by the reformatories and industrial schools (1) but for these children the day industrial schools were the means by which they received almost the whole of their education or else they provided a bridge between truancy and regular attendance at ordinary elementary schools.

In the very problematical area of religious instruction the School Board Day Industrial Schools succeeded in reaching positions of compromise which, apart from the brief Liverpool Corporation Schools experiment of the late 1830's, virtually all other types of school had failed to achieve. By one means or another they attained a situation in which teachers and children of Protestant and Roman Catholic persuasion could work together under one superintendent, and, except for the Manchester school, could be taught secular subjects side-by-side in the same classroom. Eventually, in those schools which required it, ways were found for denominational instruction to be given even though the schools were supported through public funds.

1. Hurt writes "By the mid-1880's Colonel Inglis and his assistants had to inspect over 200 schools containing more than 20,000 children in mainland Britain." op. cit. (1984) p. 50. Of this total about 2,000 were in the School Board Day Industrial Schools. Or, more precisely, in 1883 there were 18,780 children in the residential reformatories and industrial schools, and 1,782 in the day industrial schools. (British Sessional Papers, House of Commons, XLIV 1 27th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories and Industrial Schools)

The capacity of the day industrial school for handling the neglected class of child committed to it was remarkable. It was frequently commented on by Her Majesty's Inspectors and in 1897, Henry Rogers, retired from a life-time spent in visiting schools of all kinds, wrote:

"In no class of schools I have ever entered have I witnessed more encouraging scenes of good order, discipline and quiet control. Time after time, year after year, in all these schools, the triumph of good feeling, quiet persuasion, kindly Christian influence, and patient forbearance has been exceedingly made manifest, and has surprised me in a high degree." (1)

If the schools were part of an ideology of control, then the superintendents and staffs appeared convinced that they were exercising this control in the interests of the children themselves rather than for the benefit of some other section in society.

The final conclusion drawn from this study is that within the School Board Day Industrial Schools the influence of the Home Office Inspectorate was extremely powerful. They succeeded in ensuring that the problem of religious instruction was resolved according to their own ideas on the matter, they were very influential in bringing about changes in attitude to the industrial occupation, they successfully encouraged changes designed to improve the standards of medical care in most of the schools, and, by the end of the School Board period, had prompted a number of the schools to take a closer interest in the welfare of children after they had left.

With the School Boards themselves, however, the Inspectors were less successful in their dealings, sometimes appealing in vain for increased resources and for prolongation of the use of the schools. In 1900 H.M.I. Legge had written:

1. Rogers, H. quoted in London County Council Report with regard to Industrial Schools, 1870 - 1904 (1904) p. 48

"It is eminently desirable that these schools should increase in number." (1)

However, even as he wrote some Boards considered that they had already fulfilled the purpose for which they had been established, and that resistance to school attendance in the districts they served had begun to fade. As Gordon Rose observes:

"They began to decline at the end of that century (the nineteenth) because their functions had been very largely those of feeding children in need and of dealing with truancy cases which were usually a consequence of poverty. The Departmental Committee of 1896 commended these schools, but the Committee of 1913 noted that they had declined from twenty in 1896 to twelve." (2)

Apart from those mentioned in this study as having closed before 1903, the day industrial schools in Sunderland and Oxford closed in 1906; that in Czar Street, Leeds, in 1909; that in Bond Street, Liverpool, in 1912; and that in Edgar Street, Leeds, in 1913. By 1922 only the three Liverpool schools, South Corporation, Queensland Street and Addison Street, remained open. Evidently the Liverpool Education Committee still found them useful for, while agreeing to the closure of South Corporation School in that year, they requested permission for continuation of the other two:

"Resolved: That the action of the Sub-Committee in arranging the necessary steps to be taken with a view to the closing of the South Corporation School on 31st March, 1922, and, subject to the approval of the Home Office for the continuation of the Queensland Street School for a period of six

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1. Legge, J. G. quoted in ibid. p. 49
 2. Rose, G. op. cit. (1967) p. 203

months and the Addison Street School for such period as the Home Office may agree, be approved." (1)

The period of six months grace requested for the Queensland Street School was, at the further request of the Education Committee, extended again and again until at last, on 27 February 1928, it was resolved:

" a. - That the Sub-Committee be authorised to take the necessary steps with a view to closing the Queensland Street Day Industrial School on June 30th, 1928.

b. - That the Home Office be pressed to continue the recognition of Addison Street Day Industrial School." (2)

Addison Street School remained open for another seven years before it was closed following a resolution of the Education Committee on 31 March 1935. (3)

With the closure of this school the experiment begun in 1876 came to an end. The School Board Day Industrial Schools had never become as numerous as their supporters had hoped or their opponents had feared. But they played a part of no little importance, and of unusual interest, in helping to turn the aspiration for universal education into reality. They were the means by which education reached a significant minority of the most deprived sections of Victorian society and they represented a large part of the life's work of a number of very worthy men and women. Certainly they deserve better than to be remembered only as having been "too often housed in the tumbledown relics of former ragged schools, and too often taught by the same pious eccentrics " (4)

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1. Proceedings of Liverpool Education Committee (1921-2) p. 184
 2. Ibid. (1928-9) p. 161
 3. Ibid. (1934-5) p. 354
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Appendix 1

Blackburn School Board

Rules and Regulations for the Management
of the
Mayson Street Certified Day Industrial School,
Blackburn

Blackburn School Board.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF THE

MAYSON STREET CERTIFIED DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL,
BLACKBURN.

Established April, 1890.

1.—The School shall be a Day Industrial School, within the meaning of section 16 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, for the reception and detention of children committed by a magistrate's warrant, under sections 12 and 16 of that Act; and for the reception, under the provisions of sub-section (4) of the last-mentioned section, of children under attendance orders, or without an order of a court. Object.

2.—The School being provided by the School Board, shall, under the supervision of that body, be managed by a Committee of the Board, hereinafter called the "Managers." Management.

3.—The School shall be open for the reception of children of all religious denominations. Religious Denomination of Children.

4.—No child shall be received into the School who is under 5 or over 14 years of age. Children, however, who were below the latter age when received into the School, may (unless discharged on other grounds) be retained for the full term of their commitment. Age of Children.

5.—The School shall be open for the reception of children of either sex, and shall be conducted as a Mixed School. Sex of Children.

Health of
Children.

6.—No child shall be received into the School who is incapable by mental or physical infirmity, of being benefitted by the instruction and discipline of the School, or who is suffering from any loathsome or infectious disease.

Number of
Children.

7.—The number of children received into the School at any one time shall not exceed 200, exclusive of Infants between 5 and 7 years of age. The School Board may, at any future time, with the concurrence of the Inspector of Day Industrial Schools, authorise the admission of some larger number; provided that it shall in no case exceed such a number as will allow in the school room and day rooms 10 square and 100 cubic feet for each child present therein.

Staff of the
School.

8.—The Staff of the School shall consist of the following officers, viz. :—

- (1) A certificated Mistress as Superintendent
- (2) Such number of assistant Mistresses as the Managers may, with the consent of the School Board from time to time consider necessary for the due instruction of the children in the School.
- (3) A male caretaker, who shall be required to superintend the industrial occupations of the boys, visit absentees, and perform such other duties as the Managers may direct.
- (4) A woman to act as cook; and
- (5) Such further assistants as the Managers may from time to time, with the consent of the School Board, prescribe.

Superintendent

9.—The Superintendent shall, under the direction of the Managers, have sole charge of the School, and shall be responsible for the good management thereof, and for the due execution of all regulations relating thereto; for this purpose she shall have control of all the other officers. She shall also be responsible for the quantities and qualities of all supplies received for the school, and for the proper application thereof.

Appointment of
Officers.

10.—The appointment and discharge of the Superintendent and other officers shall rest solely with the Managers—subject to the confirmation of the School Board; but the Superintendent may suspend any officer for misconduct until she can report the facts to the Managers.

11.—On week days the school hours shall be from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. (except on Saturdays, when the School shall close at 1-30 p.m.); but the School shall be opened at 6 a.m. to receive children who may come, or be brought, at any time between that hour and 8 a.m.

Hours of
Attendance.

12.—The caretaker shall be in attendance at 5-45 a.m., and shall have the School ready for the reception of children by 6 o'clock. All children arriving at the School before 8 o'clock shall until that hour be under his control, and he shall be responsible for their good conduct.

Attendance of
Caretaker.

13.—The Teachers shall be in attendance at the School at 7-45 a.m., and shall not leave the premises during school hours without the special permission of the Superintendent, who shall enter the particulars thereof in the Journal.

Attendance of
Teachers.

14.—The Superintendent shall have power to grant temporary leave of absence to any scholar under either of the following circumstances, viz.:—(a) The serious bodily ailment of the child; (b) The existence of some infectious disease at the child's home; provided that in every case the particulars of the leave granted, and the reasons for it, be entered in the Journal; and that the leave be not continued beyond one fortnight, without the special permission of the Managers.

Temporary leave
of absence to
Scholars.

15.—The Superintendent will be held responsible for the regular and punctual attendance of the teachers and scholars. Whenever a child is absent without leave, the Superintendent shall inform the parent or guardian thereof, shall enquire by personal visitation or otherwise as to the cause of such absence, shall make a full record thereof in the Journal, and shall immediately report the case to the clerk of the School Board.

Absence of
Children.

16.—Every child sent to the School under an order of detention, and every child sent under an attendance order, or under a license from a Certified Industrial School, unless it is otherwise provided in such attendance order or license, shall attend the School during the whole of the school hours on every week day on which the School is open.

Attendance of
Children.

17.—No child shall be allowed to leave the premises during school hours, without permission from the Superintendent.

Children to
attend during
School hours.

Religious Instruction.

18.—The Religious Instruction shall be subject to the following provisions :—

- (a) While any Religious Observance or Instruction is going on in the School, none of the teachers or scholars shall be employed in any other manner in the same room.
- (b) During the times set apart for the Religious Instruction and Observances of the School, any children whose parents object under the conscience clause to their attending such Instruction or Observances shall in another room receive secular instruction.
- (c) The Roman Catholic children in the School shall receive their Religious Instruction from an Assistant Mistress of that faith.
- (d) No Religious Catechism or Religious Formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the School.

Secular Instruction.

19.—The secular instruction shall consist of reading, spelling, writing, dictation, arithmetic, vocal music, and drill ; and as far as practicable, of the elements of grammar, geography, and English history.

Industrial Training.

20.—The industrial training shall consist—

For THE BOYS—Of such industrial occupations as Tailoring, Shoe and Clog making, simple joinery, wood chopping, sack-making, netting, paper-bag making, &c., as the Managers may from time to time consider practicable and desirable ;—

For THE GIRLS—Of plain sewing, washing, cleaning, cooking, and other domestic work, and such other occupations as the Managers may from time to time consider practicable and desirable.

Recreation and Exercise

21.—The children shall be allowed at least two hours daily for recreation and exercise.

Dietary,

22.—The children shall be supplied with three meals a day of plain wholesome food, according to a dietary to be approved by the Inspector of Day Industrial Schools.

23.—The hours for religious and secular instruction, industrial work, recreation, meals, &c., shall be regulated by a Time Table, to be approved by the Inspector of Day Industrial Schools, and to be hung up in a conspicuous position in the school room. Time table.

24.—The Superintendent shall alone have the power of punishing or ordering the punishment of children in the School, and shall be directly responsible for all punishments inflicted. These shall be of the following descriptions only :— Punishment.

- (a) Forfeiture of rewards and privileges including recreation.
- (b) Reduction in quantity of food, but no child shall be deprived of two meals in succession.
- (c) Confinement in a separate, but not dark, room, during the school hours.
- (d) Moderate personal correction by whipping with a common school rod or cane, and not to exceed at any one time five strokes in the case of a child under nine years of age, or nine in the case of a child above that age.
- (e) Each punishment, with the fault committed, shall be recorded in the book kept for the purpose, to be laid before the Managers at their meetings, and to be open to the Inspector for examination.

25.—The Superintendent shall keep a Journal—to be laid before the managers at their meetings—in which she shall record all occurrences of importance: and shall also keep or cause to be kept the following books and records, viz. :— Books to be kept.

- (a) A register of admissions containing a record of the name, age, residence, date of admission, and religious denomination of each child received into the School, and whether it was admitted under a voluntary arrangement, a license from a Certified Industrial School, an attendance order, or an order of detention, in the last case also specifying whether the original proceedings were taken under sub-section 1, or under sub-section 2, of section 11 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876; also such particulars concerning its parentage, previous education, and circumstances as may be found requisite.

- (b) Registers of daily attendance, distinguishing therein the children according as they are received under voluntary arrangements, attendance orders, or orders of detention, and in the last case whether the original proceedings were taken under sub-section 1, or under sub-section 2 of section 11 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876.
- (c) A Punishment Book, in which all punishments and privations shall be recorded, as required by rule 24.
- (d) A stock and store book, containing particulars of all materials and provisions ordered and received for the School, and the manner in which they have respectively been consumed, also of all orders for work executed by the scholars.
- (e) A License Register containing particulars of the name, address, and school attendance of each child placed out on license, together with the date of the license, of its renewal, and where necessary of its revocation.
- (f) Such other books as the Managers may from time to time direct.

Visitors.

26.—The School shall at all times be open to the Inspector of Day Industrial Schools. Members and authorised officers of the Board may visit and inspect the School, and examine the books at any convenient time. With these exceptions no visitor shall be allowed to enter the School during school hours without the written authority of the Clerk to the Board, or one of the Managers, or a member of the Board, or, in urgent cases, of the Superintendent. [This rule does not apply to tradespeople or customers coming to the School on business.]

Returns, Notices,
&c.

27.—The Superintendent shall regularly and punctually furnish the following Notices and Returns, viz. :—

- (a) A Notice—to be approved by the Inspector—immediately after the admission of each child, with information as to whether such admission is under an order of detention, an attendance order, or a voluntary arrangement, and as to the period for which the child is received.

(b) A Notice—on a form to be approved by the Inspector—at the end of each month, of any child having died, left the district, been transferred to another Day Industrial School, committed to an ordinary Industrial School, placed out on license, or allowed to be absent on leave.

(c) The Registers of attendances—duly vouched by herself and the Managers, or Clerk to the Board, at the end of each quarter, and at such other times as the Inspector may require; also at the end of each quarter an account for the maintainance of the scholars in the school, distinguishing those committed voluntarily, and specifying against each child's name the number of attendances it made during the quarter.

(d) In the month of January in each year, a full statement, vouched by the Clerk to the Board of the receipts and expenditure of the School for the year ending on the 31st December immediately preceding, and shewing all outstanding debts and liabilities.

(e) Such other returns and accounts as the Inspector may from time to time require.

28.—All Books and Journals of the School shall be open to the Inspector for examination. Inspector.

29.—No officer of the School shall receive any gratuities from the children or their parents, or from tradespeople, customers, or any other person on pain of immediate dismissal. Gratuities.

30.—No officer shall become security for any person, or engage in any loan transaction with any other officer of the Board. Loans.

31.—The officers shall maintain discipline and order in the School, and carefully attend to the instruction and training of the children in conformity with these Rules, and with the provisions of the Order in Council of the 20th day of March, 1877. The children shall comply with these Rules and obey the officers of the School, and any wilful neglect or refusal to so comply or obey shall, on the part of any child sent to the School under an order of detention, be deemed an offence against the aforesaid Order in Council within the meaning of Section 28 thereof. Discipline.

Alteration of
Rules.

32.—These Rules and Regulations shall not be added to, repealed, or altered in whole or in part except with the consent of the Secretary of State and at a meeting of the School Board convened by a notice stating such business, and sent in accordance with the regulations for the time being in force for the transaction and management of the business of the Board; but the School Board, or with their authority, the Managers, may from time to time lay down special rules for regulating any matter not provided for in these rules, provided that such special rules shall not be in any way inconsistent with these rules, and shall be recorded in a book to be submitted to the Inspector for approval on the occasion of his annual or other visit.



Appendix 2

The Day Industrial School

(The School Board Chronicle, 30th September 1876)

THE DAY INDUSTRIAL-SCHOOL.

THIS will be a new institution. It will deal with the *residuum* class of children in large towns in a manner not hitherto provided for.

Mr. Bartley, in his book on "The Schools for the People," published in 1871, when Mr. Forster's Act was beginning to be put in operation, made this observation with respect to the existing certified industrial schools: "Were such schools created—some, perhaps, being *day schools*, as originally contemplated—sufficient to contain all the children in the kingdom who came under the first and second categories of those at present in the existing institutions, and were the law not permissive, but obligatory, that all such children should be sent to them, it would seem that a great part of the work sought to be achieved by the provisions of the New Education Act would be accomplished."

Already, without assistance from a Government department, the experiment of a day industrial school has been made. The establishment is at Bristol, and is conducted by a voluntary committee. At first the School Board gave such help as was not illegal, treating the institution as an ordinary school, the industrial and feeding departments being paid for by voluntary subscriptions; but more recently it has been conducted wholly as a voluntary institution. To this school the children are admitted at eight o'clock in the morning and they remain there till six in the evening, the programme of the day consisting of three meals, elementary education, industrial teaching and training, a course of cleanliness, &c. The pupils go to their homes at night. This institution may be said to have been founded by Miss Carpenter, and it is the model on which Day Industrial Schools are to be established under Section 16 of Lord Sandon's Act. It is an institution intended to fill up the somewhat wide gap which exists between the long established industrial school and the public elementary school.

The Day Industrial Schools founded like that at Bristol by private benevolence will, from the 1st of January next, be in a position, on the fulfilment of certain easy and proper conditions, to claim assistance from Government and to recover at the same time a small payment from parents, and they will have children sent to them by a magistrate's order, and also by the order of a School Board or School Attendance Committee, without the order of a magistrate, when the consent of the parent has been obtained, together with a promise on the part of the parent to pay a small sum towards the cost of maintenance.

But this is not all: the Act provides also for the building of Day Industrial Schools at the expense of the school fund—in School Board districts only. With the consent of a Secretary of State, a School Board may, on and after the commencement of next year, borrow money to erect and establish a Day Industrial School, spreading the cost over a period of fifty years, and the institution will be under the management of the School Board.

The Day Industrial School, it may be hoped, will go far towards removing the difficulty with which the School Boards have to deal in the attempt to compel the attendance of very low classes of children at school. Wherever there is no proper provision of food for the poor children, and no decent parental control, these institutions will step in and do the work which the public elementary school knows not how to perform. It may be that only in a few large and densely populated towns will these schools be needed; but there are a few places where there is a crying necessity for them, and where we expect to see steps taken for their establishment as soon as the new Act comes into operation.

The industrial arrangements of these schools will, we imagine, apply only to children old enough to be employed in accordance with the employment provisions of Lord Sandon's Act.

THE Rev. R. L. Coe, of Winchester, reports a marked contrast between the buildings and appliances of the Board schools in Sussex, and those provided under great difficulties and at the cost of comparatively few individuals under the voluntary system. To meet the difficulties of maintenance in rural districts the plan of a voluntary rate has been tried, and in some cases with success; but among the small farmers there is generally a certain number from whom it is extremely difficult to collect the small sums at which they are rated.

UNIFORM HOLIDAYS FOR BOARD SCHOOLS AND VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SCHOOL BOARD CHRONICLE."

SIR,—In your last issue you report the chairman of the Worcester School Board as stating "that the Board had no power to fix the holidays of other schools," and another member of the Board as doubting the competency of the Board to fix the holidays so as to correspond with the hop-picking season, because the season would be variable and "the concurrence of the managers of all the public elementary schools must be obtained."

I happen to differ somewhat from these opinions and believe that a School Board can virtually fix the holidays of all the schools in their district, and, as many Boards are now about to recast their bye-laws to put them in conformity with the Education Act of last session, I send you my reasons in order that by provoking such discussion as may be necessary we may arrive at some common understanding on the matter.

The Act of 1870 empowers a School Board to make a bye-law determining the *time* during which a child shall attend school; but the *maximum* time must allow for a child being withdrawn by its parent from the religious instruction and observances of the school each day, and must also allow a parent to keep the child from school on days set apart for religious observances—that is, on Sundays, and in England Christmas Day and Good Friday, and perhaps one or two other days, and for children of the Jewish persuasion on Saturdays, and also exemption may be claimed on the days (not exceeding two in the year) fixed for the examination of the scholars in religious subjects. The *minimum* time fixed by the bye-laws must allow for the school being open 400 times for secular instruction during the year, each such time being at least of two hours' duration. The time each day must also be such as to allow a factory half-timer to attend school three hours in the morning and (except in the four winter months) three hours in the afternoon in alternate weeks, and each such three hours must, on the demand of the parent, be all secular instruction.

The Board in their bye-laws may add to the statutory exceptions such holidays as they think fit, so that they keep within the limits of the statute, and the holidays for the hop-picking season may be fixed under Sec. 9 (3) of the Act of 1876 either in a bye-law or not. Teachers and scholars at other than Board schools may not be compelled to take all the holidays allowed in the bye-laws, but the children cannot have holidays at any other times than those fixed in the bye-laws except by the permission or the allowance of the Board, provided there is a school open which the child can attend within two miles of its residence, and if there should be no such school it would be the duty of the Board to provide one.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

JAS. MELLOR,
Clerk to the Oldham School Board.

Oldham, 25th September, 1876.

THE Teachers' Association of the district of Bradford have passed a resolution to pray the Education Department so to alter the Code as to permit a teacher to act as School Board clerk, provided he is not engaged as a teacher under the particular Board.

THE London Schools Swimming Club, which was established at the commencement of last year, held its second annual *fête* on Saturday at the Lambeth Baths. We have often had occasion to mention in our columns the proceedings of this rising club, which has made great progress since its foundation and now possesses more than 1,500 members, chiefly boys. Sir Edmund Currie was present and superintended the proceedings. The prizes and certificates were competed for by 116 boys picked from the various Board schools according to age. They crossed the bath from side to side in batches of twelve, the winners of the respective races afterwards swimming in heats from one end of the bath to the other, covering the whole distance, and returning to the starting point. The first prize fell to Hyde, aged fourteen, of the St. Jude's, Southwark school, and the second to Ayling, of the Westinoreland-road school. The swimming of Ayling, who is only eleven years old, was remarkably good both as regards speed and style. On the same day a girls' swimming *fête* in connection with the same club was held at the King-street Baths, Camden Town, under the direction of Miss Chessar and Miss Richardson, and was very successful. The prizes were distributed at the Bowling-green-lane school on Friday, the 29th inst.

Appendix 3

Two cuttings from the Yarmouth Gazette

- (a) On the approval of the Rules and Regulations
(10th May 1879)
- (b) On the appointment of an Industrial Trainer
(7th June 1879)

a.

SCHOOL BOARD.

The fortnightly meeting of this Board was held at the Record-room, Town Hall, on Friday morning last. Present—J. H. Orde, Esq. (chairman), and Messrs. (Rev.) A. Peaton, J. T. Waters, F. Dendy, R. E. Dowson, T. Saul, and H. E. Buxton.

SALARY.—The Colchester Island School Committee recommended the Board to accede to Miss Camm's application for an increase of salary. Agreed to.

APPOINTMENT.—On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Peaton, the formal appointment of Mr. and Mrs. Horth, as manager and matron of the Industrial school, was carried.

THE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL RULES.—These rules were forwarded to the Department for approval, and a letter had been received from Mr. Rogers, one of the Inspectors of the Department, stating that slight alterations were made in one or two of them. It further added that he noticed the school was not to be opened on Sundays. In other places they were opened as Sabbath schools for the children who chose to attend. The Committee had therefore recommended a rule to the effect that the managers should have power to open the school for children who would attend voluntarily.

Mr. Buxton, in moving that the above clause be inserted, said that Mr. Rogers had been to Yarmouth, and after inspecting the school, which on the whole he was very well satisfied with, he had some talk with him (Mr. Buxton) with respect to the opening of the school on Sundays. He explained to Mr. Rogers the arrangements of the Board, and if Mr. Horth was willing to act as teacher in the Sunday school it would not be exactly right for him to do so, after six days' labour. The Inspector's argument was that the children who attended the Industrial school obtained no religious teaching, and if the Board could get some persons, voluntary or otherwise, to act as instructors in the school on Sundays it would be very desirable. The Committee had met to consider Mr. Rogers' suggestions, but did not see how it was possible to open the school on Sundays at once. The reason the rule in question had been proposed was to save the trouble of making an alteration in future. By the expression "managers," they did not mean the Committee but the Board. He moved the adoption of the rule.

Mr. Waters seconded, remarking that until they saw their way clear in the working of the school, it would be rather rash to open it on Sundays (hear, hear).

Mr. Peaton could not help thinking that the conclusion the Committee had arrived at was exceedingly judicious. He should be sorry to see lads who were such unmanageable members of society made the subjects of anything like sectarianism. He would be very glad to co-operate in doing anything which would instil into their minds something which would make them more thoughtful and respectable members of society (hear). He knew of no more delicate subject to discuss than one of that kind, and he thought the course the Committee recommended was a wise one to take. They would gain everything by gradual experience, and he had great pleasure in supporting the proposition, which was adopted.

The Inspector also suggested several minor alterations in the school, most of which were ordered to be carried out.

There was no other business.

b.

THE DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.—Some discussion arose on the reading of the minutes of a meeting of the Industrial School Committee. The Committee made certain arrangements which were necessary and approved of and, as a portion of the day was to be devoted to secular teaching and a portion to the training of lads in industrial pursuits, the Committee recommended the appointment of Corporal Keary, a pensioner, as industrial trainer at 12s. a week.

Mr. Peaton believed that such an officer would be wanted some time hence, but at present the little supervision required over the lads when thus engaged could, he thought, be given by the master, Mr. Horth. Considering the small number of boys they might expect there for some time he considered the appointment of another man would be going beyond the actual necessities of the school, and he therefore moved that the appointment of an Industrial Trainer be deferred until they knew what would probably be required of him and whether he was wanted.

In reply to the Chairman, Mr. Wiltshire (the Clerk) said he thought there was every reason to expect 25 boys there in a few days.

Mr. Buxton said that possibly the number for the first few weeks would be smaller than the Committee anticipated. But the idea was that the work was of so various and difficult a nature, that even with only a small number of boys it would be more than one man could do to teach all at once, and as boys would have aptitude for different pursuits it would be necessary to give a choice of employment. The applicant for the office professed to be competent to teach simple joinery and simple tailoring. Mr. Horth would be enabled to give a certain amount of supervision if required to make up for any deficiency in the other man. He was of opinion that Mr. Horth would be unable to do the whole work of the school, especially if there was a garden attached.

The Clerk was of opinion that assistance would be necessary. By the time table of the school, from half-past nine till twelve in the morning was to be devoted to secular instruction. He supposed that the master would be engaged in giving that instruction, and then in the event of a lad being committed by the magistrates to the Industrial School at one of their meetings at eleven o'clock, who would be present to take the lad, as he would have to be handed over to the custody of the school authorities, whose duty it would be to look after him as though committed to prison. Mr. Horth could not be in two places at once.

Mr. Tomkins said that the officers with whom Keary had been connected spoke well of him. Of course it was for the Board to determine if such a man was wanted, but as a small committee they thought it worth while to engage him at a low salary for experiment. The hours at the school were very long—from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.—and that would be a strain on one man. They had nine retention orders that morning, and he believed there was a prospect of the school having 80 scholars in a very short time. Again, promptitude in attendance was very desirable. The attendance officers with all their duties could not be expected to be prompt with these lads, but if they had a man to look them up every day he thought it would have a good effect. He did not, however, press the matter, although it seemed to him desirable that a man should be appointed.

Mr. Peaton could see that such an appointment would be necessary in course of time but not now. He moved that the question be deferred for a month.

The Chairman thought the question of the lads' regular attendance was important. If the boys found that they could leave the school for a day or two without being caught the whole prestige of the school would be gone and their object not carried out. But if the lads found that if away for an hour a man at once went for them, it would have a good effect and do much for the future success of the school.

Mr. De Caux thought a difficulty would arise from allowing the boys to leave the school at night, when they might think they were free of the authorities and that their connection with the school had ceased.

It was explained that this was a Day Industrial School only, and if a lad absented himself he might be taken before the magistrates without a summons and sent to an Industrial School at a distance, incurring much expense to the parents.

Mr. De Caux was of opinion that under the circumstances they wanted an officer of this kind at once, as it was desirable to start in such a manner as to show that they intended to carry out the law strictly, and otherwise the master's time would be spent in running about after the lads instead of teaching.

Mr. Tomkins ultimately moved that the appointment be for a month as an experiment, to commence from Monday, the 9th inst.

Mr. Buxton seconded and it was carried. Mr.

Appendix 4

Day Industrial School

Extract from Report of Standing Committee

adopted by Oldham School Board on

12th November 1888

(Oldham School Board Triennial Report 1886-88)

DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE ADOPTED

BY THE BOARD ON THE 12TH NOVEMBER, 1888.

(*vide* page 70 of Report.)

From personal observations and from information received from the School Boards of Wolverhampton, Salford and Liverpool (at which latter place three Day Industrial Schools have been established), the Committee have decided to recommend the establishment of a Day Industrial School for Oldham, believing that the circumstances of a certain class of the population require such provision. Again, a school of this kind will meet the requirements of a class of children for which the ordinary Industrial Schools are not suitable, *i.e.*, children of tender years who are neglected, and who only require proper care and feeding to ensure their regular attendance at school. These children are the most difficult class to deal with, and at the same time are not fit cases for committal for a term of years to a Boarding Industrial School at a heavy cost to the ratepayers, the Treasury, and their parents. Many of the children who are now in ordinary Industrial Schools, and to whose maintenance the Board contributes, would not have been sent there had a Day Industrial School, by which evil habits may be checked early in life, been established. Such cases have to be taken before the Magistrates time after time before a commitment to an Industrial School can be obtained, and in the interval between the first appearance and final commitment, the children become hardened offenders. If a Day Industrial School be established there will be a great reduction in the number of children sent to the ordinary Industrial Schools, though there will still remain some to be sent to those institutions, such as destitute children and children of parents living in open immorality, but these will be comparatively few in number compared with those we have to deal with now.

Her Majesty's Inspector, Colonel Inglis, in his report for 1887, says—"The average number of children attending Day Industrial Schools in 1887 was 2,273. Every year increases my good opinion of this class of schools. They do really good useful work at a very small cost to the Treasury, and reach a class of children which is very likely to escape the ordinary elementary schools. The children we find in these schools are generally the poorest of the poor, whose objections to the daily confinement and accompanying teaching and industrial work must be much lessened by the three good meals a day which are provided for them. The children receive no clothing, but are kept as clean as baths and soap and water can make them; and if we see little but ragged clothes, and very ragged they often are, we generally see cheerful and happy faces. One can only regret that there are not more such schools throughout the country. I should like to see one or more forming part of the machinery of every School Board, feeling sure, as I do, that if this were done we should have far fewer candidates for the more expensive Industrial or Reformatory Schools. They are nearly all managed by female teachers, and the educational results are very satisfactory."

Assuming that premises could be obtained in a central position (which will be difficult) and converted into a Day Industrial School, the cost would, at first, be certainly less than for erecting a building, but might ultimately prove very expensive in case of extensions becoming necessary, as great expense is often incurred in frequent repairs to old buildings, and we are informed that the Home Office regulations regarding these buildings are much more stringent than they were eight years ago. The advice given, both at Wolverhampton and Salford, was "if you intend to do anything in the matter, erect a new building," and this seems to be the best course, seeing that accommodation should be provided for 180 to 150 children. The Committee are of opinion that the cost of a building to accommodate this number would involve an expenditure of about £3,000, exclusive of the cost of site. At present the Board are paying £250 per annum towards the maintenance of children in Industrial Schools, and this sum is increasing, and will be much larger by the time a school can be erected. Supposing that commitments to these institutions are reduced only by 50 per cent., there will be a considerable portion of the sum now expended to set against the amount which will be required annually to repay loan and interest, and meet the ordinary management expenses of the school.

Appendix 5

Denominational Board Schools

(The School Board Chronicle, 21st December 1878)

DENOMINATIONAL BOARD SCHOOLS.

IT is not, we think, very generally known, outside School Board circles, that while denominational Board schools are rigidly forbidden by the Act of 1870, they are rendered legal by the Act of 1876, and that this is done without the repeal of anything in those sections of the former Act which rendered denominational religious instruction in Board schools illegal. This paradoxical result has been accomplished by the setting up of the new educational institution called the "Day Industrial School." Most people at all conversant with educational legislation are aware that Lord Sandon's Act gave School Boards the power to establish, build, and maintain Day Industrial Schools. Now a Day Industrial School, though it may be in every sense of the term a Board school, is not subject to the conditions prescribed by Mr. Forster's Act in the case of a Board school which is a public elementary school. On the contrary, the conditions are those which are to be found in the Industrial Schools Act, 1866. According to that Act the religious education given in the schools may be such as the promoters and managers of them may think fit, subject to certain regulations provided for cases in which a child belongs to a different sect from that of the generality of the pupils, permission being given that such child may, at stated times, receive religious instruction from a minister of his particular denomination, visiting the school for that purpose. It is evident, therefore, that a School Board may set up a Day Industrial School which is in fact a Church of England, a Wesleyan, a Baptist, or a Roman Catholic Board school. It must be remembered, however, that in a less conspicuous degree the same principle appeared in the Act of 1870; for there is a section in that Act empowering School Boards to establish and maintain ordinary industrial schools, and those schools, like the new Day Industrial Schools, might be of a denominational character, and they would certainly be Board schools. But there is considerable practical difference between the two cases. An industrial school is most usually not a merely local school, but an institution receiving children from all quarters; and its establishment by a School Board is likely to be attended by circumstances which would render it exceedingly improbable that the School Board would make a denominational school of it. The Day Industrial School, on the contrary, is local. It is under the immediate control and management of the Board. It is not so distinctly an institution of another and separate class as is the ordinary industrial school; but is rather a Board school among Board schools, notwithstanding the features which distinguish it from the regular public elementary schools. Moreover, we believe that no School Board in England and Wales has set up, or proposed to set up, a sectarian Board industrial school, while on the other hand we have to record at the present time a strenuous effort just made at Liverpool to establish a School Board Day Industrial Roman Catholic School.

We will ask those of our readers who are interested in this subject to read carefully our report this week of the last meeting of the Liverpool School Board, which will give a fair impression of the position of the question. It may be understood as a matter outside the range of controversy that the School Board may set up, manage, and pay for out of the rates, a Roman Catholic Day Industrial School or a Day Industrial School for the children of members of the Church of England or of any religious sect; the question whether a School Board would contemplate such an exercise of their powers has been resolved by the action of the Liverpool Board, and it therefore becomes now a question of the manner in which School Boards will exercise the discretion vested in them.

The reports which we have given, during the last fortnight, of the discussion at the School Board Clerks' Conference on the question of the establishment of Day Industrial Schools shows that the adoption of the Day Industrial School system is not making much progress at present, and is likely to be considered a long time, even by the Boards in poor and populous districts, before anything is done in the matter. At Hull, it seems, the ordinary industrial school is so utilised as apparently to render the newer institution unnecessary. It remains to be seen whether what has been done at Liverpool in the attempt to set up a Roman Catholic Board school will make any change in the feeling of some of the School

Board school; but any Board which can make out to the Secretary of State a case for a Day Industrial School may have, what the denominational party have so earnestly desired, a sectarian Board school—of the new sort. It becomes a matter of local controversy; and it is not altogether improbable that the discussion at Liverpool may be the first of a number of local contests over the establishment of Day Industrial Roman Catholic Schools or Day Industrial Church of England Schools.

MR. DAVIS AND THE TEACHERS.

MR. E. JONES, of Liverpool, writing on the subject of the address of Mr. Davis, clerk to the Birmingham Board, read at the recent School Board Clerks' Conference, says:—

Mr. Davis is emphatic in his complaint that teachers do not attempt to teach the quick and regular children two standards in a year. I ask, What inducement is there for any teacher to attempt this? Teachers, like other men, are influenced in their conduct by one or by all of these motives—love of money, love of praise, love of the work. Is there any incentive from one or all of these considerations combined to lead a teacher to pass a child in two standards in one year? The fact is, many of H.M. inspectors make the percentage of "passes" the Alpha and Omega as a test of a teacher's efficiency, and most School Boards judge a candidate for appointment as a teacher by the inquiry: "How near 100 per cent. have you succeeded in 'passing' your children?"

Now I venture to assert that to "pass" every child qualified by attendance would require all the skill and persistent energy of the most accomplished and efficient teacher in the best appointed school, considering the accidents and uncertainties of the examination. With this fear of the examination before his eyes constantly from one inspection to another, how is a teacher to enter upon such works of supererogation as Mr. Davis seems to demand?

Are the teachers in inspected schools, as a body, industrious and efficient in the performance of their duties? If it is said that they are not, then I ask, Why do so many teachers leave the profession owing to overwork and worry and succeed in other departments of labour, as clergymen, clerks of School Boards, and other occupations? If these charges are true a schoolmaster's position ought to be the paradise of the indolent and slothful.

Now I have seen a little of education in other countries, and without fear of contradiction I would say that in no country is there so much care shown in the selection and training of teachers, in no country are teachers subjected to such strict supervision, and their work tried by such a severe test of examination, as in England, and I am persuaded that in no other country is there so much honest work done for so little money as is done by the elementary teachers of England as a body.

At a Conference of Educators, held at the Centennial Buildings in Philadelphia in 1876, where there were teachers from many nations present, great surprise was expressed when I described the system of examination in English schools, by which, in a manner, the teacher was held responsible for the results of the examination of every individual child under his care. Such a system was never heard of in any other country!

When middle-class schools are subjected to inspection, in which the cost of education is often four times that of elementary schools, we shall be better able to judge by comparison whether these will show better results, age for age and attendance for attendance, than children in inspected schools now. A very much question if they will.

ROAST BEEF AND PLUM PUDDING.—Mr. A. A. Knight, writing from 71, King Edward's-road, Hackney, says: "Last year some of your readers were led generously to help us provide nearly 500 Christmas dinners of roast beef and plum pudding on Boxing-day at Loddiges-road Hall, for the poorer boys and girls attending the mission schools, as well as one hundred orders for parcels of Christmas provisions to as many poor widows living in this district. This being the seventh year of the mission work, I am anxious to assist in providing as usual for at least as many if not more than before. The dinner this year will be held at Lyme-grove Hall, Mare-street, Hackney, on Thursday, 26th December. All friends are welcome. Donations in aid of this effort are invited, and may be sent to Mr. J.

Appendix 6

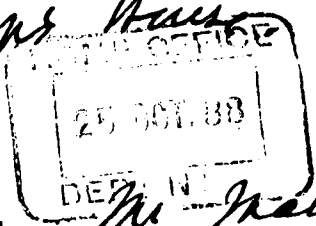
Correspondence and Documents relating to the Religious Question as affecting
the School Board Day Industrial Schools

- (a) Letter from Bishop of Salford to Rt. Hon. Mr. Matthews, Home Secretary
24th October 1888
- (b) Letter from Henry Rogers to Clerk of Salford School Board
17th January 1889
- (c) Notes concerning the arrangement between Salford School Board and
the Home Office
- (d) Letter from Home Office to Clerk to Blackburn School Board
25th July 1890
- (e) Extract from Blackburn School Board: Report for 1890 with regards
to examination of Roman Catholic children in the Day Industrial School
- (f) Religious Instruction in the Liverpool Day Industrial Schools
(Printed Minutes of Liverpool School Board, 2nd October 1890)

A28889

a.

Salpud. Oct 24 1888



Right Hon. Mr. Matthews
Home Secretary etc etc

Sir

I beg to call your attention to a grievance under which the Catholic poor of Salpud are now suffering in consequence of a recent resolution carried into effect by the Salpud School Board.

The facts briefly are the following:

A day school was opened some time since by the Salpud School Board. There are 180 children within the school, 49 of whom are Catholics. Of five teachers one, an assistant, is a Catholic.

By a decision of the sub-committee of the Board, the Catholic teacher has about 10 days been used to give Catholic instruction to the Catholic children, in a room apart, during

the time set apart in the time table for religious instruction. This worked satisfactorily to all parties, except a certain section of the Board which declared that no denomination should receive religious ^(denominational) instruction from any of the Teachers employed in that school.

On Wednesday, Oct. 10, the Board met and discussion arose on the conduct of this subcommittee, and a vote was carried (7 voting for, 6 against, & one abstaining) to the effect that the Catholic Children were no longer in future to receive instruction in their religion from the Catholics.

teacher, who had hitherto been charged with
that duty.

I venture to think that this contract is wholly
unjustified by the State the law & by the instructions
issued under the authority of the Home Depart^t.

It is impossible for a Catholic Priest at a considerable
distance & other circumstances to give instruction
to the Catholic children on days, and I submit
further that the Board be compelled to make the
necessary provision, or that it should cease
to be empowered to admit Catholic children.

to the Day Industrial School.

Yours sincerely to be
Regd. to Sir,

Yours obedient servant

+ Herbert, Kirk & Salted

A 28889

A 28889

6.

copy

1-11 }
16-26 }
30-35 } *...*

29

Office of Inspector of
Reformatory and Industrial Schools

3, Delahay Street,



17 January 1889

It seems that the School Board properly asks for an opinion whether it is legal for a Teacher in the employement of the Board to give religious instruction to the R. b. children under detention in the school: otherwise the pay of the officer so employed, might be objected to by the Auditor. I can see nothing illegal in this arrangement. It has already been in force for some time since the establishment of the School and has only recently been upset. Now a majority of the Board is in its favour. It seems to me to be the best and most reasonable compromise possible. This particular Teacher is engaged throughout

the day in secular instruction but at the times appointed for religious worship, observance and instruction, takes the Roman catholic children into a separate room and attends to them without prejudice to anyone. I can see no more reason for objecting to this Roman catholic Teacher giving instruction and carrying on worship with the Roman catholic children in the ~~times~~ allotted for religious instruction than for a Protestant Teacher to be taking the Protestant children and giving them religious instruction in a similar way and during the same times. The Roman catholic children need religious instruction quite as much as the rest and form a very considerable portion of the children attending the school - and why it should not be provided for them, as required by

the Rules of the School, which have been legally authorized, I cannot determine. The School is not a Board School, but a special School, certified by the Secretary of State, under Rules approved and authorized by him, to deal with a particular class of neglected children. Ordinary Rules do not apply to such a School. I recommend that the Clerk to the Board be informed that the employment of a Roman Catholic Teacher for the instruction of the Roman Catholic children in the time appointed for religious teaching and observances has the approval of the Secretary of State and is in accordance with the Rules of the School.

(Signed) Henry Rogers.
for the Inspector.

A 200009
192

Copy Memo: of booklet
of Industrial Schools
submitted on 18 Jan. 1889
as to Roman Catholic religion
meeting at the Tolpud
Day Industrial School

? May the Tolpud School
should be informed above
W. S. J. G. has no objection
by a Meeting of the Trustees
arrangement

19. 1. 89 W. S. J. G. Tolpud
M. M. M. M. D. Jan 22 89

in the opinion of the Trustees
the Board of the S. J. G. should be
informed of the above for
a better in the employment
of the Board of the S. J. G. should
in the R. C. religion should
also be informed of the
the Trustees for religious
education in the day
Industrial School. See
letter of the above
for the purpose of the R. C.
Bishop.
W. M.
25 Jan 1889.

Written by the
School Board
25/1/89.

Letter the following
ould be quoted.

46961/20

WHITEHALL.

d.

25, July, 1890.

Pressing

Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 15th inst: relative to the Regulations proposed for the Mayson Street Day Industrial School, I am directed by the Secretary of State to acquaint you, for the information of the Blackburn School Board, that he has carefully considered the matter, and regrets that he is unable to confirm the Rules for the Mayson Street Day Industrial School, as submitted to him.

The Secretary of State fully appreciates that the School in question is provided by the School Board and is supported by funds drawn from the rates of the District, but the strictly undenominational administration of ordinary Elementary Schools does not appear to him to apply to Day Industrial Schools in which the children attend under special circumstances of coercion and discipline, and in which the Order in Council of the 20th of March, 1877 expressly provides that religious instruction shall be given to the children by Ministers of the religious persuasion to which they belong.

To forbid the use of distinctive religious books in the hours specially set apart for religious instruction appears to him to nullify the whole principle of separate religious instruction.

The Secretary of State desires therefore to urge on the Board the withdrawal of Rule¹⁸ and the substitution of a Rule such

S clerk

to the School Board,

Blackburn.

such as that which is in force at the Salford Day Industrial School, providing a separate room for the religious instruction of those who dissent from the ordinary instruction, and placing such religious instruction under the control of the Minister, or person delegated by the Minister, of the child or children who take advantage of such separate provision; and I am to say that Mr Matthews remains of opinion as signified in his letter of the 29th of May last, that such an alteration of the Rules is necessary to give due effect to the provisions of the 23rd Clause of the Order in Council referred to.

Under the above circumstances a Deputation appears to the Secretary of State to be unnecessary.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

E. Lytton

The Roman Catholic children have been annually inspected by the Religious Inspector of the Diocese of Salford. As regards the last inspection the following letter was received :—

“ Dear Sir,—I beg to inform you that the Rev. D. Walshe, who examined the Catholic children in religious knowledge at your Day Industrial School reports most favourably of the work done by the mistress for both boys and girls.—With the expression of my regards, I am, dear sir, faithfully yours, GEO. RICHARDSON.”

STATISTICAL REPORT.

| From Sept. 30th, 1897, to Sept. 30th, 1900. | 18,8. | 1899. | 1900. | Total. | |
|---|--|-------|-------|--------|-----|
| No. Admitted, Committed Cases | 60 | 36 | 48 | 144 | |
| No. Discharged { | 14 Years of Age..... | 19 | 22 | 21 | 62 |
| | Term expired | 13 | 14 | 25 | 52 |
| | Com'tted to Ordinary Industrial Schools... | 6 | 3 | 1 | 10 |
| | Total..... | 38 | 39 | 47 | 124 |
| No. Licensed out to Schools | 8 | 22 | 10 | 40 | |
| " out for Work | 10 | 16 | 5 | 31 | |
| No. on books at the end of each year { | Class Register..... | 92 | 67 | 72 | |
| | License " | 25 | 30 | 21 | |
| | Reserve " | 5 | 10 | 14 | |
| Total | 122 | 107 | 107 | | |

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

It was then moved by Mr. Yates, and seconded by Mr. Doughan,

5.—“That in the Board’s Day Industrial Schools religious instruction and observances in accordance with the practice of the creeds to which the children severally belong may be given by the responsible teacher or teachers (if any) professing such creeds, to children of the same faiths respectively, in separate rooms, during the times set apart for religious instruction and observances; and that, subject to the consent of the Secretary of State, the rules of the Day Industrial Schools be amended accordingly.”

Whereupon it was moved as an amendment by the Chairman, and seconded by Mr. Oulton,

“That, in the Board’s Day Industrial Schools, religious instruction and observances, in accordance with the practice of the creeds to which the children severally belong, may, as an alternative to the undominational instruction contemplated by the Board’s present rules, be given, at the discretion of the Superintendent, by the responsible teacher or teachers (if any) professing such creeds, to children of the same faiths respectively, in separate rooms, during the times set apart for religious instruction and observances; and that, subject to the consent of the Secretary of State, the rules of the Day Industrial Schools be amended accordingly.”

And the Board having divided, there appeared—

For the Amendment, 13, viz. :—

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| Rev. R. B. Baron, | Mr. McArdle, |
| „ J. B. Cox, | „ Oulton, |
| Mr. Doughan, | Rev. Canon Rycroft, |
| „ Fitzpatrick, | Dr. Sparrow, |
| „ Hand, | Mr. Thomas, |
| Rev. Canon Lester, | „ Yates, |

The Chairman.

Against the Amendment, 2, viz. :—

The Vice-Chairman, Miss Davies.

Majority in favour of the Amendment, 11.

The amendment having, therefore, been carried, became the substantive motion, whereupon the Board having again divided, there appeared :—

For the Motion, 13, viz. :—

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| Rev. R. B. Baron, | Mr. McArdle, |
| „ J. B. Cox, | „ Oulton, |
| Mr. Doughan, | Rev. Canon Rycroft, |
| „ Fitzpatrick, | Dr. Sparrow, |
| „ Hand, | Mr. Thomas, |
| Rev. Canon Lester, | „ Yates. |

The Chairman.

Appendix 7

Day Industrial School

Account of opening of

Gateshead School Board Day Industrial School

and early reports

(Report of Proceedings of Gateshead School Board 1879 - 1882)

DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

The erection of a Day Industrial School was alluded to in the last report. The building however was not completed until September, 1880.

On the 30th of that month the Home Secretary issued his certificate in the following terms:—

"I, the Right Honorable Sir WILLIAM VERNON HARCOURT, "one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, "hereby certify the School Board for Gateshead Day "Industrial School at Windmill Hills, Gateshead, as a "Day Industrial School for the purposes of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, and the Order in Council of "20th day of March, 1877.

"Whitehall, "30th day of September, 1880."

The Institution was opened on the 28th October, 1880, the total number of commitments up to the present time is 152, in addition to 11 voluntary cases admitted by the Managers.

The following table gives the attendance for each quarter since the school was opened:—

| Quarter ended | 31st December, 1880 | Average Attendance, |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| " 25th March, 1881 | " | 15 |
| " 30th June, 1881 | " | 35 |
| " 29th September, 1881 | " | 51 |
| " 31st December, 1881 | " | 70 |
| " 25th March, 1882 | " | 86 |
| " 30th June, 1882 | " | 89 |
| " 29th Sept., 1882 | " | 86 |
| " | " | 84 |

The ordinary school hours are from 8 a.m. until 6 p.m., but the school is also open at 6 o'clock for the reception of children in certain cases. It is satisfactory to note that the attendance is extremely steady, considering the class of children. The improvement in their physical appearance is most apparent, and they have also made great progress in their education.

The homes of many of these children are wretched, and the appearance of the children on their first admission is simply deplorable, in many cases the children are covered with vermin, and are by no means fit for association with children attending the ordinary day schools.

It is needless to state that the intemperance or crime of their parents is the chief cause of the admission of the major portion of the inmates, but there have not been wanting cases, where after the reception of a child in the Institution, some improvement in the habits of the parents has been manifested, especially in the more regular attendance of their other children at school.

A limited number of children stated to be beyond the control of their parents, and inveterate truants, have also been admitted, and in several cases after a short period of detention these children have returned to the ordinary schools and have attended with regularity.

The Magistrates, on the committal of a child, make an order that the parents shall contribute a certain sum (usually 2/- per week) towards the maintenance of the child, which sum is to be paid over to the Managers of the school to meet the expenses incurred in the maintenance and education of the child.

The Board attach the highest importance to the necessity of parents, who have neglected their duty to their offspring, not being allowed to throw their children upon the rates without being compelled to contribute to their support.

The duty of collecting these amounts is discharged by the officers of the Board, and during the last year they have collected no less than £197 8s. 9d. It is worthy of notice that this amount is in striking contrast to the amount collected by the Police on account of children committed to the Abbot Memorial School and Training Ship.

In the latter case the entire maintenance (food, clothing, and education,) is provided at the public expense, yet the total amount recovered from the parents for a larger number of children than have been committed to the Day Industrial School has been as follows:—

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| 1879..... | £113 3 9 |
| 1880..... | 101 18 0 |
| 1881..... | 87 14 9 |

Children

Chief Cause of Admission

Truants

Orders

Importance of Parents being compelled to Pay

School Hours

Attendance

It is certainly deserving of consideration whether the arrangements for the collection of these payments might not be considerably improved, and for this purpose it is to be hoped that the Summary Jurisdiction Act may be amended in the direction of no longer treating these payments as a civil debt.

As a contribution towards the solution of this problem, the Board, on 28th December, 1880, caused the following letter to be addressed to the Home Secretary:—

"28th Dec., 1880.

"PARENTS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

"SIR,

"I am directed to inform you that the attention of the Board has been called to the reply of the Liverpool School Board recently addressed to you in reference to the punishment of juvenile offenders, and more particularly to the paragraph (page 5) referring to the enforcement of parents' contributions.

"The Day Industrial School established by this Board has been in operation a very short period, yet the Board has already experienced considerable difficulty in collecting the amounts assessed upon the parents by the magistrates.

"The Board hopes that it will be found possible so to amend the law as to overcome the difficulties hitherto experienced.

"The School Board is of opinion that the modifications of the law suggested by the Liverpool School Board are deserving of your favourable consideration, and that they are calculated to convince parents—

"... That they will not be permitted, by neglecting their parental duties, to relieve themselves of the burden of maintaining their children."

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"E. J. HARDING.

"The Secretary of State, Home Department,
London."

Power to
License out

By a recent Order in Council, authority is given to the Managers of a Day Industrial School to license a child after a short period of detention, on condition that the child do attend a Public Elementary School as stated in the license.

The Liverpool School Board appears recently to have largely availed itself of this order, and apparently with the most satisfactory results.

It will be the duty of the new Board to consider if it is expedient to adopt a similar policy, now that the Industrial School is in working order.

Deterrent
character of
School.

It is the custom usually before a child is committed to the Industrial School to obtain what is termed an Attendance Order. In many cases, regular and punctual attendance is thus secured, and no further steps are necessary, and it is to be observed that the *deterrent* character of the school is not to be overlooked.

As a proof that the Day Industrial School is conducted in a thoroughly efficient manner, the following remarks from the Blue Book may be pertinent:—

EXTRACT FROM BLUE BOOK, 1881.

"This very handsome and commodious building, expressly designed for the purposes of a Day Industrial School,

"was certified on 30th September, 1880. At the end of

"December, 1880, 15 boys and 11 girls had been sent to "the school."

"The house is well provided with every convenience and re-quirement for the class of school intended. There is a

"cottage for the caretaker and his wife. The rooms are "large, well warmed, and ventilated. The school is

"capable of dealing with a large number of neglected "children of both sexes. Nothing has been lost sight of

"to make the school thoroughly efficient for the training, "education, and improving of the necessitous children

"abounding in Gateshead. The scheme for the estab-lishment of the school was not carried out without

"strenuous opposition. Its future usefulness will perhaps "convince the objectors that it has been founded on

"sound principles of economy and far-sighted humanity."

EXTRACT FROM BLUE BOOK, 1882.

"This was the first inspection of a most commodious and "convenient building, expressly built by the School

"Board of Gateshead, for a Day Industrial School. It "had been practically at work since 1st November, 1880.

"I found the premises admirably fitted for the purposes "in view, and in good order, very suitable for dealing

"with a large number of necessitous children."

"The children brought under my observation appeared to be "exactly that class for which the school was designed.

"I could only regret that the advantages provided by the "school were not more largely made use of. But at the

"end of the year 1881 upwards of 100 children were on "the roll."

Report of
H.M. Inspector
1881.

Report of
H.M. Inspector,
1881.

- "The children had given little trouble. The school is placed under female superintendence. The teachers in charge had no difficulty in maintaining good order. The children were well in hand, and the school gave promise of satisfactory efficiency."
- "Being the first inspection, it was my business to arrange the children in their classes. 34 were in the First Standard, 6 in the Second Standard, 1 in the Fifth Standard, and 9 Infants. The children comprising these classes were all receiving careful and systematic instruction. I was much pleased with what had been effected. The children were very orderly and attentive, and deriving much benefit from the school in every point of view."
- "The Industrial occupation was being gradually developed. The boys had begun to manufacture mats and were doing some wood chopping. The girls were receiving instruction in plain sewing and being trained to usefulness as far as possible."
- "This magnificent school deserves to be turned to good account, and may be most usefully employed as a feeder of the ordinary elementary school, if carried on on the Liverpool models."

Entries in the
School Log
Book

On the occasion of his annual visits to the school the Inspector made the following entries in the School Log Book:—

- "I have carefully examined the school to-day, and am well satisfied with the progress of the school since its establishment in October. The children presented for Examination have passed very creditably. The teaching is excellent and most painstaking, and the children have pleased me with their attention and good behaviour. I think the school has commenced its work well, and desire for it a career of extended usefulness. I find the house in excellent order. The arrangements are most complete. I am glad to find that the manual employment of the children is receiving increased attention."

(Signed) HENRY ROGERS,
"H.M. Assistant Inspector of Industrial Schools."

June 2nd, 1881.

- "I have visited the school to-day, inspected the buildings, and examined all the children in attendance in their standards. I have pleasure in stating that I find the most satisfactory progress in every respect since my

"visit last year. Upwards of one hundred children were presented. Almost all of them succeeded in passing a very satisfactory examination. The results were highly creditable to the credit of the superintendent and her staff of officers. The children were very orderly and attentive. Discipline firm and effective, and at the same time encouraging and persuasive. The school is carrying out its objects faithfully, and I could wish to see its operations extended as far as its accommodation permits."

HENRY ROGERS,
"H.M. Assistant Inspector."

June 9th, 1882.

NOTE.—100 children examined: passed in reading, 100; in writing, 95; in arithmetic, 95.

GENERAL.

It remains only to state that notwithstanding the very numerous meetings of the Board no difficulty has ever been experienced in obtaining a quorum.

It is also to be hoped that during the ensuing three years some scholarships may be placed at the disposal of the Board, so that children of exceptional ability may be enabled to continue their studies at a Secondary School, and thus may be enabled eventually to reach the University.

The Late Chair-
man.

I cannot close this report without adding my humble testimony to the loss sustained by the death of the Venerable Archdeacon Prest, with whom for seven years I was brought into closest contact, and few know better or appreciate more his sound judgment, his unflinching readiness to help, and his profound interest in the work of education.

Thanking you for the uniform courtesy and consideration I have received at your hands,

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful and obedient Servant,

EDWYN J. HARDING.

Appendix 8

Annual Inspection of Wolverhampton Day Industrial School

22nd August 1891

199

1896

August 22.

Official Inspection

I have inspected the Wolcott Hampton Day Industrial School to-day, have seen over the Premises, watched & have carefully tested the School - classes in their educational work. The School thoroughly maintains its prestige in all respects. It exerts a most wholesome influence over the children it deals with. Found 114 in the Boys - 96 were present to day - 81 Boys, a 23 Girls - Total - 109 - 59 children were present for examination. 17 in 1st I, 22 in 1st II, 24 in 1st III, 11 in 1st IV.

The School is distinguished for most creditable & accurate work. I went carefully & indiscreetly into every class - I have pleasure in recording here that there was not a single failure! - The writing & dictation were very well done - Every class was properly attended to - There was good intelligence & an eager desire to do work. The children were under perfect control & could be dealt with by a word or a look. All were well behaved & quiet. They gave me no trouble - It was a great encouragement to see a number

of children of the class dealt with
 so amenable to good discipline &
 God influences -
 The system of half-yearly Rewards
 for good conduct and regular attendance
 has good results - -

The children went through their physical
 drill with great precision & readiness -
 I was pleased to find that the school
 had distinguished itself in a public
 competition in physical exercises.
 I saw the Bys & their Warden &
 at their mid-day meal.
 I was glad to find an increase in the
 number this year - The school is
 doing good work in every
 kind of manner - & its resources
 should be turned to account as far
 as the accommodation for -
 my visit has been particularly
 gratifying to me -

Home } Henry Rogers
 Office } Warden: Inspector

Appendix 9

Sample entries from Wolverhampton Day Industrial School
Admission Register

No. 772

Name Brown Elizabeth

Age 12 (Born 14. 3. 1873)

Date of Admission. 28 - 10. 95
Term of Detention. Till 14.
Religion. Protst.
Character. Juuant
Deserted or Illegitimate.
Last School attended. Brick kiln Street
End of School. Bd.
Standard last passed.

Neither Read nor Write.

Read, or Read and Write imperfectly. very imp.

Read and Write well.

Superior Instruction.

Instruction not ascertained.

WOLVERHAMPTON
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AND ARCHIVES
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DATE: 29-1-81
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Name of Parent. Brown Margaret
Character. Bd.

Address. 10 Greishy Passage
Occupation Works in factory

No. 776

Name Granger Frederick

Age 13 (Born 11. 11. 1882)

Date of Admission. 16 - 12. 95
Term of Detention. Till 14
Religion. Protst.
Character. Juuant
Deserted or Illegitimate.
Last School attended. Brick kiln Street
End of School. Bd.
Standard last passed.

Neither Read nor Write.

Read, or Read and Write imperfectly. very imply.

Read and Write well.

Superior Instruction.

Instruction not ascertained.

WOLVERHAMPTON
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Name of Parent. Granger
Character. Fair

Address. 8 Lewis Street
Occupation Spinner

Appendix 10

Copy of Annual Report on Day Industrial Schools
for 1897

(British Sessional Papers, House of Commons, 1897 XLI 1
40th Annual Report of H.M.I. of Reformatories
and Industrial Schools)

Day Industrial Schools

"Encomiastic references to Day Industrial Schools in official reports, including that of H.M.I. for 1895, provoke a word of warning. They are pleasant places to visit, but visitors should not allow their feelings to run away with their judgment. The class of children attending the Day Industrial Schools, like the Home Office children generally, is a fascinating class. In the Day Industrial Schools they have the special advantage of being highly picturesque, so many of them wear an easy undress of rags, and have, at least in the North, no shoes or stockings. To see these bright-eyed, sharp featured street arabs eating porridge or bread and milk in the morning, or gulping down soup in the middle of the day, or having an aching tooth or ear attended to by a kind teacher is a sight that will make even a dull face glow. That children should be kindly treated is good, and no one will deny that in this regard the Day Industrial Schools deserve their reputation; but let it be remembered that if they are really to do the work for which they are founded, they ought to be more than mere schools, and that if they are only to exist as feeding elementary schools the benefit of them is limited indeed.

In the statement of the work of the Newcastle School Board for 1896 made by the then Chairman of the Newcastle School Board, the Rev. Canon Pennefather, occurs the following passage: "I confess that to me it is a very great question whether the Day Industrial School, as at present constituted, is worth carrying on at all; and I am not at all sure whether the time has not come when it would be in the interest of the children therein, as well as the ratepayers, to close it and use the building for some other purpose. It seems to me that the time we have the children in the school is not sufficient in one sense to serve the purpose, or to put it in other words, we have them during the daytime, they return after tea to their homes, or worse still to the streets, and in many cases I am afraid all the

To be thoroughly efficient there is no doubt that the more a Day Industrial School approximates to an ordinary Industrial School the better. The more effective superintendents and teachers can make their personal influences with the children the better. The work the school has to do is largely a social work, the children's standard of life has to be raised, and therefore definite efforts should be made by the school authorities to find situations for children whom they have not been able to license out, and to keep in touch with them afterwards. A difficulty is no doubt that most Day Industrial Schools are managed by School Boards. A school may have been founded when the School Board was experiencing a hot fit of philanthropy, and there were a number of members upon it keenly interested in the class of children dealt with. But the fit may pass and the time come when there is not a single person on the Board really interested in the Day Industrial School, when no one dreams of doing the sort of work which is always expected and generally found in an ordinary Industrial School. A statement worthy of consideration, which should stimulate every School Board connected with a Day Industrial School, may be here made, viz, that the three schools in the country which are doing on the whole the most satisfactory work are the three in Scotland not managed by School Boards. The staff of officers at the Glasgow schools may be matched for devotion by those of schools in England, but the superintendent of every one of them knows that she has at her back always ready to support her, keenly interested in the school and even in particular children in the school, some member or members of the Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Board. In conversation with members of School Boards the suggestion has been hazarded that something might be done in Day Industrial Schools to find situations for boys and girls, but this idea has been regarded too frequently as one outside the verge of practical politics. A little in this direction has been attempted in some of the English schools, but to find a sustained effort it seems that one must go to Glasgow. At more than one big railway station in the country my colleagues and I have been able to detect among the loafers and corner boys, ex-pupils of the local Day Industrial School. I myself was implored

by a boy at half-past five one evening to give him a penny "just to buy a bit of bread with," although I had seen him eat eight ounces of bread and a bowl of soup in the Day Industrial School at two-o'clock that afternoon and since then he had had tea. This is the sort of thing that a Day Industrial School ought to destroy."

J. G. Legge

Appendix 11

Minutes of Meeting of
Newcastle-upon-Tyne School Board Day Industrial School Committee
making arrangements for opening the school

At a Meeting of the Day Industrial
School Committee of the Newcastle
upon-Tyne School Board ~~held~~ held at
the Day Industrial School, City Road,
on Friday the 5th day of February 1886 at
3 o'clock in the afternoon,

~~Address~~
Note for
dwelling
rooms
Watson.

Present, George Bell Esq J^r
George Luckley Esq J^r
Rev^d Canon Lloyd.
R. Spence Watson Esq LL. D.

Sect^r
a
Wood

Appointment of
Chairman for 1886-87
(R. Spence Watson Esq LL. D.)

On the motion of Mr Luckley seconded
by the Rev^d Canon Lloyd, R. Spence Watson
Esq LL. D. was appointed Chairman of the
Committee for the ensuing three years.

Opening of
School
on 15th instant

As there will be probably children com-
mitted to this School on the 17th instant. The
Committee deem it advisable to make
arrangements for opening of the School
on the 15th instant.

Orders for
provisions,
Apparatus
&c

The Committee instructed the Clerk to the
Board to order the provisions necessary for the
opening of the School, and to obtain Tenders
for provisions, and to order all necessary books,
apparatus, and materials.

Seeing that there would be some difficulty
and inconvenience in the Board providing
suitable dwelling rooms for the Caretaker
in the immediate neighbourhood of the
School, the Committee recommend that the

TYNE AND WEAR
COUNTY COUNCIL

Archives Department

Appendix 12

Specimen page of Log Book of
Czar Street Day Industrial School, Leeds

1899

108

Aug 2nd

All the children from this school and also from Cedar St. went to Shadwell for the day to visit the Industrial Sch. there. The children assembled before 8 a. m. had breakfast, and went by special electric cars from Wellington Bridge to Roundhay, and thence walked through the lanes. On reaching Shadwell each child had a bun, and at 12.30 all had dinner in the field. During the afternoon sports were held between the two schools, and prizes were distributed by J. Robinson Esq. and the Rev. H. Egerton Esq.

Sweets, lemonade, and tea with cakes, were provided during the afternoon.

Cedar St. won the Swimming Contest for the 3 schools, also the "Tug of War" for the three schools.

The proceedings were brought to a close about 4 p. m. when the children started back by car, after spending a very

Appendix 13

Statement of Income and Expenditure for
Oldham Day Industrial School, 1892 - 1899
(Oldham School Board Triennial Report, 1898 - 1900)

TABLE No. 3.
DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

OPENED 18TH JANUARY, 1892.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE EIGHT YEARS ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1899.

| INCOME. | 1892 | 1893 | 1894 | 1895 | 1896 | 1897 | 1898 | 1899 |
|---|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| To Treasury Grant..... | 102 13 1 | 287 16 10 | 339 9 3 | 320 7 3 | 253 19 0 | 194 12 8 | 181 4 4 | 161 3 8 |
| „ Science and Art Grant :— Drawing | nil | nil | 8 16 0 | 13 4 0 | 8 2 0 | 6 3 0 | 7 6 0 | 4 6 0 |
| Manual | nil | nil | nil | 3 0 4 | 1 4 7 | 2 17 4 | nil | 3 5 2 |
| „ Parents' Contributions..... | 43 3 9 | 88 9 3 | 110 11 0 | 87 8 6 | 127 12 5 | 131 16 9 | 109 15 3 | 58 2 10 |
| „ Guardians' do. | 3 9 0 | nil | nil | nil | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| „ Shoemaking Receipts | 4 2 0 | 24 5 8 | 38 5 8 | 25 2 0 | 27 2 10 | 12 18 10½ | 0 11 8 | ..... |
| „ Sale of Firewood | nil | nil | 2 0 0 | nil | nil | nil | nil | ..... |
| „ Contributions to Camp Fund ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 0 6 | ..... |
| „ Rates | 1020 13 11½ | 1198 9 2 | 941 13 0 | 949 11 1 | 786 13 2 | 772 0 8½ | 732 5 5 | 693 1 6 |
| TOTALS..... | £ 1174 1 9½ | 1599 0 11 | 1440 15 8 | 1398 13 2 | 1204 14 0 | 1120 9 4 | 1032 3 2 | 919 19 2 |
| Average Attendance..... | 84 | 116 | 1357 | 1125 | 902 | 73 | 699 | 626 |
| Net Cost to the Rates per head | 12 3 0 | 10 6 7½ | 6 18 5½ | 8 8 0½ | 8 14 9 | 10 11 6 | 10 9 2½ | 11 0 0½ |

DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL—Continued.

| EXPENDITURE | 1892 | 1893 | 1894 | 1895 | 1896 | 1897 | 1898 | 1899 |
|--|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| By Salaries and House Wages... | 322 15 1 | 461 1 11 | 549 11 7 | 615 6 6 | 535 6 11 | 448 16 5 | 449 19 3 | 439 18 2 |
| „ Food | 337 4 7½ | 522 11 8½ | 532 6 8½ | 420 10 0 | 308 10 2 | 265 5 8½ | 219 10 5 | 203 14 11 |
| „ Coal | 58 0 2 | 44 10 2 | 37 5 10 | 23 5 5 | 23 6 10 | 18 11 4 | 67 7 1 | 76 18 11 |
| „ Gas | 14 19 8 | 14 0 11 | 12 12 7 | 10 16 7 | 8 11 1 | 8 14 0 | 10 0 6 | 9 4 1 |
| „ Water | 30 5 11 | 58 3 2 | 45 13 0 | 37 16 1 | 26 18 7 | 35 17 2 | 37 15 7 | 33 8 2 |
| „ Coke | 17 19 3 | 51 17 2 | 63 2 4 | 50 13 7 | 51 17 2 | 58 0 2 | 1 8 2 | ..... |
| „ Firewood..... | nil | nil | nil | nil | 0 18 0 | nil | nil | nil |
| „ Window Cleaning and Materials | 13 4 0 | 15 8 2 | 9 0 8 | 13 3 6 | 10 6 2 | 9 4 2 | 2 15 6 | 8 15 2½ |
| „ Repairs | nil | nil | 56 0 0 | 50 13 4½ | 60 8 10 | 133 14 10 | 85 5 11 | 28 4 11½ |
| „ Rents | 77 19 1 | 287 9 4 | 55 17 1 | 55 14 10 | 55 15 0 | 55 15 0 | 55 15 0 | 57 14 0 |
| „ Rates | nil | nil | 11 9 2 | 17 5 11 | 17 6 9 | 10 11 10 | 18 17 7 | 19 6 9 |
| „ Taxes | nil | nil | 1 10 0 | 4 0 4 | nil | 2 0 2 | 2 0 2 | 2 0 5 |
| „ Insurance | nil | 18 18 0 | 1 10 0 | 0 18 0 | 1 10 0 | 1 10 0 | 1 10 0 | 12 9 0 |
| „ Furniture & House Sundries | 161 16 9½ | 35 9 7 | 18 2 3½ | 23 2 0 | 13 15 7 | 1 13 11 | 3 18 5 | 0 14 0 |
| „ Printing, Stationery, and Advertising | 42 0 2 | 17 11 8 | 1 2 0 | 7 10 9 | 5 11 6½ | 1 1 4 | 5 0 5 | 0 14 8 |
| „ Shoemaking Materials..... | 30 0 0 | 21 2 10 | 19 5 9 | 22 1 1 | 19 1 1 | 7 18 7½ | 1 0 3 | 1 0 0 |
| „ Hemp | 1 6 3 | nil | nil | nil | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| „ School Materials | 65 0 9½ | 39 14 5½ | 19 1 2 | 26 15 8½ | 26 17 3 | 16 7 2 | 25 6 8 | 13 4 8 |
| „ Sundries | 1 10 0 | 0 3 0 | nil | nil | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| „ Medical Aid | nil | 10 18 10 | 7 5 6 | 18 19 6 | 26 13 4 | 23 12 0 | 33 1 8 | 0 4 8 |
| „ Collectors' Tram Fares..... | nil | nil | nil | nil | 0 13 1 | 0 4 8½ | 0 4 10 | ..... |
| „ Collectors' Commission..... | nil | nil | nil | nil | 11 6 7½ | 16 10 9½ | 11 5 9 | 10 2 7 |
| TOTALS | £ 1174 1 9½ | 1599 0 11 | 1440 15 8 | 1398 13 2 | 1204 14 0 | 1120 9 4 | 1032 3 2 | 919 19 2 |

Appendix 14

Report on London School Board Day Industrial Schools
(London County Council: Report with regard to
Industrial Schools, 1870 - 1904)

No Truant school accommodation has been provided for girls. The Committee in 1894, considered the question why so small a number of girls came under the provisions of Sections 11 and 12 of the Elementary Education Act of 1876. It was decided to ascertain from the Divisional Superintendents whether this was because there was no accommodation for girls of the Truant school class. The replies received were unanimous in stating that the number of girl truants was so small that no special provision of the kind was needed. Some few cases of girl truants do, from time to time occur. The Magistrate usually commits them to an ordinary Industrial school.

XVII.—DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

The origin of the present system of Day Industrial schools was the old Ragged Day Feeding schools. These schools were the result of the voluntary efforts of philanthropists, and were mainly supported by them, although in some instances the Committee of Council on Education contributed grants in aid. The attendance was voluntary, but the inducements of food and warmth, and sometimes of clothing, were sufficiently strong to attract a large number of the poor neglected and starving little waifs who then swarmed, to a far greater extent than is at the present time conceivable, in all great towns, and particularly in London.

Anticipating the establishment of the Day Industrial school system, the Rev. Sydney Turner, in the Government report for 1873, writes as follows:—

From the information I have received from the School Boards of our largest centres of population, I am led unwillingly to the conclusion that the 'arab class' of children, as they are called, cannot be reached by the powers and provisions of the Education Act as it now stands, or by the purely instructional machinery which it recognises; and unless the intermediate and far cheaper form of industrial school, which I have before spoken of, be adopted—viz. the day feeding school, in which the children shall be employed and partially fed as well as taught, but shall not be lodged nor clothed, I see no prospect of lessening the demand for the present expensive boarding-schools recognised by the Industrial Schools Act; rather I can have no doubt that these schools will be considerably multiplied.

Again, in the Government report for 1875, Mr. Turner writes:

I believe that the most effectual and extensive relief to the growing burden of our present system of industrial boarding-schools would be the establishment, under somewhat parallel conditions, of Industrial Day schools, in which the disorderly young runagates of our large towns might be taught, employed, and fed and sheltered through the day, but not lodged at night.

In a paper read before the Social Science Congress at Glasgow in the year 1874, Miss Mary Carpenter foreshadowed with remarkable accuracy several important provisions of the Education Act of 1876 with regard to the establishment of Day Industrial schools.

The substance of Miss Carpenter's proposals is as follows:—

It will be necessary to have a short Act of Parliament, supplementing the present Education Act, giving to School Boards the powers necessary to carry out effectively a Day Industrial school, wherever such a school is required to carry education to the very lowest stratum of society.

The Boards to have the power to establish and carry on Day Industrial schools, or to certify as fit and proper such schools as may be established by voluntary effort, making payment for food not above 2s. weekly.

The Boards to send under order to such schools all children as are found wandering in the streets, or not attending school, after proper warning. The parents or guardians to be compelled to send the children regularly, and to be liable to punishment if this is neglected.

The Board to have power to remit such order, on sufficient guarantee being given that the child will attend regularly some ordinary day school.

The Board to have power to recover from parents or guardians the whole or part of the money spent in food, and from the guardians of the poor the allowance for the child if an outdoor pauper.

The subject of Day Industrial schools has been before the Board on several occasions. As early as 1872 the Board instructed the Industrial Schools Committee to report on the subject. The Committee in their report stated that:

However useful such schools might be made when properly conducted by private management with an unfettered power of selection of cases and application of funds voluntarily subscribed, it appears clear to the Committee that if these schools were to be managed by the Board, and paid for by the rates, the effect would be to cast upon the school rate a burden which ought to be borne by the poor rate, and to pauperise or demoralise many persons who could not readily be excluded from availing themselves of public funds. Moreover, any action in this direction by the Board would require previous legislation.¹

¹ Board Minutes, Vol. II., p. 351.

In 1873, the Board referred to the Industrial Schools Committee a proposed memorial to the Education Department which had been forwarded by the Bristol School Board, asking that powers might be given to School Boards to establish Day Industrial Schools. The Committee reported :

That while the difficulties mentioned therein are acknowledged to exist to some degree, the committee do not consider the remedy proposed would be adequate or satisfactory.¹

Again, in 1875, the Committee reported to the Board on the subject, and their report concludes with a statement that :

Because the Day Industrial Feeding school is unsuitable for most of the children who are difficult to deal with, and to send children to it would entail a serious additional cost to the Board for the others (unless a Treasury grant were to be part of the scheme), the Committee are unable to recommend even a trial of the proposal in London.

The establishment of Day Industrial schools was authorised by the Elementary Education Act of 1876, Section 16 of which provides that :

If a Secretary of State is satisfied that, owing to the circumstances of any class of population in any school district, a school in which industrial training, elementary education, and one or more meals a day, but not lodging, are provided for the children, is necessary or expedient for the proper training and control of the children of such class, he may, in like manner, as under the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, certify any such school (in this Act referred to as a day Industrial school) in the neighbourhood of the said population to be a certified day Industrial school.

In February, 1878, the Industrial Schools Committee presented a report to the Board recapitulating the law, and the regulations with regard to Day Industrial schools and they recommended that the necessary steps should be taken for the establishment of a Day Industrial school in Spitalfields. After a debate the proposal of the Committee was however rejected.

In 1885, a memorandum on the subject was prepared by Mr. Henry Spicer, who was, at that time, Chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee, and after setting forth the argument for and against Day Industrial schools, he concluded :—

I am inclined to think that the time has arrived when the Board should purchase for itself experience on the subject. I therefore advise the committee to recommend the Board, as an experiment, to establish two of these schools for not more than 100 children each. I think the best plan would be to endeavour to secure temporary schools by the riverside, or in the neighbourhood of the docks, one on the north and the other on the south of the Thames.

The Committee submitted to the Board a recommendation for the establishment of two Day Industrial schools for not more than 100 children each, one to be situated on the north side of the river near the Docks, and one on the south side of the river. After a lengthened debate, the Board decided not to adopt the recommendation of the Committee. The question then remained in abeyance until January, 1890, when a further proposal for the establishment of two schools was before the Committee. At the same time the Board was urged by a largely attended meeting of managers and head teachers, held at Toynbee Hall, to establish Day Industrial schools for neglected children.

In March, 1890, the Committee reported to the Board that, in their opinion, the time had arrived to carry out the provisions of the Act of 1876 respecting Day Industrial schools, and they recommended the establishment of two such schools with accommodation not exceeding 100 children each, one on the south, and one on the north side of the river. The question was referred back to the Committee for further information. This was supplied, and the recommendation of the Committee was adopted with the omission of the words limiting the accommodation in each case to 100. Legislation on the subject was expected at this time, and action was therefore delayed to see whether the resolution of the Board would thereby be affected.

In February, 1892, a motion was moved at the Board with a view of immediate steps being taken to establish the two schools ; but the matter was referred to the Committee to reconsider the whole question, and to advise the Board whether the original proposal should be carried out. The Committee then recommended the establishment of one Day Industrial school only : such school, if practicable, to be opened in some suitable building which was already under the control of the Board, and this recommendation was adopted by the Board. No such building was, however, then available. In 1894

¹ Board Minutes, Vol. III., p. 566.

the Board closed the Drury-lane school as a Public Elementary school, and, in the following year, they opened it as a Day Industrial school for 200 children, with the consent of the Education Department and of the Home Office.

In May, 1898, the Board sanctioned the establishment of a second Day Industrial school. The necessary consents were obtained to the adaptation of buildings in Brunswick Road, Poplar, which had previously been used as a Public Elementary school. On September 12th, 1901, the Secretary of State issued his certificate authorising the school as a Day Industrial school for 150 inmates.

In June, 1900, the Boys' and Girls' departments of the Ponton Road School, Nine Elms, were discontinued as Day schools, and were opened, in April, 1902, as a Day Industrial school, the Secretary of State having certified them for 150 children.

In October, 1898, the School Accommodation and Attendance Committee forwarded to the Industrial Schools Committee a report from the Tower Hamlets Divisional Committee, calling attention to the number of homeless children in that division, and recommending that a Day Industrial school should be opened in Whitechapel for such children. In May, 1899, the Board, agreed to this proposal, provided a suitable building could be obtained at a reasonable cost, and the consent of the Home Secretary was obtained. In May, 1900, the Committee reported that they had been unable to secure a building within the district. The Board thereupon instructed the Works Committee to furnish an estimate of the cost of acquiring a site and erecting a suitable building to accommodate 200 children. This cost proved to be too heavy, and the Board did not proceed further in the matter.

1. Parental Contributions.

Parental contributions are regulated by Section 16, sub-section 6, of the Elementary Education Act of 1876, and an Order made thereunder, which provide that where a child is sent to a Day Industrial school under an order of detention, the parent or guardian shall contribute towards his maintenance a sum of not exceeding two shillings per week. Where a child is sent under an attendance order, or without an order of Court, the parental contribution must be a sum of not less than one shilling, nor more than two shillings, per week. The number of cases of the latter description is very small. In the cases of children attending under an order of detention the majority of the parents pay their contributions with regularity. When difficulty is experienced in obtaining the amount, on account of the poverty of the parents, leniency is shown and time is given in which to pay off the arrears. In cases where it seems hopeless to obtain payment arrears are remitted.

The Treasury contribution for attendance is paid quarterly, and for proficiency, discipline, and organisation annually. It may amount in all to a sum of 52s. a year, or one shilling a week per child in cases under order of detention, and to half these sums in attendance order or voluntary cases, according to the following table :

| | For children sent under order of detention. | For children attending otherwise. |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| Quarterly for average number in attendance | 10s. | 5s. |
| Annually— | | |
| For proficiency in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic | 6s. | 3s. |
| Do. in Special subjects, viz.: Recitation and Elementary Geography or Grammar | 2s. | 1s. |
| For Discipline and Organisation, on a satisfactory report from Inspector | 4s. | 2s. |
| | <u>52s. a year.</u> | <u>26s. a year.</u> |

Year by year it has become more and more apparent that the Day Industrial schools supply a need which is not met either by the residential Industrial school or by the Truant school. Mr. Henry Rogers, late Assistant Inspector of Industrial schools, wrote of them in 1897 as follows:—

I can testify, however, that the Day Industrial schools now at work have been so organised, so managed, and controlled, and the children's necessities so thoroughly felt and understood, that it has been nothing else than a keen sense of satisfaction to enter their doors, and gaze on the spectacle presented. No matter what the outward condition or aspect of the poor children or the sufferings and privations to which they had been or are exposed, within the walls of this refuge there may be found harmony, rest, and peace. In no class of schools I have ever entered have I witnessed more

encouraging scenes of good order, discipline, and quiet control. Time after time, year after year, in all these schools, the triumph of good feeling, quiet persuasion, kindly Christian influence, and patient forbearance has been exceedingly made manifest, and has surprised me in a high degree.

And Mr. Legge, in the Government Report of 1900, says:—

As suggested last year, it is eminently desirable that these schools should increase in number. They afford a welcome relief from the conventional type of day school, and are eminently suited for an ever-growing class of children whose poverty leads to truancy, and thence by too easy a transition to juvenile delinquency.

Day Industrial schools are not intended for the homeless, destitute child, nor for the child with an immoral or criminal home, nor for mere truants; but for a class between the Truant school class and the Industrial school class. The children must have a fairly decent and respectable home, however poor. They have frequently only one parent, who perhaps is absent all day at work, or they may have father and mother both out at work all day. Such children often find their home, even until late at night, in the streets. The result is almost inevitable. The child gets out of hand, becomes a truant, and is sometimes upon the verge of being a criminal. These children are often intelligent and self-reliant. After admission to the school they develop into diligent, obedient, and even affectionate, children, and are, perhaps, the most interesting of the three classes of Industrial school children.

It would clearly be more than a pity, it would be a palpable neglect of public duty, to refrain from doing the utmost for these poor little social outcasts, and from bringing them under the benign and humanising influences of the Day Industrial schools.

2. School Work.

The "half-time" system of school work is adopted in the Day Industrial School, the other portion of the day being devoted to Industrial Training. Experience has proved that in this kind of school the literary part of the education does not suffer from its combination with industrial work. In certain cases children make greater progress with the industrial instruction than with the school work. Some of them have a positive distaste for the latter, whilst at manual work, they are interested and capable.

Notwithstanding the fact that many of these children compare favourably in intellect with the average London child, the majority of them on admission to the school are very backward. It is found necessary to place nearly 50 per cent. either in the First Standard, or in the preparatory class. As the result, however, of perfectly regular attendance, of a state of physical comfort, and of a carefully-prepared curriculum of short and attractive lessons, the interest of the children is engaged and maintained, habits of attention and concentration are developed, and the scholars make rapid, and in some instances, remarkable progress.

3. Industrial Training.

The Industrial occupations at these schools are necessarily limited in number. Those for boys comprise Carpentry, Shoemaking and Printing. The girls, who form only a small proportion of the whole, receive instruction in Cookery and Laundry-work, and are taught the various details of household work, such as cleaning, waiting at table, knitting and darning, and the making, mending and altering of garments. All these occupations have a beneficial effect upon the children. Besides making them proficient in the particular branch of labour, they inculcate habits of industry and precision which, apart from their value in the formation of character, are frequently of practical use in securing situations for them after leaving the schools. Some of the boys become competent to make a pair of boots or shoes throughout, and possess a technical and theoretical knowledge of the processes of the manufacture of leather, of the art of cutting out, and of the several kinds of leather employed in different sorts of work. In order to give variety of experience, a small number of private orders are executed in addition to the boots and shoes made and repaired for the inmates of some of the Board's Residential Schools.

The Printing Department at Drury Lane has turned out boys who are able to set up plain work and printed forms. Some of the official forms used in the Industrial Schools Department of the Head Office are printed by them. Moreover, the Governor,

by this means, finds a ready opening for boys on leaving school, employers in the neighbourhood being glad to secure their services.

The most recently established industry is the band. Of its results it is too early yet to speak; but it is expected that, in addition to other advantages, it will be exceedingly valuable as a means of disposing of boys by securing their admission to Army bands directly upon leaving school.

The applications of tradesmen, manufacturers and others for the services of the boys and girls are much more numerous than can be granted. There is thus a field of selection, and in nearly all cases the Governor pays a visit to the situation, with the child, a few days before his discharge to satisfy himself of its suitability. Thereafter, touch is always kept with the children; letters are written now and then, visits are paid to them at their homes or situations at intervals; and ex-scholars are invited and encouraged to re-visit the schools.

Of these schools, Mr. Legge writes in the Government Report for 1901:—

As regards industrial training and its corollary—viz. effective disposal, Drury Lane school in London is still pre-eminent, though it will soon be run hard by its younger brother, the new school at Brunswick Road, Poplar. These London schools deserve study by all interested in social questions. A casual visit to them is not enough; they will repay the most careful investigation.

4. *Period of Detention.*

Every child sent to a Day Industrial school is committed for a period of three years, or, if over the age of 11, until such time as it shall reach the age of 14. Permission however, is given to license a child, after having been detained for one month, upon the condition of regular attendance at an ordinary Public Elementary school; but, in practice, a much longer period is necessary before a child is licensed out. A considerable class of children cannot well be let out on licence at all, such as children of widows or of widowers who do work which takes them from home; children of negligent parents, in whose case the greatest efforts are made to enforce the payments of the contributions. Other children are retained because it is proved that they would still be truants if licensed to an Ordinary school. On the other hand, the experience of the London Day Industrial schools has been that the children released upon licence make almost perfect attendances.

The legal duties of the Managers of a Day Industrial school cease when the child reaches the age of 14; but anxiety for the interests of the children, and the desire to prevent the care which has been bestowed upon them from being lost, cause the superintendents not only to interest themselves in procuring situations for ex-scholars, but also to visit and supervise them, and report upon their subsequent career.

XVIII.—BOARD'S INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

In the case of each Industrial school established by the Board, the Industrial Schools Committee have been appointed as a body of Managers for the school. The meetings of the Managers are held at the Board Offices fortnightly as part of the proceedings of the Industrial Schools Committee.

In addition a Sub-Committee has been appointed to supervise each school. These Sub-Committees meet monthly (as a general rule at the respective institutions) for the purposes of inspecting the school and its inmates, and of transacting business relating thereto. They then report to the full Committee and submit such recommendations as may be necessary in cases where expenditure is involved.

The Board have established 9 Industrial schools, the following being the names of the schools and the dates of their establishment:—

1. Brentwood Industrial School, Essex, 1874.
2. "Shaftesbury," Industrial Training Ship, off Grays, Essex, 1878.
3. Upton House Truant School, Homerton, 1878.
4. Highbury Truant School, Highbury Grove, 1891.
5. Day Industrial School, Goldsmith Street, Drury Lane, 1895.
6. Gordon House Girls' Home, Isleworth, 1897.
7. Day Industrial School, Brunswick Road, Poplar, 1901.

Appendix 15

Final Report on

Mayson Street School Board Day Industrial School, Blackburn

(Blackburn School Board: Report for 1890)

The school has been visited once or twice a year by Inspectors from the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Department, and very good reports have been given on the education of the scholars and the tone and discipline of the school.

H. M. Inspector's Last Report.

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|--------|--------|
| School | Blackburn Day Industrial School. | | |
| Date of Visit | 10th February, 1900. | | |
| Inmates and Staff | Boys. | Girls. | |
| Total No. in School | ... .. | 52 | ... 11 |
| On License | ... .. | 24 | ... 5 |

There is no change in the Staff to record.

Nature and condition of premises and character of surroundings

The buildings remain as described in previous reports. All parts were scrupulously clean and in good order. The School is nicely warmed.

Number presented for examination in each Standard, with results in Standard subjects.

| Standard. | No. | Result. |
|-----------|-------|---------|
| V. | 1 | Good. |
| IV. 1 G. | 8 | Good. |
| 7 B. | ..... |  |
| III. 3 G. | 18 | Good. |
| 15 B. | ..... |  |
| II. 1 G. | 19 | Good. |
| 18 B. | ..... |  |
| I. 5 G. | 15 | Good. |
| 10 B. | ..... |  |

The general Standard reached is good.

Class, and extra subjects taken

Singing (Sol-fa) good.
Mental Arithmetic good generally.
Geography in two groups.
Useful courses of object-lessons had been given to both seniors and juniors.

Industrial training

Drawing has been introduced for the boys.
The girls continue to receive a weekly lesson in cookery. Save for the introduction of drawing, arrangements generally remain unaltered.

Provision for physical training and recreation

Dumb-bell and Indian club exercises have been carefully taught, though movements such as the lunge were wanting in vigour.

In this school, as indeed in every school in the country, free gymnastics on the excellent lines laid down at Aldershot should be introduced. They are simple, and at the same time thorough. The effect of the systematic practice of them in the many Home Office Schools, where they have been adopted, has been a quite remarkable development of the children's physique.

State of Health

There is no official arrangement for medical supervision over the children. The year's work does not appear to have been at all interfered with by sickness among the children.

Conduct and Discipline.

The general conduct has been good this year. Three boys have been sent to Industrial schools, and one other boy seems to be more fitted for one than for this school. Six out of the 12 cases of truancing have been committed by this boy, and he is dishonest as well.

There are only seven recorded cases of punishment in the schoolroom.

There is no mark system, nor are regular rewards given; but the Board allows 5s. a month to be distributed, and a member of the Board kindly gave prizes for regular attendance.

Remarks.

The school has been pursuing its unobtrusive course steadily during the year, and good work has been done.

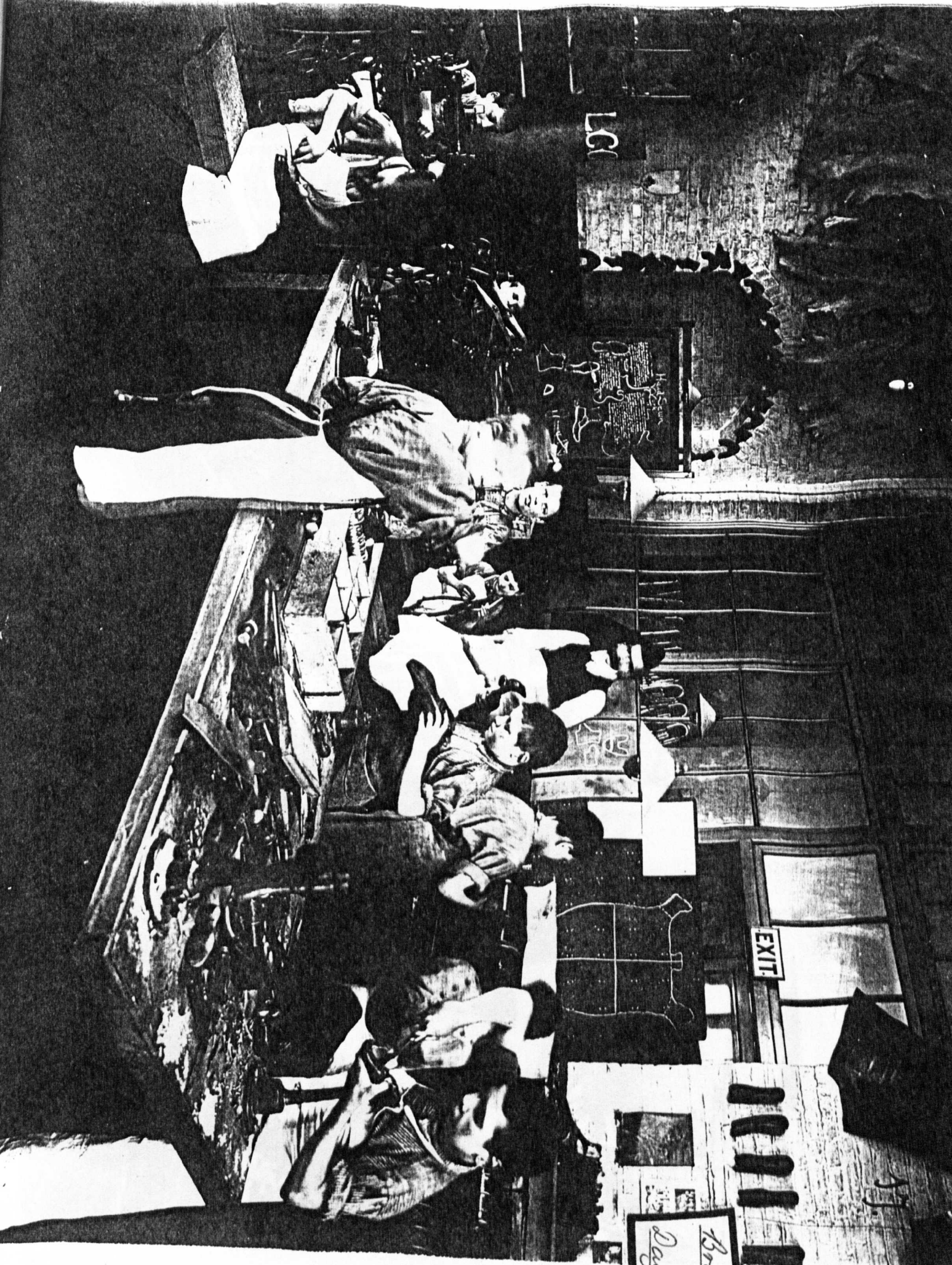
I doubt whether the Board as a whole is fully alive to the possibilities of a Day Industrial School managed with vigour, on its social as well as educational side.

It is quite possible to do as much in the way of after-care for children who leave Day Industrial Schools as for those who leave ordinary Industrial Schools, and the effect of such an influence on the parents as well as the children cannot be over-estimated.

JAMES G. LEGGE.

Appendix 16

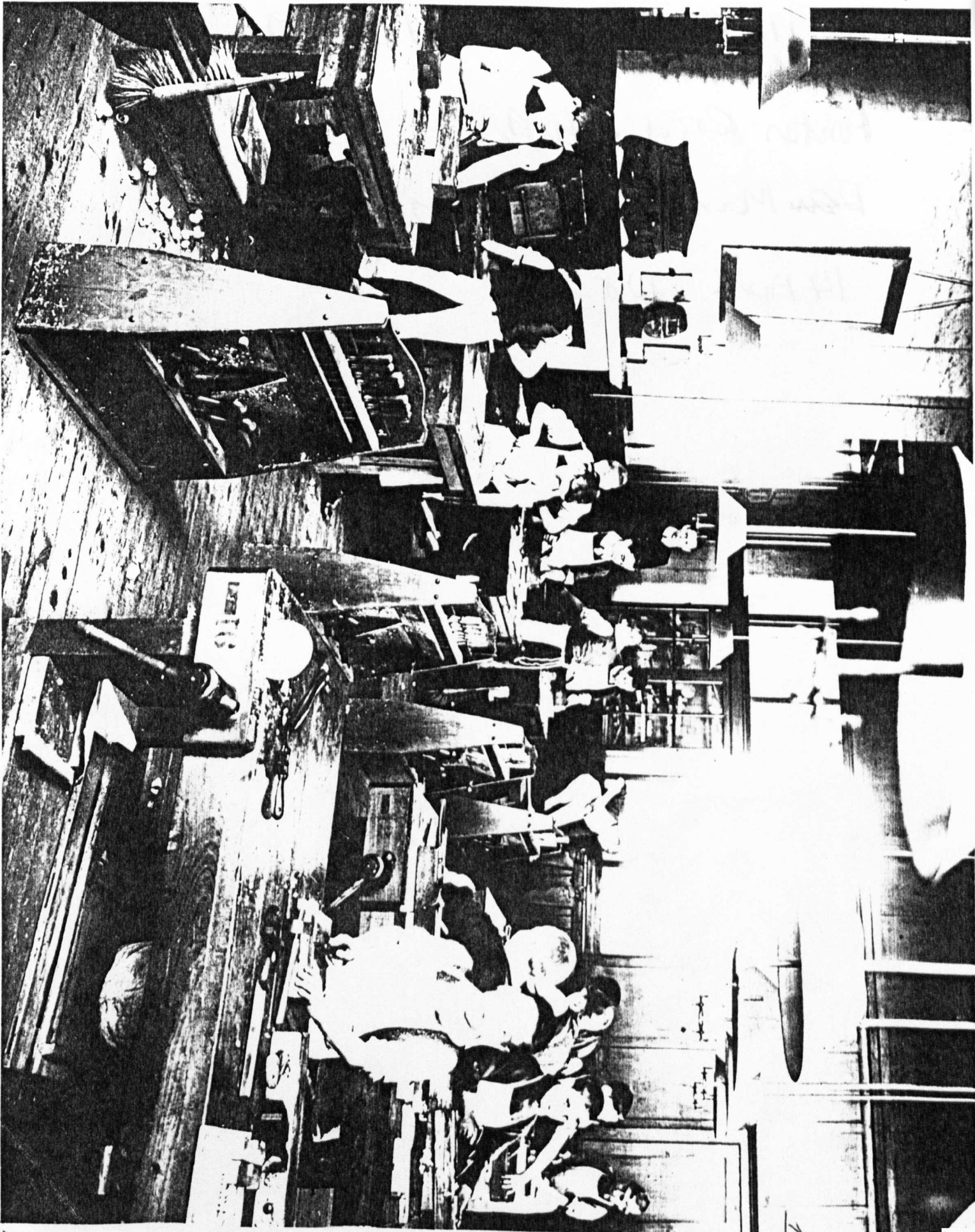
Illustrations of Manual Occupation



Shenandoah

Day Product.

Brunswick



*Boston Room
Day Sat. 12*

*Manual
Cleaning*

22.113 Don

22.54 BRU

43c

Brunswick Road Industrial School

Shoemaking

10 April 1908.



Panama
Log Mill

Manual
Pressing

22.113 Pan

66/7759

22.113 PON

66/7759

Ponton Road School,

~~Draw~~ Manual training

14 April 1908.