THE DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCE OF REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS FOR JUVENILE CRIMINALS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BIRMINGHAM.

By

DANIEL WALE

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

Centre for West Midlands History

School of History and Cultures

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

September 2018

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ABSTRACT

In 1851 Birmingham hosted the first national conference on juvenile criminality, one in a series of local events that influenced Parliament to adopt a new approach to child criminals and enact legislation supporting the development of reformatory institutions which favoured rehabilitation over punishment.

This is the first study of Birmingham's reformatory institutions set within a cultural, national and international context. It adds to existing knowledge by illuminating how a series of pioneering activities, developed in and around Birmingham, contributed to the town becoming a centre for efforts to reform the treatment of juvenile criminals. In the early nineteenth century Warwick's magistrates established a reformatory institution at Stretton-on-Dunsmore and introduced the beginnings of probation. In 1819 Thomas Wright Hill established Hazelwood School in Birmingham. Renowned for its wide curriculum and unique ethos, it attracted contemporary social reformers and employed practices adopted by reformatory institutions. Various family members subsequently influenced reforms to the treatment of criminal and destitute children in Britain, Australia and America.

A wide range of archival and printed material, including previously unused sources, is employed to highlight how this under-explored aspect of Birmingham's history directly connects the town to these fundamental national reforms.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research developed from the dissertation submitted as part of my studies for the MA in West Midlands History course at the University of Birmingham. It examined the nineteenth-century prison provision for juvenile offenders in Birmingham and its findings indicated the town played a significant, and to date unacknowledged, role in a new approach to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders that developed from the 1850s onwards.

I must start by expressing my gratitude to the University for the training and support, including scholarships, it has provided. The staff at its various libraries have always been extremely professional and Catherine Robertson, subject advisor for history, and Lisa Anderson, subject advisor for law, economics and government studies, helped in locating some of the more obscure resources I have employed. James Peart and Chantal Jackson from the University's map library were also of great assistance.

Drs Emma Peplow and Philip Salmon, both from the History of Parliament website, kindly answered queries I had regarding nineteenth-century parliamentary records and Francis Bellis, from Lincoln's Inn Library, and Megan Dunmall, Middle Temple, were also of great help. I am also indebted to Jenny Edmunds from John Drury Rare Books for providing me with a copy of a letter, from Jelinger Symons, that they had in their stock.

My thanks are also due to the staff of the numerous records offices I have visited, particularly those at Warwick and Birmingham, who provide an excellent service in the face of numerous challenges. I would like to single out David Bishop, formerly of the Library of Birmingham, for facilitating access to the punishment records of Saltley Reformatory and for tolerating both my own and *Warwickshire History's* Dr Robert Bearman's continual enquiries on the subject; I must also thank Robert for his assistance in this matter and for publishing my first article on the institution. Madeleine Cox, Adam Sherratt and their colleagues at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Library and Archive were a great help during my work with the Leigh family records and Father John Sharp, Diocesan Archivist at St Chad's Cathedral, was equally accommodating. Both Birmingham and the Shakespeare Archives have kindly granted permission for the reproduction of some of the images presented in this work.

My research into the Hill family expanded much further than originally anticipated and I appreciate Professor Ruth Watts allowing me access to her own research and then acting as a sounding board for my preliminary conclusions. Additionally, Birmingham Numismatic Society advised me of research undertaken in the 1970s regarding merit tokens of the type used by the Hills at their Hazelwood School. Robert Thornton, Adelaide City Council's archivist, helped me locate some accounts of the family's work in Australia. Closer to home, West Midlands Police and Crime Commissioner David Jamieson arranged for me to access material at Birmingham's police museum, where I was hosted by Dave Cross.

In particular I must thank Bessie Evans. Through her son Tim, Bessie responded to an advertisement I placed in several magazines asking whether anyone had any documentation, photographs or memories of relatives who were connected with Birmingham's reformatory institutions. She generously shared recollections of her grandfather James Andrews, who worked at Saltley Reformatory for many years, donated his diary to the Cadbury Research Library and also provided two photographs which are reproduced in this thesis.

There are two people without whose help this research would, literally, have never been undertaken. Dr Malcolm Dick has supervised my work and provided constant guidance and encouragement throughout. A true academic, it has been my privilege to work with him. My final thanks go to my wife; there are simply no words to describe the depth of never-ending support she has shown. If I have omitted anyone's name, please accept both my apologies and my thanks.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Newspapers

ABG – Aris's Birmingham Gazette

BDP – Birmingham Daily Post

BJ – Birmingham Journal

BM – Birmingham Mercury

LSC – Leamington Spa Courier

Organisations

BDPAS – Birmingham Discharged Prisoners Aid Society

BPU – Birmingham Political Union

NAPSS – National Association for the Promotion of Social Science

NCAS – Neglected Children's Aid Society

NRU – National Reformatory Union

RRU – Reformatory and Refuge Union

SDUK – Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge

Records Offices

ABA – Archdiocese of Birmingham Archives

BCA – Birmingham City Archives

WCRO – Warwick County Records Office

CRL – Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham

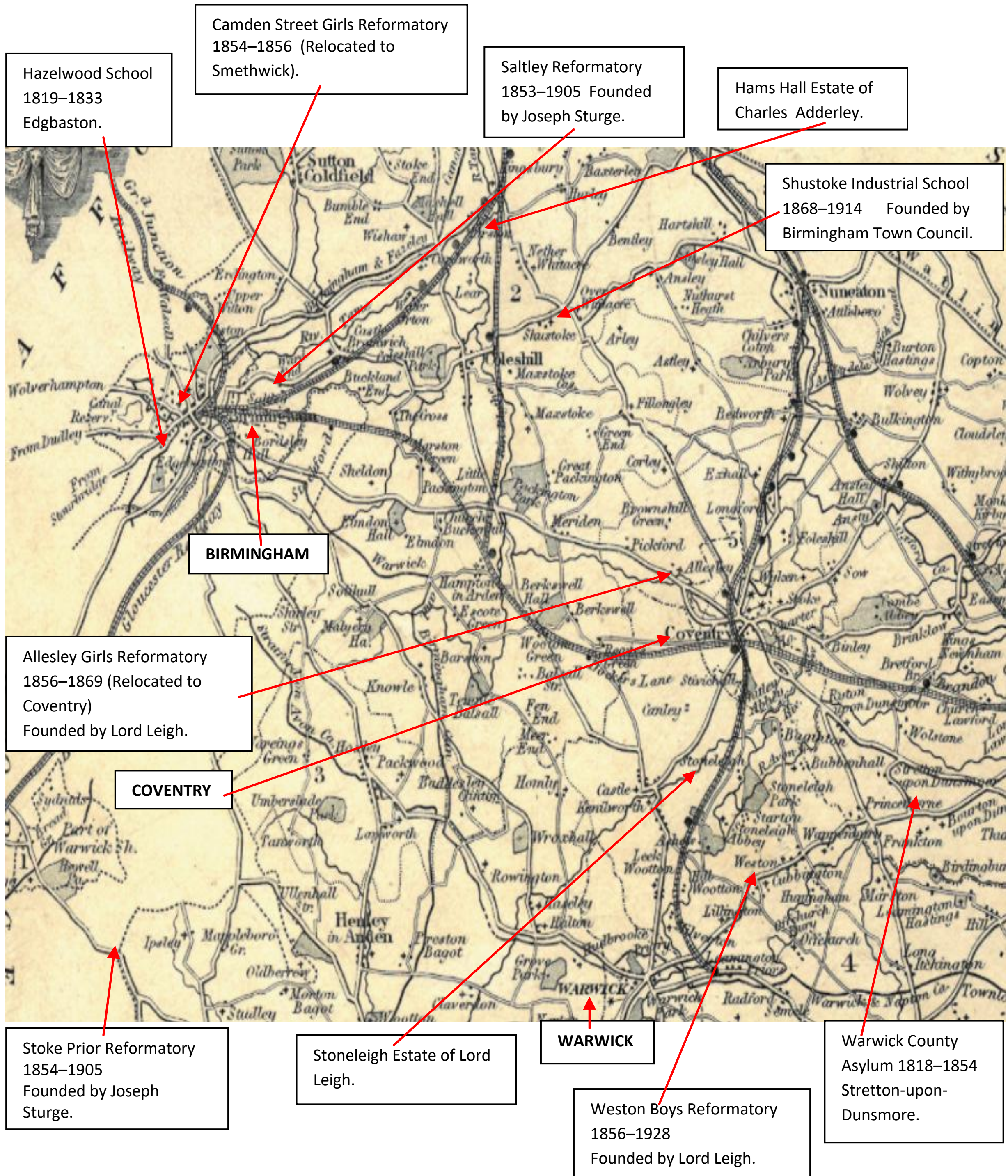
SBTLA – Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Library and Archive

N.B

As a guiding principle within this thesis the past tense is employed when referring to texts and material written prior to 1900, while the present tense is used in reference to texts written after this date.

Birmingham is generally referred to as a 'town' throughout this work. This has been adopted because Birmingham did not receive city status until 1889; additionally, the term remains in common usage by its inhabitants.

LOCATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY REFORMATORY MOVEMENT IN BIRMINGHAM



Reproduced from the county map of Warwickshire by John Carey, c.1835, and modified by the author (Supplied by the University of Birmingham Map Library).

TIMELINE:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REFORMATORY MOVEMENT IN BIRMINGHAM

1810 Warwick Gaol – child inmates segregated and schooled.

1818 Stretton-on-Dunsmore, reformatory opened by Warwick magistrates.

1819 Same magistrates introduce an early form of probation for juveniles.

Hazelwood School opened on Hagley Road by Thomas Wright Hill.

1821 First ragged school in Birmingham opened in Swallow Street.

1839 Matthew Davenport Hill appointed as Birmingham's first recorder and introduced a version of Warwick magistrates' early probation scheme.

1846 Lichfield Street Ragged School established by Rev. Grantham Yorke.

1849 Birmingham Borough Gaol opened – 40 of the 321 cells are for juveniles.

1850 Lichfield Street Ragged School renamed St. Philip's Free Industrial School and relocated to Gem Street.

1851 First national conference on juvenile criminality held in Birmingham.

1852 Attempts to enact proposals of Birmingham conference – the establishment of government-supported reformatory institutions for juveniles – in a bill sponsored by Charles Adderley, ran out of parliamentary time.

Joseph Sturge opened predecessor to Saltley Reformatory at Ryland Road, Edgbaston.

1853 Suicide of fifteen-year old at Borough Gaol prompted government inquiry.

Saltley Reformatory opened, funded largely by Adderley.

Second national conference on juvenile delinquency held in Birmingham.

1854 Youthful Offenders Act passed– established reformatory schools and system of inspection. (Act is virtually identical to Adderley's 1852 bill).

Girls Reformatory opened in Camden Street.

Stretton-on-Dunsmore reformatory closed.

1855 Meeting of Catholic Church to discuss its approach to delinquency held at Birmingham Town Hall.

1856 Warwick Boys Reformatory (Weston) opened by Lord Leigh.

Camden Street Girls Reformatory relocated to Smethwick.

1857 Inaugural meeting of National Association for the Promotion of Social Science held in Birmingham. Education and the reformatory movement are among the subjects discussed.

Industrial Schools Act – sponsored by Adderley – vagrant and destitute children can now be placed in certified industrial school.

1859 Handsworth Island Cottage Home for Protestant Girls opened.

1862 Handwsorth Island Home relocated and renamed Winson Green Industrial School for Girls.

1863 Penn Street Industrial School certificated to take vagrant and destitute children.

1866 Vale Street Industrial School for Girls certificated to take vagrant and destitute children.

1867 Neglected Children's Aid Society founded by Arthur Ryland.

1868 Gem Street Industrial School certificated to take vagrant and destitute children.

Birmingham Town Council opened Shustoke Industrial School for boys.

1869 Winson Green Industrial School for Girls closed.

1872 Matthew Davenport Hill died.

1873 Birmingham School Board Industrial School for Girls opened in Sparkbrook.

1876 Vale Street Industrial School for Girls closed.

1877 Work of the Neglected Children's Aid Society transferred to the Birmingham School Board.

Birmingham School Board Industrial School for Girls (Sparkbrook) closed.

1879 Smethwick Girls Reformatory (The Coppice) closed.

1893 Reformatory Schools Amendment Act – making mandatory jail sentence prior to committal to reformatories discretionary – enacted. Sponsored by Lord Leigh.

1899 Reformatory Schools Amendment Act – abolishing discretionary jail sentence prior to committal to reformatories – enacted. Sponsored by Lord Leigh.

1905 Deaths of Charles Adderley and Lord Leigh.

INTRODUCTION

The traditional image of nineteenth-century Birmingham is the industrialised 'city of a thousand trades',[1] which grew through the development of its diverse manufacturing base; there are other narratives however. In 1851 Birmingham hosted the first national conference on the subject of juvenile criminality. This thesis explores how this critical event not only contributed to the development of reformatory and industrial schools for juvenile offenders in the town but, on a wider scale, gave reformatory efforts, until then London based and uncoordinated, the impetus and focus they had previously lacked and established Birmingham as a centre for the reformatory movement.

This pivotal conference was the first of a series held in the town between 1851 and 1861.[2] When allied with the efforts of several local individuals, it initiated a process that fundamentally changed the way juvenile offenders were treated and culminated in ending the imprisonment of children. The town's influence, however, was not restricted to this country alone and this research also illustrates how Birmingham's Hill family, across three generations, were instrumental in the reform

[1] The origins of this frequently quoted phrase are vague and the academic publications that have used it do not provide a reference. There are indications that it developed from the comments made by the romantic poet, essayist and poet laureate Robert Southey in *Letters from England, Volume II* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1808), pp. 56-66. (Published under the name Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella.) One letter, numbered thirty-six, provides a detailed and complimentary account of the numerous trades situated in Birmingham but does not use the specific phrase in question. Considering that Birmingham was not a city at the time of Southey's visit, it appears his comments have been 'adapted' over time.

[2] Birmingham is generally referred to as a 'town' throughout this work. This has been adopted because Birmingham did not receive city status until 1889; additionally, the term remains in common use by its inhabitants.

of the treatment of criminal and destitute children in both Australia and America, as well as Great Britain, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This thesis introduces a new perspective on the development of nineteenth-century policies to combat juvenile crime. It presents evidence to support the assertion that Birmingham exerted a significant influence in this area and highlights how this has been largely overlooked by the town's historians and historians of the reformatory movement.

This introductory chapter is divided into a literature review; methodology and sources component, and a conclusion containing an overview of each chapter. The literature review considers how developments in Victorian reformatory practices have been viewed by historians since the beginning of the twentieth century. It also highlights the limited extent to which Birmingham's important role in reforming these practices has been portrayed. Finally, the value of the small number of studies that examine specific reformatory institutions is assessed. Chapter Two provides a historiography of various aspects of contemporary society whose interaction influenced the emergence of reformatory education. A microstudy approach was chosen as the most appropriate methodology for Chapters Three to Seven with Birmingham being the specific focus of the analysis undertaken. Chapters Eight and Nine comprise separate case studies of two specific institutions; these are critically evaluated to ascertain whether they were influenced by events in the town or were catalysts for them. A qualitative approach has been adopted as the most suitable research method to examine the primary

source material used. This material subdivides into three main categories, namely personal and official archives, contemporary publications, and government reports and inquiries.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Early twentieth-century accounts of Victorian efforts to reform juvenile offenders concentrate on their perceived failures rather than their development. Writing in 1902 H.T. Holmes ignores the development of juvenile reformatory institutions and instead concentrates on criticising their funding and the standards of training and education they provided.[3] Four years later Charles Russell and L.M. Rigby describe the turn of the twentieth century as a mid-point in the development of ‘the right treatment’ to reform juvenile offenders. They see the Borstal system, which commenced in 1902, as the most noteworthy advance in combating juvenile crime for nearly half a century.[4] Horace Wyndham goes further; totally disregarding all Victorian efforts he states categorically that the Borstal schools were the true beginnings of reformatory practices.[5] The emphasis of accounts from the opening decades of the twentieth century is a general disdain for Victorian reformatory efforts. The Lord Chief Justice of the time seemed to share that opinion; in 1935 he describes the nineteenth-century treatment of children by the courts as ‘grim,

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[3] H.T. Holmes, *Reform of Reformatories and Industrial Schools* (London: Fabian Society, 1902), pp. 2-3, 8-11.
[4] Charles Russell and J.M. Rigby, *The Making of the Criminal* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1906), pp. 220-221.
[5] Horace Wydham, *Criminology* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd. No publication date is given but it is the early 1920s), pp. 70-71.

heartless and desperate', at a time when punishments alone were thought sufficient to deal with juvenile crime.[6]

Even in Birmingham the town's role in the reformatory movement was overlooked despite it becoming the location for the country's first separate court for juvenile offenders, which opened in 1905.[7] Geraldine S. Cadbury was one of its magistrates and her 1938 publication, *Young Offenders, Yesterday and Today*, contains only passing references to Birmingham and no mention of its contribution to the legislation she was tasked with implementing.[8] Conrad Gill's *History of Birmingham* gives less than a page to the town's reformatory efforts but does record its role in pressing for new statutes in the 1850s.[9] John Alfred Langford included a section in *Modern Birmingham and its Institutions*, which gave the most detailed account of activities in Birmingham, and their national implications, of any publication to date. Regrettably it is limited by the chronology of his study, which ended in 1871, and only records a fraction of the work that actually took place in the town.[10] Late twentieth-century publications, including Victor Skipp's *The Making of Victorian Birmingham* and Chris Upton's *A History of Birmingham*, ignore Birmingham's reformatory activities completely, though the latter notes the

[6] Rt Hon Lord Hewart of Bury, Lord Chief Justice of England, *The Treatment of the Young Offender*, The Second Clark Hall Lecture (London: The Clark Hall Fellowship, 1935), pp. 22-23.

[7] Janet Whitney, *Geraldine S. Cadbury, 1865-1941, A Biography* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1948), pp. 72, 107.

[8] Geraldine S. Cadbury, *Young Offenders, Today and Yesterday* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1938), pp. 54, 55, 60.

[9] Conrad Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I, Manor and Borough to 1865* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 380-381.

[10] John Alfred Langford*, Modern Birmingham and its Institutions, A Chronicle of Local Events From 1841-1871, Volume II* (Birmingham: William Downing, undated), pp. 198-224.

unusually progressive educational practices at the Hill family's Hazelwood School.[11]

Clearly a significant aspect of Birmingham's history is missing from the history books. Birmingham exhibited no distinctive philanthropic ethos compared to other towns in the first half of the nineteenth century and no documented track record in the field of penal reform prior to the rise of the reformatory movement in the 1850s. The town garners just three passing mentions in David Owen's magisterial *English Philanthropy 1660-1960*.[12] During his 1807 tour of the town's gaols, James Neild, who succeeded the reforming prison inspector John Howard, noted how they numbered among the worst in the country and were deemed unfit for human habitation.[13] Birmingham's 'contribution' has not been totally overlooked. Writing in 1940, American commentator Yale Levin recognises that events in the town both united and quickened the development of a national reformatory system, together with its underpinning legislation. He also highlights the roles played by brothers Frederic Hill and Matthew Davenport Hill at this time.[14] This study examines why the town came to play such a pivotal role, who and what were the driving forces, and how earlier pioneering practices of a number of local individuals came together to place Birmingham at the centre of reformatory efforts

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[11] Victor Skipp, *The Making of Victorian Birmingham* (Birmingham: Published by the author, 1983); Chris Upton, *A History of Birmingham* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. LTD, 1993), p. 160. The activities of various members of the Hill family are examined throughout this thesis and Chapter Eight comprises a case study of Hazelwood School.

[12] David Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 41, 154-155, 408-413. Alongside Birmingham's medical charities and the efforts of Josiah Mason, he briefly mentions the roles played by Charles Adderley and Matthew Davenport Hill in the beginning of the reformatory movement.

[13] 'Mr Neild's Remarks on Birmingham Gaol', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1807, pp. 107-108.

[14] Yale Levin, 'The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency in England During the Early Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 31:1 (May-June 1940), pp. 38, 40.

and provide the foundations of a movement that changed the way juvenile offenders were treated by the courts.

General accounts of the development of the prison system in the nineteenth century vary considerably regarding their coverage of the treatment of children. Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood devote two chapters to the subject while *The Oxford History of the Prison* provides a detailed account of reformatory practices in the United States but only mentions British efforts in passing.[15] Michel Foucault's famously critical viewpoint squarely blames penal institutions for creating rather than alleviating delinquency and describes the early French reformatory at Mettray as coercive, exhibiting 'the disciplinary form at its most severe' and incorporating elements of 'cloister, prison, school and regiment'.[16] Writing in 2008, Philip Smith acknowledges the value of Foucault's work but argues that its influence is limited by his negative perspective, which portrays most institutions as controlling and coercive. Smith also suggests a lack of originality in Foucault's theories, describing them as being derived from 'theoretical renewal' rather than 'fact-finding missions'.[17] Foucault's views remain controversial and are revisited later in the thesis. Those of other commentators, however, are less harsh. For example, Giles Playfair restricts his comments to simply stating that

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[15] Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 133-230; Norval Morris and David J. Rothman (eds.), *The Oxford History of the Prison. The Practice of Punishment in Western Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[16] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1991. Translation of original 1975 edition), pp. 293, 301. An account of Mettray and its influence on British reformatory practices comprises part of Chapter Three.

[17] Philip Smith, *Punishment and Culture* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 8-9. In addition to prisons, schools and almshouses, Foucault asserts that institutions including charities, orphanages, hospitals and workshops all exhibit distinctive elements of control and coercion. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 299.

'some differentiation of treatment began to develop' for children at that time.[18] Sean McConville, in *A History of English Prison Administration*, remarks that the idea of educating juveniles to prevent and reform offending behaviour was mooted early in the nineteenth century by both government and voluntary bodies. He adds that the provision of reformatories and new legislation reduced the number of children in the overall prison population but he does not investigate its development or the individuals who pushed for reform.[19]

William James Forsythe emphasises that despite a lack of interest by the authorities towards juvenile delinquency in the middle of the nineteenth century, a realisation began that they posed particular problems that could not be countered by the existing prison system.[20] The beginnings of such a new perspective were examined by Martin J. Wiener who linked it to a general early Victorian optimism, which included 'reforming' abandoned women and the mentally ill.[21] John A. Stack sees the development of specific laws to combat juvenile crime as one aspect of a government policy to introduce legislation to strengthen its overall control of society in the face of population growth and industrial expansion.[22] He mentions the conferences on juvenile crime that took place in Birmingham in 1851 and 1853, and their relation to the enactment of the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act, but

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[18] Giles Playfair, *The Punitive Obsession* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1971), p. 146.
[19] Sean McConville, *A History of English Prison Administration, Volume I, 1750-1877* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 204, 329, 428-429.
[20] William James Forsythe, *The Reform of Prisoners 1830-1900* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 123-124.
[21] Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal. Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 131.
[22] John A. Stack, 'The Juvenile Delinquent and England's "Revolution in Government", 1825-1875', *The Historian*, 42:1 (November 1979), p. 42.

nothing of the town's subsequent influence.[23] Stack, Forsythe and Wiener acknowledge the role Charles Adderley played in drafting the legislation that established government-supported reformatory schools; Stack portrays him as 'the most active reformatory advocate in Parliament', but does not mention any connection to Birmingham.[24] Philip Priestley provides little insight into the development of reformatory practices in *Victorian Prison Lives*; though he gives an account of the 1853 suicide of a fifteen year-old prisoner in Birmingham Borough Gaol, its implications for the reformatory movement either locally or nationally are ignored.[25]

Foucault is the only author to provide any differentiation between the phrases 'juvenile delinquent' and 'juvenile offender' in any of the publications reviewed. He argues that delinquency is a mental state requiring extremely coercive re-education, while offending is created by an individual's socio-economic background, this being easier to remedy.[26] Foucault's stance blurs the boundary between historical narrative and psychology, which makes Smith's appraisal of Foucault's work as 'theoretical renewal' apt. The majority of authors reviewed write from an historical perspective and treat the terms as interchangeable.[27] This

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[23] Stack, 'The Juvenile Delinquent and England's "Revolution in Government"', pp. 48-49.

[24] Stack, 'The Juvenile Delinquent and England's "Revolution in Government"', p. 51; Forsythe, *The Reform of Prisoners,* p. 54; Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, pp. 138-139. Adderley, later Lord Norton, was an MP who was instrumental in the enactment of legislation that led to the establishment of reformatory and industrial schools for convicted children. He was one of the founders of Saltley Reformatory in Birmingham and had a lifelong association with the school. J.E.G. De Montmorency and Rev. H.C.G. Matthew, 'Charles Bowyer Adderley', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/view/printable/30341> [accessed 5th September 2012].

[25] Philip Priestley, *Victorian Prison Lives. English Prison Biography 1830-1914* (London: Pimlico, 1999), pp. 210-212. The significance of the suicide is assessed in Chapter Five.

[26] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 251-253.

[27] Helen Johnston (ed.), *Punishment and Control in Historical Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

research is a study of the historical development of approaches to reform juvenile offenders. It avoids engaging with both the psychological and criminological theories that inform modern understanding of juvenile behaviour. It also makes every effort to refrain from any twenty-first century bias regarding the conviction and detention of children. For the purpose of this thesis juvenile offending is defined by the standards of the day and is not an argument as to the rights and wrongs of the social norms of the time.

Writing in 1998, Peter King claims that the historical focus on juvenile delinquency had concentrated on events occurring from the later-nineteenth century onwards.[28] Since then, several accounts of the development of reformatory practices and legislation designed to combat delinquency throughout the entire nineteenth century have been published. The works of Jeannie Duckworth, Loretta Loach, Pamela Horn and Muriel Whitten are of particular note.[29] These authors, however, follow a familiar pattern in that they begin by detailing the severity of punishments at the beginning of the century, proceeding to an explanation of how children were treated in much the same way as adults were by the courts. They also argue that early reformatory efforts were the domain of philanthropic individuals and organisations until the 1850s when new legislation saw the establishment of government-supported reformatory institutions, with a significant overlap in their contents. Only Whitten notably adds to existing knowledge as her

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[28] Peter King, 'The Rise of Juvenile Delinquency in England 1780-1840: Changing Patterns of Perception and Prosecution', *Past and Present*, 160 (August 1998), p. 116.

[29] Jeannie Duckworth, *Fagin's Children. Criminal Children in Victorian England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002); Loretta Loach, *The Devil's Children. A History of Childhood and Murder* (London: Icon Books Ltd, 2009); Pamela Horn, *Young Offenders. Juvenile Delinquency 1700–2000* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, PLC, 2010); Muriel Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud. How the Philanthropic Quest Was Put Into Law* (Hook: Waterside Press Ltd, 2011).

publication documents the development of the Philanthropic Society. Overall, references to Birmingham are few in number and only Duckworth implies any connection between Birmingham and the passing of new legislation.[30] There is no indication that there was an active base for the reformatory movement in the town, which influenced national policy for an extended period of time. The general tone of these publications is whiggish and completely at odds with Foucault's assertion that reforms in criminal law only took place to make punishments more effective and economical to inflict.[31]

Studies of individual Victorian reformatory institutions are scarce; only four such accounts had been published by 2017. Though valuable from a local history standpoint, they are not academic in nature and predominantly view individual reformatories in isolation without placing them in the national context. The accounts in question: *The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory at Market Weighton*; *Wiltshire Reformatory School for Boys*; *The Reformatory at Mount St. Bernard Abbey*; and *Juvenile Offenders in Victorian Lancashire*, provide a sparse outline of early reformatory efforts. They all acknowledge the contribution of Bristol-based philanthropist Mary Carpenter, and the latter three highlight the influence of the French Mettray institution, but no mention is made of Birmingham's role or any progressive national movement working to reform the treatment of juvenile prisoners.[32] Two additional publications examine reformatory institutions in

[30] Duckworth, *Fagin's Children*, p. 161.
[31] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 80-81.
[32] J.D. Hicks, *The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory at Market Weighton* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, Local History Series No. 49, 1996), p. 8; Ivor Slocombe, *Wiltshire Reformatory for Boys, Warminster 1856-1924* (Salisbury: The Hobnob Press, 2005), pp. 5-6; Maureen Havers, *The Reformatory at Mount St. Bernard Abbey 1856-1881* (Coalville: Mount St. Bernard Abbey, 2006. This publication is not paginated);

Liverpool: Joan Rimmer's *Yesterday's Naughty Children* provides a general overview and Bob Evans' *The Training Ships of Liverpool* describes these floating schools.[33] Both, however, exhibit the same shortcomings as the four previous works. Journal articles are rarer still and only three have been identified that relate to specific institutions. D.H. Thomas' account of Chester Industrial School, Sandra Jolly's work on the Manchester and Salford Reformatory and J. Shorey Duckworth's description of the origins of the Hardwicke Reformatory School, are all academically based and examine the development of the schools in both a local and national context.[34]

Two publications relate specifically to provision in Birmingham. *The Birmingham Reformatory Institution (Saltley Reformatory) Jubilee Retrospect, 1903*, and *1849–1949 Souvenir of the Centenary Celebrations of Tennal School, Birmingham*, are both in-house publications that chart the history of the institutions and are celebratory rather than analytical.[35] Despite this weakness they do name those involved with the establishment and management of the institutions, which is particularly helpful when identifying networks of individuals. This thesis includes a

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Emmeline Garnett, *Juvenile Offenders in Victorian Lancashire. W.J. Garnett and the Bleasdale Reformatory* (University of Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, 2008), pp. 4, 6. Mary Carpenter was involved in organising several conferences in Birmingham on the subject of juvenile crime. These are discussed in Chapter Five. An account of Mettray's close association with the British reformatory movement is provided in Chapter Three.

[33] Joan Rimmer, *Yesterday's Naughty Children* (Manchester: Neil Richardson, 1986); Bob Evans, *The Training Ships of Liverpool* (Birkenhead: Countryvise Limited, 2002).

[34] D.H. Thomas, 'The Chester Industrial School, 1863-1908', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 13:2 (1981); J. Shorey Duckworth, 'The Hardwicke Reformatory School, Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, CXIII (1995); Sandra Jolly, 'The Origins of the Manchester and Salford Reformatory for Juvenile Criminals, 1853-1860, *Manchester Regional History Review*, XV (2001).

[35] J.A. Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution (Saltley Reformatory) Jubilee Retrospect, 1903* (Birmingham: Hall & English (Printers), 1903); G.R. Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir of the Centenary of Tennal School* (Birmingham: No other publication details known).

detailed case study of Saltley Reformatory, which illustrates both its influence locally and its place in the national reformatory movement.[36]

Specific accounts of the development of legislation from the 1850s onwards fail to explore the depth and longevity of Birmingham's influence on the movement as a whole. Though Radzinowicz and Hood partially acknowledge the importance of the conferences in 1851 and 1853, they ignore the fact that Birmingham remained the centre of the reformatory movement and continued to influence legislation for decades.[37] Similarly, Heather Shore provides a very disjointed description of the evolution of this legislation and fails to link it to the efforts of a particular group of individuals. Instead she focuses on a perceived dispute between reformers over the difference between industrial schools and reformatories.[38] There seems to be an almost unconscious acceptance among some historians that, as legislation is enacted in London, it also originates there. This thesis moves beyond official statistics and statements, as well as the London-based bias of existing work, and shows – for the first time – how events in Birmingham forced Victorian society to rethink its attitudes towards childhood delinquency and shape a new system of juvenile reform.

[36] The case study of Saltley Reformatory comprises Chapter Nine.

[37] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* pp. 175-177.

[38] Heather Shore, 'Punishment, Reformation, or Welfare: Responses to 'The Problem' of Juvenile Crime in Victorian and Edwardian Britain', in Johnston (ed.), *Punishment and Control in Historical Perspective*, pp. 158-168.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

The methodology adopted is primarily a microstudy of approaches towards combating juvenile crime, using Birmingham as the focus for analysis. It also assesses the influence that events in the town had on shaping national legislation. Microstudies were first used by historians in the 1970s and were a development of research tools used by social anthropologists.[39] Writing in 2010 Daniel Little identified three ways in which microstudies can have a broader significance in providing a genuine contribution to historical understanding. Firstly, they are representative of 'larger' social realities of a given period; secondly, they identify the emergence and interaction of patterns that have historical significance over time and, thirdly, they provide an insight into the thoughts and actions of the people at the time.[40] These three points correspond with the aims of this thesis and the definition of a microhistory, where a different perspective to previous investigations emerges by focusing on particular events, persons and circumstances.[41] The suitability of this methodology for the thesis is underscored by Anne-Marie Kilday and David Nash who describe microstudies as identifying multiple perspectives which give voice to the opinions of individuals and groups on a specific subject.[42]

[39] Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), p. 40; Mark Donnelly and Claire Norton, *Doing History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 47.
[40] Daniel Little, *New Contributions to the Philosophy of History* (London: Springer, 2010), pp. 86-87.
[41] Sigurdur Gylfi Magnusson and Istvan M. Szijarto, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 4-5.
[42] Anne-Marie Kilday and David Nash, *Law, Crime and Deviance since 1700. Micro Studies in the History of Crime* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 2017), pp. 1, 8, 11.

Two particular institutions, Saltley Reformatory and Hazelwood School, are also examined as separate case studies to ascertain the extent to which they either influenced or were influenced by these events. This particular 'tool' has been chosen because case studies utilise a wide range of detailed and varied evidence to answer research questions.[43] Robert E. Stake describes how they are also particularly well-suited to the study of human affairs and produce realistic conclusions that genuinely add to our understanding of people, institutions and specific events.[44] John Gerring supports these assertions regarding the level of insight case studies are able to provide and Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett highlight how they are particularly strong where statistical methods and formal models of research are weak.[45]

The overall research method adopted in this thesis is qualitative, though some statistical analyses of juvenile conviction rates and court appearances have been included. The primary sources examined during the course of this research predominantly comprise personal and official archival material, supplemented by contemporary pamphlets, books and articles, together with government reports and inquiries. A small amount of visual evidence has also been located. Its analysis has provided valuable material for the case study of Saltley Reformatory.

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[43] Bill Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods* (London: Continuum, 2008), pp. 1-2.
[44] Robert E. Stake, 'The Case Study Method in Social Enquiry', *Educational Researcher*, 7:2 (1978), pp. 5, 7. Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), p. 8.
[45] John Gerring, *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 7; Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Study and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (London: MIT Press, 2004), p. 19.

Archive holdings fall into three main categories; the records of reformatory and educational institutions, court records, and family archives. The holdings that relate specifically to Birmingham's reformatory and educational institutions vary. For example, those for Saltley Reformatory are relatively complete and include admission reports, the minutes of the management committee's meetings and annual reports.[46] By contrast, no records for any of the town's ragged schools survive.[47] All that remains from Hazelwood School is a near complete set of the magazines it published in the 1820s.[48] In such cases of a lack of official records, newspapers have proved invaluable in reconstructing the histories of these institutions and identifying the individuals involved with their management. Additionally, newspapers, together with magazines and journals, have been helpful in providing insights into the public opinion of efforts to reform the treatment of juveniles and also identify who attended the many meetings, both large and small, held across the country on the subject, the latter identifying networks and associations of individuals.[49]

Regrettably, the majority of the records of court hearings held in Birmingham prior to 1899 have not survived and those that do rarely state the ages of those on trial, hampering the assessment of levels of juvenile crime in the town. Until the 1840s, however, Warwick assizes tried most of Birmingham's criminals and their court records from the beginning of the nineteenth century are complete and provide the

[46] Birmingham City Archives (Hereafter BCA), MS 244, Birmingham Reformatory Institution.

[47] These were schools established for poor children whose 'ragged' state of attire gave the institutions their name. An account of their origins is provided in chapter Three.

[48] BCA AX285, Local Studies Collection, *Hazelwood Magazine* 1822–1830.

[49] *The British Newspaper Archive* <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> has been an invaluable resource in this area.

defendant's occupation, home town and age.[50] The family archives of the Leighs, Rylands and Charles Adderley were also consulted but, in the case of the latter two, proved generally disappointing as their contents contained scant relevant information.[51] The Leigh family archive comprises thousands of documents, the majority of which have not been catalogued, but a small amount of relevant material was located.[52]

Institutional and government records contain varying degrees of bias because, by their very nature, they are written by authority figures with a vested interest in portraying their own perspectives. Government reports and inquiries contain background information and accounts of interviews with those directly involved with managing reformatory and industrial schools.[53] Parliamentary committees often comprised individuals with opposing viewpoints, adding to the value of such records. Additionally, many of the philanthropists behind Birmingham's reformatory institutions were wealthy individuals who invested considerable time and money into efforts to reform juvenile delinquents. These establishments welcomed visitors and with such a degree of openness it is possible to provide insights into daily life in the schools.

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[50] Warwickshire County Records Office, QS 26/2, Records of the Warwick Quarter Sessions.

[51] The records of the Ryland family are held under the reference BCA MS 690, while those of Charles Adderley/Norton family are spread across BCA MS 244 (Birmingham Reformatory Institution), BCA MS 917 (Adderley Family) and BCA (1006) 2656 (Norton Family).

[52] The Leigh Family records are held at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Library and Archive.

[53] Examples include: *First Report from the Select Committee of the House Of Lords Appointed to Inquire into The Present State of the Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales* (London, 1835), p. 433. This contains the first annual report of the early reformatory at Stretton-on-Dunsmore as an appendix. *Third Report of the Inspectors Appointed to Visit the different Prisons of Great Britain I. Home District* (London: HMSO, 1838). Appendix B of this document contains a copy of the report from the French reformer Frederic August Demetz of his visit to a prison in Philadelphia.

Fortuitously, for the research involving Saltley Reformatory detailed in Chapter Nine, new records have become available for study and provide fresh insights into the day-to-day life of the institution. Firstly, Birmingham City Archives permitted access by the author to the school's punishment records for the first time and, secondly, they recently purchased a set of documents from the 1850s that provide an insight into the children who were detained there.[54] Finally, a diary and some photographs from an employee of the school, who worked there for approximately forty years from the 1870s onwards, have also recently come to light.[55]

One caveat that applies to all of these sources is that the 'voices' of the children are missing. In 2008 Patrick J. Ryan described the difficulties in providing accurate insights into the lives of the young, particularly those outside the social elite, because of the lack of documentation they leave behind. He did, however, underline how utilising as wide a range as possible of supporting materials, including autobiographies, newspaper accounts, interviews and visual material could partially offset this.[56] This approach has been adopted for the research undertaken for this thesis, though care needs to be taken when employing some sources. For example, many reformatory institutions, Saltley Reformatory

[54] BCA MS 244/1/5/1-2, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Miscellaneous Papers Re: Girls' Reformatory; BCA MS 244/4/6/1, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Punishment Records.
Access to Saltley Reformatory's punishment records at Birmingham City Archives (Library of Birmingham) was facilitated by David Bishop in response to a request from Dr Robert Bearman, editor of *Warwickshire History*, and myself. An embargo had originally been placed on the records as they contained entries from the 1970s. What these entries were and who made them was never explained but when it was highlighted that only material from the nineteenth century was being requested, access was granted. Unfortunately the records were then mislaid during the Archives move to the Library of Birmingham. They were relocated several months later and, after several reminders, digital copies of the records were provided.

[55] Cadbury Research Library Special Collections (Hereafter CRL), MS 870, Reformatory School Farm Bailiff Diary.

[56] Patrick J. Ryan, 'How New is the "New" Social Study of Childhood? The Myth of a Paradigm Shift', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 38:4 (Spring 2008), pp. 566-567.

included, published letters from former inmates in their annual reports. These accounts tended to concentrate on describing their lives after leaving the school and may have been subject to a degree of editing before publication in order to feature the positive influence of the institution. There are no known autobiographical accounts from children who were detained in these Victorian institutions. Similarly, with the exception of the superintendents who had charge of the schools, accounts from subordinate staff members are exceptionally rare.

Every effort has been made to avoid an overreliance upon one type of evidence or source and, where appropriate, foreign publications have also been included to highlight that the development of reformatory practices was not confined to just one town or country but had an international aspect. The only deliberate omission from this thesis is research into reformatory efforts in nineteenth-century Ireland. Many of the British figures involved in this area were also active in the province but the unique history of reformatory education in Ireland has not been explored. In view of the province's political instability, its separate legal system and distinctive social experiences, including famine and sectarian hostilities, the author felt that the particular attention it required was outside the scope of this research.

This thesis originated primarily as a local study, investigating the development of reformatory and industrial schools in Victorian Birmingham. The conclusions for my MA dissertation, *How far did the nineteenth-century prison provision for*

juveniles in Birmingham evolve from the prison system in that city?,[57] indicated Birmingham's role in the development of a national system to reform juvenile offenders may have been of major significance, hence this new research. In the interim the author has written about the development of Saltley Reformatory and, separately, an insight into the working life of one of its employees.[58] Additionally, an initial analysis of the nature and significance of Hazelwood School was first put forward in 2015.[59] In each case, the information contained within the published articles has been revised, expanded and corrected where necessary.

THE FOLLOWING CHAPTERS

The thesis has been structured to focus initially on efforts to reform juvenile criminality within society as a whole, then progress to identify the local practices and influences that placed Birmingham at the centre of these efforts from the 1850s onwards. The role of the town and several Birmingham-based individuals in the development of a national system of government-supported reformatory institutions is then evaluated. The growth of these institutions within Birmingham is also investigated and supported by case studies of two schools, which present evidence underlining their influence in the development of reformatory education

[57] Daniel Wale, *How far did the nineteenth century prison provision for juveniles in Birmingham evolve from the prison system in that city?* (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Birmingham, 2012).
[58] Wale, 'Saltley Reformatory: Its Origin and Growth in Victorian Birmingham' *Warwickshire History*, 15:6 (Winter 2013/14), pp. 251-264; Wale, 'Planting Seeds, Reforming Juvenile Delinquents', *West Midlands History*, 3:1 (Spring 2015), pp. 43-44.
[59] Wale, 'Hazelwood School – A Catalyst for Reformatory Education?', in *Papers from the Education Doctoral Research Conference 2015* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2016), pp. 137-144. <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/2153/1/Wale.pdf>.

locally and nationally. An overview of each chapter is presented in the following paragraphs.

Chapter Two predominantly utilises secondary sources to provide a national context and perspective to the influential events that took place in Birmingham and the development of the reformatory movement. The interaction of specific aspects of contemporary society, namely changing notions of childhood, religious influence on social attitudes, education, urbanisation and the development of the poor law, are examined to assess their influence on the emergence of reformatory education. This chapter considers how the concept of childhood developed and influenced Parliament to provide children with a distinct separate legal identity. It also examines the level of religious influence on social attitudes, assessing the extent to which any of the faiths contributed to any practical steps towards the reform of juvenile delinquents. From its inception, the poor law provided for the training and education of children to lift them out of a life of poverty. The same argument was seen as a way to prevent and reform juvenile criminality. This early welfare system shared many commonalities with reformatory institutions, both housing large numbers of the poorest children for extended periods of time. Their contribution to the development of child protection legislation and attempts to provide their charges with a 'normal' home life is compared. The provision of education for the poor and working classes is discussed alongside an examination of the types of schooling available to them. It is argued that one particular type of educational institution, the ragged schools, which started to develop in the early nineteenth century to fill a lack of provision, were sometimes precursors to later

reformatory institutions. The chapter also incorporates an account of the development of voluntary efforts to combat juvenile crime coupled with attempts to introduce reforming legislation into Parliament. It concludes by assessing the extent to which these factors converged within the development of reformatory practices.

Chapter Three looks specifically at the activities of the magistrates of Warwick during the first half of the nineteenth century. At this time the town both tried and subsequently housed most of Birmingham's criminals. Local magistrates, whose administrative circuit included both towns, used 'creative' interpretations of existing statutes to introduce the beginnings of probation for juvenile prisoners and also founded the first recognisable reformatory school in the country in 1818. Esther Tatnall, the wife of the governor of Warwick Gaol, also implemented a series of initiatives in an effort to curb local juvenile offending. She opened a school for children confined in the prison and ensured they were segregated from the adult prisoners. How groundbreaking were these practices and how did they affect future national developments? Later chapters examine the work of several other women who, despite the restrictions of contemporary society, also made significant contributions to reforming the care of destitute and delinquent children. The chapter concludes by examining the influence of the French Mettray reformatory institution. How and why did this establishment become particularly influential in Great Britain and how did its founder, Augustus Demetz, develop a close association with Birmingham's Hill family?

While Chapter Two provides a national perspective to the development of a new approach to alleviating juvenile criminality, Chapter Four focuses on the historiography of various aspects of contemporary Birmingham, which grew from a town into a city during the chronology of this study. It discusses the interplay between the various institutions that formed the embryonic local government of the fledgling city and asks whether there were any particular elements that prompted the growth of the reformatory movement locally. It also employs anecdotal and statistical evidence to assess if this growth may be explained by Birmingham being a particular ‘hot spot’ for juvenile crime. Additionally the historiography of educational provision and philanthropy within the town, in the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, is examined to ascertain whether these aspects influenced subsequent reformatory efforts. Particular attention is given to the development of Birmingham’s ragged schools and the association of these particular institutions with reformatory and industrial schools.

The 1851 conference was a watershed for those campaigning for more appropriate punishments for child offenders but it was only the first of a series of such meetings held in Birmingham. Chapter Five outlines the involvement of Unitarian reformers Mary Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill with some of these meetings and also examines each of these events to assess how the pressure for reform was built up and maintained locally. Chapter Six identifies those responsible for the development of the legislation that resulted directly from these ‘campaigns’, which originated squarely in Birmingham, and examines its effectiveness. The chapter also reasons that although the main objective of the

original conference – the abolition of the jailing of juveniles – took half a century to achieve, this final step also had direct links to Birmingham. It then progresses to examine how the legislation translated into the practical establishment and inspection of the reformatory and industrial school penal institutions that developed as a result.

Chapter Seven investigates the growth and development of Birmingham's reformatory and industrial schools. It also provides a local context to the assertions made in Chapter Two regarding ragged schools acting as precursors to these institutions and examines the extent to which the town's ragged schools and their benefactors contributed to the development of reformatory institutions in Birmingham. Chapter Seven also explores whether the ethos that prompted the 'civic gospel', which saw the town modernised and living standards improved from the 1860s onwards, had an earlier incarnation in the local 'social conscience' that drove reform.

While the preceding chapters illustrate how Birmingham became a centre for the reformatory movement from the mid-nineteenth century, Chapter Eight proposes an explanation why this took place. By utilising a case study it assesses the extent to which the Unitarian Hill family fostered an environment at their Hazelwood School that resulted in an institution possessing striking similarities to the reformatory and industrial schools, which were established nearly half a century after its inception. The networks developed by various family members are also illustrated and the significant reforming work of both male and female relatives is

highlighted. Additionally, the chapter reasons that successive generations of the same family went on to influence the treatment of neglected and criminal children across three continents into the twentieth century.

Chapter Nine comprises a further case study that employs existing archives, government reports and contemporary publications, together with the new material detailed earlier, in an attempt to answer the question of what life was like for both staff and inmates within one reformatory school based at Saltley near Birmingham. It argues that, while the 1851 conference provided a new impetus for the reformatory movement nationally, the founding of the school was its most tangible effect locally. Additionally, it proposes that, as those involved in its establishment and day-to-day management were also pivotal figures within the national campaign, Saltley stands as a model institution in its own right.

The Conclusion commences with a reminder of the original research subject before proceeding to a summary of each chapter's findings. Their validity is then tested by an evaluation of the relative strengths, weaknesses and limitations of the sources employed. From this the overall conclusions from the research are drawn and their contribution to the existing knowledge base is assessed. This is followed by a discussion of the potential implications these findings have for the accepted history of Birmingham and those involved in its study. Suggestions for further research to both test and advance the conclusions are then outlined. The thesis concludes by highlighting the unique perspective this research offers on the

previously unidentified, but pivotal influence Birmingham exerted on the reform of the treatment of juvenile offenders in the nineteenth century.

The research presented in the following chapters illustrates how Birmingham and several locally-based individuals played a fundamental role in reforming the treatment of child offenders nationally. To date neither the underlying strategy, which originated with the 1851 conference, nor the international influence of Birmingham's Hill family in this, have been recognised.

Chapter Two

THE EMERGENCE OF REFORMATORY EDUCATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of a new type of penal institution specifically for child criminals. The unique aspect of these reformatory establishments was that they introduced practices that sought to rehabilitate the behaviour of juvenile offenders through training and education rather than punishment. This chapter examines the extent to which the interaction of a changing legislative framework with several social, cultural and ideological aspects of contemporary society shaped and influenced this new approach to the problem of juvenile criminality.

Reformatory education could only have occurred within a society that recognised childhood as a distinct stage in life, with its own particular needs and challenges, and accepted that it had a responsibility to support children when their parents were unable or unwilling to do so. A combination of changing notions of childhood, religious influences, developing welfare and poor-law provision, and growing access to education, set against a backdrop of increasing urbanisation, led to the emergence of a distinct approach to juvenile reform.

Accounts of delinquent behaviour among the young date back at least to the Greco–Roman world, along with legal codes specifically framed to punish or control them. In the fifth-century BC Athens had laws that forbade sons from beating their parents, while contemporary Rome placed the responsibility for the actions of children upon their fathers.[1] In Britain the tenth-century Saxon king Athelstan is credited with introducing a law that differentiated between the punishments adults and children could receive for the same crime.[2] Following the Norman Conquest, there was a partial recognition that children did not have the same level of responsibility as adults and most children under seven years of age were pardoned.[3] In the centuries that followed, however, there were few signs of any specific separate legal provision for child offenders.

The origins of reformatory education shared several common features with the development of the poor law. The aim for both was to remove children from the social and economic conditions that were deemed responsible for their poverty or criminality, then through education or training, provide them with the means to prevent them returning to their previous patterns of behaviour. Muriel Whitten highlights how society viewed poverty and criminality as virtually indistinguishable,

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[1] Robert Garland, 'Juvenile Delinquency in the Greco-Roman World', *History Today*, 41:10 (1st October 1991), pp. 15, 17; Arnold Binder, Gilbert Geis and Dickinson D. Bruce, *Juvenile Delinquency. Historical, Cultural and Legal Perspectives*, 3rd edn (Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Co., 2000), p. 198.

[2] Geraldine S. Cadbury, *Young Offenders Yesterday and Today* (London: George Allen and Unwin LTD, 1938), p. 15. Athelstan was the grandson of King Alfred. His law decreed that nobody under the age of fifteen should be executed provided they did not resist or flee arrest, unless they offended a second time. Paul Hill, *The Age of Athelstan. Britain's Forgotten History* (Stroud: The History Press, 2004), p. 114.

[3] David Taylor, *Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, 1750–1914* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1998), p. 6; Raymond Arthur, *Youth Offending and the Law. How the Law Responds to Youth Offending* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 43-44.

with the poor being as responsible as the convicted for the situation in which they found themselves.[4]

Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt describe how the original poor law legislation was enacted in 1531, when Henry VIII was sovereign, and subsequently refined in 1536 to make specific provision for vagrant children.[5] Concerns were voiced that the latter would develop into the next generation of adult criminals and this legislation enabled parish authorities to apprentice such children to learn a trade to support themselves in the future.[6] Apprenticeships became commonplace and they were subsequently employed by the voluntary societies that took in destitute and criminal children before the advent of government-supported reformatories in the mid-nineteenth century; these also adopted apprenticeships at their inception.[7] The idea of parish apprenticeships is attributed to the work of Johannes Ludovicus Vives by Pinchbeck and Hewitt. A Spaniard, he was a resident of Henry VIII's court in 1524 during which time he published *On the Relief of the Poor,* which acknowledged the particular needs of children, emphasising the importance of education and training to the 'moral improvement' of poor children to prevent them following a life of crime.[8]

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[4] Muriel Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud. How the Philanthropic Quest Was Put Into Law* (Hook: Waterside Press Ltd, 2011), pp. 42-43, 48-49.

[5] Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, *Volume I* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1969), p. 94.

[6] Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, *Volume I*, p. 95.

[7] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, p. 64. One of these voluntary organisations, the Philanthropic Society, employed apprenticeships from the late eighteenth century.

[8] Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, *Volume I*, pp. 91-92. Vives' principles were put into operation at Ypres in 1525 and soon developed into a model for poor relief across western Europe. The Ypres regulations, as they came to be known, were translated in England in 1535 by William Marshall while under the employment of Thomas Cromwell.

John Knott writes that the Tudor poor laws were ‘more the formalisation of an existing system of poor relief rather than a specific development’. The Dissolution of the Monasteries in the sixteenth century saw the state assume many of the powers and functions of the Church in England, including its local charitable activities.[9] Paul Fideler explains how the ‘new’ system was soon tested by inflation, poor harvests, plague, war and rebellion, which prompted the imposition of a mandatory parish poor rate in 1572, effectively local taxation, to fund poor relief.[10] Pinchbeck and Hewitt argue that this Act, together with amending legislation in 1576, was actually primarily directed towards the problem of the vagrant child and ‘young rogues’.[11] Fideler highlights how it required the establishment of Bridewells, or houses of correction, to be built in every county to accommodate youths or ‘workshy rogues’.[12] It did not temper the penalties children faced, however: Pamela Horn describes the removal of a group of juveniles to Virginia in 1618, under the statute that introduced transportation in 1597.[13]

Further legislation was enacted during the reign of Elizabeth I, which increased the focus on criminality: Knott documents how the 1601 Vagrancy Act permitted

[9] John Knott, *Popular Opposition to the 1834 Poor Law* (Beckenham: Croom Helm Ltd, 1986), p. 13; Paul A. Fideler, *Social Welfare in Pre-Industrial England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 80.
[10] Fideler, *Social Welfare in Pre-Industrial England*, pp. 80, 98-99.
[11] Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, *Volume I*, p. 138.
[12] Fideler, *Social Welfare in Pre-Industrial England*, pp. 90, 98. The 1576 Act did provide for the maintenance of illegitimate children for the first time; Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, *Volume I*, p. 138.
[13] Pamela Horn, *Young Offenders. Juvenile Delinquency 1700–2000* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, PLC, 2010), p. 68; Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 465. An Act for ‘Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars’ empowered Courts of Quarter Session to banish such individuals ‘beyond the seas’. Radzinowicz and Hood state that it is not known whether the Act was ever put into effect but the evidence, provided by Horn, indicates it was on this occasion at least. The children concerned had already been previously convicted twice before they suffered this fate.

the whipping, jailing and transportation of those who refused to work.[14] The resulting system has been deemed 'paternal in spirit' by Raymond Cowherd who asserts that it led to the government assuming responsibility for the working classes for the first time.[15] Pinchbeck and Hewitt take this argument further and claim these Acts established the obligations of the state to poor children with principles comparable to those of today. They highlight how local poor-law administrators were obliged to find work and apprenticeships for both vagrant children and for those whose parents were unable to maintain them.[16]

Up to the end of the eighteenth century there were attempts to revise the poor laws specifically to benefit pauper children and divert them from criminality. As early as 1650, Sir Matthew Hale suggested constructing industrial schools in each parish to enable children to learn a trade. These efforts came to nothing.[17] Private philanthropy did, however, start to play a role. The Corporation of the Poor established the London Workhouse in the early eighteenth century. It received children who were known thieves but had not been convicted. They were fed, clothed and given some industrial training, but a lack of funds greatly curtailed

[14] Knott, *Popular Opposition to the 1834 Poor Law*, pp. 14, 22.

[15] Raymond C. Cowherd, 'The Humanitarian Reform of the English Poor Laws from 1782 to 1815', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 104:3 (June 1960), p. 328.

[16] Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, *Volume I*, p. 138.

[17] Henry Barnard, *Reformatory Education: Paper on Preventive, Correctional and Reformatory Institutions and Agencies in Different Countries* (Hartford: F.C. Brownell, 1857), p. 339. Hale was a legal historian and judge who became Chief Justice under Charles II in 1671; David E.C Yale, Sir Matthew Hale English Legal Scholar, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Matthew-Hale>, undated, [accessed 14th September 2016] . Industrial schools, or schools of industry, grew in popularity as the pace of the Industrial Revolution quickened. They provided training in basic skills, anything from gardening to weaving, together with a basic education. W.A.C. Stewart, and W.P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators, 1750–1880* (London: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1967), pp. 199-200. For the context of this thesis, industrial schools refer to the institutions that housed convicted children.

their efforts by the late 1730s.[18] One 'method of disposal' employed for boys was enlistment into the Royal Navy. In 1756, the Bow Street magistrate John Fielding sent 300 boys to ships in Portsmouth.[19] This coincided with the formation of the Marine Society by Jonas Hanway, which trained boys to act as servants for Royal Navy officers.[20] In reality both of these apparently philanthropic ventures seemed to have capitalised on the 1744 Vagrancy Act, which included a provision for magistrates to commit any boys aged over twelve years into 'His Majesty's Service'.[21]

Sporadic attempts were made to accommodate destitute children outside of the workhouses. In 1782 legislation sponsored by Thomas Gilbert proposed to exclude children from these institutions by boarding them out with responsible individuals, providing an allowance from parish funds to finance their care and an inspector to ensure their welfare. [22] Such foresight proved to be a step too far for the time and was deemed too expensive to implement but, highlighting the common ground shared by attempts to reform the treatment of both poor and criminal children, it closely resembled the early probation scheme implemented in Birmingham in the 1840s by the town's first Recorder Matthew Davenport Hill.[23]

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[18] Horn, *Young Offenders*, pp. 13-14.
[19] R. Leslie-Melville, *The Life and Work of Sir John Fielding* (London: Lincoln Williams LTD, 1934), pp. 114-115; James Stephen Taylor, *Jonas Hanway Founder of the Marine Society. Charity and Policy in Eighteenth- Century Britain* (London: Scolar Press, 1985), pp. 69-71.
[20] Taylor, *Jonas Hanway,* pp. 64, 70; Horn, *Young Offenders*, pp. 21-22. By 1844 the Marine Society had trained a total of 46,408 boys; Charles E.B. Russell and L.M. Rigby, *The Making of the Criminal* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1906), p . 203.
[21] Horn, *Young Offenders,* pp. 10, 20, 237.
[22] Michael E. Rose, *The English Poor Law* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971), p. 26.
[23] Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, *Volume I*, p. 193. Chapter Three provides a description of Hill's scheme. The influence of Hill, and his relatives, on juvenile reform is frequently referred to throughout this thesis. Chapter Eight comprises a detailed case study on the family. P.W.J. Bartrip, 'Matthew Davenport Hill (1791–18720', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004,

In 1788 the Philanthropic Society was founded in London, 'for the protection of poor children and the offspring of convicted felons, and the reformation of children who have themselves been engaged in criminal practices'.[24] It opened a reformatory institution, providing industrial training in the form of shoemaking, carpentry and tailoring for those who resided there, and significantly influenced the treatment of destitute and criminal children.[25] By the late eighteenth century two differing perspectives of childhood had emerged: one saw children as naturally sinful, requiring discipline and correction; the other maintained that they possessed a natural goodness and innocence. The first viewpoint, referred to as moral Puritanism by Horn, is attributed to the spread of Methodism by Eric Hopkins.[26] The second approach, which is linked with the spread of European Enlightenment and is possibly a reaction to the first, is attributed to the influences of the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the English Romantic poets, such as Wordsworth.[27] This approach, as argued by Pinchbeck and Hewitt, was short-lived as the revival of Evangelical beliefs in the early nineteenth century

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<http://oxforddnb.com.ezproxye.bham.uk/templates/articl.jsp?articleid=1328> [accessed 5th September 2012].

[24] Russell and Rigby, *The Making of the Criminal*, p. 204.

[25] A thorough account of the development of the Philanthropic Society and its subsequent influence can be found in: Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud.*

[26] Pamela Horn, *Children's Work and Welfare, 1780–1880s* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1994), p. 11; Eric Hopkins, *Childhood Transformed. Working-Class Children in Nineteenth Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 2.

[27] Hopkins, *Childhood Transformed*, p. 3; Harry Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society, 1880–1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 9; Horn, *Children's Work and Welfare*, p. 11. Rousseau had been influenced by John Locke. Described as a political philosopher who valued reason and scientific advancement, Locke also advocated religious tolerance and liberty. Separately Locke and fellow dissenter David Hartley are credited as influencing the 'enlightened' practices of educational reformer and scientist Joseph Priestley. His association with Birmingham's Hill family is discussed in Chapter Eight. *John Locke - Champion of Modern Democracy* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group Inc., 2006), pp. 9-11; David Lay Williams, *Rousseau's Social Contract* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 15, 46-48, 216. Ruth Watts, The Policy and Practice of Enlightened Education in Carl Chinn and Malcolm Dick (eds.), *Birmingham: The Workshop of the World* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), p. 197.

led to the adoption of extreme Calvinist views, including 'the repression of children' by parents.[28]

Elie Halevy states William Pitt, the younger, attempted wholesale reforms to the poor law in 1796. It included the universal provision of schools of industry for children, but faced such comprehensive opposition that his Bill was never voted on in Parliament.[29] Edmund King recounts how the momentum for industrialised urbanisation had been growing since the middle of the eighteenth century but the majority of poor-law legislation originated a century earlier.[30] It was applied at a time which J.D. Marshall and Geoffrey Finlayson claim saw the most rapid changes in Britain's society and economy.[31]

Standish Meacham draws a similar parallel with the position of the Anglican Church at this time, describing how it was only fit for an agricultural economy having failed to keep pace with urban development.[32] Hugh McLeod writes that the rapid growth of nonconformity was well able to fill this vacuum resulting from the growth of industry and migration to the cities.[33] J.F.C. Harrison and Julie Melnyk emphasise how religion permeated every aspect of Victorian life, though L.E. Elliott-Binns takes the view that the turn of the nineteenth century was a time

[28] Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society, Volume II (*London: Routledge and Keegan Paul Ltd, 1973), p. 351; Horn, *Children's Work and Welfare*, p. 11.
[29] Elie Halevy, *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, *Volume I*, *England in 1815* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1961. Original French edition published in 1913. Translated by E.I. Watkin and D.A. Barker), pp. 527-528.
[30] Edmund King, 'Urbanisation and Education in Britain', *International Review of Education*, 13:4 (1967), p. 431.
[31] J.D. Marshall, *The Old Poor Law, 1795–1934* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 12; Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain 1830–1990* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 100.
[32] Standish Meacham, 'The Church in the Victorian City', *Victorian Studies*, 11:3 (March 1968), p. 367.
[33] Hugh McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1984), pp. 17-18, 22.

of widespread religious indifference.[34] McLeod highlights a general disagreement over its role and significance in the lives of the working-classes, possibly due to the religious bias of individual researchers.[35] The influence of religion upon the poor and working classes remains debatable.

The societal changes summarised by J.D. Marshall, Bob Holman and Geoffrey Finlayson manifested themselves as a rapidly increasing population that placed greater demands on the food supply at a time when many families had moved from rural to urban areas, distancing themselves from traditional networks of support.[36] Rosemary Mellor describes how building in the growing towns was mostly unplanned.[37] This resulted in illness-inducing slums that left adults unable to work and many children orphaned.[38] The promise of employment in the growing industrialising towns and cities drew people from the countryside, which resulted in 'thousands of children running wild'. Labelled 'city Arabs', they were characterised in feral terms as having no sense of right or wrong. It was the treatment of these children under the existing laws that led to calls for legislation specifically aimed at reforming juveniles.[39]

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[34] J.F.C. Harrison, *Early Victorian Britain, 1832–51*, 4th edn (Great Britain: Fontana Press, 1988), p. 123; Julie Melnyk, *Religion, Faith and Life in Victorian Britain* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2008), p. 1; L.E. Elliott-Binns, *Religion in the Victorian Era*, 3rd edn (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964), p. 36.

[35] McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class*, p. 1. Research has highlighted how a majority of secondary sources concentrate on how religion influenced the lives of the poor and working classes but fail to provide a definition of these factions and treat them as one group.

[36] Marshall, *The Old Poor Law*, p. 12; Bob Holman, 'Prevention: The Victorian Legacy', *The British Journal of Social Work*, 16:1 (1986), p. 2; Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain*, p. 100.

[37] Rosemary Mellor, 'The Urbanisation of Britain', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 7:3 (September 1983), pp. 392-393.

[38] Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain*, p. 100; Marshall, *The Old Poor Law*, p. 12; Holman, 'Prevention: The Victorian Legacy', p. 2.

[39] G.R. Lowes, *1849– 1949 Souvenir of the Centenary Celebrations of Tennal School, Birmingham* (No publication details known), pp. 7-13.

W.E. Marsden highlights how unhindered urban growth, combined with news of political revolution from abroad, resulted in a growing fear of the poorest members of society at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[40] Britain was also at war with France and there were real concerns there would be an invasion.[41] The cost of supplying and maintaining the armed forces had undermined the strength of British currency and made it difficult for the government to obtain loans. In response it had introduced a series of new taxes, including income tax.[42] In addition there were concerns that English political radicals, who were known to have sent money and armaments to revolutionary armies on the continent, would stage a domestic insurrection.[43] In response to some disturbances caused by these groups, which included riots and looting, the government enacted the Royal Proclamation of September 1800 which permitted the use of military force against rioters.[44] Added to this poor harvests between 1799 and 1800 led to famine in parts of the country.[45] Clearly a time of unrest, it coincided with the period the 'bloody code' of English criminal law was still in operation.[46] Over the codes' lifetime, which lasted from 1688 to 1815, over two hundred and twenty capital offences were placed in the statute books and crimes ranging from murder to the theft of goods valued at over five shillings could result in a death sentence. Regardless of such judgements being passed on children, it was rarely carried

[40] W.E. Marsden, 'Education and Urbanisation in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Paedagogica Historica*, 2:1 (1983), pp. 104-105.

[41] Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), pp. 91-92.

[42] M.J. Daunton, *Progress and Poverty. An Economic and Social History of Britain 1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 113; Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?*, pp. 91-92.

[43] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?*, p. 66.

[44] Martin Pugh, *Britain Since 1789. A Concise History* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), pp. 23-24; Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?*, p. 92.

[45] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?*, p. 92.

[46] Horn, *Young Offenders,* p. 44.

out.[47] Nevertheless, severe punishments were regularly inflicted on the young; between 1812 and 1817 over nine hundred individuals aged under twenty-one were transported to Australia and this group still accounted for forty-seven per cent of the total transported in 1840.[48]

Education was acknowledged as a means to reduce if not prevent criminality and pauperism among children; the Philanthropic Society emphasised education's reforming aspects soon after its inception in the late eighteenth century.[49] Gillian Sutherland describes how, at the turn of the nineteenth century, educational provision for the children of the poor came through charity or endowed schools.[50] Predominantly Anglican establishments, H.C. Barnard, Eric Midwinter and Michael Sanderson agree their numbers were falling by the beginning of the nineteenth century, possibly reflecting Standish Meacham's assertion of an overall decline in the Church at that time.[51]

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[47] Frank McLynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth Century England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), p. xi; Loretta Loach, *The Devil's Children. A History of Childhood and Murder* (London: Icon Books Ltd, 2009), pp. 50–51. A study from 1965 underlines how, in reality, the execution of children was extremely rare; B.E.F. Knell, 'Capital Punishment: Its Administration in Relation to Juvenile Offenders in the Nineteenth Century and its Possible Administration in the Eighteenth', *The British Journal of Criminology, Delinquency and Social Behaviour*, Volume 5 (1965), pp. 198-207.

[48] Margaret May, 'Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in John Muncie, Gordon Hughes and Eugene McLaughlin, (eds.), *Youth Justice. Critical Readings* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 99; Sean McConville*, A History of English Prison Administration. Volume I 1750–1877* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1981), p. 204.

[49] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud,* p. 61.

[50] Gillian Sutherland, *Elementary Education in the Nineteenth Century* (London: the Historical Association, 1971), p. 4. The development of these schools had been encouraged by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) founded by the Anglican Church in 1698. Michael Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society in England 1780-1870* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1983), p. 10.

[51] H.C. Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, 2nd edn (London: University of London Press, 1964), pp. 6-7; Eric Midwinter, *Nineteenth Century Education* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1970), p. 20; Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society*, p. 10; Meacham, 'The Church in the Victorian City', p. 367.

For those able to afford a small contribution towards the cost of their child's education, there were dame schools and common or private day schools. Originating in Elizabethan times, dame schools survived well into the nineteenth century.[52] Common or private day schools provided an elementary education for older children but, according to Barnard, the master was usually either disabled or had failed at other types of employment and the standard of education provided was frequently questionable.[53] Hugh Cunningham suggests three reasons why any contemporary society develops education: firstly, it promotes the interests of the dominant faith; secondly, by increasing literacy more people are able to apply the growing number of directives sent out by governments and, thirdly, it supplies a childminding function that releases both parents to work.[54] His assertion that dame schools in particular developed or possibly expanded on a childminding role is supported by the fact that forty per cent of their pupils were under the age of five by this time.[55] Overall, the average age of the population had been falling since the late eighteenth century and Martin J. Weiner suggests this contributed to the perception of increasing criminal activity by the young. By the 1820s almost half the population were under twenty years of age and a quarter aged between five and fourteen.[56]

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[52] John Lawson and Harold Silver, *A Social History of Education in England* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1973), p. 138.

[53] Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, p. 3-4.

[54] Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (Harlow: Longman Group Limited, 1995), pp. 101-102.

[55] Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, p. 100.

[56] Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal. Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 14, 17. Wiener also highlights the doubts that have arisen over the statistical evidence employed at the time to support claims of increases in juvenile crime.

Limited reforms within the penal system saw the beginnings of educational provision for prisoners. The 1823 Gaols Act resulted in a national system of prison classification and provided educational and religious instruction for prisoners but did not specify segregation based on age.[57] That same year saw the establishment of what was arguably the first separate detention facility in the country exclusively for juvenile prisoners when 320 boys were allocated to the prison hulk, *Bellerophon*, moored at Sheerness. These vessels, more accurately described as rotting decommissioned naval ships, had first been employed as prisons in 1776 following the cessation of the system transporting criminals to America due to the War of Independence. Their temporary use had been authorised in 1776 but they soon became a permanent part of the prison system.[58]

The loss of the American colonies as an avenue for disposing of criminals resulted in the 1779 Penitentiary Act which allowed for transportation to be replaced by imprisonment. For the first time offenders would be detained in one of two proposed state-run penitentiaries.[59] Construction of the first of these institutions, Millbank, commenced in 1812 and it received its first prisoners four years later.[60] It was completed in 1822 and could accommodate approximately one thousand

[57] May, 'Innocence and Experience', in Muncie, Hughes and McLaughlin, (eds.), *Youth Justice,* p. 100.
[58] W. Branch-Johnson, *The English Prison Hulks* (London: Christopher Johnson Publishers LTD, 1957), pp. 4, 17-18.
[59] David Wilson, *Pain and Retribution: A Short History of British Prisons* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), pp. 46-47.
[60] McConville*, A History of English Prison Administration*, pp. 135-136. Millbank was built on the site originally purchased as the location for the panopticon prison designed by the social reformer Jeremy Bentham. Wilson, *Pain and Retribution*, p. 48. The influence of Bentham and his planned panopticon, which was never actually built, on subsequent efforts to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders is discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine.

individuals.[61] Those detained there included adult and juvenile prisoners of both sexes, some reported to be as young as seven.[62]

Sean McConville describes how, despite Millbank's construction, the prison hulks continued to be used extensively.[63] The *Bellerophon* was replaced by the smaller *Euraylus* in 1825 and the number of boys detained there gradually rose to almost 400.[64] Despite the poor conditions on the hulks there were attempts at some educational provision for the prisoners. In 1822 reports from the chaplains allocated to some of the ships described a school and teachers on the *Portsmouth* and, on the *Bellerophon*, a school held in the chapel each evening which regularly attracted 400 'scholars'. Additionally, the *Retribution* was said to provide for the 'religious, moral and useful education' of the boys it accommodated.[65] Four years later the evening school was still operating on the *Bellerophon*.[66] The use of such ships to detain juveniles was curtailed in 1844.[67] This isolated use of a prison ship aside, further calls were made to establish separate land-based prisons for juveniles in 1828,[68] but it was not until 1838 that Parkhurst was opened in England

[61] McConville*, A History of English Prison Administration*, p. 137; Wilson, *Pain and Retribution*, p. 48.
[62] McConville*, A History of English Prison Administration*, pp. 138-139.
[63] Branch-Johnson, *The English Prison Hulks*, p. 148; McConville*, A History of English Prison Administration*, p. 138.
[64] Branch-Johnson, *The English Prison Hulks*, pp. 148, 150, 156.
[65] *Two Reports of John Henry Capper, Esq., Superintendent of Ships and Vessels employed for the Confinement of Offenders under Sentence of Transportation* (House of Commons, 1823), pp. 1-2.
[66] *Two Reports of John Henry Capper, Esq., Superintendent of Ships and Vessels employed for the Confinement of Offenders under Sentence of Transportation* (House of Commons, 1826), pp. 6- 8. This report partially contradicts Branch-Johnson's account as the *Bellerophon* and *Euryalus* were both used to house children in 1826.
[67] Branch-Johnson, *The English Prison Hulks*, pp. 4, 148, 150, 156.
[68] Horn, *Young Offenders*, p. 55.

as the first prison specifically for young offenders.[69] A former military hospital on the Isle of Wight was converted to accommodate approximately 320 boys.[70]

The Whigs, who took office in November 1830, set out to bring a new reforming and efficient approach to government by introducing factory and prison legislation, abolishing slavery and providing the foundations for local government.[71] Discontent among the labouring classes had become widespread. Prompted by low wages, growing unemployment, expensive food and increasing mechanisation, it manifested itself in the 'Swing Riots'.[72] The unrest, which was confined to the south of the country, saw landowners and farmers threatened, workhouses ransacked and farm machinery destroyed.[73] Those responsible for the damage often left threatening messages signed 'Captain Swing', hence the name the unrest acquired; though no one was ever identified as being the eponymous individual. Additionally there were also frequently reported sightings of mysterious strangers at locations where attacks subsequently took place.[74] Whether these activities can be seen as resulting in a 'moral panic' is debatable

[69] Jeannie Duckworth, *Fagin's Children. Criminal Children in Victorian England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), p. 92. An institution for criminal children was established in Australia in 1834. Point Puer accommodated boys aged from nine years old and kept them segregated from adult prisoners; Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore. A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia 1787-1868* (London: Vintage Books, 2003), pp. 408-411; Ian Brand, *Port Arthur 1830-1877* (Tasmania: Regal Publications, undated), pp. 43-48.

[70] Duckworth, *Fagin's Children*, p. 92; Horn, *Young Offenders*, p. 56. Parkhurst is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

[71] Kathleen Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain*, 3rd edn (London: The Athlone Press, 2000), p. 1.

[72] Peter Dunkley, 'Whigs and Paupers: The Reform of the English Poor Laws, 1830–1834', *Journal of British Studies*, 20:2 (Spring 1981), pp. 126-127.

[73] Dunkley, 'Whigs and Paupers', pp. 126-127; Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington had successfully parried demands for reform in the late 1820s but the new administration was determined to facilitate a thorough revision of poor law administration. Peter Higginbotham, *Workhouses of the Midlands* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2007), p. 13.

[74] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?*, pp. 416-417.

but the response from the authorities was severe.[75] Nine of the protestors were executed and nearly five hundred were transported.[76] Peter Dunkley explains how government ministers genuinely believed that the administration of poor relief was the cause of the unrest. They thought it promoted able-bodied pauperism, depressed wages and was responsible for population growth through the allowances given to low-paid workers in respect of their children.[77] Against this backdrop the government established the Poor Law Commission in 1832.[78] It comprised the political economist Nassau Senior, social reformer Edwin Chadwick and George Nicholls, a poor law administrator from Suffolk.[79]

The resulting Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 contained the main recommendations of the Commission. Pat Thane describes how it identified two main groups. The first, deemed the 'deserving poor', included children, the elderly, sick and insane, retained their entitlement to outdoor relief. If they did enter the workhouse they were housed separately and lived under a more relaxed regime

[75] Stephen Jones, *Criminology*, 5th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 27-28, 64-66. Jones describes how the term 'moral panic' is used to account for small acts of criminal behaviour that become greatly exaggerated causing the panics. Such incidents in the twentieth century include the activities of 'teddy boys' and 'mods and rockers' while a well known example from the nineteenth century is provided by the 'garrotting panic' of 1862 when a member of parliament was partially strangled in the course of a robbery. Evidence indicates that it is the behaviour, whether actual or imagined, of the younger members of society that can lead to such occurrences.

[76] John Clay, *Maconochie's Experiment* (London: John Murray (Publishers) Ltd, 2001), p. 140.

[77] Dunkley, 'Whigs and Paupers', pp. 127-128.

[78] Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain*, p. 8.

[79] Pat Thane, 'Women and the Poor Law in Victorian and Edwardian England', *History Workshop*, 6 (Autumn 1978), p. 30; Phyllis Deane, 'Nassau William Senior (1790–1864)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2010, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25090> [accessed 15th March 2018]; Peter Mandler, 'Sir Edwin Chadwick (1800-1890)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, <http://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5013> [accessed 29th August 2018]. Chadwick was briefly secretary to the philosopher and reformer Jeremy Bentham. Bentham's connection with penal reform is discussed in relation to his association with Birmingham's first Recorder, Matthew Davenport Hill, in Chapter Eight. F. Rosen, 'Jeremy Bentham(1748–1832)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2014, <http://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2153 > [accessed 29th August 2018].

than the second group, deemed the ‘able bodied’ poor. For them the ethos of the institution was aimed at maintaining the habits of ‘work-discipline’ until they were able to return to the labour market.[80] This philosophy was reflected in reformatory schools that developed from the 1850s onwards. For example, Rev. Sydney Turner was an Anglican minister who became the first government inspector of reformatory institutions. Prior to his appointment he was the chaplain and superintendant of the Philanthropic Society.[81] He stated that the work carried out by inmates of reformatory schools should closely resemble the work of ordinary labourers and they should be made to feel that they were working for themselves, not the institution.[82] The new Poor Law Act saw families divided, literally, as they entered the workhouse; men were separated from women, children aged over seven years were separated from their mothers and the elderly from other family members. The provisions of the legislation were widely criticised from their inception across the political spectrum and in the printed media.[83]

Charles Dickens’ *Oliver Twist* was one of the earliest critical publications and, though the novel was based on pre new poor law legislation, continues to influence people’s perceptions of the workhouse to this day.[84] Though Dickens’ works were fictional they were based, at least in part, on his own experiences of life and remain a rich source of information. When he was twelve years old his

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[80] Thane, ‘Women and the Poor Law’, p. 30.
[81] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, pp. 177, 254.
[82] Julius Carlebach, *Caring for Children in Trouble* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1970), p. 63.
[83] Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain*, pp. 10-11. A standard, government-approved diet was established for all inmates. The new legislation affected the treatment of the dead with the creation of pauper funerals; it comprised a plain coffin and a ban on the tolling of church bells.
[84] *Oliver Twist* began to be published in instalments in *Bentley’s Miscellany* in February 1837.

father was jailed for debt in London's Marshalsea prison.[85] Dickens subsequently worked as a court and parliamentary reporter, a journalist and editor of various newspapers and periodicals.[86] He became a prison visitor and claimed to know all of London's prisons well. His visits included Newgate Gaol, Coldbath Fields House of Correction in Clerkwell, Westminster House of Correction in Tothill Fields and Parkhurst on the Isle of Wight.[87] As a result of these visits, which continued throughout his life, he became a friend of several prison governors.[88]

Dickens was the most popular author of his time and his writings were a major factor in bringing some of the more unsavoury realities of everyday life to the fore, particularly the plight of orphaned, abandoned and destitute children.[89] He has been described separately as a criminologist by Paul Chatham Squires and a social worker by Arlene Bowers Andrews.[90] Both authors portray Dickens as a man with a social conscience who sought to reform poor law legislation and, particularly, the treatment of women and children within society.[91] Heather

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[85] Anne Isba, *Dickens's Women. His Life and Loves* (London: Continuum Books, 2011), pp. 15-16.

[86] Philip Collins, *Dickens and Crime (Cambridge Studies in Criminology Volume XVII)* 2nd edn (London: MacMillan and Company Limited, 1965), pp. 170, 174-175.

[87] Duckworth, *Fagin's Children*, pp. 57-58. Dickens called Parkhurst the 'children's prison'. He also visited the Philanthropic Society's institution at Redhill and inspected prisons when travelling abroad. Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, p. 248.

[88] David Wilson, 'Millbank, The Panopticon and Their Victorian Audiences', *The Howard Journal*, 41:4 (September 2002), p. 366; Duckworth, *Fagin's Children*, p. 58.

[89] Wilson, 'Millbank, The Panopticon and Their Victorian Audiences', p. 366; Duckworth, *Fagin's Children*, pp. 24, 44, 116.

[90] Paul Chatham Squires, 'Charles Dickens as Criminologist', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminality*, 29 (July-August 1938); Arlene Bowers Andrews, 'Charles Dickens, Social Worker in His Time', *Social Work*, 57:4 (October 2012).

[91] Squires, 'Charles Dickens as Criminologist', p. 171; Andrews, 'Charles Dickens, Social Worker in His Time', p. 299.

Worthington attributes Dickens' frequent recourse to crime in his writings as highlighting his view that it often resulted from social depravation.[92]

Dickens was an associate and supporter of the penal reformer Alexander Maconochie and also advocated for juvenile offenders to receive training for a trade as opposed to imprisonment.[93] In association with Angela Burdette-Coutts Dickens established Urania Cottage in London of vulnerable women.[94] A hostel, it provided basic education and domestic training.[95] Some of those admitted came from ragged schools, institutions which Dickens supported and viewed as acting both to prevent juvenile criminality and help those who had offended.[96] He also wrote in support of Mary Carpenter's efforts to reform the treatment of child offenders and it is her biographer, Jo Manton, who provides one possible explanation for the enduring relevance and popularity of Dickens' work with historians. Manton describes him as always being near his public and providing a sensitive barometer of public opinion.[97]

Kathleen Jones states that Lord Melbourne's government implemented the new poor law legislation because it was seen as the only solution to a desperate situation. Despite heated parliamentary debates and continued social unrest, inflamed by the transportation of the Tolpuddle Martyrs in 1834, it saw this new

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[92] Heather Worthington, *Key Concepts in Crime Fiction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 152.

[93] Collins, *Dickens and Crime*, pp. 85-87, 165-167; Wilson, 'Millbank, The Panopticon and Their Victorian Audiences', p. 375; Isba, *Dickens's Women*, pp. 93-94.

[94] Isba, *Dickens's Women*, pp. 91-92. Angela Burdette-Coutts' links with the reformatory movement in Birmingham are discussed in Chapter Four.

[95] Collins, *Dickens and Crime*, p. 107.

[96] Collins, *Dickens and Crime*, p. 86; Isba, *Dickens's Women*, p. 92.

[97] Jo Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London: Heinmann Educational Books Ltd, 1976), pp. 11, 103.

legislation as the only way forward.[98] Ironically, J.R. Dinwiddy argues that the 1834 Act exacerbated a growing distrust of the government by working people who deemed its reforming efforts deliberately oppressive.[99] Many of the state's policies and legislative measures were perceived as protecting the interests of capitalists and forcing people to work for low wages rather than accept poor relief.[100]

Bob Holman agrees with Anne Digby's assertions that there was a strong element of deterrence deliberately included in the legislation but stresses that, when families had to choose between starvation or separation, the latter was the usual choice.[101] This negative view is partially countered by Ursula Henriques who points to the appointment of paid, professional union relieving officers who were generally less corrupt and tyrannical than their predecessors.[102] The new poor law was the product of a society that saw state involvement in minimal terms and only intervened where voluntary initiatives had failed; a view shared by both main political parties of the time and also an accurate description of the prevailing attitude towards juvenile reform.[103] The 1830s did see the publication of an increasing number of articles on juvenile delinquency. Jeannie Duckworth attributes this to developing concerns over the subject and an increase in

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[98] Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain*, p. 9.
[99] J.R. Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform in Britain, 1780–1850* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1992), p. 406.
[100] Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform in Britain*, p. 413.
[101] Holman, 'Prevention: The Victorian Legacy', pp. 7-9; Anne Digby, *The Poor Law in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales* (London: The Chameleon Press Limited, 1982), p. 17.
[102] Ursula Henriques, 'How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?', *The Historical Journal*, 11:2 (1968), p. 366. The new system possessed professional standards of competence for its administrators, which included better provision for medical care than before.
[103] Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain 1830–1990*, pp. 91-93, 101, 413.

donations to charitable institution, by the better off, driven by a fear of the poor.[104] Regardless of the reasons behind the increasing prominence of the subject, Horn writes that despite demands for reformatory institutions for children there was still no clear strategy for the treatment of child prisoners by the end of the 1830s, underlining how even the suggestion that such children could be reformed or rehabilitated did not occur to the majority of the population.[105] Finlayson draws a dividing line between nineteenth-century efforts and the twentieth-century welfare state, stressing how the latter would have been alien to society at the time.[106]

The treatment of children under the poor law is a contentious subject. Holman highlights the contemporary view, shared by state and voluntary societies, that parents who could not look after their children were an evil influence and it was in the child's best interests that they be completely removed from their care.[107] The new legislation contained a deliberate policy of boarding-out, effectively fostering, children well away from their homes and preventing any communication between them and their relatives.[108] Reformatory schools similarly restricted contact between children and their families. The inmates of Birmingham Girls' Reformatory were only permitted one visit every two months from their parents and then the institution's matron was present throughout.[109] Michael Rose maintains the realisation of the special needs of child paupers, and the dangers caused to them by mixing with 'vicious' and 'idle' adults in workhouses, existed before the 1834

[104] Duckworth, *Fagin's Children*, p. 136.
[105] Horn, *Young Offenders*, pp. 55-57.
[106] Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain 1830–1990*, pp. 91, 101, 413.
[107] Holman, 'Prevention: The Victorian Legacy', p. 8.
[108] Holman, 'Prevention: The Victorian Legacy', pp. 9-10.
[109] Birmingham City Archives (Hereafter BCA), Local Studies Collection, L43.94 11254 *Rules for the Girl's Reformatory School* (Birmingham, 1854), p. 3. Rule X.

Act.[110] It reflects the arguments to create separate prison facilities for convicted children, where authorities were being pressured to remove children from the company of those who could corrupt them.[111]

The writings of Dickens and his contemporaries support Pinchbeck and Hewitt's assertion that society treated children as 'little adults'.[112] They were expected to accept the hardships of life and hence adult responsibilities at an early age. This included being treated as adults under the law, though those under seven years of age were generally found incapable of criminal intent.[113] Children dressed as their parents, reflecting their social class, and poor children worked the same long hours as their parents.[114] Hopkins describes children as the legal property of their parents, all too often an asset to be exploited. Children did not receive specific protection by law until the Cruelty to Children Act was passed in 1889, yet the first animal cruelty legislation was enacted in 1823.[115] Despite this, Eric Hopkins and Ginger Frost describe how the view of childhood changed during this time and Anthony Burton writes that the nineteenth century is often credited as the age when childhood was 'invented' in that it was attributed with its own culture and values.[116] In order to begin to establish a national system for the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders, children had to be recognised as distinct from adults and dealt

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[110] Michael E. Rose, *The Relief of Poverty, 1834–1914* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Publishers LTD, 1985), p. 37.

[111] Digby, *The Poor Law in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales*, pp. 33-34; Horn, *Young Offenders,* pp. 36-37.

[112] Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society, Volume II*, p. 348; Anthony Burton, in John M. Mackenzie, (ed.), *The Victorian Vision. Inventing New Britain* (London: V & A Publications, 2001), p. 75.

[113] Duckworth, *Fagin's Children*, p. 41.

[114] Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society, Volume II*, p. 348.

[115] Hopkins, *Childhood Transformed*, p. 4. An earlier statute, from 1868, had given Poor Law Guardians the power to bring actions against parents neglecting their children.

[116] Hopkins, *Childhood Transformed*, p. 1; Ginger Frost, *Victorian Childhoods* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2009), p. 4; Burton, in Mackenzie, (ed.), *The Victorian Vision*, p. 64.

with under legislation that identified their unique needs. The legal system, designed for punishment alone, had to change so that its priority became reform and rehabilitation.

From its inception the poor law included provision for the education or training of children who fell under its auspices. Digby describes how, in the early years of the new poor law, workhouse schools attempted to provide a better level of education than available in comparable schools to give children in the institutions an advantage in the labour market and remove them from being a 'burden' on the rates. An inability to recruit competent teachers in tandem with penny-pinching by local guardians prevented the scheme from developing.[117] Later reformatory institutions took a different standpoint, as the instruction they provided did not extend beyond 'plain practical education' to ensure the children did not receive any advantage from being committed to the schools. Despite this, reformatories shared the difficulties of workhouses in recruiting teachers of acceptable standards.[118]

The Sunday School movement, which originated in 1780 through the efforts of Robert Raikes, was established with the aim of removing disorderly children from the streets on Sundays.[119] By 1787 a quarter of a million children had enrolled. This had increased to two million by 1851.[120] Sunday Schools became popular

[117] Digby, *The Poor Law in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales*, pp. 33-34.
[118] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* p. 191. Prior to his appointment as reformatory school inspector Sydney Turner expressed the view that the education of inmates 'need not be of a very high standard'. Carlebach, *Caring for Children in Trouble,* pp. 63-64.
[119] Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, p. 10.
[120] Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society*, pp. 12-13.

with employers as they did not interfere with the working week and, as a result, tended to 'choke out' the day schools.[121] Melnyk describes how Raikes' actions can be seen to have alleviated two particular concerns within contemporary society: firstly, the schools removed the potential for idle children to commit crimes on a Sunday; and secondly, they reinforced religious education, already acknowledged as the central part of the curriculum in all schools. She does add that these outcomes have led to it being described as an institution of social control.[122] The influence of Sunday Schools on reducing juvenile crime is questionable as, by their very nature, they were aimed at those who were in work. Some of the clergymen who organised Sunday Schools refused to admit children who had been in prison while others refused to accept 'slum-ridden children' who were deemed 'too ragged' to attend.[123] It was the plight of these 'ragged' children that prompted Thomas Cranfield to establish a school for them in his London home in 1798.[124] Twenty years later John Pounds of Portsmouth also began using his home to provide basic education for the poor. Neither were wealthy or particularly well educated, but were willing to share their knowledge and skills with children whose state of attire gave the schools their name. Cranfield and Pounds acted independently from one another but the popularity and spread of these schools prompted the formation of the Ragged School Union in 1844.[125] They can also be seen as a bridge between educational provision for the poor and the

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[121] Barnard, *A History of Education from 1760*, p. 10.
[122] Melnyk, *Victorian Religion*, pp. 88-89.
[123] Duckworth, *Fagin's Children*, p. 137; Hugh Redwood, *Harvest. The Record of the Shaftesbury Society 1844–1944* (London: The Shaftesbury Society, 1944), p. 9.
[124] Redwood, *Harvest*, p. 9.
[125] Gordon Franklin and Diana Bailey, *The Shaftesbury Story* (London: The Shaftesbury Society, undated), pp. 7-11, 18. By 1944 the Ragged School Union was known as the Shaftesbury Society and is still in existence today. Ironically Pounds and Cranfield died within months of each other, unaware of the other's efforts. Redwood, *Harvest*, p. 11.

reformatory institutions that developed from the 1850s. Despite their significant influence, Barnard makes no mention of Ragged Schools in *A History of English Education from 1760* and C.J. Montague gives a pessimistic view of their contribution to alleviating juvenile crime, describing the pupils as ‘thieves’ who could not be absorbed into ‘the ranks of honesty’.[126]

Some industrial schools developed from ragged schools, underlining their contribution to the reformatory school movement. In Birmingham, the first known ‘ragged’ school opened in 1821 in Swallow Street;[127] the first industrial schools in Birmingham developed from it.[128] A number of individuals who subsequently became influential in juvenile reform or welfare began as teachers in ragged schools. Influential reformer Mary Carpenter opened such a school in Bristol in 1846.[129] John Ellis, the first superintendant at Birmingham’s Saltley Reformatory, initially encountered delinquent children while teaching at a ragged school in London.[130] The Rev. Grantham Yorke established such a school soon after arriving in Birmingham as Rector of St Philip’s in 1844. It subsequently evolved

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[126] Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760;* C.J. Montague, *Sixty Years in Waifdom* (London: The Woburn Press, 1969 (Reprint of original 1904 publication)), pp. 46, 49.

[127] W.B. Stephens and R.W. Unwin, *Materials for the Local and Regional Study of Schooling* (Place of publication unknown: British Records Association, 1987), p. 51. At the time the institution was called the Good Samaritan School. ‘Slaney Street Ragged School, Birmingham’, *Ragged School Union Magazine*, 4:37 (January 1852), pp. 59-60. Chapter Four provides an overview of early ragged schools in Birmingham.

[128] ‘Ragged School Extension in Birmingham’, *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette* (Supplement to), 16th March 1861, p. 9. The connection between ragged schools and reformatory institutions is explored in detail in Chapter Seven.

[129] Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets*, p. 81. Carpenter worked with Matthew Davenport Hill to organise three conferences in Birmingham on the subject of criminal and destitute children. Separately she founded and managed a reformatory for girls in Bristol. Her influence is discussed in more detail in Chapters Five and Eight. Frank Prochaska, ‘Mary Carpenter (1807–1877)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4733> [accessed 30th March 2018].

[130] Henry Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (Memphis: General Books LLC, 2012), p. 168. Chapter Nine explores Ellis’ contribution to the establishment of Saltley Reformatory.

into Gem Street Industrial School.[131] Philanthropist Thomas Barnardo and social reformer Octavia Hill also taught in ragged schools.[132]

There were claims that existing schools already taught children 'their place' in society and Meg Gomersall writes that the early nineteenth-century idea for all children to attend school to learn 'civilised habits of obedience' only reinforced this idea with some aspects of working-class society.[133] It is understandable why education became one of the main areas of conflict within a rapidly changing society particularly when individuals, including the MP Davis Giddy in 1807, voiced the opinion that educating the working-classes would disrupt the social order, allow them to read seditious pamphlets and despise their rank in society.[134] This was despite a parliamentary enquiry linking juvenile offending directly to a lack of education and suggesting such educational provision, particularly the religious element, as a means of alleviating delinquent behaviour.[135]

By 1811 two societies had been formed which subsequently became conduits for the government-funding of education until the enactment of the 1870 Education

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[131] Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir*, pp. 18-22. Gem Street Industrial School was, in all but name, a Church of England School, though it accepted children from any denomination. Yorke refused entry to any child with a conviction, only relenting when financial pressures drove the school to obtain registration under the 1857 Industrial Schools Act, which entitled it to government grants for each child admitted under the Act's provisions. A Short biography of Yorke is provided in Appendix C.

[132] Franklin and Bailey, *The Shaftesbury Story*, p. 16; Gillian Wagner, Thomas John Barnardo (1845–1905) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2017, <http://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30600> [accessed 29th August 2018]; Gillian Darley, 'Octavia Hill (1838–1912)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/view/article/33873> [accessed 23rd November 2017].

[133] Sutherland, *Elementary Education*, p. 5; Meg Gomersall, *Working-Class Girls in Nineteenth-Century England. Life, work and schooling* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997), pp. 47, 50.

[134] Lawson and Silver, *A Social History of Education*, p. 226; Sutherland, *Elementary Education*, p. 5.

[135] Phillip McCann (ed.), *Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1977), p. 20.

Bill. In 1808 the undenominational Royal Lancasterian Society was established by Joseph Lancaster. Three years later the Anglican Church founded the 'National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales'.[136] More widely known as the National Society, it absorbed schools previously sponsored by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.[137] The Royal Lancasterian Society was renamed the British and Foreign School Society in 1814 and, together with the National Society, soon dominated elementary school education.[138] The Anglican and nonconformist churches clearly recognised, well before government, how important education was in promoting their own ideologies and, hence, their views of social control. Beryl Madoc-Jones points out it was in the early nineteenth-century when education and schooling were first theorised as having socialising effects.[139] This idea gathered support as concern grew in line with the populations, and associated pauperism and vagrancy of the industrial towns.[140] Despite the involvement of various denominations with education, with the exception of the Catholic Church, there is no evidence of any organised involvement with reformatory efforts.[141]

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[136] Pamela Silver and Harold Silver, *The Education of the Poor* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1974), pp. 9-11.Writing in 2012 Clive D. Field describes the numerous difficulties in calculating the proportions of the various faiths within the country but he has provided the following estimates for 1800 and 1840 as a percentage of the population as a whole:
1800: Anglican 88.2%; Nonconformist 10%; Roman Catholic 1.4%; Jewish 0.3%; No religion 0.1%.
1840: Anglican 76.9%; Nonconformist 19.9%; Roman Catholic 2.7%; Jewish 0.2%; No religion 0.3%.
Clive D. Field, 'Counting Religion in England and Wales: The Long Eighteenth Century, c. 1680 – c. 1840', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63:4 (October 2012), p. 711.

[137] Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, p. 56.

[138] Silver and Silver, *The Education of the Poor*, p. 11; Midwinter, *Nineteenth Century Education*, p. 20.

[139] Beryl Madoc-Jones, in McCann, (ed.), *Popular Education and Socialization*, p. 61.

[140] J.S. Hurt, in McCann, (ed.), *Popular Education and Socialization*, pp. 167-168.

[141] The involvement of the Catholic Church with the development of reformatory institutions is examined later in this chapter.

Aided by substantial government grants, the Anglican Church responded to the growth of nonconformity with extensive church-building programmes in the industrial areas, creating new parishes and dioceses.[142] Despite this Meacham, Harrison and Melnyk highlight how working-class individuals had little in common with the Anglican Church: disliked nationally because of their ties with the unpopular Tory government, vicars were often from minor gentry families, well paid, and had nothing in common with their parishioners.[143] The poorer members of society who attended church were made aware of their social status. The middle-classes, who often purchased their pews, threatened to withdraw their financial support when attempts were made to increase the number of free seats available to the poor. Often, Meacham writes, the middle-classes attended churches in working-class districts, crowding out the poor who demanded to know why they should pay church rates when they, literally, could not get into church.[144]

The building of nonconformist places of worship kept pace with the Anglican expansion without government aid or a national framework.[145] J.H.S. Kent describes the period 1800–1860 as the time of greatest growth of the number of chapels and churches, and of the congregations using them.[146] Despite this the 1851 religious census indicated there were fewer members of the working-classes attending worship than expected and the opinion prevailed that churches of all

[142] McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class*, p. 22; K.S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1963), p. 7. Grants totalled £1 million in 1818 alone.
[143] Marie B. Rowlands, *The West Midlands from AD 1000* (Harlow: Longman Group UK, 1987), p. 319; Meacham, 'The Church in the Victorian City', pp. 360, 366; Harrison, *Early Victorian Britain*, p. 88; Melnyk, *Victorian Religion*, pp. 123-124.
[144] Meacham, 'The Church in the Victorian City', pp. 360, 366.
[145] Meacham, 'The Church in the Victorian City', p. 371.
[146] J.H.S. Kent, 'The Role of Religion in the Cultural Structure of the Later Victorian City', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5:23 (1973), p. 154.

denominations needed to do more to reach that particular group.[147] Overall, the numerous nonconformist sects were often extremely localised irrespective of attempts to unify them from 1845 onwards: Richard Brown describes Birmingham as an 'epicentre' of nonconformity.[148] They could still be significantly influential, however, regardless of their lack of numbers.[149]

This disproportionate influence is reflected in the organisation of the 1851 Birmingham conference on 'Preventive and Reformatory Schools' and the reformatory at Saltley which resulted from it. Of the three main conference organisers, Matthew Davenport Hill, Mary Carpenter and Sydney Turner, Hill and Carpenter were Unitarians while Turner was an Anglican minister.[150] The conference prompted local Quaker philanthropist Joseph Sturge to found a reformatory for boys, which developed into the institution at Saltley with the financial support of MP Charles Adderley, an Evangelical.[151] An early benefactor was Josiah Mason whose religious beliefs fell between the Unitarians and the Wesleyan Methodists.[152]

Pamela and Harold Silver chart an increase in schools and school attendance after the formation of the British and Foreign School Society and the National

[147] McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class*, p. 13. It is the only time such a survey of people's religious habits has ever taken place, though there were some much smaller, local surveys in 1881. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 20.

[148] Richard Brown, *Coping with Change: British Society, 1780–1914* (Marston Gate: Authoring History, 2012), p. 254.

[149] Ian Sellers, *Nineteenth- Century Nonconformity* (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1977), p. 51.

[150] 'Reformatory Schools', *The Quarterly Review*, 1855, pp. 57-58.

[151] J.E.G. De Montmorency and Rev. H.C.G. Matthew, 'Charles Bowyer Adderley (1814-1905)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxyd.bham .ac.uk/view/printable/30341> [accessed 5th September 2012]; Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 168.

[152] Brian Jones, *Josiah Mason 1795–1881. Birmingham's Benevolent Benefactor* (Studley: Brewin Books, 1995), p. 17.

Society.[153] Lancaster was assisted in his efforts by a number of individuals, one of whom was to have a significant influence on the treatment of juvenile offenders in later years. Henry Brougham entered Parliament in 1815 and within a year his efforts led to the establishment of a parliamentary committee 'to enquire into the education of the lower orders'. It resulted in Brougham's Parish Schools Bill of 1820 which attempted to establish the framework for a national system of education; lack of support from both the established and nonconformist churches led to its withdrawal.[154]

It was not until the early 1830s that events combined to give the subject of education the urgency it demanded. Sanderson states that it was finally seen as a method of reducing crime and, hence, expenditure on punishment.[155] Barnard writes that it was the 1832 Reform Act that changed the balance of power in the Commons in favour of the newly enfranchised middle-classes, which resulted in the prioritisation of education. He also details an 1833 report that claims only one child in ten then received an acceptable standard of education.[156] Finally, that year, the government made substantial subsidies available to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society to finance school building.[157] Additionally, the 1833 Factory Act obliged certain factory owners to ensure their

[153] Silver and Silver, *The Education of the Poor*, pp. 11-13.

[154] Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, p. 57; Loach, *The Devil's Children*, p. 66. Brougham's involvement with reformatory efforts and his association with the Hill family is discussed in Chapter Eight.

[155] Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society*, p. 17.

[156] Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, pp. 67, 98.

[157] Silver and Silver, *The Education of the Poor*, p. 13; Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society*, p. 18. Awarded in proportion to funds raised by the Society's supporters, the subsidies rose from £20,000 in 1833 to £895,000 in 1870.

child workers received a regular education. Unlike the provisions of the earlier 1802 Act, it was now strictly enforced.[158]

Any discussion of the changing perceptions of childhood invariably involves child labour. It has not been possible to locate any published work where these two subjects are not inextricably linked. Muncie describes the 1819 and 1833 Factory Acts, which limited certain aspects of child labour, as the first steps towards a 'universal' childhood that could be enjoyed by children of all classes. In addition to limiting child labour, these Acts were also the beginnings of the provision of a legal identity for children.[159] The development of what is recognised today as childhood has been attributed to two main factors, namely the curbing of child labour and the introduction of compulsory education.[160] Marjatta Rahikainen, in *Centuries of Child Labour*, credits these two aspects as giving the state the major role in the making of 'the new childhood'.[161] Child labour had been common and considered normal for centuries. A pamphlet published in 1832 by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge encouraged parents to give their children 'a habit of industry as early as you can'.[162] It could be argued, however, that the Industrial Revolution was the catalyst for childhood as such to evolve. Katrina Honeyman points out that it was the large-scale appearance of children in factories that attracted the attention of

[158] Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society*, p. 21.
[159] Muncie, *Youth and Crime* 3rd edn (London: Sage, 2009) pp. 50-51.
[160] Compulsory education did not occur until 1880 when Mundella's Education Act compelled the attendance of children aged between five and ten at school. Brown, *Coping with Change*, p. 369.
[161] Marjatta Rahikainen, *Centuries of Child Labour. European Experiences from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), p. 8.
[162] H.T. Travell, *The Duties of the Poor; Particularly in the Education of their Children* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1832), p. 22.

social reformers.[163] Edmund King's description of the majority of the population 'thronging' the new industrial centres, with entire families totally absorbed by work, supports Edward Royle's claim that the full extent of child labour had been previously hidden by cottage industries based in the countryside.[164]

The 1830s also witnessed a small but significant step forward in the treatment of convicted children, as the country's first government funded penal institution for juvenile offenders opened at Parkhurst in 1838.[165] It resulted from the recommendations of the 1835 Select Committee on Gaols which recognised the growing concerns about the continuing use of prison hulks to confine boys. The ongoing exposure of this group to disease and the 'corrupting practices' of the adult male prisoners prompted the Committee to recommend the abandonment of the practice with 'least possible' delay.[166] The institution accommodated boys aged between nine and nineteen years sentenced to transportation.[167] Discipline was strict, as a matter of course they wore one leg iron and spent the first four months of their detention in solitary confinement. After that time they were taught skills that would be useful in the colonies but they lived under the Silent System for the reminder of their time at Parkhurst.[168] This system forbade the prisoners from speaking to one another, the theory being that such an absence of communication

[163] Rahikainen, *Centuries of Child Labour*, p. 2; Katrina Honeyman, *Child Workers in England, 1780–1820* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), p. 5.
[164] King, 'Urbanisation and Education in Britain', p. 434; Edward Royle, *Modern Britain. A Social History, 1750–1985* (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1987), pp. 89-90.
[165] McConville, *A History of English Prison Administration*, p. 204.
[166] Third *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Inquire into the Present State of the Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales* (London, 1835), p. v.
[167] Duckworth, *Fagin's Children*, p. 91.
[168] Giles Playfair, *The Punitive Obsession* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1971), p. 152. Under the Silent System inmates were only permitted to speak to prison staff.

would prevent their 'criminality' from 'contaminating' each other further.[169] The prison was specifically designed to prepare them for their 'new lives' abroad rather than attempt to reform their criminal behaviour.

The legislation that facilitated the construction of Parkhurst contained two significant provisions. For the first time, it provided a detention facility that separated juveniles from the universally accepted corrupting influences of an adult prison population. It also permitted the transfer of children to institutions outside of the prison system as juveniles could be pardoned on condition they attended a state-approved charitable institution.[170] This latter clause is particularly significant as it closely resembled the emphasis in the legislation of the 1850s, which established reformatory and industrial schools for the detention of criminal children. While these schools became subject to government inspection, in order to receive some state funding, none were ever established by the government of the day and were, primarily, charitable institutions. Many people saw anything beyond incarceration and punishment, such as education and industrial training, as rewarding criminal behaviour,[171] so the clause in the 1838 Act that allowed for detention outside prison, may well have made it more palatable for Parliament, the judiciary and society at large. It may, eventually, have helped towards their

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[169] Helen Johnston, (ed.), *Punishment and Control in Historical Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 79. The use of the Silent System had originated in the United States and was always a controversial practice. Anthony Stokes, *Pit of Shame. The Real Ballad of Reading Gaol* (Winchester: Waterside Press, 2007), p. 30; Wilson, *Pain and Retribution*, p. 40.

[170] *Parkhurst Prison Act, 1838*, Clause XI. Though the scheme was expanded on by Matthew Davenport Hill in Birmingham, Duckworth indicates that the powers of the Act were generally misunderstood by the judiciary and little used until further legislation was enacted in the 1850s. Duckworth, *Fagin's Children*, pp. 161, 245. Hill's contribution to the reform of juveniles is discussed throughout this thesis generally but Chapters Three and Eight investigate his work in greater detail.

[171] Loach, *The Devil's Children*, p. 115.

acceptance of this alternative method of detaining children on a wider scale than previously contemplated.

While the legislature had long employed transportation as a punishment, the 1834 Poor Law Act included a clause that permitted local Poor Law Unions to assist families in emigrating.[172] Whether this amounted to transportation in all but name is debatable but it had been suggested by Lord Brougham in 1830. Then it had proved so contentious it resulted in his exclusion from further deliberations on poor law reform but Nassau Senior agreed with Brougham's suggestions and oversaw their implementation.[173] The use of children in this manner extends Hopkins' concept of the child as an asset, beyond the family to that of the parish and the state.[174] Prior to the voluntary, and involuntary, 'emigrations', pauper children were often moved to areas when labour was needed and handed over to employers by poor law overseers.[175] Parish authorities subsequently employed the overseas agents of the numerous child rescue societies to distribute and place children abroad.[176]

The need to populate the Empire's overseas colonies prompted the promotion of emigration in children's literature and Sunday School sermons.[177] It was during

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[172] Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children. Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London: Hambleton and London, 2004), p. 146; Joy Parr, *Labouring Children. British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869–1924* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), p. 28.

[173] Dunkley, 'Whigs and Paupers', pp. 131-133.

[174] Hopkins, *Childhood Transformed*, p. 4.

[175] Frank Crompton, *Workhouse Children* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997), p. 30.

[176] John Eekelaar, ''The Chief Glory': The Export of Children from the United Kingdom', *Journal of Law and Society*, 21:4 (December 1994), pp. 487-491. In 1948 new legislation gave the government similar powers over children in local authority care.

[177] Frost, *Victorian Childhoods,* pp. 143-144; Brown, *Coping with Change*, p. 125.

this decade that several of the voluntary organisations involved with the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders began to pay for some of their charges to emigrate.[178] Emigration dealt with problem children without tackling the underlying causes and highlighted how the government expected children to take on adult responsibilities, as colonists, at an early age. Separate legal treatment would disrupt this so there were clearly vested interests in maintaining the status quo. In 1850 Lord Shaftesbury sponsored an amendment of the Poor Law Act, which allowed poor law administrators to specifically 'assist' juvenile emigration.[179] Both street children and those in the workhouse were relocated through the auspices of the Act, which remained in force until 1948.[180] Sydney Turner strongly favoured permitting boys, sentenced to reformatory schools, to emigrate. His position as the schools' inspector gave him the platform to make his views known to institutions across the country. Julius Carlebach asserts that Turner's enthusiasm for the practice was partially responsible for him being appointed to the post.[181] John Middlemore, who relocated hundreds of poor children to Canada from Birmingham, stated that 'emigration is the only mode of permanently separating these children from their old associations'.[182] His comments were echoed by the superintendant of Saltley Reformatory in 1875 when he reflected how he wished he had employed emigration more for the 'disposal' of the boys under his

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[178] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud* , p. 219. The Philanthropic Society and Children's Friend Society being two examples.
[179] Parr, *Labouring Children*, p. 28.
[180] Roger Kershaw and Janet Sacks, *New Lives for Old* (Kew: The National Archives, 2008), p. 9.
[181] Carlebach, *Caring for Children in Trouble,* p. 65.
[182] Kershaw and Sacks, *New Lives for Old*, p. 70. Middlemore established a home in Edgbaston, in the 1870s, which relocated poor children from Birmingham to Canada.

supervision.[183] The phrase ‘philanthropic abduction’, coined by Dr Barnardo, seems an apt description.[184]

Despite the absence of any specific legislative reforms outside of the Parkhurst Act at this time, the 1830s and 1840s saw the publication of an increasing number of articles on juvenile delinquency.[185] Additionally, private schemes to keep children from prison were popular with over 400 being founded between 1800 and 1860.[186] One particular scheme may have damaged reformatory efforts, however. The Children’s Friend Society was established in 1830 with the aim of training children to work overseas but it closed in 1843 following allegations of mistreatment of the children abroad.[187] An account originating from Thomas Barwick Lloyd Baker, who established a reformatory at Hardwicke Court, claimed that these stories resulted from a campaign waged by a newspaper reporter. The accounts led to street protests, attacks on the Society’s premises and its ultimate demise and, in Baker’s opinion, appreciable damage to the reformatory movement as a whole.[188]

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[183] *Twenty Third Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 8., in BCA MS 244/99 Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 2., 16th December 1876.

[184] Kershaw and Sacks, *New Lives for Old*, p. 9.

[185] Taylor, *Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, 1750–1914*, p. 102; Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.15. Weiner describes an increase in crime generally during the first half of the nineteenth century which spawned ‘innumerable works of fact and fiction’.

[186] Horn, *Young Offenders*, p. 93.

[187] ‘Reformatory Schools’, *The Quarterly Review*, 1855, p. 97; Horn, *Young Offenders*, p. 93.

[188] The account was detailed in: Professor Franz Von Holtzendorff, *An English Country Squire as Sketched at Hardwick Court, Gloucestershire* (Gloucester: John Bellows, translated by Rosa Gebhard in 1878), pp. 33-36. The squire in the title was Baker and the original account dated from 1861. The terms used to describe the reporter are extremely racially offensive. Holtzendorf was Professor of Jurisprudence at the University of Berlin and a member of the International Prison Congress. He wrote one of the earliest essays in Germany advocating special status in courts and prisons for juvenile offenders and supported the expulsion of criminals to overseas colonies. He was an associate of many involved in reformatory efforts in this country including Mary Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill. Warren Rosenblum, *Beyond the Prison Gates: Punishment and Welfare in Germany, 1850-1933* (USA: University of North

Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood highlight the period between 1846 and 1852 as a time of speeches, pamphlets, charges to grand juries and resolutions to the Home Office and Parliament, pressing for fundamental reforms to the treatment of child criminals.[189] During the first parliamentary session of 1846, in answer to a question from MP Henry Liddell regarding juvenile offenders from London, the Home Secretary Sir James Graham stated that he felt the existing provision at Parkhurst and Millbank Prison was sufficient. He did suggest magistrates arranged segregated accommodation for child offenders, within prisons in their own areas, and also establish asylums that children could go to after leaving prison to help their rehabilitation into society. Graham made it clear the costs of such arrangements would fall 'upon the public' and there is no evidence that these proposals proceeded any further.[190]

In early 1847 Sir George Grey succeeded Graham as Home Secretary and a Select Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Brougham to enquire into aspects of the criminal law relating to juvenile offenders and transportation. It was the first such enquiry aiming to investigate the treatment of criminal children.[191] Those giving evidence to the Committee included Matthew

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Carolina Press, 2008), pp. 31-33; J. Estlin Carpenter, The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan and Co., 1881), pp. 136, 309; Rosamond Davenport Hill and Florence Davenport Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham. A Memoir of Matthew Davenport Hill* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1878), pp. 414, 488. Baker had originally called Hardwicke Reformatory 'The Children's Friend School' in deference to the Society; Emmeline Garnett, *Juvenile Offenders in Victorian Lancashire. W.J. Garnett and the Bleasdale Reformatory* (University of Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, 2008), p. 10.

[189] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*, p. 173.

[190] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1846), Volume 83, columns 547-548.

[191] McConville*, A History of English Prison Administration*, p. 333; Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*, p. 173. The authors describe Graham as generally unsympathetic to attempts to reform the treatment of child criminals.

Davenport Hill, Frederic Hill, Alexander Maconochie and William Cook Osborn.[192] The Committee's findings included the acknowledgement of the 'contaminating' effects imprisonment had on children and recommended that they be confined in 'reformatory asylums' instead of prisons. It also proposed to give magistrates the authority to summarily rule in certain cases, which would enable them to discharge children for minor offences upon receipt of sureties given by their parents or masters. One of the witnesses called by the Committee was Rev. Russell Whitworth. He was the Inspector of Prisons for the Home District and formerly chaplain at Millbank Prison. Using statistics of juveniles convicted in 1845 he divided the country into geographical districts, each to be served by 'Penal Schools', where children would have been detained instead of imprisoned. His proposals were taken no further but could have easily formed the basis for a national system of reformatory-type schools.[193]

Shortly before the Select Committee began taking evidence, Sir John Pakington effectively pre-empted their findings. On 23rd February 1847 he introduced a Bill into the Commons for the more speedy trial and punishment of juvenile offenders.[194] This was a bold move by Pakington considering that over the previous twenty years, seven bills had been introduced into Parliament to try to

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[192] *First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to Inquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law especially respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation* (London: HMSO, 1847), p. 14. The significance of these individuals is discussed more fully in Chapters Five, Six and Eight.

[193] *First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to Inquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law especially respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation*, pp. 473-474, 802-803.

[194] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1847), Volume 90, columns 430-431. Pakington was MP for Droitwich. He supported Mary Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill in their work to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders. Paul Chilcott, 'John Somerset Pakington, First Baron Hampton (1799–1880), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, <https://doi.org/ 10.1093/ref:odnb /21149> [accessed 30th March 2018].

achieve a reform of summary jurisdiction, but all had failed. This disproportionately affected attempts to reform the treatment of juveniles, as three of the bills were specifically aimed at such offenders and the remainder would also have had an indirect influence on their treatment by the courts.[195]

The pressing need for reform was underlined on 4th April 1847 when Lord Brougham reported to the House of Lords that he had discovered a five-year-old boy, John Ockham, had been committed to London's Tothhill Fields Gaol two weeks previously.[196] Pakington's Bill received a second successful reading on 28th April and the common ground it shared with the Select Committee's findings must have been recognised because the Bill was referred to the Committee, amended in accordance with their proposals, and returned to the Commons on 2nd June.[197] It received the Royal Assent and passed into law as the Juvenile Offenders Act on 22nd July 1847.[198] The Act was particularly significant for two reasons. Firstly, it saw the introduction of a specific sentencing policy towards the young and, according to Margaret May, the recognition by Parliament of juvenile delinquency as a distinct social phenomenon, which acknowledged that children

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[195] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*, p. 621. The three bills that would have directly influenced the treatment of juveniles were; 'A Bill to Extend the Power of Summary Convictions of Juvenile Offenders' (1829), 'A Bill to Authorise the Summary Conviction of Juvenile Offenders in certain cases of Larceny' (1837) and 'A Bill to Authorise the Summary Conviction of Juvenile Offenders in certain cases of Larceny and Misdemeanour, and to provide Places for Holding Petty Sessions of the Peace' (1840).

[196] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1847), Volume 90, column 821.

[197] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1847), Volume 92, columns 33-34, 46-48. Charles Adderley numbered among the Bill's supporters.

[198] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1847), Volume 93, columns 1-3; Volume 94, column 664. It is noteworthy that, despite his interest in the subject, Pakington was not invited to give evidence to the Select Committee.

did not have the same level of responsibility for their actions as adults.[199] Secondly, it represented a major expansion of the use of summary jurisdiction in that it empowered two magistrates to try children, aged under fourteen, who had stolen goods valued up to five shillings.[200]

Also in 1847 the government issued the Consolidated General Order that allowed children regular contact with parents and siblings who were also workhouse inmates.[201] In reality the overtly strict practices within workhouses had started to soften before this.[202] Both Pakington's Act and the Consolidated General Order implies a shift in the official attitude towards children. In the case of workhouses F.K. Prochaska suggests this resulted from an increase in the number of women involved in the management of the institutions from the 1850s onwards.[203] It also coincided with increasing concerns that workhouse children were becoming institutionalised.[204] This was blamed partially on the practice of Poor Law Unions combining to form district schools to reduce costs; some of which accommodated

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[199] Margaret May, 'Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid- Nineteenth Century', *Victorian Studies*, 17:1 (September 1973), p. 7.

[200] Horn, *Young Offenders*, p. 98; David Phillips, *Crime in Victorian England. The Black Country* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1977), pp. 132–133. The Act reduced the time children spent in gaol awaiting trial and reduced sentences. Its age limit was increased to sixteen in 1850.

[201] Michelle Higgs, *Life in the Victorian and Edwardian Workhouse* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009), p. 48; Peter Higginbotham, *The Workhouse: The Story of the Institution*, undated, <http://www.workhouses.org.uk/gco/> [accessed 7th July 2016]. In contrast, in 1847 an act was passed that allowed the masters of any children who ran away from their apprenticeships to put them in chains and use them as a slave. Though abolished within two years, Hugh Cunningham underlines how it made the 'enslavement' of children legal in England; Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood* (London: BBC Books, 2006), p. 95.

[202] Holman, 'Prevention: The Victorian Legacy', p. 4.

[203] F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 174-176. The activities of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science led to the formation of the Workhouse Visiting Society. Prochaska describes its membership as including 'some of England's most talented social and moral reformers' and comprised a mixture of men and women.

[204] Digby, *The Poor Law in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales*, p. 33; Holman, 'Prevention: The Victorian Legacy', p. 4.

over a thousand children.[205] This fear of institutionalised children, difficult to rehabilitate into society, led to the development of the cottage homes scheme. Again, illustrating parallels between efforts to reform the treatment of poor and criminal children, it has been likened to the arrangements adopted for the inmates at the French reformatory institution at Mettray, where groups of children lived with 'house parents' to replicate family life.[206] The cottage scheme saw groups of fifteen to twenty children living separately from the workhouse with a 'foster' mother or father.[207] The location of the homes varied from being situated in workhouse grounds to forming self-contained villages. This arrangement was criticised for isolating children from the outside world but later developed into 'scattered homes' where the same type of grouping of children was placed within the community in ordinary suburban dwellings.[208] There is no evidence that fears of institutionalisation were ever associated with reformatory schools and the practices some adopted mitigated against this. Birmingham's Saltley Reformatory, for example, hired out its inmates to work for local farmers. The children also enjoyed days out, formed sports teams which competed against other schools, and received regular visitors to the institution who included choirs and acting groups.[209] Along with the cottage homes, efforts were made to provide a 'home-like' atmosphere, as recommended by Sydney Turner.[210]

[205] Holman, 'Prevention: The Victorian Legacy', p. 4.
[206] Higginbotham, *Workhouses of the Midlands*, p. 20. Chapter Three describes the influence of Mettray.
[207] Holman, 'Prevention: The Victorian Legacy', p. 4.
[208] Higginbotham, *Workhouses of the Midlands*, p. 20; Holman, 'Prevention: The Victorian Legacy', p. 4.
[209] *Thirty Fourth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 10., in BCA MS 244/101 Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 3., 10th May 1887.
[210] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* p. 187.

Today the Victorian poor law and workhouse are clouded by negative portrayals. While Holman points out, 'some starved rather than cross the workhouse door', many must have been saved from that fate by its very existence.[211] For children, in particular, the various incarnations of the poor law actually contributed to the development of child protection legislation. The old poor law contained the first provisions, before common and civil law, that laid down the duties of parents and grandparents to maintain poor children and gave the overseers the authority to intervene if the children were neglected. This responsibility, to contribute to the maintenance costs of children in institutions, carried through into the 1854 Act that established government-supported reformatory schools.[212] The old poor law also contained the first legislative provision for the education of children in England and provided for the protection of children in moral danger.[213] This legal provision was subsequently boosted by the 1857 Industrial Schools Act, which allowed for the commitment of vulnerable juveniles to institutions for their own protection.[214] The new poor law continued the compulsion for the educational provision for pauper children and was only superseded by the 1870 Education Act.[215]

For most of the nineteenth century, only those children in the workhouse and reformatory institutions had a legal right to education. The major stumbling blocks

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[211] Holman, 'Prevention: The Victorian Legacy', p. 4.

[212] *An Act for the Better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1854), Clause VI.

[213] Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, *Volume II*, pp. 363, 367, 419.

[214] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*, p. 179.

[215] Pamela Horn, *The Victorian and Edwardian Schoolchild* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1989), p. 14; Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England*, pp. 177-178.

to educational reform, as James Dixon writes, were religious difficulties.[216] The Anglican Church was determined that its religious beliefs should form part of any national education system. An example of their power is illustrated by Sutherland who describes how the 1843 Factory Bill, which included clauses giving the Church control over proposed factory schools, was actually seen and approved by the bishops before being presented to the Cabinet.[217] When this was publicised, the resulting uproar prompted the removal of the clauses. In 1850, according to Barnard, attempts to introduce a 'secular' Education Bill – in some ways a forerunner of the 1870 Act – were defeated following opposition by both Anglicans and nonconformists.[218] Education remained a divisive subject. While this dispute has been blamed for delaying the implementation of a national education system, King offers a different standpoint in that the general view of society's upper echelons held that the workers in the urban centres were already educated sufficiently to undertake the work required of them.[219]

Despite such perspectives, the value of education in socializing children, to prevent crime and rehabilitate those convicted, gained increasing recognition and formed an integral part of the national network of reformatory and industrial schools that developed from the 1850s onwards. As the century progressed, increasing pressure was placed on successive governments to establish a system of compulsory education. The view of the 'sufficiently educated' worker gave way to the realisation that the concentration of people in urban centres made the

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[216] James Dixon, *Out of Birmingham. George Dixon (1820–98) 'Father of free education'* (Studley: Brewin Books, 2013), p. 111.
[217] Sutherland, *Elementary Education*, pp. 16-17.
[218] Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, pp. 107-108.
[219] King, 'Urbanisation and Education in Britain', p. 437.

provision of schooling economical.[220] Cunningham writes that, in 1851, it was estimated that such a national system could 'rescue' the estimated one million children living on the streets.[221] In the same year, Mary Carpenter wrote how education and religious instruction were vital to prevent such children from becoming criminals and reform those who already had.[222]

The predominating faiths were prepared to go to great lengths to exert their influence on educational policy but there is little evidence they took any particular interest in the subject of reforming the treatment of child offenders. Philip Priestley indicates a general indifference in the Church's attitude to issues relating to prisoners' welfare and details how Anglican prison chaplains had a reputation for undertaking fewer prison visits than their Roman Catholic counterparts and, when they did visit, refusing to take up prisoners' grievances with the authorities.[223]

In 1858 Turner published his first report as inspector of reformatory institutions. It provided separate statistics detailing the convictions of Protestant and Catholic children and denoted when an institution was managed by the Catholic Church.[224] Turner was an Anglican minister and his faith caused friction with the Catholic authorities but a working relationship did develop in time.[225] From the mid-1850s

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[220] Marsden, 'Education and Urbanisation in Nineteenth-Century Britain', pp. 104-105.
[221] Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood*, p. 169.
[222] Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders* (London: C. Gilpin, 1851), pp. 29-31, 92-94.
[223] Philip Priestley, *Victorian Prison Lives* (London: Pimlico, 1999), p. 115.
[224] *First Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the different Reformatory Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1858), p. 5. The provision of separate statistics for the faiths would have been a government directive. This pattern was followed in subsequent reports.
[225] J.D. Hicks, *The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory at Market Weighton* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, Local History Series No. 49, 1996), p. 23.

the Roman Catholic Church set out to provide accommodation for all children of their faith who fell foul of the law.[226] Committees were established across the country to facilitate the establishment of reformatory schools and, where these schools were founded, their management was placed in the hands of religious orders, as it was felt that children should be 'fortified with religious education'.[227] The orders varied between schools; for example, the Fathers of Charity managed Market Weighton Reformatory while the Cistercian Order controlled the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory in Leicestershire.[228]

While the Roman Catholic Church in Britain established its own network of reformatory schools,[229] the government did not finance the construction of any such institutions. The Anglican Church funded the establishment of the reformatory at Castle Howard in 1856 but, other than the development of Birmingham's Gem Street Industrial School, no other similarly supported institution has been identified.[230] Some Church of England ministers established reformatory schools but the Church itself did not finance these projects. For example, Wiltshire Reformatory was founded by Rev. Arthur Fane in 1855 but it was local patronage that provided the initial funding.[231] Some reformatory institutions included local ministers on their management committees, if only in an honorary capacity, and, in

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[226] An estimate of the proportions of the predominant faiths within the population is provided earlier in this chapter while Chapter Four includes a brief summary of the findings of the 1851 Religious Census for Birmingham.

[227] R.J. Gainsford, 'Catholic Reformatory Schools', *Dublin Review*, December 1855, pp. 318, 320-321, 328.

[228] Hicks, *The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, p. 16. Some orders were based abroad and, as a result, included foreign priests. Their use, to train British children, did cause some suspicions. 'Mettray and Redhill', *The Northern British Review*, 24:48 (February 1856), p. 445.

[229] R.J. Gainsford, 'Catholic Reformatory Schools', *Dublin Review*, December 1855, pp. 320-325.

[230] Hicks, *The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory,* p. 11.

[231] Ivor Slocombe, *Wiltshire Reformatory for Boys, Warminster 1856-1924* (Salisbury: The Hobnob Press, 2005), pp. 7-9.

the case of Saltley Reformatory, staff from the nearby Anglican teacher training college instructed the inmates.[232] Saltley also received a visit from the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1883.[233] The Anglican Church was closely involved in educational provision generally and sought to retain a dominant role. As an arm of government, it was ideally placed to be in the vanguard of social reform but there are few signs it exerted any major influence in the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders. This disinterest may not have been a disadvantage, as if the predominating faiths had taken the same approach to juvenile reform as they had to education, it may have resulted in the same impasse that delayed the advent of a national education system.

Radzinowicz and Hood describe the concept of the young offender, together with its implications for a specific penal policy, as a specific Victorian creation.[234] Children aged between seven and fourteen could only be convicted if it was proved they had acted with malice but such evidence was often forthcoming and,[235] while anyone aged over fourteen was regarded as an adult under criminal law, society in general regarded those of that age and younger as adults. The concept of childhood was, at best, then in its infancy, the majority of children having long since started work by this age. From a twenty-first century viewpoint

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[232] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution* (Birmingham, 1854), p. 6., in BCA MS 244/98 Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 1., 24th January 1854; Warwickshire County Records Office, C364.War (P), *First Report of the Warwickshire Reformatory Institution* (Warwick, 1857), p. 2. There were twenty-four Church of England Training Colleges by 1860 so it is possible they were involved in teaching at other reformatories throughout the country; John Osborne (ed.), *Saltley College Centenary 1850-1950* (Birmingham: Saltley College, 1951), p. 9.

[233] BCA MS 244/100, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 3., 8th January 1884; J.A. Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution (Saltley Reformatory) Jubilee Retrospect 1903* (Publication details unknown. Printed in Birmingham by Hall and English, 1903), p. 34.

[234] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*, p. 133.

[235] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*, p. 133.

an individual's life is mapped out by an established chronology via schooling then further or higher education before entering the workplace until retirement. There was no such template for the majority in Victorian Britain. Comprehensive new legislation for a specific section of the population was a concept that had to be both created and accepted by society as a whole. The ultimate responsibility, Harry Hendrick argues, fell to the state and it was only the state that could create the statutes that underpinned a legal concept of childhood.[236] Such a fundamental change took time to be accepted.

Significant aspects of reformatory education followed the evolution of poor-law administration. The use of apprenticeships for inmates of reformatories was a development of the parish apprenticeships that had long been in place. Emigration was seen as a cost-effective means, by both institutions, to permanently relocate poor or criminal children by offering them 'new lives' abroad. Though workhouses and reformatories separated children from their parents, efforts were made in both to reproduce a family atmosphere and ensure children did not become institutionalised and isolated from the outside world. The protection that was afforded to children through the legislation that governed the development of reformatories and the poor law was groundbreaking and amounted to the beginnings of a welfare provision for children.

Michael Ignatieff highlights the similarities in the appearance of prisons, asylums, workhouses and schools at this time, claiming they were deliberately designed to

[236] Harry Hendrick, 'Constructions and reconstructions of British childhood: an interpretative survey, 1800 to the present', in Muncie, Hughes, McLaughlin (eds.), *Youth Justice,* p. 34.

instil discipline into their charges.[237] Historical institutions, of any type, for children are almost automatically seen from a negative viewpoint but the juveniles detained in the reformatory institutions that developed from the 1850s onwards were more likely to have enjoyed a recognisable childhood than many of their law abiding peers. Though under detention, they received regular meals and were provided with good clothing. Medical attention was also available if required. In addition they were allowed time to play and even received presents at Christmas.[238] The children also received education and training under the auspices of the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act, although a uniformly effective national education system was still decades away. Educational standards within the institutions were monitored and tests of the inmates' academic abilities formed part of the regular assessments undertaken by government-appointed inspectors. It could be argued that by enacting this legislation, the government was beginning to realise how education could be applied in the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders.

A nationwide network of government-supported reformatory institutions for convicted children evolved following the enactment of legislation from the 1850s onwards. Birmingham's role in the development of the new laws that underpinned these reforms is the focus of Chapters Five and Six but the reformatory and industrial schools that were established employed practices that had first been adopted in earlier institutions both in this country and abroad. In the early

[237] Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1978), p. 215. Chapter Nine constitutes a case study of Saltley Reformatory. It includes an analysis of images of the institution which assesses whether it was designed with such disciplinary elements in mind.

[238] *Thirty Fourth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 10., in BCA, MS 244/100, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 3., 10th May 1887. Christmas presents included boxes of oranges and bags of sweets.

nineteenth century Warwick's magistrates implemented a series of policies which supported the segregation of imprisoned children from the adult prison population at Warwick County Gaol, introduced a system of probation for juveniles and founded a reformatory institution. The Warwick Asylum, as it was called, predated the establishment of the more widely known French Mettray institution. The following chapter investigates the origins of the practices in Warwick and assesses their influence on the institutions that developed to accommodate convicted children from the mid-nineteenth century. Additionally, the association of Mettray, and its co-founder Frederic Demetz, with British reformers and reformatory institutions is evaluated to ascertain how mutually influential they were.

Chapter Three

WARWICK AND METTRAY: EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY INFLUENCES ON JUVENILE REFORM

To date, historians have tended to focus on London and its surrounding area when discussing the origins of efforts to reform juvenile criminality from the late eighteenth century onwards. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century the magistrates of Warwick supported three specific policies that changed the way convicted juveniles were treated locally. Firstly, Esther Tatnall, wife of Warwick Gaol's governor, segregated incarcerated children from the adult prison population and arranged for them to be schooled. Secondly, the Warwick County Asylum was established specifically to accommodate child criminals. Thirdly, an embryonic probation scheme was implemented to prevent the imprisonment of some children. This chapter assesses the development of these practices and the extent to which they subsequently influenced local and national efforts to reform the treatment of child offenders.

The asylum survived until the 1850s and was referenced in several select committee enquiries into juvenile crime; it has been mentioned alongside the French agricultural colony at Mettray in terms of its influence but has not been subjected to any in-depth historical research. Mettray was established over twenty years after the asylum's inception and this chapter also examines the development of the French institution, its influence on British efforts to reform the

treatment of juvenile offenders and the extent to which Mettray itself was influenced by the domestic reformatory movement generally and the Warwick Asylum in particular.[1]

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

The historiography detailing the early reformatory practices in Warwick is limited. Pamela Horn provides the only reference located to the work of Esther Tatnall, describing how she provided schooling for imprisoned children, but makes no mention of their segregation from adult prisoners.[2] The Warwick County Asylum is regularly referred to in passing in many publications discussing nineteenth-century reforms to the treatment of juvenile offenders.[3] The only study of any depth was undertaken in 2006 by Anne Langley.[4]

Descriptions of Warwick's early probation scheme are sparse. N.S. Timasheff, and Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood mention the practice but concentrate on how it was subsequently developed by Birmingham's first Recorder Matthew Davenport

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[1] Henry Barnard, *Reformatory Education: Paper on Preventive, Correctional and Reformatory Institutions and Agencies in Different Countries* (Hartford: F.C. Brownell, 1857), pp. 107-108.

[2] Pamela Horn, *Young Offenders. Juvenile Delinquency 1700–2000* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, PLC, 2010), p. 49.

[3] The following publications illustrate the frequent references to the asylum, though none provide an in-depth study: Leon Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law And Its Administration From 1750: Volume 5, The Emergence of Penal Policy* (London: Stevens and Sons, 1948), p. 137; Lionel W. Fox, *The English Prison And Borstal Systems* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1952), p. 328; Jeannie Duckworth, *Fagin's Children. Criminal Children in Victorian England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), p. 143; Horn, *Young Offenders*, pp. 27-28; Muriel Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud. How the Philanthropic Quest Was Put Into Law* (Hook: Waterside Press Ltd, 2011), pp. 218, 244.

[4] Anne Langley, *Warwick County Asylum. The first Reformatory outside London* (Rugby: Stretton Millennium History Group, 2006). This booklet amounts to twenty-two pages and, though informative, is published more from a local history than academic perspective.

Hill.[5] Both Peter Rush and Leanne Alarid credit Hill with originating the scheme,[6] while Cecil Leeson, Anthony Osler and Oznur Sevdiren do not mention Hill specifically, or Warwick generally, in their accounts of early probation schemes.[7]

Unlike the other subjects of this chapter, there is no shortage of references to Mettray and its co-founder Frederic Auguste Demetz in accounts of nineteenth-century reformatory practices. In calling it the 'Mecca' for English reformers Radzinowicz and Hood were repeating Matthew Davenport Hill's description of the institution from over a century earlier.[8] Similarly Heather Shore underlines how it impressed a succession of British 'luminaries' and Pamela Horn credits it as the main inspiration for the early British reformatory school movement.[9] Julius Carlebach, Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, and Muriel Whitten highlight its particular influence on the Philanthropic Society.[10] Michel Foucault offers an alternative perspective and describes Mettray as an oppressive institution which

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[5] N.S. Timasheff, *One Hundred Years of Probation, Part One* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1941), pp. 12-13; Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 641. Radzinowicz and Hood state that virtually nothing is known about this scheme.

[6] Peter Rush, 'The government of a generation: the subject of juvenile delinquency', in John Muncie, Gordon Hughes and Eugene McLaughlin (eds.), *Youth Justice* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 154; Leanne Fiftal Alarid, *Community-Based Corrections*, 11th edn (Boston (USA): Cengage Learning, 2015), p. 26.

[7] Cecil Leeson, *The Probation System* (London: P. S. King and Son, 1914); Anthony Osler*, Introduction to the Probation Service* (Winchester: Waterside Press, 1995); Oznur Sevdiren, *Alternatives to Imprisonment in England and Wales, Germany and Turkey. A Comparative Study* (London: Springer, 2011).

[8] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* p. 156; Rosamond Davenport Hill and Florence Davenport Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham. A Memoir of Matthew Davenport Hill* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1878), p. 160.

[9] Heather Shore, 'Gender, justice and the child criminal in nineteenth-century England', in John Munice, Gordon Hughes and Eugene McLaughlin, (eds.), Youth Crime (London: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 187; Horn, *Young Offenders* p. 104.

[10] Julius Carlebach, *Caring for Children in Trouble* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1970), pp. 20-22; Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* p. 160; Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, p. 198.

exhibits 'the disciplinary form at its most extreme'.[11] John Ramsland, the author of three articles on the institution, reflects Foucault's perspective and asserts that Mettray has attracted more attention from the writers of fiction than historians.[12] Philip Smith, however, argues that Foucault's views are limited as they fail to take account of the 'deeply meaningful practices' adopted at Mettray.[13]

The research into the practices at Warwick Gaol was based on Tatnall's own publication,[14] newspaper articles and the town's Quarter Sessions records.[15] These sources were also employed to investigate the development of the Warwick Asylum, together with government reports,[16] archival material and contemporary publications.[17] The account of the town's early probation scheme centres on evidence given by John Eardley-Wilmot and Matthew Davenport Hill to individual

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[11] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1991. Translation of original 1975 edition), p. 293.

[12] Ramsland's articles comprise: 'The agricultural colony at Mettray: A 19th century approach to the institutionalization of delinquent boys', *Critical Studies in Education*, 29:1 (1987); 'Mettray: A Corrective Institution for Delinquent Youth in France, 1840-1937', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 22:1 (1990); 'Mettray, Delinquent Youth and the Cult of Religious Honour', Paedagogica Historica, 35: Supplement (1999). The 1990 article is heavily based on his 1987 publication. His comment regarding Mettray attracting writers of fiction is made in: 'Mettray: A Corrective Institution', p. 30. Arguably the most well known fictional work relating to Mettray is: Jean Genet, *Miracle of the Rose* (France: Marc Barbazat, 1946). The first English translation was published in 1966. Genet served a sentence at Mettray.

[13] Philip Smith, *Punishment and Culture* (London: The University of Chicargo Press, 2008), pp. 75-81.

[14] Esther Tatnall, *A Narrative of Twenty-three Years Superintendence of the Women and Boys' Wards in the Gaol at Warwick* (London, 1836).

[15] Various newspapers, particularly *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and the *Leamington Spa Courier* have been utilised. These have been abbreviated subsequently as *ABG* and *LSC*. Other newspaper titles are given in full. Warwickshire County Records Office (Hereafter WCRO), QS39, Minutes of Quarter Sessions (Hereafter MQS).

[16] *First Report from the Select Committee of the House Of Lords Appointed to Inquire into The Present State of the Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales* (London, 1835), p. 433. The institution's first annual report was detailed as an appendix.

[17] The institutions thirty-second and thirty-fourth annual reports also survive (WCRO C364.War (P)). The asylum's secretary Harry Townsend Powell published two accounts of the institution: *A Memoir of the Warwick County Asylum* (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1827); *The Christian Duty & National Policy Of Reforming Criminal Boys Established On The Sure Basis Of Twenty-Three Years Experience In The Warwick County Asylum* (Coventry, 1842).

select committees and Hill's later description of the arrangements.[18] The discussion of Mettray's development and influence utilises contemporary accounts of the institution,[19] archival material and government reports.[20]

WARWICK GAOL

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, while male and female prisoners were usually detained separately inside the nation's prisons, children were not. Primarily through the efforts of Esther Tatnall, the governor's wife, the segregation of children was implemented at Warwick Gaol around 1810.[21] She was responsible for several further developments in the treatment of all prisoners at Warwick but her initial response on entering the gaol in March 1803, following her marriage to the governor, was to return to her father's house at the first opportunity, leaving the 'abode of wretchedness' behind. Her husband managed to persuade her to return and they remained there until he retired in 1826.[22]

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[18] *Report for the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions* (London, 1828), p. 30; *Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords to Inquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law, Especially Respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation* (London: HMSO, 1847) Appendix, pp. 224-224; Matthew Davenport Hill, *Suggestions for the Repression of Crime* (London, 1857), p. 351.

[19] The accounts include a cross section of newspaper reports and descriptions by individuals including: Lord Leigh, *The Reformatory at Mettray: A Letter from a Visitor to that Institution, Addressed to a Member of the Committee of the Warwickshire Reformatory* (London: Thomas Hatchard, 1856).

[20] The archival material originates from the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Library and Archive (Hereafter SBTLA), The Leigh Collection. *Third Report of the Inspectors Appointed to visit the different Prisons of Great Britain I. Home District* (London: HMSO, 1838). This report contains a copy of Demetz's account of his tour of American penal institutions.

[21] Tatnall, *A Narrative,* p. 19. Directions were given in 1808 that the boys in the prison be separated from the adult males and provided with a rudimentary education. It is not recorded whether this was as a result of a request from Tatnall; WCRO QS39/11, MQS, (1806-1814), Easter Sessions 1808, p. 150. A school was established at Newgate Gaol in 1814 for the 'younger boys' but attempts to segregate them from the men and youths was not strictly enforced. Horn, *Young Offenders*, p. 50.

[22] Tatnall, *A Narrative*, pp. 11, 28.

Esther Tatnall introduced separate accommodation for child prisoners and a school for boys and girls. Her efforts received a significant boost in 1814 following the appointment of several new magistrates. As well as authorising major improvements to the gaol, which included proper clothing and hot and cold baths, they permitted the purchase of books and equipment for the school.[23] A teacher was also employed and a weekly 'reward' of sixpence was offered to the children for good behaviour.[24] Tatnall was allowed to introduce a degree of industrial training for the boys. After liaising with Birmingham's Guardians of the Poor, she introduced a system similar to theirs where a local manufacturer provided the equipment required for pin making at no cost to the county authorities.[25] Tatnall was never a member of the prison staff but she was involved with the general supervision of all female prisoners and boys, and also superintended the school and pin manufactory. Her efforts were recognised by the managing justices who made intermittent payments to her over the years and appointed a servant to assist her in 1819.[26] Writing in 1836, Tatnall described the positive effect that education and industrial training had on the boys' characters, which prompted the

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[23] Tatnall, *A Narrative*, p. 21.

[24] WCRO, QS39/12, MQS, (1815-1819), Epiphany Sessions 1815, p. 18. At Newgate Gaol an adult prisoner acted as a teacher; Horn, *Young Offenders*, p. 50. It appears Warwick Gaol appointed someone from outside of the prison to act in this capacity.

[25] Frederic Hill, *National Education. Its Present State and Prospects, Volume I* (London: Charles Knight, 1836), pp. 144-146; Tatnall, *A Narrative*, pp. 21-22. This was not the first manufactory at the gaol as, in 1794 a Mr Thomas Peace of Tamworth had been permitted to install a 'coarse woollen and hemper manufactory' and employ any of the adults and children detained there; WCRO, QS39/10, MQS, (1789-1796), Session 3rd February 1794, pp. 122-123. The boys were paid for their work, receiving a third immediately and the remainder on their release.

[26] WCRO QS39/13, MQS, (1819-1820), Easter Sessions 1819, p. 11; Ten pounds annually was allocated to employ a servant in view of Tatnall being 'wholly occupied with the unremitting care and attention...to the female prisoners and boys in the gaol'. Michaelmas Session 1819, p. 115; At this meeting it was ordered she be paid five pounds for supervising the women, ten pounds for supervising the school and a further ten pounds for superintending the pin manufactory.

magistrates to look 'beyond the term of imprisonment' and establish the asylum at Stretton.[27]

Tatnall left the prison in 1826 upon her husband's retirement.[28] He died in 1831 and it appears the government pension he had been granted was not transferred to Esther at that point because she wrote to Warwick's magistrates appealing for financial assistance in 1835.[29] No help was forthcoming but her *Narrative* of life in Warwick Gaol was published the following year. The book was edited by Sir John Eardley-Wilmot,[30] who also wrote an extensive introduction in which he highlighted the value of her work and drew attention to her financial difficulties.[31] Eardley-Wilmot was one of the magistrates who had failed to help her and, considering the short period of time that had elapsed between this rejection and the book's publication, he may have seen it as an opportunity for her to raise the money she sought.

Esther died aged seventy-six in November 1853. It appears that her monetary problems had been resolved as it was recorded she died 'at her residence, Rock Cottage, Emscote'.[32] Though twenty-seven years had elapsed since she left the

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[27] Tatnall, *A Narrative*, p. 23.
[28] Tatnall, *A Narrative*, p. 28.
[29] 'Deaths', *ABG*, 4th April 1831, p. 3; 'An Appeal to the Court', LSC, 24th October 1835, p. 4.
[30] Sir John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot was closely involved with the establishment of the early reformatory at Stretton-on-Dunsmore and subsequent reformatory efforts in Birmingham and Warwickshire as a whole. His credits include chairman of Warwickshire's quarter session 1830-1843, MP for North Warwickshire 1832-1843 and appointed as lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Land in 1843; Peter Chapman, 'Sir John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot (1783-1847)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2008,* <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/view/printable/52438> last update 2014 [accessed 28th June 2014].
[31] Tatnall, *A Narrative*, pp. iii-iv.
[32] *'Deaths'*, *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 26th November 1853, p. 5. Other than these events, research has failed to locate any details of her life prior to her marriage or after she left Warwick Gaol.

prison several newspapers took the opportunity to highlight the improvements made there during her tenure and the esteem in which Eardley-Wilmot held her was also mentioned when reporting her death.[33]

WARWICK COUNTY ASYLUM

The proposal to establish a reformatory-style institution in Warwickshire was first suggested in 1815 by a 'Mr Withering' in a letter to the chairman of the town's Quarter Sessions. Withering stated the Philanthropic Society's London establishment should be used as a model.[34] The proposal was accepted for further consideration, with the provision that Birmingham's magistrates also be consulted for their opinions.[35] The institution's objective was to reform 'criminal boys' with Warwick's magistrates selecting those deemed suitable for admission from the juveniles appearing before them in courts with their first offence.[36] The discussions that followed proposed that, in addition to juveniles, it be used to house recently discharged adult prisoners.[37] This suggestion of an 'after-care' facility for prisoners was as farsighted as the provision of a juvenile reformatory but only the latter institution came to fruition.

[33] 'Died', *ABG*, 21st November 1853, p. 3; *'Deaths'*, *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 26th November 1853, p. 5.

[34] WCRO MQS, (1815-1819), Epiphany Sessions 1815, p. 13. No details of Withering survive and there is no known link between this individual and Dr William Withering of the Lunar Society. The Philanthropic Society is described in great detail in: Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud.*

[35] WCRO MQS, (1815-1819), Epiphany Sessions 1815, p. 13. As is described later in this chapter, Warwick tried and housed most of Birmingham's criminals at this time.

[36] Powell, *A Memoir,* p. 7; *First Report from the Select Committee of the House Of Lords Appointed to Inquire into The Present State of the Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales* (London, 1835), p. 428.

[37] WCRO MQS, (1815-1819), Midsummer Sessions 1815, pp. 63-64; Midsummer Sessions 1816, p. 178.

Warwick's magistrates first publically proposed the institution at the 1816 Midsummer Quarter Sessions. Their stated reasons for its establishment were precisely those described by Esther Tatnall. Referring to the Philanthropic Society and the Refuge for the Destitute, it was made clear that Warwick's project would be on a smaller scale, for both sexes, with its final size dependent upon the financial contributions it was able to generate. They indicated that, over time, the asylum would hopefully be responsible for a reduction in the demands on the county rates, as it would lessen the number of prosecutions and the related court costs. Their proposals were circulated throughout the county, together with requests for donations and subscriptions.[38]

It has only been possible to identify two specific people among the magistrates directly involved with the asylum's establishment. Local Chief Justice Dallas, who gave the initial address in 1816 advising of the county's intention to commence the scheme, has been quoted as the main driving force, with Sir John Eardley-Wilmot also playing a significant role.[39] The asylum's first annual report details a management committee of twelve magistrates with Earldey-Wilmot named as both treasurer and a committee member but Dallas was not recorded.[40]

[38] 'An Address from the Magistrates in their Midsummer Quarter Sessions, 1816, to the Noble Gentry, Clergy, and Inhabitants of the County of Warwick; and also, to the Inhabitants of the County and City of Coventry', *Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1816, pp. 222-223. The Refuge for the Destitute was established in London in 1804 and sought to provide training for juveniles who had served prison sentences in a bid to prevent them returning to crime. Horn, *Young Offenders*, pp. 25-26.

[39] 'Warwick Summer Assizes', *LSC*, 5th August 1842, p. 1; 'Warwick Assizes', *LSC*, 4th August 1849, p. 1; Also see preceding footnote.

[40] *First Report......Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales*, p. 433. The institution's first annual report was detailed as an appendix.

The response the appeal received enabled the magistrates to lease a property in Stretton-on-Dunsmore for five years and finance the construction of additional buildings that provided accommodation for thirty boys. The donations were so substantial, amounting to nearly £3,000, that £2,000 was loaned to the county authorities to provide additional income; a sizeable annual subscription of £243 was also raised.[41] The asylum opened in January 1818 and housed eleven boys by the end of its first year.[42]

The one major drawback the magistrates encountered was that they had no legal power to detain a child in the asylum. They had petitioned Parliament in 1815 to enact legislation that would have allowed this but their lobbying failed.[43] To retain an element of compulsion, the children were hired as servants and apprentices whereby existing legislation could be employed to apprehend and punish them should they abscond.[44]

The asylum prospered in its early years and in 1822 this success prompted local magistrates to publish proposals to enlarge the premises to accommodate one hundred boys so that 'the great good...already effected on many of these once unhappy objects' could be expanded.[45] The requirement for 'voluntary' admission remained but it was specified that this would entail individuals committing

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[41] *First Report.....Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales*, pp. 433-434.
[42] *First Report.....Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales*, pp. 433-434. The proposals to also accommodate girls must have been dispensed with as only boys were sent there.
[43] WCRO MQS, (1815-1819), Midsummer Sessions 1815, pp. 63-64.
[44] *First Report.....Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales*, p. 428. Much of the legislation regarding the punishment of children absconding from apprenticeships originated from the 1563 Statute of Artificers; Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England 1600-1914* (London: UCL Press Limited, 1996), pp. 2-6.
[45] 'County of Warwick Asylum for Juvenile Offenders', *The Christian Remembrancer*, October 1822, p. 602.

themselves as 'servants in husbandry' to the asylum's master for fifty-one weeks.[46]

The institution's limited surviving records give sparse details of the staff who were employed there and no indication of how they were selected. In evidence to a select committee in 1835 T.R. Bromfield, the asylum's secretary and local magistrate, states a 'Master was appointed to superintend' the boys. Its first annual report details a salary of £68 paid to a 'Mr Cox' but records no other employees.[47] The boys sent there by the magistrates were described as being employed in making clothes and shoes, weaving and rope spinning, as well as husbandry work.[48] In addition to the practical skills, they were also taught the '3Rs'.[49] Tatnall regularly visited the institution and commented on the 'industrious habits' it bestowed on the boys confined there.[50] Religious instruction was provided by the local incumbent vicar who adopted the role of chaplain to the institution.[51]

The asylum ran into severe financial difficulties within nine years of its opening. While enthusiasm for the project itself remained, monetary contributions had waned. In an attempt to raise the institution's profile and revive funding, Rev. H.T.

[46] 'County of Warwick Asylum for Juvenile Offenders', *The Christian Remembrancer*, October 1822, p. 602.
[47] *First Report......Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales*, pp. 430-434. A report from 1846 shows £20 paid to 'instructors and assistants' together with a £50 'Master's salary'. It also details how a Mr Cox was the master until 1827 when he was succeeded by a Mr Johnson. Again no additional details of any staff are provided. 'A General Summary of the Reports of the Warwick County Asylum at Stretton-on-Dunsmore', Appendix to: *Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords to Inquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law, Especially Respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation* (London: HMSO, 1847), pp. 787, 795.
[48] 'County of Warwick Asylum for Juvenile Offenders', *The Christian Remembrancer*, October 1822, p. 602.
[49] *First Report.....Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales*, p. 433.
[50] Tatnall, *A Narrative*, pp. 23-24.
[51] Langley, *Warwick County Asylum*, p. 4.

Powell published a *Memoir of the Warwick County Asylum* in 1827*;* [52] he was the asylum's honorary secretary and chaplain.[53] In the *Memoir* he made the observation, which would be repeated in the future, that the majority of the children admitted into the institution were from Birmingham; a town from which few contributions were made for its upkeep. He squarely blamed the system of day apprentices for the source of the 'depravity' in Birmingham as, he claimed, it left children responsible to neither their parents nor their employers.[54]

Separately, Powell underlined the importance of religious instruction in the asylum and highlighted that, of the ninety-seven boys admitted to the institution up to then, none had ever received any form of education in a National School; it would seem he felt anyone who received their education through a system dominated by the Anglican Church would naturally be dissuaded from criminality. Most remained there for less than two years before being returned back into the community but places of work were found for the boys prior to their discharge to ensure they did not become destitute and return to crime.[55] Powell, however, thought there should be limits to the time boys were allowed to stay there. He stated that if they had not shown signs of improvement after two years it would be better if they were transported, for the benefit of the country if not for the boys themselves.[56]

Highlighting the financial benefits to the county, he stated that of the eighty-one boys discharged from the institution up to 1827, only twenty-one had since been

[52] Powell, *A Memoir,* p. 8. Powell was also the vicar for the village of Stretton.
[53] WCRO *The Thirty-Fourth Report of the Warwick County Asylum* (Coventry, 1853), p. 3.
[54] Powell, *A Memoir,* pp. 14-15.
[55] *First Report.....Several Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales*, p. 436.
[56] Powell, *A Memoir,* pp. 16, 19-20.

tried for other offences. He analysed the number of juveniles being reconvicted locally; together with the cost of housing and feeding them in gaol, and estimated that without the benefit of the asylum, the number would have been thirty-eight and calculated this had, therefore, produced a saving of £334.[57] The previous suggestion, to expand the premises in order to accommodate one hundred boys, never proceeded further. Powell questioned the effectiveness of such an expansion but suggested that further asylums should be constructed, the same size as the original model.[58] This never came to fruition, as the management committee experienced repeated problems financing the institution throughout the time it remained open.

The comments about Birmingham's lack of financial contributions to the asylum received a limited response. A collection held at St. George's Church in the town in November 1829 raised £17 and it was acknowledged that over eighty per cent of the asylum's inmates came from Birmingham.[59] The flow of child criminals from the town did not diminish, clearly to the vexation of Warwick's authorities. In describing the establishment of a prison ship by the government exclusively for juveniles, the governor of Warwick Gaol hoped it would be used to relieve them of the burden of accommodating Birmingham's young thieves as their number was threatening to undermine the reforming activities of the asylum.[60]

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[57] Powell, *A Memoir,* p. vi.
[58] Powell, *A Memoir,* p. 35-36.
[59] 'Warwick County Asylum ', *LSC*, 16th April 1831, p. 3.
[60] 'Juvenile Convicts', *LSC*, 16th April 1831, p. 3.

An examination of the circumstances under which boys were admitted to the asylum indicates that each one was considered under his own merits; such as whether the boy had been convicted before or if he was considered 'redeemable', for it was not simply used as an alternative or supplement to a gaol sentence. The following cases highlight these points.

At Warwick Borough Session in June 1831, a fourteen year-old boy was sentenced to seven years transportation for the theft of a pair of braces and a shilling from his master. He had previously run away from the asylum on three separate occasions, indicating that its managers were prepared to give him repeated opportunities to reform.[61] In October that year, despite being acquitted for receiving a calf under false pretences, a sixteen year-old requested and was granted admission to the asylum despite having previous convictions.[62] It seems he was thought to be redeemable but likely to offend again without the asylum's influence. Notably, sentences passed on three boys in the late 1830s were subsequently mirrored by aspects of the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act. The boys were sentenced to a gaol term followed by admission to the asylum.[63] The 1854 Act specified a minimum two-week gaol sentence followed by admission to a reformatory school.[64]

[61] 'Warwick Borough Sessions', Thursday, June 30', *LSC*, 2nd July 1831, p. 3. From this case it also appears that the original intention to take 'first offenders' only in the asylum was not strictly enforced.

[62] 'Warwickshire Michaelmas Sessions', *LSC*, 22nd October 1831, p. 4.

[63] 'Nisi Prius Court, Wednesday', *LSC*, 3rd December 1836, p. 1; 'Wednesday, March 13', *LSC*, 16th March 1839, p. 3.

[64] *A Bill For The Better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in England and Wales* (London, 1854), pp. 1-2.

The granting of Quarter Sessions to Birmingham in 1839 led to questions being raised by Birmingham's magistrates as to whether they could send children directly to the asylum. The response was resoundingly negative. Birmingham's disproportionately small financial contribution in relation to the significant number of the town's children confined there was again highlighted.[65]

Early in 1841 Matthew Davenport Hill visited the asylum in his capacity as Recorder of Birmingham and provided a positive account of the institution. Describing the county as 'honourably distinguished' in its efforts to improve prison discipline as a whole, he also highlighted how successful the asylum had been in reforming juvenile offenders with the limited means it had available. He was both surprised and pleased to find there were no physical barriers to confine children to the premises; a practice that was employed at Mettray and would be repeated in the next decade at Saltley Reformatory in Birmingham.[66] Foucault asserts that such a lack of barriers allows almost unlimited surveillance of the inmates which, though appearing to highlight their freedom, actually contributes to their control.[67] Theories aside, considering the perpetual funding problems experienced by the asylum, the cost of building and maintaining any fence substantial enough to securely enclose the institution would have almost certainly been prohibitive, any 'benefits' to the absence of fencing, as described by Foucault, simply being an unforeseen consequence.

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[65] 'Warwickshire Midsummer Sessions', *LSC*, 6th July 1839, p. 1.
[66] Chapter Nine comprises a case study of Saltley Reformatory. This aspect of confinement is explored further in the chapter.
[67] Ramsland, 'Mettray: A Corrective Institution', p. 31; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 176-177.

Poor finance was underlined as a major impediment to realising the asylum's aspirations. During his visit, Hill was informed expenditure had been reduced and, of the subscription contributions raised, little more than ten per cent originated from Birmingham.[68] The financial situation quickly deteriorated throughout that year and in its annual report published in January 1842, the asylum's management announced the institution was to close. A combination of lack of income and the expiry of the lease on the premises had, at first sight, finally proved too much. The committee were clearly not about to let the asylum fade away. They used the annual report to highlight their successes and criticize the outside influences they felt had undermined their efforts. They underlined how their 'experiment' in a new system of treating juvenile offenders was more successful and less expensive than any traditional practice. The courts were blamed for overloading the asylum with inmates, hindering their efforts. The committee rounded on the authorities in Birmingham for failing to provide sufficient finance to cover the cost of the town's inhabitants who formed the overwhelming majority of the children sent there; the system of day apprentices was again blamed for being the primary cause.[69]

These charges were repeated at Warwick's Easter and Midsummer Sessions and appeared to sting Birmingham's magistrates into action. After admitting they had not contributed to the asylum, several of their number formed a committee to see what funds could be raised from Birmingham. Hill spoke strongly in support of the

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[68] 'Warwick County Asylum', *LSC*, 24th April 1841, p. 3.

[69] Powell, *The Christian Duty*, pp. 6, 7, 13, 18, 21. This publication included the asylum's twenty-third annual report.

institution and a local newspaper, the *Leamington Spa Courier*, announced it would lobby on the issue until the asylum was saved.[70]

The approach of Warwick's committee proved to be successful and by that October nearly £130 had been raised, lifting the threat of closure.[71] They had also unsuccessfully petitioned both Houses of Parliament for support.[72] The asylum's finances continued to fluctuate and although receiving occasional substantial individual donations, there were regular appeals for new financial supporters.[73]

Despite these uncertainties, the reformatory work at the asylum continued. By 1845 its managers felt their scheme had been running successfully for a sufficient time for it to be introduced to reform adults. Notably, they simultaneously detailed how children admitted to the asylum had already benefited from the care and instruction provided for them during their confinement in the County Gaol, presumably while on remand, which was said to have prepared them for the asylum and enabled them to benefit from its practices.[74] This indicates that the benevolent work commenced by Esther Tatnall at the Gaol continued and developed after she left and that an interchange of ideas or, at least, a preparation for admission to the asylum was devised between its management and the prison authorities. This implies a unique degree of co-operation and continuity of reformatory practices between a gaol and a charitable institution.

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[70] 'Warwickshire Easter Sessions', *LSC*, 9th April 1842, p. 1; 'Warwickshire Midsummer Sessions', *LSC*, 2nd July 1842, p. 1; 'County Asylum at Stretton-Upon-Dunsmore', *LSC*, 23rd July 1842, p. 3.

[71] 'Warwick County Asylum', *LSC*, 22nd October 1842, p. 3.

[72] 'County Asylum', *LSC*, 22nd October 1842, p. 1.

[73] 'Warwick County Asylum', *LSC*, 8th April 1843, p. 2; 'County Asylum', *LSC*, 8th April 1843, p. 3; 'Warwick County Asylum', *LSC*, 6th July 1844, p. 3. In April 1843 they received a £500 donation.

[74] 'Warwick County Asylum', *LSC*, 17th May 1845, pp. 2-3.

The sentencing practice of Warwick's magistrates, where a short prison term would be followed by admission to the asylum, continued until it was incorporated into legislation by the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act, originated by Charles Adderley.[75] It might be supposed that such a lenient practice would prompt parents to appeal for their children to be sent to the asylum instead of prison. While the sources examined were limited, only one such request has been identified; this related to a fifteen year-old boy convicted of stealing a copper saucepan. Unfortunately his parents' appeal was rejected and he received a month's hard labour.[76]

The ethos of the asylum remained constant throughout its tenure. Its aim was to provide the stability of a family atmosphere and teach the boys self-control and confidence. Unlike the reformatories that developed from the 1850s, there are no indications that it had a cell or 'gaol' to confine troublesome individuals; though those found to be particularly disruptive were removed from the institution. It employed 'moral' coercion to dissuade escapees and even taught the boys to have pride in the institution itself. The management emphasised their work was successful, claiming to have rehabilitated sixty per cent of inmates, and called for their practices to be adopted on a wider scale.[77] In 1848 Warwick's magistrates

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[75] 'County Quarter Sessions. Coventry Division', *Coventry Herald and Observer*, 4th July 1845, p. 4. Adderley's contribution to legislative reforms is discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

[76] 'Friday, April 1', *LSC*, 5th April 1845, p. 3.

[77] 'Warwick County Asylum', *LSC*, 2nd May 1846, p. 3. The institution's management committee highlighted the lack of barriers to prevent escapes and used the phrase 'moral coercion' to describe how they dissuaded such incidents. They did add, however, that any boy who did abscond knew he would be 'severely punished' when recaptured. It is not known how they calculated their sixty per cent success rate in rehabilitating the boys sent there. The aspect of a 'family' ethos adopted at the asylum predates the efforts of Johann Heinrich Wichern at the Rauhe Haus and Frederic Demetz at Mettray; these are described more fully in the section on Mettray later in this chapter.

again lobbied Parliament, not only for funds but also for a national approach or policy towards the subject of juvenile crime. They emphasised repeatedly that preventing the problem from occurring was infinitely preferable to finding a cure.[78] A realistic opportunity to expand the asylum presented itself in 1850, twenty-three years after Powell's proposal. Lady Noel Byron offered the use of property and land, rent free, but the matter progressed no further.[79]

The asylum closed in March 1854, its financial problems finally became insurmountable. Requests for government assistance in October 1853 and January 1854 were again unsuccessful.[80] Perhaps the greatest irony was that it ceased operating just months before the Youthful Offenders Act was passed, which legislated for government financial support for approved reformatory institutions. At first sight the financial means were available, locally, to save it. Charles Adderley and Lord Leigh had been contributing to it for several years and subsequently financed the establishment of several reformatories in Warwickshire as a whole. Birmingham had recently hosted the second national conference on juvenile reform, with another of the asylum's contributors, Matthew Davenport Hill, as one of its main organisers.[81] The subject was clearly at the forefront of local news but the asylum was still allowed to fail. In view of the fact the institution had a

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[78] 'Warwick County Asylum', *LSC*, 15th April 1848, p. 1. There is no record of any government response.

[79] 'Warwickshire Midsummer Sessions', *LSC*, 29th May 1850, p. 3. Lady Byron provided significant financial support to Mary Carpenter's efforts to reform juvenile criminals. Jo Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London: Heinmann Educational Books Ltd, 1976), pp. 70-71. Carpenter's work is discussed more in Chapter Five.

[80] 'Warwick County Asylum For Juvenile Offenders', *LSC*, 22nd October 1853, p. 3; 'Stretton County Asylum', *LSC*, 28th January 1854, p. 2.

[81] For further details of the activities of Adderley, Leigh and Hill; together with an account of the conference, see Chapter Five. Chapter Six details the contributions of Adderley and Leigh to the development of legislation that reformed the treatment of juvenile criminals.

long-established management committee, it is possible individuals such as Adderley, Leigh and Hill had their own plans and ideas of how to put them into effect. Each had significant positions in contemporary society, so the idea of negotiating, or diluting their ideas, may well not have been appealing. The new legislation promised the opportunity for a new start.

Twenty five years after its closure American penal reformer Dr Enoch Cobb Wines described the asylum as 'the forerunner and prototype of the reformatory schools of England'.[82] Unlike the Philanthropic Society, whose initial interests were directed towards destitute and vagrant children,[83] the Warwick Asylum was specifically established to reform juvenile offenders and remained true to this aim throughout its life. Though it ceased operating at a time when a significant number of comparable institutions were being established, it left a significant legacy through the subsequent efforts of its management committee and the magistrates of Warwick, the very individuals who had originated the scheme. The asylum's thirty-fourth annual report detailed committee members including Sir Thomas Skipton, Charles Bracebridge, Rev. C. Pilkington and William Dickins, Chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions. All were subsequently involved in the management of the Warwickshire Reformatory Institution, established in 1856 by Lord Leigh at Weston-under-Weatherley.[84] Charles Bracebridge was also a member of the inaugural management committee at Saltley Reformatory in 1853, and an associate of Charles Adderley who was elected as a magistrate for Warwick in

[82] Enoch Cobb Wines, *The State of Prisons and of Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World* (Cambridge: University Press, 1880), p. 78.
[83] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, pp. 24-25.
[84] WCRO *The Thirty-Fourth Report of the Warwick County Asylum*, p. 3; WCRO, C364.War (P) *The First Report of the Warwickshire Reformatory Institution* (Warwick, 1857), pp. 2-4.

1837.[85] In 1841 there were indications that a close association had developed between Charles Adderley and John Eardley-Wilmot, as both men were prominent local Conservatives and Adderley also supported Eardley-Wilmot's efforts to be selected as a prospective parliamentary candidate.[86] Whether his early contribution towards the reform of the treatment of juvenile offenders influenced Adderley's subsequent efforts is not known but Eardley-Wilmot's achievements were overshadowed by a scandal that led to his untimely death in 1847.[87] His family's contribution to reformatory efforts continued through his son, also named John. He was appointed Recorder of Warwick in 1852 and was also a vice-president of the Warwickshire Reformatory Institution.[88]

THE BEGINNINGS OF PROBATION

The segregation of child inmates from Warwick Gaol's adult prison population and the establishment of the county asylum indicate that the town's magistrates

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[85] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution* (Birmingham, 1854), p. 3., in Birmingham City Archives MS 244/98 Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 1., 24th January 1854. William Shakespear Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton (Right Hon. Sir Charles Adderley, KCMG, MP.) 1814-1905, Statesman and Philanthropist* (London: John Murray, 1909), pp. 133, 137. Bracebridge is described as a philanthropist and is stated to have been responsible for Florence Nightingale commencing her nursing activities in the Crimea; some of the connections between the different individuals and various reformatory institutions have been previously noted in: Janet Florence Saunders, *Institutionalised Offenders – A Study of the Victorian Institution and its Inmates, with Special Reference to Late Nineteenth Century Warwickshire* (Unpublished DPhil thesis: University of Warwick, 1983). 'New County Magistrates', *Coventry Herald*, 23rd June 1837, p. 4. At the same time Joseph Sturge, William Chance and John Fullerton, who later became a member of the management at the Stretton asylum, were also elected.

[86] 'North Warwickshire Election', *Coventry Standard*, 9th July 1841, p. 2.

[87] The events in question fall outside the scope of this thesis but a full account can be found in: Leonie C. Mickleborough, *Victim of an 'Extraordinary Consipracy'? Sir John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot, Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen's Land 1843-1846* (Unpublished DPhil thesis: University of Tasmania, 2011); it is also of note that Eardley-Wimot is not mentioned in Adderley's biography.

[88] 'Representations of the Borough', *LSC*, 10th April 1852, p. 3; WCRO, *The First Report of the Warwickshire Reformatory Institution,* p. 2.

believed children could easily be 'contaminated' by even the shortest gaol sentence.[89] With this in mind, the magistrates also introduced a scheme that saw convicted apprentices returned to their masters' service without spending any time incarcerated. An insight into the original scheme was provided by Sir John Eardley-Wilmot in evidence given to a select committee in 1828. He recounted how the practice originated through masters making frequent requests for their apprentices not to be punished. Eardley-Wilmot stated then that he had been operating such an arrangement for seven years but it is not known when it actually began.[90]

In 1839 Matthew Davenport Hill was appointed as the first Recorder of Birmingham after the town was authorised to hold its own Quarter Sessions; beforehand all cases appropriate to this level of the judiciary had been heard in Warwick.[91] In 1841 Hill implemented a scheme that has been attributed as the origin of the modern probation system, which saw some children avoid imprisonment.[92] By his own admission, Hill's 'new' policy was adapted directly from the practices at Warwick; he had first become aware of them in 1819 after qualifying to practice at the Warwick Sessions of the Midland Court Circuit.[93]

Hill's account of the original scheme described how young criminals, usually apprentices or servants, were effectively remanded into the care of those who had

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[89] Reformation of Juvenile Offenders', *ABG*, 12th January 1846, p. 2.

[90] *Report for the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions*, p. 30.

[91] *Second Report of the Select Committee.....Juvenile Offenders and Transportation*, Appendix, p. 224.

[92] Timasheff, *One Hundred Years of Probation, Part One*, pp. 12-13.

[93] *First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law, especially respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation* (London: House of Commons, 1847), p. 19.

pursued a prosecution against them; most often their masters or employers. This arrangement was not used widely and only then on those receiving their first conviction or appearing not to be 'hardened in crime'.[94] Hill highlighted two main weaknesses. Firstly, there was no satisfactory way magistrates could effectively judge the character of the person into whose care the child was being remanded. Secondly, the only way the magistrates had to assess the child's subsequent behaviour was to see whether they appeared at any future court hearings.[95]

Following his appointment as Recorder, Hill clearly felt he had the authority and resources to improve on the original scheme and put his version of it into operation in Birmingham in early 1841.[96] Speaking in 1847, he described its progress to a select committee. Unlike the original scheme, Hill related how he had been able to place a considerable number of the children appearing in court before him into the care of responsible individuals; mainly because more people had volunteered to take responsibility for these children in Birmingham than in Warwick. These individuals were usually the child's master but friends and relatives were also accepted on occasion. All were assessed by Hill for their suitability before the arrangement was authorised. He required the 'responsible adult' to enter into a formal agreement, to guarantee the child's behaviour, and maintained a register of all children placed out in this way. Hill employed the town's police to make regular, unannounced visits to ensure the child had reformed and was also being well treated.[97]

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[94] 'Reformation of Juvenile Offenders', *ABG*, 12th January 1846, p. 2.
[95] Hill, *Suggestions for the Repression of Crime*, p. 351.
[96] *First Report of the Select Committee.....Juvenile Offenders and Transportation*, p. 21.
[97] *First Report of the Select Committee.....Juvenile Offenders and Transportation*, pp. 21-23.

To avoid the child spending any time in prison, Hill arranged for the 'immediate' placement of all children so sentenced and went as far as to have the child's master or parent brought to the court so that the child could be discharged into their care that day. All of those selected for this scheme were first offenders, guilty of petty theft, and they did not receive any type of punishment. Hill's leniency was strictly limited however. Both the children and the adults taking responsibility for them were warned that should they reoffend the sentence would be transportation.[98] The scheme actually had no legal basis and was established entirely on the goodwill of all concerned parties. The threat of severe consequences if they appeared before him again was probably emphasised heavily because of this.[99]

No limit seems to have been placed on the length of time for which the children were monitored. In 1847 Hill related that the police were involved in visiting all those placed on the scheme since it commenced in 1841 because it was thought of as an 'interesting experiment'. It was stated that 119 children had been 'placed out' in that manner. Of those, forty-four were described as reclaimed, forty had relapsed, and the remainder deemed doubtful or unknown. It is difficult to ascertain what proportion of children appearing before Hill benefited from his early probation scheme but the stated figure of 119 in 1847 amounts to an average of twenty a year. Taking account of Hill's own estimation of trying between 350 and 500 annually, of whom a 'very large number' were boys, it illustrates how only a

[98] *First Report of the Select Committee.....Juvenile Offenders and Transportation*, pp. 21-23.
[99] *Second Report of the Select Committee.....Juvenile Offenders and Transportation*, Appendix, p. 224.

small minority were involved.[100] By 1854 the number on the scheme had risen to 417, which approximated to thirty-two annually. Hill stated eighty were known to have been reconvicted by that time and indicated, by describing the 'long years of probation', that their monitoring by the police was perpetual.[101]

By 1846 Hill's scheme had been adopted in several other areas across the country but in parts of London and Scotland it proved impossible to implement because of a lack of suitable volunteers with which to entrust the children's welfare.[102] Sergeant Adams, an assistant judge in Middlesex who had previously been a magistrate in Warwick where he was involved with the establishment of the Warwick Asylum, stated in 1846 that he had tried to implement a similar scheme but had failed for this very reason.[103]

Hill was proud of his experiment but he also gave credit to those who had taken responsibility for the children, as he felt they had relieved him from condemning children to gaol. He went as far as to organise gatherings of the 'responsible adults' and invited some of Birmingham's leading citizens, he subsequently used these events to publicise his work.[104] It is not known when Hill's scheme ceased to operate. The last mention of it dates from 1856, which details 483 children benefiting from it.[105] He resigned as Recorder in 1866 but, as is detailed in

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[100] *First Report of the Select Committee.....Juvenile Offenders and Transportation*, pp. 19-23.
[101] Hill, *Suggestions for the Repression of Crime*, p. 352.
[102] *Second Report of the Select Committee.....Juvenile Offenders and Transportation*, Appendix, pp. 222-223; 'Reformation of Juvenile Offenders', *ABG*, 12th January 1846, p. 2; Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 156.
[103] *First Report of the Select Committee.....Juvenile Offenders and Transportation*, pp. 10, 17.
[104] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham,* p. 156.
[105] Hill, *Suggestions for the Repression of Crime*, p. 602.

Chapter Eight, this scheme, which provided the basis for the modern idea of probation, was not his only contribution towards the reform of juvenile offenders.[106]

The evidence suggests that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the magistrates of Warwick possessed a foresight, ingenuity and humanity few of their counterparts elsewhere in the country shared. From their support of Esther Tatnall's early efforts in Warwick Gaol, their innovative early probation policy, to the establishment of the Warwick County Asylum, they were able to make fundamental changes that combined to provide a basis for developments in the treatment of both adult and child prisoners that evolved during that century. They did it, however, with no legislative changes whatsoever, just innovative interpretation and application of existing statutes. One important question that emerges is this: Would any of these practices have developed if Esther Tatnall's husband had not been able to persuade her to return to Warwick Gaol, following her initial departure from its 'abode of wretchedness', in 1803?

METTRAY

Mettray was founded in 1839 by Frederic Demetz and Viscount Bretignieres de Courteilles, who donated the land for the institution.[107] Demetz was a judge at the Paris Court of Appeal who, echoing the views of many British reformers, had become concerned about the absence of any specific detention facilities in France for children and recognised that housing them with adult criminals only increased

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[106] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham,* p. 456.

[107] M. Augustin Cochin, *An Account of the Reformatory Institution for Juvenile Offenders at Mettray in France* (London: Whittaker and Co., 1853), pp. 12, 15.

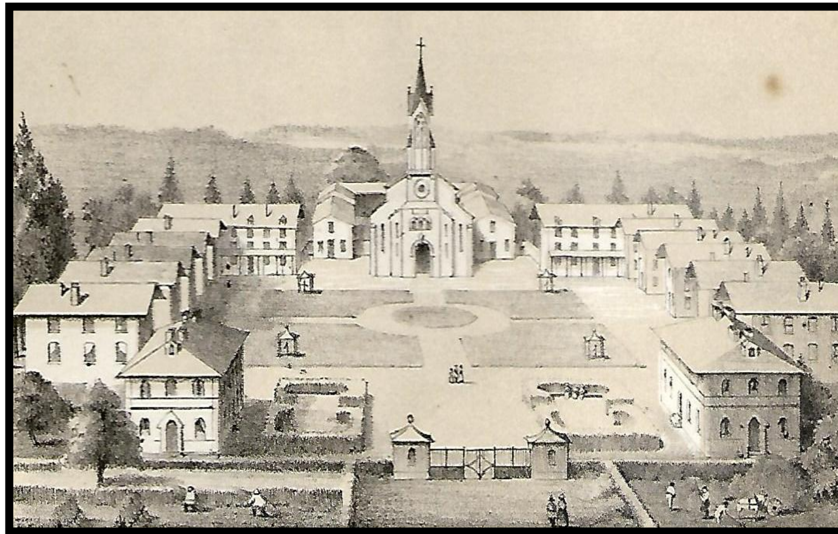
their chances of reoffending.[108] At the behest of the French government Demetz had visited various reformatory institutions across Europe, Great Britain and the United States during the preceding years.[109] Throughout his first visit to America in 1835, he was accompanied by architect Abel Blouet who designed the buildings and layout of Mettray.[110]

Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, who was chair of the Prison Commission of England and Wales when the Borstal reformatory scheme was introduced, credited France and the United States as the driving forces behind prison reform between 1830 and 1870.[111] An asylum for 'indigent boys', which opened in Boston in 1814, was said to be the first reformatory-type institution to be founded in the United States; by 1832 it had developed into the Boston Farm School Society.[112] The first institution to employ the title of 'reformatory school', and according to Frederick Wines, the first to be established by any national government, was founded in New York in 1824.[113] Four years later a reform school was opened in Philadelphia.[114] The American Quaker John Griscom visited various European and British institutions, including the Philanthropic Society, between 1818 and 1819

[108] *Mettray; and M. Demetz in England* (London: A . & G.A. Spottiswoode, 1855), p. 3.
[109] 'The Penitentiary System', *The Morning Chronicle*, 22nd October 1838, p. 3; 'Treatment of Juvenile Offenders', *The Morning Chronicle*, 21st October 1846, p. 3; 'Prison Discipline', *Coventry Herald*, 13th August 1847, p. 4.
[110] Ramsland, 'Mettray, Delinquent Youth', p. 232; 'Prison Discipline', *Coventry Herald*, 13th August 1847, p. 4.
[111] Shane Leslie, *Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise. A Memoir of the Founder of Borstal* (London: John Murray, 1938), pp. xiv, 168. Ruggles-Brise lived 1857–1935.
[112] 'American Preventive and Reformatory Institutions', *Irish Quarterly Review*, January 1858, p. 1097.
[113] Frederick Howard Wines, *Punishment and Reformation. An Historical Sketch of the Rise of the Penitentiary System*, 6th edn (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1895), p. 302.
[114] 'American Preventive and Reformatory Institutions', *Irish Quarterly Review*, January 1858, pp. 1096-1097.

and there are suggestions that his findings were, in-part, incorporated into some American establishments.[115]

Fig 3.1 Mettray c.1851 [116]



At the time Demetz commenced his visits to European institutions, prior to establishing Mettray, several had already been in existence since the early 1800s. A reformatory school was founded in Saxe Weimar in 1813 and a series of reform schools developed in Wurtemberg from 1820 onwards. The earliest French institution dates from 1825 near Strasburg.[117] Unfortunately the lack of any contemporary records in English coupled with the fact that many countries looked at crime and poverty as indivisible, using such institutions as much as poor-law type establishments, underlines the difficulties in assessing their relevance to later developments: in England, Shropshire's Bridgenorth Poor Law Union used Mettray

[115] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, pp. 146-147.

[116] John Minter Morgan, *Letters to a Clergyman on Institutions for Ameliorating the Condition of the People* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851). The images are not paginated.

[117] Joseph Fletcher, 'Statistics of the Farm School System of the Continent, and of its applicability to the Preventive and Reformatory Education of Pauper and Criminal Children in England', *Quarterly Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, April 1852, pp. 12, 13, 26.

as the blueprint for a school it founded to accommodate the children that fell under its control.[118]

Demetz identified one institution whose organisation and ethos substantially influenced his practices at Mettray. The Rauhe Haus, or Rough House, was founded near Hamburg in 1833 by Johann Heinrich Wichern.[119] Dubbed the ‘father’ of institutions, which grouped children into ‘families’, his methods also attracted visitors from as far afield as Massachusetts and became a model for some American establishments.[120] Wichern also visited England and, though not to the extent of Demetz, received visits from a steady stream of British philanthropists including Florence Nightingale in 1850, and Matthew Davenport Hill in 1858.[121] The interest from America did not wane either as a report from 1852 detailed how the institution’s practices had remained unchanged since its inception.[122] This international attention could be partially explained through Wichern’s policy of sending staff members to work abroad. In 1847 it was reported that some were employed at institutions in Germany, Russia, Switzerland and the United States.[123]

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[118] ‘The Bridgenorth Union School and “La Colonie Agricole” at Mettray’, *Berkshire Chronicle*, 9th October 1847, p. 4.

[119] Barnard, *Reformatory Education*, p. 107; Ramsland, ‘Mettray: A Corrective Institution’, p. 33.

[120] Barbara M. Brenzel, *Daughters of the State. A Social Portrait of the first Reform School for girls in North America 1856-1905* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1986), p. 51; ‘The Rough House’, *The Athenaeum*, 30th October 1852, pp. 1167-1168.

[121] Lynn McDonald (ed.), *Florence Nightingale: The Nightingale School. Volume 12 of the Collected Works of Florence Nightingale* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009), p. 708; Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 339; Barnard, *Reformatory Education*, p. 108.

[122] ‘The Hamburgh “Rough House”’, *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, 20th November 1852, p. 1.

[123] Fletcher, ‘Statistics of the Farm School System’, p. 23. In 1852 King Frederick IV appointed Wichern and some of his staff as official overseers of the Prussian prison service. Hans Schwartz, *Theology in a Global Context. The Last Two Hundred Years* (Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005), p. 164.

Mettray was situated in the Loire Valley near Tours.[124] It was an agricultural establishment where the inmates, all boys aged under sixteen years, were referred to as colonists.[125] Demetz aimed to create skilled agricultural workers so the education provided concentrated on imparting practical farming skills, designed in keeping with the inmates 'station in life'.[126] Drawn mainly from the cities, the children were detained under legislation that permitted magistrates to acquit those aged under sixteen, provided it was felt there was no criminal intention in the child's actions and they agreed to detention in a reformatory institution; ironically the legislation was enacted before any such establishments had been founded, Mettray being the first.[127]

The colony comprised a series of buildings laid out to resemble a typical town square. It incorporated ten 'houses', each accommodating forty children and three staff members in a 'family', plus farm buildings, a kitchen, wash house, bakery and accommodation for staff and servants. Underlining the strong emphasis that was placed on Catholic religious indoctrination at Mettray and Demetz's own deeply held beliefs, the site accommodated the Sisters of Charity religious order and a chapel, which dominated the other buildings.[128]

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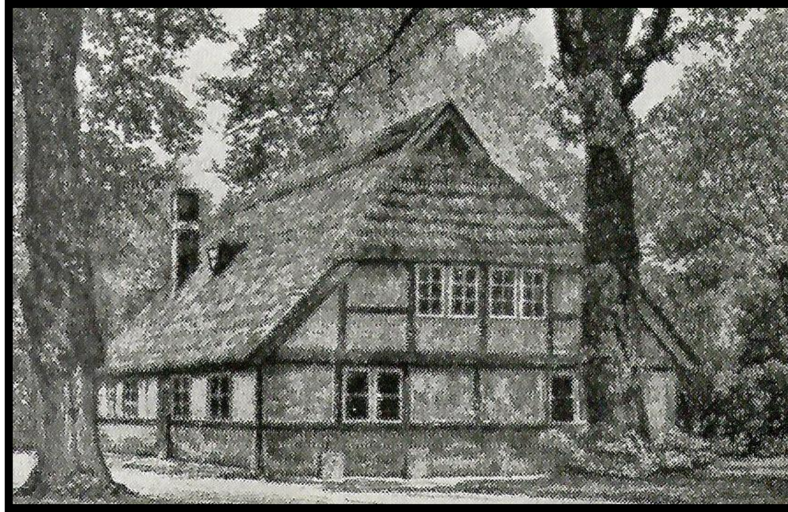
[124] Ramsland, 'Mettray, Delinquent Youth', pp. 233-234.
[125] Barnard, *Reformatory Education,* pp. 170-171; Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*, p.157.
[126] Ramsland, 'Mettray: A Corrective Institution', pp. 33, 36. Sydney Turner who as chaplain and superintendant of the Philanthropic Society visited Mettray expressed similar views regarding the education of reformatory school inmates. Carlebach, *Caring for Children in Trouble*, pp. 63-64.
[127] Barnard, *Reformatory Education*, p. 167.
[128] Cochin, *An Account of the Reformatory Institution*, p. 18; Ramsland, 'Mettray: A Corrective Institution', pp. 31, 36.

Fig 3.2 Rauhe Haus [129]



Mettray's own prison, or punishment quarter, was situated immediately behind the chapel. A direct link to Demetz and Blouet's visits to America, it was based on Philadelphia's Cherry Hill Prison and its location was designed to permit, or compel, those incarcerated to take part in religious services.[130] Cherry Hill utilised solitary confinement for all inmates and employed a particularly strong religious ethos, earning the description of a 'forced monastery' that was 'a machine to reform'.[131] When Charles Dickens visited America he toured the institution and was highly critical of the regime.[132] Demetz's accounts of his visits to America generally, and Philadelphia specifically, were deemed particularly valuable by the British authorities and were included in government reports.[133]

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[129] Geraldine S. Cadbury, *Young Offenders, Yesterday and Today* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1938). The images are not paginated.

[130] Jellinger Symons, *Tactics for the Times* (London: John Olliver, 1849), p. 49.

[131] *Eastern State Penitentiary*, June 2017, <http://www.easternstate.org> [accessed 1st July 2017]. Cherry Hill was later known as Eastern State Penitentiary.

[132] Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation, Volume I*, 2nd edn (London: Chapman & Hall, 1842), pp. 238-240. Dickens described the institution as 'cruel and wrong'.

[133] *Third Report of the Inspectors Appointed to visit the different Prisons of Great Britain I. Home District,* pp. 65-66, 85, 95. Demetz's report on Philadelphia was included in Appendix B of the publication. It was

The impression of Mettray as a self-contained settlement situated in countryside and populated by colonists is completely at odds with Foucault's opinion of the institution. He describes it as 'the disciplinary form at its most extreme....in which are concentrated all the coercive technologies of behaviour'. Virtually every aspect of life there was, in his judgement, deliberately geared to controlling the inmates. Foucault likened the family groupings to the hierarchy of military units with their inherent discipline underpinned by regular inspections and roll calls.[134] He also explains the lack of any boundary walls as a deliberate policy to allow constant surveillance and therefore control of the boys; a feature employed at the Warwick Asylum.[135] As regards the religious influence at Mettray, he defines religious orders generally as 'masters of discipline' but goes further when portraying Catholicism specifically. Foucault describes the practices at Cherry Hill Prison as 'life annihilated and begun again' and states that these tactics were absorbed and subsequently employed by the Catholic Church.[136] When taking these interpretations into account, his assertion that Mettray contained characteristics of the cloister, prison, school and regiment, is understandable.[137] While Mettray was clearly Foucault's focus, many of its practices were comparable with those of British reformatory institutions. No accounts that view British establishments in the same light have been identified.

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the first time his name appeared in any British government document and interest in his findings was also expressed in the inspectors' reports for the Northern and Eastern District and Southern and Western District in the same year.

[134] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 293.

[135] Ramsland, 'Mettray: A Corrective Institution', p. 31; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 176.

[136] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 150, 293.

[137] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 293.

In 1839 Demetz established a school on the site to educate Mettray staff and it subsequently expanded to train those employed at similar French institutions.[138] The school developed further over the years and attracted students from reformatories outside France. In 1855 James Shaddock, superintendant of the Warwickshire Reformatory Institution, spent several months studying there.[139] It is likely that this was the first permanent establishment to provide such specific training and easily predated any comparable efforts in Britain. The first formal training of prison staff in this country did not commence until 1862.[140] Writing in 1934, Thorsten Sellin stated this facility at Mettray had been in continual use since its foundation.[141]

The first children were received at Mettray on 22nd January 1840 and by Christmas that year eighty-four boys were housed there.[142] Accounts of the institution quickly began to appear in the British press. Its foundation was reported at the end of 1839 and its first British visitor, a Dr Harrison Black, must have toured the institution within days of its opening because a detailed description of his findings and Demetz's ethos were published on 1st February 1840.[143] This

[138] Ramsland, 'Mettray: A Corrective Institution', p. 40.

[139] WCRO *The First Report of the Warwickshire Reformatory Institution*, pp. 7, 9. This report also records Demetz making a £2 contribution to the institution. Following his appointment as the first government inspector of reformatory institutions, Rev. Sydney Turner advised that schoolmasters wishing to work in such establishments should visit the Philanthropic Society's Redhill institution in order to learn the required skills. Teresa Ploszajska, 'Moral landscapes and manipulated spaces: gender, class and space in Victorian reformatory schools', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 20:4 (1994), p. 419.

[140] Sean McConville*, A History of English Prison Administration. Volume I 1750–1877* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1981), p. 461.

[141] Thorsten Sellin, 'Historical Glimpses of Training for the Prison Service'*, Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 5:4 (Winter 1934), pp. 594-595. A similar school was founded at a prison in Ghent, Belgium, in 1834, but was quickly discontinued.

[142] Barnard, *Reformatory Education*, p. 170.

[143] 'Foreign Intelligence', *Western Times*, 21st December 1839. The mention of Mettray was made at a meeting held at the Hotel Victoria, Paris, on 10th December. Present were representatives from Britain,

effectively marked the beginning of the many ‘pilgrimages’ to Mettray by a succession of British philanthropists and social reformers, which could have only been encouraged by the extensive, positive, newspaper reporting of the institution and its practices throughout the nineteenth century.[144] In 1842 *The Morning Chronicle* compared reformatory efforts at several establishments. Drawing a clear parallel between the two institutions, it highlighted the ‘striking’ success of the system employed at Mettray and Stretton-on-Dunsmore to use agricultural labour in the reform of delinquent children.[145] The same year Liverpool’s stipendiary magistrate also highlighted the similarities between practices employed by the two institutions and Rauhe Haus, which was established fifteen years after the Warwick Asylum.[146] In 1843 the then prison inspector Frederic Hill, in what was the first mention of Mettray in an official report, expressed his wish that such an institution existed to house young offenders in Scotland.[147] Two years later Frederic Hill further underscored the success of Mettray and that same year John Minter Morgan spent two days at the institution in the company of Demetz. In his

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United States, Poland, France and Turkey, who were there to establish an organisation to promote better relations between the West and Turkey. Apparently a regular meeting, its organiser and founder was Dr Harrison Black. Other than a short account of his philanthropic efforts towards widening access to education, no further details of him have been found; ‘Whitsuntide Activities’, *Western Times*, 25th May 1850, p. 5; ‘The Colony of Mettray’, *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*, 1st February 1840, p. 418.

[144] During the course of this research no examples of any contemporary article that portray Mettray in a negative light have been found.

[145] ‘Juvenile Delinquency’, *The Morning Chronicle*, 22nd October 1842, p. 3.

[146] ‘Juvenile Delinquency’, *The Christian Teacher*, July 1842, pp. 15-30. The article was attributed to ‘Stipendiary Magistrate Liverpool’.

[147] *Eighth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the different Prisons of Great Britain IV. Scotland, Northumberland and Durham* (London: HMSO, 1843), p. 7. Frederic Hill was brother to Birmingham’s Recorder Matthew Davenport Hill. The contribution of the Hill family to juvenile reform is discussed in Chapter Eight. P.W.J. Bartrip, ‘Frederic Hill (1803–1896)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2013, <http://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/54053> [accessed 16th August 2018].

account Morgan described how Demetz planned to send one of his staff to London to publicise the institution's work.[148]

In 1845 Frederic Hill again chose to highlight Mettray's success and compared its ethos with that of penal reformer Alexander Maconochie; both were said to 'give hope' to the convicted;[149] Hill subsequently visited the institution in 1856.[150] In early 1846 the *Greenock Advertiser* noted the repeated references being made to Mettray in the 'current discussion on juvenile reform'. It again stressed similarities between some of the institution's practices and those employed by Maconochie, namely an emphasis on reforming individuals rather than inflicting punishment.[151] A further highly detailed and complimentary report was published in December 1846. It also recounted a visit made to Mettray by Elizabeth Fry who, impressed by the establishment, had gifted 'some fine English cattle' to Demetz.[152] That year also saw the event that particularly raised the profile of the institution in Britain. The Rev. Sydney Turner, chaplain and superintendant of the Philanthropic

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[148] 'Prison Discipline of Scotland', *Elgin Courier*, 19th September 1845, p. 4; Morgan, *Letters to a Clergyman*, pp. 77-79.

[149] *Tenth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the different Prisons of Great Britain IV. Scotland, Northumberland and Durham* (London: HMSO, 1845), p. xiv-xv; John V. Barry, 'Alexander Maconochie (1787–1861)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 1967,<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/maconochie-alexander-2417/text3207> [accessed 16th August 2018]; Norval Morris, *Maconochie's Gentlemen. The Story of Norfolk Island & The Roots of Modern Prison Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 164-165. Part 1 - the majority - of this publication is a fact-based fictional account based primarily on John Vincent Barry, *Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), the remainder comprises wholly factual material. Maconochie was one of the first penal reformers to actively endorse a prison policy that prepared prisoners for their return to society by treating them humanely while in captivity. Jo Turner, The Mark System in Jo Turner, Paul Taylor, Karen Corteen and Sharon Morley (eds.), *A Companion of the History of Crime and Criminal Justice* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2007), p. 142. Maconochie was a naval officer who governed the Norfolk Island penal colony. He later became the governor of Birmingham Borough Gaol, being appointed to the post by Matthew Davenport Hill. The relevance of this association is discussed in Chapter Five.

[150] 'The National Reformatory Union, *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 30th August 1856, p. 7.

[151] 'Mettray Penitentiary for the Reform of Young Offenders', *Greenock Advertiser*, 27th March 1846, p. 4.

[152] 'The Model Institution for Young Criminals at Mettray', *London Daily News*, 5th December 1846, p. 4.

Society, William Gladstone, its treasurer, and, police magistrate, Mr Paynter, visited Mettray and were profoundly influenced by what they observed. The Philanthropic Society was founded in London in 1788 to reform juvenile offenders and train the destitute children of prisoners, but this visit directly prompted the society to relocate to a farm in Surrey and switch from the industrial training of its charges to imparting agricultural skills.[153] Such a proposal had been made in 1790 but it was Mettray's influence that brought it to fruition.[154]

It appears to have been generally forgotten that Turner, Gladstone and Paynter also visited several other similar institutions across Europe but Mettray and Demetz seem to have made the greatest impression and formed the basis of their future plans.[155] When Prince Albert laid the foundation stone of the new Philanthropic Farming School in November 1848, it was stressed that it was being established on the principles of Mettray. There certainly was a strong perception that Mettray was a successful establishment. In March 1847 Edward Rushton, the stipendiary magistrate of Liverpool, had called for the establishment of similar institutions across Britain when addressing the Select Committee enquiring into juvenile crime and transportation.[156] Turner subsequently returned to Mettray the following year and Demetz visited the Philanthropic Society's 'new' school in June 1851, giving it his seal of approval.[157]

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[153] Barnard, *Reformatory Education*, pp. 295-297. The William Gladstone mentioned was a cousin of the statesman William Ewart Gladstone. Turner was later appointed as the first Government Inspector of reformatory institutions.

[154] Malcolm McKinnon Dick, *English Conservatives and Schools for the Poor c.1780-1833* (Unpublished MPhil thesis: University of Leicester, 1979), p. 267.

[155] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, p. 202; Barnard, *Reformatory Education*, p. 297.

[156] *First Report from the Select Committee..... Juvenile Offenders and Transportation,* pp. 191-192.

[157] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, pp. 237-238.

The visit of the Philanthropic Society's party seems to have prompted further visits from English philanthropists. In 1848 Matthew Davenport Hill visited the institution with the firm belief that accounts of its success in reforming juvenile offenders were incorrect. He left convinced by its 'human genius and benevolence' and with Demetz as a lifelong friend.[158] Hill made further trips to Mettray in 1855 and 1858 and the two men maintained a regular correspondence, supporting each other's reformatory efforts.[159] In 1849 Rev. M. Mitchell, school inspector for the eastern counties, visited Mettray. Shortly afterwards Rev. William Cook Osborn, chaplain to the borough gaol of Bath, and Captain Donatus O'Brien, director of convict prisons, followed.[160] Other visitors included Robert Hall, Recorder of Doncaster, and the reformer Lord Henry Brougham who both toured the institution in 1854, and, several years later, Charles Adderley, who was a pivotal figure in the reformatory movement locally and nationally.[161]

Well before his visit, Brougham clearly held Mettray in high regard. In an address to Parliament in February 1847, he called for the establishment of twelve similar institutions in Britain.[162] Two years later he highlighted both the success and similarities between Mettray and Warwick, together with Rauhe Haus.[163] It is not

[158] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, pp. 158-159.
[159] Hill, *Suggestions for the Repression of Crime*, pp. 128-130; Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, pp. 291, 338.
[160] *Minutes of the Committee of Council of Education, Correspondence, Financial Statements & C: And Reports by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools* (London: HMSO, 1851), Appendix F, pp. 290-296; *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (London: HMSO, 1853), pp. 21, 82.
[161] Robert Hall, *A Lecture Read Before the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* (London: W & F.G. Cash, 1854), pp. iii-iv; Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton*, pp. 129-130; *Nineteenth Century House of Lords Hansard Sessional Papers*, 3rd Series, Volume 133, Page 1, Column 37. House of Lords Sitting 9th May 1854 (Education (Scotland) Bill). Adderley's contribution to the reformatory movement is examined in detail in Chapters Five and Six.
[162] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1847), Volume 90, Column 199.
[163] 'Prison Discipline', *The Wexford Independent*, 11th July 1849, p. 1.

known if Demetz ever visited the Warwick Asylum but Brougham's account of his visit to Mettray possibly provides evidence of a link between the institution and the Warwick Asylum. In an address to the House of Lords, Brougham stated he was advised during the visit that Mettray was based on a combination of the practices employed at Warwick and Hamburg's Rauhe Haus. Brougham added that Mettray's authorities attributed its low reconviction rate to procedures adapted from the experiences of these institutions. It suggests Mettray may have learned from Warwick's mistakes, indicating an interchange of ideas between the managers of the institutions.[164]

In 1855 Lord Leigh visited Mettray prior to establishing a reformatory at Weston-under-Weatherly in Warwickshire.[165] It formed part of a tour he made of similar European institutions recommended by Sydney Turner but, like Turner's original visit to Mettray, Leigh's enthusiastic account of the establishment eclipsed the other reformatories he visited.[166] This visit was made shortly after he had entertained Demetz at his Warwickshire home. Demetz had promised to come to England whenever his presence could assist the domestic reformatory movement and this visit had resulted from the combined invitation of Leigh and Matthew Davenport Hill.[167] During his stay, which was centred on Birmingham, he met with many of those who already had a long association with the reformatory movement in the country. These included Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, whose family had been involved with the establishment and ongoing management of the Stretton-on-

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[164] Patrick Joseph Murray, *Reformatory Schools in France and England* (London, 1854), p. 142.
[165] Leigh, *The Reformatory at Mettray.*
[166] SBTLA The Leigh Collection, DR 18/17/58/761 Letter, dated 15th October 1855, Sydney Turner (Philanthropic Society) to Lord Leigh.
[167] *Mettray and M. Demetz in England*, p. 13; Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 293.

Dunsmore institution, Charles Adderley, Lords Lyttleton and Calthorpe and Rev. Grantham Yorke; all actively involved with Birmingham's reformatory institutions.[168] He toured Saltley Reformatory whose superintendant, John Ellis, was said to have been influenced by the practices of both Demetz and Wichern.[169] Demetz also included visits to the institution established by the prominent social campaigner and long-time ally of Matthew Davenport Hill, Mary Carpenter in Bristol and to Sydney Turner at the Philanthropic Farm School.[170]

During Demetz's visit in October 1855, he attended a dinner in Birmingham chaired by Eardley-Wilmot. Its aim was to raise funds for local reformatory institutions and during the event Lord Leigh described the Warwick Asylum as one of the first reformatory institutions in Europe, while Eardley-Wilmot gave a speech stating Mettray had, in part, been based on the Warwick Asylum.[171]

Demetz was a frequent visitor to these shores. Hill described the 1855 trip as the first of 'several flying visits' Demetz made to see him.[172] Regrettably, accounts of all of Demetz's visits do not survive but those that do underscore the particularly close and mutually supportive relationship that existed between him and members of the reformatory movement in Britain. Immediately following Demetz's 1855 visit, Sydney Turner placed a newspaper advertisement appealing for donations to

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[168] *Mettray and M. Demetz in England*, pp. 13-17.
[169] Murray, *Reformatory Schools in France and England*, p. 59.
[170] *Mettray and M. Demetz in England*, pp. 13-17.
[171] 'The Warwickshire and Birmingham Reformatory Institution', *The Morning Chronicle*, 6th October 1855, p. 3.
[172] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 293.

support Mettray (See Fig 3.3 below).[173] Though not specifying the reasons for the appeal, during the preceding year the institution and surrounding area had suffered from several outbreaks of disease.[174]

Fig 3.3 'Mettray', *The Morning Post*, 7th November 1855[175]

METTRAY.—A few English friends and admirers of Mons. DEMETZ, propose to OFFER him a small token of their sympathy and admiration, in the shape of a SUBSCRIPTION (to be limited to a sum not exceeding 5*l*. from each subscriber) in AID of the noble REFORMATORY SCHOOL of METTRAY, which owes its foundation, and its singular success, to his devoted zeal; and which is now maintained at the cost of great personal sacrifices and exertions.

They believe that such a testimony of respect and gratitude will be peculiarly appropriate at the present time, as a sign that the two great nations of the West, who are allied in the cause of liberty abroad, are no less united in the work of Christian benevolence and social improvement at home.

Any contribution to the above object will be gladly received and acknowledged by the Rev. Sydney Turner, Redhill, Reigate.

N.B. A donation of 4*l*. (100 francs) constitutes a "Fondateur," or Life Governor of Mettray.

SUBSCRIPTIONS ALREADY RECEIVED.

Name	£	s.	d.	Name	£	s.	d.
William Gladstone, Esq.	£4	0	0	T. B. L. Baker, Esq.	£4	0	0
Lord Leigh	4	0	0	Sir Stafford H. Northcote	4	0	0
Lady Leigh	1	0	0	G. H. Bengough, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. Sydney Turner	2	0	0	Charles Castleman, Esq.	2	0	0
C. H. Bracebridge, Esq	4	0	0	J. C. Mansel, Esq	1	0	0
E. B. Wheatley, Esq	4	0	0	G. W. Latham, Esq.	2	0	0
Charles Ratcliff, Esq	4	0	0	Miss Carpenter	1	0	0
W. Klein, Esq	4	0	0	William Cotton, Esq	4	0	0

Red Hill, Nov. 5, 1855. SYDNEY TURNER.

The following year Demetz made two further visits where he attended the Philanthropic Society's festival dinner in March and gave an address to the National Reformatory Union two months later.[176] He visited again in 1857 and there is evidence that further fundraising took place as a 'share certificate' of sorts, in favour of Lord Leigh and dated that year, survives in the Stoneleigh Archive (See Fig 3.4 overleaf).[177]

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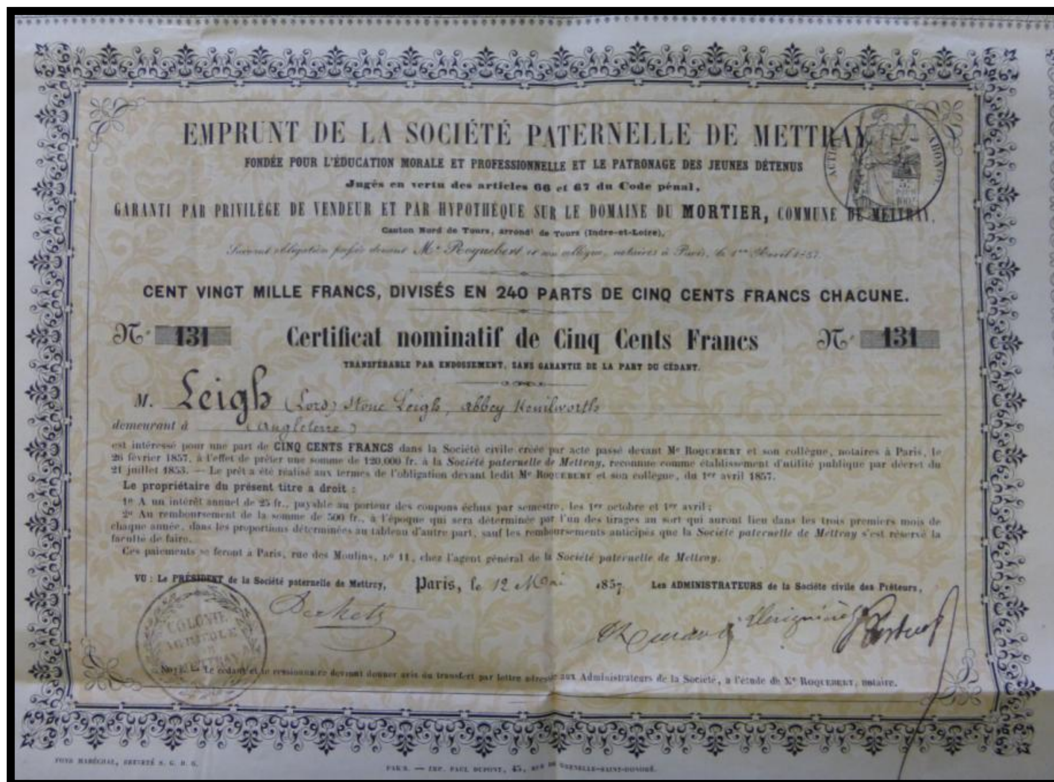
173 'Mettray', *Morning Post*, 7th November 1855, p. 1.
174 *Mettray: From 1839-1856* (London: W. & F.G. Cash, 1856), pp. 35-36.
175 'Mettray', *Morning Post*, 7th November 1855, p. 1.
176 Untitled, *Devises and Wiltshire Gazette*, 20th March 1856, p. 4; Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, pp. 302-303.
177 'M. Demetz and the Colony of Mettray', *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6th June 1857, p. 11; SBTLA, The Leigh Collection, DR 671/337 *Mettray Share Certificate*, 1857.

Fig 3.4 ***Mettray Share Certificate*** [178]



EMPRUNT DE LA SOCIÉTÉ PATERNELLE DE METTRAY

FONDÉE POUR L'ÉDUCATION MORALE ET PROFESSIONNELLE ET LE PATRONAGE DES JEUNES DÉTENUS

Jugés en vertu des articles 66 et 67 du Code pénal,

GARANTI PAR PRIVILÈGE DE VENDEUR ET PAR HYPOTHÈQUE SUR LE DOMAINE DU **MORTIER**, COMMUNE DE METTRAY,

Canton Nord de Tours, arrondt de Tours (Indre-et-Loire),

CENT VINGT MILLE FRANCS, DIVISÉS EN 240 PARTS DE CINQ CENTS FRANCS CHACUNE.

N° 131 **Certificat nominatif de Cinq Cents Francs** N° 131

TRANSFÉRABLE PAR ENDOSSEMENT, SANS GARANTIE DE LA PART DU CÉDANT.

M. Leigh (Lord) Stone Leigh, Abbey Kenilworth

demeurant à (Angleterre)

est intéressé pour une part de **CINQ CENTS FRANCS** dans la Société civile créée par acte passé devant Me Roquebert et son collègue, notaires à Paris, le 26 février 1857, à l'effet de prêter une somme de 120,000 fr. à la *Société paternelle de Mettray*, reconnue comme établissement d'utilité publique par décret du 21 juillet 1853. — Le prêt a été réalisé aux termes de l'obligation devant ledit Me Roquebert et son collègue, du 1er avril 1857.

Le propriétaire du présent titre a droit :

1° A un intérêt annuel de 25 fr., payable au porteur des coupons échus par semestre, les 1er octobre et 1er avril ;

2° Au remboursement de la somme de 500 fr., à l'époque qui sera déterminée par l'un des tirages au sort qui auront lieu dans les trois premiers mois de chaque année, dans les proportions déterminées au tableau d'autre part, sauf les remboursements anticipés que la *Société paternelle de Mettray* s'est réservé la faculté de faire.

Ces paiements se feront à Paris, rue des Moulins, n° 11, chez l'agent général de la *Société paternelle de Mettray*.

VU : Le PRÉSIDENT de la Société paternelle de Mettray, Paris, le 12 Mai 1857 Les ADMINISTRATEURS de la Société civile des Prêteurs,

NOTA. — Le cédant et le cessionnaire devront donner avis du transfert par lettre adressée aux Administrateurs de la Société, à l'étude de Me Roquebert, notaire.

Hill met Demetz in Paris in September 1863 and their mutual friendship was to prove particularly significant when Mettray was occupied during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.[179] During the hostilities the institution was forced to support a French garrison followed by occupying Prussian forces, which left it completely devoid of its food stocks, stores and farm animals.[180] All domestic financial support also ceased but the contacts Demetz had established outside France came to his aid. In March 1871 Demetz travelled to London to receive a cheque for £500 from the 'Mansion House Fund for the relief of the Suffering

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[178] SBTLA The Leigh Collection, DR 671/337 *Mettray Share Certificate*, 1857. Image reproduced with the permission of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Library and Archive.

[179] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 441.

[180] Untitled, *Cork Constitution*, 15th May 1871, p. 2; Untitled, *Cambridge Independent Press*, 27th May 1871, p. 3. It was reported that the Prussian forces did not damage any of the buildings or farmland at Mettray, as they were 'touched with respect for an institution to which their own country, as well as every other country in Europe, owed so much'.

French'.[181] The following month the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science opened an appeal, which quickly gained the support of the leading figures in the country's reformatory movement and also led to fundraising in the United States (See Figs 3.5 and 3.6 on pages 119 and 120).[182] Demetz subsequently returned to London in May to further promote fundraising efforts.[183] On the 18th May Hill wrote to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hatherley, lobbying the government to provide additional assistance and reporting that, to date, £1500 had been raised in Great Britain, £500 from the State of Massachusetts and further donations had been made in Holland.[184]

When Demetz died aged seventy-seven on 4th November 1873, over fifty agricultural colonies based on Mettray had been established in France, three in Denmark, and others in the Netherlands, the United States and Australia.[185] In addition sixty-five reformatory farm schools had been built in England.[186]

Demetz was a truly international figure, he was also a corresponding member of the National Prison Association of the United States.[187] His passing was widely

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[181] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 479.

[182] Untitled, *Cambridge Independent Press*, 27th May 1871, p. 3; SBTLA The Leigh Collection, DR 671/345 Item 1 *Appeal for Mettray*, 1871. Issued by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.

[183] Untitled, *Cork Constitution*, 15th May 1871, p. 2.

[184] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, pp. 479-481. In 1852 Dutch philanthropist Willem Hendrik Suringar founded an institution in Gelderland, Holland, after touring agricultural colonies across Europe. It became widely known as the 'Dutch Mettray'. Jeroen J.H. Dekker, 'Transforming the Nation and the Child: Philanthropy in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and England, c.1780-c.1850', in Hugh Cunningham, Joanna Innes (eds) *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform from the 1690s to 1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), pp. 140-141.

[185] Ramsland, 'Mettray, Delinquent Youth', p. 234.

[186] Robin Evans, *The Fabrication of Virtue. English Prison Architecture, 1750-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 393.

[187] 'Prison Reform', *Western Reserve Chronicle*, 18th December 1872, p. 1. Mary Carpenter was also a member of the Association.

reported across Britain and the numerous tributes left no doubt as to the importance than was placed on his contribution to reforming juvenile offenders. *The Graphic* described him as the founder of the reformatory system, while the *Morning Star* affirmed that Mettray served as a model to social reformers and philanthropists across many countries.[188] Locally, the *Birmingham Daily Post* highlighted his friendship with Matthew Davenport Hill and 'others who laid the foundations of the English reformatory system'. The article added that many thousands of children across many countries had reason to bless the name Demetz 'as the founder and master of a system...which saved them from a life of crime'.[189] Ten years after his death he was described as one of the most important figures in global prison reform.[190]

While there is clear evidence of the influence of Mettray and Demetz on British reformers and reformatory institutions, it is also apparent that the exchange of ideas and theories about juvenile reform was extremely active throughout the nineteenth century and transcended international boundaries. The Warwick Asylum substantially pre-dated Rauhe Haus, Mettray and the Philanthropic Society's farm school. In 1856, two years after the asylum closed, the *Quarterly Review* described it as the first reformatory school.[191] Sydney Turner credited it as being the first domestic institution to provide inmates with training in farm

[188] 'The Late M. F.A. De Metz', *The Graphic*, 13th December 1873, p. 562; 'The Late M. De Metz', *Morning Star*, 11th November 1873, p. 3.
[189] 'Death of M. De Metz', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 10th November 1873, p. 8.
[190] 'New York Convicts', *New York Daily Tribune*, 14th January 1883, p. 6.
[191] 'Reformatory Schools', *Quarterly Review*, March 1856, p. 36. In making the statement this publication compared the asylum directly with Mettray, Rahue Haus and the Philanthropic Society's Redhill institution.

labour.[192] These comments, when combined with Wines' assertion that it was 'the forerunner and prototype' of reformatory schools,[193] suggests that the asylum was more influential than it has previously been given credit for. Mettray and the asylum shared several significant characteristics: Both were founded by members of the judiciary because of perceived failings within the existing penal systems of their respective countries and decided that relocating boys from urban areas to the countryside in order to impart agricultural skills was a viable method of reforming delinquent behaviour. Neither institution was surrounded by traditional prison walls and its managers promoted a family atmosphere within the institutions. On balance, the Warwick Asylum and Mettray were probably more equally influential on each other and other institutions than has been acknowledged; the final policies implemented representing a coalescence of their own ethos and systems adopted or adapted from elsewhere. Domestically, the practices that developed in Warwick provided the basis for the reformatory institutions that were founded across the country from the 1850s onwards and some of those behind these practices formed the core of the reformatory movement that drove these changes. Some of these individuals were based in Birmingham and the following chapter examines whether any particular aspects of the town during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries gave any indication of the important role it would play in the development of the reformatory movement during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

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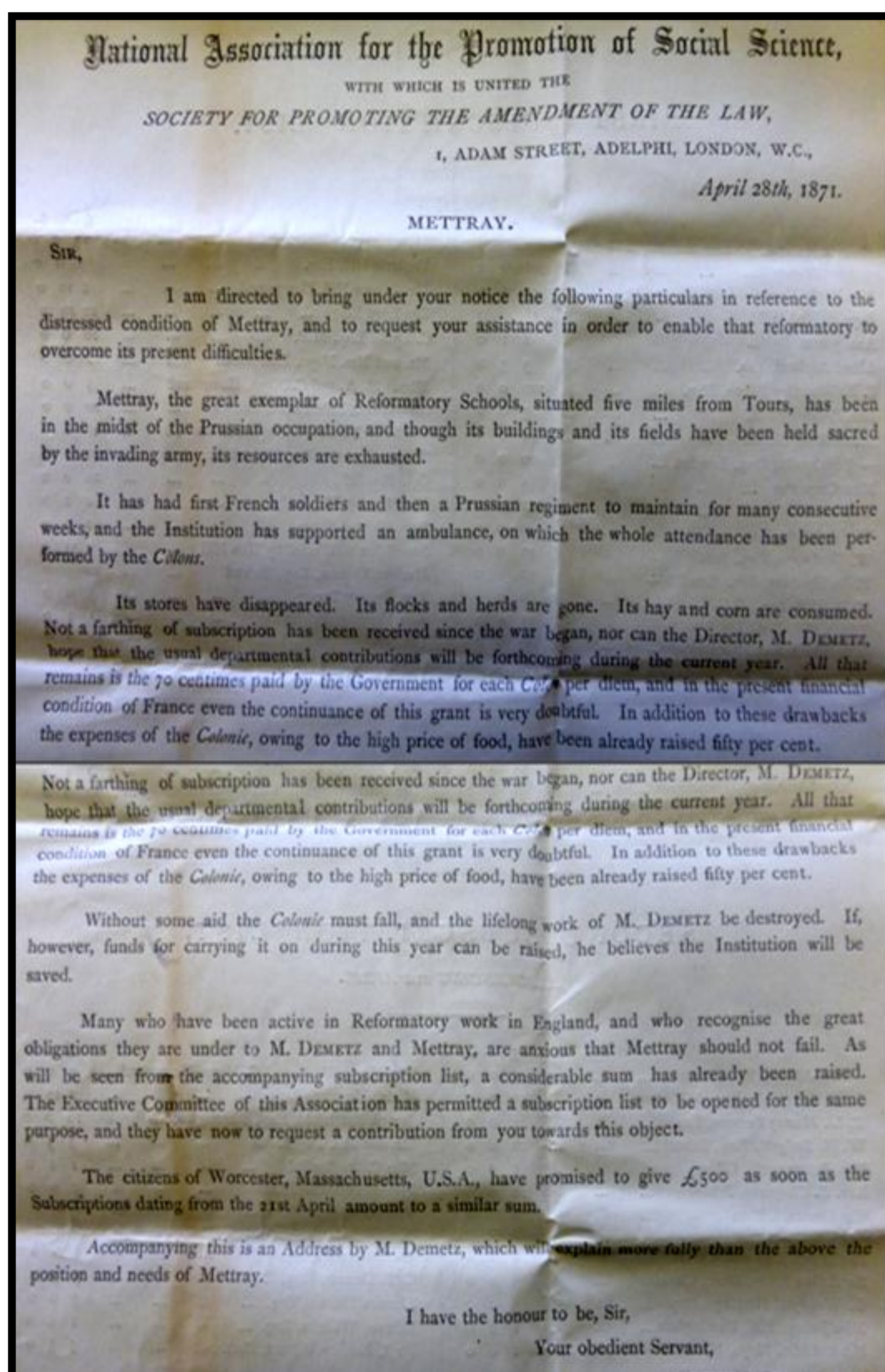
[192] E.C. Wines, *Report on the International Penitentiary Congress of London, Held July 3–13, 1872* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873), p. 116. Turner's comments were made in a report about the reformatory system in Britain.

[193] Wines, *The State of Prisons and of Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World*, p. 78.

Fig 3.5 *Appeal for Mettray* 1871 (Page 1) [194]



National Association for the Promotion of Social Science,

WITH WHICH IS UNITED THE

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE AMENDMENT OF THE LAW,

1, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C.,

April 28th, 1871.

METTRAY.

SIR,

I am directed to bring under your notice the following particulars in reference to the distressed condition of Mettray, and to request your assistance in order to enable that reformatory to overcome its present difficulties.

Mettray, the great exemplar of Reformatory Schools, situated five miles from Tours, has been in the midst of the Prussian occupation, and though its buildings and its fields have been held sacred by the invading army, its resources are exhausted.

It has had first French soldiers and then a Prussian regiment to maintain for many consecutive weeks, and the Institution has supported an ambulance, on which the whole attendance has been performed by the *Colons*.

Its stores have disappeared. Its flocks and herds are gone. Its hay and corn are consumed. Not a farthing of subscription has been received since the war began, nor can the Director, M. DEMETZ, hope that the usual departmental contributions will be forthcoming during the current year. All that remains is the 70 centimes paid by the Government for each Colon per diem, and in the present financial condition of France even the continuance of this grant is very doubtful. In addition to these drawbacks the expenses of the *Colonie*, owing to the high price of food, have been already raised fifty per cent.

Not a farthing of subscription has been received since the war began, nor can the Director, M. DEMETZ, hope that the usual departmental contributions will be forthcoming during the current year. All that remains is the 70 centimes paid by the Government for each Colon per diem, and in the present financial condition of France even the continuance of this grant is very doubtful. In addition to these drawbacks the expenses of the *Colonie*, owing to the high price of food, have been already raised fifty per cent.

Without some aid the *Colonie* must fall, and the lifelong work of M. DEMETZ be destroyed. If, however, funds for carrying it on during this year can be raised, he believes the Institution will be saved.

Many who have been active in Reformatory work in England, and who recognise the great obligations they are under to M. DEMETZ and Mettray, are anxious that Mettray should not fail. As will be seen from the accompanying subscription list, a considerable sum has already been raised. The Executive Committee of this Association has permitted a subscription list to be opened for the same purpose, and they have now to request a contribution from you towards this object.

The citizens of Worcester, Massachusetts, U.S.A., have promised to give £500 as soon as the Subscriptions dating from the 21st April amount to a similar sum.

Accompanying this is an Address by M. Demetz, which will explain more fully than the above the position and needs of Mettray.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

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[194] SBTLA The Leigh Collection, DR 671/345 Item 1 *Appeal for Mettray*, 1871 (Page. 1). Issued by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.. Image reproduced with the permission of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Library and Archive.

Fig 3.6 *Appeal for Mettray* 1871 (Page 2) [195]

FIRST SUBSCRIPTION LIST.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
French Relief Fund (per the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor)	500	0	0	Miss Florence Hill, Bristol	20	0	0
The Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor	40	0	0	Frederic Hill, Esq.	5	0	0
Boys at Red Hill	16	0	0	The Misses Hill, Hampstead	2	10	0
Anonymous	1	1	0	The Lord Leigh	10	10	0
Alfred Aspland, Esq.	3	3	0	C. Lyall, Esq., M.P.	20	0	0
E. B. Wheatley Balme, Esq.	100	0	0	Mr. and Mrs. Mayo, Hampstead	2	0	0
Miss Bailey	5	0	0	Misses M. A. and C. Mayo, Hampstead	3	0	0
Dr. Beddoe, Clifton	1	1	0	Sir William Miles, Bart., Bristol	20	0	0
— Braithwaite, Esq., London	20	0	0	Frederick Nettlefold, Esq., London	10	0	0
Miss Carpenter	5	0	0	Thomas Proctor, Esq., Bristol	20	0	0
E. I.	2	2	0	Col. Ratcliff	20	0	0
W. Gladstone, Esq.	40	0	0	Mrs. Rooke, Weybridge	2	2	0
W. Gladstone, Esq., Jun.	20	0	0	Rev. Richard Shaen	2	0	0
Philip Hanbury, Esq., London	10	0	0	Small Sums collected by Miss Hill	1	11	0
M. D. Hill, Esq., Q.C.	60	0	0	Herbert Thomas, Esq., Bristol	10	0	0
Edwin Hill, Esq., London	5	0	0	Rev. Sydney Turner	5	0	0
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[195] SBTLA The Leigh Collection, DR 671/345 Item 1 *Appeal for Mettray*, 1871 (Page. 2). Issued by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Appeal made following the occupation by French and Prussian forces. Image reproduced with the permission of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Library and Archive.

Chapter Four

BIRMINGHAM BEFORE THE REFORMATORY MOVEMENT

It is difficult to identify the impetus for Birmingham's important role in efforts to reform the treatment of child criminals from the 1850s onwards. Possible explanations include it being a response to high levels of juvenile crime locally or developments from a particularly strong charitable ethos within the town. Additionally, did those who pioneered the momentum for change occupy prominent positions in Birmingham's contemporary society or were they philanthropists who had chosen to focus on juvenile reform?

This chapter examines the historiography of Birmingham in the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries to assess the extent to which the structures of local government, whether evolving or in place, were capable of acting upon any particular problem of delinquency that may have been perceived as being prevalent. Evidence is presented to illustrate contemporary levels of crime in Birmingham and the extent of the town's educational provision is considered to evaluate whether this may have influenced levels of juvenile criminality. Finally, Birmingham's charitable heritage is scrutinised to investigate whether it played a role in the development of the reformatory movement locally. Particular attention is given to the contribution of ragged schools within the town

as these establishments borrowed elements from educational and philanthropic institutions.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITY

The following historiography outlines the origin and development of Birmingham's local government prior to the 1851 conference on juvenile criminality. In describing this aspect of the town's history, particular attention has been paid to the various bodies responsible for maintaining law and order.

Though Birmingham was granted a Charter of Incorporation in 1838, its attempts to achieve this status date back to 1716. J.T. Bunce, the first historian of local government in Birmingham, stated that the petition submitted to King George I described the town as being 'governed only by a constable' and 'void of magistrates'.[1] The rejection of the petition was welcomed by historian William Hutton who declared 'a town without a charter is a town without a shackle'.[2] Bunce echoed this view, attributing Birmingham's increasing prosperity and population to a lack of regulation that offered no restriction to business development or the movement of people into the town. Paradoxically, he also recounted 'close Corporations' of political, or family groups and small associations of freemen, who were endowed with exclusive governing and trading privileges.[3] Conrad Gill describes how, for most of the eighteenth century, Birmingham was governed by a

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[1] J.T. Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham with a Sketch of the Earlier Government of the Town, Volume I* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1878), pp. 34-35.
[2] William Hutton, *An History of Birmingham*, 2nd edn. (Birmingham: Pearson and Rollason, 1783), p. 328.
[3] Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 36.

patchwork of institutions more suitable to a village than a rapidly expanding industrial town.[4] Attempts to lay the foundations of a recognisable local government were being made and in 1769 a local bill, the Lamp Act, established the street commissioners. The first commissioners appointed by the Act were irremovable from office. They also assigned their own candidates to fill any vacancies that arose; an unpopular practice.[5] The commissioners' main purpose was to make the streets safer, cleaner and more convenient,[6] but they probably only added to the patchwork of institutions described by Gill. These also included the churchwardens; who, religious responsibilities aside, financed the town's policing and were responsible for the state of its roads and the Court Leet.[7] This latter, and most likely oldest, body controlled trade in the town and engaged the officials who supervised it.[8] The court also employed High Tasters whose duties included the prevention of 'tippling' and 'gaming' by apprentices.[9]

Despite the presence of these various bodies, Peter Jones paints a picture of growing unease and a fear of disorder amongst the leading citizens of Birmingham towards the end of the eighteenth century. He describes how Matthew Boulton and James Watt were members of a group who, in 1789, established a Police

[4] Conrad Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I, Manor and Borough to 1865* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 148.
[5] F.W. Bradnock, (ed.), *The City of Birmingham Official Handbook* (Birmingham: City of Birmingham Information Department, 1950), p. 16.
[6] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, pp. 156-157.
[7] Victor Skipp, *A History of Greater Birmingham – Down to 1830* (Birmingham: Published by the author, 1980), p. 74.
[8] Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 4.
[9] Skipp, *A History of Greater Birmingham*, p. 74; Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 4. The Court Leet survived until 1854.

Committee and arranged nightly street patrols.[10] It also proposed to gather evidence to prosecute wrongdoers by paying for information but was unable to raise any funds to finance such payments and disbanded after a year.[11] Its brief minutes contain the earliest known reference to juvenile offenders in Birmingham, together with the suggestion that they be sent on board 'His Majesty's ships'.[12]

There were problems throughout the manufacturing districts in finding gentlemen prepared to act as justices. This was probably exacerbated in Birmingham by the absence of any local aristocracy, the nearest being the Earl of Dartmouth at Sandwell; plus the fact that the small number of wealthier families retired to their country houses, well away from the town at night.[13] A rotation office, where local county magistrates took turns to administer justice in the town, was finally established in Birmingham in 1799.[14] Clive Emsley describes how perceptions of crime began to change at this time, as deprived of reporting exciting war news, the press focused on trials at the assizes.[15]

The Improvement Act of 1801, which followed calls for more effective policing, saw the commissioners establish a watch committee. It appointed approximately fifty watchmen who patrolled the streets at night, but only between November and

[10] Peter M. Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 61-62.
[11] Michael Weaver, 'The New Science of Policing: Crime and the Birmingham Police Force, 1839-1842', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 26:2 (Summer, 1995), pp. 293-294.
[12] Birmingham City Archives (Hereafter BCA), MS 4184 Minute Book of the Birmingham Police Committee, 19th November 1789.
[13] Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment,* p. 62.
[14] Clive Emsley, *The English Police: A Political and Social History*, 2nd edn, (Harlow: Longman, 1996), p. 33.
[15] Emsley, *The English Police*, pp. 33-34.

February.[16] By the 1820s Birmingham's local government was still not what would be expected of one of Britain's principal engineering centres but progress was being made and by 1830 it was accepted that the commissioners had done much to improve the cleanliness, security and appearance of the town.[17] Victor Skipp portrays them as a mid-point between the ancient semi-feudal system and the municipal borough that subsequently developed.[18] The commissioners gained a reputation for efficiency and public spiritedness, having paved the way for the construction of the town hall, as well as canals and railways locally.[19] By the 1830s Birmingham was the hub of the densest network of canals for any comparably sized area in the country and emerging as the centre of a complex rail system,[20] suggesting the commissioners' primary concern was to support the expansion of trade in the growing town.

A further change took place with the 1832 Reform Bill, which granted the town its first two MPs.[21] The Bill owed its existence to events that originated in Birmingham. In 1830 the Birmingham Union, later the Birmingham Political Union or BPU, was established by Thomas Attwood.[22] Though characterised by Boyd Hilton as a single-issue pressure group, which favoured paper currency, in reality

[16] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 178.
[17] Skipp, *A History of Greater Birmingham*, pp. 75-76.
[18] Skipp, *A History of Greater Birmingham*, pp. 75, 84.
[19] Roger Ward, *City-State and Nation. Birmingham's Political History c. 1830-1940* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 2005), p. 17.
[20] Bradnock, (ed.), *The City of Birmingham Official Handbook*, p. 14.
[21] Skipp, *A History of Greater Birmingham*, pp. 84-85.
[22] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, pp. 205-206.

it made almost all the demands that the Chartists would call for eight years later.[23] The BPU prompted the establishment of similar organisations in over one hundred towns and cities across the country and was described as the most powerful political force in the Midlands for nearly a decade.[24] A meeting in 1831 attracted 200,000 delegates to hear Attwood speak and prompted fears of an armed uprising.[25] Despite this, the following year saw the enactment of the Reform Bill and Attwood became one of the town's first MPs.[26] The Union was particularly active and successful in the 1830s in its efforts to block the levying of a church rate. The dispute had started when local dissenter Joseph Parkes had discovered nonconformists were barred from the board of governors of the town's free grammar school. The BPU became involved in 1832 and it was subsequently viewed as a contest between nonconformists and the Anglican Church for the remainder of the decade.[27]

At the same time the various institutions responsible for Birmingham's governance remained weak and uncoordinated. Until 1834 town meetings had no regular venue, sometimes taking place in the open air, and during times of unrest the magistrates were dependant on the military to re-establish order.[28] In 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act led to Birmingham acquiring a Charter and the establishment of its own municipal corporation three years later. This was despite

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[23] Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783–1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), p. 412; Eric Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town. Birmingham and the Industrial Revolution* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1998), p. 143.
[24] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? ,* p. 412.
[25] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* , p. 426.
[26] Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, p. 144.
[27] Derek Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976), pp. 43-45.
[28] Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment*, p. 62.

opposition from local tories, particularly within the magistracy,[29] and from the street commissioners who argued that they already governed the town well enough and would still retain more power than the new corporation would possess under the Act.[30] The legislation did, however, call for the corporations to create their own police forces 'under the complete control of the local authority through a local watch committee'.[31]

In reality, the government ceded very little authority to the councils and the powers of the manorial officers, county magistrates and street commissioners were virtually unchanged.[32] Legal doubts within the council over levying a rate to fund a watch committee resulted in no such group being established, therefore no steps to create a police force were taken under the auspices of the 1835 Act.[33] The arrangements for policing in Birmingham in 1839 amounted to thirty daytime street keepers and 170 nightwatchmen, appointed by the commissioners, and a small number of men appointed by the Court Leet.[34]

Elections quickly followed the granting of the Charter but some of those elected refused to take the oath of office on religious grounds. Following the election of aldermen for the town, selected from the newly-elected councillors, fresh elections

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[29] T.A. Critchley, *A History of Police in England and Wales* (London: Constable & Company, 1967), p. 81.

[30] Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, p. 144. Other objections included the annual municipal elections, a requirement under the Act, would disrupt local trade. Bradnock, (ed.), *The City of Birmingham Official Handbook*, p. 18.

[31] George J. Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People. A History of the Labour Movement in Birmingham, 1650–1914* (Wolverhampton: Integrated Publishing Services, 1989), p. 79.

[32] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 215; Bradnock, (ed.), *The City of Birmingham Official Handbook*, p. 18.

[33] C.C.H. Moriarty, *Birmingham City Police Centenary. Formation of the Force & its Present Organisation* (1939, No other publication details known), p. 9.

[34] Critchley, *A History of Police in England and Wales*, p. 81.

were undertaken to fill the seats the new aldermen had vacated. Again, some refused to take the oath.[35]

The previous year, 1837, a trade depression had prompted the growth of a new political awareness among the working classes. Their demands for a charter, which included universal suffrage, led to their designation as 'Chartists'. By 1838 they had begun regular meetings in Birmingham. Following heavy-handed policing in London, and in an echo of the BPU, plus the obvious popularity of the movement locally, the National Convention of the Chartist Movement moved from London to Birmingham in May 1839.[36] This placed the town at the centre of Chartist activity and was thus deemed particularly dangerous by the government.[37] In January that year, the Home Secretary rejected all but six of the twenty-one individuals nominated by the council to act as magistrates, so when Chartist riots broke out in the town that July, it came as no surprise that the Mayor and borough magistrates bypassed the town council in requesting the deployment of police from London.[38] Shortly after the actions of the Home Secretary, the town received royal consent to appoint its first Recorder. Matthew Davenport Hill took up the post, which gave authority for quarter sessions to be held in Birmingham, in the midst of the Chartist unrest.[39] This was a particularly important appointment, as Hill subsequently became extremely influential in the reform of the treatment of juvenile offenders both in Birmingham and nationally.

[35] Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People*, pp. 69-70.
[36] John W. Reilly, *Policing Birmingham. An Account of 150 years of Police in Birmingham* (Birmingham: West Midlands Police, 1990), p. 5.
[37] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* pp. 607, 612.
[38] Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People*, pp. 78-80.
[39] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, pp. 235, 248.

The Chartist riots prompted the government to transfer control of what can only be loosely described as the Birmingham Police to the Home Office in the guise of the 'Bill for Improving the Police of Birmingham'; though this had been suggested by Conservatives in Birmingham before the riots. When the council proposed levying a rate to meet expenses, local tories mounted a High Court challenge alleging discrepancies between Birmingham's Charter of Incorporation and the 1835 Act. These actions undermined the council, effectively suspended the charter, and forbade it to carry out any of its financial or administrative duties.[40] The resulting inability to levy local rates saw debts and expenses mount and the local judiciary was only maintained by loans from the Treasury.[41] Emsley writes that the effective take-over of the Birmingham Police was prompted by a fear of disorder, not crime, and that there were already disputes about its funding prior to the Chartist issues.[42] Michael Weaver also argues that it was as much the political in-fighting, between the town's elite factions, as it was the Chartist 'threat' that prompted Parliament to take this action in Birmingham.[43]

July 1842 was a turning point, however, and saw bills passed that returned control of the police to the Corporation and confirmed the Charter of 1838.[44] In reality the police force that was returned to the Corporation's control was far superior to the one removed in 1839. The old system was decentralised and uncoordinated with the Court Leet appointing most officials on a temporary basis. The new force's government-appointed commissioner, Francis Burgess, was aware of local

[40] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, pp. 255, 258-259.
[41] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, pp. 261, 263.
[42] Emsley, *The English Police: A Political and Social History*, pp. 41-42.
[43] Weaver, 'The New Science of Policing', p. 289.
[44] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 268.

opposition from politicians and the population at large who regarded the force as anything from spies to a standing army. In line with contemporary reformers, Burgess chose to concentrate on crime prevention and with the new force, that surpassed its predecessor in numbers and organisation, he succeeded in changing local public opinion. In 1840, Recorder Hill reported that it was the superior policing rather than increased crime that was responsible for a large increase in the number of prosecutions at the Borough Sessions. Perhaps the most accurate gauge of its success came when its control was returned to one of its harshest critics, the Corporation. In reality its members must have realised its value, as they made no major changes.[45] A watch committee, finally established in August 1842, took charge of a force almost 400 strong.[46]

Most councillors followed the *laissez-faire* attitude to government of the time and the two competing authorities – the council and the street commissioners – deemed each other unfit to govern.[47] Derek Fraser describes how the granting of the Charter enhanced the political stance of the commissioners. Though still historically viewed as moderate Liberals, the fact they were self-appointed was an affront to the radical-dominated council and generated extreme hostility.[48]

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[45] Weaver, 'The New Science of Policing', pp. 89-91, 306, 308.
[46] Moriarty, *Birmingham City Police Centenary*, p. 28.
[47] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 273. *Laissez-faire* economics resulted from the influence of Adam Smith and represented a policy of minimal government interference or intervention in the economic affairs of individuals and society. '*Laissez-faire* Economics', *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/laissez-faire> [accessed 25th March 2018].
[48] Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England,* pp. 101-102.

Between 1842 and 1851 the council had just four main undertakings – police control and the building of a gaol, an asylum and public baths.[49] At the same 1844 council meeting that decided to build a new gaol, it was also resolved to construct an asylum to house juvenile offenders from the borough.[50] This may have been linked to a meeting held at Dee's Royal Hotel in the town a few weeks earlier. Organised by Matthew Davenport Hill, it had proposed the construction of such an institution for Birmingham's juvenile offenders. Drawing on his experience as a magistrate in the town of Warwick, Hill stated that it should be based on the Stretton-on-Dunsmore establishment and highlighted the benefits of his practice of placing children with responsible adults rather than jailing them.[51] Hill made no suggestion that Birmingham was experiencing any particular problem with juvenile crime; the meeting's aim appears to have been to promote new ways to prevent juvenile offending.[52] No further reference was made to child criminals during council meetings until May 1846 and that was just a passing comment:[53] again, this may have been related to another gathering organised by Hill. It was held during January 1846 to discuss alternatives to jailing children and included an address by Alexander Maconochie,[54] whom Hill subsequently appointed as the

[49] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 274.
[50] BCA Birmingham Borough Council – Council Minutes (No archive reference), 27th December 1838– 14th September 1852. The resolution to build a gaol and asylum for juvenile offenders took place on 2nd February 1844.
[51] The institution at Stretton and Hill's early probation scheme are examined in Chapter Three.
[52] Copies of the following Birmingham newspapers, held on the *British Newspapers Online* website, have been examined for this aspect of the research: *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, *Birmingham Daily Post and* the *Birmingham Journal.* These are abbreviated as *ABG, BDP* and *BJ* respectively. 'Reformation of Juvenile Offenders in Birmingham', *ABG*, 15th January 1844, p. 1.
[53] BCA Birmingham Borough Council – Council Minutes 27th December 1838– 14th September 1852. The passing reference to juvenile offenders was on 6th May 1846. The records themselves were examined for such entries from 27th December 1838 to 6th January 1847.
[54] 'Reformation of Juvenile Offenders', *BJ*, 10th January 1846, p. 5.

first governor of the town's new prison when it opened in 1849.[55] There are no indications that the council had any particular concerns about delinquency in the town. It is of note, however, that both meetings organised by Hill were held at Dee's Royal Hotel. It was the same venue which hosted the conferences of 1851, 1853 and 1861 on the subjects of juvenile crime and destitution.[56]

The Improvement Act of 1851 abolished the street commissioners and transferred their powers to the council, giving it the potential to undertake major developments within the town.[57] The Act resulted from a government enquiry undertaken in 1849 at the behest of the council. It identified that the town's water supply was drawn mainly from polluted wells and found numerous tenements were situated in areas with open sewers, resulting in frequent epidemics.[58] These findings did not result in an upsurge of civic activity.[59] Asa Briggs asserts that this time was the worst period of local government in Birmingham: spending was restricted; even the running costs of the new gaol were cut, and he describes the period up to the 1870s as 'civic stagnation'.[60] Despite the 1851 Improvement Act and further legislation in 1861, the council failed to address many of the town's problems, including sanitation and housing, because it was dominated by a faction of 'economists' dedicated to saving the ratepayers money. It was not until the 1870s,

[55] John Vincent Barry, *Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1958), p.196; Norval Morris, *Maconochie's Gentlemen. The Story of Norfolk Island & The Roots of Modern Prison Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 165-166.
[56] Untitled, *ABG*, 8th December 1851, p. 3; 'The Conference on Juvenile Delinquency', *ABG*, 19th December 1853; 'Education of Destitute Children Conference in Birmingham', *BJ*, 26th January 1861, p. 3. The significance of these events is examined in Chapter Five.
[57] Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England,* p. 173; Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 271.
[58] Bradnock, (ed.), *The City of Birmingham Official Handbook*, p. 20.
[59] Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England,* p. 173; Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 271.
[60] Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities (London: Odhams Press Limited, 1963), pp. 188, 213.

and the influence of Joseph Chamberlain, that it emerged as the most progressive reforming municipality in the country.[61] To a degree, Ward shares Briggs' view of stagnation, particularly in the 1840s and 1850s, but describes how the 'economists' began to lose their grip on power in the late 1850s and were unable to stop the 1861 Improvement Act, which provided funding for sewerage and drainage works, two public baths, land for the town's first cemetery and a scheme for public libraries. Ward positions the council as remaining cautious but becoming more pragmatic in the lead up to the 'municipal revolution' of the 1870s.[62]

Briggs' characterisation of the period of stagnation in Birmingham's local government during the middle of the nineteenth century can almost be likened to the town taking a breath. Up until then it had been riven with factional disputes: nonconformists versus the Anglican Church; whigs, tories and radicals pushing for influence; central government against local government, and old institutions vying for power with new ones. On reflection, that the emerging authority managed to complete any major undertaking is a remarkable achievement. To expect that a specific problem like juvenile offending, even if it had been identified, could have been countered with an appropriately resourced response both in finance and skills by such an embryonic local government is unrealistic.

[61] Ursula R.Q. Henriques, *Before the Welfare State. Social Administration in Early Industrial Britain* (London: Longman, 1979), pp. 141-142.
[62] Ward, *City-State and Nation*, pp. 41, 52.

CRIME – ACTUAL OR PERCEIVED?

It has not been possible to locate any research that specifically details levels of crime in nineteenth-century Birmingham. In order to ascertain the extent of such offending, the evidence presented draws from both anecdotal and statistical sources. The anecdotal evidence is the oldest chronologically but the available statistics generally provide evidence of the county of Warwick rather than the town of Birmingham specifically. Employing both enables a more accurate picture of juvenile crime to be presented.

Philip Cliff describes how the numerous press reports of troublesome children roaming the streets added to the momentum for the establishment of Sunday Schools in Birmingham from 1784 onwards, and the short-lived Birmingham Police Committee reported how a great proportion of the town's criminals were under twenty-years of age, with many being just fifteen or sixteen.[63] The ready market for stolen metal was blamed as the cause for attracting children to crime. This specific problem was echoed in a Select Committee report from 1816 where one witness, a local magistrate, described the conduct and morals of Birmingham's children as bad and blamed the custom of 'outdoor' apprentices as the cause.[64] Under this system children bound as apprentices were not obliged to live with their 'masters' nor, it seems, did their parents accept responsibility for them. The witness also described how receivers of stolen goods would meet children in the

[63] Philip B. Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England 1780–1980* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Birmingham, 1982), pp. 43, 50; BCA Minute Book of the Birmingham Police Committee, 19th November 1789.

[64] *Report of the Minutes of Evidence, Taken Before the Select Committee on the State of the Children Employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom* (London, 1816), pp. 123-125.

streets and pay them to provide such items; this was particularly easy to accomplish because children would regularly take unfinished goods to different workshops as part of the overall manufacturing process.[65] It has also been suggested that due to the number of small workshops within Birmingham, the town was the largest supplier of housebreaking tools in the country; no evidence was put forward to support this assertion, however.[66]

In 1820, the Warwickshire magistrate John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot blamed the 'intermixture of the young of both sexes in their labour', without restraint or control, within manufactories as a major cause of juvenile delinquency and named Birmingham as a specific location for such behaviour.[67] Seven years later, H.T. Powell identified Birmingham as the location from which the majority of inmates in the early reformatory at Stretton-on-Dunsmore were committed. He attributed this to the, unspecified, activity of the police and the system of 'day apprentices'. The apprentices were said to have been left to their own devices outside the hours of work and, as their employers usually paid their wages in a public house, they were seen to be particularly vulnerable to temptation. Records from Stretton show that of the ninety-seven boys admitted between 1818 and 1827, eighty were committed for crimes carried out in Birmingham.[68]

[65] *Report.....Select Committee on the State of the Children Employed in the Manufactories*, pp. 123-125.
[66] Kellow Chesney, *The Victorian Underworld* (Newton Abbot: Readers Union Limited, 1970), p. 172.
[67] John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot, *A Second Letter to the Magistrates of Warwickshire on the Increase of Crime in General but more Particularly of Juvenile Delinquency* (London, 1820), p. 11.
[68] Harry Townsend Powell, *A Memoir of the Warwick County Asylum* (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1827), pp. 14-15. Powell was the Asylum's secretary.

In 1828 Birmingham's High Constable, while giving evidence to the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions, stated that the 'outdoor' apprenticeship system was 'one prevalent cause of the great increase in the number of juvenile offenders'.[69] Eardley-Wilmot also gave evidence and again named Birmingham as an area with a particular problem with juvenile offenders through the apprenticeship system operated in the town.[70] By then he had been knighted and appointed as Chairman of the Criminal Court of the Quarter Sessions in Warwickshire, from where the majority of Birmingham's criminal children were handed their punishments until the establishment of the town's own Quarter Sessions in 1839.[71]

By 1828 Eardley-Wilmot had already been involved with juvenile offending and offenders for over a decade through his court work and role in the establishment of the Stretton institution, hence his comments are of particular value. In his evidence Eardley-Wilmot suggested a separate 'house of correction' should be provided for boys upon conviction for their first offence, where they would be taught a trade.[72] Another witness, Sir Thomas Baring, also proposed a refuge be established for children on their discharge from gaol with the aim of preventing them reoffending.[73]

[69] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions* (London, 1828), pp. 8, 45.
[70] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions*, p. 27.
[71] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions*, p. 9; BCA Birmingham Borough Council – Council Minutes, 7th May 1839.
[72] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions,* pp. 10, 29.
[73] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions*, p. 10.

The Select Committee itself drew a parallel between boys in large towns gathered together in a school or manufactory and the sons of the rich. While both groups often committed offences through mischief, the treatment of the former under the law was almost always invariably more severe than the latter.[74] Mary Carpenter would repeat these comments a quarter of a century later.[75]

Carpenter was a close associate of fellow Unitarian Matthew Davenport Hill.[76] The faith's teachings reject the trinity, the divinity of Christ and the concept of original sin. In what was an unusual and contentious belief for the nineteenth century Unitarians also held that theology was compatible with scientific advancement and such advances should benefit all society.[77] They advocated social reform, believing that poverty could be solved by the benevolence of the better off, and the provision of education for the poor of both sexes.[78] They were mutually supportive in their efforts to reform the treatment of criminal and destitute children.[79] Carpenter established a ragged school in Bristol in 1845 and played a fundamental role in the organisation of several of the conferences on juvenile

[74] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions*, p. 12.
[75] Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders* (London: C. Gilpin, 1851), pp. 288-289.
[76] Jo Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1976), p. 118.
[77] Malcolm Dick, Joseph Priestley and Birmingham; Goronwy Tudor Jones, Joseph Priestley: Trail-blazing Experimenter; Ruth Watts, Joseph Priestley and his Influence on Education in Birmingham, in Malcolm Dick (ed.), *Joseph Priestley and Birmingham* (Studley: Brewin Books Ltd, 2005), pp. 1-2, 33, 53.
[78] Julie Melnyk, *Victorian Religion. Faith and Life in Britain* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2008), pp. 39-40; Ruth Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England 1760–1860* (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), pp. 36-37, 53, 70.
[79] Rosamond Davenport Hill and Florence Davenport Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham. A Memoir of Matthew Davenport Hill* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1878), p. 161; Manton, *Mary Carpenter*, p. 118.

offending and destitution that took place in Birmingham between 1851 and 1861; she also founded the first reformatory school for girls in England in 1854.[80]

Several problems presented themselves when searching for statistical evidence of juvenile offending in Birmingham. The records of Birmingham's Petty Sessions prior to 1899 do not survive and the town's first Quarter Sessions were not held until 1839. Prior to this the majority of Birmingham's criminals faced justice in Warwick. Most of the records of these Quarter Sessions from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards survive; from 1823, in a majority of cases, they detail the defendants' ages and locations of their crimes. In order to extract relevant data from these records it has been necessary to assume that most crime was committed close to the defendants' homes which, given the opportunistic or 'petty' nature of many of the offences, seems reasonable.

With this caveat in mind, records of eight of Warwick's Quarter Sessions from the 1820s to the 1830s were examined and, where the location of the crimes was recorded, those occurring in Birmingham and Aston were counted. Of those, where the defendant's age was under twenty a separate record was made and where the location of the crime was recorded, their number was calculated as a percentage of the original total of cases. The resulting data is presented in Table 4.1 overleaf and the statistics support the claims of Eardley-Wilmot in that, not only did the majority of cases heard at Warwick result from crime in Birmingham,

[80] Manton, *Mary Carpenter*, pp. 83, 122-124.

but a significant proportion – an average of a third in the sample sessions – were from offences committed in the town by juveniles.

Table 4.1 Juvenile Offenders (Birmingham and Aston) at Warwick Quarter Sessions, 1823–1832 [81]

Date of Quarter Session	Total number of cases	Total number of cases where location of crime recorded	Cases from Birmingham and Aston	Defendants under 20 years of age from Birmingham and Aston	Number of males under 20 years of age from Birmingham and Aston	Number of females under 20 years of age from Birmingham and Aston	Defendants under 20 years of age from Birmingham and Aston as a percentage of total cases where location of crime recorded
14.01.1823	91	78	47	20	18	2	26%
15.07.1823	80	69	34	15	11	4	22%
14.10.1823	77	58	47	26	25	1	45%
13.01.1824	117	113	85	49	46	3	43%
26.02.1831	129	121	90	40	37	3	33%
18.10.1831	133	124	90	33	27	6	27%
08.03.1832	106	101	70	30	28	2	30%
03.07.1832	135	130	106	44	42	2	34%

[81] Warwickshire County Records Office (Hereafter WCRO), Records of the Quarter Sessions; 14th January 1823 QS 26/2/143,15th July 1823 QS 26/2/147, 14th October 1823 QS 26/2/149, 13th January 1824 QS 26/2/151, 26th February 1831 QS 26/2/217, 18th October 1831 QS 26/2/219, 8th March 1832 QS 26/2/223, 3rd July 1832 QS 26/2/227.

Considering these figures, it is of note that the 1828 Select Committee made it clear they regarded the number of police in Birmingham as insufficient.[82] In the evidence given by the town's High Constable, William Payne, he stated his force totalled just four men, though there were separate appointments of watchmen and street keepers who also apprehended thieves. Though he admitted there was a general increase of crime in the town, which he attributed to its increasing population and the apprenticeship system, his main concern appeared to be that there were no capital crimes committed in Birmingham and he recounted that he did not think an increase in police numbers would help reduce levels of offending.[83] With such a numerically small and fragmented local police force any attempt at substantial crime prevention was clearly difficult.

Much of the available statistical evidence relates to Warwickshire generally, rather than Birmingham specifically, but it does add to the weight of evidence. The first report from Parkhurst Prison in 1840, the first dedicated juvenile prison at this time, revealed that of the 157 boys admitted in its first year only two were from Warwickshire, three were from Worcestershire, four from Yorkshire and one from Manchester. The largest contingent, seventy seven, were from Middlesex, which would have included the London catchment.[84] There did not seem to be any significant problem of juvenile offending within Warwickshire when compared to other parts of the country from these figures.

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[82] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions,* p. 14.
[83] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions,* pp. 43-45.
[84] *Reports Relating to Parkhurst Prison* (London: HMSO, 1840), pp. 3-4.

Evidence from Police Returns provides useful data as it is specific to Birmingham. The 1840 figures estimate a population of 200,000. In that year, fifty-seven children under fifteen years of age were summarily convicted out of a total of 1627 such convictions (3.5 per cent) and out of a total of 500 individuals convicted following a trial, thirty-nine (7.8 per cent) were under fifteen.[85] The 1841 Census Returns show a precise population figure of 182,698. Out of 1441 summary convictions, forty-three (3 per cent) were under fifteen years. For convictions following a trial, forty-nine from a total of 470 (10.4 per cent) were under fifteen.[86]

When comparing the figures above with those derived from the Warwick Quarter Sessions, there is clearly a discontinuity as the chronologically earlier statistics indicate a problem with juvenile offending in Birmingham. One possible partial explanation for this results from the actions of Matthew Davenport Hill and his policy of discharging juveniles into the care of a guardian, where possible, rather than jailing them.[87] The scheme operated from 1841 and 1856; by 1854 417 children had been placed out under its auspices.[88]

A comparison of juvenile convictions across eight counties, between 1845 and 1851, is shown in Table 4.2 overleaf. Though there is an increase in the number of convictions in Warwickshire over this time, as a proportion of the national total, the rate in Warwickshire actually falls from 3.7 per cent in 1845, to 3.5 per cent in

[85] Birmingham Police, *Crime and Statistical Returns 1840* (London: HMSO, 1841).
[86] Birmingham Police, *Crime and Statistical Returns 1841* (London: HMSO, 1842).
[87] N.S. Timasheff, *One Hundred Years of Probation, 1841–1941, Part I* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1941), p. 1.
[88] Matthew Davenport Hill, *Suggestions for the Repression of Crime* London: John W. Parker and Son, 1857), pp. 117, 351, 352; Timasheff, *One Hundred Years of Probation*, p. 12.

1851. To investigate this further, it is of value to examine the numbers of police employed at this time. It seems logical to propose that higher crime rates might be indicated by higher police numbers in relation to population size but an analysis of the number of police employed in Birmingham, shown at Table 4.3 (page 143)[89], does not indicate a high level of crime either.

Table 4.2 Juvenile Convictions in England and Wales, 1845–1851 [90]

County	1845	1847	1848	1850	1851
Gloucestershire	228	224	134	214	246
Lancashire	1248	1311	1565	1937	2033
Middlesex	2054	1906	1306	2277	2537
Norfolk	241	210	209	239	273
Northumberland	342	271	338	333	306
Somerset	711	694	605	617	468
Warwickshire	372	326	406	342	438
Yorkshire	473	685	826	821	1044
Total Annual Convictions – England + Wales	9954	11195	11756	11308	12458

Between 1830 and the late 1850s Birmingham's local economy was relatively prosperous. G.C. Allen states that this period saw a large expansion in the output of small finished metal articles; an area in which Birmingham's numerous small

[89] Table 4.3 is derived from: *Abstract of Return of the Several Cities and Boroughs of Great Britain, their Populations Respectively and the Number of Police*. (City and Borough Police) (London: HMSO, 1854), pp. 8, 50, 69-71.

[90] Chart compiled from data contained in: *Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Enquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law, Especially Respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation* (London: HMSO, 1847), p. 803; *Abstract Return of the Number of Juvenile Offenders Committed to each Prison in England and Wales, in the Years 1847 and 1848* (London: HMSO, 1849), pp. 4-10; *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (London: HMSO, 1853), pp. 479- 481.

workshops specialised.[91] Skipp describes how the town enjoyed a generally high level of industrial activity and was able to weather the cyclical unemployment of the 1830s and 1840s. He also asserts that the relatively high number of banks in the town assisted those looking to expand their businesses to obtain finance.[92]

The local economy was particularly buoyant during the early 1850s, the time during which the reformatory movement started to gather momentum. Roger Ward describes the town as booming in 1854, partially thought the work generated in the armaments and munitions industries as a result of the Crimean War.[93] There is no evidence to suggest that delinquency in Birmingham was driven by any unusually high levels of poverty.

Table 4.3 Comparison of Police Forces, 1841-1851[94]

Town and Year	Population	Number of Police	Total Commitments per Year	Ratio - Police: Population	Ratio - Commitments: Heads of Population
Birmingham 1841	182,922	396	2,035	1:462	1:90
Birmingham 1851	232,841	327	1,215	1:712	1:192
Manchester 1841	235,507	328	3,137	1:718	1:75
Manchester 1851	303,382	444	3,056	1:683	1:99
Sheffield 1844*	111,091	71	238	1:1565	1:467
Sheffield 1851	135,310	122	958	1:1,109	1:141

*Sheffield Police Force formed 1844

[91] G.C. Allen, *The Industrial Development of Birmingham and the Black Country 1860-1927* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1966), pp. 32-33.

[92] Victor Skipp, *The Making of Victorian Birmingham* (Birmingham: Published by the Author, 1983), pp. 61, 69.

[93] Roger Ward, *The Chamberlains: Joseph, Austin and Neville 1836-1940* (Stroud: Fonthill Media Limited, 2015), p. 13.

[94] *Abstract of Return of the Several Cities and Boroughs of Great Britain, their Populations Respectively and the Number of Police*. (City and Borough Police) (London: HMSO, 1854), pp. 8, 50, 69-71.

The statistical evidence falls into two main categories, local and national. The national figures do not indicate that Warwickshire as a whole had any particular problem with juvenile crime. All that can be derived from the local evidence is that, within Warwickshire, Birmingham had the biggest problem with child criminals. Aside from the anecdotal comments and statistical evidence from Warwick's Quarter Sessions, the returns from Birmingham's police do not indicate a particular problem in the town. Unfortunately, the records of Birmingham's own Quarter Sessions, which began in 1839, do not shed any further light on the subject, as they rarely recorded the ages of those convicted. From the available information there is no particularly strong evidence to suggest Birmingham was experiencing distinctive problems with juvenile offenders.

EDUCATION IN BIRMINGHAM

An assessment of the opportunities Birmingham's working-class children had to receive any form of education between the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is best summarised by Eric Hopkins who highlights how working-class life was centred on life at work. For the majority, education was deemed of little value as in order to contribute to the family's income children began employment as soon as they were physically strong enough.[95]

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[95] Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, p. 158.

For those able to attend, the town possessed a Free Grammar School but the majority of other early educational institutions were charity schools:[96] Chris Upton highlights how these were quite rare until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[97] In 1781 it was estimated that approximately one Birmingham child in twenty-one attended school.[98] By this time there were six off-shoots of the Grammar School together with the Blue Coat School and Crowley's Charity, all Anglican foundations,[99] plus a Unitarian school and a number of private schools.[100]

Educational provision received a boost with the rise of the Sunday School movement. Though there were fifty-nine predominantly dissenting institutions in Birmingham by 1786, the Anglican Church did not begin to expand its provision until the late 1820s. In 1791 it was estimated that approximately 13.5 per cent of the town's working-class children were attending Sunday Schools; a number that rose to a peak of 40 per cent in 1831.[101] An indication of the popularity of these schools is provided by the one at Cannon Street Baptist Church, which boasted 1,200 scholars by 1799.[102]

[96] Joan Zuckerman and Geoffrey Eley, *Birmingham Heritage* (London: Croom Helm LTD, 1979), p. 136; Skipp, *A History of Greater Birmingham*, p. 76. The Free Grammar School opened in 1707.
[97] Chris Upton, *A History of Birmingham* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. LTD, 1993), p. 159.
[98] Michael Brian Frost, *The Development of Provided Schooling for Working-Class Children in Birmingham 1781–1851* (Unpublished MLit thesis: University of Birmingham, 1978), pp. 29-31.
[99] Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, pp. 158-159.
[100] Skipp, *A History of Greater Birmingham*, p. 77. Skipp states that the actual number of private schools at this time is difficult to quantify.
[101] Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town*, p. 159.
[102] Christopher James, 'Victorian Sunday Schools in Birmingham', *Baptist Quarterly*, 30:2 (April, 1983), p.59.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century a Protestant dissenting school for girls opened in Old Meeting Street and endowments from Joseph Scott and William Piddock further contributed to local educational institutions.[103] In 1797 the Guardians of the Poor established the Birmingham Asylum. It accommodated 300 children aged from two to fourteen and provided two hours of daily instruction. It was set up to reduce the amount of outdoor relief given to some paupers by taking one or two of their children into the Asylum. It also 'sold' the children's labour to a local manufacturer who set up a workshop at the Asylum and provided workmen to supervise them. They worked an eight-hour day but an 1836 account from Frederic Hill, brother to Matthew Davenport Hill and a future prison inspector, asserted that the children were always treated kindly.[104]

The education provided in establishments like the Birmingham Asylum and workhouses was the only real input into the area undertaken by what passed for local government at the time. This combination of education and labour was employed by the industrial and reformatory schools that developed from the early 1850s onwards. Though not going as far as housing manufacturers on site, some of the inmates from Birmingham's various reformatory institutions were permitted to work at local factories during the day after serving a certain portion of their sentences.[105]

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[103] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 132.

[104] Frederic Hill, *National Education. Its Present State and Prospects, Volume II* (London: Charles Knight, 1836), pp. 144-146. Chapter Eight details Frederic Hill's contribution to the reform of the treatment of delinquent children.

[105] 'Gem Street Certified Industrial School', *BDP*, 14th September 1871, p. 8.

Educational provision within workhouses was controversial as there are accounts from some institutions of a deliberate policy not to teach child inmates to write, as it might give them an advantage over children from families who had not received parochial assistance.[106] There seems to have been a fear within both local and central authorities that such institutions may be perceived as giving an advantage to the individuals who found themselves within their walls. This was certainly reflected in industrial and reformatory schools. Hugh Humphries, superintendant of Saltley Reformatory until 1881, emphasised that its aim was 'only to train boys sufficiently to obtain honest work; not to give them an advantage over working-class children'.[107]

The opening decades of the nineteenth century saw an increase in the number of schools in Birmingham through competition between the Anglican and non-conformist churches.[108] The first Lancastrian School, representing the latter group, opened in Severn Street in 1809 and accommodated 400 working-class boys. A further three such schools had opened by 1813 and the Anglican Church opened three of its 'National' schools that same year.[109] In 1824 the Birmingham Infant

[106] Peter Higginbotham, *Workhouses of the Midlands* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2007), p. 112. There are no accounts of such a policy in Birmingham's workhouses.

[107] J.A. Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution (Saltley Reformatory) Jubilee Retrospect, 1903* (Publication details unknown. Printed in Birmingham by Hall & English), pp. 25, 27.

[108] It is difficult to estimate the numbers of each particular faith and denomination in Birmingham during the first half of the nineteenth century but the religious census that took place on 31st March 1851 does provide specific details. It counted the individuals attending worship on that day and provided the following data: Anglicans 30843; Nonconformists 33962 (of which 3084 were Unitarians); Roman Catholics 1549; Jewish 360. At the time the population of the municipal borough of Birmingham was 232841. The borough contained ninety-two places of worship of which twenty-five were Anglican, sixty-two Nonconformist (five being Unitarian), four were for Roman Catholics and one was a synagogue. *Census of Great Britain 1851. Religious Worship in England and Wales* (London: George Routledge and Co., 1854), p. 114.

[109] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 132; Skipp, *A History of Greater Birmingham*, p. 77; Upton, *A History of Birmingham*, p. 159. The National school in Pinfold Street accommodated 650 pupils.

School Society opened three schools in the town which collectively accommodated more children than the Birmingham Asylum.[110] Skipp indicates their primary function was to care for poor children while their parents went out to work.[111]

An insight into local attitudes towards this aspect of Birmingham's early nineteenth-century society can be found in government reports. In evidence given to the 1816 Select Committee on Child Employment, local magistrate and factory owner Theodore Price described the provision of education for the poor of Birmingham as excellent, all schools except Sunday Schools being almost full and available 'for anyone who will apply for it'. In comments that only underlined his detachment from the realities of life for poor families, and despite admitting the town had high poor rates, he commented that families could easily manage without their children's income and 'those that could not should work harder'.[112] In evidence to a subsequent Select Committee, Birmingham's High Constable stated that 'thousands' of the town's apprentices attended school. He repeated Price's earlier comment about a great number of poor people in Birmingham and suggested that children who did not attend any kind of school were more likely to offend.[113]

A number of witnesses to the 1833 Factory Inquiry Commission also shed some light on Birmingham's early educational facilities. Charles Shaw, a local

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[110] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I*, p. 132.
[111] Skipp, *A History of Greater Birmingham*, p. 77.
[112] *Report.....Select Committee on the State of the Children Employed in the Manufactories,* pp. 123-125.
[113] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions,* pp. 42, 45.

manufacturer, indicated that Sunday Schools were the main educators of children under his employment, though fewer girls than boys attended, but most could still not read by the age of ten.[114] Another manufacturer, John Turner, stated that of the nearly thirty children in his employment nearly all could read and write and attended Sunday Schools.[115] A third witness said he was of the impression that most people in Birmingham sent their children to school before they started learning a trade.[116]

A further witness was brass foundry owner Timothy Smith who was also an acting magistrate. He painted a virtually utopian picture of Birmingham, describing how the town's children were 'almost universally' taught reading and writing, the working population 'undoubtedly' living in comfortable and healthy dwellings and the town's public houses free of the younger members of the population whose morals had improved over the last twenty years.[117] Smith's somewhat optimistic view, or denial of the reality of life in the town, together with the comments made by his fellow magistrate Theodore Price in 1816, contrast greatly with those of their colleague John Eardley-Wilmot – they were contemporaries on the Warwickshire court circuit – who had a much clearer idea of the realities of life for the children who appeared before him.

Probably the most reliable, and certainly the most quoted, assessment of contemporary education in the town is the 'Report of the State of Education in

[114] *Factories Inquiry Commission* (London: HMSO, 1833), Appendix B1, p. 3.
[115] *Factories Inquiry Commission*, Appendix B1, p. 6.
[116] *Factories Inquiry Commission*, Appendix B1, p. 5.
[117] *Factories Inquiry Commission*, Appendix B1, p. 4.

Birmingham' published in 1840.[118] It provided details of the numbers of children in the Borough aged five to fifteen years receiving some form of education. This included the variety of day and evening schools, alongside Sunday schools, and provides data from other areas for comparison. The most relevant information here, which details the percentage of children not receiving any form of education, is shown in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4 Estimate of Numbers of Children, Including Those Not in Education in Stated Locations, in 1840 [119]

Location	Estimated number of children Aged 5-15 years	Percentage not in education
Birmingham	45,000	51.5
Liverpool	57,500	52.7
York	7,000	34.7
Bury	5,000	17.8
Westminster	10,700	65.9
Manchester	63,700	30.7

The report detailed a higher number of Dame Schools, 267 in Birmingham when compared with 230 in Manchester and 244 in Liverpool. There were also a lower number of pupils per school in Birmingham, 14.6 per school compared to an average 19.5 per school. The standard of teaching in them was, however, generally poor.[120] The comments made concerning Sunday Schools were very positive, described as the best of the type so far examined but the report does add

[118] 'Report of the State of Education in Birmingham', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 3:1 (April, 1840), pp. 25-49.
[119] 'Report of the State of Education in Birmingham', p. 27. Statistics shown extracted from this page.
[120] 'Report of the State of Education in Birmingham', pp. 29-30.

'they can never be regarded as substitutes for a general system of education', which was still many years away.[121]

A letter published in 1856 by Grantham Yorke, who was the rector of St. Phillip's and closely involved with the town's ragged, industrial and reformatory schools, made some observations and suggestions. Entitled *The School and the Workshop: Why should they not combine?,* it was sent to James Chance and several other major manufacturers in Birmingham. Yorke made it clear that he felt the factory owners were responsible for what he described as the failure of elementary education within the town by their employment of children. Detailing virtually empty day schools of every denomination and the atrocious behaviour of children, he tried to elicit their support for a certification scheme, which would be awarded to children who attended school for a specific length of time. He argued that the manufacturers would benefit from a better-educated workforce who could, in turn, take advantage of the opportunities for further education which, like elementary education, he described as extremely undersubscribed.[122] There is no evidence the manufacturers showed any enthusiasm for this scheme but it does seem to provide a more realistic illustration of the state of education for the majority of Birmingham's population than government reports and statistics.

[121] 'Report of the State of Education in Birmingham', p. 39.
[122] Grantham M. Yorke, *The School and the Workshop: Why Should They Not Combine?* (Birmingham: H.C. Langbridge, 1856), pp. 5, 8, 11-14, 18-20. A brief biography of Yorke is the subject of Appendix C.

PHILANTHROPY

The standard texts that detail the history of Birmingham do not suggest any unusually strong charitable heritage during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Writing in 2013, Elizabeth A. Harvey highlights the surprising lack of research into Birmingham's philanthropic heritage; it has therefore been necessary to refer to local newspapers and magazines, together with individual biographies, in order to obtain an overall view of the subject.[123]

William Hutton provides the earliest account of the establishment of a number of charities in Birmingham, the oldest of these being Lench's Trust.[124] Through a sixteenth-century deed William Lench placed several properties into the hands of a number of trustees. The income from these premises was used to maintain local bridges and roads, as well as support the poor living within the town. Over time the Trust's proceeds came to finance what would now be referred to as social housing. By 1888 it managed eighty-two almshouses and provided an allowance of four shillings a week to their occupants.[125]

A 1712 bequest from George Fentham established a trust to teach children to read and provide clothing for ten 'poor widows' of Birmingham.[126] In 1728 William

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[123] Elizabeth A. Harvey, ''Layered Networks': Imperial Philanthropy in Birmingham and Sidney 1860–1914', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41:1 (February 2013), pp. 120-142. Though the timescale for this article is slightly later than the specific period of interest for this thesis, many of the observations made are valid.

[124] Hutton, *An History of Birmingham*, pp. 196, 200-202.

[125] 'Old Almshouses – Lench's Trust', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, 1:3 (1st July 1888), p. 46.

[126] George Yates, *An Historical and Descriptive Sketch of Birmingham* (Birmingham: Beilby, Knott and Beilby, 1830), p. 170.

Piddock left the proceeds of a farm in Winson Green for educating and apprenticing poor boys in Birmingham. Piddock's heirs kept this provision a secret until 1782 when a case in the Chancery Court brought the matter to light. Subsequently Gem Street Industrial School was able to benefit from the bequest, receiving £60 annually from the Trust.[127]

Construction of the Blue Coat School commenced in 1722 on land leased by the Church authorities adjoining the churchyard of St. Philip's, which had been consecrated in 1715.[128] In his description of the institution, originally simply called the Charity School, Hutton writes: 'The direction of youth seems one of the greatest concerns in moral life, and one that is least understood'.[129] Similar sentiments would be repeated with more frequency and urgency during the following century. Coincidentally, the school's original location would later be the site of Gem Street Industrial School that was subsequently adapted to accommodate juvenile offenders. There were, however, echoes of this later establishment within the rules drawn up at the inception of the school. The charity was designed to place children under the immediate protection of its subscribers who would act, in effect, as their parents.[130] The implications of such terminology, detailing the removal of children from their parents for 'protection', would not be legislated for until the middle of the nineteenth century.

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[127] 'Birmingham, April 24, 1854', *ABG*, 24th April 1854, p. 3.
[128] John D. Myhill, *Blue Coat. A History of the Blue Coat School Birmingham, 1722–1990* (Oldbury: Meridian Books, 1991) ,pp. 1, 6-7; Hutton, *An History of Birmingham*, p. 213.
[129] Hutton, *An History of Birmingham*, p. 210.
[130] Yates, *An Historical and Descriptive Sketch of Birmingham*, pp. 161-162.

With the exception of Lench's Trust, education was a common feature within Birmingham's early charities. This soon changed as a series of failed harvests, worsened by war between 1766 and 1800, saw scarce foodstuffs distributed throughout the town by a variety of charitable groups.[131] Robert K. Dent paid particular attention to the growth of medical charities during the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.[132] An infirmary, constructed in 1766 as part of the workhouse, was available to residents of the parish but many who worked in Birmingham lived outside this boundary.[133] This prompted a number of local businessmen, including Matthew Boulton, aristocracy and bankers to finance the building of the General Hospital which opened in 1779.[134] Boulton also founded the Birmingham General Dispensary in 1793;[135] its facilities included the provision of midwifery services.[136] Other medical charities included the Royal Orthopaedic and Spinal Hospital, the Birmingham and Midland Eye Hospital and the Birmingham and Midland Ear and Throat Hospital, which was partially funded by Lord Calthorpe.[137] The town's first dental hospital opened in Newhall Street in 1858 and a dedicated children's hospital was established in 1861.[138] Birmingham clearly followed the national trend in the establishment of medical charities at this time.[139] One exception was a Magdalen asylum that opened in 1822 and survived well into the twentieth century. Founded by the Church of England, the institution's

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[131] Hutton, *An History of Birmingham*, p. 128.
[132] Robert K. Dent, *Old and New Birmingham. A History of the Town and its People* (Birmingham: Houghton and Hammond, 1880), pp. 364-366.
[133] Dent, *Old and New Birmingham*, p. 75.
[134] Hans F. Reicheneld, 'The Birmingham Provident Dispensary Hockley Branch 1877–1948', *Birmingham Historian*, 21 (February 2002), pp. 16-17.
[135] Reicheneld, 'The Birmingham Provident Dispensary', p. 17.
[136] Yates, *An Historical and Descriptive Sketch of Birmingham*, p. 148.
[137] Dent, *Old and New Birmingham,* pp. 364-366, 601-603.
[138] 'The Dental hospital', Newhall Street', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, Volume 5 (1893), p. 78; 'The Children's Hospital', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, 1:11 (1st March 1889), p. 174.
[139] Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I,* pp. 129-131.

aim was to 'rescue' prostitutes.[140] Notoriously strict and oppressive, their charitable contribution to society is debatable.

Two individuals of particular note for their philanthropic activities in mid-nineteenth century Birmingham were Josiah Mason and Joseph Sturge.[141] Josiah Mason was born in Kidderminster in 1795. A nonconformist, he attended both Unitarian and Wesleyan Sunday Schools as a child and later taught at comparable institutions in Birmingham.[142] Mason was an industrialist who originally accrued his wealth mainly through the manufacture of pens.[143] One of his earliest recorded philanthropic acts occurred in 1853 when he offered £1,000 towards the construction of a girls reformatory in Birmingham, together with a further £100 annually towards its running costs.[144] Five years later he established an almshouse for elderly women and an orphanage for girls in Erdington. His focus was to provide help for women and children in need, as he felt men were capable of looking after themselves.[145] He subsequently expanded both institutions and contributed towards various hospitals in Birmingham. He also founded the Mason Science College in 1880.[146]

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[140] Paula Bartley, 'Reforming Women: Prostitution in Victorian Birmingham', *Birmingham Historian*, 12, p. 5.
[141] Skipp, *The Making of Victorian Birmingham*, p. 111.
[142] John Thackray Bunce, *Josiah Mason: A Biography* (Birmingham: Printed for private circulation, 1882), pp. 3, 8, 17-18, 70. Mason did not follow any specific religious teachings. In the 1860s, during a conversation with a local doctor regarding the establishment of an orphanage, Mason described himself as 'a universal', free of belonging to any Christian sect.
[143] Robert Cochrane (ed.), *Beneficent and Useful Lives* (London: W & R Chambers, 1890), pp. 81-82.
[144] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution* (Birmingham, 1854), p. 8., in BCA MS 244/98 Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No,. 1 (Hereafter BRI MB 1), 24th January 1854.
[145] Bunce, *Josiah Mason*, p. 64; Brian Jones, *Josiah Mason 1795–1881. Birmingham's Benevolent Benefactor* (Studley: Brewin Books, 1995), p. 56.
[146] John Alfred Langford, *Modern Birmingham and its Institution, Volume II* (Birmingham: William Downing, undated), pp. 339-340; 'Mason College, Birmingham', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, Volume 5 (1893),

Joseph Sturge was a Quaker by faith. He supported many causes, from the abolition of slavery to the expansion of adult education, and founded reformatories for juvenile offenders in Birmingham and Worcester.[147] In April 1847 Sturge addressed a meeting in Birmingham, called to protest at the lack of government support for the expansion of educational provision, and publicly stated that it was his religious ideals that drove him to promote education. Matthew Davenport Hill also spoke, highlighting the role education played in preventing children from turning to criminality; another attendee was Rev. G.M. Yorke.[148]

An examination of David Owen's *English Philanthropy 1660–1960* reinforces the lack of any particularly strong philanthropic ethos in Birmingham. References to the town are few in number but noteworthy in that, with the exception of Dr. John Ash's contribution to the General Hospital and George Cadbury whose charitable exploits are too late chronologically for this thesis, the focus is on individuals who contributed to the reform of juvenile offenders. The work of Mason, Sturge, Matthew Davenport Hill and Charles Adderley is outlined.[149] Adderley became involved with the reformatory movement following the 1851 Birmingham conference and subsequently made significant contributions both locally and

p. 131; 'Birmingham Homeopathic Hospital – Annual Meeting of Subscribers', *ABG*, 10th February 1866, p. 4; 'The Mason Science College', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, 1:10 (1st February 1889), p. 164.

[147] Henry Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (Memphis: Print on demand copy of original, 2012), pp. 23, 168-169; Skipp, *The Making of Victorian Birmingham*, p. 111; Alex Tyrrell, 'Joseph Sturge (1793-1859)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26746> [accessed 29th March 2018]. Sturge and his brother, Charles, created one of the largest grain-importing businesses in Britain at the time.

[148] 'Great Educational Meeting', *BJ*, 10th April 1847, p. 5.

[149] David Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660–1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 41, 154-155, 408- 413, 434. A detailed account of Mason's numerous endowments is provided but omits mention of his donations to a local reformatory. A subsequent publication: Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes (Eds.), *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform from the 1690s to 1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998) only makes one reference to Birmingham and this is taken from Owen's work.

nationally.[150] Martin J. Wiener describes him as an evangelical who 'fused moralization with humanitarian reform'.[151] An MP since 1841,[152] he was an advocate for the expansion of educational provision for the working-classes prior to his involvement with reformatory efforts, and donated land for a teacher training college to be built in Worcester in 1847.[153]

Three female philanthropists had an involvement with the reformatory movement in Birmingham. The first, Lady Noel Byron, widow of the poet, provided significant financial support to Mary Carpenter and also offered to finance an extension to the reformatory at Stretton-on-Dunsmore.[154] At the 1851 Birmingham conference she offered a substantial prize in a competition to find the best essay written about the reform of juveniles.[155] The second was Angela Burdett-Coutts. She offered £100 towards the establishment of a reformatory for girls in Birmingham and, as well as generous contributions to the Church of England, the Ragged School Union and various educational charities, she also financed Urania Cottage at Shepherds Bush in London. This institution was founded and administered for 'fallen or other

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[150] Adderley's contribution to the legislation which pioneered a new approach to reforming juvenile offenders is described in Chapter Six and his involvement with local reformatory institutions forms part of the case study about Saltley Reformatory in Chapter Nine.

[151] Martin J. Wiener, *Constructing the Criminal. Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 138.

[152] J.E.G. De Montmorency and Rev. H.C.G. Matthew, 'Charles Bowyer Adderley (1814-1905)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxyd. bham.ac.uk/view/ printable/30341> [accessed 5th September 2012]. Adderley served as MP for Staffordshire North 1841-1878.

[153] *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education: with Appendices 1847-48* (London: HMSO, 1848), Inspectors Reports, Southern District for 1847, p. 64. The land was donated for a training college for the Diocese of Worcester to, in Adderley's words, 'help improve the state of education in the district'. Three years later he donated more land for a similar college to be built in Saltley. John Osborne (ed.), *Saltley College Centenary 1850-1950* (Birmingham: Saltley College, 1951), p. 13.

[154] Ruby J. Saywell, *Mary Carpenter of Bristol* (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1964), p. 16; Untitled, *ABG*, 8th July 1850, p. 1. Lady Byron also founded an industrial school in London.

[155] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 372. The prize was originally £200 but two essays were judged to be of equal merit. Lady Byron increased the prize money so the winners shared £300.

unfortunate women' by Charles Dickens, a close friend.[156] It also had links with Birmingham, as some of the women it took in were referred there by Matthew Davenport Hill.[157] The last was Louisa Ann Ryland. She was one of the most generous benefactors the town had in the Victorian era and was probably second only to Josiah Mason in the monetary value of her donations. At the time of her death in 1889, it was estimated that the total value of her gifts to Birmingham amounted to £180,000.[158] During her lifetime her donations to the town included both Cannon Hill Park and Victoria Park and she also provided a building that was used as a reformatory for girls when they were moved from Gem Street Industrial School in 1873.[159] Her family's assets were largely derived from her grandfather John Ryland who had operated a wire-drawing business in Birmingham. Louisa was the only follower of the Church of England in an otherwise completely Unitarian family and, as a girl, she had worshipped regularly at St. Philip's Church.[160]

Most of her donations were made secretly.[161] She generally avoided publicity but did make rare public appearances. On 1st August 1859 she laid the foundation

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[156] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 8., in BCA BRI MB 1, 24th January 1854; Owen, *English Philanthropy*, pp. 413-417.

[157] Philip Collins, *Dickens and Crime* 2nd edn (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd, 1965), p. 99. It is not known if they were referred there through Hill's early 'probation' scheme or the auspices of the 1838 Parkhurst Prison Act; Clause XI permitted children to be detained in state approved charitable institutions and Urania Cottage may have fallen into this category.

[158] Cochrane (ed.), *Beneficent and Useful Lives*, p. 281; 'The Late Miss Ryland', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, 1:8 (1st December 1888), p. 170. This sum did not include the bequests made to the town's schools, hospitals, churches and numerous other institutions in her will. The article provides full details of these bequests.

[159] 'Sanatorium', *BDP*, 17th April 1873, p. 4; Vivian Bird, *Portrait of Birmingham* (London: Robert Hale & Company, 1970), pp. 24-25.

[160] 'The Late Miss Ryland', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, p. 168. John Ryland's house was destroyed during the Priestley Riots.

[161] 'The Late Miss Ryland', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, p. 168.

stone for the Church of St. Barnabas in the town. She had donated the land, which was on Ryland Street, and a significant sum towards the construction costs.[162] Her contributions towards the established church within Birmingham were also generous. Just one example is provided by the £10,000 donation she made to the Ryland Fund in 1867, to finance church extensions and the building of schools in the town.[163]

One family whose contribution to Birmingham has been overlooked are the Catholic Hardmans. They established a business in the town in the last half of the eighteenth century manufacturing decorative architectural glass and iron work. John Hardman was one of the founders of the Birmingham Roman Catholic Friendly Society in 1795, and donated significant sums to the foundation and support of St. Peter's Chapel. He also contributed towards the construction and furnishing of St. Chad's Cathedral, founded the convent of St. Mary in Hunters Lane and left a £1,000 bequest towards the maintenance of Catholic schools in the town. His son, also named John who died in 1867, took a leading role in the establishment of a Roman Catholic Reformatory for boys at Mount St. Bernard in Leicestershire. His son, John Bernard, became a councillor in Birmingham in 1879. His duties there included the management of the local lunatic asylum. Separately he was involved in the management of both the General Hospital and General Dispensary.[164]

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[162] Langford, *Modern Birmingham and its Institution, Volume II,* p. 464.

[163] BCA Records of Louisa Ryland, MS690/11, Church Extension in Birmingham,14th June 1867.

[164] 'Councillor John B Hardman', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, 2:12 (1st April 1890), pp. 185-8. St. Peter's Chapel was the first Catholic place of worship publically opened in Birmingham since the destruction of the Franciscan chapel in the reign of James II. The family business, John Hardman and Co., manufactured items for many churches and cathedrals across Europe. Their work can also be seen in the Houses of

In view of the growing wealth of many individuals whose business interests lay in the expanding, industrialising town, it is surprising that more did not become known for charitable works. Though William Chance and Robert Winfield were noted contributors, particularly towards the building of schools, others, like Joseph Gillott and G.F. Muntz, gave little or nothing.[165] Industrialists aside, a small number of local landowners also gave generously. The Calthorpes financed the construction of a school for the deaf and three churches, as well as donating the Botanical Gardens and Calthorpe Park. Charles Adderley provided the land and funds for the construction of Saltley Reformatory, with which Lord Calthorpe was involved, and also gave Adderley Park to the community.[166]

There is a common thread among the small number of philanthropists in Birmingham during the middle of the nineteenth century in that they had an involvement with the reformatory movement. An illustration of this is provided in the first annual report of Saltley Reformatory; the institution's president was Lord Calthorpe, its vice-president was Matthew Davenport Hill, William Chance was the first treasurer and committee members included Charles Adderley and Joseph Sturge.[167]

Parliament. They were related, by marriage, to Augustus Welby Pugin. Councillor John Bernard Hardman was also a bailiff for Lench's Trust.

[165] Skipp, *The Making of Victorian Birmingham*, pp. 112-113.

[166] Skipp, *The Making of Victorian Birmingham*, p. 113.

[167] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 3., in BCA BRI MB 1, 24th January 1954.

RAGGED SCHOOLS

Ragged Schools combined elements from philanthropy and educational provision. Some were also associated with the development of Birmingham's reformatory institutions during the last half of the nineteenth century but the historiography of their development locally is extremely limited. In the 1870s John Alfred Langford mentioned a ragged school founded by Rev. G.M. Yorke and described the 'usefulness' of two other such schools in Birmingham. Writing in 1904, C.J. Montague makes a single reference to the town.[168] The only substantive work is provided by G.R. Lowes who describes the development of Gem Street Industrial School from the school Yorke founded.[169] Two theses have been identified which examine aspects of ragged schools. D.H Webster's 1973 work views the ragged school movement from a national perspective,[170] while Laura Mair's thesis examines the interaction of ragged school scholars with their teachers but does not contain any reference to Birmingham.[171] No records from any of the schools in the form of minute books or annual reports are known to have survived but by using contemporary publications it has been possible to construct a fragmentary history that illustrates their influence.

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[168] J.A. Langford, *Modern Birmingham and its Institutions. A Chronicle of Local Events, Volume I, 1841-1871* (Birmingham: William Dowling, 1877), p. 127; Langford, *Modern Birmingham and its Institutions, Volume II,* p. 387; C.J. Montague, *Sixty Years in Waifdom or, The Ragged School Movement in English History* (London: The Woburn Press, 1969 (Reprint of original 1904 publication)), p. 212.

[169] G.R. Lowes, *1849– 1949 Souvenir of the Centenary Celebrations of Tennal School, Birmingham* (No publication details known).

[170] D.H. Webster, *The Ragged School Movement and the Education of the Poor in the Nineteenth Century* (Unpublished DPhil thesis: University of Leicester, 1973), p. 184. The thesis provides a list of ragged schools nationally and only identifies two in Birmingham.

[171] Laura A. Mair, *Ragged School Relationships in England and Scotland, 1844–1870* (Unpublished DPhil thesis: University of Edinburgh, 2016).

Birmingham has claimed, rather unrealistically, to have been the originator of ragged schools through the Good Samaritan School, which was operating in the early 1820s.[172] It was opened in Summer Street mainly through the efforts of Rev. George Pettitt. Even then it was credited with reforming local boys who had 'thievish propensities'.[173] It subsequently relocated to Hill Street in 1841 and joined with Inkleys School twenty years later. The combined establishment accommodated approximately one hundred children in the day school and 160 in the Sunday school.[174]

Establishing an early chronology for such schools is complicated by the fact that some were only described as 'ragged' retrospectively; though the term itself was being used to describe children at least as early as 1816.[175] H.W. Schupf writes that the ragged school movement lasted from 1840 to 1870;[176] the Ragged School Union coming into being in 1844.[177] In Birmingham, and in probably every comparable town in the country, similar schools were established in areas that were poverty-stricken so the children they attracted would have been

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[172] 'Slaney Street Ragged School, Birmingham', *Ragged School Union Magazine*, 4:37 (January 1852), pp. 59-60. Please see Chapter Two regarding the development of these schools by John Pounds and Thomas Cranfield.

[173] 'Slaney Street Ragged School, Birmingham', *Ragged School Union Magazine*, 4:37 (January 1852), pp. 59-60; Langford, *Modern Birmingham and its Institution, Volume II*, p. 387; 'Hill Street and Inkleys Schools', *BDP*, 15th March 1861, p. 2. The two latter publications state the Good Samaritan School opened in Swallow Street.

[174] 'Ragged School Extension in Birmingham', *ABG* (supplement to), 16th March 1861, p. 9.

[175] 'An address delivered to the Teachers of a Sunday school at an Anniversary Meeting', *The Sunday School Repository or Teachers Magazine*, 2:14 (April 1816), pp.249-251. This address described how Sunday Schools had helped to diminish the numbers of 'ragged and wicked children' polluting the streets.

[176] H.W. Schupf, 'Education for the Neglected: Ragged Schools in Nineteenth-Century England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 12:2 (Summer, 1972), p. 162.

[177] Montague, *Sixty Years in Waifdom*, p. 167. The Ragged School Union was originally founded by four teachers from the institutions who aimed to promote the establishment of ragged schools throughout London. Hugh Redwood, *Harvest. The Record of the Shaftesbury Society 1844-1944* (London: The Shaftesbury Society, 1944), p. 17.

indistinguishable from those who attended the later institutions that carried the 'ragged' title from the outset. The plight of such children was discussed at the meeting of the town's Guardians of the Poor in December 1842. Proposals were made to use the existing poor law to establish infant schools for the poorest children in the hope that, by educating them, it would have a positive influence on the community as a whole.[178] It does not appear these suggestions were ever acted upon.

William Chance founded two ragged schools in the town in 1846. No details of one school are known but the other was located in New Meeting Street and developed from a Sunday school. It assembled on four evenings a week, two each for males and females, and served the 'most destitute and neglected of the poor'. It attracted between seventy and one hundred each evening and appears to have been aimed at adults as well as children. A teacher was employed and, in addition to some basic lessons, the school provided clothing and food.[179] Deritend Ragged School was founded in Little Ann Street in the same year. Though William Chance was known to have been involved with the school from the early 1850s, it has not been possible to ascertain whether he was involved with its founding.[180] Also in 1846 the Rev. G.M. Yorke, Rector of St. Philip's, established a ragged school in Lichfield Street. After arriving in Birmingham in 1844, Yorke had been moved by

[178] 'Meeting of Guardians', *BJ*, 3rd December 1842, p. 3.
[179] 'Ragged Schools at Birmingham', *Daily News*, 25th May 1846, p. 5; 'Varieties', *The Manchester Times and Gazette,* 6th June 1846, p. 7.
[180] 'Birmingham, February 7, 1853', *ABG*, 7th February 1853, p. 3.

the poverty he encountered in his parish to found a school for those who would not be accepted by any other institution.[181]

Despite these schools surviving on charitable donations and generous benefactors, and providing only the most basic elements of education, it was recognised by some that they had the potential to prevent children turning to crime. In 1847, during one of its regular meetings, the Ragged School Union asserted there was a direct link between a lack of education, poverty and crime.[182] Also that year Matthew Davenport Hill suggested using ragged schools as an alternative to prison in a report to the Law Amendment Society; no official sanction of their use in this area was ever forthcoming.[183]

In 1848 a ragged school was opened in Legge Street. It was funded by a number of 'benevolent gentlemen' and soon attracted a daily attendance of approximately one hundred.[184] That same year another ragged school was opened after an appeal by the rector of St. Martin's was answered by a significant number of donors.[185] This appeal in itself illustrates how many children were not able to access the schools that were already established. By this time St. Martin's had long since possessed both Sunday and National schools within its boundaries but clearly some children were not able to benefit from them.[186] The following year the Slaney Street Ragged Schools opened their doors and were funded sufficiently to

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[181] Lowes, *1849– 1949 Souvenir*, pp. 10, 13-14.
[182] 'Ragged School Union', *ABG*, 25th January 1847, p. 4.
[183] 'Draft Report of the Principles of Punishment', *Liverpool Mercury*, 6th April 1847, p. 7.
[184] 'Birmingham, December 25, 1848', *ABG*, 25th December 1848, p. 3.
[185] 'Birmingham, July 24, 1848', *ABG*, 24th July 1848, p. 3.
[186] 'Birmingham, May 22, 1837', *ABG*, 22nd May 1837, p. 3. This report describes a parade of nearly 4,500 children from schools associated with the Church of England. 350 were from St. Martin's Parish.

accommodate both day-time and evening classes.[187] Situated in 'decidedly the worst part of the district', they resulted from the efforts of an anonymous businessman from Snow Hill and the local vicar, Rev. J.C. Barrett. They taught reading, writing and arithmetic, together with garment making and sewing for the girls; quickly being credited with improving the tone of the area.[188]

The potential for ragged schools to play a part in the developing reformatory movement grew over time. The Ragged School Union sent a deputation to the 1851 Birmingham conference on 'Preventive and Reformatory Schools'.[189] One member of the deputation, John MacGregor, became a secretary of the committee formed at the conference in order to lobby parliament over changes to the laws governing the punishment of juveniles.[190] Three of Birmingham's ragged schools – Deritend, Lichfield Street and United Hill Street and Inkleys – subsequently developed into industrial schools which accommodated convicted children.[191]

At a local level many already involved with the beginnings of the reformatory movement in Birmingham, as well as some local politicians, supported the town's ragged schools. For example, Joseph Sturge and John Ellis, from Saltley Reformatory, attended the annual meetings at Slaney Street Ragged Schools. Ellis, originally a shoemaker by trade, had been a teacher at Brook Street Ragged

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[187] Untitled, *BJ*, 19th January 1850, p. 8.

[188] 'Spiritual, Moral and Sanitary Conditions of Birmingham, Saint Mary's District', *ABG*, 29th April 1850, p. 2; 'History of the Slaney Street Ragged School, Birmingham', *Ragged School Union Magazine,* 2:15 (March 1850), pp. 68-69.

[189] 'Conference at Birmingham, December 10, 1851, on Preventive and Reformatory Schools', *Ragged School Union Magazine*, 4:37 (January 1852), pp. 15-17.

[190] 'John MacGregor, "Rob Roy"', *The Leisure Hour*, 22nd April 1871, pp. 248-252. The other committee secretary was Rev. Sydney Turner.

[191] Chapter Seven examines the development of these institutions.

School in London before being invited to Birmingham by Sturge.[192] William Scholfield MP was also present at the meetings as was the originator of the civic gospel ethos George Dawson,[193] who was involved with the management of Slaney Street.[194] Alderman Henry Manton, who subsequently assisted Lords Norton (Charles Adderley) and Leigh in their efforts to reform the punishment of juvenile offenders, also attended regularly.[195]

There is no obvious individual point of origin for the reformatory movement in Birmingham prior to the 1851 conference. Additionally, the evidence does not support any suggestions that there was a high level of juvenile crime in the town or even that such offending was causing any particular concern locally. There was no moral panic behind Birmingham's subsequent role in the reformatory movement. On balance it seems most accurate to describe the town's involvement as resulting from the efforts of a group of concerned individuals who were determined to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders. It is clear that the local council was at a stage of development that meant it would not have been able to mount a coordinated response to such a problem even if it existed. An overview of Birmingham's charitable heritage and educational provision does, however, highlight a link between some of the town's philanthropists, ragged schools and

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[192] 'Mr Ellis, the Industrial and Ragged School Teacher', *Illustrated London News*, 9th May 1853, pp. 267-268.

[193] E.P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons* (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1973), p. 62. The civic gospel or municipal doctrine has been used to describe a series of social improvements that took place in Birmingham during the 1870s. It included extensive municipal building work, the acquisition of utilities and patronage of the arts. This episode of Birmingham's history, together with its association with the reformatory movement is discussed in Chapter Seven.

[194] 'Slaney Street Ragged School, Birmingham', *Ragged School Union Magazine*, 4:37 (January 1852), pp. 59-60; Untitled, *ABG*, 24th January 1853, p. 1; 'Slaney Street Ragged Schools', *BJ*, 6th May 1857, p. 1.

[195] 'Mr. Alderman Manton', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, 1:6 (October 1888), p. 92. Chapter Seven includes an account of the individuals involved with these institutions.

subsequent efforts to prevent children from turning to crime. The number of ragged schools established in Birmingham indicates that some influential individuals must have realised there was a need for such institutions. That these schools offered a rudimentary education, some industrial training and a meal, was only a short step away from the reformatory and industrial schools that subsequently developed to accommodate offending children; all of these later schools were charitable institutions and some developed directly from ragged schools.

The potential benefits of ragged schools in preventing and reforming delinquency had been realised by Matthew Davenport Hill. As a magistrate in Warwick he had witnessed some of the schemes established by his colleagues to reduce juvenile offending and, as Recorder of Birmingham, he now had the opportunity to adapt and apply them within his jurisdiction. With this background of inventive solutions to keep children from gaol, his position of authority as head of the local judiciary and his Unitarian faith underpinning his drive for social reform, Hill's subsequent leading role in the reformatory movement is understandable. Joseph Sturge shared Hill's drive for social reform along with Charles Adderley. Together with the involvement of Rev. G.M. Yorke, it could be perceived that local reformatory efforts had the backing of both the established church and a cross section of nonconformists alike.

Local businessmen, including William Chance, established many of Birmingham's ragged schools; so the benefit of such institutions was clearly understood by those

who had money available for philanthropic endeavours. The presence of the schools themselves would have acted as physical representation of how these endeavours had a practical effect on poor children. Additionally, both Adderley and Sturge were wealthy enough to back their own words with deeds. This fortuitous combination of individuals possessed the social conscience, drive, imagination, finance and authority – religious, legal and political, to give Birmingham a prominent role in efforts to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders from the 1850s onwards.

Birmingham hosted the first national conference on the subject of juvenile criminality in December 1851. The following chapter explores this and also details how it was the first in a series of events in the town over the following decade which influenced fundamental legislative reforms to the treatment of child criminals.

Chapter Five

BIRMINGHAM 1851–1861: A DECADE OF INFLUENCE IN THE REFORM OF CRIMINAL CHILDREN

The first national conference on juvenile criminality was held in Birmingham in 1851. It prompted reforms to the legal system that fundamentally changed the way criminal children were treated by the courts, shifting the emphasis from punishing offenders to attempts to rehabilitate their characters and facilitate their reintegration back into society. The conference can also be seen as the catalyst for a series of events that culminated in the abolition of child imprisonment in 1899.

This chapter argues that the 1851 conference, and a further conference held in the town in 1853, marked a distinct dividing line between attempts to implement reforming legislation prior to 1851 and the laws that were enacted following the 1853 conference, which facilitated the establishment of government-supported reformatory institutions for juveniles. This chapter also asserts that four additional events that took place in Birmingham added to the momentum for reform. In 1853 the suicide of a teenage prisoner at the borough gaol attracted national attention. Two years later the Catholic Church met in the town to discuss its approach to juvenile offending locally and in 1857 and 1861 respectively, Birmingham hosted two further conferences that focused on the treatment of delinquent and destitute children.

The chapter initially provides a synopsis of the historiography and outlines the sources employed. This is followed by a brief overview of the work of some of those involved with reformatory efforts prior to the first conference. Each of the specific events that occurred in Birmingham between 1851 and 1861 are then analysed chronologically in terms of their local and national influence.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

Historians have placed varying emphases on the individual influence of these events. While some have been linked to subsequent reforms, no source has been located which specifically connects, or identifies, all six events. Sean McConville defines the first conference as the beginning of a movement which sought an alternative to custodial sentences for children.[1] Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood echo McConville's assertion, describing it as 'a major step forward', and highlight how the 1853 conference maintained the momentum for reform.[2] Lawrence Goldman also links the first two conferences, crediting them as the origins of the reformatory movement.[3] Jeannie Duckworth, however, ignores the earlier conference and only describes the 1853 event as one of a series of meetings held nationally to promote reformatory schools.[4] Pamela Horn's 2010

[1] Sean McConville*, A History of English Prison Administration. Volume I 1750–1877* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1981), p. 338.
[2] Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990)*,* p. 176.
[3] Lawrence Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain. The Social Science Association 1857–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 144.
[4] Jeannie Duckworth, *Fagin's Children*. *Criminal children in Victorian England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), p. 162.

publication, *Young Offenders*,[5] makes no mention of either conference, but Muriel Whitten, writing a year later, emphasises their influence on the development of the legislation that underpinned reformatory institutions.[6]

The findings of an investigation into the suicide of a juvenile prisoner at Birmingham Borough Gaol in 1853 sparked outrage.[7] Ursula Henriques, Sean McConville and Alyson Brown describe how, despite this, it only highlighted the harsh treatment of incarcerated children and did not contribute to any reforms.[8] Dawn Roberts argues that it did influence general improvements within prisons;[9] however, P.W.J. Bartrip and Roger Ward specifically link the death with the impetus to establish reformatory schools and Bartrip attributes the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act directly to the suicide.[10]

The limited number of references to the 1855 meeting of the Catholic Church are brief and only place it within the context of the development of Mount St. Bernard's Reformatory.[11]

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[5] Pamela Horn, *Young Offenders. Juvenile Delinquency 1700–2000* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, PLC, 2010).

[6] Muriel Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud. How the Philanthropic Quest was put into Law* (Hook: Waterside Press, 2011), pp. 238, 251.

[7] *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Condition and Treatment of the Prisoners Confined in Birmingham Borough Prison and the Conduct, Management and Discipline of the Said Prison* (London: HMSO, 1854).

[8] U.R.Q. Henriques, 'The Rise and Decline of the Separate System of Prison Discipline, *Past and Present*, 54 (1972), pp. 84-85; McConville*, A History of English Prison Administration*, p. 312; Alyson Brown, *English Society and the Prison. Time, Culture and Politics in the Development of the Modern Prison, 1850-1920* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), p. 42.

[9] Dawn Roberts, 'The Scandal at Birmingham Borough Gaol 1853: A Case for Penal Reform', *The Journal of Legal History*, 7:3 (1986), pp. 334-335.

[10] Roger Ward, 'Scandal at Winson Green', *Birmingham Historian*, 31 (Winter 2007), p. 36; P.W.J. Bartrip, '*Matthew Davenport Hill (1792–1872)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www. oxforddnb.com.ezproxye.bham.uk/templates/article.jsp?articleid=1328> [accessed 5th September 2012].

[11] Bernard Elliott mentions the meeting in 'Mount St. Bernards Reformatory or Agricultural Colony', in

In 1857 Birmingham hosted the inaugural conference of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.[12] Eileen Yeo and Muriel Whitten both highlight the presence of Mary Carpenter, Matthew Davenport Hill and Sydney Turner at the meeting, together with their respective roles in the reformatory movement, but draw no link between the movement, the conference and previous events in Birmingham.[13] Goldman, however, draws a direct line of progression from the 1851 and 1853 conferences, through the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act, to the 1857 conference.[14]

The final conference took place in 1861. Its focus was on destitute and neglected children, which may indicate why it is rarely referenced in studies of the reformatory movement. It was organised by Mary Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill and, though their respective biographers drew direct links to the 1851 and 1853 conferences,[15] the only other reference located simply reiterates this link and does not place the conference within the context of the previous events in Birmingham.[16]

Daniel Williams (ed.), *The Adaptation of Change. Essays upon the History of 19th Century Leicester and Leicestershire* (Leicester: Leicestershire Museums Publications, 1980), pp. 79-80; Bernard Elliott, 'Mount St Bernard's Reformatory, Leicestershire, 1856–1881', *Recusant History*, 15:1 (May 1979), p. 15. Brief references to the meeting are also found in: Very Rev. Mgr John Furnival, *Children of the Second Spring. Father James Nugent and the Work of Child Care in Liverpool* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2005), p. 175; Maureen Havers, *The Reformatory at Mount St. Bernard Abbey 1856–1881* (Coalville: Mount St. Bernard Abbey, 2006). This publication is not paginated.

[12] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, p. 27. The event was not entirely dedicated to the reformatory movement but a significant number of meetings on the subject were held throughout the conference.

[13] Eileen Janes Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science. Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996), pp. 156-157; Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, pp. 257-258.

[14] Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain*, pp. 42-43.

[15] Rosamond Davenport Hill and Florence Davenport Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham. A Memoir of Matthew Davenport Hill* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1878), p. 174; J. Estlin Carpenter, *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter*, 2nd edn (New Jersey, Patterson Smith, 1974), p. 222.

[16] Jo Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1976), p. 159.

The sources utilised for this chapter comprise reports from the conferences,[17] the commissioners' report into the suicide at Birmingham Borough Gaol,[18] and material held at the archives of the Archdiocese of Birmingham. A geographically-wide range of newspapers was examined to assess the extent to which events in Birmingham were reported nationally and the town's own newspapers were scrutinised to ascertain how events were reported locally.[19] This material was supplemented by autobiographical and biographical accounts, government reports and archive material relating to Birmingham Borough Gaol.

REFORMATORY EFFORTS PRIOR TO 1851

Attempts to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders in the first half of the nineteenth century had been haphazard.[20] This research has identified a core group of people, already active in attempts to reform the approach to delinquent behaviour prior to the 1851 conference, who spoke at that conference and the 1853 event. Members of this group, in combination with several Birmingham-based individuals, subsequently played a fundamental role in the crafting of the

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[17] *Report of the Proceedings of a Conference on the Subject of Preventive and Reformatory Schools, Held at Birmingham, on the 9th and 10th December, 1851* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman); *Report of the Proceedings of the Second Conference on the Subject of Juvenile Delinquency and Preventive and Reformatory Schools, Held at Birmingham, December 20, 1853* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1854); The Archdiocese of Birmingham Archives (Hereafter ABA), B3543, '*The Midland Catholic Reformatory. Abstract of the Proceedings of the Meeting held at Birmingham, December 11th 1855'* (Birmingham, 1855); *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science 1857. Inaugural Address and Selected Papers* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1858; Charles Ratcliff, *Ragged Schools in Relation to the Government Grants for Education. The Authorized Report of the Conference held at Birmingham, January 23rd, 1861* (Birmingham: Benjamin Hall, 1861).

[18] *Report of the Commissioners.....Birmingham Borough Prison*.

[19] In researching the newspaper coverage, the *British Newspapers Online* archive and the archives of the *Times*, *Guardian* and *Spectator* were examined. The Birmingham-based newspapers examined comprise *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, *Birmingham Daily Post*, *Birmingham Journal* and *Birmingham Mercury*. These are abbreviated as *ABG*, *BDP*, *BJ* and *BM* respectively.

[20] Horn, *Young Offenders*, p. 133.

new reformatory practices that emerged from the 1850s onwards. Events in mid-nineteenth century Birmingham served to facilitate the unification of the disparate elements of the reformatory movement to such an extent that it provided the foundations for the legislative changes that took place over the next forty-five years. Up to that time those who had striven for reform could be divided into two reasonably distinct, but certainly not exclusive, groups: individuals who had chosen the medium of public speeches and publications, and a group that concentrated on attempts at legislative change. There is no evidence that these groups were ever antagonistic, indeed the shared aim of all those involved in efforts to improve the treatment of offending children cut through the traditional barriers of religion, class, politics and gender. One newspaper reported the campaign as 'the conjunction of men seldom seen together – Tories, Whigs, Radicals, Churchmen High and Low, Dissenters and Unitarians, Ultra-Protestants and Roman Catholics'.[21] Events in Birmingham served to provide the level of coordination previous efforts had lacked.

The core group, involved with both 1851 and 1853 conferences, comprised Mary Carpenter, Matthew Davenport Hill, Richard Monckton Milnes, William Morgan, Rev. William Cook Osborn, Sir John Pakington, David Power, Jelinger Symons and Rev. Sydney Turner.[22] An account of the efforts made towards the legislative reform of the treatment of juvenile offenders is included in Chapter Six.

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[21] 'The Hereford and Other Meetings', *Hereford Times*, 4th February 1854, p. 10.

[22] Frank Prochaska, 'Mary Carpenter (1807-1877)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <https://doi.org /10.1093/ref:odnb/4733> [accessed 30th March 2018]; Richard Davenport-Hines, 'Richard Monckton Milnes, First Baron Houghton (1809-1885)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2006, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18794> [accessed 30th March 2018]. William Morgan was Birmingham's Town Clerk and involved with many local charitable institutions; 'Criminal and Destitute

While moves to promote reform through the legislature proved generally ineffective, various books and pamphlets were published that highlighted the need to address the criminal behaviour of children. This literature can be seen as a ‘second front’ in the struggle. Writing in 1846, David Power blamed juvenile crime on parental neglect and stated that it was the most difficult of all the problems related to criminal legislation at the time.[23] Also in that year, Benjamin Rotch published *Suggestions for the Prevention of Juvenile Depravity* where he attacked the lack of educational provision for the poor and proposed that offending children be detained in government-managed institutions, designated the ‘Child’s Home’, instead of prison. In comments that were ahead of their time, he argued for the courts to have the power to remove neglected children from their parents and house them in these institutions.[24]

In 1849, Power published *On the Responsibilities of Employers* where he highlighted how employers and society generally would benefit if children received an education rather than just being sent to work.[25] That same year Mary Carpenter described the benefits of ragged schools in reforming delinquent

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Children’, *ABG*, 27th December 1852, p. 2. William Cook Osborn was the chaplain to Bath Borough Gaol and had taken a special interest in the juveniles confined there; *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (London: HMSO, 1853), p. 35; Paul Chilcott, ‘John Somerset Pakington, First Baron Hampton (1799-1880), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, <https://doi.org/10. 1093/ ref:odnb/21149> [accessed 30th March 2018]. David Power was the Recorder of Ipswich; ‘Criminal and Destitute Children’, *ABG*, 27th December 1852, p. 2. Jelinger Symons was a barrister and school inspector who took a close interest in the ‘moral reformation’ of juvenile offenders. He also edited the *Law Magazine*; John Shepherd, ‘Jelinger Cookson Symons (1809-1860), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ ref:odnb /26897> [accessed 30th March 2018].

[23] David Power, *On the Principles of Criminal Law* (London: William Pickering, 1846), pp. 81–81.

[24] Benjamin Rotch, Suggestions for the Prevention of Juvenile Depravity (Holborn: Printed by H. Court, 1846), pp. 7, 9–11. Rotch also proposed to house destitute children in these institutions. His suggestions closely match the provisions of the 1857 Industrial Schools Act which was the work of Charles Adderley. William Shakespear Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton (Right Hon. Sir Charles Adderley, KCMG, MP, 1814–1905, Statesman and Philanthropist)* (London: John Murray, 1909), pp. 136-137.

[25] David Power, *On the Responsibilities of Employers* (London: William Pickering, 1849), pp. 84–87.

behaviour and Jelinger Symons published *Tactics for the Times* where he similarly highlighted education, together with industrial training, as a remedy for juvenile crime.[26] Also in 1849 Rev. William Cookson Osborn delivered a series of lectures which stressed the importance of establishing reformatory institutions for child criminals.[27] Arguably the most influential contemporary work on the subject appeared in 1851 when Carpenter published *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders*.[28] As is shown later, its proposals significantly influenced the 1851 Birmingham conference, though there is evidence that Carpenter drew from previous works in reaching her conclusions. The term ‘Dangerous Classes’ was employed by Symons in 1849 and Carpenter’s actual proposals reflect comments made by Rotch in 1846.[29] Carpenter was extremely influential and though there is no specific evidence she knew these men, she corresponded with many who shared her reforming ethos and would have been familiar with the proposals that were appearing in the press of the day.[30]

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[26] Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets,* p. 259; Jelinger Cookson Symons, *Tactics for the Times: As Regards the Condition and Treatment of the Dangerous Classes* (Pall Mall: John Ollivier, 1849), pp. 98–104, 120–122, 194–200. Symons highlighted the industrial training provided at Stretton-on-Dunsmore and Mettray. He had previously visited the French institution.

[27] The content of these lectures was published in: Rev. W.C. Osborn, *Prevention of Crime: A Lecture Delivered at the Town Hall, Ipswich, 1849* (No publication details known). Osborn produced numerous books and pamphlets on the subject of prison reform, particularly reforms for juvenile prisoners, from approximately 1847 onwards. Unfortunately it appears many have not survived to the present day.

[28] Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders* (London: C. Gilpin, 1851).

[29] Symons, *Tactics for the Times: As Regards the Condition and Treatment of the Dangerous Classes;* Rotch, *Suggestions for the Prevention of Juvenile Depravity*, pp. 9–11.

[30] Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets.* This publication illustrates the numerous correspondences Carpenter entered into.

THE 1851 BIRMINGHAM CONFERENCE

None of the sources examined for this research look to provide any explanation for the choice of Birmingham as the location for the 1851 conference. Some possible reasons were expressed in the conclusion of Chapter Four but it is likely that a number of factors, including local politics, the influence of certain people and geographical convenience, combined to suggest the town to the event's organisers.[31]

Identifying the organisers themselves poses some, albeit minor, problems. The *Quarterly Review* detailed how the conference was convened by Matthew Davenport Hill, Mary Carpenter and Sydney Turner.[32] Hill credited Carpenter as its driving force, while Carpenter herself recorded how she received significant assistance from fellow Unitarian Lady Byron.[33] Charles Adderley's biographer credits him with being instrumental in the conference's organisation and Sean McConville attributes it to both Hill and Carpenter.[34] To complicate matters further, Sydney Turner stated the conference was mainly due to the efforts of William Morgan and Joseph Hubback.[35] Morgan was Birmingham's town clerk at the time and Hubback was an industrialist from Liverpool; he was also the conference

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[31] I first expounded some of these theories in: Daniel Wale, 'Saltley Reformatory: Its Origin and Growth in Victorian Birmingham', *Warwickshire History*, 15:6, (Winter 2013/14), p. 252.

[32] 'Reformatory Schools', *Quarterly Review*, 1855, pp. 57-58.

[33] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 161; Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets*, p. 104; Ruth Watts, Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England 1760-1860 (Harlow: Addison, Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), p. 79.

[34] Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton*, p. 128; McConville*, A History of English Prison Administration*, p. 338.

[35] Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee, *Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, *Volume I* (London: HMSO, 1896), p. 176.

secretary. Both were already involved with the ragged school movement in their home towns.[36]

Fig. 5.1 Matthew Davenport Hill [37]

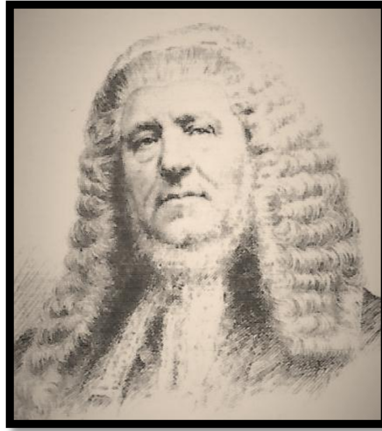

Fig. 5.2 Mary Carpenter [38]

Of Carpenter, Hill and Turner, Hill was the most influential; a former MP, he was the sitting Recorder of Birmingham and a Queen's Counsel with a reputation for

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[36] *Report of the Proceedings of a Conference, 1851*, p. ii.

[37] Colin G. Hey, *Rowland Hill. Victorian Genius and Benefactor* (London: Quiller Press Ltd, 1989). The illustrations within this publication are not paginated.

[38] *Fifty Years' Record of Child Saving and Reformatory Work (1856–1906) Being the Jubilee Report of Reformatory and Refuge Union* (London, 1906). The images within this publication are not paginated.

supporting radical political causes.[39] He could also call upon influential local support from Adderley and Lords Leigh, Calthorpe and Lyttleton. Adderley was Leigh's brother-in-law and both developed a lifelong involvement in the reformatory movement.[40] Calthorpe and Lyttleton were also prominent local philanthropists.[41] The influence of the Hill family as a whole may well have added weight to the choice of location.[42] Additionally, Hill may have seen it as an opportunity to regain some perceived loss of face locally following the unceremonious dismissal of his candidate, Alexander Maconochie, as governor of the Borough Gaol by the visiting justices.[43] There is also evidence that Hill was in dispute with these justices, and the town's council, over changes he was proposing to the local court system.[44]

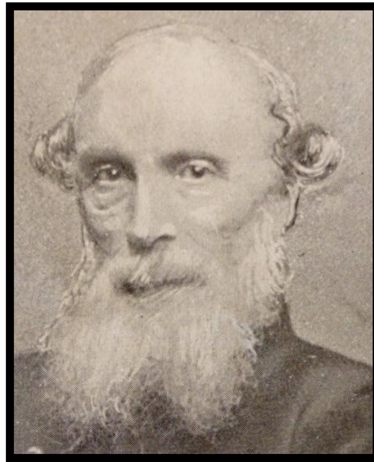
Like Hill, Mary Carpenter was a Unitarian. She established a ragged school in Bristol in 1846 and subsequently founded two reformatory schools in the area.[45] Sydney Turner was an Anglican minister and also the chaplain and superintendant

[39] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 161. He had been MP for Hull 1832–1835.
[40] J.E.G. De Montmorency and Rev. H.C.G. Matthew, Charles Bowyer Adderley, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/view/printable/30341> [accessed 5 September 2012].
[41] Chris Upton, *A History of Birmingham* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co Ltd, 1993); p. 142.
[42] This influence is discussed in Chapter Eight.
[43] Birmingham City Archives (Hereafter BCA), QS/B/23/1, Birmingham Borough Gaol Quarter Session Minutes, Volume I, 9th May 1851. The significance of Maconochie's dismissal is examined later in this chapter.
[44] Conrad Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I. Manor & Borough to 1865* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 414.
[45] Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets*, pp. 81, 112, 124. Carpenter's role in the reformatory movement and her association with Matthew Davenport Hill are discussed more in Chapters Two and Eight.

of the Philanthropic Society. He would later relinquish this role to become the first government-appointed inspector of reformatory institutions.[46]

It is possible that Carpenter and Hill's shared Unitarian beliefs were connected to the choice of Birmingham as the location for the conference. Though small in relation to other groups, the social and economic positions occupied by many Unitarians developed into networks that were disproportionately influential in relation to their numbers.[47] Birmingham was a major centre of Unitarianism and its close-knit families occupied prominent positions in local society.[48]

Fig. 5.3 Rev. Sydney Turner [49]



[46] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, pp. 178, 254. The influence of the Philanthropic Society is discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

[47] E.P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons* (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1973), p. 176.

[48] Tristram Hunt, *Building Jerusalem. The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City* (London: Orion Books Ltd, 2005), p. 142. As an indication of the influence of Unitarians in Birmingham Asa Briggs describes how, between 1872 and 1900, the Unitarians and Quakers provided more mayors of the town than any other two groups. Asa Briggs, *History of Birmingham, Volume II, Borough and City 1865–1938* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 129. Chapter Seven of this thesis outlines the influence of certain local Unitarians in the development of local reformatory institutions and Chapter Eight comprises a case study of Birmingham's Unitarian Hill family.

[49] *Fifty Years' Record of Child Saving and Reformatory Work (1856–1906) Being the Jubilee Report of Reformatory and Refuge Union*.

Birmingham may also have been chosen as the conference's location in order to provide a clean break from the early reformatory efforts that had begun in London and to give the reformatory movement a fresh start in a new setting. Despite suggestions that, originally, a location in Manchester was being sought,[50] at the public meeting held on the second day of the conference, Joseph Adshead, a delegate from that town, stated he regretted that Manchester had not been chosen as the venue but indicated Birmingham did provide an opportunity for such a fresh start. Another delegate, Rev. W.C. Osborn, highlighted Birmingham's suitability because Hill was the town's Recorder and had already gained significant experience with young people in the field of juvenile crime.[51] It is also possible the organisers did not want to risk the conference being overshadowed by the Great Exhibition should they have chosen a venue in London.[52] It may equally have been recognised that Birmingham's central location and good transport links would make it easier for delegates to attend than other potential locations.[53]

The conference, which was held at Dee's Royal Hotel on Temple Row in December 1851, only comprised an evening meeting on 9th December and a day

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[50] 'Reformatory School for Neglected Children', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 15th November 1851, p. 9.

[51] *Report of the Proceedings of a Conference....1851,* pp. 99-101. Chapter Three describes how Hill introduced the beginnings of probation in an effort to reduce the number of children being jailed locally.

[52] The Great Exhibition, held in Hyde Park, finished in October 1851.

[53] The simple convenience of having a suitable venue available at the desired time may well have played a role in the choice of venue and the chosen location of Dee's Royal Hotel did provide such convenience. It was located in the town centre and hosted numerous gatherings from a variety of organisations over its lifetime. It was also a 'posting house', forerunner of the Post Office, and possessed extensive stabling and a large coach house. It advertised that its post horses met all trains arriving in Birmingham to collect and deliver post and 'omnibuses and other public carriages' were regularly in attendance at the hotel. *Osborne's Guide to the Grand Junction or Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester Railway* (Birmingham: E.C and W Osborne, 1838), p. 1.

of speeches on 10th December.[54] The conference promoters, nearly fifty people who included most of the leading proponents for the reform of the treatment of juvenile offenders, had circulated invitations in advance but the event attracted little attention in the press.[55] The first newspaper to provide advance notice of the event was the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*. It published an article on 15th November 1851 indicating the conference would take place in Manchester.[56] On 1st December the *Morning Chronicle* was the first to report Birmingham as the venue but, on the same day, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* stated that the conference was being held in Manchester.[57] The Birmingham venue was not detailed in a Birmingham newspaper until 6th December.[58] Overall, the reporting of the conference was sparse.[59] The lack of press coverage seems to indicate that the general disinterest exhibited by Parliament in reforming the treatment of juvenile offenders was a reflection of the prevailing attitude within society.

While the pre-conference reporting was poor, the post-conference press coverage was slightly more detailed with the first account appearing on 11th December in

[54] *Report of the Proceedings of a Conference....1851,* p. 7.
[55] *Report of the Proceedings of a Conference....1851*, pp. iii–vi.
[56] 'Reformatory School for Neglected Children', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 15th November 1851, p. 9.
[57] 'Preventive and Reformatory Schools', *Morning Chronicle*, 1st December 1851, p. 5. This article included a detailed account of the event's objectives. Untitled, *ABG*, 1st December 1851, p. 4.
[58] Both the *Birmingham Journal* (*BJ*) and *Birmingham Mercury* (*BM*) reported it on this day with *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (*ABG*) reporting it on the following Monday. 'Prevention of Juvenile Crime', *BJ*, 6th December 1851, p. 8; 'Preventive and Reformatory Schools', *BM*, 6th December 1851, p. 1; 'Birmingham, December 8 1851', *ABG*, 8th December 1851, p. 3.
[59] The only advance reporting of any note the event attracted occurred in Liverpool, Aberdeen and Leeds: 'Preventive and Reformatory Education', *Liverpool Mercury*, 2nd December 1851, p. 4; 'Reformatory Schools', *Aberdeen Journal*, 3rd December 1851, p. 8; 'Preventive and Reformatory Education', *Leeds Times*, 6th December 1851, p. 4.

the *Morning Post*, albeit on page six.[60] A report of the meeting appeared the following day in the *Morning Chronicle.*[61] Also on 12th December, the *Morning Post* reported a meeting held at the conference on the evening of 10th December as 'very indifferently attended'. Mary Carpenter wrote about the lack of attendees and enthusiasm at the event.[62] On 13th December the *Yorkshire Gazette* described it as 'a great and influential conference' but the article's size and location, thirty lines on page eight, did not reflect their comments.[63] That day's edition of the *Spectator* contained a brief account of the conference on page four.[64] Though widely reported in a geographical sense, descriptions of the conference were generally few in number and very small in size.[65] The earliest accounts from Birmingham were reported in the *Birmingham Journal* and *Birmingham Mercury*, both on 13th December. Neither piece was prominent or extensive; the *Birmingham Journal* favoured an account of the local cattle and poultry show over the conference. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* carried a report on 15th December.[66] Far wider coverage was displayed in Scottish newspapers where the *Aberdeen Journal* reported a public meeting held in the town to hear

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[60] 'Reformatory Schools', *Morning Post*, 11th December 1851, p. 6.

[61] 'Preventive and Reformatory Schools', *Morning Chronicle*, 12th December 1851, p. 3.

[62] 'Preventive and Reformatory Schools', *Morning Post*, 12th December 1851, p. 6; Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets*, p. 105.

[63] 'Reformatory Schools', *Yorkshire Gazette*, 13th December 1851, p. 8.

[64] 'The Provinces', *Spectator*, 13th December 1851, p. 4. The newspaper preceded the article with the comment it could 'only make room for the gist of the resolutions adopted'.

[65] On 13th December 1851, small, factual descriptions of the conference were published in newspapers in Leicestershire, Yorkshire, London, Bristol and Edinburgh.

[66] 'Juvenile Crime – Preventive and Reformatory Schools Conference at Birmingham', 'Birmingham & Midland Counties Exhibition of Cattle and Poultry', *BJ*, 13th December 1851, pp. 6, 7; ''Education as Preventing and Arresting Crime', *BM*, 13th December 1851, p. 5; ''Preventive and Reformatory Schools', *ABG*, 15th December 1851, p. 1.

from a Mr Thompson who had attended the conference.[67] If the conference organisers had intended it to build up a wave of support within the press or public at large, then they failed. At best the reporting of the event can be described as limited.

Media coverage aside, accounts of the conference indicate that it comprised a series of speeches rather than any debates or discussions. The event's objectives, circulated with the original invitations, were reflected virtually unchanged in the resolutions that were adopted. This may indicate significant preparatory efforts by its organisers to ensure a predetermined conclusion and 'united front' from which to press for legislative change or a genuine convergence of views. If the latter is the case, then the similarity between the conference resolutions and the actions for combating child crime and poverty, suggested by Carpenter in *Reformatory Schools,* highlights the influence of her published work.[68] She advocated a model of provision which encompassed the needs of poor, destitute and convicted children through the use of feeding schools, industrial schools and reformatory institutions, with efforts to reform behaviour rather than punish being the emphasis of the latter establishments.[69] She also highlighted the importance of family life in the prevention of delinquent behaviour and did much to advance the concept of

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[67] 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools', *Caledonian Mercury*, 15th December 1851, p. 2; Untitled, *Aberdeen Journal*, 17th December 1851, p. 2; 'The Birmingham Conference on Juvenile Delinquency', *Aberdeen Journal*, 24th December 1851, p. 4.

[68] Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, pp. 67–72.

[69] Nick Frost, *Child Welfare. Major Themes in Health and Social Welfare. Volume I Historical Perspectives* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), p. 275; Ruth Watts, Mary Carpenter: Educator of the 'Perishing and Dangerous Classes' in Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch (eds.), *Practical Visionaries. Women, Education and Social Progress, 1790-1930* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 43.

childhood, including the specific needs of children, within society as a whole.[70] *Reformatory Schools* has been credited as prompting the state to take the first positive steps to alleviate juvenile offending through the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act.[71]

This legislation was several years away but the resolutions that were unanimously adopted contained a number of observations and proposals that would, eventually, influence government policy on the subject; their similarity to the proposals made by Carpenter in *Reformatory Schools* is striking. They underlined the responsibilities of society as a whole towards poor and criminal children, as well as the lack of institutions and legislation available for society to fulfil this responsibility. The provision of free day schools for all children was called for; together with the legal compulsion for children already known to the police, through petty crime, to attend industrial feeding schools. The latter would be funded by the child's parish of residence but a contribution towards the costs would also be sought from the parents. Finally, it suggested the establishment of 'Correctional and Reformatory Schools' to house the majority of offending children instead of prison. The conference attendees also formed a committee to begin to lobby Parliament to accept these reforms.[72]

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[70] Margaret May, Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century in John Muncie, Gordon Hughes and Eugene McLaughlin (eds.), *Youth Justice. Critical Readings* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 107.

[71] Frost, *Child Welfare*, p. 275. The enactment of the legislation in question is detailed in Chapter Six.

[72] *Report of the Proceedings of a Conference....1851,* p. ii; Henry Barnard, *Reformatory Education: Paper on Preventive, Correctional and Reformatory Institutions and Agencies in Different Countries* (Hartford: F.C. Brownell, 1857), p. 307. Appendix A details the committee members.

This committee moved quickly and sent a deputation to meet with Home Secretary Sir George Grey at the end of December.[73] They also wrote to magistrates and town clerks across Britain to elicit further support and when the committee subsequently met in London, a month later, they reported they had received further backing 'throughout the country'.[74] Elements within the press were pessimistic about any success. On 6th March 1852 the *Spectator* described the comparative inattention shown to the conference, claiming that the evidence presented promoting reform over punishment was far from new; it blamed the lack of progress on a society that had lost faith in its principles.[75] Their lobbying, together with support from MPs Charles Adderley and Sir John Pakington, the latter being a member of the committee,[76] proved successful and quickly led to the establishment of a Select Committee in May 1852, appointed to enquire into 'the Present Treatment of Criminal and Destitute Juveniles in this Country'.[77]

The activities of the Select Committee, and resulting action, are detailed in Chapter Six, but two further meetings were held in Birmingham during December 1852 and January 1853. The first took place on 26th December, again at Dee's

[73] 'Preventive and Reformatory Schools', *Liverpool Mercury*, 30th December 1851, p. 4. The same article was carried by a number of newspapers.

[74] This attempt to generate support did result in some local meetings of which the following have been identified: 'Worcester Epiphany Sessions. Juvenile Prisoners', *Worcestershire Chronicle and Provincial Railway Gazette*, 7th January 1852, p. 8; 'Breconshire Epiphany Sessions. Reformation of Juvenile Offenders', *Hereford Times*, 10th January 1852, p. 6; 'Staffordshire Quarter Sessions. Juvenile Offenders', *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 10th January 1852, p. 7; 'Reformation of Juvenile Offenders', *Berkshire Chronicle*, 17th January 1852, p. 4; 'Juvenile Delinquency', *Reading Mercury*, 17th January 1852, p. 3; 'Birmingham, Jan 26, 1852', *ABG*, 26th January 1852, p. 3.

[75] 'Reformation of Juvenile Offenders', *Spectator*, 6th March 1852, pp. 225-226.

[76] 'The Birmingham Conference on Juvenile Delinquency', *Aberdeen Journal*, 24th December 1851, p. 4.

[77] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (London: HMSO, 1852).

Hotel, and provided an update on the Select Committee's work.[78] The meeting held on 27th January was clearly designed to maintain the momentum for reform, as it renewed calls for a new approach to the problem of juvenile offending. It was also held to promote the establishment of a reformatory institution in Birmingham but the most striking feature about the event was that it attracted over one hundred delegates. These included eleven Church of England ministers, ten of Birmingham's aldermen and councillors, several local magistrates, two MPs, the governor of London's Tothill Fields Prison and Mary Carpenter.[79] While these meetings highlighted Birmingham's growing role as an epicentre of efforts to reform the treatment of delinquents, a tragedy at the town's borough gaol soon focused public attention on the subject. In addition, the gaol's governor and chaplain, both of whom had attended the January meeting, were directly linked to the incident.

BIRMINGHAM BOROUGH GAOL

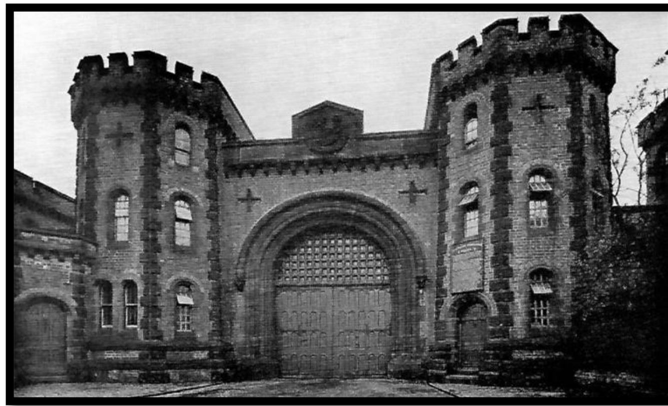
While Adderley was in London, lobbying for reforms to the treatment of juvenile offenders, events were taking place in Birmingham that underlined just how important and desperately needed such reforms were, not only to rehabilitate rather than punish but also to protect young people from the abuses they could face in prison from those charged with their care. On 27th April 1853 fifteen-year

[78] 'Criminal and Destitute Children', *ABG*, 27th December 1852, p. 2. A full account of this meeting is provided in Chapter Six.

[79] 'Industrial School for Criminal Children', *ABG*, 29th January 1853, p. 7. The MPs were William Scholefield and Charles Adderley. Scholefield had been elected as one Birmingham's MPs in 1847 but stated at the meeting that he had only recently taken an interest in the subject. Samuel Timmins and Matthew Lee, 'William Scholefield (1809-1867)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24815> [accessed 10th March 2018].

old Edward Andrews died in Birmingham Borough Gaol. His death was recorded as ‘Hanging, suicide in a state of insanity’.[80] Since January 1851 there had been eighteen suicide attempts within the prison and Andrews had been the second prisoner to take his own life in the space of two weeks.[81] All of these incidents involved prisoners aged between fourteen and twenty-five years.[82]

Fig. 5.4 Birmingham Borough Gaol c.1935 [83]



Andrews was committed to Birmingham Prison on 28th March 1853. Described as being thin, spare and about five feet tall, he had received a three-month sentence of hard labour for stealing beef. For Andrews, hard labour entailed operating a device called the crank. This comprised a box on legs with a handle on the outside connected to a paddle on the inside, which was moved through sand. Prisoners would stand to turn the outer handle, which could be adjusted to vary the physical

[80] BCA Coroner’s Court Roll 1839-75 (No reference).
[81] Joseph Allday, *True Account of the Proceedings Leading to, and a Full and Authentic Report of, the Searching Inquiry by Her Majesty’s Commission, into the Horrible System of Discipline Practised at the Borough Gaol of Birmingham* (Birmingham; John Tonks, 1853), pp. 20–21; BCA Coroner’s Court Roll 1839-75.
[82] Allday, *True Account*, pp. 20–21.
[83] Geraldine, S. Cadbury, *Young Offenders, Yesterday and Today* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1938). Images within this publication are not paginated.

effort needed to operate it, and were required to make 10,000 revolutions of the handle every day; 2,000 before breakfast, 4,000 before dinner and the remaining 4,000 before supper. An instrument on the crank recorded the number of revolutions.[84]

Andrews began his 'hard labour' on 30th March in a separate cell in the basement of the juvenile section of the gaol. On both that day and the following day he failed to complete the required number of revolutions and was punished, receiving just one 'meal' of bread and water on each day. On 12th April, for shouting and talking in his cell, the chief warden 'sentenced' him to a bread and water diet for three successive Sundays; an illegal punishment in itself. On 16th April he again received bread and water for failing to complete his task on the crank and on the following day he was put into a 'punishment jacket' for several hours for damaging the device. These jackets were effectively a straightjacket coupled with a thick leather collar designed to prevent the prisoner chewing or biting the garment; he was then strapped to the wall in a standing position.[85]

This was repeated for four hours on 19th April and his meals again reduced to bread and water. The 22nd April saw him receive the punishment diet for damaging the crank and on Sunday 24th April, for shouting and swearing, he was again strapped into the jacket. This time cold water was thrown over him, to

[84] It was Andrews' third prison term at Birmingham Borough Gaol. When the Gaol opened in 1849 it had two cranks but the visiting justices quickly ordered the number increased to twenty-two. The use of the crank was not abolished until 1895. Allday, *True Account*, p.21; *Report of the Commissioners..... Birmingham Borough Prison*, pp. 214, 217; Giles Playfair, *The Punitive Obsession* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1971), p. 169.

[85] *Report of the Commissioners.....Birmingham Borough Prison*, p. vi-xi.

prevent him 'shamming fainting' or 'making unnecessary sounds'; together with the bread and water punishment diet.

Andrews damaged his cell window and the crank on 26th April and received the comparatively mild punishment of having his bed removed until 10.00 pm that evening; as 5.30 pm was the normal locking-up time he would have had to either stand or sit on the cell's stone floor until the bed was returned. He damaged the crank again the following day and received the same punishment. When the night watchman went to Andrews' cell that evening to return the bed, he was found to have committed suicide.[86]

The inquest into Andrews' death revealed the extent of the 'punishments' he had been subjected to in the days leading up to his suicide.[87] Some of this information was provided by the prison chaplain, Rev. Ambrose Sherwin and came to the attention of the local inspector of prisons, John G. Perry, who began his own enquiries.[88] There had been rumours of cruel practices taking place at the prison and the inquest's findings prompted local councillor and churchwarden Joseph Allday to call a public meeting.[89] Despite Perry's ongoing investigations, a deputation was formed, which travelled to London and met with Lord Palmerston at the Home Office to request a public inquiry be held into the discipline at the borough gaol. The meeting took place on 27th May 1853 and, by a quirk of fate,

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[86] *Report of the Commissioners.....Birmingham Borough Prison*, p. vi-xi.
[87] *Report of the Commissioners.....Birmingham Borough Prison*, p. 5.
[88] Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *English Prisons Under Local Government* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922), p. 169.
[89] *Report of the Commissioners.....Birmingham Borough Prison*, p. v.

coincided with the suicide of a nineteen-year old male prisoner at the gaol, the third in six weeks.[90]

By this time Perry had completed his enquiries and reported he had found a regime that inflicted 'illegal and repugnant' punishments on prisoners, especially juveniles, plus poor record keeping, officers deficient in their duties and a rate of attempted suicide 'far exceeding....anything recorded elsewhere'.[91] Palmerston forwarded the report to the local visiting justices with a request that they investigate these allegations.[92] Their inquiry began in June and soon provoked anger locally, as it immediately disputed the number of suicides that had occurred at the prison.[93] The controversy grew as the report contradicted and dismissed both Perry's finding and the memorials presented by local inhabitants to substantiate the claims of abuse. The justices also refused to accept the testimony of former prisoners and officers who wished to give evidence.[94] Criticising Perry, the justices painted the prison as an almost model institution and stated their satisfaction with both their own conduct and that of their officers. Disputing the punishments reportedly inflicted on Andrews and other prisoners, they either denied the illegal practices recorded by Perry had ever taken place or blamed their introduction on the already dismissed Alexander Maconochie.[95] The description of the report as a 'whitewashing' seems apt.[96]

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[90] BCA Coroner's Court Roll 1839-75.
[91] Allday, *True Account*, pp. 12–14.
[92] Allday, *True Account*, p. 12.
[93] 'Birmingham Town Council', *ABG*, 13th June 1853, pp. 3–4.
[94] Webb and Webb, *English Prisons, p. 170.*
[95] Allday, *True Account*, pp. 14, 23-25; Roberts, 'The Scandal at Birmingham Borough Gaol', p. 322.
[96] Webb and Webb, *English Prisons, p. 170.*

The response of the visiting justices was hardly surprising. Perry had placed much of the blame for events at the gaol on its governor, William Austin, who had been the justices' chosen postholder.[97] Austin was the former deputy to the prison's original governor, Alexander Maconochie.[98] On 9th May 1851 the justices had declared their dissatisfaction with Maconochie's management of the prison.[99] Maconochie and Austin had been at loggerheads with Maconochie protesting about what he regarded as Austin's excessive use of punishments.[100] There were also suggestions that some of the justices, who favoured a stricter regime, helped Austin undermine Maconochie. He was finally dismissed in October 1851 and Austin took over.[101] All of the self-inflicted deaths and the majority of attempted suicides occurred after Austin became governor.

The belief by many in Birmingham that there would be a cover-up of events at the gaol reached Lord Palmerston in the Commons and he referred the matter to the Law Officers.[102] Finally the request of the deputation led by Allday, who had met with Palmerston in May, was granted and a commission of inquiry was appointed. It took evidence between August and September 1853 and published its report in

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[97] Allday, *True Account,* p. 12.

[98] Maconochie was a former Naval officer. He had governed the Norfolk Island penal colony in Australasia from 1840 to 1844. John Vincent Barry, *Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 86; , John V. Barry, 'Alexander Maconochie (1787–1861)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 1967, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/maconochie-alexander-2417/ text3207> [accessed 16th August 2018]; Morris, *Maconochie's Gentlemen*, p. 163; Jo Turner, The Mark System in Jo Turner, Paul Taylor, Karen Corteen and Sharon Morley (eds.), *A Companion of the History of Crime and Criminal Justice* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2007), p. 141.

[99] BCA Birmingham Borough Gaol Quarter Session Minutes, Volume I, 9th May 1851.

[100] Playfair, *The Punitive Obsession*, p. 89.

[101] John Vincent Barry, *Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 200. Despite his dismissal Maconochie has come to be regarded as a reforming prison governor. Norval Morris, *Maconochie's Gentlemen. The Story of Norfolk Island & The Roots of Modern Prison Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 165.

[102] Allday, *True Account,* p. 25.

January 1854.[103] While it detailed how Maconochie had sanctioned illegal punishments, Austin was found to have devised a system of discipline that was based on 'the application of pain and terror' and the prison surgeon, Blount, was complicit in these activities.[104] The visiting justices were also heavily criticised.[105]

THE 1853 BIRMINGHAM CONFERENCE

The second conference was held in Birmingham on 20th December 1853 and was described as a 'renewal' of the 1851 conference. Invitations to the event spoke of a disappointment that no legislation had ensued from the first conference but was confident that, providing this new conference could illustrate the strength of public support, the government would now act to introduce the desired legislative changes.[106] While there is no indication that the conference organisers tried to draw an explicit link between the events at Birmingham Borough Gaol and their aims, the extensive national press coverage of the Prison Commissioners inquiry would have brought the treatment of juvenile criminals to the notice of a wide audience.[107] Additionally, the vividly reported abuses that Edward Andrews suffered would have made politicians and public alike more amenable to legislation that treated adult and child prisoners differently and, in the case of the

[103] *Report of the Commissioners.....Birmingham Borough Prison*, pp. 1, 499.

[104] Austin and Blount resigned and were subsequently charged with assault. They were both acquitted but Austin served a three month prison sentence for failing to keep proper records. Barry, *Alexander Maconochie*, p. 206.

[105] *Report of the Commissioners.....Birmingham Borough Prison*, pp. xxxiv–xxxvii.

[106] *Report of the Proceedings of the Second Conference, 1853*, pp. 15-16. The conference was again held at Dee's Royal Hotel.

[107] The 1853 conference took place after the Commissioners had finished gathering evidence but before the findings were published.

latter, place reform over punishment.[108] The impact of holding a further conference on the subject within a stone's throw of where these events took place could not have been lost on its organisers; the time and place was ideal.[109]

The organisation of the second conference has been credited to Mary Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill, though significant preparatory work had been undertaken by William Morgan and Sydney Turner who acted as secretaries to the event.[110] Unlike the limited advance press reports for the 1851 conference, the notifications for the 1853 event were published widely. Whether this resulted from a genuine greater widespread interest in the subject or the organisers becoming more adept at managing the printed media can only be speculated about, but the date and location of the conference appeared in newspapers from the beginning of November onwards.[111] Preliminary meetings, to raise awareness of the conference and its subject, were held at Dee's Royal Hotel in the town on 19th November and 1st December.[112] *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* provided regular updates and descriptions of distinguished individuals who had announced they

[108] Examples of the many newspaper articles reporting on the inquiry into Birmingham Gaol include: 'Charges of Cruelty against the Governor of the Borough Gaol at Birmingham', *London Evening Standard*, 30th June 1853, p. 1; 'Cruelty in the Borough Gaol at Birmingham', *South Eastern Gazette*, 5th July 1853, pp. 6-7; 'Domestic Intelligence', *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser*, 5th July 1853, p. 4; 'Latest Intelligence', *Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury*, 16th July 1853; 'London, Saturday, July 16, 1853', *Morning Post*, 16th July 1853, pp. 4-5.

[109] Matthew Davenport Hill may have again used to conference to reinforce his authority as Recorder because details of disputes between him and both the Mayor and local magistrates were being reported in the press. 'Mr Hill and the Mayor of Birmingham', *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 20th July 1853, p. 4.

[110] Yale Levin, 'The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency in England During the Early Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 31:1 (May-June 1940), p. 45; Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee, *Report.....on Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, pp. 176-177.

[111] The earliest notification located was in the Worcestershire Chronicle; 'Second Conference on Reformatory Education', *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 2nd November 1853, p. 4. Other early press notices: 'Local and District News', *Coventry Herald*, 4th November 1853, p. 2; 'Central News', *Norfolk News*, 5th November 1853, p. 4.

[112] 'The Approaching Conference on Juvenile Delinquency', *London Standard*, 23rd November 1853, p. 1; 'Young Criminals', *Illustrated London News*, 19th November 1853, p. 435.

would be attending. Its profile was further raised locally by William Morgan who delivered a speech at the town's Y.M.C.A on 29th November.[113]

The conference lasted from 10.00 am to 4.00 pm and comprised more discussions than the virtual set-piece speeches of the 1851 event. The public meeting at the town hall began at 7.00 pm and was 'crowded to excess in every part by a most respectable and deeply attentive audience'.[114] A large number of reporters were also present, which was reflected by the detailed and widespread press coverage that immediately followed the event. Within three days of the conference, reports appeared in newspapers across the kingdom and the first subsequent edition of *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* reported the proceedings over its first four pages. Some publications took the opportunity to detail the systems adopted by other countries to deal with their juvenile offenders, highlighting the domestic need for such practices.[115]

The conference appointed a committee who petitioned the House of Lords. They proposed legislation that would see children detained in reformatory schools instead of prisons, supported by government funding.[116] As occurred following the

[113] Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee, *Report.....on Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, p. 176; William Morgan, *The Arabs of the City: or A Plea for Brotherhood with the Outcast* (Birmingham: Hudson and Son, 1853). Morgan was also Birmingham's town clerk.

[114] *Report of the Proceedings of the Second Conference*, *1853*, p. 68.

[115] Examples of prompt conference reports: Untitled, *London Standard*, 21st December 1853, p. 2; 'Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents', *Morning Post*, 21st December 1853, pp. 5-6; Untitled, *Dublin Evening Packet and Correspondent*, 22nd December 1853, p. 4; 'Domestic Miscellany', *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser,* 23rd December 1853, p. 4; Birmingham: 'Juvenile Delinquency. Conference and Public Meeting at Birmingham', *ABG*, 26th December 1853, pp. 1-4. Details of existing foreign attempts at juvenile reform were published in: *Illustrated London News*, 24th December 1853, p. 554.

[116] 'Juvenile Delinquency', *Sussex Advertiser*, 24th January 1854, p. 4; 'The Metropolis', *Spectator* 4th February 1854, pp. 8-9. The proposals included a clause permitting the state to seek a contribution towards the child's maintenance costs from the parents. A list of the members of this committee is

first conference, committee members worked to elicit support for their proposals from across the country. Charles Adderley reported that the committee had subsequently divided into two branches and by 30th January 1854 'had stirred up every part of the United Kingdom to petition Parliament'.[117] Their efforts resulted in six petitions from Scotland alone and separate meeting were held at various locations across the country including Gloucester, Norfolk, Leeds, Liverpool and Blackburn, to either raise further petitions to support the proposals of the Birmingham committee or consider establishing reformatory schools locally.[118] Matthew Davenport Hill lobbied his 'brother Recorders of England' for support and a deputation from the committee met with Lord Palmerston at the Home Office on 1st February 1854.[119] By June, Palmerston personally had brought in 'A Bill for the Better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in England and Wales', which was enacted into law by the end of the year.[120] The legislation fundamentally changed the way juveniles were treated by the courts.[121]

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provided in Appendix A.

[117] 'Reformatory School, Saltley', *ABG*, 30th January 1854, p. 1. These two branches held meetings in Birmingham and London prior to this date.

[118] 'Industrial Schools for Juvenile Reformation', *Essex Standard*, 25th January 1854, p. 2; 'Reformation of Criminals', *Norfolk News*, 28th January 1854, p. 4; 'Reformation of Juvenile Offenders', *Leeds Times*, 28th January 1854, p. 4;'Juvenile Delinquency', *Blackburn Standard*, 1st February 1854, p. 2; 'The Hereford and Other Meetings', *Hereford Times*, 4th February 1854, p. 10.

[119] 'Deputation to Lord Palmerston on the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents', *Ragged School Union Magazine*, 6:61, (January 1854), p. 55; 'Reformatory Schools. Deputation to the Home Secretary', *London Standard*, 2nd February 1854, p. 3.

[120] *A Bill for the Better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in England and Wales* (House of Commons, 1854).

[121] Jo Manton, Mary Carpenter's biographer, has claimed that there was a further 'Conference on Juvenile Delinquency' held in Birmingham in December 1854. It has not been possible to locate any trace of such an event in any other publication, contemporary or otherwise. Additionally, while this chapter highlights how Birmingham did host several meetings on the subject of delinquency, there is no evidence to support her further assertion that these conferences became an annual event Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets*, p. 122.

1855 CATHOLIC CHURCH MEETING

The conferences of 1851 and 1853 were only one part of Birmingham's close involvement with the reformatory movement. On 11th December 1855 a meeting of Roman Catholic clergy and gentry was held in the town to consider establishing a reformatory for Catholic juvenile offenders from the dioceses of Birmingham, Shrewsbury, Nottingham and Northampton.

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards there had been a general religious revival within the country but Roman Catholicism in particular had grown.[122] Restrictions on Catholics began to be lifted following the Emancipation Act of 1829 and in 1850 Pope Pius IX restored the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Wales, establishing twelve bishoprics and an archbishop at Westminster.[123] Birmingham had already seen the construction of the first cathedral in Britain since the Reformation, following the rebuilding of St. Chad's chapel in 1841, and it became the cathedral church of the new diocese of Birmingham following the Pope's declaration.[124] The relative prominence of industrial towns like Birmingham within this revival has been credited to the greater presence of Catholic churchmen,

[122] K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846–1886* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 458-459; Gerald Parsons, *Religion in Victorian Britain, Volume I, Traditions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 174.

[123] L.E. Elliott-Binns, *Religion in the Victorian Era*, 2nd edn (London: Lutterworth Press, 1946), p. 31; Julie Melnyk, *Victorian Religion, Faith and Life in Britain* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2008), pp. 46-47.

[124] Marie B. Rowlands, *Those Who Have Gone Before Us* (Stafford: Archdiocese of Birmingham Historical Commission, 1989), pp. 37-38. The cathedral's construction was championed by Thomas Walsh who served in Birmingham 1826–1848 until he was succeeded by Bernard Ullathorne. Both were technically Vicar Apostolic until the restoration of papal titles in 1850. Effectively Ullathorne became the first Bishop of Birmingham at this point. The new diocese comprised Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Oxfordshire. Bernard Adkins, *The Roman Catholic Diocese of Birmingham 1850–1888* (Unpublished BA thesis: Birmingham, 1950), pp. 2-3. At this point there was an existing bishop's residence in the town and a Catholic college and seminary at Oscott.

when compared to other faiths, within the slum and working-class areas of these towns. Priests possessed authority, even in matters outside religion, and many became influential community leaders.[125]

The 1855 meeting was subsequently described as the most impressive Catholic meeting ever to assemble there in that century.[126] Notably, it was held in the town hall rather than Birmingham's St. Chad's Cathedral and was described as 'a very numerous and influential meeting'. It was chaired by Sir Robert Throckmorton who began by emphasising Birmingham's key role in the reformatory movement, how it had principally originated in the town and also describing Charles Adderley's influence. Stating how outline plans had already been made for a reformatory in London, he said that the Midlands was unprovided for and appeared to appeal to civic pride by saying how local support would 'reflect credit..., dispel prejudice, and be an honour to Birmingham'.[127]

The incumbent Bishop of Birmingham, the Right Rev Dr. Ullathorne, spoke in support of the scheme and underlined how it was now the time for Catholics to play their part in the reform of juvenile criminals.[128] Ullathorne would have certainly been aware of the challenges such a declaration posed. At the age of twenty-six he had been sent to Australia to settle a dispute between two priests in the colony. Subsequently appointed Vicar-general, he served there from 1832 to 1841, during

[125] Parsons, *Religion in Victorian Britain*, pp. 171-172, 176.

[126] Elliott in Williams (ed.), *The Adaptation of Change*, p. 79.

[127] 'Birmingham, Dec. 10 1855', *ABG*, 10th December 1855, p. 3; 'Local Meetings. Roman Catholic Reformatory Institute', *ABG*, 17th December 1855, p. 1; 'Roman Catholic Reformatory Institution', *Belfast Daily Mercury*, 17th December 1855, p. 3.

[128] 'Local Meetings. Roman Catholic Reformatory Institute', *ABG*, 17th December 1855, p. 1; 'Roman Catholic Reformatory Institution', *Belfast Daily Mercury*, 17th December 1855, p. 3.

which time he ministered to the colony's convicts.[129] Through his work he met Alexander Maconochie, the officer in charge of the Norfolk Island penal settlement.[130] Ullathorne witnessed Maconochie's reformatory practices at first hand and was so impressed by what he saw that he subsequently compared Maconochie to the penal reformer John Howard.[131]

The 1855 meeting underlined the necessity to rehabilitate child offenders, but also expressed fears that the developing reformatory efforts may be used to undermine their religion. Throckmorton stated 'it behoved Roman Catholics....to take care that, under the pretence of reforming the morals of these juveniles, the groundwork of all pure morality, their religious convictions and religious faith, should not be uprooted and undermined'.[132] The church authorities regarded the education of Catholic children in Catholic schools as a necessity and viewed any possibility of 'their' children benefiting from Protestant philanthropy as undesirable.[133] The Catholic Church did not yet have a presence within the network of reformatory institutions that was developing across the country at this time.

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[129] The government had specifically requested the Catholic Church provide a clergyman to mediate in the dispute. 'Bishop Ullathorne', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, 1:1 (May 1888), pp. 6-7; Judith F. Champ, 'William Ullathorne (Name in religion – Bernard) (1806-1889)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27985> [accessed 30th March 2018].

[130] Mary Carpenter, *Our Convicts, Volume I* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864), pp. 101-102.

[131] Barry, *Alexander Maconochie,* p. 168.

[132] 'Roman Catholic Reformatory Institution', *Belfast Daily Mercury*, 17th December 1855, p. 3.

[133] Parsons, *Religion in Victorian Britain*, pp. 170, 179. Within Birmingham the Catholic Church gained the reputation for ensuring any convicted children who shared its faith were quickly moved into Catholic-run reformatory institutions. 'Birmingham Watch Committee, *BDP*, 6th July 1870, p. 7.

A subscription of £500 was raised at the meeting, which also appointed a committee to identify a suitable site for a reformatory.[134] Underlining an ethos common to the reformatory movement as a whole, regardless of any religious affiliations, it was also recorded at the meeting that the education any inmates of such an institution received should ensure 'they are not crammed with knowledge above their station and prospects in life'.[135]

The Committee of the Birmingham Catholic Association subsequently recommended a site at Mount St. Bernard's Abbey, in Leicestershire;[136] though Abbot Burder from the Abbey had suggested establishing a reformatory there in August 1855.[137] Burder is credited, by Maureen Havers, as being the driving force behind the idea for a reformatory and also as the probable organiser of the Birmingham meeting. Despite speaking of the need to 'save' children, it is possible he also saw the reformatory as an opportunity to improve the Abbey's finances through the award of government grants.[138]

Committee members had also travelled to Mettray, meeting Frederic Demetz, and visited a similar establishment at La Trappe in Brittany. Both French institutions were, like Mount St. Bernard's Abbey, based on the Cistercian Order. Finding

[134] 'Local Meetings. Roman Catholic Reformatory Institute', *ABG*, 17th December 1855, p. 1. The initial aim had been to raise £400.

[135] ABA *'The Midland Catholic Reformatory. Abstract of the Proceedings'*, p. 6. Sydney Turner expressed the same opinion in roles as chaplain and superintendant of the Philanthropic Society and following his appointment as the government inspector of reformatory institutions. Julius Carlebach, *Caring for Children in Trouble* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1970), pp. 63-64; Martin J. Weiner, *Reconstructing the Criminal. Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 138.

[136] ABA *'The Midland Catholic Reformatory. Abstract of the Proceedings',* p. 2.

[137] Elliott, 'Mount St Bernard's Reformatory', p. 15.

[138] Havers, *The Reformatory at Mount St. Bernard Abbey*.

much common ground, it was decided to base the new reformatory on the French 'agricultural colony' model which trained its inmates in farm work.[139] It was thought that the Cistercian's dedication to the reformation of their own lives and characters through work and manual labour would act as a model for the reformatory.[140]

The reformatory at Mount St. Bernard's opened the following February 1856 and by 1857 the Catholic church had also established reformatories in Gloucester, Market Weighton and two in Hammersmith.[141] The need for such institutions was clear and just over a decade later Birmingham's justices were reporting that it was difficult for them to locate places in Catholic reformatories for children from the town, as only Mount St. Bernard and another establishment at Brook Green in Hammersmith were available.[142]

1857 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

From 12th to 16th October 1857 a conference was held in Birmingham to mark the inauguration of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS). With the general aim of championing social improvement, it comprised various gatherings that discussed public health, education, jurisprudence and the

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[139] ABA Ref: B3527, *'The Reformatory School in Charnwood Forest'* (Birmingham, 1856), pp. 1-2; 'Mount St. Bernard Roman Catholic Reformatory', *ABG*, 23rd June 1856, p. 1. These types of institutions referred to the inmates as 'colonists'.

[140] Havers, *The Reformatory at Mount St. Bernard Abbey*.

[141] *Third Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1860), pp. 7, 21-24; Elliott, 'Mount St Bernard's Reformatory', p. 16; Havers, *The Reformatory at Mount St. Bernard Abbey*. Only English schools have been detailed here; Scottish institutions have been omitted, as they effectively formed part of a separate legal system.

[142] BCA PS/B/4/2/1/1, Borough of Birmingham, Minutes of Meetings of Council of Justices 1859–1894. Meeting of Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools, 15th March 1867. At this point the Hammersmith Reformatory was reported to be full.

reformatory movement; the latter for which dedicated meetings were held on 15th and 16th October.[143]

NAPSS partially owed its origins to an 1855 meeting that took place at Hardwick Court in Gloucestershire.[144] It was organised by Thomas Barwick Lloyd-Baker, who had recently established a reformatory on the site and had been a committee member at the 1853 Birmingham conference.[145] It resulted in the formation of the National Reformatory Union (NRU) whose main aim was to explain the aims of the reformatory movement to a generally hostile public.[146] Its members included Henry Brougham, Charles Adderley, Sir John Pakington, Sir Stafford Northcote, Richard Monckton Milnes, Sydney Turner, Mary Carpenter, Matthew Davenport Hill and Frederic Demetz.[147] As the NRU it held its first meeting in 1856 in Bristol and during the event Hill stated the idea for the organisation had originated during the 1851 conference in Birmingham. Considering that Hill, Carpenter, Turner, Adderley, and William Morgan, together with Hill's brother Frederic and son Alfred, all played prominent roles in the Bristol meeting, such an assertion is understandable.[148]

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[143] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, p. 257; 'Public Notices', *BJ*, 7th October 1857, p. 1.

[144] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 303.

[145] Weiner, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, pp. 136-138. Weiner described Lloyd-Baker in the same terms as Charles Adderley; an Evangelical Tory Squire, though not as wealthy as Adderley; Bill Forsythe, 'Thomas Barwick Lloyd Baker (1807-1886)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <https:// doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1140> [accessed 30th March 2018].

[146] Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain*, p. 44.

[147] 'The Reformatory Union', ABG, 18th February 1856, p. 3; Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain*, p. 44. Henry Brougham's involvement with the reformatory movement and association with the Hill family is chronicled in Chapter Eight. W.D. Rubinstein, 'Stafford Henry Northcote, First Earl of Iddesleigh (1818-1887)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009, <https://doi.org/ 10.1093/ ref:odnb/20328>[accessed 30th March 2018].

[148] 'The Reformatory Conference at Bristol', *ABG*, 18th August 1856, p. 3; 'National Reformatory Union', *BJ*, 23rd August 1856, p. 12; 'National Reformatory Union', *Bristol Mercury*, 23rd August 1856, pp. 6-7.

Around the same time the Reformatory and Refuge Union (RRU) was formed following a meeting in London. One of its most active members was John MacGregor. He also served as president of the Ragged School Union and had attended both the 1851 and 1853 conferences in Birmingham.[149] MacGregor subsequently recounted how it was also a meeting held during the 1851 conference that originated the idea of the RRU.[150] With similar aims, there was a proposal that the two organisations merge; however, the RRU was staunchly Anglican and could not accommodate Unitarians like Hill and Carpenter or Catholics like Demetz. This stance was unpopular with some of its members and was publically criticised by the RRU's Rev. Canon Girdlestone during an address he gave at the NRU's 1856 Bristol conference.[151] The NRU was non-sectarian, a trait inherited by NAPSS, though it did continue to work with the RRU.[152]

The development of NAPSS at this point is complex but it was decided that to reach a wider audience it would be best to combine its ambitions for the development of reformatories with several other pressing social issues of the day.[153] Brougham worked with individuals including John Ruskin, Lord John Russell, Charles Kingsley, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth and Edwin Chadwick to

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[149] Edwin Hodder, *John MacGregor ("Rob Roy")* (London: Hodder and Brothers, 1895), p. 84; *Report of the Proceedings of the Second Conference, 1853*, p. 40; C.A. Harris and Elizabeth Baigent, 'John MacGregor (1825-1892)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17522> [accessed 30th March 2018].

[150] Hodder, *John MacGregor*, pp. 84-85. MacGregor was a friend of Joseph Sturge and stayed at Sturge's home while he attended the 1853 conference. There is evidence to suggest that David Power, the Recorder of Ipswich, also stayed there during the conference.

[151] 'National Reformatory Union', *Bristol Mercury*, 23rd August 1856, pp. 6-7. Girdlestone questioned why the RRU could not work with those who were outside its faith but shared its values.

[152] 'The Reformatory Union', ABG, 18th February 1856, p. 3; Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain*, pp. 44-45.

[153] Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain*, p. 45. This publication provides an extremely detailed account of the development of all aspects of this organisation.

bring health reform, education and jurisprudence into the organisations remit; he also incorporated the Law Amendment Society, which he had founded in 1844.[154]

The inaugural meeting was held in Brougham's London home on 29th July 1857. Of those in attendance on that day, of particular note were Charles Adderley, John Thackery Bunce, Alfred Hill, Sampson Lloyd, Charles Ratcliff and Sydney Turner.[155] A deputation from Birmingham suggested the NAPSS hold its inaugural conference in the town. As many of those now involved with the Association had attended one, if not both, of the preceding conferences there, it was probably felt that such a venue was a safe option to ensure a successful outcome. Goldman describes the 1853 conference as a rehearsal for the first NAPSS conference.[156]

The opening address was given by the Association's president Lord Brougham. He took the opportunity to highlight the contribution the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge had already made to the issues NAPSS had chosen to involve itself with, and Matthew Davenport Hill and Birmingham's Mayor were introduced as vice-presidents.[157] An account of the attendees reveals an extremely influential group of individuals, including many who were associated with the reformatory movement locally and virtually all of those involved with the 1851 and 1853

[154] Ronald K. Huch, 'The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science: Its contribution to Victorian Health Reform, 1857–1886', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 17:3 (Autumn 1985), p. 280.

[155] Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain*, pp. 378-381. Sampson Lloyd was the son of Birmingham Banker Samuel Lloyd and Charles Ratcliff was a Birmingham barrister and banker, active in the reformatory movement. Alfred Hill was Matthew Davenport Hill's son.

[156] Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain*, pp. 29, 43.

[157] 'Reports of Societies', *British Medical journal*, 17th October 1857, pp. 872-874. Hill and Brougham were two of the founders of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Their association is discussed in Chapter Eight. Hey, *Rowland Hill. Victorian Genius and Benefactor*, p. 158.

conferences on juvenile reform and the resulting 1854 Youthful Offenders Act. These included Lord John Russell, Sir John Pakington MP, Monckton Milnes MP, Charles Adderley MP, Jelinger Symons, Robert Owen, Joseph Sturge, Alfred Hill, Sydney Turner and Mary Carpenter.[158]

The subjects under discussion were divided into specific sections, each with its own president. The section that examied juvenile reformatory issues, 'Punishment and Reform', fell under the joint supervision of Matthew Davenport Hill and Charles Adderley.[159] Nineteen papers were delivered over two days on subjects relating to the reform of adult and child criminals. Authors of the papers included Matthew Davenport Hill and his son, Alfred, Mary Carpenter, Robert Owen, Jelinger Symons, Alexander Maconochie, Thomas Barwick Lloyd-Baker and Rev. J.T. Burt (chaplain of Birmingham Borough Gaol). Also present were Birmingham magistrates Charles Bracebridge and T.C.S. Kynnersley. William Morgan gave an account of several local reformatories and, underlining that the two organisations were able to work together despite religions differences, Rev. H.J. Hatch from the RRU presented a paper on the work of that organisation.[160]

The main aims of the 'Punishment and Reform' section were to initiate much wider discussions on crime and juvenile reform throughout the country at large than had

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[158] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, p. 258; 'Reports of Societies', *British Medical journal*, 17th October 1857, pp. 872-874.

[159] *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science 1857*, p. 262. Originally the Bishop of London was due to head this section but he failed to attend the conference.

[160] *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science 1857*, pp. 226-346. Ronald Huch highlights how NAPSS conferences frequently delivered a large number of papers on varying subjects over short periods of time and, as a result, developed a reputation for holding tediously long sessions. Huch, 'The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science', p. 283.

previously taken place and to encourage more people to become involved with reformatory efforts generally.[161] Mary Carpenter took the opportunity to make a specific point and called on the government to provide funding for ragged schools. Referring to the conferences of 1851 and 1853, she emphasised that of the three types of institutions highlighted as requiring government aid and support, namely industrial schools, reformatories and ragged schools, only the latter was still wanting.[162]

The Association's inaugural conference was regarded as a success, attracting approximately 800 attendees, with the local press reporting 'A more brilliant inaugural meeting could scarcely be imagined'.[163] NAPSS was subsequently renamed the Social Science Association and became a pressure group, regularly lobbying government on a wide range of subjects relating to social improvement.[164] As well as the public debates and presentations, it is clear many discussions also took place behind the scenes. Mary Carpenter used these events to gather support for her own causes. She persuaded its various committees to send deputations and memorials to the government and took the opportunity to seek out new allies, even 'converting' those who were initially opposed to her views.[165]

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[161] 'National Association for the Promotion of Social Science', *The Athenaeum*, No. 1565 (24th October 1857) pp. 1331-1332.

[162] *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science 1857*, p. 232.

[163] 'The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science', *ABG*, 19th October 1857, p. 3.

[164] Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain*, p. 1.

[165] Carpenter, *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter*, pp. 185, 186, 285.

When searching for an explanatory reason why Birmingham hosted a series of influential conferences during the mid-nineteenth century, a newspaper remark justifying the location for this event may indicate some part of the answer:

> The place of the meeting – Birmingham – was most happily selected. It is just possible that in other towns the Association might have been received with hesitation, suspicion or even ridicule. In Birmingham it had nothing of this kind to fear. The people of the midland metropolis are probably the best in the kingdom amongst whom to launch a new and untried project, which has only a little promise of good about it. They are not easily discouraged, they are not given to suspect sinister objects in every new movement, they can bear a little harmless ridicule....when the reformation of criminals was laughed at as a delusion, they put it into a practical shape, and proved that the doctrine was true; and now they have taken up social science when half England was only waiting for a signal to burst into horse laugh at the notion of a peripatetic body of social reformers.[166]

1861 BIRMINGHAM CONFERENCE

On 23rd January 1861, what was called the 'third' Birmingham conference took place.[167] Though its focus moved away from juvenile offenders and concentrated on gaining government funding for the education of neglected and destitute

[166] 'The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science', *ABG*, 19th October 1857, p. 3.
[167] Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets*, p. 159; Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 174.

children through ragged schools, this description is wholly appropriate. Its organisation paralleled that of the 1851 and 1853 conferences, preliminary meetings were held to discuss and settle on the agenda and the main conference was held at Dee's Royal Hotel, which concluded with the appointment of a committee. They were tasked with lobbying Parliament in order to attempt some legislative changes to place the conference resolutions on the statute books. The main conference was then followed by a public meeting at the town hall.[168] Matthew Davenport Hill was credited as the main organiser; the invitations were issued in his name and he also chaired the Preparation Committee, but Mary Carpenter's role was at least equal.[169]

The event was prompted by Sir John Pakington's failed attempt to obtain government funding for ragged schools in August 1860.[170] Such funding demands had formed part of the resolutions passed at the original 1851 conference but remained unfulfilled.[171] More often referred to as 'free day schools', a term favoured by Carpenter, Pakington's failure was the latest in a decade of contradictory government policy and, ultimately, unsuccessful attempts to legislate for funding to support this type of school.[172]

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[168] Ratcliff, *Ragged Schools..... The Authorized Report*, pp. xiv, 1, 53-56.

[169] Carpenter, *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter*, p. 222; Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham,* p. 174.

[170] Carpenter, *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter*, p. 221.

[171] Mary Carpenter*, Our Convicts*, *Volume II* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864), pp. 329-332.

[172] Mary Carpenter, *An Address read at the Conference on Ragged Schools, held at Birmingham on January 23rd, 1861* (Birmingham: Printed by Benjamin Hall, 1861). This address charts the numerous attempts to obtain government funding for these schools.

In the face of this defeat, Hill and Carpenter moved quickly to organise a new conference. It received significant advanced notifications in the press and was presided over by Pakington himself.[173] Underlining the interrelation between ragged, reformatory and industrial schools, numerous individuals from these institutions across the country either attended or wrote to the organisers expressing their support.[174] The attendees included Lords Calthorpe and Lyttleton, Mary Carpenter, Grantham Yorke, William Morgan, T.C.S Kynnesley and the town's mayor Henry Manton.[175]

The main resolutions of the conference reiterated some of those made in 1851. They underlined the absence of government support for the education of neglected and destitute children: Pakington contrasted this with the parliamentary grants given to support institutions for the education of the well-to-do. They also called for the establishment of ragged or free day schools on the same basis as reformatories, effectively voluntary institutions supported financially by the state, and underlined the duty of government to give 'liberal financial aid' to such schools.[176] The resolution received further support at the public meeting held that evening when approximately three thousand people gathered in the town hall.[177]

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[173] Examples of these notifications include: Untitled, *Hampshire Chronicle*, 15th December 1860, p. 6; 'Miscellanea', *Oxford University and City Herald*, 15th December 1860, pp. 12-13; 'Summary of the Week', *Grantham Journal*, 15th December 1860, p. 2; 'Social Conference in Birmingham', *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 18th December 1860. Ratcliff, *Ragged Schools....The Authorized Report*, p. 1.

[174] Ratcliff, *Ragged Schools....The Authorized Report*, pp. x-xi, xv-xvii.

[175] 'Education of Destitute Children. Conference at Birmingham', *BDP*, 24th January 1861, pp. 2-3; Ratcliff, *Ragged Schools....The Authorized Report*, p. 54. Charles Adderley, Richard Monckton Milnes, Sydney Turner and Florence Nightingale were invited but unable to attend, however, Milnes subsequently joined the committee that was formed to lobby Parliament over the conference resolutions. Henry Manton's role in local and national reformatory efforts is discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

[176] 'Conference on Ragged Schools', *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, 13:146 (February 1861), pp. 43-44; Carpenter, *Our Convicts*, *Volume II*, p. 340; Ratcliff, *Ragged Schools....The Authorized Report*, pp. 31, 50.

[177] Ratcliff, *Ragged Schools....The Authorized Report*, pp. 56-57.

Such support was not universal and two months after the conference *The National Magazine* published an article attacking the proposals, stating all they would achieve would be to 'relieve vicious parents' of their responsibility to pay for their child's education. It likened ragged schools to Sunday schools, pointing out the latter had never made any demand on government funding.[178] Despite this perspective there were early signs the conference might achieve its aims. In the spring of that year a Parliamentary Committee was established to investigate the plight of neglected and destitute children. Suggestions that the much campaigned for provision for these children be included in new educational legislation were strong enough to persuade Carpenter and her fellows to suspend their lobbying.[179] These hopes were not realised and it was not until 1876, when the Elementary Education Act was amended, that this proposal was finally achieved.[180]

Between 1851 and 1861 Birmingham hosted five major conferences or meetings and saw a prison inquiry, all of which combined to highlight the state's treatment of criminal and destitute children and resulted in fundamental changes in the way such children were viewed and managed by the legislature. Sydney Turner described the first two conferences in Birmingham as providing 'a new practical impulse' to the reformatory movement, as well as revitalising the efforts of the ragged schools and giving a new purpose to the many industrial schools throughout the country.[181] Though the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act was achieved relatively quickly, other progress took time. It took almost half-century to achieve

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[178] 'The Ragged-School Conference', *The National Magazine*, 9:53 (March 1861), pp. 275-277.
[179] Carpenter*, Our Convicts*, *Volume II*, p. 360; Carpenter, *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter*, pp. 224-225.
[180] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham,* p. 175.
[181] Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee, *Report.....on Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, p. 178.

one of the major aims of the original conference, the abolition of the jailing of juveniles.[182] While the momentum for change originated in Birmingham in 1851, and was maintained by the events described in this chapter, the reforms that were called for needed to be underpinned by new legislation. The following chapter illustrates how Birmingham, together with several locally-based individuals, played a significant role in the development of these new laws which fundamentally changed the way juvenile offenders were dealt with by the courts.

[182] J.A. Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution (Saltley Reformatory) Jubilee Retrospect, 1903* (Birmingham: Hall & English (Printers), 1903), p. 8.

Chapter Six

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS: 1851–1899

The events that took place in Birmingham from 1851 onwards served to focus attention on the prevailing policies and attitudes towards child criminals. Any reforms to the punishment of delinquents would require the political will to enact new laws and, prior to the first Birmingham conference, there was little evidence of any enthusiasm for such changes. This chapter examines the extent to which the conferences of 1851 and 1853, other similar events in the town up to 1861, and specific individuals who attended them, drove the reforms that fundamentally altered the legislative treatment of juvenile offenders.

Following a brief historiography and description of the sources employed, a summary of the abortive efforts to reform the laws relating to juvenile offenders prior to the conferences is provided. This is followed by an analysis of the influence exerted by events in Birmingham and the legislation that was subsequently enacted. As a result of this, a network of government-supported penal institutions for juveniles was established and the value of the inspection scheme, designed to underpin these establishments, is assessed. Finally, as the work of some of those involved with efforts to reform juvenile criminality crossed over into the adult prison population, their efforts to formalise the support given to

prevent such prisoners reoffending, through the auspices of the Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society (BDPAS), is also examined.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

In describing the development of the nineteenth century legislation that reformed the treatment of juvenile offenders, Heather Shore's 2008 comment that, 'the full history of these acts has yet to be written', is apt.[1] Most accounts are fragmentary but some historians do to a certain degree link events in Birmingham to legislative reforms. Writing in 1970 Julius Carlebach acknowledges the importance of the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act in the establishment of a system of reformatory schools, in tandem with the leading role played by Charles Adderley, but makes sparse reference to legislation that incorporated industrial schools and underpinned the subsequent development of reformatory institutions.[2] Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt highlight the roles of Mary Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill in organising the 1851 and 1853 Birmingham conferences and directly link them and Adderley's efforts to the enactment of the 1854 legislation. They pay little attention, however, to the intervening legislative changes until the abolition of child imprisonment in 1899.[3]

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[1] Heather Shore, 'Punishment, Reformation, or Welfare: Responses to 'The Problem' of Juvenile Crime in Victorian and Edwardian Britain', in Helen Johnston, (ed.), *Punishment and Control in Historical Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 163.

[2] Julius Carlebach, *Caring for Children in Trouble* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1970), pp. 62, 66.

[3] Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, p *Children in English Society*, *Volume II* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul Ltd, 1973),pp. 472, 476, 492.

W.R. Cornish's brief account is disjointed and fails to identify the significant legislative developments.[4] John Stack's 1979 work is the antithesis of this and though limited by a chronology which examines developments up to 1875, provides a detailed account of the evolution of the legislation and the interactions of those on either side of the reform debate: Stack also highlights the influence of the first two Birmingham conferences and portrays Adderley as 'the most active reformatory advocate in Parliament'.[5] Sean McConville's limited exposition acknowledges the roles of Carpenter and Hill in convening the 1851 conference where 'a movement began' to seek alternatives to jailing delinquents, connecting this directly with the Youthful Offenders Act.[6]

Martin Wiener's work concentrates on Adderley's contribution during the 1850s and 1860s, placing the legislative developments within the context of prison and poor law reforms.[7] Clive Emsley only briefly references the legislation of the 1850s.[8] Shore's 2002 work reiterates Carlebach's assertion of the development of a system of reformatory institutions and highlights the mid-nineteenth century as a turning point for reforms to juvenile justice.[9] The most comprehensive account of developments is provided by Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood who emphasise

[4] W.R. Cornish, 'Criminal Justice and Punishment', in W.R. Cornish, Jenifer Hart, A.H. Manchester and J. Stevenson, *Crime and Law in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1978), pp. 41-44.
[5] John A. Stack, 'The Juvenile Delinquent and England's "Revolution in Government", 1825-1875', *The Historian*, 42:1 (November 1979), pp. 48-51.
[6] Sean McConville, *A History of English Prison Administration, Volume I, 1750–1877* (London: Routeledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 338.
[7] Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal. Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 138, 139, 147.
[8] Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750–1900*, 2nd edn (Harlow: Longman Group Limited, 1996), p. 275.
[9] Heather Shore, 'Reforming the juvenile: gender, justice and the criminal child in nineteenth-century England', in John Muncie, Gordon Hughes and Eugene McLaughlin, (eds.), *Youth Justice. Critical Readings* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), pp. 159, 167-169.

the contributions of Hill, Carpenter and Adderley, yet beyond the 1851 and 1853 conferences no acknowledgement is made of how subsequent events in Birmingham contributed to the momentum for reform.[10]

The development of the legislation that changed the way juvenile offenders were punished by the courts has been charted using *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, supplemented by newspaper extracts,[11] parliamentary records,[12] and secondary sources including biographical material.[13] The assessment of the inspection scheme for reformatory institutions predominantly utilises the government reports of the investigations undertaken,[14] together with articles from contemporary publications. No records survive from the BDPAS, so an account of its inception and development has been constructed using parliamentary reports,[15] local

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[10] Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 176-178.

[11] I have been advised by the *History of Parliament* website that at this time *Hansard* did not fully record all parliamentary discussions. Often the only detailed accounts of proceedings that survive were made by newspaper reporters. In view of this, the *British Newspaper Online* website and *Spectator* online archive have been employed to locate some of these accounts. The following Birmingham newspapers have been used in this chapter and are abbreviated accordingly: *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (*ABG*), *Birmingham Daily Gazette* (*BDG*), *Birmingham Daily Post* (*BDP*) and *Birmingham Journal* (*BJ*).

[12] These records include: *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (London: HMSO, 1852); *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (London: HMSO, 1853).

[13] Charles Adderley's biography has provided some valuable insights: William Shakespear Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton (Right Hon. Sir Charles Adderley, KCMG, MP) 1814-1905, Statesman and Philanthropist* (London: John Murray, 1909).

[14] These include: *Report of the Inspector of Reformatories, dated 4 June 1864, on the State of the Mount Saint Bernard's Reformatory at Withwick, in Leicestershire, and of Correspondence relating thereto* (London: HMSO,1864); *Report of the Commissioner appointed by the Secretary of State, on the 24th day of September 1894, to inquire into Allegations made regarding the Treatment of Children in the St. John's Industrial School for Roman Catholic Boys at Walthamstow* (London: HMSO, 1895).

[15] *Second Report for the Select Committee on Transportation* (London: House of Commons, 20th June 1856). The first appendix of this report contains material relating to the foundation of the Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society (BDPAS).

newspapers, archival material from Birmingham Borough Gaol, and Radzinowicz and Hood's *The Emergence of Penal Policy in Victorian and Edwardian England*.[16]

ATTEMPTED REFORMS PRIOR TO THE 1851 CONFERENCE

On 6th June 1848 Lord Ashley addressed the Commons regarding the problems created by the country's juvenile delinquents, detailing their moral and financial cost to the nation. His solution was an annual 'voluntary' emigration of an unspecified number of children from the capital's ragged schools to the Empire's colonies. Home Secretary Sir George Grey objected to the financial commitment it would place on the government but Richard Monckton Milnes, MP for Droitwich, noted that, while he considered it to be the most important question ever to be brought before the House, the thin attendance of MPs underlined what little consideration the subject attracted. Though Ashley withdrew his proposals, he maintained he would have extended them to include annual emigrations from ragged schools across the country if he had received sufficient support.[17]

Parliamentary disinterest in the subject was reflected in the pieces of legislation that were proposed but failed to make it onto the statute books. Between 1846 and 1850 Milnes attempted to introduce several bills to establish reformatory and industrial institutions for juvenile offenders but none progressed beyond the

[16] Birmingham City Archives (Hereafter BCA), PS/B/4/5/1/1, Birmingham Borough Gaol, Visiting Committee Minute Book 1 1878-1892; Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*. This is the only publication located which provides any substantial details about the BDPAS.

[17] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1848), Volume 99, columns 429-470.

Commons.[18] His 1850 Juvenile Offenders Bill, which proposed detaining juveniles in industrial schools and extending summary jurisdiction, achieved a second reading but was described by Grey as 'wholly impractical'.[19] Even Sir John Pakington refused to support it and Milnes withdrew his proposal as a result.[20] Writing in 1876, Sydney Turner described these attempts 'to induce the legislature to make so great a change as this on our penal system' as 'a work of time and difficulty'.[21]

BIRMINGHAM'S INFLUENCE

Those involved in attempts to reform the treatment of child criminals required a unity and direction that previous efforts had lacked. The 1851 Birmingham conference seems to have provided these elements. To date its relevance, described in the previous chapter, has not been fully appreciated though Radzinowicz and Hood stress its importance and define it as a major step forward.[22]

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[18] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1849), Volume 107, columns 101-103; *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1850), Volume 110, columns 767-770; T. Wemyss Reid, *The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton, Volume I* (London: Cassell & Company Limited, 1890), p. 373.

[19] 'Summary jurisdiction' permits courts, in this context those presided over by magistrates, to pass judgement without the involvement of a jury.

[20] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1850), Volume 110, columns 767-784.

[21] Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee, *Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, *Volume I* (London: HMSO, 1896), p. 176; Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* p. 175. The authors state that Milnes did not become involved with juvenile reform until 1849 but Turner reported him first campaigning in 1846.

[22] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* p. 176.

The committee formed at the end of the conference met with Home Secretary Grey at the end of December.[23] They also wrote to town clerks and magistrates across the country in a bid to gain further support.[24] When the committee met in London in January 1852 it was reported their efforts had received a positive response.[25] Grey, however, opposed any reforms on the grounds that the public were not ready for such legislation. Undaunted, the committee took up the challenge and subsequently produced enough evidence to prompt the establishment of a select committee in May 1852.[26] Appointed to enquire into 'the Present Treatment of Criminal and Destitute Juveniles in this Country',[27] both Charles Adderley and Richard Monckton Milnes, and later Sir John Pakington, were committee members and heard evidence from individuals including Sydney Turner, Matthew Davenport Hill, Mary Carpenter, David Power, John Ellis and Jelinger Symons.[28]

Radzinowicz and Hood have defined the conference committee as 'engineering' the establishment of the Select Committee but it is evident from a biography of the

[23] 'Preventive and Reformatory Schools', *Liverpool Mercury*, 30th December 1851, p. 4. The same article was carried by a number of newspapers.

[24] This attempt to generate support resulted in some local meetings of which the following have been identified: 'Worcester Epiphany Sessions. Juvenile Prisoners', *Worcestershire Chronicle and Provincial Railway Gazette*, 7th January 1852, p. 8; 'Breconshire Epiphany Sessions. Reformation of Juvenile Offenders', *Hereford Times*, 10th January 1852, p. 6; 'Staffordshire Quarter Sessions. Juvenile Offenders', *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 10th January 1852, p. 7; 'Reformation of Juvenile Offenders', *Berkshire Chronicle*, 17th January 1852, p. 4; 'Juvenile Delinquency', *Reading Mercury*, 17th January 1852, p. 3.

[25] 'Birmingham, Jan 26, 1852', *ABG*, 26th January 1852, p. 3.

[26] 'The Birmingham Conference on Juvenile Delinquency' *Aberdeen Journal*, 24th December 1851, p. 4; Walter Lowe Clay, *The Prison Chaplain: A Memoir of the Rev John Clay BD* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co, 1861), p. 378; Jo Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1976), p. 105.

[27] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (1852).

[28] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (1852), pp. iii, 14. Its enquiries were incomplete by Parliament's summer recess so the Committee recommended an early resumption during the next Parliamentary session.

prison chaplain John Clay that it resulted from the conference committee's own determination and traditional lobbying.[29] The latter was promoted initially by Pakington, who was elected as the conference committee's parliamentary agent, but the role was taken over by Adderley after Pakington was appointed Colonial Secretary.[30]

William Gladstone, treasurer of the Philanthropic Society and cousin of the future prime minister, met with Grey ten days before the conference committee to offer to take more children into the Society's farm school if the government provided financial assistance. Gladstone received a positive response but Grey was replaced shortly thereafter and the plan was forgotten. Gladstone, however, was also a member of the conference committee that subsequently received the lukewarm response from Grey.[31] Gladstone's actions may have unwittingly undermined the conference committee's attempts to present a united reformatory movement to government, thus diluting the influence the committee had hoped to wield.

The Select Committee reconvened in November 1852 following the summer recess but was immediately adjourned until February 1853.[32] In the interim, a further meeting was held in Birmingham on 26th December to discuss the

[29] Clay, *The Prison Chaplain*, p. 378. Clay was a member of the committees formed after both the 1851 and 1853 Birmingham conferences. The former prison chaplain at Preston Gaol was a longstanding campaigner for the reform of the treatment of juvenile criminals; Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* p. 176.

[30] Clay, *The Prison Chaplain*, p. 378.

[31] Muriel Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud. How the Philanthropic Quest Was Put Into Law* (Hook: Waterside Press Ltd, 2011), pp. 239-240.

[32] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (1853), p. v.

progress of the attempts to reform the legislation around juvenile crime. Described as 'very influentially attended',[33] those present included Lords Calthorpe and Lyttleton, David Power, William Morgan, Joseph Sturge and Charles Adderley.[34] At the meeting Adderley underlined the responsibility of the nation to prevent the criminalisation of children and directly attributed the establishment of the Select Committee to the 1851 conference. He also highlighted Pakington's parliamentary support but advised that some MPs, including Grey, favoured monitoring the progress of existing institutions like Stretton-on-Dunsmore and the Philanthropic Society's Red Hill, before legislating on the matter.[35]

After its resumption the Select Committee heard from witnesses including Frederic Hill, William Osborn and Richard Monckton Milnes. Adderley also gave evidence and the Committee produced its report in June 1853.[36] Its twenty-five point conclusion closely paralleled the resolution of the Birmingham conference and called for the establishment of reformatory schools for the detention and correction of juvenile offenders. The schools were to be supported by local rates and state contributions, provide education and industrial training and, ultimately, be under the care and inspection of the government.[37] Adderley acted quickly and, together with Pakington, introduced 'A Bill for the Better Care and Reformation of Juvenile Offenders' in July of that year. Adderley's personal aim, regrettably never realised,

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[33] 'Criminal and Destitute Children', *ABG*, 27th December 1852, p. 2.

[34] 'Criminal and Destitute Children', *ABG*, 27th December 1852, p. 2. Mary Carpenter was expected at the meeting but did not attend and Matthew Davenport Hill was out of the country at the time though had corresponded with Adderley about the progress of the Select Committee.

[35] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (1853), p. 397. The Select Committee resumed in February 1853 and continued to take evidence until April that year.

[36] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (1853), p. xxii.

[37] *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children* (1853), pp. iii-iv.

was to minimise the penal element of reformatory institutions by placing them under the management of the Education Department; so he did not wait for the Select Committee to report in order to introduce or influence legislation that could be adapted to reform the treatment of delinquents.[38] In April 1853 the government had published a new Education Bill, which was criticized in the press for ignoring the needs of juvenile offenders.[39] When Adderley asked its sponsor, Lord John Russell, if he was prepared to provide any financial support for reformatory schools, Russell declared that the subject was beyond the Bill's provisions.[40] Adderley received a further setback when the Juvenile Offenders Bill failed. It received a second successful reading on 1st August 1853, with the support of Milnes, and was scheduled for a third reading but the Parliamentary session closed before it could proceed further.[41]

Despite the failure of Adderley's Bill it had succeeded in galvanising public opinion, though at least one member of the conference committee, John Clay, saw the failure as putting the whole reformatory cause in jeopardy.[42] Whether it was to keep the reformatory movement united or capitalise on the strength of public opinion following the widely reported suicide of Edward Andrews at the Borough Gaol earlier in the year,[43] a further conference was held in Birmingham in December 1853. As before a committee was formed and travelled to London to lobby Lord Palmerston, now Home Secretary. In June 1854 Palmerston himself

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[38] Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton*, p. 130.
[39] 'London, Monday, April 11', *London Daily News*, Monday 11th April 1853, p. 4.
[40] 'Education', *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 16th April 1853, p. 6. It has not been possible to trace any further details of this exchange in *Hansard.*
[41] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1853), Volume 129, columns 1099-1103.
[42] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* p. 176; Clay, *The Prison Chaplain*, p. 378.
[43] Chapter Five examines this event in detail.

brought in 'A Bill for the Better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in England and Wales', which was enacted into law by the end of the year.[44] The Bill was virtually identical to the earlier proposals of Adderley and Pakington.[45] An indication as to why Palmerston's version succeeded can be gleaned by reviewing the list of individuals who comprised the committee arising from the later conference and comparing them with the list of committee members from the 1851 event.[46] The number of Lords and MPs making up the second committee illustrate how the subject was now of significant political interest; one commentator compared the attendees to a Parliamentary sitting.[47] The Act significantly changed the way juveniles were treated by the courts. Its main provisions were that convicted children, aged under sixteen, could now be sentenced to a reformatory school after spending a minimum of fourteen days in prison. These schools were to be under voluntary management, partially maintained by government grants but also subject to government inspection.[48]

Though the Act was a compromise between the second Birmingham conference committee's representatives and the government, it was also a compromise between those who had been involved with both conferences. Many conflicting views on dealing with juvenile criminality were expressed and the fact they were able to reach an accommodation and present a united front to the government, not once but twice, is an indication of the personal dedication and responsibility felt by

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[44] *A Bill for the Better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in England and Wales* (House of Commons, 1854).
[45] Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton*, p. 136.
[46] A list of committee members is provided in Appendix A.
[47] 'The Moving of Society Towards a Truer Education', *Spectator*, 24th December 1853, p. 2.
[48] Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets*, p. 123; Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*, p. 177. The length of the sentence was specified to be between two and five years.

the reformatory movement's members. The conferences in Birmingham could easily have seen the reformatory movement descend into factional infighting. Instead there was compromise and while some chose to publicly voice their disagreements over certain aspects of the resulting legislation, it was never conducted in such a way as to undermine the reforms that had already been made.

An examination of the views of some of those involved with the conferences and resulting committees illustrates some of the differences that had to be overcome. Jelinger Symons argued that children knew right from wrong and should be punished accordingly, while David Power took an opposing view, blaming parents for their child's behaviour.[49] Matthew Davenport Hill and Mary Carpenter both opposed the jailing of children but Rev. John Clay favoured children starting their sentence in a reformatory school with three months in a separate cell. Sydney Turner and Thomas Barwick Baker also favoured a punitive approach.[50] These fundamental differences were further complicated by previous interactions between individuals such as occurred in 1850 when Pakington failed to support the Juvenile Offenders Bill of Milnes. They both found themselves as members of

[49] Margaret May, Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, in Muncie, Hughes and McLaughlin, (eds.), *Youth Justice. Critical Readings* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 109.

[50] Matthew Davenport Hill, *Suggestions for the Repression of Crime* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1857), p. 268; Clay, *The Prison Chaplain*, p. 465 Philip Priestly, *Victorian Prison Lives* (London: Pimlico, 1985), p. 57. A separate cell effectively meant solitary confinement. Clay felt it would make the children more appreciative of the reformatory ethos upon their release from the initial confinement. His suggestion that children began their sentence with three months in a separate cell was reminiscent of the practice at Parkhurst; the children detained there were confined in this manner for the first four months. Giles Playfair, *The Punitive Obsession* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1971), p. 152. Shore, Punishment, Reformation or Welfare, in Johnston, (ed.), *Punishment and Control*, p. 166.

the committee formed to lobby Parliament following the 1853 conference.[51] There were clearly enough personal and ideological differences between them to scupper reforming efforts of any kind but they did not. The reformatory movement had emerged from the conferences more unified, driven and directed than before, enabling a legislative milestone – the introduction of reformatory and industrial schools – to have been achieved.

The momentum that grew from the 1851 and 1853 conferences did not end with the legislation of 1854. Adderley had long held concerns for children who, though not convicted of any crimes, were felt to be in moral danger through destitution or the activities of their associates.[52] The 1854 Act had ignored their plight, so in May 1857, he introduced a Bill to 'Make Better Provision for the Care and Protection of Vagrant, Destitute and Disorderly Children, and for the Extension of Industrial Schools'. The impetus for reform had not been lost as the Bill received Royal Assent in August that year.[53] It gave magistrates the authority to send vagrant children, aged between seven and fourteen, to an industrial school if the parents could not give sureties for their child's behaviour.[54] Non-criminal children could now be removed from their parents, effectively giving authorities the responsibility for the welfare of these children for the first time.

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[51] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* p. 175. Milnes' Bill included provision for juveniles to receive a sentence of ten weeks' hard labour in solitary confinement for a second offence and was deemed by some to be draconian.

[52] Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton*, pp. 136-137. Adderley regarded the children's parents as the most likely individuals to exert such a negative influence.

[53] *Journals of the House of Commons*, Volume 112 (3rd February 1857–6th November 1857) (London: Hansard, 1857), pp. 129, 134, 410.

[54] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* pp. 177-178. *The Reformatory School Amendments Act*, which created the role of inspector, was also passed in 1857.

While the Birmingham conferences of the early 1850s can be said to have originated the successful legislation of 1854, it was the failure of further proposed legislation in 1860 that prompted the 'third' conference in the town in 1861. During a debate on education grants in the Commons on 14th August 1860, Pakington had argued strongly for government funding for ragged schools. A supporter of the view that education was important in preventing juvenile criminality; something he had stressed as part of his failed Education Bill of 1855; he unsuccessfully tried to justify that the schools should receive such support because of the considerable amount of work they did with neglected and destitute children.[55] As illustrated in the previous chapter, the conference held to support Pakington's aims did not, unlike its predecessors, result in the desired legislative changes.

In 1866 Mr Knatchbull-Hugessen and Sir George Grey introduced bills to consolidate and amend the existing legislation relating to reformatory and industrial schools.[56] Grey had changed his views on the value of the schools since the negative reception he gave to the committee who met him following the first Birmingham conference.[57] Years later Lord Leigh recounted how, in 1855, he had visited Grey with Frederic Demetz, the founder of Mettray, to discuss the treatment of juvenile offenders.[58] It is possible this meeting was responsible for changing

[55] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1860), Volume 160, columns 1256-1320. Objectors to the proposals included Charles Adderley. Richard Edward Aldrich, S*ir John Pakington and National Education* (Unpublished DPhil thesis: King's College London, 1979), pp. 301-302. This thesis provides an insight into Pakington's contribution to the provision of education for the poor.

[56] *A Bill to Consolidate and Amend the Acts Relating to Reformatory Schools in Great Britain* (House of Commons, 1866); *A Bill to Consolidate and Amend the Acts Relating to Industrial Schools in Great Britain* (House of Commons, 1866).

[57] 'Preventive and Reformatory Schools', *Liverpool Mercury*, 30th December 1851, p. 4.

[58] *Report of the Fifth Conference of the National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools* (Birmingham: Printed by Hall & English, 1891), p.135.

Grey's stance. The resulting Acts both governed the use and management of the schools for the next twenty-five years and blurred the distinctions between the two types of institution.[59]

The 1870s and 1880s did not see any new legislation of note. It may have been that those involved with the reforms were assessing the effectiveness of the existing legislation but some of the momentum for change may also have been lost through the deaths of four influential people who had made significant contributions to the reforms: Matthew Davenport Hill died in 1872, Mary Carpenter in 1877, Sir John Pakington in 1880 and Richard Monckton Milnes in 1885.

Charles Adderley remained active, however, and continued his efforts to transfer responsibility for reformatory and industrial schools to the Education Department. In 1870 Sydney Turner thwarted his plans and in 1872, despite support from Pakington, he again failed.[60] Adderley waited until 1881 before again trying to introduce reforms. He proposed to remove the penal nature of the schools and dispense with the title 'reformatory', arguing that children committed to the institutions were placed at a disadvantage once they had completed their sentences and tried to find employment. He suggested that all existing institutions

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[59] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* pp. 178, 208.

[60] *Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee. Report.....on Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, *Volume I*, p. 319. This page details Turner's objections to Adderley's proposals. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1872), Volume 211, columns 608-631; Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton*, p. 212; These failures do not appear to have undermined Adderley's credibility as in 1880 Home Secretary Sir William Harcourt visited Adderley at his Hams Hall home to discuss juvenile crime and was subsequently taken to visit Saltley Reformatory. Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton*, pp. 247-248; Peter Stansky, 'Sir William George Granville Venables Vernon Harcourt (1827-1904)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33693> [accessed 21st March 2018]. In addition to Home Secretary, Harcourt also served as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

would be called industrial schools with those taking children over fourteen years carrying the prefix 'senior'. The provision was included in his Industrial Schools Bill and, though it received a second reading in the Lords, it was opposed by the government and even voted against by Milnes.[61] Adderley continued to press for the removal of reformatory institutions from the penal system, publishing an article on the subject in 1887.[62] In 1892 he revealed that he had used acquaintances in the Navy and Army to help several boys from Saltley Reformatory enlist, bypassing a ban that had been in place at the time.[63]

This relative lack of new legislation saw a renewal of attempts to further reform the statutes in the 1890s. At the beginning of 1890 three bills were passed by the Lords in quick succession and moved for approval to the Commons. Separate Youthful Offenders, Reformatory School and Industrial School Bills included clauses that would have ended the imprisonment of children. The driving forces behind these proposals included Adderley and his brother-in-law Lord Leigh. Despite further support from MP Anthony Mundella, who was responsible for the 1880 Education Act, the level of opposition in the Commons resulted in all three Bills being withdrawn within two weeks of each other.[64]

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[61] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1881), Volume 263, columns 1884-1889.

[62] C.B. Adderley, 'Schools as Prisons and Prisons as Schools', *The Nineteenth Century*, January 1887, pp. 110-118.

[63] 'Saltley Reformatory. The Boys and the Army and Navy', *BDP*, 28th April 1892, p. 5. A ban on boys from reformatory and industrial schools joining the armed forces was in place for a short time during the late nineteenth century.

[64] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1890), Volume 341, columns 409-410; Volume 344, columns 1550-1558; Volume 345, columns 642-648; Volume 347, columns 97-98, Volume 349, columns 644-646 & 707; *Journals of the House of Commons*, Volume 145 (11th February 1890-18th August 1890) (London: Hansard, 1890), pp. 387, 496, 528, 544; Jonathan Spain, 'Anthony John Mundella (1825-1897)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19534> [accessed 21st March 2018]. Mundella is best known for his parliamentary work on educational provision and trade union

In 1891 the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act was passed that enabled reformatory and industrial school managers to apprentice children or 'dispose of them by emigration'.[65] In June that year Birmingham hosted the fifth conference of the National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools.[66] Just as the 1851 and 1853 conferences had influenced fundamental changes to legislation regarding juvenile offenders, this later conference arguably achieved similar results. One of the main areas of discussion involved the jailing of juveniles. Birmingham Alderman Henry Manton recounted how the city's visiting justices, with the support of the Recorder, had been lobbying for its abolition for the last decade and had recently tried, but failed, to facilitate the introduction of such a bill into Parliament. Lord Leigh, a vice-president of the Association, underlined his support for such legislation. Despite the clear strength of support in Birmingham, overall the conference voted against its abolition.[67]

The following year Adderley championed two bills proposing to amend and consolidate the legislation governing reformatory and industrial schools. Introduced by Secretary Matthews, Adderley reiterated the government's admission that the legislation was in a 'great state of confusion and abuse' and claimed that industrial schools were being employed for 'philanthropic' purposes

reform. The 1880 Education Act made schooling compulsory for all children aged between five and ten years.

[65] *Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee. Report.....on Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, *Volume I,* p. 180. The Act permitted the children's wishes to outweigh any objections voiced by their parents.

[66] The Association was established to provide a forum for the managers of reformatory institutions, and those with a specific interest in the subject, where they could 'collect and disseminate information bearing on the general management' of the schools and lobby for legislative reforms. *Report of the Fifth Conference of the National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools,* p. 230.

[67] *Report of the Fifth Conference of the National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools,* pp. 22, 29, 134-136, 187. Adderley was unable to attend the conference, his attention being taken by a recent fire that had destroyed his Hams Hall home. He was represented by his son.

rather than their proposed use.[68] Regardless of these concerns Parliament again failed to provide meaningful support and both bills were withdrawn.[69]

It would be fair to describe Adderley and Leigh as 'old campaigners'. Despite the numerous setbacks their efforts to refine the treatment of juvenile offenders had received over the preceding years, between them they had nearly a century of experience within the reformatory movement. 1893 marked the beginning of the end of child imprisonment and it was their efforts that primarily brought this long-held aim to fruition. In March that year, during a Lords debate over the new education code, Adderley asked if the government would be bringing forward the new legislation regarding reformatory and industrial schools, which had been submitted to it earlier. After receiving no definitive answer, he presented his own Bill to 'amend the Acts relating to Reformatory Schools' in May.[70] It appears this was quickly withdrawn as in July Leigh presented an identically-worded proposal.[71] This Bill, whose main clause made the mandatory prison term specified in the 1854 Act optional, quickly passed through the Lords and Commons before receiving Royal Assent. There have been claims that Leigh 'smuggled' this clause into the Bill but the records illustrate it was a genuine part of the debate.[72] Surprisingly, Leigh and Adderley openly disagreed on some points; Adderley objected to Leigh's proposals for a mandatory five-year sentence to a reformatory and insisted the institutions fall under the control of the Education

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[68] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1892), Volume 4, columns 1252-1256.
[69] *Journals of the House of Commons*, Volume 147 (9th February 1892–28th June 1892, 4th August 1892–18th August 1892) (London: Hansard, 1892), pp. 314, 328, 344.
[70] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1893), Volume 10, columns 1023-1025; Volume 12, column 766.
[71] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1893), Volume 14, column 1044.
[72] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy,* p. 205.

Department rather than the Home Office, but these differences did not dilute the Bill's main aim.[73]

Its success did receive criticism from one unexpected source, however. During their 1894 conference, the National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools roundly condemned Leigh and the new Act for removing the element of punishment from sentences for juveniles.[74] Possibly forewarned of the impending criticism, Leigh did not attend the event though he remained a vice-president of the Association.

In July 1899 Leigh introduced the Reformatory Schools Amendment Bill which proposed to remove the option of a prison term for convicted juveniles.[75] Again Adderley challenged some aspects of the Bill to ensure it contained no 'loopholes' that could still see children jailed. After being reassured by Leigh that the Bill's aim was to ensure consistent sentencing and entirely remove the prison provision for juveniles, Adderley gave it his full support.[76] It was enacted later that year. Finally, the abolition of child imprisonment, the main aim of the first Birmingham conference held almost fifty years earlier, had been achieved.

[73] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1893), Volume 14, columns 1794-1797.
[74] *Report of the Sixth Conference of the National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools* (Birmingham: Printed by Hall & English, 1894), p.135.
[75] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1899), Volume 72, column 291.
[76] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1899), Volume 73, column 246-248.

THE INSPECTION OF REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

Following the enactment of the 1854 legislation that prompted the development of government-supported reformatory institutions, the question of how they would be inspected naturally arose. It stipulated that in order to qualify for official financial support certain criteria and standards must be met. Initially it fell to the Education Department and the inspectors responsible for workhouse schools. Aspects of this expanded role had first been suggested before the legislation was even drafted when Jelinger Symons wrote to MP Richard Monckton Milnes in 1850.[77] Symons argued that the inspectors should become responsible for the 'mental and moral condition' of children in gaols and because their duties already took them to all towns that had a prison, it would not entail any extra expense. Symons would have been familiar with the role because he was such an inspector at the time.[78]

This new responsibility did not find particular favour with his fellow inspectors. H.G. Bowyer was responsible for the Eastern and Midland District. In his first report following the allocation of the additional duties for 1856, of the ten reformatory schools in his area he admitted to visiting just three and wrote it would be several years before he acquired sufficient knowledge of the subject to be able

[77] John Drury Rare Books, Letter from Jelinger Symons to Richard Monckton Milnes, dated 12th April 1850. It also suggested the introduction of prison farm schools. I am indebted to Jenny Edmunds from the company for generously providing me with a copy of the document. See Appendix B for a transcript of the letter.

[78] *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1847-49, England and Wales. Schools of Parochial Unions* (London: HMSO, 1849), p. 222. Symons had held the post since c.1848.

to report effectively.[79] His subsequent report was thorough enough to indicate he had assimilated the required knowledge rather more rapidly than first anticipated.[80] Responsibility for the schools passed to the Home Department in 1857 when a dedicated inspector's post was created. The first person appointed to the role was Rev. Sydney Turner. A Church of England minister, he was also the former chaplain and superintendant of the Philanthropic Society's Red Hill Farm School, and had taken a leading role in the organisation of the 1851 and 1853 conferences in Birmingham.[81] This change in the treatment of convicted children by the legislature cannot be overstated or underestimated, as for the first time the government permitted children to serve prison sentences in newly-created penal institutions more akin to schools than prisons.

Turner and his successors brought a stability and continuity to the position that the previous ad-hoc arrangements had lacked: but how deeply did they actually look into the schools themselves? On average, most institutions were visited annually and the inspections only appear to have lasted one day at most. Though Turner, through his own involvement with the development of reformatories, would have known many of those involved with the various schools, the inspector's reports must have had their limitations. During the 'lifetime' of the reformatory and industrial school system, taken from the mid 1850s to the phased introduction of

[79] *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education; Schools of Parochial Unions and Reformatory Schools, in England and Wales, with Reports by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1856-57* (London: HMSO, 1857), pp. 109-110.

[80] *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education; Schools of Parochial Unions and Reformatory Schools, in England and Wales, with Reports by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1857-58* (London: HMSO, 1858). The reports for Birmingham's institutions can be found on pp. 145-147.

[81] Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud*, p. 254.

the Borstal system that replaced it prior to the Great War, concerns over the treatment of children at specific schools resulted in three parliamentary inquiries.

The first occurred in 1864 and was undertaken by Turner. It related to the Roman Catholic Reformatory for Boys at Whitwick in Leicestershire and was prompted by a letter, dated 30th May 1864, from a local justice to Sir George Grey. It raised concerns over the number of boys absconding from the school and reports of the excessive use of corporal punishment. Turner's investigation concluded within a week of the date of the original letter and recommended the appointment of new staff plus the introduction of a new set of rules to govern the boys' conduct.[82] A year prior to this inquiry, in June 1863, Turner's regular inspection of the institution had led him to enforce a complete change of management because of concerns over aspects of cleanliness, discipline and educational standards. He subsequently inspected the reformatory in October that year and declared satisfaction with the progress his changes had brought about.[83] The reported problems may have had their roots in an earlier event when three members of staff were dismissed in 1859 after being found to have sexually abused some of the boys in their care.[84] There is no evidence that they faced any criminal charges and Turner's regular report for that year described their behaviour as 'misconduct

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[82] *Report of the Inspector....on the State of the Mount Saint Bernard's Reformatory*, pp. 4, 8. Mount Saint Bernard's was also known as Withwick Reformatory.

[83] *Report of the Inspector.....on the State of the Mount Saint Bernard's Reformatory,* pp. 2-5.

[84] Bernard Elliott, 'Mount St. Bernards Reformatory or Agricultural Colony', in Daniel Williams (ed.), *The Adaptation of Change. Essays Upon the History of 19th Century Leicester and Leicestershire* (Leicester: Leicester Museums, 1980), p. 85; Maureen Havers, *The Reformatory at Mount St Bernard Abbey 1856–1881* (Coalville: Mount St Bernard Abbey, 2006). This publication is not paginated.

and inefficiency'.[85] It is difficult to assess whether the outcome and portrayal of this earlier event was more a reflection of contemporary society or of Turner himself, but he made no mention of it in his 1859 report.

The second inquiry occurred in 1894 and involved the St. John's Industrial School for Boys at Walthamstow. It centred on complaints made by the school's resident chaplain, the Rev. Lord Archibald Douglas, regarding excessive and unauthorised punishments inflicted on the inmates.[86] Despite the inquiry confirming the use of 'unusual and unauthorised punishments' and a failure to accurately record the punishments administered, the allegations of cruelty were dismissed and the 'kindness and humanity' shown to the boys was highlighted.[87] There are indications that concerns remained as it transpired the Catholic Church had appointed a clerical inspector in 1893 to visit the school each month. In a move that effectively delegated responsibility from his department and the government inspector, the Home Secretary requested that the Church's inspector continue to make a minimum of two unannounced visits each month to the school.[88]

The final inquiry took place in 1911 and centred on the ill-treatment of boys held at the Heswall Nautical Reformatory School near Liverpool. The school had developed from the *Akbar* Reformatory Ship, which had been scrapped in 1907

[85] *Third Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1860), p. 40.
[86] *Report of the Commissioner.....into Allegations made regarding the Treatment of Children in the St. John's Industrial School for Roman Catholic Boys at Walthamstow*, p. iii.
[87] *Report of the Commissioner.....into Allegations made regarding the Treatment of Children in the St. John's Industrial School for Roman Catholic Boys at Walthamstow*, p. xi.
[88] *Report of the Commissioner.....into Allegations made regarding the Treatment of Children in the St. John's Industrial School for Roman Catholic Boys at Walthamstow*, p. xi.

and subsequently occupied a land-based site. The complaints originated in 1910 from Mr and Mrs Adam, respectively Deputy Superintendant and Matron at the school, and alleged that severe punishments had led to the deaths of several boys.[89] Originally they had complained directly to the school's management but dissatisfied with their response they resorted to using the press and authored several articles published in *John Bull*.[90] The inquiry dismissed the allegations of cruelty but identified one group of inmates as being responsible for the discipline problems and recommended their transfer.[91]

While accounts of Victorian reformatory practices regularly include references to these government inquiries,[92] there are records of other incidents that, at first sight, could easily have resulted in additional government investigations. Radzinowicz and Hood identify eighteen specific events between 1854 and 1914 but also concede that the evidence for each case is limited.[93] The common factor linking the three formal inquiries is the reported ill-treatment of inmates but it is apparent from newspaper reports that children who had been recaptured after absconding from reformatory institutions frequently blamed their actions on 'ill

[89] *Report of Inquiry by Mr C.F.G. Masterman, M.P., Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, into charges made concerning the Management of the Heswall Nautical School* (London: HMSO, 1911), pp. 4, 18.

[90] An account of the coverage of the subject by *John Bull* can be found in; Simon Heffer, *The Age of Decadence. Britain 1880 to 1914* (London: Random House Books, 2017).

[91] *Report of Inquiry.....made concerning the Management of the Heswall Nautical School,* pp. 4, 20. The inquiry recommended transferring the troublemakers to a 'Borstal-type institution'.

[92] For example Carlebach and Shore both reference the 1911 Heswall inquiry. Carlebach, *Caring for Children*, pp. 83-84; Shore, 'Punishment, Reformation, or Welfare', in Johnston, (ed.), *Punishment and Control*, p. 171.

[93] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*, p. 194. The authors claim there were ten major 'incidents', which they define as excessive punishments, ill-treatments and suicides, and eight major 'outbreaks', which comprise riots, attacks on staff, mass insubordination and attempts to destroy the institution, between 1854 and 1914. They do state the number in each category 'cannot be ascertained with exactitude'.

treatment' they had suffered while detained.[94] While most of these allegations were dismissed some were investigated by the government inspector or local magistrates but none resulted in more formal enquiries.[95] There were other types of incidents that, it might be supposed, would also have been investigated further. In 1886 forty-one boys absconded from the Weston Reformatory in Warwickshire. Despite this mass escape and the injury of two police officers during their recapture, the only action taken by the inspector was to pay an unscheduled visit to the school.[96] In 1877, at the inquest into the death of a thirteen year-old girl from Cambridge Heath Industrial School, the coroner censured the institution's matron and doctor for failing to provide a proper diet and delaying her admission to hospital.[97] During a debate in the House of Lords in 1880, an outbreak of disease on the reformatory school ship *Cornwall* was discussed. Even though one boy had died, it was said that the matter had been 'fully and promptly reported'; a statement which seemed to end the matter.[98] There is no evidence to suggest that

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[94] The following articles support this assertion: 'The Wiltshire Reformatory', *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*', 21st January 1860, p.6; 'The Escape From Castle Howard Reformatory', *York Herald*, 27th November 1875, p. 15;'Absconding From a Reformatory', *Belfast Weekly News*, 4th March 1876, p. 8; 'Incendiarism', *The Graphic*, 13th May 1882, p. 14; 'Dartford (Petty Sessions)', *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter*, 13th October 1883, p. 5; 'Malton', *Yorkshire Gazette*, 30th June 1884, p. 6; 'Escape Of Boys From Oldmill Reformatory', *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 14th May 1884, p. 3; 'Investigation By The Magistrates', *BDP*, 11th May 1885, p. 5; 'Life In A Reformatory', *BDP*, 22nd November 1889, p. 8.

[95] 'The Wiltshire Reformatory', *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 21st January 1860, p.6. This details investigations undertaken by Sydney Turner and local magistrates following the recapture of three boys who alleged ill-treatment. They had been sentenced to prison for absconding and among those giving evidence was the prison doctor who had examined the boys on their admission.
'Investigation By The Magistrates', *BDP*, 11th May 1885, p. 5. Local magistrates employed a surgeon to examine the wounds of a boy who claimed to have been severely punished.
'Life In A Reformatory', *BDP*, 22nd November 1889, p. 8. This describes the investigation of the government inspector into the claims of two girls; none of the claims in the above cases were substantiated.

[96] 'Daring Escape of Boys From The Weston Reformatory', *Warwickshire Advertiser and Leamington Gazette*, 11th September 1886, p. 7.

[97] 'Inquiry at an Industrial School', *British Medical Journal*, 2:872 (15th September 1877), p. 387.

[98] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1880), Volume 251, column 1232-1268. The discussion was between Lord Thurlow and Earl Beauchamp.

either the inspector was involved in the latter two cases or that authorities tried to cover up any of the incidents.

Given the number of reformatory institutions that were established following the 1854 Act,[99] the fact that only three were the focus of formal government inquiries does seem surprising. In view of the cross-section of incidents detailed it is notable that those resulting in parliamentary reports involved alleged excessive discipline. It would seem that the government's perspective was to provide both a framework for the schools to function within, and a 'safety net' to ensure that punishments carried out at the schools were proportionate to the 'crime'.[100] The inspectors were clearly allowed significant autonomy to investigate complaints and concerns arising from incidents at the institutions. Any surprise at the small number of inquiries that prompted parliamentary involvement may merely be an unconscious twenty-first century bias and the failure to take account that it was an entirely new system of administering criminal children, influenced by the cultural standards of the time.

BIRMINGHAM DISCHARGED PRISONERS' AID SOCIETY

Some of the individuals concerned with efforts to reform national policies towards juvenile offenders were also involved with the development of the BDPAS. It became a blueprint for similar societies across the country and through the work of

[99] D.H. Thomas, *Reformatory and Industrial Schools 1854–1933* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Newcastle upon Tyne Polytechnic Products Ltd, 1986). This summary of the schools gives an excellent insight into the number that were established and also how a surprisingly high percentage were short lived.

[100] See Chapter Nine, Saltley Reformatory Case Study, for details of punishments that were inflicted on those committed to reformatory schools.

several Birmingham-based individuals prompted the enactment of legislation that standardised the care of discharged prisoners nationally for the first time.

In January 1855 Rev. J.T. Burt became chaplain of Birmingham Borough Gaol.[101] The following year, on 8th April 1856, the BDPAS was founded: its mission was to provide lodgings, find employment and exercise 'friendly guidance' for those released from gaol.[102] Roger Ward suggests that its inception was partly a response to the death of fifteen year-old Edward Andrews at the Gaol in 1853; the new management trying to draw a line under past events.[103] Though it was portrayed as the joint enterprise of the Gaol's governor, its surgeon and Burt, in reality it was the chaplain who was the driving force behind the Society.[104] Burt was fully aware of the challenges faced by former prisoners and the likelihood that they would reoffend without assistance.[105]

The support given to discharged prisoners varied considerably. Donations, bequests and private acts of charity were the most common form but were totally

[101] 'Birmingham Gaol Quarter Sessions', *ABG*, 8th January 1855, p. 1. Burt had previously been assistant chaplain at Pentonville Prison but had come to Birmingham after exchanging posts with Rev. A. Sherwin who had requested a transfer to Pentonville. The exchange was sanctioned by both Viscount Palmerston and the visiting justices of Birmingham Borough Gaol.

[102] *Second Report for the Select Committee on Transportation*, Appendix 1, 'Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society (Established 8th April 1856) Rules', pp. 184-185; 'Society for the Relief of Prisoners', *ABG*,14th April 1856, p. 3.

[103] Roger Ward, 'Scandal at Winson Green', *Birmingham Historian*, 31 (Winter 2007), p. 36. Chapter Five details the events surrounding Andrews' death and its implications for the reformatory movement.

[104] 'Society for the Relief of Prisoners', *ABG*,14th April 1856, p. 3; Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*, p. 606. *Second Report for the Select Committee on Transportation*, Appendix 1, 'Letter to the Inhabitants of the Borough of Birmingham', pp. 185-186; 'Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society', *BJ*, 24th May 1856, p. 5. Burt regularly appealed locally for funds to support the Society and also appointed its first agent.

[105] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy*, p. 606.

random.[106] Sir Robert Peel's Gaol Act of 1823 incorporated provision for payments to recently released offenders but the legislation did not include all of the country's prisons. It was generally disliked by those tasked with enforcing it and, as a result, was frequently disregarded.[107] A few local societies had been established, including the Surrey Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society founded in 1824, but they were isolated, small-scale ventures.[108]

When the BDPAS came into being, several local people active in reforming the treatment of juvenile offenders quickly occupied prominent positions. Lord Calthorpe was its president and Matthew Davenport Hill the vice-president. Its committee included Charles Adderley and Rev. Grantham Yorke.[109] Other supporters included: T.C.S. Kynnersley, Birmingham's stipendiary magistrate; Charles Ratcliff and William Morgan, both of whom had been involved with the reformatory movement since the 1851 conference; T. Barwick Baker, founder of the Hardwick Reformatory and a close associate of Mary Carpenter; Lord Leigh of Stoneleigh, who founded two reformatory schools in Warwickshire and was responsible for the legislation that finally abolished the gaoling of children at the end of the nineteenth century; Sir John Pakington and Sir Stafford Northcote.[110] Despite this formidable group, it appears that the authority of the Society was in

[106] McConville, *A History of English Prison Administration*, p. 362.

[107] *An Act for consolidating and amending the Laws relating to the building, repairing and regulating of certain Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales* (London, 1823). The legislation is most commonly referred to as the '*Gaol Act*', Section XVI refers to assistance for discharged prisoners; McConville, *A History of English Prison Administration*, pp. 362, 249-250.

[108] 'National Association for the Promotion of Social Science', *BDP*, 11th June 1858, p. 1.

[109] 'Society for the Relief of Prisoners', *ABG*, 14th April 1856, p. 3.

[110] 'Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society', A*BG*, 13th October 1856, p. 3; 'Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society', A*BG*, 20th October 1856, p. 4; *Second Report for the Select Committee on Transportation*, Appendix 1, 'Report of a Meeting held in Birmingham, on Tuesday 15th April 1856, to form a Local Establishment for the Relief and Employment of Discharged Criminals ', p. 181.

the hands of the governor of the Borough Gaol, its surgeon and chaplain; the Society's rules ensured they were the only permanent committee members.[111]

Burt was determined to expand the role of these societies and later claimed events in Birmingham promoted their growth across the country. In July 1858 he led a deputation to lobby Parliament to enact legislation enabling local rates to be used to support the aims of the organisations. A bill was introduced but ran out of parliamentary time. Irrespective of this, Burt took the opportunity to appeal for more local subscribers to support the Society.[112] This call for funds seems to have been noticed as by the time the Society held its first general meeting of subscribers in 1860, it was announced that 394 former prisoners had been assisted at an average cost of less than £2 each. The help given included the provision of food, lodgings, tools and materials for work, and supplying sureties to prospective employers in case the former prisoners returned to crime.[113]

By the time of the Society's 1862 annual meeting it had also accepted responsibility to assist former prisoners who had moved to Birmingham after being discharged from gaols outside the town. This had added to an increasing workload, leaving the Society in £120 of debt at this point.[114] The Birmingham Society's status, along with other organisations that shared its aims, received a

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[111] *Second Report for the Select Committee on Transportation*, Appendix 1, 'Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society (Established 8th April 1856) Rules', pp. 184-185. Rule number six referred to the committee's permanent members; the Society only had eight rules in total.

[112] 'Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society', *BJ*, 10th July 1858, p. 7.

[113] 'Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society', *BJ*, 23rd June 1860, p. 5. The meeting was held at Birmingham Town Hall and presided over by the mayor. It was noted all the sureties were repaid to the Society.

[114] 'Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society', *ABG*, 15th February 1862, p. 6.

significant boost in June of that year. Through the efforts of Adderley and Birmingham MP William Scholefield, legislation was enacted that thoroughly revised the provisions of the 1823 Gaol Act towards discharged prisoners. It allowed for the payment of £2 in respect of each prisoner on their release to be made via a certified Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society; the certification to be undertaken by local justices. The society would then be responsible for managing the funds employed for resettling the prisoner back into society by finding them lodgings and employment.[115] This Act prompted the spread of similar societies across the country and, though no nationally co-ordinated network developed, by 1884 a society had been established for every prison in the country except Oxford.[116] The Act, with minor amendments in the subsequent 1877 Prison Act, remained the legislative basis for the treatment of discharged prisoners until after the Second World War.[117]

Burt resigned as chaplain through ill health in April 1863. Local newspapers paid tribute to his efforts in forming the Birmingham Society and promoting the establishment of similar groups nationwide. He was also credited with working with Adderley and Scholefield on the previous year's legislation, which acted as a

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[115] *A Bill to amend the Law relating to the Giving of Aid to Discharged Prisoners* (London, House of Commons, 1862); *An Act to amend the Law relating to the Giving of Aid to Discharged Prisoners* (London, 1862). The Act only comprised an introduction and three short sections. Section 2 included most of the details about payments to prisoners but also stated if a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society was unable to act on their behalf, the visiting justices could direct the payment to be made to any 'Society for the Benefit' of the prisoner.

[116] McConville, *A History of English Prison Administration*, p. 363; Michelle Higgs, *Prison Life in Victorian England* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2007), p. 65.

[117] Radzinowicz and Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy, p. 604.*

catalyst for the expansion of the Society.[118] Both his immediate successor, Rev. H.L. Elliott, and subsequent chaplains at the Gaol continued to play a leading role within the Society, in line with the organisation's original rules.[119]

In 1879 the government contacted the Society requesting information to assess whether there was evidence to support its primary objective of preventing reconvictions. The information supplied in response highlighted how effective the Society had been. In 1875 it assisted 245 prisoners, in 1876 the number was 258 and in 1877, 339 benefited from their aid. The reconvictions of these people during the three years numbered ten, twelve and nine respectively. Overall, the Society estimated that while the reconviction rate of those it assisted in 1877 amounted to 3 per cent, with those prisoners it had not had involvement with, the figure was 54 per cent.[120]

Despite the involvement of the Gaol's senior officers within the Society, together with other influential local figures including the town's recorder and stipendiary magistrate, Matthew Davenport Hill and T.C.S. Kynnersley respectively, its management committee made it clear it did not want a close association with the government. Adderley described how these voluntary organisations were far better placed to deal with the realities of rehabilitating former prisoners than formal

[118] The local newspapers that reported Burt's resignation and paid tribute to his efforts included: 'Resignation of the Gaol Chaplain', *BDP*, 1st April 1863, p. 3; 'Resignation of the Gaol Chaplain', *ABG*, 4th April 1863, p. 4; Untitled, *BJ*, 4th April 1863, p. 6.

[119] 'Appointment of Chaplain to the Borough Gaol', *BDG*, 6th May 1863, p. 3. Rev. Elliott had been the curate of St. Giles's, Northampton and had also worked at Northampton Gaol.

[120] BCA Birmingham Borough Gaol, Visiting Committee Minute Book 1 1878-1892, 21st December 1879.

bodies.[121] There is, however, a clear conflict of interest in such statements. Adderley was an MP but clearly felt he could act in both an 'official' manner, including lobbying for specific legislation on the subject, then represent the interests of the Society as a 'voluntary' committee member. There was at least one occasion when the government recognised the potential for such a conflict and tried to act upon it. In February 1880 the Home Secretary, Richard Cross, decided that prison officials should not hold positions within any of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies and instructed the chairman of Birmingham Borough Gaol's Visiting Committee to order the chaplain to resign.[122] It appears that Whitehall was testing the waters at Birmingham because there is no evidence this instruction was sent to any other prison. As it transpired, representations were made that such a course of action would diminish the 'usefulness' of the chaplain within the prison and the instruction to resign was duly rescinded.[123]

The growth of Discharge Prisoners' Aid Societies and the development of reformatory schools share several commonalities. While neither originated in Birmingham, it was the influence of Birmingham-based individuals that crafted the original principles of the societies and schools into institutions that spread throughout the country. Some of those involved with the management of local reformatory and industrial schools were also involved with the BDPAS and the legislation that was enacted to provide the legal status of these bodies was due to the efforts of some of the town's politicians. Adderley described Birmingham as

[121] 'Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society Annual Meeting', *BDP*, 27th January 1866, p. 3.
[122] BCA Birmingham Borough Gaol, Visiting Committee Minute Book 1 1878-1892, 11th February 1880, 20th February 1880.
[123] 'Meeting of Borough Justices', *BDP*, 6th January 1881, p. 5. A few weeks after Cross issued the instruction he was replaced as Home Secretary when Disraeli's government lost the general election of April 1880.

being responsible for two important steps in the reform of criminals with the local development of reformatory institutions and prisoners' aid societies. He proclaimed the town 'had the pride of being identified with two important adjuncts to the criminal law' and continued to profess that 'Birmingham had thus dealt with the end and the beginning of a criminal's course'.[124]

Birmingham continued to be the originator of further reforms for the treatment of juvenile criminals into the twentieth century. In 1905 the country's first Children's Court opened in the city. It occupied a building donated by the Barrow Cadbury family. Until then Birmingham's children had appeared alongside adults in the Magistrates Courts.[125] Children had no option but to share holding cells with adults within these buildings while waiting for the actual court appearance. It was known such practices left children open to abuse, hence the justification for this separate provision.[126] The following year the Court appointed the first probation officers in the country, three police officers were selected for the new roles.[127]

It would be wrong to fully ascribe the abolition of the jailing of juveniles to events in Birmingham but, at least, it acted as a catalyst for, or a focus of, reformatory activity. The two fundamental steps that led to the abolition of child imprisonment were the legislation that led to the introduction of reformatory and industrial

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[124] 'Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society Annual Meeting', *BDP*, 27th January 1866, p. 3.

[125] John W. Reilly*, Policing Birmingham, An Account of 150 Years of Police in Birmingham* (Birmingham: West Midlands Police), p. 65.

[126] David Cross, Curator, West Midlands Police Museum, Birmingham. Mr Cross explained to me how the Police had become aware of these practices, and welcomed the opening of the court dedicated to children, when I interviewed him at the museum in October 2014.

[127] Geraldine S. Cadbury, *Young Offenders, Yesterday and Today* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1938), p. 75.

schools and the removal of a compulsory jail term. Both have distinct points of origin in conferences that were held in Birmingham. Outside of these two specific events, other meetings were held that kept the subject in the public domain and maintained the pressure on government for legislative reform. Additionally, the preceding paragraph demonstrates that the abolition of imprisonment did not see the end of the city's influence. It should also be remembered that over ten years before the 1851 conference Birmingham's first Recorder, Matthew Davenport Hill, had introduced the beginnings of the probation system in the town. This, in itself, had prevented some children from having to serve a prison term.[128] Taking all the evidence into account, it is difficult to imagine how any other town or city could claim to have had a greater influence in this area of reform than Birmingham.

Considering the local events that contributed to the momentum for legislative reforms to the treatment of juvenile offenders, together with the role of several prominent Birmingham-based individuals, the following chapter examines the factors behind the development of the town's own reformatory institutions.

[128] See Chapter Three for details of Hill's scheme.

Chapter Seven

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF BIRMINGHAM'S REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS: 1851–1900

Birmingham's contribution to the development of the legislation that supported the establishment of a national network of reformatory institutions has been examined in the two previous chapters. Given the town's prominence in this area of social reform it might be expected that Birmingham's own reformatory and industrial schools developed quickly with prestigious local support. To test this supposition this chapter examines the origins and development of these establishments by evaluating the influence of existing institutions; particularly ragged schools, legislative developments, the town council and a number of key individuals.

Following an overview of the historiography and a description of the sources employed, the role of the town's ragged schools is explored. While Chapter Four discussed their origins, the schools contribution to the alleviation of juvenile criminality is now assessed in relation to the development of specific reformatory institutions and the networks of individuals who supported them. A chronological account of the establishment of each of the town's reformatory and industrial schools is then provided alongside an examination of the factors that led to their founding, followed by an evaluation of the town council's role in funding and supporting the schools. This includes an assessment of the influence of several men who held dual roles, occupying positions within the council while

simultaneously involved with the management of local reformatory institutions. Finally, by comparing the preceding factors, the networks of individuals that emerged and the development of the Neglected Children's Aid Society with the town's civic gospel phenomenon of the 1870s, this chapter discusses whether it can be argued that the civic gospel ethos had an early incarnation in Birmingham's reformatory movement.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

The historiography of the development of Birmingham's ragged schools is discussed in Chapter Four. Accounts of the town's reformatory institutions are limited. In the 1870s John Alfred Langford documented the development of Saltley Reformatory and four industrial schools.[1] J.A. Hitchins and G.R. Lowes published works describing the origins and growth of Gem Street Industrial School and Saltley Reformatory respectively but,[2] as with Langford's account, they are celebratory in nature. Other than a brief mention of Birmingham's reformatory institutions by Conrad Gill in 1952, no other substantive reference to them has been found.[3]

[1] J.A. Langford, *Modern Birmingham and its Institutions. A Chronicle of Local Events, Volume II, 1841-1871* (Birmingham: William Dowling, 1877), pp. 198-224. The industrial schools mentioned are Shustoke, Vale Street, Penn Street and Gem Street.

[2] J. A. Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution (Saltley Reformatory) Jubilee Retrospect, 1903* (Birmingham, 1903); G.R. Lowes, *1849– 1949 Souvenir of the Centenary Celebrations of Tennal School, Birmingham* (No publication details known).

[3] Gill, Conrad, *History of Birmingham, Volume I, Manor and Borough to 1865* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 380-381.

Only three mentions of Birmingham's Neglected Children's Aid Society have been located in published texts. The earliest was a brief outline of the Society's work in a speech given in 1868.[4] The second was found in a contemporary publication by the Reformatory and Refuge Union,[5] upon whose work the Society was partially based and the final, passing, reference was made by Langford in relation to its association with reformatory institutions.[6] The Society was one of many small, locally-based charities that developed during the nineteenth century in response to widespread child poverty.[7]

J.T. Bunce originated the term 'civic gospel' to describe the major improvement and modernisation works undertaken in the 1870s by Birmingham Council.[8] Designed to enhance living standards, the authority introduced a 'Health Department' and acquired local gas and water companies. Over time historians have expanded Bunce's original parameters to include other aspects of social reform within the gospel. E.P. Hennock documents the development of the town's educational institutions alongside the 'bricks and mortar improvements',[9] while in 1995 Roy Hartnell relates how the civic gospel resulted in a 'municipal crusade' that prompted the council to incorporate several cultural institutions and promote

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[4] *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Birmingham Meeting 1868* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1869), pp. 454-455. The speech, entitled 'On the state of Education in Birmingham, in Connection with Compulsory Education', was made by Jesse Collings.

[5] John Macgregor (aka Rob Roy), *The Boy's Beadle*, 2nd edn (London: Reformatory and Refuge Union, 1871), pp. 14-15. This gave an account of the Society's work during 1870.

[6] Langford, *Modern Birmingham, Volume II,* p. 205.

[7] An overview of the extent of these institutions is provided in: Ginger Frost, Victorian Childhoods (London: Praeger, 2009), pp. 121-142.

[8] Roger Ward, *City State and Nation. Birmingham's Political History c.1830-1940* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 2005), p. 74; Asa Briggs, *History of Birmingham, Volume II, Borough and City 1865-1938* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 332.

[9] E.P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons* (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1973), pp. 80-103.

art and artists in the city.[10] Paula Bartley reiterates the previous aspects but adds a distinct welfare element, citing the work of predominantly middle-class women in alleviating homelessness and combating prostitution by establishing educational and training facilities, and opening shelters for the town's vulnerable female population.[11] Roger Ward's 2005 work returns to the earlier concept of the gospel, describing the extensive building works and acquisition of utilities.[12] This research expands on the welfare aspect introduced by Bartley by illustrating a clear link between individuals who were involved with Birmingham's reformatory movement before their association with the civic gospel.

The microstudy presented here is predominantly based on contemporary newspaper articles.[13] No records from any of Birmingham's ragged schools survive and while significant archives exist for two local reformatory institutions,[14] only the government inspector's reports survive for the remainder. Similarly, no documentation relating to the Neglected Children's Aid Society could be located. Fortunately the activities of the various institutions, local charities and the meetings of the various council committees were regularly reported by the press.

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[10] Roy Hartnell, 'Art and Civic Culture in Birmingham in the late Nineteenth Century', *Urban History*, 22:2 (August 1995), pp. 234-236.

[11] Paula Bartley, 'Moral Regeneration: Women and the Civic Gospel in Birmingham, 1870-1914', *Midland History*, 25:1 (2000), pp. 143, 145, 157. Some of the women involved in these activities were prominent members of the Birmingham Society for Women's Suffrage.

[12] Ward, *City State and Nation*, p. 78.

[13] Copies of the following Birmingham newspapers, held on the *British Newspapers Online* website, have been examined for this aspect of the research: *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, *Birmingham Daily Post* and *Birmingham Journal,* abbreviated as *ABG*, *BDG*, *BDP and BJ* respectively.

[14] Extensive archives exist for Saltley Reformatory and Gem Street Industrial School at Birmingham City Archives (Hereafter BCA), under the general references MS 244 Birmingham Reformatory Institution (Saltley Reformatory), MS 944 Tennal School (St. Philip's Industrial School, Birmingham Free Industrial School, Gem Street Industrial School), BCA Local Studies Collection, L48.114 Annual Reports of the Birmingham Free Industrial School. One annual report for Penn Street Industrial School survives: BCA 129659.

The details provided particularly highlighted the networks of individuals involved with the town's reformatory movement and subsequent civic gospel era. A small amount of autobiographical and biographical material has been used to support the research findings.

RAGGED SCHOOLS AND REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS

The majority of Birmingham's ragged schools never developed beyond their origins but a small number evolved into reformatory institutions.[15] The following discussion highlights the reasons behind these adaptations and the contribution the schools made to local reformatory efforts.

In 1853 Deritend Ragged School relocated to Penn Street and changed its name accordingly.[16] Regardless of attracting over 220 children daily, its finances were in deficit by 1858 and the school's management appealed to local manufacturers for support, inferring that its presence would provide a better-educated workforce and reduce instances of petty crime directed towards their premises.[17] The appeals failed and, following a suggestion from James Lloyd, the school began admitting adults. James was the brother of Thomas Lloyd the current mayor, and both were patrons of Penn Street. Despite this change, and an increasing number of children attending, the school's finances remained in deficit.[18] Two members of the school's management felt this debt handicapped its effectiveness: Alderman

[15] A brief overview of the origins of ragged schools is provided in Chapter Two.
[16] 'Birmingham, February. 7, 1853', *ABG*, 7th February 1853, p. 3.
[17] 'Penn Street Ragged School', *BDP*, 30th April 1858, p. 2.
[18] 'Anniversary of Penn Street Ragged School', *BDP*, 17th April 1860, p. 2. Weekly attendance cost one penny. At this point daily attendance rose to 250 children.

Gameson, its treasurer, and John Allday asserted that the school's facilities could be put to better use if this debt was removed.[19]

An opportunity to achieve this was presented in April 1862 when Arthur Ryland approached the school on behalf of the local justices. Birmingham lacked places to accommodate children convicted under the 1857 Industrial Schools Act and Penn Street was identified as the potential location for a new industrial school.[20] The enquiry was initially rejected because the school did not want the existing pupils associating with 'criminal' children but the management committee soon changed its mind.[21] It followed a meeting where Birmingham's Stipendiary Magistrate, T.C.S Kynnersley, reassured them that only children found to be destitute would be committed there. He proposed that the arrangement should be trialled for two years and outlined the government grants available to support certified industrial schools.[22] Monetary constraints were a perpetual problem for ragged schools and government funding was never made available to them. The grants that schools like Penn Street received for housing 'criminal' children helped them maintain their ordinary day schools.[23]

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[19] 'Penn Street Ragged Schools', *BDP*, 29th May 1861, p. 2.

[20] In 1857 the Industrial Schools Act (20 and 21 Vict, cap 84) had been passed enabling magistrates to send vagrant or destitute children aged between seven and fourteen to an industrial school if the parents were deemed incapable of looking after them. It effectively marked the beginnings of local welfare provision. The legislation was the work of Charles Adderley. Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 177-178.

[21] 'The Industrial Schools Act', *BDP*, 2nd April 1862, p. 3. Recently Birmingham's Stipendiary Magistrate T.C.S. Kynnersley had been forced to send a convicted boy to Bristol, it being the closest vacancy.

[22] 'Penn Street Ragged Schools, Annual Meeting', *BDG*, 18th June 1862, p. 4; 'Penn Street Ragged Schools. Annual Meeting', *BDP*, 19th June 1862, p. 7. The magistrates also agreed to pay for any necessary structural alterations to the property.

[23] 'Penn Street Ragged And Industrial Schools', *BDP*, 17th February 1870, p. 6. This article illustrates that while 42 children were confined there under the auspices of the Industrial Schools Act, 291 children were regularly attending its ragged school.

Penn Street appealed for local donations to supplement the government finance and Arthur Ryland provided a significant contribution in the form of a mortgage.[24] The industrial school opened in January 1863 and by November eighteen boys had been placed there by the courts. At this point Thomas Lloyd declared the new institution a success in rescuing children from crime.[25] There were subsequent attempts to extend the school and in January 1869 Alderman Gameson, in his council role, proposed making a £200 grant from the authority to facilitate this. Though supported by Jesse Collings,[26] the meeting was halted as there was no consensus that public funds could be used for this.[27] Despite this ending the immediate expansion plans, the school maintained high standards and a visitor to the institution in February 1869 complimented the pupils' educational achievements, cleanliness and behaviour: at the time forty-three boys were detained there under the supervision of Mr May, his wife, who acted as matron, and one other teacher, a Mr Nightingale.[28]

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[24] 'Topics of the Week', *BJ*, 21st June 1862, p. 5. Arthur Ryland was a magistrate and alderman, as well as being involved with Penn Street's management. 'Edgbastonians Past and Present, No. 12. Arthur Ryland', *Edgbastonia*, 2:13 (15th May 1882), pp. 76-79. On Ryland's death his family recalled the mortgage, adding to the financial pressures on the school. BCA *Annual Report of the Penn Street Industrial School for the Year Ending 31.12.1880* (Birmingham, 1881), p. 5.

[25] 'Penn Street Ragged and Industrial Schools', *BDP*, 6th November 1863, p. 2; 'Penn Street Ragged and Industrial Schools', *ABG*, 7th November 1863, p. 4. Thomas Lloyd was a patron of the institution and former mayor of Birmingham. *Eleventh Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1868), p. 28.

[26] Collings was a prominent figure in the civic gospel era and also involved with several reformatory institutions. His influence is discussed later in this chapter.

[27] 'Penn Street Industrial School', *ABG*, 9th January 1869, p. 6.

[28] 'Penn Street Industrial School', *BDG*, 15th February 1869, p. 2; *Seventh Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1864), p. 61. It was stressed that there were no servants at the School, the boys attending to all housekeeping and cooking duties themselves. Nightingale had been trained as a teacher at Saltley Training College. Chapter Nine details this institution's links with the reformatory movement.

By 1874 the school had financed the extension proposed by Gameson through the generosity of subscribers and was accommodating sixty boys.[29] At that point the Birmingham School Board stated it would withdraw its funding unless the school agreed to fall under the Board's control.[30] This 'ultimatum' failed as the Board rejected the conditions central government placed on the transfer; the council then made a grant of £50 to the school because of the 'unsettling state of things' the situation had created.[31] All of Birmingham's reformatory institutions, with the exception of the council-run industrial schools at Shustoke and Sparkbrook,[32] experienced repeated funding difficulties with the town's council; this subject is examined later in the chapter. The council's decision to open these particular schools impacted upon the older institutions. At Penn Street's 1879 annual meeting subscribers expressed concerns over the number of boys in the school. Only one child had been committed there during the previous five months, as the council was favouring Shustoke.[33]

Despite such setbacks, there were opportunities to generate extra revenue. Many towns established truant schools in the wake of the 1876 Elementary Education Act but Birmingham's authorities decided against this. Initially the School Board proposed utilising the council's Shustoke Industrial School to provide the facility but internal wrangling prevented any progress. The Board then approached Penn

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[29] 'Penn Street Industrial School', *BDP*, 10th February 1877, p. 6.

[30] 'Penn Street Industrial School and the School Board', *BDP*, 28th January 1874, p. 7.

[31] 'The General Purposes Committee', BDP, 7th November 1874, p. 7. The conditions the government proposed to impose included the compulsory resignation of the School's existing management, loss of its government certification, inspection for a new certificate and, if granted, a reduction in central funding.

[32] Shustoke and Sparkbrook Industrial schools opened in 1868 and 1873 respectively. Their development is detailed later in this chapter.

[33] 'Penn Street Industrial School', *BDP*, 14th February 1879, p. 3.

Street's managers who agreed to provide twenty spaces for male truants.[34] The school remained registered to accept sixty boys under the Industrial Schools Act until it closed in June 1905.[35]

In January 1861 Birmingham hosted a conference that called for the government to provide financial support to ragged schools.[36] Though ultimately unsuccessful, the event's timing coincided with attempts to establish a ragged school in Bishop Ryder's Parish within Birmingham. The incumbent vicar, Rev. J.H. Burges, emphasised the conference aims in a letter appealing for donations published a month after the event.[37] The neighbourhood was described as 'the poorest in Birmingham' and Burges had appropriated a room in the parish's only day school, to act as an interim ragged school while funds were raised to purchase a separate building. By late 1861 a school was under construction in Gem Street; contributions having been made by prominent local families including the Lloyds, Rylands and Chances.[38] The demand for the school was clear, 170 children were registered there by the following May.[39]

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[34] 'The Attendance and General Purposes Committee', *BDP*, 6th May 1881, p. 8. Penn Street accepted the truants on condition the Board topped up the government's allowance so that the School received seven shillings weekly for each child.

[35] *Forty-Fourth Report, for the year 1900, of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain, Part 1 – Lists of Schools and Detailed Reports* (London: HMSO, 1901), p. 23; 'Bid For Witton Hall', *BDG*, 28th June 1905, p. 6. At this point the institution was known as Witton Hall but it is not clear if it relocated there or had just changed its name.

[36] Charles Ratcliff, *Ragged Schools in Relation to the Government Grants for Education. The Authorized Report of the Conference held at Birmingham, January 23rd, 1861* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861). This conference, together with others held in Birmingham between 1851–1861, is discussed in Chapter Five.

[37] 'Ragged Schools', *BDP*, 22nd February 1861, p. 2. Bishop Ryder's Parish was situated in the part of Birmingham which today includes Steelhouse Lane and the Children's Hospital.

[38] 'Bishop Ryder's Parish', *ABG*, 27th November 1861, p. 8.

[39] 'Bishop Ryder's Ragged School', *BDG*, 12th May 1862, p. 1; 'Bishop Ryder's Schools', *ABG*, 6th August 1864, p. 6. This institution is not to be confused with Gem Street Industrial School founded by Rev. G.M. Yorke.

Irrespective of relocating, Bishop Ryder's Ragged School was frequently in debt and employed various schemes to raise funds, including bazaars, lectures, and at Christmas by using real fir trees to turn a schoolroom into a 'forest'.[40] Burges was aware that he would be unable to raise sufficient funds to maintain the school from his impoverished parish alone. With the assistance of Rev. Grantham Yorke, the Rural Dean of Birmingham,[41] and Rev. Lee of St. George's in Edgbaston, Burges began to hold Sunday services at churches in Birmingham's more affluent areas. For this he received a proportion of the collections taken, which were doubtless greater than the value of those taken in his own church.[42] The school subsequently outgrew the Gem Street premises and Burges appealed to Louisa Ryland for a donation to purchase a former police station in Staniforth Street to act as a new ragged and infants school. His letter to her recounted donations received from Arthur Ryland, MP George Dixon and the Birmingham Education Society.[43]

The joint United Hill Street and Inkleys Ragged Schools relocated to Vale Street in 1861 and renamed Vale Street School accordingly.[44] By February 1863 it had taken some boys directly from the custody of the local police into its care but was

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[40] 'Bishop Ryder's Parish Ragged School', *ABG*, 24th May 1862, p. 8; 'Bishop Ryder's Parish. Christmas Forest', *BDG*, 30th December 1862, p 2. The article refers to the institution as Gem Street Ragged School. In its description of the forest, 'hundreds of glow-worm gas jets' were said to have provided the illumination – a fascinating, if slightly worrying, spectacle.

[41] In addition to his duties at Gem Street Industrial School, Yorke was also appointed as Birmingham's Rural Dean. 'Proposed Testimonial to the Hon. and Rev. G.M Yorke', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 14th July 1874, p. 6.

[42] 'Church Extension in Birmingham', *ABG*, 17th December 1864, p. 3.

[43] BCA Records of Louisa Ryland, MS690/2. The letter is undated but cannot be earlier than 1867. The Birmingham Educational Society was formed in that year, which was also the first time Dixon was elected to Parliament. James Dixon, *Out of Birmingham. George Dixon (1820–1898)* (Studley: Brewin Books, 2013), pp. 54, 73. It is not known whether Louisa Ryland responded with a donation but no trace can be of any ragged or infants school being established in Staniforth Street.

[44] Langford, *Modern Birmingham and its Institutions, Volume II*, pp. 211-212. Vale Street had been considered alongside Penn Street by the town's magistrates as the site for an industrial school but was deemed to be in an unsuitable area. 'The Industrial Schools Act', *BDP*, 2nd April 1862, p. 3.

not certified under the Industrial Schools Act.[45] Two years later at the school's annual meeting, attended by both Henry and Arthur Ryland, such certification was proposed because the institution was in debt and the government allowances it would attract were seen as a resolution to the problem. Government inspector Sydney Turner supported these proposals and Vale Street was certified as an industrial school in October 1866.[46]

The school's provision for detaining children was small and it was reported in December 1866 that a lack of funds was further restricting its work.[47] Turner's 1868 inspection recorded six girls present but after only seven were detained there the following year, he recommended their transferred to Gem Street Industrial School and that Vale Street resign its certification; this was declined but he likened the institution to a ragged school.[48] As at Penn Street a ragged school was also maintained at Vale Street and it seems plausible that the government grants in respect of the children confined there also indirectly supported its 'ragged' pupils.[49]

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[45] 'Vale Street Ragged Schools Annual Meeting', *BDP*, 28th February 1863, p. 2.
[46] 'Vale Street Ragged Schools', *BDP*, 15th February 1865, p. 4; 'Magistrates Certified Industrial School for Girls', *BDG*, 22nd October 1866, p. 1. As indicated by the title of the latter article, locally industrial schools also seem to have been referred to as 'Magistrates Schools'.
[47] 'Magistrates' Certified Industrial School for Girls', *BDP*, 20th October 1866, p. 1. This references an advertisement taken out on certification stating only 'a few destitute girls' can be accepted. Untitled, *BJ*, 15th December 1866, p. 6.
[48] *Eleventh Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, pp. 83-84; *Twelfth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1869), p. 82.
[49] 'Vale street Ragged and Industrial Schools', *BDP*, 15th January 1869, p. 4. At this time there were eight children under detention but 144 in its infants school, 102 in the upper school and it also housed a Sunday school with 200 pupils.

Despite Turner's comments Vale Street's supporters regarded it highly. At its 1869 annual meeting of subscribers, chairman Thomas Lloyd, who was also associated with Penn Street, claimed Charles Adderley had originated the idea of the 1857 Industrial Schools Act following an earlier visit to Vale Street. Lloyd also drew parallels between the school and Mettray. Notwithstanding these optimistic protestations Vale Street still only accommodated eight girls under detention. It had, however, the support of individuals including Henry Manton, Jesse Collings, J.T. Bunce and George Dixon.[50]

In 1871, when Joseph Chamberlain briefly became involved with the school's management, it lost an Education Aid Society grant. Its financial problems worsened three years later when the Birmingham School Board withdrew its regular payments in respect of the girls detained there.[51] By February 1875 its finances had deteriorated further and the premises faced being subject to a compulsory purchase.[52] Additionally, in early 1876 Councillor Mr Brooke Smith died. A long-time supporter of the school, he was also involved with the management of the Penn Street institution, had supported Arthur Ryland in the establishment of Shustoke Industrial School and was a member of the Birmingham Neglected Children's Aid Society.[53] This combination of

[50] 'Vale street Ragged and Industrial Schools', *BDP*, 15th January 1869, p. 4; Untitled, *BDP*, 31st January 1868, p. 3. Dixon had become a subscriber the previous year and promised to donate twenty-one shillings annually.

[51] 'Vale Street Certified Industrial School', *BDG*, 13th February 1873, p. 5; 'Vale Street Industrial School', *BDP*, 17th February 1874, p. 8.

[52] '(London and North Western Railway Company) Vale Street Ragged and Industrial School for Girls', *BDP*, 12th February 1875, p. 8. The compulsory purchase order was to make way for a railway extension.

[53] 'Penn Street Certified Industrial School', *BDP*, 17th March 1876, p. 6; 'Industrial Schools', *BJ*, 11th January 1868, p. 11; 'Birmingham Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BDP*, 2nd February 1875, p. 6.

circumstances resulted in the school's closure in August that year, those under detention being transferred to Sparkbrook Industrial School.[54]

The ragged school founded by Grantham Yorke in 1846 relocated from Lichfield Street to a new building on land provided by the governors of King Edward's school in Gem Street in early 1850.[55] Now renamed the Birmingham Free Industrial School, it was still described as a ragged school by William Locke following his 1853 visit there.[56] Gem Street, as the Birmingham Free Industrial School was known, was effectively a Church of England institution. Its covenants specified that local clergymen comprise the majority of its management committee, although they accepted children of all faiths.[57] Yorke was an influential figure in the reformatory movement within Birmingham, but he would not accept children with criminal convictions at Gem Street. In a speech at the 1853 Birmingham conference on juvenile reform, he expressed the view that convicted children should be segregated so as not to 'contaminate' others.[58]

Gem Street benefited from funding which similar institutions could not access. It received £60 annually from the Piddocks's Trust charity and from 1858 was selected to accommodate the children of soldiers and sailors killed during the Crimean War. For the latter it received £16 annually for each boy and £14 for each

[54] *Twentieth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1877), p. 156.

[55] Lowes, *1849– 1949 Souvenir,* p. 15; 'First Annual Report', *ABG*, 20th January 1851, p. 4.

[56] *Third Annual Report of the Birmingham Free Industrial School* (Birmingham, 1853), p. 5. Locke was the honorary secretary to the London Ragged School Union.

[57] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Free Industrial School* (Birmingham, 1851), pp. 13-15.

[58] Lowes, *1849– 1949 Souvenir*, p. 22. On one occasion when Yorke found two children with criminal convictions had been enrolled at Gem Street he had them ejected immediately. A brief biography of Yorke comprises Appendix C.

girl from the Patriotic Fund and used some of the money to expand its facilities to benefit local children.[59] As the children accommodated under the fund's provisions grew older and left, this income stream diminished and the school found itself searching for additional finance. As with Vale Street and Penn Street Industrial Schools, the Industrial Schools legislation provided this funding, and Gem Street received the required certification in 1868. At that point Yorke stepped down as chairman but remained an influential presence. His place was taken by William Sargant, a former pupil of the town's Hazelwood School.[60]

The lack of archival material relating to ragged schools makes it difficult to ascertain whether the number of these schools established in Birmingham was comparable to other towns. Research into Manchester's ragged institutions indicates Birmingham was relatively well provided for. It appears the first ragged school did not open in Manchester until 1847.[61] A second school, the Angel Meadow and Ancoats, opened in 1854 but because a significant number of its pupils had criminal convictions its management felt it would better serve the community as a reformatory. It changed its name to the Manchester and Salford

[59] 'Birmingham, April 24, 1854', *ABG*, 24th April 1854, p. 3. Piddocks Charity dated from 1728 and funded the apprenticeships of 'poor boys' from the income generated by a farm situated in Winson Green. Walter Showell, *Dictionary of Birmingham* (Oldbury: Walter S. Showell and Sons, 1885), p. 223; BCA MS 944/1/1/1, Tennal School (Formerly St Philip's Free Industrial School, Gem Street Industrial School) General Committee and Annual Meeting Minute Book, 15th February 1887; Langford, *Modern Birmingham and its Institutions, Volume II*, p. 217.

[60] *Twelfth* Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools, p. 82; Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir*, pp. 29-30. An examination of Hazelwood School comprises part of Chapter Eight.

[61] Emmeline Garnett, *Juvenile Offenders in Victorian Manchester. W.J. Garnett and the Bleasdale Reformatory* (Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, 2008), p. 21. This publication describes just two ragged schools in Manchester.

Reformatory and received government registration in 1857.[62] An 1856 article described five ragged schools within Manchester and Salford, but stressed the lack of such institutions in the area.[63]

H.W. Schupf states the 1870 Education Act marked the beginning of the end for ragged schools, as it permitted school boards to establish and support schools where local provision was lacking. Ragged schools either adapted to fulfil the Act's educational requirements or disregarded their educational function.[64] Birmingham's ragged schools had been under pressure since 1867 when the town's Board of Guardians began paying the school fees of the children of those receiving outdoor relief; the Birmingham Education Society also began similar payments. These actions, together with the use of industrial schools to house some of the destitute children who would have previously attended ragged schools, underscore Schupf's conclusions.[65]

At an 1872 meeting of the Birmingham School Board, Joseph Chamberlain proposed the establishment of a free Board School with 1,000 places for the pupils from the schools in Bishop Ryder's Parish that had been forced to close. It appears that some of Birmingham's ragged schools closed before the new Board

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[62] Lancashire Records Office DDX 1791/2/1, *Report of the Committee of the Manchester and Salford Reformatory for Juvenile Criminals* (Manchester, 1857), pp. 7-10. This report also details just two ragged schools and the reasons for the development of the reformatory.

[63] 'Destitute and Juvenile Criminals', *Manchester Papers. A Series of Occasional Essays, Volume I* (Manchester: Dunnil and Palmer, 1856), pp. 67-71. The article was credited to 'T.R.W'. Two of the ragged schools were attached to local Sunday schools.

[64] H.W. Schupf, 'Education for the Neglected: Ragged Schools in Nineteenth-Century England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 12:2 (Summer, 1972), pp. 163-164, 170.

[65] *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Birmingham Free Industrial School for the Year 1867* (Birmingham, 1868), p. 7.

Schools were ready, leaving children literally on the streets again. Rev. Burges, who founded Bishop Ryder's Ragged School, was present at the meeting and argued that it would be cheaper for the town to pay the fees of the children at the existing schools rather than build a series of new ones. George Dawson's comment to Burges, that he was now 'relieved of the burden' of the ragged school, did not change his opinion of the developments.[66]

Schupf's assertions of a decline in ragged school numbers from the 1870s until their virtual disappearance by 1900 are reflected in the findings of this thesis.[67] References to them in Birmingham newspapers reduce significantly towards the end of the nineteenth century but some did persist. Slaney Street Ragged School survived until approximately 1886, while accounts from 1895 revealed ragged schools in Dartmouth Street and Moor Street.[68] The most recent article located, from 1900, related how a proposed shopping area for Corporation Street would incorporate a ragged school.[69]

Three of Birmingham's industrial schools survived into the twentieth century; of these two developed from ragged schools.[70] While most closed as local and then

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[66] 'Birmingham School Board', *BDP*, 26th September 1872, p. 6.

[67] Schupf, 'Education for the Neglected', pp. 163-164, 170. Schupf claims that ragged schools laid the foundations for some elements of today's social services.

[68] 'The Cattle and Poultry Show', *BDP*, 3rd November 1886. This article details ninety-four pupils from Slaney Street visiting the show. 'The Distress in Birmingham', *BDP*, 19th February 1895, p. 4; 'Christmas Treats', *BDP,* 28th December 1895, p. 5.

[69] 'The Central Hall', *BDP*, 15th February 1900, p. 8. It is not known if this project was completed. No further mentions of ragged schools have been located after this date in the local newspapers examined for this work.

[70] D.H. Thomas, *Reformatory and Industrial Schools, 1854–1933* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Newcastle upon Tyne Polytechnic Products Ltd, 1986), p. 7. Gem Street (Birmingham Free Industrial School) and Penn Street originated as ragged schools. The third institution was the Council's Shustoke Industrial School. Vale Street closed in 1876.

state provision for education expanded, when ragged schools first appeared they were the only schools available for most poor children. They kept children off the streets and although the skills they imparted were limited, for many it was the only time they received anything approaching a formal education. The government never funded ragged schools but the managers of the Vale Street, Penn Street and Gem Street institutions were able to source alternative government finance including registration as industrial schools, a truant school and via the Patriotic Fund, and used these means to support the training and education they provided for their ‘ragged’ scholars.

THE INCEPTION OF BIRMINGHAM’S REMAINING REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

The most immediate local effect of the 1851 Birmingham conference on juvenile crime was the establishment of a reformatory for boys at Saltley and another for girls at Camden Street in the town centre. These institutions form part of a case-study in Chapter Nine but a brief account of their origin is relevant here. Following the conference, local philanthropist Joseph Sturge rented a cottage in Edgbaston where carpentry and shoemaking skills were taught to local boys upon their release from prison.[71] The high demand for places led Sturge to accept an offer from Charles Adderley to provide a purpose-built reformatory on land he owned at

[71] Henry Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (Memphis: General Books LLC, 2012 (Print on demand copy of original publication)), p. 168; *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 5., in BCA MS 244/98, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 1 (Hereafter BRI MB 1), 24th January 1854; Tyrrell, Alex, ‘Joseph Sturge (1793–1859)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26746> [accessed 29th March 2018].

Saltley.[72] The institution opened in Spring 1853 with capacity for twenty-five.[73] It was subsequently expanded and by the end of 1860 had one-hundred places.[74] After Adderley died in 1905, the institution was renamed in his honour.[75] Saltley's management also established a reformatory for girls which opened in Camden Street in November 1854. This rented property was capable of accommodating twenty children but relocated to a site in Smethwick two years later.[76] Known as Birmingham Girls' Reformatory, it had forty-five places and remained open until 1879.[77]

While the two previous institutions benefited from wealthy patrons, the Handsworth Island Cottage Home for Protestant Girls was primarily the work of one individual. It was established in 1859 by Miss Charlotte Weale, with the support of stipendiary magistrate T.C.S. Kynnersley.[78] Originally it accommodated approximately fifteen girls who 'needed shelter from extreme poverty or the harshness or neglect of relatives'.[79] It trained them for domestic service by

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[72] Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 68; Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution,* pp. 12-13.

[73] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 5., in BCA BRI MB 1, 24th January 1854.

[74] *Third & Fourth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 11., in BCA BRI MB 1, 8th April 1857; *Eighth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 10., in BCA BRI MB 1, 1st February 1861. The reformatory's capacity never expanded beyond the one hundred places.

[75] *Connecting Histories, Birmingham Children's Home Project* <http://www.search.connectinghistories.org/uk> Undated, [accessed 20th September 2012] Adderley also held the title Lord Norton and the reformatory was renamed the Norton Training School after his death.

[76] *Second Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 8., in BCA BRI MB 1, 5th January 1855; 'Birmingham, 13 November 1854', *ABG*, 13th November 1854, p. 3; *First Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Different Reformatory Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1858), pp. 32-33.

[77] *Twenty-Second Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1879), p. 86. The School's certificate was resigned at Michaelmas 1879 and the girls in the institution were transferred to other schools.

[78] 'The Industrial Home', *ABG*, 10th October 1859, p. 2; 'Girls' Industrial School', *ABG*, 21st October 1865, p. 6.

[79] 'The Industrial Home', *ABG*, 10th October 1859, p. 2. Some of the girls in the institution were placed there through the intervention of the Town Missionaries. Though Wesleyan in origin they incorporated all Christian sects. Patricia Roberts-Pinchette, *Great Canadian Expectations. The Middlemore Experience* (Global Heritage Press: Ontario, 2016), p. 262. In 1859 the Home was described as only refusing those

imparting skills including sewing, dressmaking and cookery, as well as the '3Rs'. Some children had their fees paid by benevolent sponsors, while the Home met the remaining costs.[80]

It began to receive girls under the auspices of the Industrial Schools Act in 1861 but never accommodated a great number. That year's official inspection recorded that only one of the institution's eighteen occupants was under sentence.[81] Despite relocating to larger premises in Winson Green in 1862, government inspector Turner described it as being 'essentially a school for children sent by their parents or subscribers' and expressed the wish that more use be made of the institution.[82] No more than nine girls were ever detained there at any one time, though the number was usually smaller.[83] It remained primarily a voluntary institution until closing in 1869.[84] Its seven inmates were transferred to Gem Street Industrial School.[85]

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appropriate for the Magdalen Asylum, i.e. prostitutes, and aimed to rescue girls 'from destitution and scenes of vice'. 'Handsworth Industrial Home for Girls, near Birmingham', *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, Volume XI (London: Partridge & Co., 1859), pp. 209-210.

[80] 'The Industrial Home', *ABG*, 10th October 1859, p. 2.

[81] *Fifth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1862), p. 83.

[82] *Sixth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1863), pp. 20, 63. Kynnersley was recorded as the 'honorary secretary' of the institution in this report. Only two girls were under detention there at this time.

[83] *Seventh Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p. 78; *Tenth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1867), p. 85; *Eleventh Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p. 84. These reports detail the number of girls in detention as six, six and nine respectively.

[84] *Tenth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, p. 85. The deteriorating health of its founder Miss Weale prompted the closure.

[85] *Thirteenth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1870), p. 109.

On 25th June 1867 Birmingham Town Council voted in favour of Alderman Arthur Ryland's motion to provide a school for boys detained under the Industrial Schools Act.[86] The decision resulted following pressure from Warwickshire magistrates who wished to establish an institution for the use of all magistrates across the county and not just Birmingham.[87] A site was subsequently selected at Shustoke, twelve miles from Birmingham, which was easily accessible by rail. It comprised a large house, garden, orchard and land. Its distance from the town was viewed as an advantage, as it would isolate the inmates from Birmingham's 'evil influences'. A party from the council visited Feltham Industrial School in Middlesex, prior to opening Birmingham's institution.[88]

When Shustoke opened in March 1868, it marked Birmingham as the first corporate body in the country to establish such a school at its own expense and within three months twenty-nine of the forty places had been taken.[89] The institution's superintendant, Mr C.J. Vinall, had previously been employed at Gem Street Industrial School and managed Shustoke with his wife. The school stood in forty-five acres, hence agricultural skills were the main focus of its teaching.[90] A council-appointed committee oversaw its management; the chairman was

[86] 'Local Retrospective for the Year 1867', *BJ*, 4th January 1868, p. 6. It was proposed the School provided forty places.

[87] 'Birmingham Town Council – Industrial Schools', *BJ* (Supplement), 11th January 1868, p. 3. T.C.S. Kynnersley and Lord Leigh headed the magistrates making this call.

[88] 'Industrial Schools for Birmingham', *ABG*, 11th January 1868, p. 6. Feltham opened in 1854 and is credited as the first industrial school of the type that was subsequently employed for the detention of children in England. It resulted from the efforts of magistrates from Middlesex who produced a private Act of Parliament which led to its establishment. Pamela Horn, *Young Offenders. Juvenile Delinquency 1700–2000* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, PLC, 2010), p. 117.

[89] 'Birmingham Industrial School, Shustoke', *BDG*, 6th July 1868, p. 5; Birmingham Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BDP*, 2nd February 1875, p. 6.

[90] 'Birmingham Industrial School, Shustoke', *BDG*, 6th July 1868, p. 5. The boys also undertook the housekeeping duties as no domestic servants were employed.

Alderman Charles Sturge, who also managed a reformatory school near Bromsgrove, and Arthur Ryland was also a member.[91]

By May 1871 pressure was growing for the town council to provide further accommodation for children detained under the Industrial Schools legislation. Joseph Chamberlain stated the authority's Industrial Schools Committee should identify a way to house an additional one-hundred boys and the same number of girls but specified their management should fall under the control of the Birmingham School Board, not the town council, as was the existing arrangement; Chamberlain's suggestion was subsequently rejected.[92]

The council eventually began expanding Shustoke in early 1877 but Arthur Ryland warned this would still not fulfil local demand for places.[93] His prediction came true in 1882 when the school's superintendant wrote to the council, advising that the institution was full and requesting that approaches should be found to discharge boys under licence or transfer some to other institutions.[94] The council did use the

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[91] *Eleventh Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p. 24. This recorded Sturge as the manager of Stoke Farm Reformatory, Bromsgrove. He was also the brother of Joseph Sturge, the founder of the institution that developed into Saltley Reformatory. 'Edgbastonians Past and Present, No. 17. Charles Sturge', *Edgbastonia*, 2:19 (15th November 1882), pp. 172-173; 'Birmingham Industrial School, Shustoke', *BDG*, 6th July 1868, p. 5.

[92] 'Local' *ABG*, 13th May 1871, p. 6; 'The Industrial Schools Act', *BDG*, 4th May 1870, p. 6. In May 1870 Arthur Ryland reported Shustoke was full and called on Birmingham's inhabitants to pressure the council to provide additional accommodation.

[93] 'Neglected Children's Aid Society', *ABG*, 10th February 1877, p. 10.

[94] 'Attendance and General Purposes Committee', *BDP*, 3rd March 1882, p. 5; *Twenty-Sixth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1883), p. 220. An inspection on 8th July 1882 recorded the average number of inmates as 131.

Birmingham-based Children's Emigration Homes to relocate sixty-four boys from Shustoke to Canada.[95]

It took several years for Birmingham Council to take definitive action: though it authorised a further expansion of Shustoke in 1889, increasing its capacity to 150 boys, the institution was full again by January 1891.[96] Regardless of the constant demand for places, which was a common feature of many reformatory institutions, the school survived well into the twentieth century.[97]

Sparkbrook Industrial School for Girls was the second reformatory institution founded by Birmingham Council and was the culmination of a series of events that originated in March 1871 when a disturbance occurred among the girls detained at Gem Street Industrial School.[98] At that time Gem Street housed both boys and girls under detention: a situation that was unique in Birmingham and unusual generally. The unrest prompted a terse exchange of views in local newspapers between Joseph Chamberlain and Jesse Collings from the Birmingham School Board, and William Sargant, Gem Street's chairman and also a Board member, regarding standards of discipline at the school.[99] Government inspector Turner

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[95] Roberts-Pinchette, *Great Canadian Expectations*, pp. iii, 278. The Children's Emigration Homes were founded by John Middlemore in Birmingham in 1872. Between that year and 1933 it relocated over 5,000 children to Canada.

[96] 'Shustoke Industrial School', *BDP*, 27th January 1891, p. 7.

[97] *Forty-Fourth Report, for the year 1900, of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p. 23. This shows the School was now certified to hold 160 boys. Peter Higginbotham, *Children's Homes. Birmingham Town Council Industrial School for Boys, Shustoke*, undated, <http://www.childrenshomes.org/uk/ShustokeIS/> [accessed 1 February 2018]. In 1926 it was renamed Shawbury School and became Shawbury Approved School in 1933.

[98] Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir*, pp. 35-36.

[99] 'Gem Street Industrial School and Mr Chamberlain', *BDG*, 6th April 1871, p. 4. This article contains two of the letters involved in the exchange between Chamberlain and Sargant.

visited the school and deemed the children too old to stay in a mixed-gender institution.[100]

Following Turner's comments, Gem Street's management requested the School Board remove the girls. They agreed but had nowhere to house them.[101] Suitable premises were not located until March 1873 when a building situated in Sparkbrook was leased to the Board by Louisa Ryland. It was certified as an industrial school from April that year and thirty-nine girls were transferred from Gem Street to the institution on opening.[102] The meeting of the School Board, which agreed the lease, was presided over by William Sargant. Arthur Ryland, a relative of Louisa Ryland, was present as a Board member; also in attendance was George Dawson, subsequently credited as the creator of the civic gospel.[103]

The School Board apparently regretted opening the institution and in July 1877 announced that it was to close.[104] Over the following months it gave contradictory reasons for the decision. In August the Board alleged it would be cheaper to maintain the children in an institution that it did not have to manage and claimed that there was now little demand for industrial school places for girls, despite there

[100] Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir*, p. 36. Turner had also visited Gem Street in May, a few weeks after the original incident.

[101] Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir*, p. 36.

[102] Untitled, *BDP*, 27th March 1873, p. 4; *Seventeenth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1874), pp. 38, 187. The institution's formal name was Birmingham School Board Industrial School for Girls. Locally the School was referred to as both Sparkhill and Sparkbrook Industrial School, these areas of Birmingham being adjacent to one other. This building was a former sanatorium and not related to the school Rev. Burges had tried to establish several years earlier. (See fn. 43 in this chapter).

[103] Untitled, *BDP*, 27th March 1873. The council's General Purposes Committee appointed 'lady visitors' to inspect the School regularly. In 1876 these included Mrs J.H. Chamberlain and a Miss Kynnersley, believed to be a relative of the town's stipendiary magistrate T.C.S. Kynnersley. 'General Purposes Committee', *BDP*, 3rd November 1876, p. 6; Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 62.

[104] 'Birmingham School Board', *BDG*, 19th July 1877, p. 5.

being an average of thirty-three inmates since opening.[105] At a meeting in October one Board member asserted it was being closed because the girls' behaviour had caused 'a very considerable amount of trouble' and advised that the closure would save the borough several hundreds of pounds annually.[106] The school was closed by December, less than five years after it opened. The girls were transferred to institutions in Bath, Liverpool and York as there was nowhere available nearby to accommodate them, effectively negating the Board's assertion that there was no local demand for places.[107]

The origins of Birmingham's reformatory institutions were varied. Whether resulting from the discrete philanthropy of individuals like Charles Adderley or Charlotte Weale, a 'new beginning' for some ragged schools, or council policy, there were several ways in which those who sought to establish institutions that offered juvenile offenders an alternative to prison could bring their plans to fruition. There is no evidence to suggest any local coordination or planning in the development of the town's institutions. It appears that it was solely down to the discretion of the government inspector to approve new schools. Similarly, there is no evidence of any type of 'safety net' to support the institutions if their existence was threatened. Again, in such circumstances the inspector would relocate the inmates to other institutions. Within Birmingham it is clear that both the smaller institutions and, particularly, those that accommodated girls, did not survive. It may possibly have been simple economies of scale that caused the demise of the

[105] *Twentieth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p. 157; 'Birmingham School Board', *BDG*, 3rd August 1877, p. 6.
[106] 'Birmingham School Board', *BDP*, 5th October 1877, p. 7.
[107] 'Birmingham School Board', *BDP*, 5th October 1877, p. 7.

smaller schools; Turner alluded to this in several of his reports and encouraged institution managers to make better use of their resources.[108] There are no obvious reasons to explain the closure of the schools that accommodated girls but after Birmingham Girls' Reformatory closed in 1879 there was nowhere in the town to accommodate convicted juvenile females other than the Borough Gaol. Birmingham's council established the last reformatory institutions to open in the town in the nineteenth century but,[109] as is illustrated below, it exhibited a distinct reluctance to support the reformatory and industrial schools it did not manage.

THE COUNCIL, REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS AND FUNDING

The 1854 Youthful Offenders Act, the Industrial School Acts of 1857 and 1866, and the 1870 Education Act, provided for financial contributions to be made by central government and local councils to reformatory and industrial schools. These were designed to cover the maintenance costs of the children detained in these institutions and for discretionary grants to cover improvements and extensions.[110] Within the Birmingham Council the Watch Committee became responsible for payments to reformatory schools, while funding for industrial schools fell to several council bodies that encompassed educational provision. These arrangements came into being because children sentenced to reformatory schools had committed crimes, usually some sort of petty theft, while those in industrial schools

[108] *Sixth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain,* p. 63; *Twelfth Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p. 82.

[109] The term 'Birmingham's council' is admittedly vague but various different departments and committees within the council funded reformatory institutions at different times.

[110] Jeannie Duckworth, *Fagin's Children. Criminal Children in Victorian England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), pp. 219-221.

had fallen foul of legislation designed to combat begging and vagrancy. Local magistrates, councillors, alderman and other leading local dignitaries held influential positions within Birmingham's reformatory and industrial schools. While this would seem to suggest that the various council departments would work closely with local reformatory institutions to ensure maintenance payments were made promptly, and also look favourably on applications for supplementary grants, it was not the case.

Saltley Reformatory was the first institution to be registered under the Youthful Offenders Act but it took Birmingham's town council decades to start making regular payments to the Reformatory to support the town's children who were confined there. As early as 1859 the council refused any payments, stating that they did not understand what the reformatory was applying for and in March 1861 the council claimed Saltley had never applied for any money.[111] There was some progress later that year as, through pressure from stipendiary magistrate Kynnersley, a series of meeting resulted in the Watch Committee being allocated £70 annually to spend on maintaining Birmingham's children in reformatories.[112]

This did not completely settle the matter and the problem continued to affect relations between the reformatory and the council. Events repeated themselves in 1870 when Kynnersley again pressed the Watch Committee to ensure prompt

[111] 'General Purposes Committee', *ABG*, 22nd August 1859, p. 4; 'Grants to Reformatory Schools', *ABG*, 16th March 1861, p. 4.

[112] 'Watch Committee. Proposed Grants to Reformatory Schools', *BJ*, 31st July 1861, p. 2; 'The Watch Committee and Reformatories', *BJ*, 3rd August 1861; p. 5; 'Grants to Reformatories', *ABG*, 19th October 1861, p. 4; 'Watch Committee. Proposed Grants to Reformatory Schools', *BJ*, 31st July 1861. Reformatories outside Birmingham were also pressing for payment and some were threatening to refuse to take any additional children from the town until the payment question was resolved.

payment to reformatory schools in general, not just Saltley.[113] Matters came to a head in March 1878 after the council advised the School that it was ceasing all payments, claiming the provisions of the 1877 Prisons Act negated its liability for such monies. As a result the Home Secretary became involved and payments were finally reinstated in March 1880, though the council refused to pay any arrears.[114] This ended the difficulties encountered by Saltley but they were not unique.

During a meeting of the town council in December 1866 a letter from Kynnersley was presented stating that the 1866 Industrial Schools Act empowered the authority to provide financial support to those institutions established within its boundaries.[115] Despite this, the council took a further eighteen months of 'considerable discussion' to declare it had adopted the Act.[116] Its subsequent actions mirrored the payment disputes experienced by Saltley Reformatory.

At the beginning of January 1869 the town council rejected an application for financial assistance from Penn Street Industrial School because it did not fall under the council's control. The same meeting did, though, vote grants of £50 and £20 respectively to separate reformatories for boys and girls in consideration 'of the support they had provided to the borough'; these reformatories were not managed by the council.[117] The following May a new application from Penn Street,

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[113] 'Birmingham Watch Committee', *BDP*, 25th May 1870, p. 7.
[114] BCA MS 244/100, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 3 (Hereafter BRI MB 3), 14th November 1882.
[115] 'A Few Local Notes', *BJ*, 15th December 1866, p. 6.
[116] 'Birmingham Industrial School, Shustoke' *BDG*, 6th July 1868, p. 5.
[117] 'Birmingham Town Council', *ABG*, 9th January 1869, p. 6.

and a request from Gem Street Industrial School, were again rejected as the schools were independent of the council.[118] Relations between the two institutions and the council worsened later that year when Kynnersley advised a council meeting that Penn Street and Gem Street would no longer accept any children remanded from Birmingham without the council's agreement to pay a weekly maintenance charge.[119]

The matter remained unresolved as, in March 1870, Kynnersley reported how he had twice been forced to confine an eleven year-old in the workhouse because the council's refusal to make maintenance payments had 'virtually closed' the Gem Street and Penn Street Schools.[120] Paradoxically, the council had agreed to make weekly payments for girls confined at Gem Street but continued to refuse to provide for boys.[121] At the beginning of 1871 the situation was further complicated after Joseph Chamberlain declared that the previous year's Elementary Education Act had effectively deprived the council of the authority to provide any financial support to industrial schools.[122]

Chamberlain's stance was echoed by William Sargant, chairman of both the council's Industrial Schools Committee and Gem Street Industrial School.[123]

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[118] 'Birmingham Town Council', *BDP*, 5th May 1869, p. 7.

[119] 'Penn Street Industrial School', *BDG*, 18th August 1869, p. 6. No decision was made at the meeting other than to refer the matter to the Council's Industrial Schools Committee. The payment requested, 1s 6d, was in addition to the grant made from central government.

[120] 'Birmingham Police Court', *BDP*, 3rd March 1870, p. 6.

[121] 'Birmingham Certified Industrial School', *BDP*, 5th February 1870, p. 7. At that point the council had guaranteed weekly payments of 1s 6d for each girl until the end of the year.

[122] 'The Watch Committee', *BDG*, 18th January 1871, p. 6; 'Vale Street Certified Industrial School', *BDG*, 13th February 1871, p. 5. As a result of this Vale Street saw some of its funding curtailed.

[123] 'Industrial Schools Committee', *BDP*, 2nd March 1871, p. 6.

Within three months, however, Chamberlain was expounding a different interpretation of the 1870 Act and stated he now thought it gave councils the same authority as the 1866 Industrial Schools Act to contribute to these institutions.[124] At the same meeting, Sargant, in his role as chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee, highlighted how payments to the council's Shustoke Industrial School were treated differently to those schools outside its control, the distinct inference was that the council favoured its own institutions. The tone of the meeting was not helped when Chamberlain announced he felt that Gem Street should be excluded from any financial assistance because it was a Church of England establishment and the council should only support non-denominational schools.[125] A consensus to contribute to the schools was reached in early 1871 but George Dixon subsequently repeated Chamberlain's remarks about excluding Gem Street. It took an intervention from Kynnersley, who urged support for all the town's institutions, to close the matter at that point.[126]

In June 1872 Chamberlain complained to the Birmingham School Board that William Sargant and Rev. Burges, both members of the Board and Gem Street's management, had voted in favour of a council grant for the school. Clearly alleging a conflict of interest, Chamberlain demanded both men be dismissed and the grant withdrawn.[127] The outcome of Chamberlain's complaint is unknown but Sargant was not removed from any of his council roles.

[124] 'Birmingham School Board – The Industrial Schools Committee', *BDP*, 30th March 1871, p. 6.
[125] 'Birmingham School Board – The Industrial Schools Committee', *BDP*, 30th March 1871, p. 6.
[126] 'Birmingham School Board', *BDP*, 20th July 1871, p. 6.
[127] 'Birmingham School Board', *BDP*, 23rd May 1872, p. 6. It was the same Rev. Burgess who had founded Bishop Ryder's Ragged School.

The council made weekly payments to some schools throughout 1872 and both Vale Street and Penn Street Schools successfully applied for a renewal of a grant in January 1873.[128] A meeting in March that year did, however, see Chamberlain again call for Gem Street to be excluded from any financial support from the authority. His remarks may have been influenced by the fact Sargant chaired the meeting.[129]

The comments made by Sargant in 1871, regarding the council prioritising payments to its own industrial schools over 'independent' institutions, have substance because no account has been found of any similar problem experienced by the council-run Shustoke and Sparkbrook Industrial Schools. In 1874 both Penn Street and Vale Street Schools lost their funding from the council; though the Birmingham School Board offered to reinstate it if they accepted the Board's management.[130] As previously illustrated, this exacerbated Vale Street's existing problems and it subsequently closed.[131] Penn Street, and also Gem Street, resisted what were effectively take-over bids and survived into the twentieth century. The impression is that the legislation enacted to underpin local financial support of reformatory institutions was undermined by local politics and, in the case of Birmingham School Board, attempts to expand its sphere of influence. There is another perspective, however, based around Chamberlain's complaint against Sargant and funding for Gem Street Industrial School. A significant number of the members of the council bodies that oversaw payments to

[128] 'Birmingham School Board', *BDP*, 2nd January 1873, p. 5. The grant was 1s 6d per child.
[129] 'Birmingham School Board', *BDP*, 13th March 1873, p. 6.
[130] 'Penn Street Industrial School and the School Board', *BDP*, 28th January 1874, p. 7; 'Vale Street Industrial School', *BDP*, 17th February 1874, p. 8.
[131] 'Vale Street Ragged and Industrial School for Girls', *BDP*, 12th February 1875, p. 8.

reformatory institutions were also involved with these institutions themselves. On reflection, it is more surprising that the type of complaint Chamberlain made, concerning conflicts of interest where individuals voted in favour of local authority support for 'their own' institutions, did not occur more often.

THE CIVIC GOSPEL AND JUVENILE REFORM

The organisation behind the major modernisation works undertaken during Birmingham's civic gospel era has been credited to the 'brilliant administration' of Joseph Chamberlain by J.T. Bunce. He also highlighted the contribution of those outside the council's official structures for maintaining the momentum for reform and described people with a 'strong sense of official and personal responsibility', good influence and contributions from leading members of the community, all combining to play their part.[132] Bunce was writing in 1885 but his description of the characters of those involved with the changes of the 1870s is equally applicable to the individuals involved with the efforts to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders in Birmingham during the late 1840s and 1850s. If the civic gospel can be defined as a town with a social conscience, a spirit and enthusiasm for reform, with driven individuals determined to see justice for the most vulnerable members of society, then Birmingham possessed all these before Chamberlain's arrival. There are enough parallels between these phases of the town's history, including some of the individuals involved, to support the assertion that the foundations of the ethos of Birmingham's civic gospel lie partially within these reformatory efforts.

[132] John Thackary Bunce, *History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Volume II* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1885), pp. xxxii-xxxv; Briggs, *History of Birmingham, Volume II,* p. 332.

It is these common factors that are examined here, by reference to some of those who worked with Chamberlain in Birmingham, rather than the specific improvements or achievements attributed to his tenure.

While addressing a select committee on juvenile crime in 1847 Matthew Davenport Hill described how his embryonic probation scheme in Birmingham had succeeded because of the number of individuals who volunteered to take responsibility for the delinquents appearing in his court.[133] Several years later, during one of his campaigns to reform the legislation governing the treatment of juvenile offenders, Charles Adderley spoke of the responsibility of the whole nation to prevent the criminalisation of children.[134] Taking these comments into account and also considering that the town hosted a series of influential conferences on juvenile criminality between 1851 and 1861, it suggests a sense of social responsibility was alive in Birmingham decades before Chamberlain and his associates came to the fore.

George Dawson has been credited as the originator of the civic gospel, or municipal doctrine.[135] In 1844 he was appointed as minister at Mount Zion Chapel in Birmingham.[136] His first public speech, in support of a temperance meeting, took place in October that year, and marked the beginning of an active public life.[137] In

[133] *First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords to Enquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law, Especially Respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation* (London, 1847), pp. 21-23.
[134] 'Criminal and Destitute Children', *ABG*, 27th December 1885, p. 2.
[135] Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 62; Ian Sellers, 'George Dawson (1821-1876)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7347> [accessed 26th July 2018].
[136] 'Edgbastonians Past and Present, No. 15. George Dawson', *Edgbastonia*, 2:17 (15th September 1882), p. 141. Dawson was a nonconformist minister.
[137] Wright Wilson, *The Life of George Dawson* (Birmingham: Percival Jones Limited, 1905), pp. 13-14.

January 1846 Matthew Davenport Hill invited him to a meeting which discussed the reform of juvenile offenders. Fellow guests included Alexander Maconochie, Lord Calthorpe and G.F. Muntz.[138] Dawson was subsequently appointed to the local Guardians of the Poor and involved in the management of the Lying-in Hospital and Birmingham's Old Library; Grantham Yorke was involved with these institutions at the same time.[139]

In June 1853 Dawson worked with Joseph and Charles Sturge to petition the government over proposed reforms to the country's relationship with India, and later that year Dawson attended the second national conference on juvenile reform held in Birmingham.[140] In early 1857 he addressed a meeting in the town about the education of vagrant children and expressed his support for proposals made by Adderley and Yorke to lobby Parliament to legislate for such educational provision. Other attendees, who had long campaigned for reforms to the treatment of destitute and offending children, included Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Calthorpe and Alfred Hill.[141] By that time Dawson was also involved with the management of Slaney Street Ragged School.[142] His public support for the comprehensive provision of education dated back to April 1845 when he gave a series of lectures in Birmingham on the subject.[143]

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[138] 'Reformation of Juvenile Offenders', *ABG*, 12th January 1846, p. 2.
[139] 'Birmingham Guardians of the Poor', *ABG*, 22nd June 1846, p. 1; 'Birmingham Lying-In Hospital', *ABG*, 5th February 1849, p. 1; Untitled, *ABG*, 17th December 1849, p. 3.
[140] Untitled, *ABG*, 20th June 1853, p. 1; 'Juvenile Delinquency. Conference and Public Meeting in Birmingham', *ABG*, 26th November 1853, p. 1.
[141] 'The Education of Vagrant Children', *ABG*, 2nd February 1857, p. 2.
[142] 'Slaney Street Ragged School', *BJ*, 6th May 1857, p. 1.
[143] Wilson, *George Dawson*, p. 27. The lectures, entitled 'The Educational Improvement of the People', took place at the People's Hall, Loveday Street, in April and May 1845.

Contrary to the government's *laissez faire* approach, Dawson preached the 'new municipal gospel', asserting that it was everyone's responsibility to accept their role in executing civic reform because the existing voluntary system was too limited. Those elected for council duties should be the best available but everyone ought to be public spirited.[144] Many accounts of Dawson's influence suggest that civic reforms were akin to a religious crusade. J.L. Garvin describes him as 'the prophet' who prepared the way for Chamberlain.[145] E.P. Hennock refers to Arthur Ryland as 'one of Dawson's disciples' and Peter Marsh uses similar terminology, stating Jesse Collings fell under Dawson's spell upon his arrival in Birmingham.[146] These narratives do a disservice to Dawson; the basic principle of the civic gospel was to encourage the community to become involved in 'the service of the town', not to blindly follow a leader.[147]

Jesse Collings was one of the leading figures during the civic gospel era, Dennis Judd describes him as Chamberlain's 'loyal henchman'.[148] Before Collings moved to Birmingham in 1864, he had been involved with efforts to alleviate juvenile criminality in Devon. Born in Exmouth in 1831, he became a commercial traveller in the county, where the poverty he encountered led him to become involved in local reformatory efforts.[149] In 1858 he married and moved to Exeter where he

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[144] A.W.W. Dale, 'George Dawson', in J.H. Muirhead (ed.), *Nine Famous Birmingham Men* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, Ltd, 1909), pp. 102-104.

[145] J.L. Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain, Volume One 1836-1885* (London: MacMillan and Co. Limited, 1932), p. 181.

[146] Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons* , p. 145; Peter T. Marsh, *Joseph Chamberlain. Entrepreneur in Politics* (London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 36.

[147] Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain,* p. 184.

[148] Denis Judd, *Radical Joe. A Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), pp. 65, 136.

[149] 'Edgbastonians Past and Present, No. 185. Jesse Collings', *Edgbastonia*, 13:151 (December 1898), p. 178;

began teaching at a ragged school on Sunday evenings. He also publicised the poverty-stricken condition of the children and their parents at public meetings and in newspaper articles. As a result he was approached by 'a number of influential persons' who asked if he could suggest a remedy for the situation. In response Collings proposed the establishment of an industrial school in Exeter.[150]

Collings began his teaching at the Exeter Ragged School. In 1862 fundraising enabled it to expand and it was renamed the Devon and Exeter Boys' Industrial School. Underlining his contribution to the new institution, Collings was credited as its founder and served on its management committee.[151] This phase of his life paralleled that of fellow Unitarian Mary Carpenter. Both began teaching in ragged schools after encountering atrocious social conditions in their daily lives, worked to highlight and alleviate child poverty, and were subsequently involved in the establishment of reformatory and industrial schools. Collings represented Exeter at the 1861 Birmingham conference on the education of destitute children organised by Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill.[152]

Marsh, *Joseph Chamberlain*, p. 36; Jesse Collings and John L. Green, *Life of the Right Hon. Jesse Collings* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920), pp. 73-74. This publication is divided into two parts, the first being authored by Collings himself, the second by Green.

[150] Collings and Green, *Life of the Right Hon. Jesse Collings*, pp. 69, 74-75. Collings married the youngest daughter of Edward Oxenbould, headmaster of one of the branches of King Edward's Grammar Schools in Birmingham.

[151] 'Exeter Ragged School', *Western Times*, 22nd March 1862, p. 5; 'Devon and Exeter Boys' Industrial School', *Western Times*, 30th October 1863, p. 3. The industrial school opened in October 1863. Collings and Green, *Jesse Collings*, p. 79. The school proved so successful that it relocated to larger premises in 1869.

[152] 'Education of Destitute Children. Conference at Birmingham', *BDP*, 24th January 1861, p. 2. Collings subsequently served as a councillor in Birmingham in 1868 and its mayor from 1873-1875. In 1880 he was elected to Parliament, representing Birmingham. Collings and Green, *Jesse Collings*, pp. 91, 95-96, 112.

Collings moved to Birmingham after taking the opportunity to purchase the company he worked for.[153] Despite business commitments, he found time to try and improve educational opportunities for the poor of his new home town. A conversation with George Dixon in early 1867 is reputed to have set the wheels in motion to establish the Birmingham Education Society.[154] Hennock describes how it was Joseph Chamberlain's involvement with the Society that first drew him into local politics. Said to be 'of old Unitarian stock', he taught at evening classes and Sunday schools before commencing his municipal work.[155] The Society's main aims were to fund the education of children whose parents were unable to afford school fees; finance the maintenance, expansion and building of schools, and lobby for better local funding for education.[156] In June of that year a committee was established; members included George Dawson, Joseph Chamberlain, George Dixon, Collings himself and Rev. Grantham Yorke of Gem Street Industrial School.[157] Three months prior to the meeting, Collings was recorded as being a new subscriber to that institution.[158] At the beginning of 1868, a further meeting of the Society recorded the presence of Collings, Dixon and Chamberlain together with Henry Manton, Colonel Ratcliff and Arthur Ryland.[159]

[153] Collings and Green, *Jesse Collings*, pp. 85-86. Collings borrowed money from friends, took out a loan from the Birmingham Joint-Stock Bank and took on a business partner to raise the funds required to purchase the company.

[154] Dixon, *Out of Birmingham*, pp. 64-65.

[155] Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 83.

[156] Langford, *Modern Birmingham and its Institutions, Volume II,* p. 399.

[157] Dixon, *Out of Birmingham,* pp. 64-65.

[158] 'Free Industrial School', *BDG*, 7th March 1867, p. 1.

[159] 'Birmingham Education Society', *BDG*, 29th January 1868, p. 3. Around that time Collings also joined the management committees of Slaney Street Ragged School and Vale Street Ragged and Industrial Schools. 'Slaney Street Ragged School', *BJ*, 5th October 1867, p. 11; 'Vale Street Ragged Schools', *BDG*, 15th January 1869, p. 4.

As the latter three men were already involved with the management of several of the town's reformatory and industrial schools, their inclusion on the Society's committee may have been prompted by the fact that the earlier aim of Birmingham's reformatory movement, to obtain state-funded and regulated education for convicted children, had already been achieved. Individuals involved with this earlier campaign would have been of benefit to the Society in its pursuit of such regulation and support for all children.

Henry Manton's contribution to the reform of juvenile offenders has been largely overlooked. Fundamentally opposed to the jailing of juveniles, he worked closely with Matthew Davenport Hill, Charles Adderley and Lord Leigh to draft various articles of legislation including that which resulted in the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act. He was also instrumental in the establishment of Saltley Reformatory and Penn Street Industrial School; subsequently maintaining long associations with both institutions, and was the longstanding chairman of Birmingham Council's Industrial Schools Committee.[160] Manton was a visiting justice to the borough gaol, and became the senior magistrate for Birmingham.[161]

Colonel Charles Ratcliff's contribution to juvenile reform has also been generally disregarded. He was an associate of Matthew Davenport Hill and served as a magistrate for Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire and Birmingham; later

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[160] 'Edgbastonians Past and Present, No. 268. Henry Manton', *Edgbastonia*, 23:268 (September 1903), pp. 193-199; Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 89.

[161] 'Henry Manton', *Edgbastonia*, pp. 193-199; 'Mr Alderman Manton', *Birmingham Faces and Places*, 1:6 (1st October 1888), p. 92. Manton started to teach at a Sunday school when he was fourteen years-old. In 1842 he helped found the Birmingham Sunday School Union, serving as its president for fifty-five years.

becoming the Deputy Lieutenant for Warwickshire. He played a significant role in the founding of Saltley Reformatory and was its honorary financial secretary for thirty-three years. His contribution to both the institution and to juvenile reform as a whole was subsequently recognised by Lords Lichfield, Lyttleton and Leigh, who each made him a commissioner for the peace in their respective counties.[162]

In 1868 Collings presented a paper, *On the State of Education in Birmingham*, at the Social Science Conference held in the town.[163] It amounted to a report from the Birmingham Education Society, which detailed the town's industrial schools and mentioned the Neglected Children's Aid Society, established by Arthur Ryland.[164] The speech also highlighted the lack of municipal support for ragged schools and described the overall state of education in Birmingham as deplorable. Outlining its own failure to support schools for the poorest children, it called for a system of national education provided by free schools.[165] James Dixon attributes this event as contributing towards the establishment of the National Education League.[166] This organisation came into being in early 1869 with the main objective of establishing a system that ensured the education of all children; a clear echo of the call from Birmingham.[167] The League held its inaugural conference in the town

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[162] 'Edgbastonians Past and Present, No. 50. Col. Charles Ratcliff', *Edgbastonia*, 5:53 (September 1885), pp. 129-133.
[163] Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Birmingham Meeting 1868, pp. 454-455.
[164] The relevance of the Neglected Children's Aid Society is discussed shortly.
[165] Jesse Collings, *On the State of Education in Birmingham* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers Ltd, 1869), pp. 2, 9, 14, 15.
[166] Dixon, *Out of Birmingham*, pp. 51, 78.
[167] The development of the Birmingham Education Society and the National Education League falls beyond the scope of this thesis but detailed, as well as fascinating, accounts of their evolution and interrelation can be found in the previously referenced publications by Peter T. Marsh and James Dixon.

that year and one of its keynote speeches highlighting how education could be used to prevent children turning to crime.[168]

George Dixon was associated with many of those involved with the civic gospel 'phenomenon' but, according to his biographer, he was never at its heart; all the main protagonists being nonconformist while Dixon was Anglican.[169] Though being a generous benefactor to many of the town's charities,[170] he is primarily known for his contribution to educational reform, both nationally and locally. He served several terms as an MP, was Birmingham's mayor from 1866 to 1867 and led the town's School Board between 1876 and 1885.[171] While mayor, he chaired the council's Committee on Reformatory Schools, which was established by local justices in January 1867 to assess the town's provision of places in reformatory and industrial schools. It subsequently recommended an additional industrial school be established and by June that year the council decided to open such an institution at Shustoke.[172]

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[168] 'The National Education League Conference in Birmingham', *Bury Times*, 16th October 1869, p. 3.

[169] Dixon, *Out of Birmingham*, pp. 31, 79.

[170] Dixon made a donation towards a new ragged and infant school in Bishop Ryder's Parish and contributed to causes including local hospitals, asylums, museums and cathedrals. The first contribution to the local reformatory movement from Dixon's family came in 1849 when his elder brother Abraham donated funds towards the construction of the Birmingham Free Industrial School (Gem Street). BCA MS 690/2, Louisa Ryland Papers, Bishop Ryder's Parish, Birmingham, New Ragged and Infant School, undated, p. 3. This shows contributions from Dixon as an MP, Arthur Ryland, Colonel Ratcliff and the Birmingham Education Society; Dixon, *Out of Birmingham,* pp. 28-29, 46. The last page lists some of his donations.

[171] Dixon, *Out of Birmingham*, pp. 13, 190; Dale, 'George Dawson', in Muirhead (ed.), *Nine Famous Birmingham Men,* p. 53. As an MP he represented Birmingham from 1867 to 1876, and Edgbaston after the separate ward was created, from 1885 to 1898.

[172] BCA PS/B/4/2/1/1, 1859–1894 Borough of Birmingham, Minutes of Meetings of Council of Justices. Committee members included T.C.S. Kynnersley (Stipendiary Magistrate), Thomas Lloyd, Edwin Yates, Thomas Avery and J.D. Goodman; 'Local Retrospective for the Year 1867', *BJ*, 4th January 1868, p. 6. It was proposed the School provided forty places.

Joseph Chamberlain is probably the most recognisable figure in local politics from the time of the civic gospel. There is no evidence that the treatment of juvenile offenders attracted his particular interest but he had strong views over the use of council funds to support certain institutions. The previous accounts of some of those who were involved with the reforms and who worked with Chamberlain, illustrate that the earlier reformatory efforts in Birmingham were compatible with the ethos of the civic or municipal gospel. As Hennock and Judd have written, Chamberlain was not known as a great originator of ideas,[173] though Judd describes him as the man who transformed Dawson's prophecies into real achievements.[174] Chamberlain arrived in Birmingham in 1854, the year the Youthful Offenders Act was passed into law.[175] It is conjecture if he knew that a Birmingham-based campaign had produced fundamental reforms on a subject of national importance but his future associates, including Dawson, Ryland, Manton and Ratcliff, were aware of this and Collings' own reformatory activities began before he moved to Birmingham.

The civic gospel was dominated by nonconformists and, of these, Unitarians were particularly influential.[176] Considering Tristram Hunt's description of the group as 'frequently...the most articulate champions of civic virtue' during the Victorian era,[177] there appears to have been a significant dovetailing of Unitarian teachings with the ethos of the civic gospel. Additionally, their belief in social reform and

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[173] Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 112; Judd, *Radical Joe,* p. 15.
[174] Judd, *Radical Joe,* p. 58.
[175] Judd, *Radical Joe,* p. 15.
[176] Ruth Watts, The Policy and Practice of Enlightened Education in Carl Chinn and Malcolm Dick (eds.), *Birmingham: The Workshop of the World* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), p. 199.
[177] Tristram Hunt, *Building Jerusalem. The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City* (London: Orion Books, 2005), p. 141.

educational provision suggests why Unitarians became involved with ragged schools and, later, reformatory institutions. Whether it was Mary Carpenter in Bristol, Matthew Davenport Hill in Birmingham or Jesse Collings in Exeter,[178] their beliefs manifested themselves in practical action.

Of those discussed in this chapter Arthur Ryland, Joseph Chamberlain and Jesse Collings were Unitarians. While Ryland and Collings played a greater role in the management of some of the town's ragged, industrial and reformatory schools than Chamberlain, it cannot be said that any of these particular types of school were strictly Unitarian establishments. They worked with other nonconformists, including Dawson and Manton,[179] and Anglicans, such as Dixon, Ratcliff and Yorke,[180] so that the management of most of the schools comprised a mix of beliefs. While the close-knit nature of Unitarian families and networks has been highlighted,[181] there were clearly no barriers to working with those outside their circle who shared their ideals.

A comparison of the 'traditional' view of the civic gospel, in improving living standards in the 1870s, with the efforts to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders that grew out of Birmingham in the 1850s, reveals significant parallels. Many of the key figures of the later phase played major roles in the management of the town's ragged schools before they became involved with the development of its reformatory institutions. Some were also involved with the Neglected

[178] Jo Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London: Heinman Educational Books Ltd, 1976), pp. 117-118; Collings and Green, *Jesse Collings*, p. 79.

[179] 'Henry Manton', *Edgbastonia*, pp. 195-196.

[180] 'Col. Charles Ratcliff', *Edgbastonia*, p. 133.

[181] Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 173.

Children's Aid Society. This organisation was founded by Arthur Ryland; one of Dawson's 'disciples'.[182] It effectively bridged the gap between these two periods of Birmingham's history and coordinated with magistrates, courts and reformatory institutions to ensure children were placed in the schools promptly but then supported upon their release back into society.

THE NEGLECTED CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY

On 4th December 1867 the Destitute Children's Aid Society was formed in Birmingham.[183] Its objectives were 'to look after the neglected children of the streets' by placing them in appropriate institutions or returning them to the care of their families. From the beginning, it was acknowledged that certified industrial schools would be pivotal to these aims. The Society also listed its responsibilities as: assisting magistrates in enforcing the payment of contributions by parents of children committed to the schools, assisting the school's managers in finding employment for their charges, and visiting the children who left the schools to ensure they have not fallen back into destitution.[184]

A further meeting was held in January 1868 at Birmingham Town Hall chaired by the Mayor Mr T. Avery. Renamed the Neglected Children's Aid Society, attendees included Jesse Collings and Charles Ratcliff. Ryland, now appointed as treasurer, underlined its principle objective was to assist industrial schools and stated how

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[182] Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons* , p. 145.

[183] 'Destitute Children's Aid Society', *BDG*, 5th December 1867, p. 6; Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BJ*, 1st August 1868, p. 4; 'Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BDP*, 29th January 1869, p. 4. Ryland was serving as an alderman at the time he founded the Society.

[184] 'Destitute Children's Aid Society', *BDG*, 5th December 1867, p. 6.

he believed these schools could not develop to their full potential without the assistance of such an agency. He also called for the government to increase its funding of the schools and relinquish more control of the institutions to local authorities.[185]

The Society acted quickly to fulfil its objectives. Joseph Robinson had been appointed as 'children's visitor' on 6th January and spent four days observing the work of the Reformatory and Refuge Union's 'boys' beadle' in London to prepare him for his duties.[186] Back in Birmingham, during his first month in office, Robinson visited the managers of the town's industrial schools to offer his services and subsequently called on the masters of twelve boys placed out at work from Penn Street Industrial School to report on their progress. He also investigated the cases of thirteen neglected children and placed five in the workhouse, as no other accommodation was available. This prompted the Society to call for the establishment of a refuge to accommodate boys while waiting for places to become available in industrial schools.[187]

The Society met regularly and in August 1868 published a summary of its work together with a list of its sponsors and subscribers.[188] The organisation's president was stipendiary magistrate Kynnersley and its donors included George Dixon,

[185] 'Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BJ*, 1st February 1868, p. 7.

[186] 'Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BJ*, 1st February 1868, p. 7; MacGregor, *The Boy's Beadle*, p. 15. At this time Charles Adderley was one of the Union's vice-presidents. Unfortunately it has not been possible to locate any details of the skills, qualifications or experience Joseph Robinson possessed which led to his appointment.

[187] 'Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BJ*, 1st February 1868, p. 7. The council had proposed to open a school for forty boys at Shustoke.

[188] Untitled, *BJ*, 11th April 1868, p. 5.

Joseph Chamberlain and Jesse Collings.[189] In August 1868 a letter from the Society's honorary secretary William Bolton was published, which claimed its work had already reduced the number of destitute children on Birmingham's streets. He stressed the importance of educating children to prevent them from turning to crime and called for financial donations to aid the Society's efforts.[190]

A court report from October 1868 provides an insight into the organisation's activities: a twelve year-old girl had been 'arrested' by the Society's officer for begging and brought before the magistrates. It was claimed she had been neglected and forced to beg by her parents but she was sentenced to four years detention in Winson Green Industrial School.[191] At this point the Society was a wholly voluntary organisation; neither the Society nor its members possessed any legal authority to 'arrest' children or enter private dwellings beyond that of an ordinary citizen. It is surprising that an organisation with the stated aim of physically removing destitute children from Birmingham's streets without legal sanction was tolerated by the population at large. No adverse reports or objections to the Society's activities have been found. It appears that as its supporters included prominent members of the local judiciary and town council, their association gave the organisation a tacit authority.

On 28th January 1869 the Society held its first annual meeting of subscribers at Birmingham Town Hall. It was presided over by Kynnersley and the meeting's

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[189] 'Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BJ*, 1st August 1868, p. 4. Members of prominent local families, including the Martineau's, Hill's and Austin's , were also donors.
[190] 'Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BDG*, 14th August 1868, p. 4.
[191] 'Birmingham Police Court', *BJ*, 10th October 1868, p. 7.

location possibly added to its air of authority. The Society's single agent had undertaken a significant amount of work during its first year; making 219 visits to the homes of children and seventy-two visits to boys put out to work from industrial schools. He was also responsible for 101 children being sent to industrial schools, thirty-nine returned to their parents and nineteen sent to the workhouse. A call was also made for the establishment of a home to accommodate children, following completion of their sentences, to avoid the risk of them returning to the streets.[192]

The Society's second annual meeting in January 1870 was presided over by the Mayor and guests included John Macgregor from the Reformatory and Refuge Union.[193] The Society announced that it had achieved its aim of establishing a home for boys who had completed their sentences. Two houses capable of accommodating sixteen individuals had been rented in Cardigan Street and placed under the superintendence of their officer Joseph Robinson and his wife.[194]

The home was discontinued by October 1871.[195] It appears a lack of funding prompted the closure, as it coincided with the publication of a letter from the Society's treasurer appealing for donations and expressing the hope the School

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[192] 'Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BDP*, 29th January 1869, p. 4.
[193] 'Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BDP*, 27th January 1870, p. 8; MacGregor was one of the honorary secretaries to the 1851 Birmingham conference on juvenile reform and was involved in establishing the Reformatory and Refuge Union as a result. Edwin Hodder, *John MacGregor ("Rob Roy")* (London: Hodder Brothers, 1895), p. 84.
[194] 'Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BDP*, 27th January 1870, p. 8.
[195] 'Gem Street Certified Industrial School', *BDP*, 6th October 1871, p. 6. Its fixtures and fittings were sold to Gem Street Industrial School.

Board would take over the Society's work.[196] It does not seem that the Board were in any hurry for this to take place. In a meeting of the Board in December 1873, which discussed the funding of industrial schools, the Society was only mentioned in the context of it being supported by all the town's denominations. This meeting was particularly noteworthy because four Board members, namely George Dixon, Jesse Collings, Joseph Chamberlain and William Sargant, had been supporters of the Society since its inception.[197]

Despite ongoing funding problems, the inspections undertaken by the Society increased. By 1875 it was visiting boys placed with employers in Birmingham by reformatory schools in Bristol and had agreed to locate suitable employers for boys completing their sentences at Birmingham Council's Shustoke Industrial School. The Society had also begun using the Middlemore Emigration Homes, sending small numbers of children to Canada.[198] That year's annual meeting recorded over 700 visits, during the previous twelve months, to employers and parents, with a further 125 visits to boys following their discharge from industrial schools; this highlights the support given to former inmates following their release from the institutions. A shortage of school places remained a common complaint and some of Birmingham's children were accommodated at Ashton-under-Lyne and Sheffield.[199]

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[196] 'Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BDG*, 19th October 1871, p. 5.
[197] 'Birmingham School Board', *BDP*, 4th December 1873, p. 6.
[198] Valerie Hart, The Children's Emigration Homes, in Brian Hall, (ed.), *Aspects of Birmingham* (Barnsley: Wharncliffe Books, 2001), p. 55.
[199] 'Birmingham Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BDP*, 2nd February 1875, p. 6.

The Society's eighth annual meeting was held in February 1876. It was presided over by Lord Leigh and those present included Henry Manton, Magistrate Kynnersley, Arthur Ryland, Alfred Hill and J.T. Middlemore, founder of the Middlemore Emigration Homes. Its previous year's work had seen eighty-four children placed in various institutions or returned to their parents and over 600 visits to children, either at home or in their workplace, to provide them with 'a guardianship', as Ryland phrased it. The Society's funding problems worsened, however, and its final annual meeting was held in February 1877. Despite the lack of funds its work had continued but it was reported that all the town's industrial schools were full and several of those present claimed there were now 'hundreds of boys' wandering Birmingham's streets.[200] The Society's founder Arthur Ryland died that April. His colleagues described his death as an 'irreparable loss' and the Society was dissolved eight months later with the Birmingham School Board taking over its duties.[201]

Ragged schools probably reduced the potential for juvenile vagrancy and crime by taking poor children off the streets and imparting elements of education or training. Shortly after its establishment in the 1820s Birmingham's first ragged school was credited as reforming boys with 'thievish propensities'.[202] While the majority retained their 'ragged' origins, legislation enacted from the 1850s onwards

[200] 'Birmingham Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BDP*, 8th February 1876, p. 6; 'Birmingham Neglected Children's Aid Society', *BDP*, 10th February 1877, p. 8. In its final year the Society placed ninety-nine children in industrial schools, reformatories, the workhouse or with relatives and made 679 visits to the homes or workplaces of former inmates.

[201] 'News of the Day', *BDP*, 18th December 1877, p. 4.

[202] 'Slaney Street Ragged School, Birmingham', *Ragged School Union Magazine*, 4:37 (January 1852), pp. 59-60. The Good Samaritan School, on Summer Street, is credited as Birmingham's first ragged school.

enabled some to enter a new phase of development and adopt a specific reformatory role as certified industrial schools. Though this was driven by financial necessity, the change provided the schools with additional funds that indirectly supported their ‘ordinary’ pupils. Of the eight reformatory and industrial schools certified in Birmingham during the nineteenth century, three developed from ragged schools and two of these survived into the twentieth century.

A review of the origins of Birmingham’s reformatory institutions illustrates that there were several different reasons for their inception. From the philanthropy of Charles Adderley and Charlotte Weale, the finance driven adaptations of some ragged schools, to the input of Birmingham’s council, all wholly or partly supported the establishment of institutions that provided an alternative to the imprisonment of juveniles. A closer examination of the dates the town’s schools were certified to accommodate convicted juveniles reveals a distinct pattern in the reasons behind their foundation. The three earliest institutions founded at Saltley, Camden Street and Handsworth between 1854 and 1859, can be regarded as originally philanthropic endeavours. Between 1863 and 1868 the ragged schools at Penn Street, Vale Street and Gem Street obtained certification as industrial schools and Birmingham’s council established its two institutions at Shustoke and Sparkbrook between 1868 and 1873. It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from such a small sample of institutions but it indicates that different factors influenced decisions to establish reformatory and industrial schools at different times. This particular incidence indicates a diminishing role for philanthropy and a growing council influence.

While the town effectively acted as a base for the reformatory movement nationally, there was no local coordination behind the development of its own institutions. Birmingham's council was best placed to support the town's reformatory and industrial schools but, outside of its own establishments, it exhibited a distinct reluctance to do so. When examining the arguments that took place within the council over funding, it is difficult to ascertain whether they resulted from a misunderstanding of the legislation, a reluctance to spend on the institutions or a genuine, but unstated, fear that it might prompt accusations of the misappropriation of funds. Some council members occupied positions within the management of these schools; a number were also members of the judiciary, so a steady flow of council funds into the coffers of these institutions, with little or no objections raised in council chambers, would not have gone unnoticed by the press indefinitely. In hindsight, it is surprising that such potential conflicts of interest were not highlighted more in local newspapers.

Considering their shared themes of social improvement and social justice, it can be argued that the ethos that drove the civic gospel in the 1870s had an earlier incarnation in Birmingham's reformatory movement. Individuals, including Dawson, Dixon, Collings, Kynnersley, Manton, Ratcliff, Ryland and Sargant were part of networks concerned with the town's ragged schools and reformatory institutions prior to their involvement with the civic gospel era. While Unitarians have been dubbed 'the pacemakers' for municipal reform,[203] within Birmingham's ragged and reformatory schools they worked alongside other nonconformists and

[203] Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, p. 176.

Anglicans to reform the treatment of poor, destitute and criminal children. Though the civic gospel is viewed as a distinctly local ‘phenomena’, the town’s role in reshaping the approach to juvenile offending was of national significance.

There is, however, another possible point of origin or catalyst for the events that took place in Birmingham. While the evidence presented so far in this thesis already indicates an important role was played by Unitarians in reformatory efforts, the following chapter strongly suggests this influence was greater still. Chapter Eight examines the town’s Hill family, the Hazelwood School they founded in Edgbaston and the unique group of socially-minded individuals who gravitated towards them. The networks established by successive generations of this Unitarian family influenced reforms to the treatment of criminal and destitute children locally, nationally and internationally.

Chapter Eight

THE HILL FAMILY AND REFORMATORY EDUCATION

The previous chapters have illustrated the pivotal role Birmingham played in the reform of the treatment of juvenile offenders from the mid-nineteenth century onwards but how did the town come to occupy this position? This case study proposes one explanation that originates with Birmingham's Hazelwood School and the Hill family who owned and ran it.

Hazelwood School opened in Birmingham in 1819.[1] At first sight it appeared to be an ordinary, fee-paying school for private pupils, comparable with many similar contemporary institutions, but it was a distinctive and influential establishment. The school quickly became a magnet for a number of socially-minded individuals whose spheres of influence seemed to cross and converge at its door. To date the school's impact has been examined by educationalists and historians from the viewpoint of its influence on mainstream education alone. By highlighting the unique practices operated at Hazelwood by the Hills, the input of an array of notable visitors and the activities of the various family members, it is clear that the influence of the school and family extend well beyond education alone and into the reform of the criminal child. In 1878 a newspaper report asserted that the Hills had exerted the greatest positive influence on Birmingham in its history,[2] but what is

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[1] Colin G. Hey, *Rowland Hill. Victorian Genius and Benefactor* (London: Quiller Press Ltd, 1989), p. 5.

[2] Birmingham City Archives (Hereafter BCA), Local Studies Collection, Lp/ 78/ 64390 E. Edwards. The Hills of Hazelwood Newspaper Cuttings 1878. This comprises a set of newspaper cuttings held in the Local

particularly remarkable is that their work spanned three generations, influenced developments into the twentieth century, and contributed to reformatory practices both at home and abroad.

Many of the influential visitors to Hazelwood were involved in efforts to rehabilitate juvenile offenders and the development of reformatory and industrial schools across the country. Additionally, elements of the curriculum and ethos found at Hazelwood were reflected in these schools. Arguably, it was either a 'proto-reformatory' or, at least, a 'bridge' between educational and reformatory institutions whose influence helped to put Birmingham at the centre of reformatory efforts from the 1850s onwards. It also acted as a hub where like-minded individuals could exchange progressive ideas and served as a centre for groups of people who would later pioneer efforts to reform the treatment of criminal children.

The influence of the school and its supporters may also have contributed to Birmingham hosting the first national conference on juvenile reform in 1851 but its impact was not restricted to this one event. This case study commences with an outline of the historiography and the sources employed. An account of the development of Hazelwood follows; it then examines the influence of the Hills, together with the input of other individuals who came into contact with them and the school, and assesses the extent to which the resulting educational practices provided a template from which an approach to juvenile reform was developed.

History section of the Library of Birmingham. The only identifying information about its origins comprise 'Mail' and '24 April 1878' written at the top of the first cutting.

Finally, the influence of these practices and the Hills, in terms of chronology and geography, is illustrated.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

Within the history of the development of education and educational establishments in and around Birmingham during the early nineteenth century, the Hill family's Hazelwood School stands out. Numerous authors have written, almost since its inception, about its innovative and progressive educational practices. In 1824 the *London Magazine* complimented the methods of instruction employed at the school and,[3] the following year, the *Kaleidoscope Magazine* published a series of complimentary articles describing it as providing a 'curious epitome of real life'.[4] There were also accounts of the school proving so popular that it had insufficient places to accommodate all those who wished to study there.[5]

John Adamson writes how Hazelwood exemplified the most efficient private boarding schools of the time and highlights its unusually diverse curriculum;[6] an aspect of the school in which the Hill family took particular pride.[7] The practical application of many of the subjects on the syllabus has also attracted the attention

[3] 'Plans for the Instruction of Boys in Large Numbers', *The London Magazine*, April 1824, pp. 410-416; 'Plans for the Instruction of Boys in Large Numbers' (Continued), *The London Magazine*, May 1824, pp. 503-515.
[4] 'Improved System of Education Established at Hazelwood School ', *The Kaleidoscope; or Literary and Scientific Mirror*, 26th July 1825, p. 25.
[5] BCA E. Edwards. The Hills of Hazelwood Newspaper Cuttings 1878.
[6] John William Adamson, *A Short History of Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), pp. 272-273.
[7] Eliezer Edwards, *Sir Rowland Hill, KCB. A Biographical and Historical Sketch* (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1879), p. 4.

of educational historians.[8] R.L. Archer notes that it was a ‘remarkable’ educational experiment and draws a parallel with the school’s use of punishment in a reformatory manner, and the future influence of Matthew Davenport Hill.[9] A government report from 1938 describes Hazelwood as the most noteworthy experimental school of the period through its unique practices.[10] H.C. Barnard states it embodied some of the most modern and progressive educational principles, adding that the Hill family’s contribution to education as a whole was ‘outstanding’.[11] More recently, Brian Simon describes Hazelwood as the institution that first put the educational ideas of the Lunar Society into practice.[12] The school’s place within the general development of education is not disputed but its contribution to the development of reformatory education has, to date, not been examined or even specifically identified.[13]

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[8] Michael Sadler, *A Nineteenth Century Experiment in Education: The Work of Matthew and Rowland Hill* (Oxford, 1923. No other publication details recorded.), p. 5.

[9] R.L. Archer, *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), p. 19; P.W.J. Bartrip, ‘Matthew Davenport Hill (1791–1872)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*,2004,<http://oxforddnb.com.ezproxye.bham.uk/templates/articl.jsp?articleid=1328> [accessed 5th September 2012].

[10] Board of Education, *The Spens Report on Secondary Education* (London: HMSO, 1938), p. 20.

[11] H.C. Barnard, *A History of English Education From 1760*, 2nd edn (London: University of London Press Ltd, 1964), pp. 20-21.

[12] Brian Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780–1870* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1981), p. 71. Jenny Uglow describes the Lunar Society of Birmingham as ‘a small, informal bunch’, who ‘nudge their whole society and culture.....towards the world we know today’. Originating in the late eighteenth century, their members included Matthew Boulton, Josiah Wedgwood, Erasmus Darwin and James Watt. Jenny Uglow, *The Lunar Men. The Friends who made the Future* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2002), pp. xiii–xiv.

[13] I first advanced some of my theories about the influence of Hazelwood and the Hill family in 2015 in: Daniel Wale, ‘Hazelwood School – A Catalyst for Reformatory Education?’, in *Papers from the Education Doctoral Research Conference 2015* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2016), pp. 137-144. <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/2153/1/Wale.pdf>.

The only original documentation that survives from the school is a set of publications, written by the students, named the *Hazelwood Magazine*.[14] Though the value of in-house publications can be questionable, the detail provided by the students regarding their lessons, extra-curricular activities and the punishments employed, suggests little if any censorship by teachers. In addition William Sargant, a former pupil, published his recollections of the school.[15]

A significant amount of the information employed in this case study originates from members of the Hill family. The different generations wrote enthusiastically about both their own ideas and accomplishments together with those of their forebears.[16] The activities of various family members were reported regularly by the press and, to provide a balanced view, a cross-section of contemporary local, national and international publications have been employed.[17] Biographical and autobiographical data from the family's friends and associates have been used to provide as wide a view and opinion as possible of their contribution to the reform of the treatment of juvenile offenders and destitute children. Close attention has also been paid to the Hills' interrelations with their contemporaries, particularly the

[14] *Hazelwood Magazine* was printed at the school from September 1822 onwards, probably through the influence of Arthur Hill, a son of Thomas Wright Hill. Arthur had served an apprenticeship with Birmingham printer James Belcher. Paul Morgan states that printing-presses were not uncommon in schools at this time. Paul Morgan, (ed.), *Warwickshire Printers' Notices 1799–1866* (Oxford: Printed for the Dugdale Society at the University Press, 1970), pp. xxxi, 12, 16. A near complete set of the magazines can be found at: BCA Local Studies Collection, AX285, *Hazelwood Magazine.* In the preface to his 1975 thesis about Matthew Davenport Hill, Peter Bartrip describes his unsuccessful search for any of Hill's surviving personal papers. Peter W.J. Bartrip, *The Career of Matthew Davenport Hill with special reference to his place in penal and educational reform movements in mid-nineteenth century England* (Unpublished DPhil thesis: University College Cardiff, 1975).

[15] William Lucas Sargant, *Essays of a Birmingham Manufacturer*, *Volume II* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1870).

[16] The bibliography for this thesis lists fourteen publications from various family members; the journal articles they authored are in addition to this.

[17] Two Birmingham newspapers are referenced in this chapter. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and the *Birmingham Journal* are abbreviated as *ABG* and *BJ* respectively.

networks of individuals to which they belonged and the spheres of influence that shaped their activities.

THOMAS WRIGHT HILL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF HAZELWOOD

Hazelwood developed from Hill Top School in Suffolk Street, Birmingham, opened in 1803 by Thomas Wright Hill. From the beginning he made his educational intentions clear and published details of the main elements that drove his personal philosophy and founded the practices that saw fruition at Hazelwood. These elements underlined the value of voluntary application and the exploitation of the individual pupil's particular interests. Hill also highlighted the importance of the development of reasoning, together with a spirit of kindness and co-operation, all underpinned by strong moral training.[18]

Hill was born into a dissenting family at Kidderminster in 1763. Aged four years he survived a smallpox outbreak, which left him temporarily blind and killed a younger brother. Through his maternal uncle Joshua Symonds,[19] a Calvinist minister, the reformers John Howard and William Wilberforce became family friends.[20] As a child Thomas regularly visited relatives in Birmingham, on one occasion dining

[18] Colin G. Hey, *The History of Hazelwood School, Birmingham, and its influence on Educational Development in the Nineteenth Century* (Unpublished MA Thesis: Swansea University, 1954), pp. 19-20.

[19] There is no *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry for Symonds but an account of his work can be found in: H.G. Tibbutt, 'Joshua Symonds, diarist', *Bedfordshire Magazine*, IV (1953–1955), pp. 338–342.

[20] J.L. Dobson, 'The Hill Family and Educational Change in the Early Nineteenth Century. 1. Thomas Hill and the School at Hill Top, Birmingham', *The Durham Research Review*, 2:10 (Sept, 1959), pp. 261-262; Matthew Davenport Hill, *Remains of the late Thomas Wright Hill* (London, 1859), pp. 60-61, 100-101. This book comprises elements authored by Thomas himself as well as additions and recollections from his sons Matthew and Frederic. Rod Morgan, 'John Howard (1726?-1790)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13922> [accessed 3rd July 2018]; John Wolfe, 'William Wilberforce (1759-1833)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009, <https://doi.org/ 10.1093 /ref:odnb/29386> [accessed 3rd July 2018].

with the historian William Hutton.[21] An apprenticeship to a brass-founder led Hill to take up residence in the town where he joined Joseph Priestley's congregation. A friendship developed between the two and in 1788 Hill became a teacher in Priestley's Sunday School.[22] Described as 'perhaps the outstanding representation of the new outlook in education generated by Priestley',[23] Hill's loyalty to the Lunar Society member was demonstrated when he rescued books and scientific equipment from Priestley's house before it was destroyed in the riots of 1791.[24]

Following Priestley's lead, Hill became involved in the expansion of Sunday schools in Birmingham. Together with Thomas Clark, a fellow member of Priestley's former congregation, he was also a founder member of the Brotherly Society which was created in 1796 with the purpose of the 'general improvement in knowledge and virtue'.[25] It shared similarities with the Society for the Diffusion

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[21] Hill, *Remains*, p. 102.

[22] Dobson, 'The Hill Family. 1. Thomas Wright Hill', p. 263; Hey, *Rowland Hill*, p. 22-23.

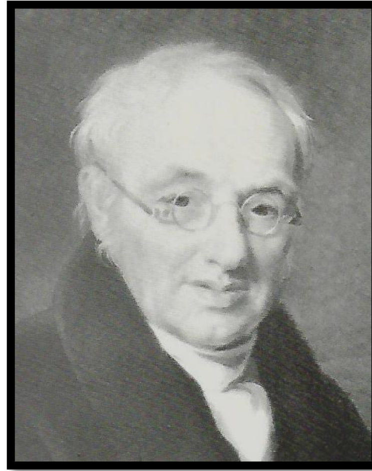
[23] W.H.G. Armytage, 'The Lunar Society and its Contributions to Education', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 11:1 (1967), p. 67.

[24] Hey, *Rowland Hill*, p. 23. The Priestley Riots, as they became known, occurred on 14th July 1791 and developed after a mob attacked diners at Dadley's Hotel on Temple Row. The meeting was advertised as a commemoration of the French Revolution and local agitation prior to the event had portrayed it as a meeting of those opposed to the King and Church. This is an extreme simplification of the events but the end result was widespread rioting and the destruction of property, which included the homes of Joseph Priestley and historian William Hutton, neither of whom had attended the meeting. Vivian Bird, *The Priestley Riots, 1791, and The Lunar Society* (Published by the Birmingham and Midland Institute, undated), pp. 44-46.

[25] 'The Jubilee of the Birmingham Unitarian Brotherly Benefit Society', *ABG*, 10th July 1848, p. 2; 'The Late Mr. James Luckcock', *BJ*, 23rd May 1835, p. 4. Ruth Watts writes that Hill continued his education through the Society, which developed from an earlier organisation, whose primary function was to train male teachers. Ruth Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England 1760–1860* (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), p. 73.

of Useful Knowledge, which was established with the involvement of some of Hill's sons in 1826.[26]

Fig 8.1 Thomas Wright Hill [27]



In 1803 Hill purchased a school from Clark.[28] Originally situated in Lionel Street, Birmingham, the school transferred to larger premises within a year.[29] It continued with Hill at the helm until 1816 when his two eldest sons, Matthew Davenport and Rowland, took over the greater part of its running.[30] In 1819 the school relocated to a purpose-built house in Edgbaston, Birmingham, which was christened 'Hazelwood'.[31] The family were Unitarians and Thomas Wright Hill was renowned for a belief in the principles of civil and religious liberty at a time when such

[26] This society is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.
[27] Hey, *Rowland Hill*. The illustrations in this publication are not paginated.
[28] Dobson, 'The Hill Family. 1. Thomas Wright Hill', pp. 263-264.
[29] Hey, *Rowland Hill*, p. 23. The school was called Hill Top and accommodated boys and girls.
[30] Dobson, 'The Hill Family. 1. Thomas Wright Hill', pp. 265-266.
[31] Hey, *Rowland Hill*, p. 23.

opinions were rare.[32] Emphasising the breadth of appeal the school had across cultures, some pupils were Muslim.[33]

Fig 8.2 Hazelwood School c.1820 [34]

All of Hill's schools were for fee-paying private students and not a philanthropic endeavour.[35] Thomas needed the income to support his family and he later wrote describing their financial difficulties, which seem to have been particularly acute when his children were young, and credited his wife Sarah with skilfully managing their limited income.[36] Their son Rowland later echoed his father's comments about Sarah's money-managing abilities and also recounted how, as a child, she would send him out to sell rags she had collected when their finances were

[32] Hey, *The History of Hazelwood School*, p. 8; J.T. Bunce, 'Matthew Davenport Hill', *Law Magazine and Review*, July 1872, p. 516.

[33] Sir Rowland Hill and George Birkbeck Hill, *The Life of Sir Rowland Hill and the History of the Penny Postage, Volume I* (London: Thos. De La Rue and Co., 1880), pp. 172-173. The school received students from modern-day Libya and Algeria. Hill also recorded how the Persian ambassador was considering sending students from his country to Hazelwood.

[34] BCA Ref: WK-E1-414 Reproduced by kind permission of Birmingham Archives and Collections.

[35] Deborah Gorham, Victorian Reform as a Family business: The Hill Family, in Anthony S. Wohl, (ed.), *The Victorian Family* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1978), p. 145.

[36] Hill, *Remains*, pp. 120-122.

particularly stretched.[37] Another son, Matthew Davenport, described how their father's inability to afford to pay for additional staff at his schools led to all Thomas' sons becoming teachers at an early age.[38] To earn extra money they taught at other educational institutions in Birmingham alongside their Hazelwood responsibilities.[39] Despite their limited finances they did, however, contribute to local charitable causes, as 'Thomas Hill and Sons' are recorded as donating to the Birmingham Female Penitentiary and 'Hazelwood School' also subscribed to the local District Visiting Society, which provided food and clothing for the poor.[40]

After relinquishing the reins at Hazelwood, Hill senior became active locally in social issues. In 1825 his name appeared alongside that of Joseph Sturge in a petition that called for the abolition of slavery.[41] Other signatories included representatives from the Lloyd, Ryland, Unett and Cadbury families, illustrating the influential circles Hill moved within.[42] Sturge later established the first school in Birmingham specifically for offending children, from which Saltley Reformatory developed.[43] The year 1832 saw Hill, assisted by his son Arthur, organise a public meeting in Birmingham to protest about the treatment of the Polish population by

[37] Hill and Hill, *The Life of Sir Rowland Hill, Volume I*, p. 53.

[38] Rosamond Davenport Hill and Florence Davenport Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham. A Memoir of Matthew Davenport Hill* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1878), p. 6.

[39] BCA E. Edwards. The Hills of Hazelwood Newspaper Cuttings 1878. All of Hazelwood's pupils were boys but family members did teach at other schools in Birmingham for both sexes. Michael J. Wise, 'An Early 19th Century Experiment in the Teaching of Geography', *Geography*, 33:1 (March, 1948), p. 18.

[40] 'Birmingham Female Penitentiary', *ABG*, 2nd March 1829, p. 1. This establishment was one of the Magdalen Asylums, dedicated to the 'rescue of fallen females'. 'New Female Penitentiary for Birmingham and the Midland Counties', *ABG*, 5th October 1861, p. 6; 'District Visiting Society', *ABG*, 26th November 1832, p. 3; 'Public Meeting. Distressed State of the Poor', *BJ*, 15th September 1832, pp. 2-3.

[41] Alex Tyrrell, 'Joseph Sturge (1793–1859)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009, <https://doi. org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26746> [accessed 29th March 2018].

[42] 'To James Taylor, ESQ. High Bailiff of the Town of Birmingham', *BJ*, 19th November 1825, p. 2.

[43] The 1851 Birmingham Conference on juvenile crime is attributed to prompting Sturge's reformatory efforts. Henry Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (Memphis: General Books LLC, 2012 (Print on demand copy of original publication)), p. 168. Chapter Nine comprises a case study of this institution.

the occupying Russian army.[44] Later that year, a Thomas W. Hill is recorded as the chairman of a committee campaigning to elect Thomas Attwood to Parliament.[45] When Hill died in June 1851, one of his obituaries described him as a 'man of genius and originality, with high-toned morality, humble piety and expansive benevolence'.[46]

A TEMPLATE FOR REFORMATORY SCHOOLING

At Hazelwood a unique combination of management and educational practices were put into operation.[47] It provided a template that bore striking similarities to the new approach to juvenile reform implemented by industrial and reformatory schools later in the nineteenth century. P.W.J. Bartrip describes a system that placed a great emphasis on reward and punishment. Discipline was rigid, arguably approaching the level of coercion described by Michel Foucault in his account of the French Mettray reformatory institution and the boys were given little free time, which left few opportunities for misbehaviour.[48]

There were three specific elements to the system employed at the school, all designed to underpin discipline. Firstly, through a court consisting of pupils,

[44] 'Poland', *BJ*, 20th October 1832, p. 4.

[45] 'Mr Attwood's Election', *ABG*, 26th November 1832, p. 3. It is not possible to state definitively that it was the 'head' of the Hill family but research has not located anyone who shares the name and was active in the same areas as Thomas Wright Hill in Birmingham at this time.

[46] Hill, *Remains*, pp. 134, 145. Four obituaries are detailed in this book.

[47] P.W.J. Bartrip, '"A Thoroughly Good School": An examination of the Hazelwood Experiment in Progressive Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 28:1 (Feb, 1980), p. 47. Some of the management and educational practices had commenced earlier at Hill Top.

[48] Bartrip, 'A Thoroughly Good School', pp. 48, 51; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 293. Original French version published 1975. He described how Mettray combined the cloister, prison, school and regiment to produce a form of coercive discipline at its most severe. Mettray's influence is discussed in Chapter Three.

named the ‘Hazelwood Assizes’ anyone accused of breaches of discipline was presided over by their peers.[49] The *Laws of Hazelwood School* described the court’s arrangement together with the rewards and punishments employed. Comprising over 110 pages, ten detail the punishments that could be imposed.[50] These included fines and imprisonment; the school possessed a ‘gaol’, and a criminal register recorded the details of those convicted.[51] Though historians have claimed that corporal punishment was not employed,[52] there are occasional accounts of its use detailed in the *Hazelwood Magazine* and in the recollections of former pupils.[53]

The second element involved an all-encompassing regulation of virtually every aspect of the school day, which was organised with ‘military punctuality’.[54] From dawn until dusk pupils started or completed tasks; from studying to eating and dressing, at the sound of a bell that was rung by a monitor.[55] This particular aspect of the school reflects Foucault’s assertion that such ‘temporal regulation’ was a form of control and coercion.[56] Anyone failing to answer the bell promptly was

[49] J.L. Dobson, ‘The Hill Family and Educational Change in the Early Nineteenth Century. 2. Hazelwood School: The Achievement of Rowland Hill and his Brothers’, *The Durham Research Review*, 3:11 (Sept, 1960), p. 5. A ‘Court of Justice’ was originally established at Hill Top School by Thomas Wright Hill in 1816. Bernhard Siegbert, *Relays. Literature as an Epoch of the Postal System* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 122.

[50] Rowland Hill and Frederic Hill, (eds.), *Laws of Hazelwood School* (London: Publisher unknown, 1827), pp. 40-49.

[51] Hill and Hill, (eds.), *Laws of Hazelwood School*, p. 19.

[52] Dobson, ‘The Hill Family. 2. Hazelwood School’, p.15; Armytage, ‘The Lunar Society’, p. 69.

[53] *Hazelwood Magazine*, 1:6 (Feb, 1828), pp. 2-5. This details the use of solitary confinement in both ‘light’ and ‘dark’ prisons, as well as corporal punishment, in disciplining pupils; Sargant, *Essays*, p. 189.

[54] Bartrip, ‘A Thoroughly Good School’, p. 51.

[55] Dobson, ‘The Hill Family. 2. Hazelwood School’, p. 5; Bartrip, ‘A Thoroughly Good School’, p. 47. The bell was rung over sixty times a day; roll calls held three times each day.

[56] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 150. Foucault states the use of bells originated from regulating the time allocated to prayers in religious houses and was adapted to enhance the partitioning of time during the school day.

fined; the monitor was also fined if he failed to operate the bell at the correct time. Additionally, music was employed as a prompt through the school's own band.[57] Pupils were described as moving with 'military order and exactness' as the band played; in the 1840s a visitor to Mettray used an almost identical phrase to describe its inmates.[58] To ensure as much of the day as possible was employed in their education a newspaper was read to the pupils at supper.[59]

The final, third, element involved the use of a system that employed 'marks', or tokens, for rewards and punishments.[60] They were made of brass and there is evidence that Hill senior used a mark system at his previous schools (The tokens are illustrated overleaf in Fig 8.3).[61] Effectively an internal currency, they were earned for accepting extra responsibilities, including serving at the 'Assizes',

[57] An instrumental band was also formed at Saltley Reformatory. The practice became widespread in such institutions, arguably demonstrating the 'humanising effect of art'. 'Reformatory Band', *The Musical Time*, 1st July 1873, p. 137. This account describes how a group of boys from a reformatory in Montrose were taught to play instruments in three to four months despite being unable to read music. In 1891 W.E. Pengelly, the superintendent of Weston Reformatory in Warwick, gave an address to the National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools where he credited the teaching of music in reformatory institution's as having a 'refining and softening influence' and increasing the inmates self-respect. *Report of the Fifth Conference of the National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools* (Birmingham: Printed by Hall and English, 1891), p. 171. In 1903 J.A. Hitchins estimated that former reformatory and industrial school inmates comprised eighty per cent of the British Army's regimental bands. J.A. Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution (Saltley Reformatory) Jubilee Retrospect, 1903* (Publication details unknown. Printed in Birmingham by Hall & English, 1903), p. 37.

[58] 'Improved System of Education Established at Hazelwood School ', *The Kaleidoscope,* 26th July 1825, pp. 25-26; Philip Smith, *Punishment and Culture* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 75.

[59] *Public Education: Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in Large Numbers as Practised at Hazelwood School*, 2nd edn (London: Baldwin & Craddock, 1827), p.4. This publication was authored by one or more of Thomas Wright Hill's sons and, as their specific identity is disputed, the author(s) name has deliberately been omitted; Adamson states the book was authored anonymously. Adamson, *Short History of Education*, p. 273; 'Improved System of Education Established at Hazelwood School ', *The Kaleidoscope,* 26th July 1825, pp. 25-26; *Public Education*, pp. 52-53.

[60] *Public Education*, p. 6.

[61] R.N.P. Hawkins, 'Four Studies of British Metallic Tickets and Commercial Checks of the 19th–20th Centuries. No. 1. School Counters for Marks of Merit', *The British Association of Numismatic Societies, Doris Stockwell Memorial Papers*, No. 2., 1975, pp, 7, 16-17. This publication details tokens stamped 'T. Hill, Birmingham' dating from 1803, the same year Thomas Wright Hill purchased Hill Top School from Thomas Clark.

exceptional school work and regular prompt attendance at roll calls. They could be exchanged for treats, including additional holidays, or used to pay the fines detailed earlier in this chapter. If a fine left a negative balance then the individual would have to undertake additional work until they cleared the ‘debt’.[62]

Fig 8.3 Hazelwood’s Marks [63]

Clear parallels emerge when comparing these three elements to practices at Saltley Reformatory, which opened in 1853 to house convicted boys and in whose establishment Matthew Davenport Hill played a significant role. Strict discipline is only to be expected in such a penal institution but Saltley’s inmates had far fewer rules to follow than Hazelwood’s pupils. It did, however, possess a ‘jury’ which was

[62] Bartrip, ‘A Thoroughly Good School’, p. 47.

[63] Dix Noonan Webb, Auctioneers, 2018 <https://www.dnw.co.uk/auction-archive/lot-archive/results.php?dept=Tokens&keywords=hazelwood&action=Search>. The tokens had various encouraging phrases, such as ‘persevere and excel’ and ‘no effort is lost’, on one side.

established by the first superintendant John Ellis and comprised of inmates. They were responsible for deciding the punishments of any of their fellows who stood accused of breaking the institution's rules.[64]

Bartrip claims that the authority and responsibility given to Hazelwood's students led them to feel they were restricted by a 'bondage of regimentation'.[65] William Sargant, who attended Hill Top and Hazelwood, echoed this and described how the authoritarian practices at the school placed such responsibilities on the pupils that they became 'premature men'. He claimed this burden left one of his peers contemplating suicide.[66] This type of subtle but seemingly effective control echoes Foucault's assertions about the realities of life in reformatory institutions and may have been deliberately employed by those who established Saltley Reformatory.[67]

A mark system was also introduced at Saltley.[68] Its use at Hazelwood was widely known and respected and it was also applied in prisons and factory schools.[69] Alexander Maconochie was an ardent supporter of these schemes. He was a naval officer who served as governor of the Norfolk Island penal colony from 1840 to 1844,[70] where he had proposed a system where prisoners had to work to

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[64] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution* (Birmingham, 1854), p. 7., in BCA MS 244/98 Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 1., (Hereafter BRI MB 1), 24th January 1854. The Birmingham Reformatory Institution was more widely known as Saltley Reformatory.

[65] Bartrip, 'A Thoroughly Good School', p. 51.

[66] Sargant, *Essays*, pp. 187, 191.

[67] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 293.

[68] This is discussed in the case study of Saltley Reformatory which comprises Chapter Nine.

[69] W.A.C. Stewart and W.P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators, 1750–1880* (London: MacMillan and Company Limited, 1967), p. 236.

[70] J. Moore, 'Alexander Maconochie's mark system', *Prison Service Journal*, 198 (Nov, 2011), p. 43. Norfolk Island is the largest in a small group of islands 930 miles east-north-east of Sydney, Australia. John Vincent Barry, *Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 86; John V. Barry, 'Alexander Maconochie (1787–1861)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 1967,

accrue marks to earn anything from food to clothing or even their freedom.[71] He first suggested such an arrangement in 1837, and according to a later headmaster of the Hills' school at Bruce Castle in London, Maconochie's knowledge of it was derived directly from Hazelwood.[72] By 1845 Maconochie was in contact with Matthew Davenport Hill who in 1849, as Recorder of Birmingham, appointed Maconochie to the governorship of the town's new borough gaol.[73] Maconochie was permitted by local justices – after the Home Office had refused him permission – to carry out an experiment with juvenile prisoners using a modified mark system but it proved unsuccessful and he was subsequently dismissed.[74] This did not stop Hill later crediting Maconochie as being central to making the prison system more humane.[75]

Though Hazelwood was a commercial venture, its ethos encouraged philanthropy among its students. An 1823 edition of the school's magazine referred to a Benevolent Society; originally formed to distribute food locally and then disbanded

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<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/maconochie-alexander-2417/ text3207> [accessed 16th August 2018]. A brief account of Maconochie's mark system is also provided in: Norval Morris, *Maconochie's Gentlemen. The Story of Norfolk Island & the Roots of Modern Prison Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 162-163.

[71] Alexander Maconochie, *The Mark System of Prison Discipline* (London: Printed by Mitchell and Son, 1857). This publication provides full details of the author's ideas.

[72] Moore, 'Alexander Maconochie's mark system', p. 41; Schools Enquiry Commission, *Royal Commission to inquire into the Education in Schools in England and Wales* (London: HMSO, 1868), p. 846. While being questioned as part of this Commission, Mr B. Hill – headmaster of Bruce Castle School at the time – stated Maconochie had admitted he derived his mark system from the one originated by the Hills. Bruce Castle School was opened, in Tottenham, by the Hills in 1827 and followed the same ethos as practised at Hazelwood. The school is discussed later in this chapter.

[73] Stewart and McCann, *The Educational Innovators*, p. 237.

[74] Moore, 'Alexander Maconochie's mark system', p. 45. The details of the stated modifications to this system are not known but a mark scheme was subsequently established at the gaol. BCA PS/B/4/5/1/1 Birmingham Borough Gaol, Visiting Committee Minute Book 1 1878-1892, 19th February 1879.

[75] Matthew Davenport Hill, (ed.), *Our Exemplars, Poor and Rich* (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1861), pp. 213-240.

when 'the times grew better', being re-established and funded by subscriptions.[76] The second edition of *Public Education* described a meeting of this society, which recorded how it had subscribed to the Birmingham Hospital and Dispensary and enquired of its members whether they knew of any poor people 'thought proper to be objects of charity'.[77]

In 1829 *The London Magazine* described an anonymous visitor to Hazelwood who found the school having a 'pervading spirit of truth', where morals were taught by example rather than doctrine.[78] It also emphasised the importance placed on maintaining the self-respect of the pupils, even when punished, and stressed the absence of 'fagging' at the school. An earlier edition of the same publication described the practice as producing 'instances of outrageous cruelty' and praised Hazelwood for its 'admirable principles and arrangements of every kind'.[79]

Some, including W.A.C. Stewart and W.P. McCann, have tried to draw a parallel between Thomas Arnold's Rugby and the Hills' schools and others including Paul Munroe and Foster Watson have claimed, without evidence, that Arnold was influenced by the Hills' educational practices.[80] Such comparisons, however, are

[76] *Hazelwood Magazine*, 5:1 (Feb, 1823), p. 3. A subsequent edition of the magazine described how a payment of five shillings was made to a 'poor Irishman' who presented himself at the school and applied for relief. The small value of the payment was explained by stating that the fund's main purpose was to assist distressed neighbours. *Hazelwood Magazine*, 12:1 (Oct, 1823), p.3.

[77] *Public Education*, pp. 368-369.

[78] 'A Visit to Hazelwood School', *The London Magazine*, 3:13 (April, 1829), pp. 371-375.

[79] 'Fagging', *The London Magazine*, 2:9 (Dec, 1828), pp. 643-644. 'Fagging' was a traditional practice at some public schools where the youngest boys effectively acted as servants to the older students. There are many accounts of the younger boys suffering physical violence and abuse at the hands of their peers. George P. Landow, *Thomas Hughes's Defence of Fagging at Rugby*, 2006, <http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/hughes/fag.html> [accessed 8th May 2016].

[80] Stewart and McCann, *The Educational Innovators,* p. 102; Paul Munroe, (ed.), *A Cyclopedia of Education*, *Volume Three* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1912), p. 279; Foster Watson, (ed.), *The*

fundamentally flawed. Arnold was a distant, detached figure for his pupils and felt it was a headmaster's duty to rid the school of any unpromising boy, whether they were troublesome or lacking in academic ability.[81] Rowland Hill's biographer Colin Hey described this attitude as a 'professional betrayal' and emphasised how Rowland Hill gladly accepted boys of this character. Matthew Davenport Hill maintained the practices at Hazelwood were particularly suited to these individuals.[82]

While Arnold reformed some punishments administered at Rugby,[83] T.W. Bamford maintains there was no improvement in discipline and or reduction in 'fagging' during his tenure.[84] Arnold regarded caning as a 'milder' punishment, when compared to flogging, but the former was seen as the most severe, and rarely used, method of chastisement by the Hills.[85] Arnold enhanced Rugby's syllabus, introducing modern languages and modern history, but this did not compare with the variety of subjects offered at Hazelwood. Arnold died unexpectedly with his work incomplete, however.[86]

There has been speculation as to whether Arnold ever met with any of the Hills and Hey provides a brief account from Thomas Wright Hill, dated 16th October

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Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Education, *Volume Four* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd, 1921), p. 781. Thomas Arnold was headmaster of Rugby School from 1828-1842. T.W. Banford, 'Discipline at Rugby Under Arnold', *Educational Review*, 10:1 (1957), p. 26.

[81] W.H.D. Rouse, *A History of Rugby School* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1898), pp. 221, 230.

[82] Hey, *Rowland Hill*, pp. 96-97.

[83] Matthew Holbeck Bloxham, *Rugby School: Its History and Present Condition* (1874. No other publication details given), p. 8.

[84] Banford, 'Discipline at Rugby Under Arnold', p. 26.

[85] Bloxham, *Rugby School*, p. 8.

[86] Bloxham, *Rugby School*, p. 8.

1831, which states Matthew Davenport Hill was travelling to Rugby to visit Arnold.[87] The nature of their discussions can only be surmised but an order from Rugby School's trustees, dated 25th October 1831, details how Arnold's request to implement the punishment of solitary confinement for certain offences was refused.[88] Unfortunately, it is not known if Arnold tried to adapt Hazelwood's system of discipline for Rugby.[89]

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

The reputation of Hazelwood was enhanced following Matthew Davenport Hill's meeting with Jeremy Bentham in 1822, where Bentham presented him with a copy of *Chrestomathia*, having earlier been sent a copy of Hill's *Public Education. Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in Large Numbers as Practised at Hazelwood School.*[90] Bentham was a staunch opponent of the National School for the Education of the Poor, which had been established in 1811 by the Anglican Church.[91] He saw it as having no educational value and amounting to an attempt by the Church to increase its influence on the poor.[92] In *Chrestomathia* Bentham described his belief that education should have practical applications rather than being centred on the classics. This, he asserted, would benefit society as a whole, not just the individual pupil. Underlining how he believed the minds of children

[87] Hey, *Rowland Hill*, p. 94.
[88] Rouse, *A History of Rugby School*, p. 228.
[89] I have been advised by Rugby School's archivist that they do not hold any record of such a meeting.
[90] M.J. Smith and W.H. Burston, (eds.), *Chrestomathia* (From the Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. xviii.
[91] Bart Schultz, *The Happiness Philosophers. The Life and Works of the Great Utilitarians* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2017), p. 305; Pamela Silver and Harold Silver, *The Education of the Poor* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1974), pp. 9-11.
[92] Schultz, *The Happiness Philosophers*, p. 305.

were interested in many things, the suggested syllabus included philosophy, chemistry, poetry, art, astronomy and mechanics, and was advanced for the time as it also encompassed the study of electricity and magnetism.[93] Attempts to establish a school adhering to these principles at his home in Westminster failed,[94] but he seemingly recognised much common ground in *Public Education* and promoted Hazelwood as a model educational establishment.[95] For example, the wide syllabus detailed in *Chrestomathia* already being employed by the Hills. Additionally, Bentham recognised his suggestions for a 'scholar jury' and 'delinquency registration' was already in place at Hazelwood.[96] Possibly, in anticipation of his future influence on the reform of juvenile offenders, Hill described in *Public Education* how the system at Hazelwood was particularly suited to problem children.[97] Deborah Gorham writes that many of the practices detailed in *Public Education* were family traditions. The development of morals, powers of reasoning, thrift, order and economy had shaped the Hills view of, or hopes for, society.[98] Fifty years after its first publication J.T. Bunce, Matthew Davenport Hill's obituarist, highlighted how many of *Public Education's* principles

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[93] Jeremy Bentham, *Chrestomathia* (London, 1816), pp. 14, 70, 120-127; BCA E. Edwards. The Hills of Hazelwood Newspaper Cuttings 1878. This described Hazelwood as the best equipped school in the world, at the time, in terms of the models, instruments, apparatus and books it possessed.
[94] Smith and Burston, *Chrestomathia*, pp. xiv-xvi.
[95] Jonathan Harris, 'Bernardino Rivadavia and Benthamite "Discipleship"', *Latin American Research Review*, 33:1 (1988), p. 187.
[96] Bentham, *Chrestomathia*, pp. 13-14.
[97] Bartrip, 'A Thoroughly Good School', p. 54. In this article Bartrip references the first edition of *Public Education* published in 1822. It has not been possible to examine a copy of that edition for this work, nor has it been possible to locate a specific reference to 'problem' children in the subsequent 1827 edition. There are, however, references to Hazelwood's practices improving behaviour and academic performance in this later edition. *Public Education*, pp. 92, 286.
[98] Gorham, in Wohl, (ed.), *The Victorian Family*, pp. 126-127.

of training and instruction had taken that length of time to become generally accepted.[99]

Hazelwood's profile was raised by Bentham's support and influence. He wrote to associates as far afield as Greece and Colombia praising it.[100] Through Bentham the school attracted a steady stream of visitors, one of the most notable being Henry Brougham.[101] Brougham had assisted Bentham in the attempt to establish a school at his home and was a lifelong advocate of education for the poor.[102] Brougham recognised the value of education in the prevention of juvenile crime and became a major supporter of Matthew Davenport Hill in his attempts to reform the treatment of child offenders.[103] Brougham's interest in child welfare may have been prompted by his visit in 1816 to the Swiss institutions of Phillipe Emanuel von Fellenberg and Henry Pestalozzi – the relevance of which is discussed shortly.[104]

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[99] Bunce, 'Matthew Davenport Hill', *Law Magazine and Review*, July 1872, p. 516.

[100] Harris, 'Bernardino Rivadavia', p. 138. Bentham also advised on several aspects of the school's administration including the *Laws of Hazelwood School*, which were compiled by Rowland Hill and his brother Frederic. Dobson, 'The Hill Family. 2. Hazelwood School', p. 7.

[101] Brougham was a leading radical and reformer who also served as chancellor. Michael Lobban, 'Henry Peter Brougham, first Baron and Vaux (1778-1868)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3581> [accessed 25th August 2018]. Another visitor of note was the abolitionist and philanthropist William Wilberforce. John Wolfe, 'William Wilberforce (1759-1833)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[102] Smith and Burston, *Chrestomathia*, p. xiii. Brougham had taken a leading role in the establishment of two infant schools in London in 1820.

[103] Stewart and McCann, *The Educational Innovators*, p. 242; Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, pp. 286-290.

[104] Chester W. New, *The Life of Lord Brougham to 1830* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 212. Ethel Colburn Mayne, *The Life and Letters of Anne Isabella, Lady Noel Byron* (London: Constable & Co Ltd, 1929), p. 331. The first account of Hofwyl, published in Great Britain, appeared in William Allen's journal *The Philanthropist* in 1813. Stewart and McCann, *The Educational Innovators*, p. 145. Brougham published articles about these institutions in 1818 and 1819.

Brougham also worked with Charles Knight, another visitor to Hazelwood, and Matthew Davenport and Rowland Hill to found the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1826.[105] Its main objective was 'the imparting of useful information to all classes of the community', particularly those unable to obtain formal tuition,[106] which reflected the aims of Thomas Wright Hill's Brotherly Society. It also involved Edwin Hill,[107] brother to Matthew Davenport, Rowland and Frederic, and produced a series of publications including *The Penny Magazine* and the *Library of Useful Knowledge*.[108] Edwin also wrote two articles on the challenges faced in reducing juvenile offending which were presented at separate conferences of the Social Science Association.[109] Of four biographies of Brougham only one, by Chester New, details his efforts towards reforming the treatment of juvenile offenders.[110] In 1856 Brougham worked with several individuals to establish the National Reformatory Union. These included Mary Carpenter, Frederic Hill and, the son of Matthew Davenport Hill, Alfred Hill.[111]

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[105] Hey, *Rowland Hill*, p. 158; BCA, E. Edwards. The Hills of Hazelwood Newspaper Cuttings 1878.
[106] New, *The Life of Lord Brougham*, p. 348.
[107] *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, 1832, unnumbered page. Rowland, Matthew and Edwin Hill are all named as committee members.
[108] New, *The Life of Lord Brougham,* p. 351.
[109] Edwin Hill, *On the Criminal Classes Infesting our Large Towns; Their Absolute Dependence upon the Co-operation of Certain Capitalists, and the Consequent Possibility of Extinguishing these Classes by Compelling the Withdrawal of such Co-operation* (Social Science Association, 1868); *Trading in Stolen Property* (Social Science Association, 1871). The relevance of this Association to the campaign to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders is discussed later. I.D. Hill, 'Edwin Hill (1793-1876)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13272> [accessed 18th August 2018].
[110] The remaining three biographies that fail to mention his reformatory efforts are: Arthur Aspinall, *Lord Brougham and the Whig Party* (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1927); G.T. Garratt, *Lord Brougham* (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1935); Robert Stewart, *Henry Brougham 1778–1868 His Public Career* (London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 1986).
[111] Matthew Davenport Hill, *Suggestions for the Repression of Crime* (London, 1857), p. 346.

The *Hazelwood Magazine* for May 1824 described the visit of Robert Dale Owen, from New Lanark, to the school.[112] Owen was educated at Fellenberg's school at Hofwyl in Switzerland, where the teaching of humanitarian and philanthropic values paralleled Hazelwood's ethos.[113] Fellenberg's institution resulted from his association with Henry Pestalozzi. The latter founded a school for poor children at Neuhof, Switzerland, in 1775 and subsequently established a small colony in Stanz, also in Switzerland, to provide shelter for children left destitute following the French invasion in 1798.[114] In both cases Pestalozzi provided the children with agricultural-based industrial training; a practice credited by Frederic Demetz as providing the foundations for his Mettray reformatory.[115] Fellenberg worked with Pestalozzi before developing what Lady Noel Byron described as 'the first idea of industrial training' at Hofwyl. Fellenberg has been credited as influencing her reformatory efforts.[116] Lady Byron visited him at Hofwyl in 1828 and subsequently opened her own agricultural-based industrial school at Ealing in 1834.[117] A close friend and supporter of Mary Carpenter,[118] Lady Byron also attended the 1851

[112] *Hazelwood Magazine*, 4:2 (May, 1824), pp. 29-30.

[113] Ian Donnachie, 'Robert Dale Owen (1801–1877)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/view/printable/21028> [accessed 12th Jan 2015]. A number of changes in Hazelwood's systems of management were made as a result of suggestions made by Owen during his visit. Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 61.

[114] Henry Barnard, *Reformatory Education: Papers on Preventive, Corrective and Reformatory Institutions and Agencies in Different Countries* (Hartford: F.C. Brownell, 1857), p. 34; Mayne, *The Life and Letters of Anne Isabella, Lady Noel Byron*, pp. 479-480.

[115] Barnard, *Reformatory Education*, p. 33.

[116] Mayne, *The Life and Letters of Anne Isabella, Lady Noel Byron*, pp. 330-331, 479.

[117] Mayne, *The Life and Letters of Anne Isabella, Lady Noel Byron* , p. 330; Stewart and McCann, *The Educational Innovators*, p. 214.

[118] Mayne, *The Life and Letters of Anne Isabella, Lady Noel Byron*, p. 390. Lady Byron had been an acquaintance of the Carpenter family since the 1830s but after moving to Bristol in 1844 she subsequently became a close friend of Mary Carpenter, providing considerable financial support to Carpenter in her efforts to reform the treatment of child criminals. Jo Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London: Heinmann Educational Books Ltd, 1976), pp. 70-72.

Birmingham Conference on juvenile crime and was seen as an ally by Matthew Davenport Hill in his struggle to reform the treatment of juvenile delinquents.[119]

Robert Dale Owen studied at Fellenberg's school throughout 1818–1821, by then it incorporated a school for wealthy students as well as facilities for the poor, which promoted the teaching of philanthropic and humanitarian values.[120] Owen's more famous father, Robert Owen, was a Scottish mill owner and associate of Jeremy Bentham,[121] who embarked on an experiment in philanthropic management at New Lanark, near Glasgow.[122] He adapted some of Pestalozzi's educational ideas for a school he established at his factory,[123] for which he is regarded as one of the founders of infant education.[124] He also reduced his workers hours and organised the community surrounding the factory into electing a jury, which arbitrated on local disputes.[125] Rowland Hill visited New Lanark in 1822,[126] and his brother Matthew Davenport followed in 1828. The latter's biography indicates he was a friend and admirer of Owen senior for many years.[127] As if to bring events full circle, Matthew Davenport travelled to Switzerland in 1843, meeting Fellenberg at Hofwyl. Fellenberg was invited to England but never made the trip.[128]

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[119] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, pp. 172, 236.
[120] Donnachie, 'Robert Dale Owen (1801–1877)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
[121] Gregory Claeys, 'Robert Owen (1771–1858)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/view/printable/21027> [accessed 12th Jan 2015].
[122] Gregory Claeys, 'Robert Owen (1771–1858)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
[123] Donnachie, 'Robert Dale Owen (1801–1877)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
[124] Claeys, 'Robert Owen (1771–1858)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
[125] Claeys, 'Robert Owen (1771–1858)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
[126] Gorham, in Wohl, (ed.), *The Victorian Family*, p. 134. Robert Owen invited Rowland Hill to become the manager of one of his communities but Hill declined the offer. W.H.G. Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of English Education*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 84.
[127] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 87.
[128] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham* , pp. 222-223.

These events link a European institution, which subsequently influenced the treatment of juvenile prisoners, and a social experiment in Scotland, with Hazelwood. Following Robert Dale Owen's visit to Hazelwood, the subsequent edition of *Public Education* incorporated references to Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, and Owen senior's school and mill at New Lanark.[129] Underlining the Hills' approach, the publication declared, 'We never expect, and indeed never wish, the time to arrive when changes shall cease to be made'.[130]

The second generation of the Hill family acted as a channel for the wider introduction of agricultural labour into reformatory schools. Frederic Hill visited a farm school near Haywards Heath in 1831. Though for local poor rather than criminal children, its basic education and training in agricultural work echoed practices that were later incorporated into reformatory institutions. Its policy of allowing children to benefit directly from the crops they grew, by keeping a proportion for themselves,[131] was subsequently reflected in Saltley Reformatory's policy of buying the crops their inmates grew.[132] In 1832 Rowland Hill published *Home Colonies* where he suggested the introduction into Great Britain of a scheme already being practised in Holland and Belgium. There 'pauper colonies', with several thousand inhabitants, were established where they grew their own food and received an education, thereby, Hill argued, improving their standard of living and reducing crime.[133]

[129] *Public Education*, pp. 235, 292, 337.
[130] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 61.
[131] Stewart and McCann, *The Educational Innovators*, pp. 214-215.
[132] BCA BRI MB 1, 4th July 1854.
[133] Rowland Hill, *Home Colonies. Sketch of a Plan for the Gradual Extinction of Pauperism and for the Diminution of Crime* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1832), pp. 12-14. *Home Colonies* was written at the

Fig 8.4 Rowland Hill [134]

These events predated the establishment of Mettray in 1839,[135] and the 1846 visit there by Sydney Turner and his colleagues from the Philanthropic Society, which prompted the institution's relocation from its original London base to their farm school at Red Hill in Surrey.[136] This should not be seen to detract from Mettray's influence as it attracted a series of British visitors from its inception. Lord Leigh, who was instrumental in the establishment of Saltley and Weston Reformatories, both of which incorporated agricultural training, numbered among them.[137]

The Hills were clearly interested in philanthropic endeavours in Great Britain and abroad and genuinely open to hearing and implementing new ideas. This was not to the detriment of their educational objectives, as they were familiar with leading

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request of Lord Brougham. C.R. Perry, 'Rowland Hill (1795-1879)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13299> [accessed 18th August 2018].
Efforts to carry out a practical experiment based on the findings of *Home Colonies* in Britain failed when the inhabitants of the chosen location refused to cooperate. Constance Hill, (ed.), *Frederic Hill. An Autobiography of Fifty Years in Times of Reform* (London: Richard Bentley and sons, 1894), p. 105.

[134] Hey, *Rowland Hill.*

[135] Barnard, *Reformatory Education*, p. 148.

[136] Muriel Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud* (Hook: Waterside Press, 2011), p. 198; Barnard, *Reformatory Education*, p. 297.

[137] Barnard, *Reformatory Education*, p. 231; Matthew Davenport Hill made the first of three visits to Mettray in 1848. Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, pp. 158, 338; 'The Reformatory Movement in England', *The Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol. VI., 1857, p. 10. Chapter Three discusses the influence of Mettray in detail.

contemporary educators including the Edgeworths, Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster.[138] Richard Lovell Edgeworth and, particularly, his daughter Maria were admired by the Hills. Fellow Unitarians, they were also friends of Joseph Priestley and his Lunar Society colleague Erasmus Darwin.[139] In 1821 Rowland and Arthur Hill visited the Edgeworths at their home in Ireland and toured the school they ran. During the visit Maria recounted details of her trip to the establishments of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg and is also said to have read a draft copy of *Public Education*, given to her by Rowland at the time, subsequently expressing her approval of the book's contents.[140]

Maria was renowned as an author as well as an educationist.[141] Her plays were performed at the Hill family's Hill Top and Hazelwood schools.[142] Matthew Davenport Hill described how her story *The False Key* was in part based on the work of the Philanthropic Society and, highlighting the common ground shared by the Hills and Edgeworths, Maria also argued in favour of the rehabilitating effects of education.[143]

While Hazelwood demonstrated an impressive array of supporters and visitors, which also included Thomas Malthus, Charles Babbage and Nassau Senior; some

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[138] Stewart and McCann, *The Educational Innovators*, p. 109. Bell was the first Englishman to visit Fellenberg and Pestalozzi's institutions in 1816. New, *The Life of Lord Brougham*, p. 212.
[139] Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians*, pp. 28, 40, 130.
[140] Hey, *Rowland Hill*, p. 154.
[141] W.J. McCormack, 'Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8476> [accessed 19th January 2019].
[142] Hey, *Rowland Hill*, p. 154.
[143] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 154; Kathleen Costello-Sullivan, National Character and Foreclosed Irishness, in Heidi Kaufman and Chris Fauske, (eds.), *An Uncomfortable Authority. Maria Edgeworth and Her Contexts* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), p. 147.

members of its alumni community were equally notable.[144] William Scholefield became Birmingham's first mayor following its incorporation. In 1839 he was elected to the town council where he facilitated closer cooperation between local commerce and government. Described as an orthodox radical liberal, he became an MP for Birmingham, in 1847, alongside George Muntz.[145] Samuel Beale became MP for Derby and also chairman of Midland Railways.[146] William Lucas Sargant was an educational reformer and political economist. A local justice, he served on the town council and was a governor at King Edward's School.[147] Sargant later became manager of Birmingham's Gem Street Industrial School following Grantham Yorke's retirement in 1869.[148] The educational reformer and lawyer Joshua Toulmin Smith was also a former pupil,[149] as were the glass manufacturers Clarkson Osler and Abraham Follett Osler.[150]

[144] Hey, *The History of Hazelwood School,* p. 66. Hey's thesis provides an account of the school's visitors; J.M. Pullen, 'Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17902> [accessed 15th March 2018]; Doron Swade, 'Charles Babbage (1791-1871)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb /962> [accessed 15th March 2018]; Phyllis Deane, 'Nassau William Senior (1790-1864), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2010, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25090> [accessed 15th March 2018].

[145] Samuel Timmins and Matthew Lee, 'William Scholefield (1809–1867)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/24875> [accessed 15th June 2016]; Samuel Timmins and Matthew Lee, 'George Frederick Muntz (1794-1857)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19551> [accessed 15th March 2018].

[146] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of English Education*, p. 83.

[147] Samuel Timmins and M.C. Curthoys, 'William Lucas Sargant (1809–1889)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24665> [accessed 15th June 2016]. He also wrote about his experiences at Hazelwood and later became the manager at Gem Street Industrial School. He was also chairman of Birmingham Council's Industrial Schools Committee and a member of the Birmingham School Board. The previous chapter discusses some of his work with Birmingham's reformatory institutions.

[148] G.R. Lowes, *1849– 1949 Souvenir of the Centenary Celebrations of Tennal School, Birmingham* (No publication details known), pp. 29-30.

[149] L.T. Smith and H.C.G. Matthew, 'Joshua Toulmin Smith (1816–1869)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25873> [accessed 15th June 2016].

[150] Thomas Joyce, *Osler Glass Birmingham 1807–1975*, 2011, <http://www.pressglas-korrespondenz.de/ aktuelles/pdf/pk-2011-4w-joyce-osler-pdf> [accessed 15th June 2016]; P.E. Dowson and Anita McConnel, 'Abraham Follett Osler (1808–1903)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004,

Fig 8.5 William Lucas Sargant [151]

THE FAMILY'S INFLUENCE AFTER HAZELWOOD

In 1827 the Hills founded a second school, on Hazelwood's principles, at Bruce Castle, Tottenham. While M.J. Smith and W.H. Burston state this was created at Bentham's suggestion, J.L. Dobson writes it was to prevent Bentham establishing his own institution.[152] There is no evidence to suggest such rivalry and W.H.G. Armytage, who agrees with the former argument, describes how Bruce Castle also received a series of influential visitors.[153] A quarter of Hazelwood's pupils and some staff transferred to the new school and both sites continued to function until

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35339> [accessed 15th June 2016]. Abraham was also a renowned meteorologist and married Mary, the daughter of Thomas Clark, in 1832.

[151] 'Edgbastonians Past and Present No. 45 Mr William Lucas Sargant', *Edgbastonia,* 5:48 (April 1885). The images in Edgbastonia are not paginated.

[152] Smith and Burston, *Chrestomathia*, p. xix; J.L. Dobson, 'The Hill Family and Educational Change in the Early Nineteenth Century. 3. Bruce Castle School at Tottenham and the Hill's Part in the Work of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge', *The Durham Research Review*, 3:11 (Sept, 1960), p. 74.

[153] W.H.G. Armytage, 'Science and Education: A Note', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 12:2 (Dec, 1957), p. 228.

1833 when the decision was taken by the family to completely withdraw from Hazelwood and concentrate on Bruce Castle.[154]

Bruce Castle already had an indirect link to the Hills before they purchased it. For a time it was the home of the Eardley-Wilmot family.[155] Sir John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot, the first baronet, was lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Land at the same time Alexander Maconochie was stationed at Norfolk Island.[156] Eardley-Wilmot was also an associate of Matthew Davenport Hill and actively involved in the establishment of the reformatory at Stretton-on-Dunsmore, in Warwickshire, in 1818.[157] This institution was described in detail by Frederic Hill in his 1836 publication *National Education; its present state and prospects*,[158] where he stated that it was the model for a similar institution due to open shortly in Glasgow.[159] Though it has not been possible to locate a specific link, Glasgow's House of Refuge for Juvenile Offenders was founded in 1838, approximately two years after *National Education* was published. It was not the first such institution in Scotland; the Dean Bank Institution for the Reformation of Female Delinquents was opened in Edinburgh in 1832, but it pre-dated the pioneering establishments founded in

[154] Dobson, 'The Hill Family. 3. Bruce Castle School', pp. 74-77. Hazelwood continued as a school under the management of William Wright, of Trinity College Cambridge, and Henry Hopkins, who had been an assistant to the Hills. 'Hazelwood School', *BJ*, 22nd June 1833, p. 1.

[155] Patrick Polden, 'John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot (1749-1815)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008 <http://oxforddnb.com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/view/printable/29625> [accessed 28th June 2014].

[156] Peter Chapman, 'Sir John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot (1783-1847)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008 <http://oxforddnb.com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/view/printable/52438> [accessed 28th June 2014].

[157] 'Birmingham, July 22, 1833', *ABG*, 22nd July 1833, p. 3. Eardley-Wilmot supported Hill's application for the post of Common Sergeant at the Common Council of London. J. Saunders, 'Warwickshire Magistrates and Prison Reform. 1840–1875', *Midland History*, 11 (1986), pp. 79-99. An account of the Stretton institution is provided in Chapter Three.

[158] Frederic Hill, *National Education. Its Present State and Prospects (2 Volumes)* (London: Charles Knight, 1836), *Volume I,* pp. 42-46., *Volume II*, pp. 167-180.

[159] Hill, *National Education*, *Volume I*, p. 46.

Scotland by Rev. Thomas Guthrie and Sheriff William Watson.[160] Watson and Frederic Hill were lifelong friends; the two having first met in 1835,[161] while Guthrie was an associate of Mary Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill.[162]

Frederic had been a teacher at Hazelwood and Bruce Castle and was appointed as one of the first prison inspectors by the Home Office in 1835, where he is credited as bringing about many penal reforms.[163] Assigned to a geographical area that encompassed Northumberland, Durham and Scotland, his first report as inspector proposed the establishment of an institution to accommodate Scottish juvenile offenders following their release from prison. Highlighting that many prisoners soon returned to crime, Frederic outlined how this ‘asylum’ could remove them from the temptations of their old lives and associates, and suggested they be given agricultural training before being offered the ‘opportunity’ to go to one of the colonies. He even identified the site of an unused military prison, near Edinburgh, as an ideal location.[164] The proposal was never put into practice but its suggestion amounts to the outline of an embryonic ‘after-care’ service, designed to stop reoffending. When seen in combination with Matthew Davenport Hill’s pioneering use of probation, the brothers foresight in originating schemes that could have

[160] Andrew G. Ralston, ‘The Development of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Scotland, 1832–1872’, *Scottish Economic and Social History*, Vol. 8 (1988), pp. 41-42. Watson founded an industrial school in Aberdeen in 1841 and, in 1847, Guthrie opened a ragged school in Edinburgh. Both were regarded as pioneers of reformatory education but there were fundamental differences in the Scottish versions of these establishments and legislation when compared with the rest of Great Britain.

[161] C. Hill, (ed.), *Frederic Hill. An Autobiography*, p. 222.

[162] David K. Guthrie and Charles J. Guthrie, *Autobiography and Memoir of Thomas Guthrie DD* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1877), pp. 159, 300-301. Guthrie met Rev. Grantham Yorke and toured Gem Street Industrial School when he visited Birmingham in 1856. Guthrie also attended the 1861 conference in Birmingham which sought to obtain government funding for ragged schools. Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 422; Manton, *Mary Carpenter*, pp. 210, 223.

[163] Hey, *Rowland Hill*, p. 41.

[164] *Reports of the Inspectors of Prisons of Great Britain. IV. Scotland* (London: HMSO, 1836), pp. 15-16.

prevented many children being imprisoned or reoffending, stands out. Frederic acknowledged his proposal was based on an institution at Hackney Wick but the agricultural training he suggested is reminiscent of practices at Stretton-on-Dunsmore and pre-dates the establishment of Mettray.[165]

In 1853 Frederic Hill published *Crime: Its amount, causes and remedies*. Though having relinquished the role of prison inspector by this time, his interest in penal reform remained. This book did not mention Hazelwood directly but there are several areas where it is possible to draw a comparison between Frederic's suggestions regarding aspects of institutions specifically designed for the detention of juveniles and the ethos of the school. He wrote of the importance of allowing children part of the fruits of their labour so that they developed a responsible attitude towards money. This was demonstrated practically by the mark system employed at Hazelwood and Saltley Reformatory's policy of purchasing the produce its inmates had grown.[166]

Frederic underlined the natural desire of children for physical activity. Often ignored by the existing prison system, it was part of the syllabus at Hazelwood,[167]

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[165] The Children's Friend Society was established, at Hackney Wick, in 1830 but did not take convicted children and focused on emigration. Jeannie Duckworth, *Fagin's Children. Criminal Children in Victorian England* (London: Hambleton and London, 2002), p. 41. Mettray opened in 1839 but was itself said to have been influenced by the Rauhe Haus (Rough House) institution near Hamburg. This was established in 1833 and provided agricultural training for 'destitute, vagrant and vicious children' but did not accept those convicted of any crime. Barnard, *Reformatory Education*, pp. 107-108, 167-169.

[166] Frederic Hill, *Crime: Its amount, causes and remedies* (London: John Murray, 1853), p. 48; BCA BRI MB 1, 4th July 1854.

[167] 'Improved System of Education Established at Hazelwood School', *The Kaleidoscope or Literary and Scientific Mirror*, 26th July, 1825, p. 25.

and was reflected in the timetable at Saltley.[168] The importance of a family atmosphere, with female officers, was also emphasised. Frederic based this on his knowledge of Mettray and the comments of Sydney Turner and Mary Carpenter.[169] Saltley always maintained a matron, and Hazelwood was, after all, a family-run establishment.[170] He also, fortuitously, suggested the use of an old ship as a prison to train boys as sailors.[171] The *Akbar*, the first of a series of Hulk Reformatory or School Frigates, was certified for 200 boys in January 1855.[172] Additionally, in an echo of Carpenter's 1851 comments about the inequality of the law when applied to children of the poor,[173] Frederic wrote: 'It must be well known, too, that such a system of 'justice' is not measured out to the children of the rich'.[174]

Another future association whose roots seem to lie within Hazelwood is that of Matthew Davenport Hill and Mary Carpenter. Ruby Saywell suggests they met through the Unitarian Church in Bristol after Hill took a house there following his appointment as Commissioner for Bankruptcies, but offers no supporting evidence.[175] According to Jo Manton, Carpenter wrote to Hill in November 1850 on

[168] Hill, *Crime*, p. 239; *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 5., in BCA BRI MB 1., 24th January 1854. This detailed the provision of a play yard for the boys.
[169] Hill, *Crime*, p. 327.
[170] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution,* p. 25. Commonly the matron would be the wife of the superintendant.
[171] Hill, *Crime*, p. 294.
[172] *Second Report of the Inspector Appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1859), pp. 36-37.
[173] Mary Carpenter*, Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes, and for Juvenile Offenders* (London: C. Gilpin, 1851), pp. 288-289. Carpenter wrote 'Such severity does not, indeed, affect the children of the higher and more favoured classes of the community. Robbing orchards or hen-roosts is regarded only as a clever feat in the gentleman's son at a public school'.
[174] Hill, *Crime*, p. 158.
[175] Ruby J. Saywell, *Mary Carpenter of Bristol* (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1964), pp. 5-6.

the subject of juvenile delinquency. Here he is described as an acquaintance of her mother but Mary's father, Dr Lant Carpenter, a well-known Unitarian Minister and teacher, was a close friend of Rowland Hill.[176] Dr Carpenter's book *Systematic Education* was added to the library at Hazelwood.[177] Another potential link between the families dates from 1836 when Lady Byron, a long time supporter of Mary, corresponded with Frederic Hill over his publication *National Education*.[178]

Mary Carpenter was involved with the education of poor and delinquent children.[179] Together with the Philanthropic Society's Sydney Turner, and Matthew Davenport Hill,[180] she organised the first national conference on juvenile criminality held in Birmingham in 1851. With their common interests, shared religion and long-established family connection, it is difficult to believe they were not, at least, acquainted before Hill's association with Bristol commenced.

There is a footnote to the contribution made by Thomas' children to reforms in the care of poor and criminal children. His youngest son Howard died from tuberculosis at the age of twenty-five but had already expressed the intention to establish a colony for fifty foundling children.[181]

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[176] Manton, *Mary Carpenter*, p. 100; Hey, *Rowland Hill*, p. 156.
[177] *Hazelwood Magazine*, 1:1 (Feb, 1824), p. 8.
[178] C. Hill, (ed.), *Frederic Hill. An Autobiography*, p. 109.
[179] Saywell, *Mary Carpenter of Bristol*, pp. 5-6.
[180] 'Reformatory Schools', *The Quarterly Review*, 1855, pp. 57-58.
[181] Hill and Hill, *The Life of Sir Rowland Hill, Volume I,* pp. 195-196.

THE NEXT GENERATION

The influence of Hazelwood and the reforming work of the Hill family followed into the next generation primarily through the efforts of Matthew Davenport's children in Great Britain and the family of Caroline Clark, Matthew Davenport's sister, in Australia. There was a regular dialogue between the branches of the family and the physical distance that separated them did not prevent them cooperating to refashion the treatment of destitute and delinquent children on the other side of the world.

Matthew Davenport's eldest son, Alfred, continued his father's efforts to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders. Of his two other sons, Berkeley became a successful physician who lobbied for legislation to assist in the control of infectious diseases through the auspices of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, but nothing appears to have been recorded about the life of his remaining son John Cartwright. Matthew Davenport's three daughters, Joanna, Florence and Rosamond, continued their father's efforts towards juvenile reform and became involved in activities to develop the provision for child welfare.[182]

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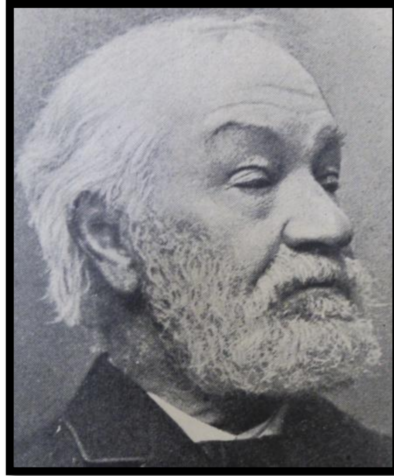
[182] Gorham, in Wohl, (ed.), *The Victorian Family*, pp. 143, 147; Michael Horsburgh, 'Her Father's Daughter Florence Davenport Hill, 1829–1919', *International Social Work*, 23:4 (1983), pp. 1-2. Berkley was also Professor of Clinical Surgery at University College London. John Cartwright predeceased his father. Deborah Sara Gorham, 'Rosamond Davenport Hill (1825–1902)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://oxforddnb.com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/view/printable/33875> [accessed 12th January 2015]. This ODNB entry also includes references to Florence and Joanna; they do not have their own separate entries.

Fig 8.6 Alfred Hill [183]



Alfred Hill was born in Edgbaston and educated in the family school at Bruce Castle, Tottenham.[184] He subsequently became a solicitor and was involved in the management of reformatory schools in Warwick, Saltley and Smethwick. Alfred was also chairman of Gem Street Industrial School; not retiring until reaching eighty-one years of age.[185] In addition to these roles, he was a magistrate for the county of Warwick, a justice of the peace and a visiting justice at Birmingham Gaol.[186]

Alfred's interest in penal and social reform led him to travel abroad extensively. In the 1870s he visited America and Canada where he toured schools, prisons, lunatic asylums, industrial schools and reformatories. He also visited the American

[183] 'Edgbastonians Past and Present No. 125 Alfred Hill', *Edgbastonia*, 11:127 (December 1891).
[184] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, pp. 52-53; Alfred Hill', *Edgbastonia*, pp. 178-179. There is no ODNB entry for Alfred.
[185] Lowes, *1849– 1949 Souvenir*, p. 41; *Report of the Sixth Conference of the National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools* (Birmingham: Printed by Hall and English, 1894), p. 199.
[186] 'Alfred Hill', *Edgbastonia,* p. 178-179.

prison reformer Dr Enoch Wines.[187] In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Alfred also visited Stockholm, Rome and St. Petersburg, where he again inspected prisons and reformatory institutions in his role as a member of the International Prison Association.[188]

In later life Alfred shared his Birmingham home with his youngest sister, Joanna. Her philanthropic activities commenced in 1852 when she was sixteen years old where, together with her sisters Florence and Rosamond, she started working with Mary Carpenter to highlight the plight of poor children in Bristol.[189] Kathryn Gleadle describes how many Unitarian women became involved with philanthropic endeavours during the nineteenth century, seeing it as a way to combine their belief's heritage of intellectual achievement and public duty. Their strong networks of contacts within political and intellectual circles helped advance these reforming activities.[190] It was also common for daughters to be sent to friends and relatives within the tightly knit Unitarian network to extend their education.[191] In the case of Matthew Davenport Hill's daughters the following paragraphs illustrate that these Unitarian traditions prompted a life-long dedication to reforming the treatment of destitute and delinquent children.

[187] 'Alfred Hill', *Edgbastonia,* pp. 181-182. This account states the men were already friends.
[188] 'Alfred Hill', *Edgbastonia,* pp. 181-182.
[189] Manton, *Mary Carpenter*, p. 115; 'Matthew Davenport Hill', *Law Magazine and Review*, July 1872, p. 525; Gorham, 'Rosamond Davenport Hill (1825–1902)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; 'Edgbastonians Past and Present No. 86 Miss Joanna Margaret Hill', *Edgbastonia*. 8:88 (August 1888), p. 15.
[190] Kathryn Gleadle, *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement, 1831-1851* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998), p. 30.
[191] Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians*, p. 67. Watts describes these networks as 'intellectual and cultured'.

Joanna joined Bristol's Workhouse Visiting Association and was particularly concerned with the welfare of young girls brought up in the institution. These activities expanded when she moved to Birmingham in 1864 where, as well as becoming a regular visitor to the Birmingham Workhouse, she recommenced a scheme there that trained girls as domestic servants.[192] Joanna also became involved in 'boarding-out' children. This system saw children from Birmingham's workhouses lodged with 'respectable' local families who were paid to support their new charges. Birmingham's arrangements for this received particular praise from the press of the day.[193]

One unusual aspect of Birmingham's scheme was that the authorities would not permit the children's relatives to know their whereabouts unless they themselves were, after investigation, deemed 'respectable'. Joanna agreed with these arrangements and suggested other towns followed the same practice.[194] She often viewed the parents as being responsible for the child's 'downfall' and was anxious that they not be allowed any opportunity to corrupt them further.[195] A practical and realistic person, she underlined how challenging the behaviour of these children could be to anyone who offered to take them into their homes.[196] She had little time for institutions that merely accommodated vulnerable children

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[192] 'Miss Joanna Margaret Hill', *Edgbastonia,* pp. 16-17. The original training scheme had lapsed after its originator, Mrs C. Talbot, became too unwell to continue.

[193] Ellice Hopkins, 'The Industrial Training of Pauper and Neglected Girls', *The Contemporary Review*, Volume XLII (July-Dec 1882), p. 151. Some areas received criticism for placing children with individuals deemed inappropriate.

[194] Joanna M. Hill, 'Workhouse Girls: What They Are, And How To Help Them', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 28:164 (June 1873), p. 138.

[195] Hill, 'Workhouse Girls', p. 138.

[196] Joanna M. Hill, 'Homes For The Homeless', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 32:188 (June 1875), p. 133; Hill, 'Workhouse Girls', pp. 137-138.

and failed to provide any training, education or simple guidance to prevent them returning to a life of destitution or crime.[197] Joanna realised that the best chances these children had for a life outside prison or a workhouse could only come through a system of volunteers, as the state offered little provision for such assistance. Falling back on one of Hazelwood School's principles, she repeatedly highlighted how a stable home life was vital for the development of all children.[198] In addition to her work in what effectively amounted to early foster and adoption services, she was involved in the management of Smethwick Reformatory, a visiting justice at Birmingham Gaol and also a magistrate in the city.[199]

Fig 8.7 Joanna Hill [200]

Though Florence, like her sisters, served an 'apprenticeship' with Mary Carpenter, in another example of the influence of Unitarian networks, it was her contact with Mary's associate Frances Power Cobbe that shaped Florence's future

[197] Joanna M. Hill, 'The Pseudo And The Real "Cottage Homes" For Pauper Children', *Westminster Review*, 146:1 (July 1896), pp. 660-675. The entire article focuses on this subject.
[198] Hill, 'Workhouse Girls', p. 139; Hill, 'Homes For The Homeless', p. 140.
[199] Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir*, p. 41.
[200] 'Miss Joanna Margaret Hill', *Edgbastonia*.

philanthropic activities.[201] An acknowledged social reformer, Frances became a close friend of Mary after the two were introduced by Lady Byron. Frances campaigned with Mary to reform penal law and was particularly concerned with the plight of destitute and criminal girls. Frances was directly involved with the management of Red Lodge Girls Reformatory, established by Mary, but found the position too demanding and left after a year.[202]

Frances introduced Florence to workhouse visiting and boarding-out and it was poor law administration, together with improving boarding-out practices, that formed the basis of her future reforming activities.[203] In 1868 Florence published *Children of the State. The Training of Juvenile Paupers* in which she reviewed the effectiveness of the training and education given to children inside the country's various institutions, whether they be related to crime or poverty.[204] Subsequently, she campaigned for improvements in the standards of industrial training given to girls in workhouses.[205] Her efforts and those of her supporters, who included her sisters, resulted in the expansion of the boarding-out system. In 1881 she was elected to the Board of Guardians of the St. Pancras Poor Law Union, in London,

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[201] Barbara Caine, 'Francis Power Cobbe (1822-1904', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2006, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32469> [accessed 15th March 2018].

[202] J. Estlin Carpenter, *The Life And Work Of Mary Carpenter* (New Jersey: Patterson Smith Publishing Corporation, 1974 (Reprint of 1881 second edition)), pp. 199-200. The Red Lodge Reformatory was located near Bristol. F.B. Sanborn, 'Frances Power Cobbe: A Life Devoted to the Promotion of Social Science, *Journal of Social Science*, No. 42 (1904), pp. 63, 65. In later life Frances became a journalist and magazine writer and counted Florence Nightingale among her friends.

[203] Horsburgh, 'Her Father's Daughter', pp. 3-4; Caine, 'Francis Power Cobbe (1822-1904', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Her future reforming activities also included support for women's suffrage and in 1868 she organised the first meeting of the Women's Suffrage society in Bristol. Horsburgh, 'Her Father's Daughter', p. 8.

[204] Florence Hill, *Children Of The State. The Training Of Juvenile Paupers* (London: Macmillan And Co., 1868), p. 232. Within the work she suggested the establishment of Probationary homes to accommodate children who, she felt, should be removed from the bad influence of their parents.

[205] Hopkins, 'The Industrial Training of Pauper and Neglected Girls', p. 144.

where she was appointed to the workhouse and schools visiting committees. The following year she successfully lobbied for the introduction of boarding-out arrangements in St. Pancras. In 1889 she was elected to the Guardians of the Poor in Hampstead where she continued her reforming activities until retiring in 1892.[206] Florence and Rosamond were also friends of the social reformer Octavia Hill.[207] Along with their brother Berkeley, they made regular financial donations to her various projects.[208]

Rosamond Davenport Hill was Matthew Davenport's eldest daughter and her philanthropic activities commenced in 1851 when the family moved to Bristol. Ethel E. Metcalf describes how the family's association with Mary Carpenter sparked Rosamond's lifelong dedication to the welfare of disadvantaged and criminal children.[209] She became involved with teaching at and managing the St. James's Back Ragged School established in the town by Mary.[210] Rosamond also became her father's secretary and travelled with him throughout Britain and Europe. In 1855 they visited Mettray and its founder, Frederic Demetz. They subsequently played host to him when he paid a return visit later that year and a close friendship developed. In 1858, the Hill's inspected the influential Rauhe Haus institution and met its originator Dr Wichern.[211] Rosamond was also involved

[206] Horsburgh, 'Her Father's Daughter', pp. 5, 8-10.

[207] Gillian Darley, 'Octavia Hill (1838-1912)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2012, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33873> [accessed 16th March 2018]. Octavia was not a relative.

[208] Robert Whelan, (ed.), *Octavia's Letters to Fellow Workers 1872-1911* (London: Kyrle Books, 2005), pp. 664, 770, 772. Whelan describes Florence as one of Octavia's oldest friends and supporters.

[209] Ethel E. Metcalfe, *Memoir of Rosamond Davenport-Hill* (London: Longmans, Green And Co., 1904), pp. 19-20.

[210] 'Obituary, Miss Rosamond Davenport Hill', *The Times*, 7th August 1902, p. 8; Metcalfe, *Memoir of Rosamond Davenport-Hill*, p. 28.

[211] Metcalfe, *Memoir of Rosamond Davenport-Hill*, pp. 28-30.

with the temperance movement and one of the founders of the first Women's Suffrage Committee, which was established in 1866.[212] She rose to particular prominence through her eighteen-year membership of the London School Board. Christopher Jones highlights how many of her ideas and a commitment to public service resulted from her family background.[213] She joined the Board's Industrial Schools' Committee in 1880, aged fifty-five, and took a particular interest in the plight of disabled children committed to such institutions.[214]

This interest led to a close association with Brentwood Industrial School, which accommodated 'sickly and crippled' children as well as the able bodied.[215] Initially her concerns about the institution's senior staff saw them sacked and replaced with people of her own choosing; the school subsequently improved significantly.[216] Her influence became so great that she was said to have been regarded as a 'friend and mother' to the children it housed and an inspiration to the staff.[217] Rosamond visited the school frequently and was renowned for knowing the names and history of each child, taking the best behaved on days out. One boy was employed in the house she shared with her sister, Florence,

[212] 'Obituary, Miss Rosamond Davenport Hill', *The Times*; Christopher J.M. Jones, '"Doer of the Hard Dull Duty": Rosamond Davenport Hill at the London School Board, 1879–97', *History of Education Society Bulletin*, No. 54 (Autumn 1994), p. 8.
[213] Jones, "Doer of the Hard Dull Duty", p. 8.
[214] *Report of the Sixth Conference of the Nat. Assoc. of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, p. 189.
[215] Metcalfe, *Memoir of Rosamond Davenport-Hill*, p. 134.
[216] Jones, "Doer of the Hard Dull Duty", p. 11.
[217] Metcalfe, *Memoir of Rosamond Davenport-Hill*, pp. 66, 86, 88. In the 1890s the school was forced to temporarily relocate to Margate due to an outbreak of typhoid fever locally. During that time it was called the Davenport Hill Home for Boys in her honour.

when he left the school.[218] She also maintained a regular correspondence with many former pupils and sent gifts to boys serving abroad in the armed forces.[219]

In 1896 she addressed the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools. Her evidence highlighted two main threads. Firstly, she believed that the children in the institutions were there exclusively through parental neglect and, secondly, it was the school's duty to provide the family structure that had been missing in their lives previously.[220] She retired from the School Board the following year but, in a letter published in *The Times* in 1901, the year before her death, Rosamond showed that she remained well-informed about developments in the reform of juvenile offenders. While highlighting the contributions of, among others, Alexander Maconochie, Mary Carpenter, Frederic Demetz, Enoch Wines and her father, she ended the letter by postulating that current practices in American reformatories might provide a way forward in the rehabilitation of offenders.[221]

[218] Jones, "Doer of the Hard Dull Duty", p. 11; Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee. *Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools* (London: HMSO, 1896), p. 530; Metcalfe, *Memoir of Rosamond Davenport-Hill*, p. 82.

[219] Metcalfe, *Memoir of Rosamond Davenport-Hill*, pp. 142, 82. If any of the school's children required special medical care she readily volunteered the services of her doctor brother, Berkeley, who lived in London.

[220] Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee. *Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, pp. 527, 529.

[221] 'Habitual Crime And Its Treatment' *The Times*, 16th January 1901, p. 10.

THE HILLS INFLUENCE BEYOND VICTORIAN BRITAIN

Hazelwood and Bruce Castle had the longest life, some fifty-eight years, of any comparable establishment of the nineteenth century.[222] In 1830 they inspired the establishment of a similar school in Sweden.[223] Hillska Skolan was opened with the assistance of a former pupil of the Hills, Edward Lewin.[224] This was not to be the only time the Hills' influence extended beyond the shores of Great Britain.

In January 1873, following the death of their father the previous June, Florence and Rosamond Davenport Hill travelled to Australia, ostensibly to visit relatives. Their Aunt Caroline, Matthew Davenport's sister, had married the son of Thomas Clark; Thomas Wright Hill's associate from the Brotherly Society and former owner of Hill Top School, and they had emigrated to Australia in the 1850s.[225] After leaving England, Florence and Rosamond spent two days in Paris visiting Frederic Demetz, the founder of Mettray, before continuing their journey. The account of the meeting underlines how he had become a close family friend and was made particularly poignant as Demetz died soon afterwards.[226]

Upon arriving in Australia they embarked upon a tour of the colony's various institutions. Schools, gaols, lunatic asylums, reformatories and industrial schools

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[222] Stewart and McCann, *The Educational Innovators,* p. 121.
[223] Watson, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Education*, *Volume Four*, p. 781.
[224] Stewart and McCann, *The Educational Innovators,* p. 121. Hillska Skolan survived for sixteen years.
[225] Gorham, 'Rosamond Davenport Hill (1825–1902)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography;* Gorham, in Wohl, (ed.), *The Victorian Family*, pp. 141, 146; C. Hill, (ed.), *Frederic Hill. An Autobiography,* p. 292.
[226] Rosamond Hill and Florence Hill, *What We Saw In Australia* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1875), p. 4.

were included, as were meetings with numerous charitable organisations.[227] In October 1873, Florence and Rosamond together with their cousin Emily Clark, Caroline's daughter, were invited by Colonial Secretary Henry Parkes to address a Royal Commission into the colony's various charities, to be held in Sydney. Parkes had known Emily since 1861 when they met while travelling from Australia to England on the *Great Britain*. During that visit he had been introduced to Florence, her father and Frederic Hill, the latter of whom had arranged for him to visit prisons and reformatories during his stay.[228] Shurlee Swain claims that the Hills' visit to Australia was orchestrated to, indirectly, put pressure on the British authorities to reform their treatment of vulnerable children.[229] Firstly, the evidence for this is questionable and, secondly, the widely dispersed branches of the family stayed in contact with each other through visits and regular correspondence, so this trip, despite its duration for the time, was not unusual for the family.[230]

Emily sought to improve the care of Australia's pauper children and, in 1866, became involved with the development of a scheme boarding-out such children at approximately the same time her cousins were working on similar arrangements in England. In March that year she published a letter in the *South Australia Register* calling for new adoption practices to give children in institutions the chance of an

[227] Hill and Hill, *What We Saw In Australia.* This account provides thorough details of the numerous institutions they visited and the representatives of the various organisations they were introduced to.
[228] Horsburgh, 'Her Father's Daughter', pp. 6-7.
[229] Shurlee Swain, 'Florence and Rosamond Davenport Hill and the Development of Boarding Out in England and Australia: a study in cultural transmission', *Women's History Review*, 23:5 (April 2014), p. 745. The article is poorly researched and contains factual and chronological errors.
[230] Gorham, Rosamond Davenport Hill (1825–1902), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Gorham, in Wohl, (ed.), *The Victorian Family*, pp. 141, 146; C. Hill, (ed.), *Frederic Hill. An Autobiography,* p. 292.

ordinary family life.[231] Emily's proposed scheme was based on suggestions made by Frances Power Cobbe.[232]

The testimonies of Emily and her cousins at the 1873 Australian Royal Commission led to the adoption of a formal policy on boarding-out vulnerable children.[233] A Boarding-Out Society was established with both Emily and her brother, John Howard Clark, as members. John, like his sister, had been born in Birmingham and had also become an advocate for public welfare and social reform in Australia. He was particularly influential in many educational and philanthropic institutions in Adelaide and, conveniently, was part-owner of the newspaper that had published Emily's letter in 1866.[234] Emily's contribution to the reform of the care of criminal and destitute children in Australia is as notable as that of her cousins in Great Britain. In 1867 she unsuccessfully appealed for the establishment of a Mettray-style agricultural colony for 'troubled' boys and, in 1887, was appointed to the newly-created State Children's Council. Though never marrying she adopted seven children between 1866 and 1879. Later, in 1890, she was instrumental in the reforms that established a separate Children's Court.[235] The geographical distance that divided Great Britain and Australia did not stand in

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[231] 'Caroline Emily Clark (1825–1911)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1969, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/clark-caroline-emily-3212/text4837> [accessed 3rd May 2016]; Brian Dickey, 'Care For Dependent Children In South Australia In 1888', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No. 10 (1982), p. 88.

[232] Dickey, 'Care For Dependent Children', p. 88.

[233] Horsburgh, 'Her Father's Daughter', p. 7.

[234] W.G. Buick, 'John Howard Clark (1830–1878)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, 1969,< http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/clark-john-howard-3215/text4843> [accessed 3rd May 2016]. It is not known whether he was named after the prison reformer but, as the 'original' John Howard was a family acquaintance, it is certainly possible.

[235] 'Caroline Emily Clark (1825–1911)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

the way of the reforming ethos and influence of the Hill family. Neither did the Atlantic and Southern Oceans prove to be a barrier.

In 1869 the Legislature of New York passed an act establishing the Elmira Reformatory.[236] Intended for the 'improvement and reform' of criminals it accommodated those aged between sixteen and thirty years of age who had no previous convictions.[237] It opened in 1876 and was the first in a series of similar reformatories that opened across America.[238] Two of those behind the new system were Enoch Wines and Gaylord Hubbell. Acknowledged prison reformers,[239] Wines was the secretary of the New York Prison Association and Hubbell was the Warden of New York's Sing Sing Prison, both are credited as being influenced by the ideas of Frederic and Matthew Davenport Hill, as was the commission whose report prompted the 1869 Act.[240] Wines was also a friend of Alfred Hill and corresponded regularly with Mary Carpenter.[241]

Elmira taught traditional reformatory skills including carpentry, shoemaking and tailoring as well as agricultural skills, and provided a diverse education teaching, in addition to the '3R's', physics, algebra, English literature, ethics and political

[236] Frederick Howard Wines, *Punishment and Reformation* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1895), p. 197.
[237] Alexander Winter, *The New York State Reformatory in Elmira* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1891), pp. 3-4.
[238] W.J. Forsythe, *Penal Discipline, Reformatory Projects and the English Prison Commission 1895–1939* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990), p. 46.
[239] Marilyn D. McShane, Frank P. Williams III, (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of American Prisons* (Taylor & Francis e-library, 2005), p. 106.
[240] Wines, *Punishment and Reformation*, pp. 192, 197, 200.
[241] Carpenter, *The Life And Work Of Mary Carpenter*, pp. 307, 319.

economy.[242] From its inception it included a mark system which, in accordance with Alexander Maconochie's original ideas, was used to determine when inmates were freed.[243] Frederic Hill was particularly familiar with Elmira and its practices, describing his own interest as 'deep and personal'. This was shared by his wife, Martha, who addressed conferences in her own right on the subject of prison discipline. Underlining the family connection with Elmira, their daughter recorded how her parents' portraits were hung on the wall at the institution.[244]

Fig 8.8 Elmira Reformatory c.1895 [245]

The opinions of Matthew Davenport Hill and Frederic Hill on prison reform were regularly reported in the United States. Their support for a modified version of Maconochie's mark system, where prisoners would receive an indeterminate sentence and be required to 'work' their way to release through their own industry

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242 Winter, *The New York State Reformatory*, pp. 62, 113-114. Over time it began to teach more technical skills.
243 Winter, *The New York State Reformatory*, pp. 28-29. The scheme was deemed a success and adopted in other American penal institutions. *The Encyclopaedia Americana International Edition*, *Volume 10* (New York: Americana Corporation, 1970), p. 263.
244 C. Hill, (ed.), *Frederic Hill. An Autobiography,* pp. 280, 284, 321.
245 Public domain image of Elmira Reformatory.

and good behaviour, was described in 1881 and 1885.[246] In 1879, in its review of Rosamond and Florence Hill's biography of their father, *The Recorder of Birmingham,* the *New York Times* highlighted how he had been acquainted with most of America's penal reformers.[247]

In 1897 Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, the chairman of the Prison Commission of England and Wales, travelled to America to study the Elmira system. His findings led to the development of the Borstal System for young offenders in the early years of the twentieth century, which gradually replaced the Victorian system of reformatory and industrial schools.[248] Not only did the Hills influence the original system but also had a hand in its replacement. Perhaps the full potential of their ideas was not exploited domestically or they simply needed the 'right time'.

There is strong evidence that, through *Public Education*, the influence of the Hills and Hazelwood extended into the twentieth century and reached, again, as far as the United States. In a letter sent to Colin Hey by Reverend Frederick Hankinson,[249] the latter details how the principles expressed in *Public Education* were applied by Thomas Mott Osborne as part of his reform of American prisons

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[246] 'General and Comparative Review of Penal Administration. With Special Reference to State Institutions', *Sacramento Daily Record Union*, 27th August 1881, pp. 3, 6; 'Prison Reform. Methods of Caring for Prisoners Discussed at Detroit', *St. Paul Daily Globe*, 21st October 1885, p. 1. In addition Matthew Davenport Hill's opposition to capital punishment was also reported. Untitled, *Semi-weekly South Kentuckian*, 16th May 1884, p. 4.

[247] 'Matthew Davenport Hill', *New York Times*, 6th March 1879, p. 3.

[248] William James Forsythe, *Penal Discipline and the English Prison Commission 1895–1939* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990), pp. 15, 46-47.

[249] Hankinson (1875–1960) was a Unitarian minister who was particularly renowned for his support for women's suffrage. Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement. A Reference Guide 1866–1928* (London: UCL Press, 1999), pp. 267-269.

during the early part of the last century.[250] Osborne had previously worked with William R. George who, in 1895, established the George Junior Republic.[251] This was created to help rehabilitate juvenile offenders from New York's poverty-stricken tenements.[252] Effectively run as a miniature republic, it was self-governing with – in a clear reflection of Hazelwood's organisation – its own laws, police and judiciary and also elected its own 'politicians'.[253] It even possessed a prison, which was deemed severe enough to give an idea of life in 'real world' institutions.[254]

The institution's motto was 'nothing without labour' and its inhabitants had to earn 'Republic money' in order to buy anything they needed, including food,[255] as part of a work/reward scheme that would have been recognised by Alexander Maconochie. Hazelwood's practices and ethos are also echoed by the Republic's promotion of the values of thrift, industry, mutual trust, self-government and sense of community.[256] Other parallels with Hazelwood include the publication of the Republic's own magazine written and printed entirely by the children, a 'pay scale' with those holding positions of responsibility being paid the most and a well-stocked library. Finally, reflecting the family ethos, the establishment was

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[250] Hey, *The History of Hazelwood School*, p. 289.
[251] Jack M. Holl, 'The George Junior Republic and the Varieties of Progressive Reform', *New York History*, 50:1 (January 1969), p. 55.
[252] William I. Hull, 'The George Junior Republic', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 10 (July, 1897), p. 73; D.L. Pierson, 'The Bad Boys' Republic I', *Worldwide Magazine*, 5:25 (May 1900), p. 36.
[253] Hill and Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham*, p. 61. The word 'republic' is used to describe Hazelwood.
[254] Hull, 'The George Junior Republic', pp. 74, 77-78.
[255] Holl, 'The George Junior Republic', pp. 48-50.
[256] Hey, *The History of Hazelwood School*, p. 289; Holl, 'The George Junior Republic', pp. 49-50.

managed by George and his wife.[257] The educational historian R.L. Archer drew a parallel between the two institutions in 1921.[258]

Hankinson's letter described meeting Osborne in 1907 and 1913 and how, at the latter meeting, Osborne had expressed the wish to repeat the success that had been achieved, reforming juveniles at the George Junior Republic, in the adult prison population.[259] The following year Osborne was appointed warden of Sing Sing State Prison, New York, and later became commander of the Portsmouth Naval Prison in New Hampshire. He was subsequently credited with many humanitarian improvements in the treatment of prisoners.[260]

Hazelwood's influence is also reflected in an experiment undertaken at the Barns Hostel School near Peebles in Scotland in the early 1940s. It was established by W. David Wills and aimed to rehabilitate 'difficult' boys aged between nine and twelve years.[261] All of the children were evacuees from Edinburgh and their behaviour had proved too trying for ordinary schools.[262] Wills was a Quaker and the first Britain to train as a psychiatric social worker. He had a lifelong focus on reforming delinquency among the young and pioneered several experimental

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[257] Pierson, 'The Bad Boys' Republic I', p. 37; D.L. Pierson, 'The Bad Boys' Republic II', *Worldwide Magazine*, 5:26 (June 1900), pp. 154-156.
[258] Archer, *Secondary Education*, p. 90.
[259] Hey, *The History of Hazelwood School*, p. 289.
[260] 'Thomas Mott Osborne', *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, 2015, <http://www.britannica.com/EB checked/topic /433764/Thomas-Mott-Osborne> [accessed 10th January 2015]. He was accused of perjury and neglect of duty but all charges were subsequently dismissed.
[261] W. David Wills, *The Barns Experiment* (London: George Allen and Unwin LTD, 1947), p. 27.
[262] Wills, *The Barns Experiment*, p. 32.

projects for the treatment of juvenile offenders.[263] Barns Hostel School opened on 1st July 1940 and though under local authority management, most of Wills colleagues shared his faith.[264] The school accommodated thirty boys and was governed by a committee made up from the children detained there. One of its regular duties was to decide on the punishment of those who had transgressed the institution's rules.[265] The children were also responsible for organising the weekly religious service held on the premises. Any physical punishment of the children was banned and the staff worked to create a family atmosphere within the school.[266] Wills' view was that virtually everything undertaken by the children, even play, should contain at least some element of education and that equal value be placed on imparting practical skills as much as teaching traditional subjects. The institution's overall aim was to work on each boy's strengths in order to instil them with confidence and self-reliance.[267] The school was relocated in late 1944 at which point Wills left. Despite its short life, peer reviews of the institution were positive.[268] The resemblance between Wills' 'pioneering' practices and those established over a century earlier at Hazelwood is striking.

One specific event illustrated the generational involvement of the Hill family with reformatory work: the International Congress on the Prevention and Repression of

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[263] 'David Wills', *Quakers in the World*, undated, <www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/182> [accessed 16th March 2018]. Wills undertook his training in the USA. Immediately preceding his time at Barns Hostel he worked at the Hawkspur Camp in Essex. Deemed a 'Q Camp', they were established by the British Friends' Penal Reform Committee in the 1930s.

[264] 'Barns Hostel School', *Quakers in the World*, undated, <www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/181/Barns-Hostel-School> [accessed 16th March 2018]; Wills, *The Barns Experiment*, p. 88.

[265] Ethel Barger, 'The Barns Experiment by W. David Wills', *Social Service Review*, 22:4 (December 1948), p. 522; Wills, *The Barns Experiment*, p. 23. The punishments included fines and the payment of damages.

[266] Wills, *The Barns Experiment*, pp. 4, 13, 87.

[267] Wills, *The Barns Experiment*, p. 88-98.

[268] 'Barns Hostel School', *Quakers in the World*; Barger, 'The Barns Experiment', p. 523.

Crime held in London in July 1872. Two of the four representatives of Justices of the Peace, sent from Birmingham, were Matthew Davenport's children, Alfred and Joanna. They were subscribers to the Congress, together with their sisters, Rosamund and Florence, and Matthew Davenport's brothers Arthur, Edwin, Rowland and Frederic. Matthew Davenport was also a subscriber but had died during the preceding month. Frederic was also a member of the London Executive Committee which formed part of the Congress.[269]

Bartrip describes Hazelwood as 'not merely the brainchild of the Hills, but a product of social, educational, religious and political circumstances tailored by the particular climate of Birmingham'.[270] It was more than this as the school's influence extended beyond the field of education. A superficial view of the 1851 Birmingham conference on juvenile offending suggests that it was organised without any particular link to the locality but a review of the evidence shows that Hazelwood contributed to Birmingham's important role in reforming the treatment of child criminals.

When comparing practices at the school and Saltley Reformatory, in particular, together with the involvement of the Hills and their associates in the development of a system of juvenile reform, Hazelwood stands as the common denominator. The school attracted many leading social commentators and its ethos made it an epicentre which absorbed and adapted ideas about social reform from home and

[269] *Report of International Congress on the Prevention and Repression of Crime including Penal and Reformatory Treatment*, 4th edn (London, 1872), pp. 18, 22, 24. A third JP representing Birmingham was Col. Ratcliff who was also a member of the management committee of Saltley Reformatory.

[270] Bartrip, 'A Thoroughly Good School', p. 55.

abroad, then disseminated them to a wider audience through the Hills numerous associates. The various family members originated new practices themselves. Whether those employed at Hazelwood, Matthew Davenport Hill's probation scheme for children or Frederic's suggestion for an institution to support juvenile criminals on their discharge from prison, they demonstrated remarkable foresight.

While the influence of individual family members was significant, the networks they developed through their associations with a variety of like-minded individuals enhanced it further. From Thomas Wright Hill's connection with Joseph Priestley, to Matthew Davenport's friendship with Jeremy Bentham, Henry Brougham and Frederic Demetz, and the association of Joanna, Frances and Rosamond Hill with Mary Carpenter, Francis Power Cobbe and Octavia Hill, the family either attracted or gravitated towards many of the leading reformers of the time.

While the Hills originally shaped Hazelwood, their open-minded approach developed an establishment that prompted an almost generational campaign within the family that aimed to improve the lot of criminal and neglected children. Though it seems that it was the school's practices and ethos that initially drew a series of luminaries to their door, once the family's association with Hazelwood had ceased these networks continued to expand, encompassing reformers in Europe, Australia and the United States.

Not only did they influence contemporary institutions but also, nearly a century after its publication and illustrating how far ahead of its time some of the ideas it

contained were, *Public Education* was being used as a guide for penal reform in America. Through decades of work the Hill family's influence in the development of a variety of schemes and practices, which aimed to reform the treatment of vulnerable children, placed them at the centre of policy making both nationally and internationally. Their contribution was not only unique to Birmingham but to Britain and overseas. Hazelwood's influence extended beyond being a catalyst which sparked Birmingham's role in the reform of young offenders.

This chapter includes several references to Saltley Reformatory in the context of specific practices employed at the institution and at Hazelwood. The following case study provides an account of Saltley's development and argues that the institution, together with some of those involved in its inception, played a significant role in the development of reformatory practices.

Chapter Nine

SALTLEY REFORMATORY 1853-1905:
AN INSTITUTIONAL CASE STUDY

While this thesis explores the influence of Birmingham-based efforts to reform the treatment of delinquent children, this case study argues that one particular institution founded in Birmingham by leading members of the reformatory movement stands as a model establishment. Saltley Reformatory is unique in several ways.[1] It developed directly from the first national conference on juvenile reform and was the first such institution to be registered under the 1854 Act that established reformatory schools as a new type of government-supported penal institution.[2] The driving force behind the legislation, Charles Adderley, was involved with the institution's management from its beginnings and provided significant financial support which enabled its expansion. Other locally and nationally prominent figures, including Matthew Davenport Hill, Joseph Sturge and Lord Leigh, were also involved with the school from its inception.

[1] The dates used in the chapter's title, 1853–1905, denote when the institution was known as Saltley Reformatory. It was renamed Norton Boy's Home in 1905 in honour of Charles Adderley who also held the title Lord Norton. It remained in operation until the outbreak of war in 1939 when the inmates were evacuated and the building was purchased by the Post Office. After the war the inmates returned to a large house at Little Kineton in Warwickshire. This became known as Norton Approved School. Connecting Histories, *Norton Approved School*, 2015-2018, <https://www.search.connectinghistories.org.uk/details.aspx?ResourceID=1672&ExhibitionPage=15&ExhibitionID=1679&PageIndex=1#searcharea> [accessed 12th June 2018].

[2] Henry Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (Memphis: General Books LLC, 2012. Print on demand copy of original publication), p. 168. The legislation in question was the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act.

This case study examines Saltley's origins and the factors behind subsequent efforts to expand the reformatory, including the foundation of an institution for girls. Reformatories were a new type of establishment, created specifically to detain juvenile offenders but, unlike prisons, Saltley had no high walls, barred windows or wardens; so how did the staff retain control over the children? This study also examines whether there is evidence that the reformatory's ethos had any basis in the ideas of social reformer Jeremy Bentham, or contained elements more akin to the types of coercion described by Michel Foucault.[3] In particular, photographic images of the institution are assessed to see whether the design of the school building and grounds reinforced any specific ideology that contributed to a particular mode of control or management.

This chapter then provides an insight into the daily life of its staff and inmates, including their interaction with the local community. Where the inmates themselves are concerned, following the publicity that has arisen during the last few decades over accounts of abuse suffered by children confined in state and voluntary institutions, there now appears to be an almost automatic bias against these establishments when their contribution to social and child welfare is assessed.[4] The overriding viewpoint is that any authority that housed children away from their

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[3] For this analysis, the ideas and theories put forward in the following two publications were used: Jeremy Bentham, *Panopticon; or the Inspection House containing the idea of a new principle of construction applicable to any sort of establishment, in which persons of any description are to be kept under inspection; and in particular to; Penitentiary Houses, Prisons, Houses of Industry, Work Houses, Poor Houses, Manufactories, Mad Houses, Lazarettos, Hospitals and Schools* (London: T. Payne, 1791 (Written in 1787)); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1991 (Original French version published in 1975)).

[4] Harry Ferguson makes similar comments in: 'Abused and Looked After Children as 'Moral Dirt': Child Abuse and Institutional Care in Historical Perspective', *Journal of Social Policy*, 36 (January 2007), pp. 123-124.

parents; regardless of their capabilities to look after them, was undermining the 'institution of the family' and preventing the children from having a 'normal' upbringing. This study contends that such negative perspectives have led to the benefits these institutions offered to some of the most vulnerable members of contemporary society in the areas of child protection and the rehabilitation of child offenders, being overlooked.

While firsthand accounts of life in the Borstal institutions, which replaced reformatory and industrial schools, began to appear in the 1930s,[5] it was not until the 1950s, with the publication of Brendan Behan's *Borstal Boy*, that former inmates found an avenue with which to place their personal experiences on record.[6] The realities of life for children sentenced to Victorian reformatory institutions are difficult to assess, however. There is no evidence that anyone who was confined in these establishments ever committed their experiences to paper. Unlike the students at Hazelwood School the majority of children who served sentences in reformatories were, at best, working class, and most likely poor. For them to write about this, or any aspect of their lives and then find someone willing to publish it, would be exceptional. In addition private accounts from individuals employed at the schools are scarce. One notable exception is *Juvenile Offenders in Victorian Lancashire* by Emmeline Garnett, who utilises the diaries of two ancestors who governed the Bleasdale reformatory for nearly sixty years.[7]

[5] These early publications included: James Spenser, *Limey Breaks In* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1934); Mark Benney, *Low Company* (London: Peter Davies, 1936); Louis Edward, *Borstal Lives* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1939). Some sources maintain Spenser's 1934 work is fictitious.
[6] Brendan Behan, *Borstal Boy* (London: Hutchinson, 1958).
[7] Emmeline Garnett, *Juvenile Offenders in Victorian Lancashire. W.J. Garnett and the Bleasdale Reformatory* (Centre for North-West Studies at the University of Lancaster, 2008).

Predominantly surviving records comprise the institutions' annual reports and minute books, together with accounts from the frequently wealthy and titled philanthropists involved in their establishment. While these were written from the perspective of the institutions and their benefactors, a different viewpoint is provided by the reports of government inquiries and inspections which offer valuable information and illuminate the lives of inmates and those tasked with their care.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

From its inception local newspapers regularly reported on the development of Saltley Reformatory.[8] While containing valuable factual information, the overriding tone of the articles was celebratory. This theme was repeated in other contemporary publications: Patrick Murray described it as an 'excellent institution' in 1854 and, four years later, *The Philanthropist* stated 'There are no institutions which accomplish more practical good to society than Reformatories and prominent, most prominent amongst these stands the Saltley Reformatory'.[9] In the 1870s John Alfred Langford's *Modern Birmingham and its Institutions* commenced a brief description of the reformatory's establishment by stating 'it continues to be

[8] The following Birmingham newspapers, held on the *British Newspapers Online* website, regularly reported on Saltley Reformatory's annual reports, meetings and the activities of the institutions patrons: *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, *Birmingham Daily Post*, *Birmingham Journal* and *Birmingham Mail.* Those referenced in this chapter are abbreviated as follows: *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (*ABG*), *Birmingham Daily Post* (*BDP*).

[9] Patrick Joseph Murray, *Reformatory Schools in France and England* (London, 1854), p. 59; 'Birmingham Reformatory Institution', *The Philanthropist*, 1st February 1858, pp. 307-309.

one of the most successful of these institutions'.[10] J.A. Hitchins' 1903 work, marking the institution's jubilee, was clearly an in-house publication and, again, celebratory in nature.[11] Conrad Gill's *History of Birmingham* mentions the reformatory only in passing, while it does not appear in the respective publications of historians Victor Skipp or Chris Upton.[12] Both Marjorie Kohli's *The Golden Bridge* and Helen Johnson's *Crime in England*, published in 2003 and 2015 respectively, include brief mentions of the school.[13] The most recently published history of Birmingham, *Birmingham: The Workshop of the World*, makes no reference to the institution.[14] In summary, there has been no detailed critical evaluation of the reformatory, its practices and its local and national relevance to the reform of juvenile offenders since its inception.[15]

It is a challenge to provide a picture of daily life in these schools during the last half of the nineteenth century. In the case of Saltley Reformatory, situated two miles east of Birmingham, an opportunity exists. The large existing archive of the

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[10] John Alfred Langford, *Modern Birmingham and its Institution: A Chronicle of Local Events From 1841 to 1871, Volume II* (Birmingham: William Downing, undated), pp. 206-207. While this publication is undated it was written between 1873-1877; Carl Chinn, 'John Alfred Langford (1823-1903)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34403> [accessed 12th June 2018].

[11] J.A. Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution (Saltley Reformatory) Jubilee Retrospect 1903* (Publication details unknown. Printed in Birmingham by Hall and English, 1903).

[12] Conrad Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I, Manor and Borough to 1865* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 380; Victor Skipp, *The Making of Victorian Birmingham* (Birmingham: Published by the author, 1983); Chris Upton, *A History of Birmingham* (Chichester: Phillimore and Co. Ltd, 1993).

[13] Marjorie Kohli, *The Golden Bridge: Young Immigrants to Canada 1833-1939* (Toronto: National Heritage Books, 2003), pp. 393-394; Helen Johnston, *Crime in England 1815-1880. Experiencing the Criminal Justice System* (Abingdon: Routeledge, 2015), p. 149. Kohli provides a brief account of the emigration of some of Saltley's inmates while Johnston describes an enquiry from Shropshire's magistrates to see if the institution could accommodate convicted children from that county.

[14] Carl Chinn and Malcolm Dick (eds.), *Birmingham: The Workshop of the World* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016).

[15] This author has previously published two articles about the institution: Daniel Wale, 'Saltley Reformatory: Its Origin and Growth in Victorian Birmingham', *Warwickshire History*, 15:16 (Winter 2013/2014); 'Planting Seeds, Reforming Juvenile Delinquents', *West Midlands History*, 3:1 (Spring 2015).

institution's official records,[16] together with accounts written by some of its founders and the official reports, have been augmented by a series of letters from both officials and relatives of inmates, dating from the mid-1850s. Access to the institution's punishment records has been granted for the first time and a diary from a longstanding employee has been donated for study.[17]

The 'new' records augment the existing accounts of the reformatory in several ways. Firstly, the letters and punishment book provide an insight into its early years; a time of rapid change, from the viewpoint of the school's managers, officials involved in sending children to the institution and some parents, together with the behaviour of the children themselves. Secondly, the farm bailiff's diary, which records events half a century after the school's foundation, provides a contrast with the changes that typified the school's beginnings and reflects how the school had developed its own policies and ethos. By combining these new resources with the existing archives and contemporary newspaper articles, together with government inspections, reports and inquiries, this case study illustrates the institution's development and offers an insight into life there from the viewpoints of its founders, staff and inmates.

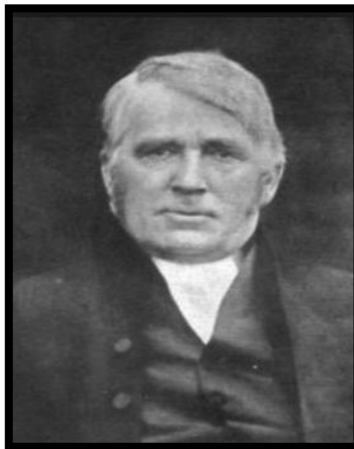
[16] The existing archive of Saltley Reformatory, also known as the Birmingham Reformatory Institution, is held at Birmingham City Archives (Hereafter BCA), under the reference MS 244.

[17] Cadbury Research Library (Hereafter CRL), CRL MS 870, Reformatory School Farm Bailiff Diary.

THE ORIGINS OF SALTLEY REFORMATORY

In 1851 Birmingham hosted the first national conference on juvenile reform. While its national influence has already been discussed,[18] locally it motivated the Quaker philanthropist Joseph Sturge to begin his own efforts to rehabilitate child criminals.[19] He employed John Ellis, a shoemaker from London, as its superintendant who, at first sight, appeared an unusual choice as his background was different from that of other superintendants.[20] For example, William Garnett, who was master at Lancashire's Bleasdale Reformatory, was Oxford educated and William Shaddock, superintendant of the Warwickshire Reformatory, had previously been the master of an industrial school in Surrey and also toured European reformatory institutions including Mettray and Rahue Haus.[21]

Fig 9.1 Joseph Sturge [22]



[18] See Chapter Five.

[19] Conrad Gill asserts that it was a visit to the German Rauhe Haus institution that prompted Sturge's interest in juvenile reform. The date of the visit is not known. Gill, *History of Birmingham, Volume I, Manor and Borough to 1865*, p.380.

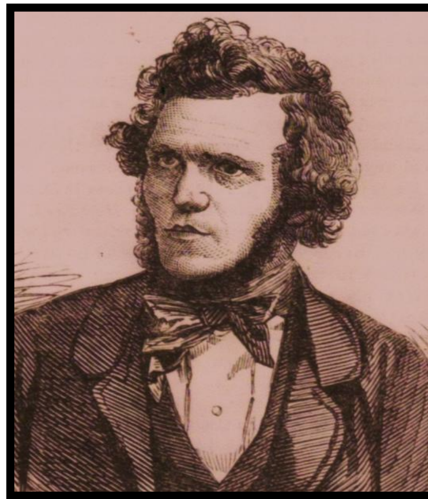
[20] Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 168.

[21] Garnett, *Juvenile Offenders in Victorian Lancashire*, pp. 28-29; *Second Annual Report of the Warwickshire Reformatory Institution* (Warwick: J. Glover (Printers), 1858), p. 4.

[22] Public domain image of Joseph Sturge.

In 1844 Ellis started to teach at Brook Street Ragged School, London, in his spare time. He noted that many of the children were frequently reconvicted and, finding that they had no skills with which to earn a living, he began taking them into his own house to teach them his trade. Within three years, fifteen boys were living with him and his son. During a visit to London, David Power, the Recorder of Ipswich, met Ellis and subsequently related his efforts to the 1851 Birmingham conference.[23] Highlighting how far news of his efforts had spread, Ellis was invited to give evidence to a Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles on 4th June 1852. The information he conveyed illustrated his depth of knowledge on the subject and prompted Sturge to invite him to work in Birmingham.[24]

Fig 9.2 John Ellis [25]



[23] 'Mr Ellis, The Industrial and Ragged School Teacher', *Illustrated London News*, 9th April 1853, pp. 267-268.

[24] *Report of the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles, with minutes of evidence, appendix and index* (London: HMSO, 1852), pp. 199. , 203-205. Ellis described how Mary Carpenter had witnessed his work first-hand and that he had visited the Philanthropic Society's Redhill institution. Ellis also stated he had been involved with attempts to found a farm school in Norfolk in 1850 and added that he had recently been asked to help establish a reformatory school in Manchester. When Sturge offered Ellis the opportunity to work with him in Birmingham, Sturge stated he had recently purchased seventy acres of land to use for further reformatory efforts.

[25] 'Mr Ellis, The Industrial and Ragged School Teacher', *Illustrated London News*, 9th April 1853, pp. 267-268.

Initially Sturge utilized a cottage in Ryland Road, Edgbaston, which received sixteen boys upon opening in the summer of 1852.[26] All had recently completed gaol sentences and were not legally compelled to attend the institution.[27] Sturge's only stipulation was that they had been convicted twice before admission.[28] They received instruction in carpentry and spectacle and shoe making. Demand for places was so high that two adjoining cottages were quickly incorporated.[29] Ellis came to the institution in autumn 1852 but had earlier sent several boys he had taken into his own London home and trained, to assist when it opened.[30] He lived at Ryland Road with his son, sister and brother-in-law; together with the 'inmates' in a Mettray-style family arrangement.[31] The efforts of Sturge and Ellis attracted national attention. *Punch*, in its unique way, complimented their approach by describing it as a plot to defraud the gallows and prison hulks of future clients, while Ellis was portrayed as the opposite of Charles Dickens' Fagin character.[32]

The need for larger premises resulted in MP Charles Adderley, a regular visitor and contributor to the institution,[33] offering to construct such a building on a five-acre site at Saltley.[34] The new institution was completed by spring 1853 with

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[26] BCA MS 244/98, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 1, (Hereafter BRI MB 1), 24th January 1854.

[27] *First Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the different Reformatory Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1858), p. 33.

[28] 'Birmingham Examples', *Spectator*, 24th September 1853, p. 11.

[29] BCA BRI MB 1, 24th January 1854; 'Local, Saltley Reformatory Institution', *ABG*, 12th September 1859, p. 4.

[30] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 5., in BCA BRI MB 1, 24th January 1854; *Report of the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles*, p. 205.

[31] 'Birmingham Reformatory School', *Ragged School Union Magazine*, January 1853, pp. 55-57. Ellis's sister acted as the institution's matron and her husband was a labourer there.

[32] 'A Plot Against Prisons', *Punch*, 5th March 1853, p. 93. Unfortunately there was no cartoon.

[33] 'Local, Saltley Reformatory Institution', *ABG*, 12th September 1859, p. 4; Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 68.

[34] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, pp. 12-13. Saltley is two miles east of Birmingham. Charles Adderley owned a significant amount of land in the area. Martin Wiener suggests that Adderley's

accommodation for twenty-five boys. They received training in tailoring and shoemaking as well as instruction in gardening skills, the ‘3R’s’, religious education and some also trained as domestic servants.[35] New skills were included over time; in 1862 printing was added to the curriculum.[36] The only contemporary image of the building comes from the institution’s stationary and is shown below (Fig 9.3). It illustrates a substantial, two-storey house resembling a gentleman’s residence or private school and it gives no indication that it is a penal institution. The Ryland Road cottages were briefly employed as a reception centre for newly-convicted boys but this was discontinued due to their distance from Saltley.[37]

Fig 9.3 Saltley Reformatory c.1856 [38]

opposition to the transportation of Irish political prisoners, some of who were juveniles, triggered his wider interest in the reform of child criminals generally. Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal. Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 139.

[35] *Third and Fourth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution* (Birmingham, 1857), p. 25., in BCA BRI MB 1.

[36] BCA MS 244/99, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 2., (Hereafter BRI MB 2), 23rd September 1862. The printing press was purchased by Charles Adderley.

[37] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 5., in BCA BRI MB 1, 24th January 1854.

[38] BCA Birmingham Reformatory Institution Miscellaneous Letters and Papers Re: Girls Reformatory (Hereafter BRI Misc Ltrs), MS 244/1/5/1/1/7a. The image is taken from the top of a letter from 1856 by William Morgan.

The institution's management originally planned to augment Saltley with a local reformatory for girls and a farm, owned by Sturge, at Stoke Prior in Worcestershire.[39] Ellis was appointed as superintendant of the 'new' reformatory but, soon afterwards, Sturge decided to manage the reformatory established at Stoke Prior by himself and took all but five of the boys at Saltley with him.[40] Ellis soon replaced them with juveniles from Birmingham and the surrounding areas.[41] Sturge formally withdrew from Saltley's management committee in April 1855, citing differences with colleagues and the workload at Stoke Prior as the causes.[42]

Jeremy Bentham's suggested panopticon gaol included a kitchen garden where inmates would be permitted to work as a reward for good behaviour.[43] In her assessment of Bentham's proposals, Janet Semple describes how he later proposed a fully-functioning farm, which would produce fruit and vegetables as well as rearing livestock.[44] Reformatory farms, like Sturge's at Stoke Prior, were widely employed.[45] Saltley grew a considerable amount of the food it consumed on land surrounding the school from the outset. Each boy was allocated a plot of

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[39] 'Birmingham Reformatory Institution', *ABG,* 7th March 1853, p. 2; BCA BRI MB 1, 16th May 1853.

[40] BCA BRI MB 1, 20th April 1853, 13th July 1853; Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, pp. 168-169. Sturge seemed to have an aversion to anything even approaching 'official control', possibly attributable to his Quaker background. It is puzzling why Sturge did this bearing in mind he had told Ellis in June 1852 of his purchase of the land and his intentions for it, which was before Adderley offered the use of his land.

[41] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 23.

[42] BCA BRI MB 1, 23rd April 1855. This institution was named Stoke Farm Reformatory and remained open until 1925. D.H. Thomas, *Reformatory and Industrial Schools, 1854-1930* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Newcastle-upon-Tyne Polytechnic Products Limited, 1986), p. 9.

[43] Bentham, *Panopticon*, p. 44. Bentham's panopticon was never built.

[44] Janet Semple, *Bentham's Prison. A Study of the Panopticon Reformatory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 283.

[45] This reflects the influence of the French Mettray institution which is discussed in Chapter Three. The Farm School established by the Philanthropic Society at Redhill, Surrey, is one of the best known of these institutions. Muriel Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud* (Hook: Waterside Press, 2011), p. 198.

land to grow vegetables with the 'crop' being bought by the school;[46] a forty-five acre farm for crops and livestock was subsequently purchased by Saltley's management in 1869.[47] One of the school's superintendants, Hugh Humphries, described how he regarded agricultural work as a 'means for the moral discipline' of boys and also saw it as a useful skill for boys who emigrated.[48] The influential Reformatory Inspector Rev. Sydney Turner strongly advocated such activities, which may explain its popularity within such institutions, but Bentham's suggestions pre-date Turner's involvement.[49] Bentham proposed that prisoners should only be released from the panopticon if they agreed to work on the land, go to sea or could find someone willing to pay a surety to guarantee their behaviour.[50] These ideas were comparable with the conditions subsequently placed on some children when they left reformatory schools; some agreed to emigrate and found themselves working on farms abroad, while others joined the Merchant or Royal Navy.[51]

From its inception, the practices employed at Saltley underscored that it was a new type of penal institution. Ellis worked and ate side-by-side with the boys,

[46] BCA BRI MB 1, 14th April 1854.

[47] *Fifth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 5., in BCA BRI MB 1, 7th April 1858; *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 8., in BCA BRI MB 2, 16th December 1870.

[48] *Fifth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 5., in BCA BRI MB 1, 7th April 1858; *Twenty Third Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 8., in BCA BRI MB 2, 18th December 1876. By 1890 21% of the boys discharged from Saltley had been 'assisted' to emigrate. This compares with 38% from the Philanthropic Society's Redhill Reformatory and 4% from Gloucester's Hardwick Reformatory, illustrating the different priorities placed on this manner of discharge by different institutions. Figures derived from: *Thirty-Fourth Report of the Inspector Appointed to Visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1891), pp. 304-335.

[49] Thomas E. Jordan, ' "Stay and Starve, or go and prosper!" Juvenile Emigration from Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century', *Social Science History*, 9:2 (Spring 1985), p. 146.

[50] Bentham, *Panopticon*, pp. 165-166. Bentham suggested the surety should amount to £50.

[51] Jeannie Duckworth, *Fagin's Children. Criminal Children in Victorian England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), pp. 138-139.

following the same rules he set for them. On one occasion, after he was late returning to the reformatory in the evening, he followed the house rule and went without breakfast the next day.[52] It was, however, still a place of detention and no-one was allowed to enter or leave the school without his permission.[53] The managing committee ordered that all outside doors were to be locked at 9.00pm every night. Ellis retained the key and all windows were secured to ensure that 'no boy can gain entry except by knocking'.[54] These instructions highlight the difference between a prison and the reformatory, as it suggests the doors remained unlocked during the day. Saltley employed a deliberate policy of permitting the boys a degree of liberty, in order to 'draw out their character'.[55] Ellis also allowed the inmates limited autonomy as, under his supervision, they met weekly to decide the punishments for any of their number accused of breaking the institution's rules.[56]

Ellis left money out in the school's common room to test the inmates' honesty and recounted how it was never taken.[57] Additionally, he maintained that he never employed corporal punishment.[58] Sometimes, however, the trust Ellis placed in his charges backfired to his cost. On several occasions in 1855, boys he had sent to

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[52] 'Mr Ellis, The Industrial and Ragged School Teacher', *Illustrated London News*, 9th April 1853, pp. 267-268.
[53] BCA BRI MB 1, 14th July 1854.
[54] BCA BRI MB 1, 2nd Jan. 1855.
[55] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 23.
[56] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 7., in BCA BRI MB 1, 24th January 1854; 'Quarterly Record of the Progress of Reformatory and Ragged Schools, and of the Improvement of Prison Discipline', *Irish Quarterly Review*, March 1855, p. vi. It was known as the Boys Committee and they were also permitted to select four individuals each quarter to receive awards for good conduct. The prizes, each of half-a-crown, were donated by Matthew Davenport Hill.
[57] *Second Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p.7., in BCA BRI MB 1, 5th January 1855.
[58] 'Mr Ellis, The Industrial and Ragged School Teacher', *Illustrated London News*, 9th April 1853, pp. 267-268. The institution's punishment records do not begin until after Ellis had left the reformatory and Hugh Humphries had taken over.

run errands outside the school committed thefts which saw them brought before the town's Recorder. While some were quick to criticize Ellis for trusting the children, others, including the editors of the *Irish Quarterly Review* who had recently visited the reformatory, stated that it was the most 'admirably conducted' institution of its kind in the country, praised Ellis and compared his efforts to those of Frederick Demetz.[59]

Some within the reformatory's management committee objected to Ellis's approach. At a meeting in May 1856, J.T. Bunce complained about 'several deficiencies in discipline and order', and when it transpired Ellis had accepted two boys into the institution without first gaining the committee's authorisation, his resignation was inevitable.[60] He was permitted to work three months notice but when his replacement Hugh Humphries became too ill to take up the post as planned, Ellis was asked to remain until Humphries had recovered and did not leave the reformatory until March 1857.[61]

Despite Ellis's departure, there were further attacks on his management style by School Inspector H.G. Bowyer, who visited Saltley in October 1857. He described Ellis as 'over indulgent' and reported considerable insubordination arose following

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[59] 'Juvenile Delinquents and their Management', *Irish Quarterly Review*, December 1855, p. 817.

[60] BCA BRI MB 1, 12th May 1856, 30th June 1856, 15th July 1856. One of the boys had subsequently stolen from the institution and been committed for trial, a situation that had not helped Ellis' cause. J.T. Bunce was a writer, journalist and editor of several local newspapers. Sally Hoban, 'John Thackray Bunce (1828-1899)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ ref:odnb/104428 [accessed 12th June 2018].

[61] BCA BRI MB 1, 11th Nov. 1856, 4th April 1857.

the transition to a more disciplined regime.[62] During his first visit as reformatory inspector, Sydney Turner stated Ellis had been 'lax and indulgent' but had 'tried his best'.[63] Despite these comments there is evidence Ellis maintained his authority with the boys under his care. Some were allowed to spend a week away from the reformatory visiting family and friends each Christmas. It was a popular arrangement with parents, some of whom wrote to the reformatory requesting such 'holidays' for their children.[64] During Ellis's tenure only one boy failed to return to the school on time, as he had been arrested by the police under the mistaken apprehension he had absconded.[65]

Ellis certainly had his supporters: in a letter from 1856 the father of one inmate praised the change in the boy's character and the kind treatment he had received since his admission.[66] Charles Adderley always had a deep respect for 'Cobbler Ellis', as he called him, and credited him with the institution's success in its early years.[67] Hitchins' 1903 *Jubilee Retrospect* of the institution highlighted the concern Ellis exhibited for the welfare of the boys.[68] After Ellis left Saltley, he managed a

[62] *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education; Schools of Parochial Unions and Reformatory Schools, in England and Wales, with Reports by Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools. 1857-58* (London: HMSO, 1858), p. 147.

[63] *First Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the different Reformatory Schools,* p. 33.

[64] BCA BRI Misc Ltrs MS 244/1/5/2/2/24a A. Taylor; MS 244/1/5/2/2/28b M. Tremble; MS 244/1/5/2/2/10a J. Grey. These are letters from the parents of three of Saltley's inmates who requested Christmas leave for their children.

[65] *Second Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution* (Birmingham, 1855), p. 7; *Third and Fourth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 10., in BCA BRI MB 1.

[66] BCA BRI Misc Ltrs MS 244/1/5/2/2/18b, 6th December 1856.

[67] W.S. Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton, 1814-1905, Statesman & Philanthropist* (London: John Murray, 1909), pp. 128, 153.

[68] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 27.

reformatory in Norwich.[69] In 1859 he wrote advising that it was closing because, through the efforts of the local community, it had no inmates.[70]

There are indications that tensions arose between the reformatory's management and Humphries shortly after his arrival. Seemingly not wanting a repeat of Ellis's actions, Humphries was informed that only the institution's secretaries and chairman could accept boys but he was soon facing charges from several, unnamed, individuals that he was being too severe with the inmates. Humphries recorded how William Morgan, one of the secretaries, separately accused him of being a 'despot' but, in what seemed to be a thinly-veiled criticism of Ellis, Humphries appears to have paraphrased a quote from Irish Nationalist Michael Doheny and noted that Morgan could only be right if he accepted that 'despotism follows anarchy'.[71] Despite this criticism, Humphries remained Saltley's superintendant until retiring in 1881.[72]

EXPANSION – THE GIRLS' REFORMATORY

During the institution's first annual meeting in January 1854, its managing committee proposed establishing a reformatory for girls in Birmingham. Work to

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[69] Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton,* p. 153.

[70] *Seventh Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 13., in BCA BRI MB 1. 17th January 1860. The local community had provided employment and accommodation for those confined in the institution. Records confirm the reformatory in question, Catton, was only open between 1857 and 1859. Thomas, *Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, p. 33.

[71] BCA MS 244/4/6/1, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Punishment Records, (Hereafter BRI PB), 8th August 1857; The quote, 'Then assuredly anarchy would follow and after anarchy despotism', was reportedly made by Doheny when describing the potential effects of a civil war in Ireland. The comments are recorded in: Susannah Ural Bruce, *The Harp and the Eagle. Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army 1861–1865* (New York: New York University Publishing, 2006), p. 50.

[72] BCA MS 244/100, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 3., (Hereafter BRI MB 3), 8th February 1881. The management committee voted to give him a gift of £200 upon his retirement.

achieve this had clearly already begun because they reported offers of land and finance had been received from several individuals, including Angela Burdett-Coutts and Josiah Mason.[73]

The girls reformatory opened on 7th November 1854 at Camden Street in Birmingham and was initially run as an off-shoot of the boys reformatory with the same managing committee. They stated the institution would admit children from 'all parts of the kingdom' but would work to house girls from Birmingham in reformatories elsewhere, in order to remove them from their 'old haunts and associations'.[74] As well as housing girls convicted under the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act, they also proposed to accommodate those without convictions but belonging to the 'perishing and dangerous' classes and deemed likely to begin offending without any intervention. They noted that no government funding was available for the latter so requested donations to support their endeavours.[75]

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[73] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution,* p. 8., in BCA BRI MB 1, 24th January 1854. Angela Burdett-Coutts offered a £100 donation and Josiah Mason offered £1000 towards building costs and £100 annually for its maintenance. Sir Edward Gooch offered a plot of land. Burdett-Coutts was a particularly generous philanthropist donating significant funds to numerous causes. She founded Urania Cottage for homeless women and girls with Charles Dickens in 1847, supported the ragged school movement and endowed a series of churches in Great Britain and abroad. Mason also donated to many causes and built almshouses and an orphanage in Birmingham. Gooch was a member of a prominent local family. Edna Healey, 'Angela Georgina Burdett-Coutts (1814-1906)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2012, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ ref:odnb/32175 [accessed 20th June 2018]; G.C. Boase, revised by Eric Hopkins, 'Sir Josiah Mason (1795-1881)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2013, https://doi.org/10.1093/ ref:odnb/18286 [accessed 18th June 2018]; Joseph McKenna, *Birmingham: The Building of a City* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Limited, 2005), p. 32.

[74] BCA Local Studies Collection Ref: L43.94 11254, Birmingham Reformatory Institution *Rules for Girls Reformatory* (Birmingham, 1854).

[75] BCA BRI*, Rules for Girls Reformatory.* The term 'perishing and dangerous' originated from Mary Carpenter's publication, *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders* (London: C. Gilpin, 1851), where the phrase was used to describe children deemed likely to offend because of their poverty- stricken surroundings.

Their intention was to take girls aged between seven and fourteen for a minimum of two years and while 'judicious discipline' would be exercised, it was hoped the influence of a home and maternal kindness would negate any need for punishment. Education comprised the '3R's' and Holy Scripture, with domestic skills being the chief focus of training. A visiting committee was appointed to inspect the school fortnightly and decide on applicants for admission. Parents were permitted to visit once every two months but the matron's presence was compulsory during visits, and no gifts or letters could be passed to the children without her approval. One particular rule illustrated how the institution saw its responsibilities extend beyond the school, as it specified they were obliged to make provision for the children on completion of their sentences, highlighting how it was understood that without accommodation and employment they could easily revert to crime.[76] This reflected a policy of ongoing support which originated at Saltley Reformatory's inception as the boys there were permitted to continue living at the reformatory, after the completion of their sentences, until they were twenty-one years old.[77]

The original management committee was entirely male but soon after Camden Street opened a ladies committee was established and several were female relatives of the original 'gentlemen's' committee.[78] There were occasional disagreements between the committees over the management of some of the girls. Eleven year-old Anne Hagan originated from Liverpool and was committed in

[76] *Second Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, pp. 8, 13-14., in BCA BRI MB 1, 5th January 1855; BCA BRI *Rules for Girls Reformatory*.
[77] BCA BRI MB 1, 13th July 1853.
[78] BCA BRI Misc Ltrs MS 244/1/5/1/4/1; BCA BRI *Rules for Girls Reformatory*.

1855 on her first offence, after completing a prison term for stealing from her parents; her father had made the complaint against her. She quickly developed a habit of absconding and finding her way back to Liverpool. After being returned to Camden Street by the police, it transpired she was suspected of associating with prostitutes. Charles Adderley argued that she should be jailed for absconding rather than stay at the school with the presumed risk of her 'contaminating' the morals of the other inmates. She was a Catholic and had been sentenced to Arno's Court Reformatory, run by the Catholic Church near Bristol, but they had refused her admission. Pending her court appearance, Adderley instructed that she be kept locked in a room at Camden Street with only the matron seeing her two or three times a day to give her meals and work. The situation was complicated by the intervention of Lord Calthorpe, the institution's president, who stated that Lady Calthorpe, president of the ladies committee, felt Hagan should remain at the reformatory, as she was concerned that the prison was ill-managed and the girl would be subject to the separate system of detention.[79] The outcome is not known but Hagan was effectively incarcerated, as Adderley had directed, while these discussions continued.[80]

One of the first girls taken into the institution, within two weeks of its opening, was Elizabeth Madeley from Flintshire. After her parents died she was sent to live with relatives who soon turned her out. She was subsequently admitted to the workhouse but then convicted of larceny. In her own words she preferred gaol to

[79] The separate system saw prisoners confined to their cells and only permitted to talk to prison staff. Michellle Higgs, *Prison Life in Victorian England* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2007), pp. 17-18. In reality Hagan seems to have been confined at the reformatory in the same manner.

[80] BCA BRI Misc Ltrs MS 244/1/5/2/1/9a, 9c, 9d, 9f, 9g. A. Hagan.

the workhouse and set fire to a hay rick on her release. At the time of her application to Camden Street she was twelve years-old and serving a sentence for threatening suicide. She had not been committed to a term in a reformatory but her local MP, Sir John Hamner, Bart., had contacted Adderley and personally agreed to pay the annual charge for her acceptance into the institution.[81] A similar case saw the admission of fourteen year-old Elizabeth Stewart in August 1855. At the time of her application she had remained in gaol voluntarily, awaiting the outcome of the request for admission to Camden Street, after her term of imprisonment had expired. Magistrates in Lancaster were clearly concerned for her welfare, as they felt she had been neglected by her parents and would 'fall into vice' with no intervention. Her prison sentence, one month for stealing from a garden, did not include additional time in a reformatory but the magistrates agreed to pay for her maintenance at Camden Street for two years.[82]

While the last two children fell into the 'perishing and dangerous' class, Camden Street clearly adhered to its principles of taking what would be deemed today vulnerable children, as well as those convicted. The argument as to whether this was a suitable combination is outside the bounds of this study, but there seems to have been a genuine commitment to welfare provision. The authorities that applied to send children to the school were obliged to investigate their backgrounds as part of the application process. All reformatories required the completion of applications, but some authorities, like the two described above, seem to have taken the initiative and realised that reformatories offered a new

[81] BCA BRI Misc Ltrs MS 244/1/5/2/1/14a, 14b, 14c. E. Madeley. The annual charge was £12.
[82] BCA BRI Misc Ltrs MS 244/1/5/2/1/17a, 17b, 17d, 17e. E. Stewart.

type of provision for vulnerable, as well as criminal, children. The choice between workhouse or gaol had been augmented with another option. Unfortunately there were very few places, Camden Street held twenty,[83] and it seems probable the convicted were given priority, as the government guaranteed to pay for their maintenance. There was a clear demand for places: records show that between late 1854 and early 1855, of twenty applications to the school, eight were rejected. Only four applicants came from Birmingham, supporting the policy of favouring girls from elsewhere.[84] There was flexibility in the selection, however, as fifteen year-old Rebecca Saunders was accepted for admission in July 1855. A year older than the stated age limit, she had been sentenced to three years detention at the reformatory, following completion of a twenty-one day jail term for theft.[85]

One particular aspect of Camden Street was that it was established by Birmingham-based individuals but for girls from outside the area. From the limited surviving records, there is no evidence that a scheme existed where local girls would be sent to other reformatories in ‘exchange’ for their girls. It appears to have been a philanthropic venture for the benefit of all, not just those from Birmingham. In December 1856, the reformatory was relocated to larger premises capable of accommodating forty girls, at the Coppice in Smethwick.[86] Shortly afterwards Saltley’s management committee declared it was no longer involved with the girls reformatory; ‘an influential society’ being formed to ‘sustain it’, having decided to

[83] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Girls Reformatory* (Birmingham, 1857), p. 4.
[84] BCA BRI Misc Ltrs MS 244/1/5/1/4/3.
[85] BCA BRI Misc Ltrs MS 244/1/5/2/1/16a, 16b, 16c, 16d. R. Saunders.
[86] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Girls Reformatory*, p. 4.

concentrate their efforts on Saltley alone.[87] The Smethwick institution retained virtually the same individuals who comprised its vice-presidents and committees at Camden Street.[88] Lady Calthorpe became the institution's president and local MP G.F. Muntz, whose family had previously owned the property, became a vice-president.[89] The reason to separate the institutions is not known but, while the two institutions had committees that shared members, the girls reformatory was rarely mentioned in Saltley's subsequent records.

WARWICKSHIRE AND BIRMINGHAM REFORMATORY INSTITUTION

Several months before Joseph Sturge ended his involvement with Saltley, and within weeks of the girls reformatory opening at Camden Street, suggestions were made to expand Saltley's capacity to accommodate sixty boys. The proposals originated at Warwick's Epiphany Quarter Sessions in January 1855. Local justice Lord Leigh highlighted how Warwick Gaol's visiting committee had stressed the need for a reformatory to accommodate local juvenile offenders as the nearby, pioneering institution at Stretton-on-Dunsmore had closed the previous March.[90] A committee of justices was formed to locate a site for such an establishment and held its first meeting on 17th January 1855, at which an offer of land at Saltley

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[87] *Third and Fourth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 9., in BCA BRI MB 1.

[88] BCA BRI Misc Ltrs MS 244/1/5/1/4/1; BCA BRI *Rules for Girls Reformatory*; *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Girls Reformatory*, p. 3.

[89] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Girls Reformatory*, p. 3; A.P. Baggs, G.C. Baugh, D.A. Johnston, *Victoria County History, A History of the County of Stafford*, *Volume Seventeen* (London: Victoria County History, 1976), p. 100.

[90] 'Warwickshire Epiphany Sessions', *ABG*, 8th January 1855, p. 1; 'General Quarter Sessions', *Coventry Herald and Observer*, 7th April 1854, p. 3. Chapter Three provides a full description of the Stretton institution.

Reformatory was accepted.[91] The only person who could have offered the land was its owner, Charles Adderley, and on 23rd January 1855 at a meeting of Saltley's management committee, he reported that the Warwick committee proposed extending Saltley Reformatory rather than establish their own institution. Saltley's management agreed and formed a joint committee with Warwick's justices.[92] It is of note that Adderley was also a justice in Warwick and already a member of 'their' committee, Leigh had been a member of Saltley's management since its inception and the two men were brothers-in-law.[93]

Meetings were subsequently held in Warwick on 3rd April 1855 and at Saltley on 12th April, which led to Saltley being renamed the Warwickshire and Birmingham Reformatory Institution, with Lord Calthorpe as president. Steps were also taken to recruit a new superintendant; indicating there were already questions over John Ellis's abilities. In addition, the resignation of Joseph Sturge, Saltley's originator, on 21st April citing differences with committee members, may indicate the proposed expansion was not popular with everyone. Despite this, plans for a building to accommodate sixty boys were drawn up.[94] The joint committee stressed at a series of meetings that the enlarged reformatory would take boys from across the county, not just Warwick and Birmingham so it canvassed widely for financial donations.[95]

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[91] *Second Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution,* p. 10., in BCA BRI MB 1.
[92] BCA BRI MB 1, 23rd January 1855.
[93] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 2., in BCA BRI MB 1; 'Warwickshire Epiphany Sessions', *ABG*, 8th January 1855, p. 1.
[94] BCA BRI MB 1, 23rd January 1855, 23rd April 1855; 'Warwickshire and Birmingham Reformatory Institution', *ABG*, 11th June 1855, p. 3. It was also planned that the building accommodated two cells.
[95] 'The Saltley Reformatory School', *ABG*, 16th April 1855, p. 2; 'Birmingham – Saltley Reformatory School', *Coventry Herald and Observer*, 20th April 1855, p. 3.

By July 1855, £1,400 of the £2,000 target had been raised towards the building costs but the appeal had failed to raise enough subscribers to cover the institution's running costs.[96] On 3rd October a public dinner was held in Birmingham with Frederick Demetz, founder of Mettray, as guest of honour. The *Law Review* described the event as a fundraiser for the proposed building work but during his stay Demetz met with Lord Leigh, Charles Adderley, John Eardley-Wilmot, Rev. Grantham Yorke, Matthew Davenport Hill and Mary Carpenter. Demetz also toured several reformatory institutions, including Saltley and Gem Street Industrial School in Birmingham, and the press reported that Demetz, 'the great practical leader of the day in juvenile reform', had brought together men of all parties, together with the dissenting and established church, to discuss the challenges of reforming young offenders.[97]

Within days of Demetz's visit, the planned expansion of Saltley was suspended. It was reported that the committee raised 'objections to the locality of Saltley...., which renders it an ineligible site for a county reformatory'.[98] The suitability of Saltley's location was questioned again, in 1858, following another proposal to extend the school. Sydney Turner stated he thought it was too close to Birmingham and on too small a site to be viable.[99] As it transpired, Saltley subsequently expanded and survived into the twentieth century.

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[96] 'Warwickshire Midsummer Sessions', *ABG*, 9th July 1855, p. 1.

[97] 'Mettray and M. Demetz in England', *Law Review*, November 1855, pp. 15-16; 'Criminal Treatment of Children', *The Spectator*, 13th October 1855, p. 12.

[98] BCA BRI MB 1, 11th October 1855, 23rd October 1855.

[99] *Second Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the Certified Reformatory Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1859), pp. 48-49.

The plans for the Warwickshire and Birmingham Reformatory Institution were abandoned in November 1855 but it was stressed it was a practical decision and no ill feelings existed between the parties.[100] One of the last acts of the joint committee was to form a new group to oversee the establishment of a reformatory in Warwick; it included Lords Leigh and Calthorpe, Charles Ratcliff and Matthew Davenport Hill, all of whom had strong associations with Saltley.[101] Two reformatories resulted from this group's activities; an institution for boys was built on land provided by Lord Leigh at Weston-under-Weatherley and another for girls was established at Allesley near Coventry.[102] Following the failure of this expansion, and the loss of the institutions at Stoke Prior and the Coppice to other bodies, its management concentrated on Saltley Reformatory alone.

DISCIPLINE, PUNISHMENT AND CONTROL

The reformatory's punishment record book begins in 1857 and coincides with the appointment of Hugh Humphries as superintendant. It records the infringements that took place and the resulting punishments. Examples of these are detailed shortly but an assessment of the legal powers reformatory managers possessed to inflict punishments is appropriate.

The 1854 Act, which founded government-supported reformatory schools, stated that offenders who absconded, or refused to follow the institution's rules, could

[100] 'District News', *ABG*, 3rd November 1855, p. 2.
[101] BCA BRI MB 1, 21st November 1855.
[102] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution,* p. 24.

face up to three months in prison.[103] If they committed additional offences while at large, the penalty could be severe. In 1856 a fifteen year-old boy, who had absconded from Saltley, was detained after stealing £4. Despite an appeal from John Ellis, the boy served six months hard labour, received two whippings and spent the first and last week of his sentence in solitary confinement. Only then was he returned to Saltley to complete his original sentence.[104] Subsequent legislation, passed in 1856, added the provision of a £5 fine, with or without sixty-days imprisonment, for encouraging a child to abscond.[105] A further statute, enacted the following year, to promote the extension of reformatory schools, expanded this clause to include harbouring runaways or preventing their return to the schools.[106] Additional legislation, enacted in 1866 to promote the extension of reformatory schools,[107] reiterated the three-month prison term for disobeying the rules, or absconding, and increased the fine to £20 for those assisting absconders or preventing their return. It also detailed, for the first time, the punishments refactory inmates could expect. While it gave considerable leeway to the schools to set their own rules, it clearly defined the limitations school superintendants had in this area.[108]

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[103] *An Act for the Better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1854), Clause IV. The sentence could be one of hard labour and given in addition to the original sentence.

[104] BCA BRI Misc Ltrs MS 244/1/5/2/2/17d J. King.

[105] *An Act to amend the Mode of committing Criminal and Vagrant Children to Reformatory and Industrial Schools* (London: HMSO, 1856), Clause IX.

[106] *An Act to promote the Establishment and Extension of Reformatory Schools in England* (London: HMSO, 1857), Clause XIV.

[107] *An Act to Consolidate and amend the Acts relating to Reformatory Schools in Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1866).

[108] Reformatory and Industrial Schools Commission, *Report of Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into and Report upon the Operation, Management, Control, ETC., of Certified Reformatories, Certified Industrial Schools, and Certified Day Industrial Schools in the United Kingdom* (London: HMSO, 1883), Appendix B22: General Rules and Regulations of the Management of Certified Reformatory Schools for the Detention of Juvenile Offenders, under the provisions of the Statute 29 & 30 Vict. Cap 117 (1866)., pp. 752-754.

The 1866 Act detailed four categories of punishment. Firstly, any rewards or privileges earned through good behaviour, including visits from relatives, could be forfeited. Secondly, ‘simple offences’ could result in being deprived of all or part of a meal; though when this occurred, bread, with water or gruel, was to be served in its place and no child was to be deprived of two consecutive ‘normal’ meals. The third category specified that children could be confined in a light room or cell but for no longer than three days without the direction of the school’s managers. They could lengthen the confinement to seven days but required the agreement of local magistrates if they deemed further punishment necessary. Those ‘imprisoned’ in this way were permitted at least one hour’s daily exercise outside the cell, regular visits from the school’s medical officer and a daily diet comprising a pound of bread, with gruel or milk, and water; the medical officer could authorise additional food.[109] Under no circumstances were children to be detained in a darkened room or cell.[110] There must have been temptations to confine particularly troublesome children wherever possible but the treatment of Anne Hagan at Birmingham’s Camden Street Reformatory in 1855, where Charles Adderley ordered her locked in a room and only visited two or three times a day by the matron, illustrates that some punishments required regulation to stop them crossing the line into abuse.[111]

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[109] BCA BRI MB 1, 20th October 1853. Saltley appointed a local doctor to act as the institution’s medical officer.

[110] Reformatory and Industrial Schools Commission, *Report of Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into and Report upon the Operation, Management, Control, ETC., of Certified Reformatories,* Appendix B22, p. 753.

[111] BCA BRI Misc ltrs MS 244/1/5/2/1/9a, 9c, 9f. A Hagan. The girl was eleven years old.

The final category detailed in the 1866 Act referred to corporal punishment, and was only applicable to boys. The most severe punishment, for ‘very serious offences’, was eighteen strokes of the birch rod on the posterior. Less serious offences could result in up to eight strokes with a cane on the palm. All punishments had to be administered in the presence of the superintendant who, along with the school’s senior teacher, were the only staff members permitted to inflict the punishments.[112] It also gave reformatory school managers, or their authorised subordinates, the same authority as police constables when apprehending runaways.[113]

These directions had changed very little by March 1890 when Henry Matthews, Secretary of State for the Home Department, issued a memorandum which increased the discretionary powers of school managers. He stated the ‘rules are not in themselves operative; they are model rules to indicate what is necessary to managers, who prepare a code of rules for their school, and submit it to the Secretary of State for his approval’.[114] Outside the length of time children could be confined, food restrictions and limitations on the use of the cane, it seems that provided the institution’s rules gained the Home Department’s approval, they were free to punish as they saw fit.

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[112] Reformatory and Industrial Schools Commission, *Report of Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into and Report upon the Operation, Management, Control, ETC., of Certified Reformatories,* Appendix B22, p. 753.

[113] *An Act to Consolidate and amend the Acts relating to Reformatory Schools in Great Britain*, pp. 957, 962.

[114] Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee. *Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, *Volume I* (London: HMSO, 1896), p. 193. The only real change in these directions permitted a school’s chief educational teacher to inflict a maximum of six strokes on the palm of a child’s hand but he was required to record the incident and report it to the superintendant immediately.

After Humphries succeeded Ellis as superintendant at Saltley, Sydney Turner, reported that 'an interval of great disturbance and disorganisation', which included several absconscions, followed before the school settled down.[115] He visited Saltley in March, June and November that year, 1857, indicating he was closely observing developments. The punishment book commences in July that year and records nothing of consequence occurred for almost three months, supporting Turner's observations.[116] Then the reformatory accommodated fifty boys and Humphries' staff, who were tasked with supervising them for twenty-four hours a day over a five-acre site, comprised his wife who acted as matron, a school master, shoemaker, tailor, gardener and labourer.[117]

In reality there was little to stop boys absconding if they wished. The grounds of the school were fenced, but this bore no comparison to the walls surrounding prisons, and technically only marked the property's boundaries.[118] The main building, which housed the boys' dormitories, was secured at night but this was done as much for protection as to prevent escape as there were problems with former inmates, and other individuals, trying to entice boys to abscond and, ironically, the reformatory was also burgled.[119] A photograph of the reformatory (Fig 9.4 overleaf) illustrates that there were no overt indications that it was a place of detention. Though the photograph dates from 1903, no major building work was undertaken after 1860. If the reformatory is compared with the neighbouring

[115] *First Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the different Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, p. 33.
[116] BCA BRI PB 3rd October 1857.
[117] *First Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the different Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, p. 33; BRI PB 5th October 1857, 11th December 1857.
[118] BCA BRI PB 7th October 1857, 11th December 1857. These entries describe the extent of the fencing.
[119] BCA BRI PB 7th October 1857, 10th October 1857, 28th January 1858. Several rabbits were stolen on the night of 10th to 11th October 1857.

Saltley College (Fig 9.5 below) that was built around the same time, it is not obvious which is the penal institution.

Fig 9.4 Saltley Reformatory 1903 [120]

Fig 9.5 Saltley College [121]

One feature of the reformatory could be derived from Bentham's panopticon. His main objective was the constant observation of prisoners, facilitated by cells containing large windows.[122] Foucault described this arrangement as a 'cruel, ingenious cage', that allowed for the continual monitoring of inmates. He argued that it rendered prisoners powerless as the guards decided when they would

[120] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution*.
[121] Osborne (ed.), *Saltley College Centenary*, p. i. This establishment was a teacher-training college. Its association with Saltley Reformatory is discussed shortly.
[122] Bentham, *Panopticon*, pp. 40-41.

watch them, while the prisoners had to assume they were under permanent surveillance.[123] While the reformatory did not adopt Bentham's ideas of confining people in individual cells,[124] the following photographs of Saltley illustrate that many of its windows were extremely large.

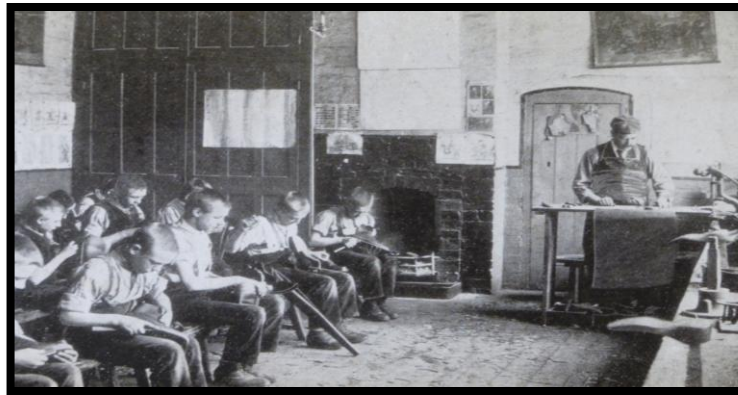
Fig 9.6 Dormitory at Saltley Reformatory 1903 [125]

Fig 9.7 Schoolroom at Saltley Reformatory 1903 [126]

[123] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 201, 205.
[124] Bentham, *Panopticon*, pp. 40-41.
[125] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution*.
[126] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution*.

Fig 9.8 Tailoring Shop at Saltley Reformatory 1903 [127]

Fig 9.9 Shoemaker's Shop at Saltley Reformatory 1903 [128]



With limited access to artificial illumination, architects would clearly maximise the natural light but the more glass there was, the fewer places there were to hide. As the staff were substantially outnumbered, Foucault's description of the ability to observe others as providing a disciplinary power that is everywhere and always alert, underlines its use as a tool to control the inmates.[129] It is notable that, as this was a penal establishment, there is no overt security. The windows are not barred and the teachers shown in the shops do not look particularly intimidating; in fact it

[127] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution*.
[128] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution*.
[129] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 177.

appears the boys could easily overwhelm them if they chose. Teresa Ploszajska asserts there was a general trend in many Victorian institutions to rely on surveillance, together with a strict regulation of the day and discipline, while minimising external physical coercion, such as high walls, to maintain control.[130]

Another perspective of the use of windows is provided by Catherine Burke. She argues that 'light' is directly related to divinity and Victorian schools were built with the appearance of churches.[131] If the reformatory is compared to Saltley College; a Church of England establishment, there is a significant resemblance.[132] Burke also describes how all knowledge was deemed divine and its transmission a sacred act, which was reflected in the school's architecture.[133] Foucault's work takes the religious influence on places of detention deeper, attributing the development of timetables to monastic communities and arguing they were used to impose control. He labelled religious orders 'masters of discipline' through the 'temporal regulation' this seemingly simple concept allowed them to exert.[134]

Despite Foucault's comments, it would be surprising to find a reformatory school, or any comparable institution, that did not employ a timetable to assist in the organisation of the day's tasks. Though the Catholic Church established several reformatory schools, Saltley was not linked to the Church of England in the same

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[130] Teresa Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes and manipulated spaces: gender, class and space in Victorian reformatory schools', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 20:4 (1994), p. 413.
[131] Catherine Burke, 'Light: metaphor and materiality in the history of schooling', in Ian Grosvenor and Martin Lawn (eds.), *Materialities of School Design – Technology-Objects-Routines* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2005), p. 177.
[132] See previous Figs 9.4 Saltley Reformatory and 9.5 Saltley College, for comparison.
[133] Burke, 'Light: metaphor and materiality', in Grosvenor and Lawn (eds.), *Materialities,* p. 177.
[134] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 149-150.

manner. Despite this its governing committee always included several ministers from the Church and, separately, the institution appointed an honorary chaplain who taught religious instruction.[135] It also maintained close links with Saltley College and the children regularly attended the local church on Sundays; additionally the Archbishop of Canterbury visited the reformatory in 1883.[136] It is conceivable, therefore, that a degree of control was exerted over the inmates, using their faith, in the manners described by Foucault and Burke.

Reformatory schools were a new type of penal institution specifically for juvenile offenders. In a sense they followed the 'continuity of institutions' described by Foucault, borrowing elements from schools, prisons and workhouses,[137] but they also introduced new components, namely training and education, in an effort to assist rehabilitation. Foucault takes the view that as offenders were compelled to undertake such schooling it merely contributed another element of punishment alongside the loss of their liberty.[138] The French commentator's views, based to a significant degree on his interpretation of Mettray, portray a coercive environment in operation at these institutions.[139] By their very nature penal establishments require elements of discipline but Norval Morris and David Wilson argue that, to function effectively, they also require the consent and cooperation of those

[135] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 3, in BCA BRI MB 1. For example the first governing committee established at Saltley included the Rev. Chancellor Law, the Hon. and Rev. W.H. Lyttleton and the Hon. and Rev. G.M. Yorke. Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 34.
[136] BCA BRI MB 3, 8th January 1884. The visit took place on 13th December 1883.
[137] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 299.
[138] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 300.
[139] An account of the development and influence of Mettray is provided in Chapter Three.

imprisoned in them.[140] Wilson also highlights how penal systems also need the acceptance of the public and the staff employed to work in them in order to operate successfully.[141] Considering that reformatory schools effectively constituted a new type of penal system, which was not superseded until the advent of Borstal schools in the early twentieth century,[142] it can be argued that reformatories gained this acceptance. Foucault has been criticised for ignoring the benevolent intentions of Frederic Demetz in founding Mettray and for failing to take account of practices in contemporary institutions, both in France and the wider world, when formulating his theories.[143] In addition Jeroen Dekker and Daniel Lechner claim that Foucault's particular representation of Mettray was deliberately crafted to fit a pre-existing theory.[144]

When reflecting on Foucault's assertions regarding the high degree of coercion, it is of value to consider whether those who founded reformatory schools would have accepted such an oppressive environment in their institutions. Considering that Matthew Davenport Hill and Charles Adderley had established backgrounds working to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders, it would be alien to their characters for them to support the imposition of such an onerous regime on the inmates of Saltley Reformatory.

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[140] Norval Morris, *Maconochie's Gentlemen. The Story of Norfolk Island & The Roots of Modern Prison Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 191; David Wilson *Pain and Retribution: A Short History of British Prisons* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), p. 151.

[141] Wilson *Pain and Retribution*, p. 151.

[142] Shane Leslie, *Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise. A Memoir of the Founder of Borstal* (London: John Murray, 1938), p. 168.

[143] Jeroen J.H. Dekker and Daniel M. Lechner, 'Foucault, Aries, and the History of Panoptical Education', *The European Legacy*, 4:5 (1999), p. 46; Pieter Spierenburg, 'Punishment, Power, and History: Foucault and Elias', *Social Science History*, 28:4 (Winter 2004), p. 622.

[144] Dekker and Lechner, 'Foucault, Aries, and the History of Panoptical Education', p. 44.

Despite the elements of control that were in place at Saltley absconscions were relatively regular, though often unsuccessful. The punishment book's first entry records show one boy absconded on the 2nd October 1857 and made his way home to Birmingham. Promptly recaptured by the police, he was returned to Saltley the following morning. Technically, he could have faced a three-month prison sentence but his punishment amounted to a caning and 'a week's plain diet', which highlights the reformatory manager's discretion in deciding the severity of punishments.[145] The institution did not lack discipline, however. Taking the year 1863 as an example, the punishment records list fifty-six separate entries. These include details of thirty-six canings, seventeen separate instances where inmates were confined in the institution's cells and two instances where individuals suffered both punishments.[146] They were penal establishments, accommodating the convicted, and even the threat of a criminal act could result in punitive measures. On one occasion three boys reported that another of their number had boasted about returning to stealing upon release; he was punished with a reduced diet for two days.[147] When two other boys were overheard planning to abscond, they received a caning.[148]

In 1858 superintendant Humphries wrote how the act of absconding discouraged him the most as he felt that those who ran away were deliberately turning their

[145] BCA BRI PB 3rd October 1857.

[146] BCA BRI PB January-December 1863. The majority of canings resulted from idleness, disorder and impertinence and disobedience to staff. The cellular confinements ranged from a half day to eight full days and generally resulted from violent conduct and absconding, though one boy was confined for two days in March after being reported for bad conduct on seventy-one separate occasions during the previous month. The individuals who received both punishments had absconded.

[147] BCA BRI PB 16th October 1857.

[148] BCA BRI PB 9th March 1864. Neither of the boys subsequently made any escape attempts during their sentences.

backs on the chance to be reformed. He described how absconders could expect a 'good caning', several days solitary confinement and a very plain diet.[149] Despite the statutory legal punishment for absconders, reformatory managers seemingly preferred to have the children returned to their custody rather than face a prison sentence.[150] Frequently local magistrates and justices held positions on the management committees of reformatories, so it is possible they exerted their influence to have the children dealt with in 'their' institutions if they were detained in the vicinity.

On occasion inmates attempting to abscond were apprehended by their fellows. In December 1857 two boys escaped and ran past two others who were helping the gardener. They gave chase and quickly recaptured one of the escapees. The other boy was apprehended in Birmingham. The abortive escape cost one boy three days in a cell, a limited diet and a caning, while his companion, for whom this was the second escape attempt, endured four days in a cell, a limited diet and two canings.[151]

Some of the punishments inflicted on the boys at Saltley were intended to teach a lesson as much as fit the 'crime'. On one occasion a boy begged a penny from the gardener to buy a cake from a local shop. When he found no-one serving he took a cake and returned the penny to the gardener, telling him what had happened. As

[149] BCA BRI PB 11th January 1858.

[150] Saltley's Punishment Records reflect this. Generally those who were jailed for absconding had done so several times and been apprehended well away from Birmingham. In August 1857 a runaway from Saltley was detained in Liverpool and jailed for three months. Similarly, in June 1862, a boy detained in Leeds received the same sentence. BCA BRI PB 8th January 1858, 2nd June 1862.

[151] BCA BRI PB 17th December 1857.

a result, the superintendant paid the shopkeeper three times the item’s value and recovered the cost by giving the boy a reduced supper for three days.[152] The boys were permitted to earn pocket money, which was retained and managed by the superintendant. When one inmate hit another, causing his nose to bleed, sixpence of the offender’s money was given to the victim as compensation.[153] The money was earned through a mark system, similar to that operated at Hazelwood School.[154]

While punishments for fighting, disobedience and impertinence were regularly recorded, two other particular activities were dealt with harshly. Behaviour that damaged food, or saw it hidden, stolen or wasted, usually earned a caning.[155] Two boys found giving potatoes away to passersby were caned and spent two days in the cells.[156] Poor behaviour on Sundays, generally, and at church or in Sunday School, in particular, seem to have been singled out. One boy found reading a newspaper in church received a caning, playing marbles earned another a reprimand and three others were caned for bad conduct in Sunday School and for throwing a bible about.[157]

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[152] BCA BRI PB 9th April 1858.
[153] BCA BRI PB 10th December 1858.
[154] Chapter Eight provides details of the scheme employed at Hazelwood. At Saltley, boys were allocated one mark a day, which carried a value of a half-penny. ‘Bad marks’, or fines for misconduct, were deducted from the accrued amount and the boys were paid any remaining credit balance in cash when they left the institution. The superintendant asserted that it contributed to the maintenance of discipline within the school. BCA BRI MB 3, 11th November 1879.
[155] BCA BRI PB 12th November 1862, 20th December 1862; Two boys received eight strokes of the cane on the hand for picking the hearts out of growing cabbages; another boy was found eating vegetables being grown in a field and received six strokes with the cane.
[156] BCA BRI PB 30th December 1863.
[157] BCA BRI PB 23rd August 1867, 5th February 1866, 6th July 1863, 19th October 1863.

Despite the stipulations of the 1866 Act, which limited the time children could be detained in cells at reformatories to five days, this was exceeded occasionally at Saltley. In August 1869, two boys received six days detention and a caning for absconding and, the following year, one inmate spent a week in the cells after absconding and another boy was confined for ten days and received a caning for assaulting the schoolmaster with an iron bar.[158] It seems surprising this last incident was not put before local magistrates, particularly as three other boys were caned for knowing the assailant's plans but failing to warn anyone. Considering this, together with what appears to have been the reformatory's policy of punishing recovered absconders themselves rather than placing them before the courts, Saltley's management seems to have preferred to deal with discipline problems internally wherever possible.

THE SCHOOL, THE STAFF AND THE COMMUNITY

One interpretation of the previous paragraph suggests a deliberate practice of protecting the institution's reputation as court appearances by inmates would not have benefited the school. Additionally, another encounter with magistrates could easily result in a prison sentence. It can be argued that school superintendants would take every reasonable avenue to avoid one of their charges being imprisoned. Whether Saltley adopted this latter view can only be conjecture but the evidence presented in the remainder of this chapter points to an institution that took the welfare of its inmates seriously, both by the staff who supervised them

[158] BCA BRI PB 24th August 1869, 24th May 1870, 24th July 1870.

and in the policy of rehabilitating the children back into society. Unfortunately, the 'voices' of the boys detained there are all but missing from the records. Only the letters that were sent to Saltley from former inmates and then published in the institution's annual reports provide any insights into their perspectives.[159]

Most of the regular government inspections highlighted Saltley's high educational standards and low reconviction rate.[160] There were, however, three instances where staff were removed for unacceptable conduct. In April 1858 Hugh Humphries dismissed the school's gardener for 'indiscreet conduct before the boys'.[161] Though the records contain occasional comments about new staff members having difficulty in keeping order,[162] it was almost thirty years before anyone else was dismissed for inappropriate behaviour. A schoolmaster lost his post in August 1885 after being convicted of assault, and another schoolmaster was quickly replaced after 'misconducting himself' on Christmas Day that same year.[163]

It is difficult to estimate the extent of staff dismissals across reformatories as a whole. While the government gathered detailed information about expenditure, educational standards, and the activities of children after leaving the institutions, it

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[159] These letters are discussed shortly in this chapter.

[160] *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 10., in BCA BRI MB 2. This particular report noted Saltley's reconviction rate was 2.43%, compared to a national average of 4.41%.

[161] BCA BRI PB 15th April 1858.

[162] BCA BRI PB 13th January 1862, 5th June 1862. A new assistant master was described as being unable to keep order in class and was shortly replaced. BCA BRI MB 2, 21st October 1862. Later that year the schoolmaster resigned when he found he was expected to remain at the reformatory after 'normal' school hours were over. This latter case suggests Saltley's management expected a high degree of dedication to the institution from their staff.

[163] BCA BRI MB 3, 4th August 1885, 12th January 1886.

seems that the behaviour of staff was delegated to the schools' management. Emmeline Garnett describes how the governor of Manchester's Blackley Reformatory was dismissed in 1861 despite being cleared of accusations of immoral conduct.[164] In another incident, centred on the *Akbar* reformatory ship in 1887, a judge refused to punish ten boys who had mutinied, blaming their actions on 'feeble and inadequate staff' at the institution.[165] It would need an institute by institute survey to ascertain whether the recruitment of suitable personnel was a particular problem.

The only substantial criticism of Saltley appeared in an 1861 letter, authored by Thomas Mulock, and sent to the Earl of Lichfield.[166] Mulock was a colourful character who regularly expressed his opinions on a variety of subjects in letters to various newspapers.[167] Extracts from the letter were published in Birmingham on 5th November that year and Mulock's description of the institution as 'the carcass of a defunct system of jobbing philanthropy' and a 'small colony of eighty juvenile thieves', left readers with few doubts over his opinions.[168] Lichfield was the chairman of Staffordshire's Quarter Sessions and boys convicted there had been placed at Saltley since 1857.[169]

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[164] Garnett, *Juvenile Offenders in Victorian Lancashire*, p. 84. The complaint had been levelled by the school master.
[165] Garnett, *Juvenile Offenders in Victorian Lancashire*, p. 85.
[166] Thomas Mulock, *A Letter to the Earl of Lichfield on the Principle and Details of Management of Saltley Reformatory, Near Birmingham* (Stafford, 1861).
[167] A brief biography of Thomas Mulock is the subject of Appendix D.
[168] 'The Saltley Reformatory', *BDP*, 5th November 1861, p. 2; Mulock, *A Letter to the Earl of Lichfield,* pp. 5, 14.
[169] *Third and Fourth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 10., in BCA BRI MB 1. Initially twenty places were reserved for boys from Staffordshire. The 1858 Staffordshire's justices abandoned plans to build their own reformatory in favour of financing the construction of a new wing at Saltley. It was completed in December 1859 and capable of accommodating fifty boys. *Fifth Annual*

Mulock had obtained a letter of introduction from Lichfield that gave him access to Saltley.[170] The visit took place in October 1861 and Hugh Humphries, Saltley's superintendant, was clearly aware of Mulock's opinions, as he wrote of his trepidations over the visit.[171] Humphries described him as 'kind and polite – even complimentary', but observed that he was not interested in discussing the school's principles.[172] Aside from Mulock's obvious bias, his comments illustrated some aspects of life at the school. He described the quantity and quality of food served to the inmates as 'beyond the means' of most working men and also recorded how the boys were given 'pleasant beer' with their dinner. While conceding that the school showed no signs of 'superfluous expense', after seeing the boy's separate beds and 'superior bedding' he stated the accommodation was superior to many of the country's 'better' boarding schools.[173] The photograph of a dormitory parallels his description See Fig 9.6 on page 381). The room is sparsely furnished, but tidy, well provided with natural light and also has high ceilings. There seems to be no shortage of bedding and each single bed has a pillow.

Saltley's staff were issued with a handbook detailing the school's timetable and their own responsibilities to colleagues and the inmates. Staff were reminded to set the boys a good example 'as to cleanliness, tidiness and industry' and teach them to become responsible members of society. The institution's rules were to be interpreted with a 'kindly disposition' and the boys' welfare was to be their chief

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Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution (Birmingham, 1858), pp. 5-6; *Seventh Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution* (Birmingham, 1860), p. 1., in BCA BRI MB 1.

[170] 'The Saltley Reformatory', *BDP*, 5th November 1861, p. 2.

[171] BCA BRI PB 10th October 1861.

[172] BCA BRI PB 10th October 1861.

[173] Mulock, *A Letter to the Earl of Lichfield*, p. 4.

concern but staff were also reminded of their responsibility to guard against immoral behaviour as their charges were 'children of immoral parents, reared amidst vice'.[174] The children were allowed recreation time on the institution's playground in the morning and afternoon, but it was always supervised.[175] Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor describe how these activities were deemed important in school for underlining discipline as much as for exercise. They also highlight how marching was viewed as an important aid to learning.[176] A drill sergeant was employed at Saltley to facilitate this.[177]

An insight into the interaction between one staff member and the inmates is provided by a personal diary that has recently been made available for study.[178] James Andrews commenced work as a labourer on the reformatory school's farm in 1887. In 1890 the bailiff left and, at the recommendation of superintendant Harry Fish, Andrews was promoted to replace him.[179] He remained at the school until retiring in the early 1920s and his diary from 1905 has survived. To supplement this, Andrews' granddaughter has added her own recollections of his descriptions of life at the reformatory.[180] The farm was primarily arable but horses, cattle and pigs were also kept. Though there was a horse keeper and a cowman, together with the bailiff and a farm labourer, the animals were primarily looked

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[174] BCA MS 244/90 Birmingham Reformatory Institution Farm Bailiff Handbook, (Hereafter BRI Farm Bailiff Handbook), pp. 8-9. Though this particular item was specifically for the bailiff, all officers resident on the institution's premises had their own copy.

[175] BCA BRI Farm Bailiff Handbook, pp. 1-3.

[176] Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor, *School* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2008), pp. 53-54.

[177] BCA BRI MB No. 3 21st March 1858.

[178] CRL Farm Bailiff Diary.

[179] BCA MS 244/32 Birmingham Reformatory Institution Log Book 1885-1908 (Hereafter BRI Log Book), 21st October 1890.

[180] These were recorded during a number of meetings with Mrs Bessie Evans, James' granddaughter, in 2014.

after by the boys. They undertook the daily milking and cleaning of the animals, and also maintained the buildings that housed them.[181]

The farm was one of several in the area and a common problem was the trespass of animals from other farms onto their crops; horses, cattle and pigs were frequent intruders.[182] As a result the boys were often required to repair the boundary fences, which indicates the ample opportunities they had to abscond as much as the trust that was placed in them.[183] Two pictures of the farm survive and, like the reformatory, there are no obvious indications that most of the individuals working there were juvenile offenders (See Figs 9.10 and 9.11overleaf).

The fencing shown in the pictures would not be capable of confining the children and the farm bailiff's cottage is just an ordinary house. It is possible the choice of fencing was deliberate. Firstly, as a development of Bentham's panopticon idea, it did not provide any cover for the boys, allowing whoever was supervising them to maintain a constant surveillance. Secondly, Elsie Rockwell asserts that schools employ light boundary fencing to underline their inclusion within the local community, while the use of high 'prison type' fencing deliberately portrays the institution as being isolated from the outside world.[184]

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[181] BCA BRI Farm Bailiff Handbook, p. 1; CRL Farm Bailiff Diary, 17th May 1905.

[182] CRL Farm Bailiff Diary. Fourteen horses, thirty cattle and a bull were found on the land on three separate occasions between August and September 1905.

[183] CRL Farm Bailiff Diary, 3rd March 1905.

[184] Elsie Rockwell, 'Walls, Fences and Keys: the enclosure of rural indigenous schools', in Ian Grosvenor and Martin Lawn (eds.), *Materialities of School Design – Technology-Objects-Routines* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2005), p. 177.

Fig 9.10 Saltley Reformatory Farm, Little Bromwich 1903 [185]

Fig 9.11 Saltley Reformatory Farm Bailiffs Cottage c.1905 [186]

Finally, a third perspective is offered by Ploszajska who states that the more the environment the children were held in resembled a 'normal' domestic setting, the more likely they were to be reformed as 'orderly, natural influences' were brought to bear on them.[187] On balance, there are probably elements of truth in each

[185] Hitchins, *Birmingham Reformatory Institution.*
[186] Saltley Reformatory Farm Bailiff's Cottage - courtesy of Mrs B. Evans.
[187] Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p. 420.

suggestion but, overall, there are no obvious indications the reformatory farm formed part of a penal institution.

The farm clearly required significant quantities of supplies, including seeds, animal feed and fertilizer, and also sold its produce to local shops. Considering the weight of the items involved, the boys must have helped with collections and deliveries.[188] This suggests the inmates spent significant amounts of time away from the 'four walls' of the reformatory and they would have become familiar faces within the local community; all of which would have enhanced their rehabilitation and guarded against institutionalisation. Aside from their farming duties, they also undertook work at the local church and at Saltley College, as well as playing football and cricket against local teams.[189] The school was regarded as part of the community and a point for local pride.[190]

From its inception the reformatory benefited from a close association with Saltley College.[191] Established in 1850 to train schoolmasters for Church of England schools it was situated next to the reformatory, on land also donated by Charles Adderley.[192] The practical result of this association was that some of the college

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[188] CRL Farm Bailiff Diary, 15th July 1905.
[189] CRL Farm Bailiff Diary, 2nd March 1905, 10th May 1905, 13th May 1905, 26th July 1905.
[190] James Adderley, *Sixty Years of Saltley Parish* (Birmingham: Allday LTD, 1910), p. 27.
[191] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 6., in BCA BRI MB 1.
[192] John Osborne (ed.), *Saltley College Centenary 1850–1950* (Birmingham: Saltley College, 1950), pp. 12-15. Several of those involved with the foundation of the college went on to help establish the reformatory. As well as Adderley these included Lord Lyttleton, Sir John Pakington, Rev. Grantham Yorke and Charles Bracebridge.

students and one of its assistant school masters taught at the reformatory.[193] A contemporary description of the school in the *Irish Quarterly Review* praised Saltley's management for exposing the inmates to these positive outside influences; it also contained an account from six college students who had been teaching religious instruction at the reformatory on Sunday afternoons for a year. They described the 'lads' as being more attentive than the individuals they normally encountered at Sunday schools.[194] The college students were all male and under twenty years of age themselves, close to the ages of the school's inmates, which would have given them a different perspective to the older individuals whose views about reformatory inmates were recorded in government inspections and the minutes of various institutions.[195] The college students' comments about the inmates were positive, highlighting their intellectual capabilities and blaming the early influences in the boys' lives for their present circumstances.[196]

It was common practice for some reformatories to include letters, written by former inmates, in their annual reports. These 'old boys' frequently thanked the school for its guidance and described how their lives had fared since leaving.[197] It is only natural to question their veracity but James Andrews featured in some of these

[193] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 6, in BCA BRI MB 1; 'Quarterly Record of the Progress of Reformatory and Ragged Schools, and of the Improvement of Prison Discipline', *Irish Quarterly Review*, March 1855, p. vi.

[194] 'Quarterly Record of the Progress of Reformatory and Ragged Schools, and of the Improvement of Prison Discipline', *Irish Quarterly Review*, March 1855, p. vi.

[195] Osborne (ed.), *Saltley College Centenary,* pp. 27-28.

[196] 'Quarterly Record of the Progress of Reformatory and Ragged Schools, and of the Improvement of Prison Discipline', *Irish Quarterly Review*, March 1855, p. vi.

[197] BCA Local Studies Collection, Ref: L43.94, *Thirty Sixth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution* (Birmingham, 1887), p. 9. This details how the school received 200 letters and nearly 100 visits from 'old boys' in the space of one year alone.

letters, one of which passed on condolences following the death of his wife.[198] Such comments, and the large number of letters received, indicate that former inmates appreciated how the schools had helped them and, on occasion, desired to maintain contact with the institution after they left.

One tradition dating from Saltley's inception was the annual day out at the Hams Hall estate of Charles Adderley. A photograph of the event from 1903 (Fig 9.12 overleaf) shows approximately one hundred healthy boys, in respectable uniforms with the reformatory's staff.[199] At least two of the boys in the photograph were the children of staff members, indicating there were no concerns over their mixing with the school's occupants. Saltley's management permitted regular additional treats; these included magic lantern shows, visits from companies of actors and day trips, giving the impression that they did not lose sight of the fact that they were responsible for the welfare of children.[200]

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[198] BCA Local Studies Collection, Ref: L43.94, *Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution* (Birmingham, 1908), pp. 15-16; *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution* (Birmingham, 1912), pp. 14-16. Andrews was popular with the school's management: BCA BRI Log Book, 9th June 1908. This entry includes compliments by the managers of the time and attention Andrews gave to teaching the boys.

[199] Fig 9.12 Annual Day Out at Hams Hall - courtesy of Mrs B. Evans.

[200] *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 8., in BCA, BRI MB 2. This details regular evening reading from the institution's honorary chaplain, the Vicar of Saltley, together with magic lantern shows. *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 11, in BCA BRI MB 3. In September 1882 the inmates were treated to a day out at the Malvern Hills by Colonel Charles Ratcliff, a local magistrate and longstanding member of Saltley's management committee. BCA MS 244/101, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Minute Book No. 4., (Hereafter BRI MB 4), 9th February 1892. This entry thanks a local troupe of 'amateur minstrels' for the entertainment they provided.

Fig 9.12 Annual Day Out, Hams Hall c.1903 [201]

Saltley Reformatory developed from the first national conference on juvenile reform. It was, fittingly, the first reformatory to be registered under the 1854 Act and maintained a good relationship with the government's inspectors. Though the institution's early years saw the failure of its managers to develop and retain control of similar schools, when they only had Saltley Reformatory to concentrate on, their focus created a successful model that enabled the school to develop and survive into the twentieth century. In December 1860 the London philanthropist George Moore visited Saltley and described it as a model institution.[202] Forty years

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[201] Annual Day Out at Hams Hall - courtesy of Mrs B. Evans.

[202] BCA BRI MB 1, 19th December 1860. George Moore was born in 1807 and acquired his wealth through the lace making industry. As well as providing funds for hospitals, ragged schools, churches and an orphanage he also founded a 'Reformatory for thieves' in Brixton in 1854. 'Reformatories. Metropolitan Industrial Reformatory', *The Philanthropist*, 2nd July 1855, p. 32; Thompson Cooper, *Men of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries*, 8th edn (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1872), p. 695.

later, in an echo of Moore's comments, Reformatory Inspector James Legge underlined how Saltley was a pioneer among reformatory schools and that its management seemed determined to maintain that reputation.[203]

Burke and Grosvenor write that schools are the products of social behaviour that project a series of values,[204] but did the school also possess the coercive traits described by Bentham and Foucault? The latter described the Mettray reformatory as being 'the disciplinary form at its most extreme....in which are concentrated all the coercive technologies of behaviour'.[205] This, taken with Burke's assertions of the link between school windows and the divine, and both Bentham and Foucault connecting the power of surveillance to managing prisoners, suggests there are some grounds to argue that the model of management developed at Saltley was carefully crafted. It should be remembered, however, that Bentham's panopticon was never built and that his ideas of surveillance relied heavily on prisoners being confined in cells.[206] Additionally, though Foucault was an academic and political and social commentator he was not a historian.[207] Philip Smith describes Foucault's account of Mettray as cursory and failing to grasp the depth of thought and originality behind the practices adopted by the institution's founders.[208] Similarly Felix Driver underlines the limitations of Foucault's views but adds the caveat that he did not set out write a definitive history of prisons or penal reform. Driver describes Foucault as posing questions about the changing nature of

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[203] *Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, p. 12., in BCA BRI MB 4.
[204] Burke and Grosvenor, *School*, p. 8.
[205] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 293.
[206] Bentham, *Panopticon*, pp. 40-41.
[207] Gary Gutting, *Foucault: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1-2.
[208] Philip Smith, *Punishment and Culture* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 75-76.

punishment and disciplinary practices, then leaving others to find the answers or promote debate on the subject.[209] Considering the attention Foucault's comments still attract, the latter aim seems to have been particularly successful.

Reformatories and industrial schools were new types of institutions requiring new styles of management. Gone were the trappings of the gaol but the need to confine convicted children in what were still penal establishments remained. There were cells at the reformatory and corporal punishment was a regular occurrence but there is no indication of excessive force – using the standards of the time – being employed.[210] Bearing in mind how the inmates substantially outnumbered the staff, an element of coercion would have been needed at times to facilitate such control but, considering the views of Morris and Wilson, the management practices in place at Saltley must also have been acceptable to the inmates.

In view of the length of time it took for reformatory institutions to become socially and politically acceptable as alternatives to imprisoning children, any perception that they lacked order would have been damaging to the reformatory movement. Considering the roles played locally by Matthew Davenport Hill, Charles Adderley and Lord Leigh in the establishment of Saltley, together with their national contributions to reformatory efforts, any indication that Saltley Reformatory was ill disciplined would have been harmful to their reputations and undermined further attempts to reform the treatment of juvenile offenders.

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[209] Felix Driver, Bodies in Space: Foucault's Account of Disciplinary Power in Colin Jones and Roy Porter (eds.), *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), pp. 122, 127-128.

[210] BCA BRI PB 17th November 1857. This is the first recorded use of the cells. A boy was confined for two days after absconding.

As the background of the inmates was at best working class, it can be argued that their detention actually carried with it a number of benefits, though their freedom was restricted by the nature of the institution. They received regular meals and had a clean, dry dormitory to sleep in. They were provided with an education and instruction in a trade. The photographs of the workshops and schoolroom do not give any indication that they are part of a penal institution. Instead they show healthy, appropriately clothed and industrious individuals. Additionally, when inmates became ill they had recourse to a doctor and, so long as they behaved themselves, they benefitted from regular treats. It is of note that there is no record of any of Saltley's superintendants or member's of its management committee referring to the boys as 'inmates'.

The evidence presented suggests that, though the culture at Saltley was based on discipline, the reformatory's management tried to create an environment that approximated family life and supported the rehabilitation of its inmates back into society. They were able to balance discipline with punishments and rewards to create a successful institution that was seen as a part of the local community and had a positive impact on the juvenile offenders it accommodated. Given this, together with the influence of Hill, Adderley and Leigh,[211] it is reasonable to propose Saltley Reformatory as a model institution in its own right and a base for the reformatory movement as a whole.

[211] The contribution of Adderley and Leigh to the development of new legislation governing the treatment of juvenile offenders is the subject of Chapter Six, while Hill's early probation scheme is discussed in Chapter Three.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the development and influence of reformatory institutions for juvenile criminals in nineteenth-century Birmingham. This conclusion summarises the findings of each chapter then tests their validity through an evaluation of the sources employed. The overall conclusions from the research are then stated together with an assessment of their contribution to the existing knowledge base, and their potential implications for the accepted history of Birmingham and the development of reformatory practices. The chapter then suggests further areas of research to augment these findings before concluding with an overview of the new perspective of Victorian Birmingham this study has provided.

Chapter Two describes how the interaction of particular aspects of nineteenth-century society led to the emergence of reformatory education. The drafting of laws specifically to combat juvenile offending paralleled a time when the concept of childhood was developing. Children had effectively first received legal recognition under the 1819 and 1833 Factory Acts, and the 1838 Parkhurst Act allowed for the detention of children in institutions outside the prison system for the first time.[1] It was not until 1854, however, that reformatory and industrial schools were established specifically to accommodate child criminals.[2] Driven to a large extent by events in Birmingham, the Act had been drafted originally by

[1] John Muncie, *Youth and Crime*, 3rd edn (London: Sage, 2009), pp. 50-51; *Parkhurst Prison Act*, 1838, Clause XI.

[2] *A Bill for the Better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in England and Wales* (House of Commons, 1854).

Charles Adderley and marked a fundamental change, as it made a clear distinction between the way juveniles and adults were dealt with under the law.[3]

Though a ‘new’ type of institution, the schools borrowed elements from the poor law’s treatment of children through the workhouse system. Both types of institution provided their inmates with compulsory education before it became a legal requirement for all children, and the traditional parish apprenticeships were adapted by reformatories into schemes that allowed children to be released early or leave the schools to work during the day, returning to the institutions at night.[4] Convicted juveniles were certainly viewed as an asset to be employed in populating the more distant parts of the British Empire.[5] Like workhouse children many were given, and accepted, the ‘opportunity’ of a new life abroad.[6] Some reformatories, Saltley included, offered the chance to emigrate as a prize for their highest achieving inmates. Equally, the armed forces absorbed many boys from both the workhouse and reformatory schools. The one common criticism of workhouses, their potential to institutionalise inmates, was not made about reformatories. It is apparent from the Saltley case study that deliberate efforts were made to integrate the reformatory and its inmates into the local community.

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[3] William Shakespear Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton (Right Hon. Sir Charles Adderley, KCMG, MP.) 1814-1905, Statesman and Philanthropist* (London: John Murray, 1909), p. 136.

[4] Dixon, James, *Out of Birmingham. George Dixon (1820–98) ‘Father of free education’* (Studley: Brewin Books, 2013), p. 232. The Education Act of 1880, also known as Mundella’s act, made elementary schools compulsory up to the age of ten.

[5] Julius Carlebach, *Caring for Children in Trouble* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1970), p. 63.

[6] John Eekelaar, ‘‘The Chief Glory’: The Export of Children from the United Kingdom’, *Journal of Law and Society*, 21:4 (December 1994), pp. 487-491.

It is not possible to locate a specific point of origin in Birmingham for the later efforts that became so influential but Chapter Three highlights the innovative practices of Warwick's magistrates at the beginning of the nineteenth century. From their support of Esther Tatnall's work at Warwick Gaol, the implementation of an early probation system, to the founding of the Warwick County Asylum at Stretton-on-Dunsmore, they established new schemes within a framework of existing legislation.[7] Tatnall's work was pioneering in both its nature and that it was undertaken by a woman who was able to overcome the societal restrictions placed on her sex at the time. The Asylum bore many features of the reformatory schools that were founded from the 1850s onwards but its significance has been overshadowed by the more famous Philanthropic Society. It is of note that the Warwick institution significantly predated the Society's own reformatory farm school and was established to accommodate juvenile offenders from its inception, whereas the Philanthropic Society was initially created to accommodate the children of criminals.[8]

Matthew Davenport Hill was a magistrate in Warwick immediately prior to becoming Birmingham's first Recorder in 1839.[9] His adaptation and implementation of Warwick's probation scheme indicates that the reform of juvenile criminals was of particular concern to him. In addition, Hill's first visit to

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[7] *Report for the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions* (London, 1828), p. 30; Esther Tatnall, *A Narrative of Twenty-three Years Superintendence of the Women and Boys' Wards in the Gaol at Warwick* (London, 1836); Anne Langley, *Warwick County Asylum. The first Reformatory outside London* (Rugby: Stretton Millennium History Group, 2006).

[8] Henry Barnard, *Reformatory Education: Paper on Preventive, Correctional and Reformatory Institutions and Agencies in Different Countries* (Hartford: F.C. Brownell, 1857), pp. 295-297.

[9] *First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law, especially respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation* (London: House of Commons, 1847), p. 19.

Mettray in 1848 resulted in its founder, Frederic Demetz, becoming a lifelong friend.[10] The draw of the French institution to British reformers has been well documented but Demetz was a regular visitor to this country before and after Mettray was established. There was clearly an active exchange of ideas between the parties and, while the influence of British reformatory efforts on French practices remains to be fully assessed, both sides benefitted from the association.

While Warwick's magistrates were employing innovative practices, Chapter Four illustrates that there is no evidence to indicate there were any comparable efforts in Birmingham. During the first half of the nineteenth century the numerous institutions that comprised Birmingham's embryonic local government were in a state of flux; nonconformists, Anglicans, whigs, tories and radicals were vying for influence and new institutions tried to wrest power from old ones. Added to this was a trade depression in 1837, Chartist riots in 1838 and a period of 'civic stagnation' from the 1840s onwards.[11] Despite this the town did not suffer any particular problem with crime generally or juvenile crime specifically. At this point in Birmingham's history, there are no indications that the town or any of its inhabitants would take a pivotal role in the campaign to change the way the law dealt with convicted children.

Despite the wealth that was accrued by some local individuals during the town's growth and industrialisation, Birmingham did not possess a particularly strong

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[10] Rosamond Davenport Hill and Florence Davenport Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham. A Memoir of Matthew Davenport Hill* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1878), pp. 158-159.

[11] John W. Reilly, *Policing Birmingham. An Account of 150 years of Police in Birmingham* (Birmingham: West Midlands Police, 1990), p. 5; Roger Ward, *City-State and Nation. Birmingham's Political History c. 1830-1940* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 2005), pp. 41, 52.

tradition of philanthropy. The town's population did benefit from the generosity of several people however; Josiah Mason, Joseph Sturge and Louisa Ryland were of particular note and also shared a direct involvement with the development of several local reformatory institutions.[12]

One exception to the lack of charities existed in the number of ragged schools established in Birmingham. The town possessed a significant number of these institutions but there was no coordination of their development, or curriculum, and they survived on charity alone. They did, however, take street children, provide them with some education and, at times, fed and clothed them. Their potential as a tool to reform juvenile offenders was realised in 1847 when Matthew Davenport Hill suggested they be used to detain children as an alternative to prison.[13] The contribution of these schools to the development of reformatory institutions is underscored by the fact that some ragged schools evolved into reformatory and industrial schools. John Ellis and Rev. Grantham Yorke, who were crucial players in the development of reformatory institutions locally, began their careers teaching in ragged schools.[14]

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[12] Mason's philanthropic activities included building alms houses and an orphanage in Birmingham. Sturge was an abolitionist and provided financial assistance to various educational establishments. Ryland endowed several churches, donated land for use as public parks and also supported medical and educational charities. G.C. Boase, revised by Eric Hopkins, 'Sir Josiah Mason (1795-1881)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2013, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18286 [accessed 18th June 2018]; Alex Tyrrell, 'Joseph Sturge (1793-1859)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26746 [accessed 29th March 2018]; Phillada Ballard, 'Louisa Anne Ryland (1814-1889)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2013, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/103438 [accessed 18th July 2018].

[13] 'Draft Report of the Principles of Punishment', *Liverpool Mercury*, 6th April 1847, p. 7.

[14] John Ellis was the first superintendant of Saltley Reformatory and began teaching at a ragged school in London. Rev. Grantham Yorke founded a ragged school that developed into Gem Street Industrial School. 'Mr Ellis, the Industrial and Ragged School Teacher', *Illustrated London News*, 9th May 1853, pp. 267-268; G.R. Lowes, *1849-1949 Souvenir of the Centenary Celebrations of Tennal School, Birmingham* (No publication details known), pp. 10, 13-14.

The fifth chapter recounts that, while the years leading up to the Birmingham conference of December 1851 had witnessed the failure of repeated attempts to pass reforming legislation in Parliament, the conference organisers were able to muster enough support to persuade the government to establish a select committee to report on the subject.[15] Its findings were overshadowed by the suicide of a fifteen-year old prisoner at Birmingham Borough Gaol, and the description of the punishments that were regularly meted out to its inmates caused national outrage.[16] A series of inquiries that highlighted the cruelty also had the effect of maintaining the interest of the national press in the treatment of child prisoners for months.[17] Within weeks of the resulting public inquiry hearing from its last witness, and a month before it published its findings, a second conference on juvenile reform was held in the town in December 1853.

Whether the organisers deliberately sought to exploit the tragedy is debatable but this second conference was preceded by a series of local meetings and nationwide newspaper coverage. A large number of reporters attended and accounts of the event were widely published alongside descriptions of how other countries dealt with their problem juveniles. A pattern of political pressure had developed following the first conference where a committee would be elected to lobby Parliament for reform. Once they had met with the politicians in London, the

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[15] Walter Lowe Clay, *The Prison Chaplain: A Memoir of the Rev John Clay BD* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co, 1861), p. 378. Jo Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1976), p. 105.

[16] Joseph Allday, *True Account of the Proceedings Leading to, and a Full and Authentic Report of, the Searching Inquiry by Her Majesty's Commission, into the Horrible System of Discipline Practised at the Borough Gaol of Birmingham* (Birmingham; John Tonks, 1853).

[17] *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Condition and Treatment of the Prisoners Confined in Birmingham Borough Prison and the Conduct, Management and Discipline of the Said Prison* (London: HMSO, 1854).

committee members returned to Birmingham and held further local public meetings to report on their progress; a process that was repeated with the subsequent events held in the town. Within a year of the 1853 conference, legislation was enacted that allowed for the creation of reformatory schools for the detention of convicted juveniles.[18] Further meetings and conferences were held in Birmingham that kept the subject of child criminals on the political agenda, and maintained the pressure on government for further reforms.[19] The chapter also asserts that Birmingham became the place of choice to host events that sought to reform the treatment of delinquent children in the mid-nineteenth century. Additionally, given that the Reformatory and Refuge Union and the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science also developed from the local conferences, Birmingham remained a centre for the reformatory movement for many years.

Chapter Six assesses how the momentum for reform, created at least in part by the events discussed in Chapter Five, translated into the enactment of legislation that changed the way children were treated by the courts. The work of Charles Adderley and Lord Leigh is particularly significant. The 1854 Youthful Offenders Act was largely based on Adderley's unsuccessful 'Bill for the Better Care and

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[18] *A Bill for the Better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in England and Wales* (House of Commons, 1854). Its main sponsor was Lord Palmerston.

[19] These included a meeting of the Catholic Church in 1855 to discuss establishing a reformatory in the area for convicted Catholic children, the inaugural meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science which spent several days discussing the challenges posed by juvenile crime and a meeting in 1861, organised by Mary Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill. Bernard Elliott in 'Mount St. Bernards Reformatory or Agricultural Colony', in Daniel Williams (ed.), *The Adaptation of Change. Essays upon the History of 19th Century Leicester and Leicestershire* (Leicester: Leicestershire Museums Publications, 1980), p. 79; Muriel Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud. How the Philanthropic Quest was put into Law* (Hook: Waterside Press, 2011), p. 257; Jo Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London: Heinmann Educational Books Ltd, 1976), p. 159.

Reformation of Juvenile Offenders' from the previous year.[20] He was responsible for the 1857 Industrial Schools Act which gave authorities responsibility for the welfare of vagrant children for the first time, as it permitted magistrates to remove such children from parents who were deemed incapable of caring for them and place them in certified industrial schools.[21] Underlining how efforts to achieve reforms were not just directed at the treatment of juveniles, Adderley also sponsored the legislation that supported the establishment of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies nationally.[22] Leigh's most noteworthy contribution was to introduce the legislation that finally abolished the imprisonment of juveniles in 1899.[23]

Following the 1854 legislation, various reformatory institutions were established in Birmingham.[24] From the inception of Saltley Reformatory, to the opening of Sparkbrook Industrial School, eight institutions were founded or adapted to accommodate offending children. Chapter Seven illustrates how they resulted from a mixture of private philanthropy, council policy and financial necessity. Some existing institutions only chose to accept convicted children to boost their income; the government paying an allowance towards their maintenance costs. Birmingham Town Council was, however, the first such body in the country to establish its own reformatory institution when Shustoke Industrial School opened

[20] Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton*, p. 130.
[21] Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 177-178.
[22] *An Act to amend the Law relating to the Giving of Aid to Discharged Prisoners* (London, 1862).
[23] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1899), Volume 72, column 291.
[24] The preface contains a timeline illustrating when the various institutions opened and closed.

in 1868.[25] The Council did not, however, foster good relations with the establishments that were independent of its control, as there were constant disputes over funding.

In 1885 J.T. Bunce used the term 'civic gospel' to describe the modernisation of Birmingham and the improvement of living standards in the town in the 1870s.[26] Labelling the people behind it as having a 'strong sense of official and personal responsibility', he described it as a combination of positive influences from outside the council and contributions from leading members of the community. Arthur Ryland, Henry Manton, Jesse Collings and Charles Ratcliff, were key individuals who promoted the civic gospel in practice. They were also involved with the management of the town's ragged schools and subsequently played fundamental roles in the foundation of several local reformatory institutions. In addition, Manton made major contributions to the development of national policy by helping to draft the legislation introduced into Parliament by Adderley and Leigh.[27]

Chapter Eight comprises a case study that focuses on the influence of the Unitarian Hill family. The contribution made by Matthew Davenport Hill towards the care of juvenile offenders was particularly significant but, when grouped with the work of his father, siblings and children, the range of initiatives they promoted is unique. The Hazelwood School was a potential starting point for the reformatory

[25] 'Birmingham Industrial School, Shustoke', *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 6th July 1868, p. 5.
[26] Asa Briggs, *History of Birmingham, Volume II, Borough and City 1865-1938* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 332.
[27] 'Edgbastonians Past and Present, No. 268. Henry Manton', *Edgbastonia*, 23:268 (September 1903), pp. 193-199; E.P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons* (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1973), p. 59.

movement in Birmingham. This 'proto-reformatory' served as a meeting point for many individuals who campaigned to reform the treatment of criminal children under the law and shared many of the characteristics of the reformatory institutions that developed later. This chapter also highlights how influential the Unitarian networks could be.[28] These networks were mentioned in passing in Chapters Five and Seven but Chapter Eight details just how important and extensive, both geographically and socially, some became. Mary Carpenter was a mentor to some of the female family members who went on to become influential reformers in their own right and also illustrated that they were as capable as their male relatives of creating their own networks. The Hills contributed to reforms in the care of criminal and destitute children over almost a century and across three continents.

The second case study is presented in Chapter Nine. It focuses on Saltley Reformatory as the institution represents a common denominator for events in Birmingham and local individuals who were influential nationally. It originated through the efforts of Joseph Sturge who was prompted to open the school after attending the 1851 conference. Charles Adderley provided financial support from the outset and was involved in its management until his death. Matthew Davenport Hill, his son Alfred, and Lord Leigh, also had lifelong associations with the institution.

[28] Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, pp. 173, 176.

The best evidence of the institution's impact would be from the children detained there. The only first-hand accounts are contained in the letters printed in the institution's annual reports. Given the number of letters the school claimed to have received and the number of 'old boys' who visited regularly, the reformatory had a positive influence on the lives of many of the children.[29] They were better off than the majority of their law-abiding peers, enjoying regular meals, clean clothes, access to a doctor, education, training and a permanent roof over their heads. The staff portrayed the school as their home and attempted to instil family values; the children were never called 'inmates'. Despite being a place of detention it had no high walls and the boys slept in a dormitory, not in cells. They were also permitted to leave the school regularly and work within the local community.

The lack of secondary studies relating to individual reformatory institutions makes it difficult to assess Saltley's significance. Official reports and inspections never highlighted any particular problems with the school; however, the institution's punishment records indicate that efforts were made to deal with discipline problems internally and not involve local magistrates. Whether this practice was unique to Saltley could be determined by a comparative study using the punishment records of similar establishments. Saltley was the first institution of its type to be registered under the 1854 Act and survived into the twentieth century, closing in 1939. Taking into account what is known about the institution, and the

[29] Birmingham City Archives Local Studies Collection, Ref: L43.94, *Thirty Sixth Annual Report of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution* (Birmingham, 1887), p. 9. This states the school received 200 letters and nearly 100 visits from 'old boys' in the space of one year.

contribution its founders made to the reform of delinquents, Saltley can be proposed as a model for other institutions to follow.

While undertaking this research every effort has been made to utilise a wide variety of sources to test both the validity of the existing historical narrative and underpin these findings. Particular attention has been given to identifying and tracing primary source material that has previously been unknown or unavailable.[30] All items that fall into this category relate to Saltley Reformatory and have proved invaluable because of the differing perspectives of the institution they provide.

The majority of primary sources employed have been located using references quoted in secondary materials, searches of databases containing contemporary publications and archive holdings. This thesis has benefited from the *British Newspapers Online* website. It allowed searches to be undertaken over a wide range of publications, covering an extensive geographical area. This particular archive is continually expanding and offers significant opportunities for further research.

The various subject areas have presented different problems in locating contemporary sources. For example, for Birmingham's ragged schools and the majority of its reformatory institutions, no archive material exists and the only

[30] The new material comprises: Cadbury Research Library MS 870, Reformatory School Farm Bailiff Diary; Birmingham City Archives MS 244/4/6/1, Birmingham Reformatory Institution Punishment Records; Birmingham City Archives MS 244/1/5/1-2 Miscellaneous Letters and Papers Re: Birmingham Girls' Reformatory.

accounts of the establishments are to be found in newspapers and magazines. In the case of the Hill family, they themselves provide a significant number of the contemporary accounts of their work. For Saltley Reformatory, though a significant archive exists it is comprised of the institution's own records and descriptions from those closely involved with its management. In order to alleviate these problems, the practice adopted has been to locate as many contemporary sources as practicable and identify any bias or particular perspective they may exhibit.[31] With this in mind, the relevance of the material was assessed and the findings derived. In view of the breadth and depth of the material employed, illustrated by the extent of the thesis bibliography which includes foreign as well as domestic publications, it is felt that sufficient sources have been consulted to be confident of the findings presented here.

The overall conclusion that can be derived from this research is that from the 1850s onwards Birmingham was both the base for a group of individuals, and the location of a series of events, which changed the way juvenile offenders were dealt with by the judiciary. While the meetings and conferences maximised and maintained the momentum for change, the legislation that underpinned the creation of a network of reformatory institutions specifically for convicted children was the work of Charles Adderley. In 1899 his brother-in-law, Lord Leigh, introduced the bill which finally abolished the imprisonment of children.[32] Though nearly fifty years elapsed between this event and the first conference held in

[31] For example the Ragged School Union produced the *Ragged School Union Magazine* which contains the potential for bias in any article relating to these particular institutions.

[32] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1899), Volume 73, column 246-248. This details the discussions that took place in Parliament prior to the enactment of Lord Leigh's Reformatory Schools Amendment Bill.

Birmingham, the town remained a centre for reformatory efforts and influenced this fundamental change in the domestic legal system.

Birmingham was at the forefront of practical steps to introduce these new institutions locally and built upon the early nineteenth-century legacy of Warwick's magistrates. Adderley and Leigh founded several reformatories across Birmingham and Warwickshire, while the town's council was the first local authority to establish its own detention facility for juvenile offenders, opening Shustoke Industrial School in 1868. In addition, several of the town's ragged schools evolved into reformatory institutions.

These findings add a new perspective to the social history of the nineteenth century at both a local and national level. Birmingham's pioneering role in the reform of the treatment of juvenile criminals has not previously been identified and suggests that the town exerted a greater influence than London in this aspect of penal reform. For the first time, this research specifically links the conferences and meetings that took place in the town between 1851 and 1861, and a group of Birmingham-based individuals, with a series of progressive reforms that changed not only the legislative perspective of juvenile criminality but how society as a whole viewed such offenders.

Behind the development and influence of Birmingham's own reformatory institutions were a group of people who employed private philanthropy to promote social reform and pushed for legislative change to achieve this. They were able to

mobilise public opinion and attract the attention and support of the media, for an extended period of time, employing both to exert influence on Parliament. While Birmingham is synonymous with the civic gospel era of the late nineteenth century, to date the town has not been linked by historians to the reform of the treatment of juvenile offenders. The findings of this research highlight the need for a fundamental reassessment of Birmingham's place in the accepted historiography of the social history of the nineteenth century. Locally it calls for a re-evaluation of the presently accepted view of the civic gospel both in chronology and the aspects of society it affected. Considering the number of individuals who were associated with the reform of juvenile delinquents prior to their involvement with the civic gospel, it suggests a link between these two aspects of Birmingham's history, as both shared a reforming ethos that drove social change.

The findings of this thesis suggest a number of areas where additional research may provide further insights into nineteenth-century efforts to reform or alleviate juvenile criminality. An investigation into the activities of magistrates in other parts of the country during the same period that Warwick's local judiciary were implementing their practices would illustrate if these efforts were unique or part of a national pattern yet to be identified. Were Warwick's officials influenced by others outside the county or were they the originators and were there more Esther Tatnalls working to improve the treatment of incarcerated children? Such a comparative study would be of value in providing a national perspective into early attempts at rehabilitating juvenile offenders.

An investigation into the exchange of ideas between British and foreign reformers, together with the influence they had on one another, is now possible because of the increasing number of global online resources. Previous studies into this aspect of the reformatory movement have generally been cursory. They have focused on how British reformers and establishments were influenced by outside institutions and generally ignored the extent of any British influence abroad.

While much has been made of Mettray, and its founder Demetz, little or no assessment has taken place of the extent to which Demetz based his practices on what he observed during his visits to this country. As he visited Britain prior to founding Mettray, and the early reformatory at Stretton-on-Dunsmore substantially predated its establishment, pinpointing a connection between the two would be useful. There are several French studies of Mettray that have not been translated, so English editions would be of value.[33] The records of Mettray may also shed light on both Demetz's own influences and provide accounts of its British visitors. While this thesis records a significant number of these visitors, it is likely more remain to be identified.

Birmingham's Neglected Children's Aid Society was established to take children off the streets and coordinate the placement of juveniles in reformatory institutions. Though resembling the activities of the Reformatory and Refuge Union's 'boys' beadle' in London, limited inquiries have failed to locate any similar organisations that were operating at that time. The Society's contribution to the welfare of

[33] Luc Forlivesi, Georges-Francois Pottier and Sophie Chassat*, Eduquer et punir. La Colonie agricole et penitentiarie de Mettray (1839–1937)* (Presses universitaries de Rennes, 2005). This is the most recent French study of Mettray.

Birmingham's children and the involvement of several people who became prominent through the civic gospel warrants further research.

The role of ragged schools in the development of child welfare provision and as a foundation for subsequent reformatory institutions would also be a valuable study. In view of the number of such schools that were established, the duration of their existence and how widespread they were geographically, their influence on society remains to be assessed. It would be of value to ascertain whether the schools acted as precursors to reformatories in other parts of the country.

The Hill family, in particular, justify additional research as the work undertaken by its various members, both male and female, is important locally and nationally. Their influence on the Elmira Reformatory in the United Sates and their work in Australia provides a 'global' perspective to the family's activities.

The 1851 Birmingham conference on juvenile offending marked a turning-point in the legislative treatment of juvenile offenders and influenced a series of events that ultimately ended the imprisonment of children. The momentum for reform was maintained through a series of conferences and meetings held in the town, together with the influence of several prominent local individuals; most notably Matthew Davenport Hill, Charles Adderley and Lord Leigh. It is not clear whether this reforming ethos grew from the pioneering practices that Warwick's magistrates employed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the influence of the Hill family and the numerous social reformers who were attracted to their

Hazelwood School, or an early incarnation of the civic gospel. The result, however, was a movement, firmly grounded in Birmingham, which prompted Victorian society to change the way it viewed delinquent children and develop new laws, institutions and practices that favoured rehabilitation over punishment.

To date Birmingham's influence in this fundamental societal change has not been identified by historians. It is a significant, but neglected, aspect of the town's past and calls for a new chapter to be written in its history to illustrate that nineteenth-century Birmingham was much more than 'the city of a thousand trades'.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE FORMED, FOLLOWING THE 1851 CONFERENCE ON JUVENILE REFORM, TO LOBBY PARLIAMENT [1]

J. Adshead (Manchester)

Dr. G. Bell (Edinburgh)

C.H. Bracebridge (Warwick)

W. Campbell (Glasgow)

Rev. J. Clay (Preston)

J. Corder (Birmingham)

G. Edmonds (Birmingham)

Rev. J. Field (Reading)

W. Gladstone (London)

W. Grant (Bristol)

M.D. Hill (Birmingham)

J. Hubback (Liverpool)

C. Jenner (Edinburgh)

W. Locke (London)

[1] *Report of the Proceedings of a Conference on the Subject of Preventive and Reformatory Schools, Held at Birmingham, on the 9th and 10th December, 1851*, p. 102.

W. Lucy (Birmingham)

A. M’Neel Caid (Wigton)

J. McGregor (London)

J.W. Nutt (York)

Rev. W.C. Osborn (Bath)

J. Platt (London)

D. Power (Ipswich)

J.F. Ranson (Ipswich)

A. Thomson (Aberdeen)

Rev. S. Turner (London)

W. Watson (Aberdeen)

R.W. Winfield (Birmingham)

OTHER INDIVIDUALS SUBSEQUENTLY ADDED:

H. Pownall (Chairman, Middlesex Magistrates)

R.B. Armstrong (Recorder, Manchester)

Rev. T. Carter (Chaplain, Liverpool Gaol)

Rev. E. Chapman

Rev. J. Foster Rogers

The Hon. A. Kinnard

Sir J. Pakington, Bart., MP

J. Platt

R. Ricardo

S. Stephen

J. Stewart

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE FORMED, FOLLOWING THE 1853 CONFERENCE ON JUVENILE REFORM, TO LOBBY PARLIAMENT [2]

Mr H. A'Court, MP

Mr Adderley, MP

Mr J. Ball, MP

T. Barwick Le Baker

Mr Bass, MP

Mayor of Birmingham

Mr W. Brown, MP

Lord Calthorpe

Rev. J. Clay

Mr E. Greaves, MP

Lord Robert Grosvenor, MP

S. Gurney, Jun.

The Earl of Harrowby

Mr M.D Hill (Recorder of Birmingham)

Hon. A. Kinnard, MP

Mayor of Kidderminster

[2] *Report of the Proceedings of the Second Conference on the Subject of Juvenile Delinquency and Preventive and Reformatory Schools, Held at Birmingham, December 20, 1853*, p. 117.

Hon. H. Liddell, MP

Lord Lovaine, MP

Lord Lyttleton

F.A. McGeachy

Mr Monckton Milnes, MP

W. Morgan

Mr C.W. Packe, MP

Sir J. Pakington, Bart., MP

Mr D. Power (Recorder, Ipswich)

C. Ratcliffe

Mr Rowe

Mr Schofield, MP

The Earl of Shaftesbury

Mr Smith Child, MP

Mr Spooner, MP

J.G. Symons

Rev. S. Turner

Hon. & Rev. G.M. Yorke

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTION OF LETTER FROM JELINGER SYMONS TO RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES

Private

Newland Villa

Nr Gloucester. April 12th 1850

Dear Sir

It is time to suggest to you that perhaps it might aid your efforts to establish Prison Farm Schools if the five Inspectors of Schools who are now charged with the superintendence of workhouse schools were instructed to inspect and report on the mental moral condition of children in gaols. They will be respectively in every town where there is a gaol within the next few months, so that no extra expense need be incurred. Some valuable facts might I think be thus elicited, useful for your purpose and if the inquiry were extended to five or six of the best penal establishments (such as Mettray) abroad, so much the better.

I beg to remain dear Sir

Faithfully yours

Jelinger Symons

RR Monckton Milnes Esq MP.

Scan of original letter provided courtesy of Jenny Edmunds, John Drury Rare Books, Manningtree, Essex. (Ref: 23262)

APPENDIX C

GRANTHAM MUNTON YORKE [1]

Grantham Yorke was the fourth son of Admiral Sir Joseph Sydney Yorke and Elizabeth Weake. Born on 14th February 1809, he was educated at Charterhouse, Eton and Queen's College Cambridge before joining the army in 1826.[2] He served in the 52nd, 94th and 85th Foot Regiments, gaining a commission as a lieutenant in the latter, before retiring from his short military career in 1833.[3] The following year he joined the Church of England and began training at Trinity College Dublin before moving to Limerick in 1835 where he was ordained as a deacon.[4] Yorke moved to Lincoln in 1837 and was subsequently appointed as Rector of St. Philip's in Birmingham on the death of the incumbent Rev. Lawrence Gardner in 1844.[5]

In early 1846 Yorke appeared before a select committee inquiring into educational provision for the poor and proposed that the government provide basic education for the children of those receiving poor relief. He repeated these proposals to Birmingham's Guardians of the Poor who stated it would be too difficult to establish such a scheme locally but invited him to trial such an arrangement in his

[1] I originally wrote a brief biography of Yorke for the website of St. Philip's Cathedral Church in 2015. That article can be found at: Daniel Wale, 'Grantham Yorke Rector of St Philip's in 1844', Birmingham Cathedral. The Cathedral Church of St. Philip's', 2015, <https://birminghamcathedral.wordpress.com /2015/01/14/grantham-yorke-by-dan-wale/>.

[2] J.A. Venn, (Comp.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part II, Volume IV* (Cambridge, At The University Press, 1954), p. 617; 'Death of the Dean of Worcester', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3rd October 1879, p. 4.

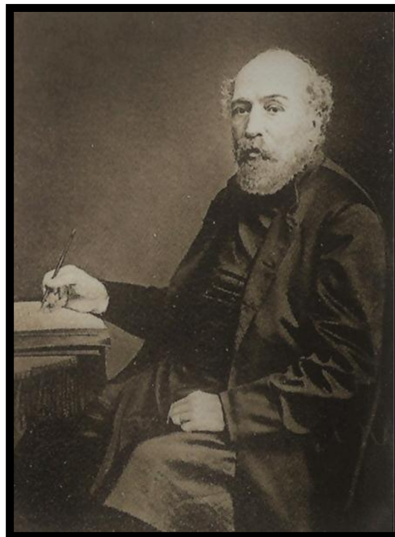
[3] G.R. Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir of the Centenary Celebrations of Tennal School, Birmingham* (No publication details known), p. 10; Venn, (Comp.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, p. 617.

[4] *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, p. 617.

[5] Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir*, p. 10; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, p. 617.

parish.[6] At Yorke's behest his curate, Rev. Charles Hume, then visited many of the homes in the vicinity of St. Philip's to undertake a 'minute investigation of the condition of the poor'.[7] As a result of the poverty it highlighted Yorke opened a ragged school, in a disused workshop on Lichfield Street towards the end of 1846.[8] It was renamed St. Philip's Free Industrial School the following year with Yorke as chairman and, after King Edward's Grammar School donated a piece of land, the school relocated to a purpose-built institution in Gem Street in 1850 and was renamed accordingly.[9]

Fig A.1 Grantham Munton Yorke [10]



[6] 'Guardians of the Poor of Birmingham', *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 30th March 1846, p. 1.
[7] *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Free Industrial School* (Birmingham, 1851), p. 8.
[8] Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir*, p. 13; *First Annual Report of the Birmingham Free Industrial School* (Birmingham, 1851), p. 8.
[9] Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir*, pp. 14-15.
[10] Lowes, *1849–1949 Souvenir*, p. 3.

Throughout his time in Birmingham Yorke was involved with many local educational institutions and frequently called for improvements in the town's educational provision;[11] on occasion campaigning through the auspices of the Education Aid Society.[12] He also, unsuccessfully, appealed to local industrialists for support by highlighting the benefits they would receive from a better-educated workforce.[13]

Yorke remained chairman of Gem Street Industrial School until 1868. He was also a long-standing vice-principle of Queen's College, a governor of King Edward VI Grammar School and involved with the management of the Blue Coat School, Saltley Reformatory, and the Diocesan Teacher Training College, also based in Saltley.[14]

He served as Rector of St. Philip's for thirty years during which time he was also appointed as Rural Dean of Birmingham.[15] In January 1875 Yorke gave his farewell sermon at St. Philip's Church before taking up the post of Dean of Worcester.[16] He held this appointment until his sudden death at Worcester's Deanery, following a Sunday service, on 2nd October 1879.[17] He did, however,

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[11] 'The Education Movement In Birmingham', *Birmingham Journal*, 18th January 1857, p. 1.
[12] 'Death of the Dean of Worcester', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3rd October 1879, p. 4.
[13] Grantham M. Yorke, *The School and the Workshop: Why Should They Not Combine?* (Birmingham: H.C. Langbridge, 1856).
[14] 'The Chief Educational Institutions in Birmingham', *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 14th December 1867, p. 9; 'Proposed Testimonial to the Hon. and Rev. G.M Yorke', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 14th July 1874, p. 6; 'Death of the Dean of Worcester', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3rd October 1879, p. 4; John D. Myhill, *Blue Coat. A History of the Blue Coat School, Birmingham 1722–1990* (Warley: Meridian Books, 1991), pp. 58-59.
[15] 'Proposed Testimonial to the Hon. and Rev. G.M Yorke', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 14th July 1874, p. 6.
[16] 'Proposed Testimonial to the Hon. and Rev. G.M Yorke', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 14th July 1874, p. 6.
[17] 'Death of the Dean of Worcester', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3rd October 1879, p. 4.

bequeath funds that were used to establish the Grantham Yorke Trust. It survives to this day providing educational grants to young people in the West Midlands.[18]

[18] The Grantham Yorke Trust, Charity No: 228466, provides one-off educational grants for young people, aged under twenty-five, born in the West Midlands. It is presently administered by Shakespeare Martineau Solicitors.

APPENDIX D

THOMAS MULOCK

Thomas Mulock was born near Dublin in 1789 to an Irish father and a mother of Swiss extraction. The second of twenty-two children, the family lived in a country house close to the capital where his father held the position of 'comptroller of the stamp office'.[1] Mulock's parents had arranged for him to study at Trinity College, as a prelude to joining the Anglican Church, but he left Ireland in 1812 and spent several years travelling through Britain in the company of his elder sister Sophia.[2] It was during this time he made the acquaintance of future prime minister George Canning and spent some time working for him in his Liverpool parliamentary constituency.[3]

Mulock travelled to the continent in 1820 but shortly before his departure three of his letters were published in the *Literary Gazette* under the pseudonym 'Satan'. In them he claimed to be able to exert influence over royalty, parliament and the church.[4] While abroad Mulock supported himself lecturing on subjects ranging from theology to English literature.[5]

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[1] Elihu Rich, 'Thomas Mulock: An Historical Sketch', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Volume 4 (December 1879), p. 424.
[2] Rich, 'Thomas Mulock: An Historical Sketch', p. 425.
[3] 'London Posts', *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 15th October 1825, p. 4; Derek Beales, 'George Canning (1770-1827)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4556>[accessed 18th June 2018].
[4] Rich, 'Thomas Mulock: An Historical Sketch', pp. 427-428.
[5] 'Miscellanea', *Hereford Journal*, 20th September 1820, p.2. This article also describes Mulock as a 'renowned letter writer'.

Mulock returned to Britain in 1821 and settled in Stoke-on-Trent. There he established himself as a religious teacher and was able to attract a congregation that funded the building of a chapel in the town.[6] While taking the title 'Reverend'; there is no evidence he was ordained into any ministry, he described himself as a pastor 'dissenting from the Established Church'.[7] He subsequently established a second congregation in Oxford where 'his peculiar religious views had gained some converts'.[8] In July 1825 Mulock personally prosecuted several members of the Stoke congregation over an alleged assault arising from a dispute about seating in the chapel; his claims were dismissed.[9] Later that year the press described him as acquiring a 'sinister celebrity' and being the leader of 'an absurd set of fanatics' after he published an article calling for the execution of the judiciary.[10]

Together with his 'religious' activities and copious letter writing, Mulock also produced an intermittently-published journal entitled *The Public Inquirer* that he distributed in the Stoke area.[11] In 1830 he was convicted of libelling a member of his congregation in the journal over comments regarding the funding of the chapel's construction.[12] As a result he served a brief prison sentence.[13]

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[6] 'Wilson V. Mulock', *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 15th August 1829, p. 4.
[7] 'Disturbing A Congregation', *Birmingham Chronicle*, 21st July 1825, p. 8; 'Mr Thomas Mulock', *Chester Chronicle*, 29th July 1825, p. 4.
[8] Rich, 'Thomas Mulock: An Historical Sketch', p. 433.
[9] 'Disturbing A Congregation', *Birmingham Chronicle*, 21st July 1825, p. 8; 'Mr Thomas Mulock', *Chester Chronicle*, 29th July 1825, p. 4.
[10] 'Fanaticism', *Belfast Commercial Chronicle*, 2nd November 1825, p. 4.
[11] 'Wilson V. Mulock', *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 15th August 1829, p. 4.
[12] 'Staffordshire Adjourned Epiphany Sessions', *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 6th March 1830, p. 4.
[13] Karen Bourrier, 'Narrating Insanity in the Letters of Thomas Mulock and Dinah Mulock Craik', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 39:1 (2011), pp. 206-207.

Fig A.2 Thomas Mulock c.1823 [14]

Between 1832 and 1840 Mulock was confined, almost continuously, in Stafford County Lunatic Asylum.[15] In May 1840 the *Staffordshire Advertiser* noted how Mulock's 'reappearance' had sparked wide interest but made no mention of his time in the asylum. Now described as a lecturer, he gave a series of talks in the country on the poetry of Lord Byron.[16] Later that year Mulock moved to London and established 'a society for the protection of alleged lunatics, and for the assistance of those whose property was unjustly detained'. He was able to attract substantial financial support; one of his patrons being the son of assassinated prime minister Spencer Perceval.[17] By 1849 he was living in Scotland where, as

[14] Bourrier, 'Narrating Insanity', p. 208.
[15] Bourrier, 'Narrating Insanity', pp. 203-204. He was committed to the institution on occasions both before and after these dates.
[16] 'Newcastle Literary and Scientific Society. Thomas Mulock, Esq "on the Poetry of Lord Byron"', *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 30th May, 1840, pp. 12.
[17] Rich, 'Thomas Mulock: An Historical Sketch', pp. 434-435.

well as publishing a series of articles about the country and its people, he became a critic of the highland clearances.[18]

Mulock's mental health deteriorated again during the 1850s and he was repeatedly confined to an asylum, for varying lengths of time, during the decade.[19] Despite this, his letter writing campaigns continued and Prince Albert, in particular, became the recipient of numerous correspondences. On one occasion, apparently concerned that Queen Victoria was being intimidated by her government ministers, Mulock urged Albert to accompany her during all her meetings so that she could benefit from his 'manly and protective presence'.[20]

It seems that his repeated relapses undermined his ability to earn a living, as by 1856 he had become financially dependent on his daughter, the author Dinah Mulock Craik.[21] He did, however, continue to employ the pen and paper to expound his opinions on various aspects of society. Mulock's 1861 attack on reformatory schools in general, and Saltley Reformatory in particular, prompted Dinah to write to him to express her support for the institutions as an alternative to

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[18] Rich, 'Thomas Mulock: An Historical Sketch', p. 435. Mulock's writing about Scotland and its people were published in, *The Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Socially Considered, with Reference to Proprietors and People* (Edinburgh: John Menzies, 1850). The highland clearances were the enforced evictions of the inhabitants of the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland that occurred between approximately the middle of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'Highland Clearances', *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com /topic/ Highland-Clearences> [accessed 20th June 2018]. By 1851 Mulock was reported to be writing for the *Northern Ensign* newspaper based in Wick. Untitled, *Morning Advertiser*, 15th January 1851, p. 2.

[19] Bourrier, 'Narrating Insanity', pp. 212-213.

[20] 'To His Royal Highness Prince Albert', *Devises and Wiltshire Gazette*, 19th January 1854, p. 3. At the same time Mulock was also complaining to the Speaker of the House of Commons about the practices employed to select which MPs were appointed to the various government departments. 'Mr Mulock's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons', *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 3rd February 1855, p. 4.

[21] Bourrier, 'Narrating Insanity', p. 214. Craik is probably best known for the book, *John Halifax, Gentleman* (No publishers details known, 1856).

prison.[22] By the following year his attention had been drawn to another subject and he protested to Sir George Grey, then Secretary of State for the Home Department, that many criminals were avoiding justice by feigning lunacy and then being discharged back into society, unpunished, when they 'recovered'.[23]

In 1864 Mulock was found guilty of contempt after threatening to publish a story about a woman involved in divorce proceedings unless she withdrew her petition. His description of himself as a 'public writer of very long standing' carried no weight with the judge as Mulock was fined £300.[24] He lost an appeal and, though the original fine was settled, subsequently refused to pay the court costs, which resulted in his imprisonment for several months.[25]

Mulock died in August 1869, aged 81. One obituary described him as a 'man of vigorous intellect and extensive information....Many of his views, particularly in religious subjects, were peculiar'.[26]

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[22] Thomas Mulock, *A Letter to the Earl of Lichfield on the Principle and Details of Management of Saltley Reformatory, Near Birmingham* (Stafford, 1859); Tapas Project, Untitled (1861 letter, Dinah Craik to Thomas Mulock), *Tapas Project Online*, 2016, <http://tapasproject.org/digitaldinahcraik/files/letter-dinah-mulock-craik-thomas-mulock-c-1861-o>, [accessed 23rd June 2018].
[23] 'Intolerable Abuse of the Law of Lunacy', *Western Daily Press*, 5th August 1862, p. 4.
[24] 'Court of Probate and Divorce, Chetwynd V Chetwynd – Mr Mulock Fined', *Morning Post*, 30th July 1864, p. 6.
[25] 'Mts Chetwynd – Imprisonment of Mr Mulock', *London Evening Standard*, 7th January 1865, p. 3; 'Thomas Mulock: An Historical Sketch', p. 437.
[26] 'The Late Mr Mulock', *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 14th August 1864, p. 4.

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Scan of original letter provided courtesy of Jenny Edmunds

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