

**Protection, Prevention, Reformation:
a history of the Philanthropic Society, 1788-1848.**

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by

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Abstract

This study explores the origins and early evolution of the Philanthropic Society with the aim of making a contribution to our understanding of the dynamics of philanthropy.

The Society was founded, in 1788, at a time of growing public concern over the failure of existing legal measures to stem a perceived rising tide of crime. Explicitly conceived as a crime prevention enterprise, the Society focused its attention on a constituency of poor children who either seemed destined for or who had already embarked on a criminal career. The Society's educational experiment in moulding them into law-abiding citizens was initially located in a group of family houses scattered around the village of Hackney. It then made a swift transition to a purpose-built Institution in Southwark and remained there until a decision to establish a Reformatory Farm School, at Redhill, was taken in 1848.

On one level, this study describes how the Society's development was nurtured by Philanthropists with a diversity of interests in the fields of commerce, jurisprudence, medicine, local poor-law and penal administration. It presents new information on the interplay of ideas and influences that helped shape the Society's institutional policy and practice over the period.

At another level, this study takes us through a pre-modern policy landscape to the point at which a voluntary enterprise in protection, prevention and reformation attracted the support of the Government and became the subject of statutory action. By examining hitherto underused Philanthropic archival sources and previously overlooked Government documents, it traces a complex network of interaction between informal and formal agencies in the dissemination of reforming ideas and the shaping of social policy. In doing so, it describes how conventional views on the respective roles and relationships between charitable agencies and the State began to change during the early nineteenth century.

Table of Contents

Abstract		2
List of illustrations		4
Abbreviations		5
Introduction		6
Chapter 1.	The 'Birth' of the Philanthropic Society	10
Chapter 2.	The early years	39
Chapter 3.	The developing dimension of self-governance	75
Chapter 4.	Network extension	104
Chapter 5.	A thinning mesh of support	139
Chapter 6.	Enlightenment	173
Chapter 7.	A Philanthropic network of Reform	212
Chapter 8.	Conclusion	250
Bibliography		262

List of Illustrations

fig.1.	Plan of Institution at St. George's Fields	42
fig.2.	Ledger entry: Thomas Burn	61
fig.3.	Lettsom's 'Moral and Physical Barometer'	69
fig.4.	View of Chapel and Female Reform	117
fig.5.	Map of St. George's Fields	136
fig.6.	Sketch of Institution grounds, c. 1814	140
fig.7.	Ledger entry: John Hoscroft	182
fig.8.	Mettray, c. 1843	195
fig.9.	Redhill Farm School, c. 1851	213
fig.10.	Petition, 1848	228

Abbreviations used

b/c	Building Committee Minutes
c/c	Chapel Committee Minutes
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
fsm/c	Farm School Management Committee
g/mns	General Minutes
m/j	Matrons' Journals
NAPSS	National Association for the Promotion of Social Science
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PS	Philanthropic Society
PRO	Public Record Office
s/j	Superintendents' Journals
SBCP	Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor
SC	Select Committee
SHC	Surrey History Centre
SIPD	Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
tf/c	Trade and Finance Committee

Original spelling has been retained in all the quotations from printed texts and archival records.

INTRODUCTION

This study has arisen, somewhat phoenix-like, from a residue of puzzles and uncertainties about the origins and evolution of the Philanthropic Society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The roots of my research interest, however, stretch back to the beginning of the 1980s when I visited the campus of the Royal Philanthropic School at Redhill, Surrey. On touring the extensive site, I was struck by the number of units that had been built there and then abandoned in response to changing policies regarding the care and control of young people “in trouble”. Memory of these redundant buildings came to mind when I was contemplating a research topic on the changes wrought at Redhill by juvenile justice and welfare policy developments from the beginning of the 1990s. Disappointed to find that this local authority controlled facility had closed I thought it might, nonetheless, be worthwhile exploring the rationale for that policy decision. In pursuit of information, I was surprised to find that the Society had not become defunct on the closure of the School. Although founded in 1788 it was still operating and, I was told, remained ‘true’ to its original charitable objectives.

This declared continuity of purpose was intriguing. So too were the changes in methods adopted to meet the Philanthropic remit. Upon reading a little booklet entitled *The History of the Royal Philanthropic Society, 1788-1988*, I discovered that the first initiatives were conducted in family houses scattered around the village of Hackney. The Society had soon moved to a purpose-built Institution in Southwark and then established a Reformatory Farm School, at Redhill, in 1848. Having gained fame for its expertise in rehabilitation and after-care, the Society continued at this location until just after my visit in the 1980s. It had afterwards embarked on a variety of community-based schemes.

However, whilst initially seized with a desire to understand why recent developments had occurred, the pull of the past has taken me on another odyssey of discovery. The change in research focus was triggered by my reflections upon some interviews conducted with people involved in the Society’s present-day operations. Indeed, in their frequent references to continuing the Philanthropic tradition of innovating child-

care policy and practice, my respondents conveyed such a strong sense of identity with the Founders that it made me pause and peruse more closely what had been written about the Society's early work.

This reading uncovered some differences in interpretation regarding the Philanthropic Society's original purpose. While George (1925), for instance, notes that it provided for deserted and vagrant children with criminal associations when parishes evaded their responsibilities under the Poor Laws, Carlebach (1970) and Pinchbeck and Hewitt (1973) bring the penal realm more into the picture. Reminding us that needy children, without or beyond parental care and control, were at risk of drifting into crime and experiencing the terrors of the criminal laws, they highlight how the Philanthropic provided protection from the perils of society through establishing an Institution in which the roots of the English Approved School system could be found. Radzinowicz and Hood (1986), however, firmly place the Philanthropic Society at the forefront of endeavours to modify the crude and rigid legal structure of the time and suggest that it should be more strictly regarded as an after-care asylum for young offenders who had already been sentenced to punishment under the law. They furthermore observe that, like other products of philanthropic zeal, the Society's work should be seen as part of a public order strategy that was designed to reform outcast children and put them back into the mainstream of society as honest and industrious workers.

The importance of recognising the mixture of motives at play in such initiatives is emphasised by Owen. In a discussion of the spread of education movements, he sees the Philanthropic's 'preventive work with children whose backgrounds apparently pre-destined them to a life of crime' exemplifying a form of philanthropy that 'would appeal alike to the benevolence and self-interest of the community' (Owen, 1964:121-2). Nonetheless, while providing a 'take-off' point for attacks on the problem of 'juvenile delinquency' which helped designate where responsibility should be drawn in terms of a 'mutually profitable meshing of public authority and private initiative', Owen goes on to assert that as such 'Reformatory' initiatives reside within the movement for prison reform, they should be placed 'on the periphery of philanthropy' (Owen, 1964:155).

With the Society also portrayed as an exemplar of the development of 'scientific' philanthropy in the latter half of the eighteenth-century (Andrew, 1989), these varied accounts suggested that its early development deserved some further scrutiny. Furthermore, although it had been formed at a time when a great current of Enlightenment thought was gripped with the conviction that social problems could be rationally analysed and systematically resolved, hardly anything was mentioned about the personalities involved in the Society's governance. There was also vagueness about why, when its original charitable objectives embraced children, of both sexes, from what Carpenter (1851) would distinguish as the 'perishing' and 'dangerous' classes, by 1848 it was specialising in the reformation of boys at the tougher end of a developing 'penal-welfare complex' (Garland, 1985). Hence, being provoked by these accounts and ambiguities, this study focuses on a number of questions that have not yet been satisfactorily answered: why was the Society established in 1788? why did it decide to embark on the Reformatory Farm School initiative in 1848? who were the prime movers in the Philanthropic enterprise over this period?

There has recently been a spectacular growth of research on new initiatives for tackling youth crime, delinquency, welfare dependency and social exclusion. Even more has been written at a general level about historical developments in Poor Law provision, education for pauper and delinquent children, prison reform and the growing role of the State along with increasing bureaucratic regulation. But, as Sherrington (1985) observes, long-standing voluntary organisations 'tend not to have been regarded as worthy of serious attention by researchers'. To this we might add that although the early Philanthropic enterprise frequently appears as a historical "footnote" in many studies, surprisingly little use has been made of the Society's extensive archives.

This institutional history of the Philanthropic Society, 1788-1848, is a modest effort to add to our knowledge of the origins of that innovative voluntary organisation. It is, of necessity, limited in scope and does not set out to provide a comprehensively chronicled narrative of this phase in its development. Nonetheless, by drawing upon previously underused archival material as well as overlooked Home Department

documents, this study addresses a neglected dimension of social policy research; namely, how key members of the Society interacted within the legal framework and Government structures of the period and how their ideas on issues of personal and social concern took expression in policies and practices. It thus seeks to provide insight on the genesis of ideas on protection, prevention and reformation from when they were put into practice through voluntary effort at the end of the eighteenth century to a moment when they began to be embraced within two major pieces of legislation. In doing so, it will hopefully extend our understanding of the complex dynamics of philanthropy in the period.

Chapter 1

THE 'BIRTH' OF THE PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETY

1. Philanthropic Times

At the outset of this study, it seems more than apposite to observe academic conventions and provide a definition of "Philanthropy". Doing so, however, has proved a fraught task for historians in the past as it is a concept that is wide in scope, embracing a multiplicity of intentions, sentiments and activities. Recognising this, Prochaska recommends that it be thought of 'broadly as kindness', springing sometimes from little more than an impulse to meet the needs of members of a community, whether at the level of the family, the community or nation at large (Prochaska, 1988:7).

As an activity, however, it is one that has had a long history but sometimes a bad press. Its nineteenth-century manifestations, for instance, have not always been portrayed in the light of an altruistic giving of time and money for the relief of poverty and distress. Rather, the benevolence bestowed by some of the more fortunate members of society has been interpreted in terms of patronising "do-gooding", motivated by a desire to inculcate middle-class values of work, thrift and temperance among the poor, or as a means of acquiring status within a community. From other perspectives it has formed part of a "social control" strategy that served capitalist interests by providing a healthy and skilled workforce or by averting revolution at times of slump in the economic cycle through cementing social bonds. The evidence in support of such social control theses is, as Smith points out, 'not conclusive either way'. Although strands of philanthropic action were concerned with reforming habits and morals rather than simply relieving poverty, this was subject both to working-class hostility and canny manipulation by the poor themselves (Smith, 1995). Moreover, philanthropy existed within as well as between classes (Prochaska, 1990).

Nevertheless, while it is tempting to agree with Owen (1964) who observes that it is 'not easy' to decide what constitutes philanthropy, we must begin untangling the interweaving strands of motives colouring the Philanthropic Society's endeavours.

According to a little *History* produced on the occasion of its bi-centenary, the story began in 1788 when:

a little group of men met in the St. Paul's Coffee-House in London to discuss a problem which had been exercising their minds for some time. They were worried by the increasing number of homeless children ... who only managed to keep alive by begging and dishonesty. Some of these were no older than three or four years; many were homeless, others were trained by their relatives to win what they could by theft. There seemed little ahead of them except execution on the public gallows or a lifetime of imprisonment¹

As this account goes on to relate, their child-saving mission was one that exemplified an awakening 'social conscience' at the plight of children at risk of the perils of the streets and the terrors of the criminal laws. This interpretation has some credibility. It was an era when children could face exploitation and abuse by parents or masters but had few rights and protections afforded them under statute. Furthermore, Pinchbeck and Hewitt (1973) note that they could be sentenced to death and actually swing on the gallows for committing a felony. Even though a presumption of *doli incapax*² extended over children between 7 to 14 years, this could be rebutted. As Blackstone observed in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1796), these were the 'very modern times' when cases such as that relating to this boy of ten years old could be found. Convicted on his own confession for murdering a bed-fellow, but being perceived to display 'in his own behaviour plain tokens of mischievous discretion', the judges unanimously agreed he was a proper object for capital punishment. Their justification was that:

the sparing of the boy merely on account of his tender years might be of dangerous consequence to the public, by propagating a notion that children might commit such atrocious crimes with impunity (cited in Platt, 1969/1977:199)

However, while compassion is not to be discounted, in order to reach a more adequate understanding of what may have inspired the Society's formation it is necessary to consider the wider climate of concerns in which the Philanthropic enterprise embarked. These were unsettling times of social, economic and political ferment. The ignominy of the loss of the American colonies was in recent memory

¹ Alabaster, (n.d.) *A History of the Royal Philanthropic Society 1788-1988*.

² Incapable of criminal intent; that is, without a sufficient understanding of right and wrong.

and, in the aftermath of the War of Independence, the terms on which peace had been achieved fostered turmoil rather than tranquillity in the political sphere. In some quarters, fears were mounting over what was happening in the realm of France. *The Times* could remark that French exertions to attain rights and liberties ‘must naturally be viewed by every enlightened Briton in two opposing lights’³. But, to those of pessimistic bent, news that accounts of a rebellion against paying subsidies to the government of that country were not a ‘mockery and fabrication’⁴ rekindled worries about seditious plots at home. Indeed, the destruction of private property and prisons, during the Gordon Riots of 1780, had already brought a shock to the Establishment in the Metropolis and heightened anxieties about the erosion of what had been thought relatively stable relationships of authority and deference. These disorders had also brought into question the ability of the civil powers to quell “the mob”.

Entwined with these alarms were those relating to the rising level of Poor Law expenditure. With roots in the thirteenth century, the arrangements for administering relief to the poor had been tweaked and adjusted to serve local conditions under the legislative format established by the Elizabethan statutes. Yet, although ‘providing a tool of social policy of infinite variety and unlimited versatility’, by the end of the eighteenth-century a rapidly expanding and mobile population of the poor was putting the system under strain (Fraser, 1973/1984:35). The burden on the Poor Law and its administration was noticed particularly in the Metropolis. By then the largest city in Europe, London had long been a magnet for those who sought work or fortune by legal or illegal means. As George notes, it attracted the ‘best and worst, the enterprising and the parasitic classes’ as well as those who sought refuge from political or religious persecution (George, 1925:117). But, as the innovations and rationalisations of the agrarian and then industrial “revolutions” gathered pace and displaced people from occupations located in the countryside, the problem of supporting the urban poor became of heightened concern.

³ *The Times*-10/7/1788.

⁴ *The Times*-5/8/1788.

This concern was intensified by perceptions that crime was on the increase. Whether or not the crime trend was upward in reality is hard to confirm as charting patterns of crime for this period is ‘fraught with dangers and difficulties’ (Emsley, 1987/1996:21; see also Tobias, 1967; Beattie, 1986). Before 1805, no official national statistics on committals for indictable crimes in England and Wales were collected and even where crimes were measured at a local level, the records are patchy; particularly in relation to summarily tried offences (Innes and Styles, 1993:240). As these measurements excluded the “dark figure” of unrecorded and unreported crime, it is unclear how much crime there really was⁵. Nonetheless, with cases of assault and theft increasing after the Peace of 1783 (Emsley, 1987/1996:32) these were worrying times which saw a 40% increase in committals to the Old Bailey over the three years to 1786. This was accompanied by an escalation in the numbers executed in London between 1783-87 which was 82% higher than the previous five years (Ignatieff, 1978:87).

In this context, the burgeoning numbers of children who only kept alive by begging and dishonesty might well have conjured-up the spectre of “the mob”. Indeed, while young people on the streets have long been a focus of ‘respectable fears’ (Pearson, 1983), these fears probably were exacerbated by a visibly increasing youthful population. Although the recurring controversy over whether the population of the country was declining or mounting would not begin to be settled until the first census was carried out in 1801, with a growing proportion of the nation’s children being urban dwellers and the population of London on its way to doubling between 1700 and 1820 (Cunningham, 1991:20), it seems likely that contemporaries had no need for statistical devices. Wherever they looked, children were to be found in ‘unprecedented numbers’(Walvin, 1982:17).

This is not to suggest that discourses of concern over wayward youth were confined to the children of the poor. The disorderly behaviour of boys on *exeat* from Westminster School could ‘outrage’ and ‘terrify’ nearby residents⁶. This, indeed, led to the recommendation that:

⁵ Although methods of recording are now more sophisticated, as Reiner (1993) observes, analysing crime trends remains problematic.

⁶ *The Times*-10/8/1788.

The *Westminster Boy* that offends the Peace should be taken up by a Constable, and instead of complaints against him to the Master, he should be had before a Magistrate and committed to Bridewell, though the offender were heir to a Dukedom. This would soon quell these riotous lads⁷

That remedy could well have been counterproductive. The insalubrious state of Bridewells, gaols and other places of confinement did not gain overwhelming admiration⁸. Gaol fever was rampant and might carry-off as many prisoners awaiting trial as would suffer the State sanctioned sentence of death by hanging⁹. Spreading with equal ease through captive populations were vices of all varieties. This moral contamination was just as dispiriting to some observers. As prison reformer, John Howard, commented in his *State of the Prisons* (1777), not only were half the robberies committed in and about London planned in prisons ‘by that dreadful assemblage of criminals, and the number of idle people who visit them’, but:

Multitudes of young creatures committed for some trifling offence are totally ruined there. I make no scruple to affirm, that if it were the wish and aim of magistrates to effect the destruction, present and future, of young delinquents, they could not devise a more effectual method than to confine them so long in our prisons: those seats and seminaries (as they have been very properly called) of idleness and every vice (reproduced in Muncie and Sparks, 1991:13).

Yet, what could be done to prevent crimes and depredations? The existing panoply of punishments did not appear to have a deterrent effect. As *The Times* reported in an Old Bailey ‘Intelligence’:

The numbers convicted last session ... are a melancholy proof of the inefficacy of our laws, and ought to stimulate our Parliament to an alteration of the system for punishing crimes ... [as] ... hanging, most certainly, has not sufficient terrors to prevent those crimes for which it is the punishment¹⁰

⁷ *The Times*-16/8/1788 - original emphasis.

⁸ For the difficulties in precisely distinguishing the characteristics and functions peculiar to the Bridewells/ Houses of Correction/ Prisons/ Gaols/ Jails of this period, see for instance, McConville (1995). Innes (1987) provides a related insight on the possible effectiveness of Bridewells in producing moral reform.

⁹ Evans notes that ‘gaol fever’ was epidemic typhus, transmitted by lice. The death toll arising from an Old Bailey Sessions of 1750 included the Lord Mayor of London, two judges, an alderman, a lawyer and an under-sheriff (Evans, 1982:95-6).

¹⁰ *The Times*-22/9/1788.

While this inspired the *The Times* to then thunder:

Instead of death, the sale of our capital convicts to the Barbary States - or a present of them to the Dey of Algiers, would be more terrific than death, and consequently have a greater effect on the conduct of those inclined to depart from the letter of the law

the exercise of discretion throughout all parts of the criminal justice process also stirred currents of concern. Although some crimes were not prosecuted out of compassion over the probable fate of a perpetrator of a felony, “mercy” could be extended in the form of a Royal Pardon after a capital sentence had been imposed. Juries also played a part; sometimes with the nudge of judicial guidance displayed in this account of the case of Hannah Rowley. Indicted for stealing a prayer-book from St. Giles’s Church and pawning it the same day for 2s/6d, ‘Mr Recorder observed that this was Sacrilege and a Capital Felony, by a statute of Edward IV, unless the jury could find the value of the book below 12d’. The verdict - ‘Guilty of stealing to the value of 10d’¹¹.

In this climate of uncertainty over the rule of law, the ‘State of Crimes and Punishments in London’ became a subject of investigation. This the readers of the *Whitehall Evening Post*¹² were appraised of by way of an abridged Report on Newgate jail. Therein, they would have seen that in the year from 28th September 1785 to 28th September 1786, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six prisoners had been received under the Sheriffalties of James Sanderson and Brook Watson Esquires. Of these were:

Executed	68
Sent to Hulks	350
Dead	16
Discharged	891

The remaining 471 were then placed into the hands of Sheriffs Paul le Mesurier and Charles Higgins ‘in the usual form’ and a further 1,536 were added by 28th September 1787. They were disposed of thus:

¹¹ *The Times*-16/9/1788. For the debate on the function of exercising mercy under the eighteenth-century’s “Bloody Penal Code”, see Hay (1975); Brewer and Styles (1980). But, see also Rawlings (1999) who casts further light on the complexity of contemporary responses to the “crime panics” of the 1770s and 1780s.

¹² *Whitehall Evening Post*-24/6/1788.

Executed	87
Transported to Botany Bay ¹³	117
Sent to the Hulks	225
Dead	56
Discharged	<u>969</u>
	1454

And, with those ‘remained under the sentence of death and transportation etc.’

	<u>553</u>
Making in all	2007

These statistical ‘accounts’ were claimed to be ‘the first of the kind which have ever been made out’. They were brought into play to argue that ‘when people complain of the sanguinary nature of our laws, and the frequency of our executions, they have not sufficiently balanced one circumstance against the other’. Not only did the figures illustrate ‘how small the proportion of executions is to that of commitments, and what proportion the number convicted bears to the number acquitted’ but also, while people might ‘think it a shocking circumstance that eighty-seven persons are executed in one year, they should consider that this is eighty-seven out of two thousand and seven’. If they did so:

[the] number then will not appear so great, and it will appear less if we consider that of those sentenced to die, two thirds are in general pardoned, or their sentenced changed to transportation

Whether these observations were intended to deflect criticism of the sentencing policy of the Sheriffs who helped calculate the Returns, they were connected into an additional concern. This was, that ‘of the vast number discharged in any one of these years, even Charity herself will not permit us to think that many return to industry and honesty’. With this in mind and likely alert to the threat to order posed by hordes of demobilised soldiers and sailors in the Metropolis, the “facts” had been presented in the hope that:

¹³ There was also uncertainty about the prospects of this new penal venture. *The Times*, 17th September 1788, comments: ‘It is possible that we may never hear more of our Botany Bay convicts. Accounts from them should have reached England by this time, as they certainly, if safe, must have been met by many vessels, after leaving the Cape’. For an account of the next dispatch of female convicts on-board the “*Lady Julian*” in 1789, see Rees (2001).

[they] may be useful to the curious enquirer into the state of crimes and punishments, and who wish[es] to devise some plan to operate as a general preventive¹⁴

For capturing the significance of the “Birth” of the Philanthropic venture, it is important to note that this offer was extended at a time when the establishment of a professional, centrally co-ordinated body of police officers in the Metropolis was resisted. The foundations of such a preventive measure, in the form of regular patrols that would help maintain the security of citizens and their property, had been laid and supervised by the Fielding brothers at the Bow Street court. Nevertheless, when proposals to extend this in co-operation with the Government were mooted after the Gordon Riots fiasco and incorporated into Pitt’s Police Bill of 1785, opposition had been successfully mobilised. This was partly on the grounds that it smacked of a State despotism perceived to reside in the French system of government-funded and organised police “spies”. As such, police of this kind might coercively interfere with the liberties of free-born Englishmen: the morbid fear of which tended to strike a deep resonance in English political culture (Palmer, 1989).

“Police”, however, had other connotations at this time. As Andrew reminds us, in eighteenth-century usage it ‘referred to the maintenance of a civil order, or a civilised society, a refining process’. It was closely bound up with the policy goal of benefiting the ‘common weal’ and was considered ‘not to be the sole preserve of politicians or a professional corps of police but by publicly minded citizens’ (Andrew, 1989:6-7). As a concept it was also undergoing a transition in - or extension of - meaning, from that which was directed at promoting the public good to preventing future ills (Pasquino, 1978).

In these interconnected senses, the call for a ‘general preventive’ was in continuity with ideas expressed by Jonas Hanway. In a series of letters outlining *The Defects of Police* (1775) and dwelling on the causes of immorality, he had proffered various propositions for ‘the establishment of general plans of Police on a permanent basis’. These, he argued, in dealing more effectively with the moral conduct of the people as

¹⁴ McLynn (1989:331) relates that in the ‘upsurge’ of crime in the mid-1780s most of the criminals were military veterans.

well as the regulation of paupers and reform of prisoners, would benefit the 'national security and happiness'. With some irony, he further commented that:

The word Police is not universally intelligible, so little have we attended to it; and consequently we must expect that many proposals for it will be treated as utopian or romantic, tho' they may be salutary and necessary regulations. If the people are not kept in good order, and just apprehension of what they owe to themselves, their God and their country, no event ought to surprise us. For my own part when I consider how lame and deficient our Police is, I wonder things are not in a worse state than they really are

Not that Hanway was content to float mere proposals in the air. Besides being involved with the Magdalen Asylum's efforts to reform "common prostitutes" and in the Foundling Hospital's child-saving activities, he sought to relieve the plight of chimney-sweepers' apprentices. He also helped found the Marine Society in 1756¹⁵. Established with the patriotic aim of supplying disciplined men and boy sailors who could assist efforts to defend the nation in time of war and increase mercantile trade in time of peace, by the time of Hanway's death, in 1786, that enterprise was mainly training poor boys for service in the Merchant Marine or the King's Navy. Whether this had the impact of sweeping the streets clean of 'vast shoals' of boys between 12 and 16 years, 'the children of thieves or the deserted offspring of idle or dissolute parents' (Radzinowicz and Hood, 1986:134), it nonetheless served to exemplify how the "preventive principle" could be set to work for the social good by active citizens.

2. The Philanthropic Plan and Principles

Was the Philanthropic Society trying to do likewise? It may be the Marine's initiative which is referred to in the Philanthropic Society's first *Report* when acknowledging that its 'plan is almost or altogether new'. Frustratingly, we cannot be sure about the deliberations surrounding the Society's origins. Despite the extensive archival sources that remain, the Minutes of its very first meetings have been lost. However, from the scant details provided in an Abstract of Proceedings, it seems that the first meeting was held at the house of Robert Young, on 5th September 1788, during which it was decided to form a Society 'for the Prevention of Vice and Misery among the Poor'. By entry number six, Young had been appointed Intendent, the Marquis of

Carmarthen elected President and the Society had determined that its enterprise was 'not to have surrounding walls'. It was to be thus an 'Asylum not a Prison'¹⁶.

Nevertheless, the surviving publicity literature relating to the Society's earliest years gives some indication of the concerns that gripped its Founders' imaginations and which they believed could catch interest - and purses - elsewhere. While the latter consideration reminds us to be cautious of the rhetorical gloss and flourishes put on the venture, it is worthwhile examining these texts in some detail. They are mainly attributable to Robert Young, but, I will proceed on the basis that he was expressing views on human nature and the world and how it works that achieved consensus within the Society at the time¹⁷. These sources display a complexity of imperatives not revealed in the Society's little *History*. Indeed, fore-grounded to hook public attention was not so much the plight of vagrant and destitute children who were at risk of the perils of society. Rather, privileged in the rhetoric was the intention to maintain order and prevent future ills through rescuing and reforming children who, if left in their existing circumstances, presented a risk to society¹⁸. Hence, the enterprise was explicitly portrayed as a '**Philanthropic Society Instituted for the Prevention of Crimes**' which would begin the task by seeking children:

in the nurseries of vice and iniquity in order to train up these embryo robbers and nuisances, to useful purposes in life; and thus to draw riches and strength to the state even from sources of impoverishment and decay

This strategy, it was argued, would be welcomed by 'every friend to order and public good who sees with concern the daily outrages and indecencies of those who are abandoned to profligacy and vice', for:

Notwithstanding that great sums are annually expended in the country for the service of the Poor, it is a melancholy fact that much want and misery still exist. And although the

¹⁵ For an extended account of Hanway's involvement in the development of the Marine Society and other projects, see Hutchins (1940); Taylor (1985). Sir John Fielding also supported this venture.

¹⁶ Abstracts: 5th September 1788 - 16th January 1792. In Chapter 3, however, we will be privy to Robert Young's account of his role in creating the Society.

¹⁷ The texts examined here are the Philanthropic Society's First and Second *Reports* (1789), an *Address* (1789), *Appeal* (1790) and *Address* (1792). In this section, I have kept some references distinct but have consolidated others so as to trace thematic strands.

¹⁸ For an exploration of the ambivalence in responses to children who are perceived both as 'victims' and 'threats', see for example, Hendrick (1994).

necessary severity of the laws and the frequency of punishment are subjects of general regret, vices and crimes continue to prevail and even increase to an alarming degree¹⁹

The presence of these evils certainly confirmed the ‘inefficacy’ of the means that had ‘hitherto been attempted’ to banish them from the land. They also pointed out the ‘necessity of trying measures altogether of a different kind’. Although the ‘calamities’ that beset the poor could ‘call forth the warmest emotions of pity’, it ‘appeared to the founders of the Institution that charity in itself tended to produce upon the minds and morals remote injurious effects’. Indeed, much of the charitable ‘bounty’ of the nation was bestowed ‘without proper discrimination’ and was ‘annually employed in the support and consequently the reward of idleness’. The ‘class of labouring poor’, however, was the ‘first in the scale of civil society and the basis on which all higher gradations rest. Its labour is the source of national wealth’. Thus, when not directed towards a productive end, charity threatened to ‘operate in an alarming degree’ for, when the ‘due proportion’ of labour was wanting, ‘the springs of the wealth of the nation will no longer flow’²⁰.

Charity’s drain on national prosperity was compounded by the operation of the Poor Laws. Their ‘great defect’ was ‘the want of discrimination between merit and demerit, amounting virtually to the discontinuance of honest industry’. In making provision for everyone in want who could make a claim to settlement, they removed ‘the necessity of providing against the love of ease inherent in all men’ and fostered ‘the evil dispositions prevalent in too many’. In short, parochial benefits created dependency and:

although the workhouse is sufficiently irksome to the poor when they come to reside in one, it nevertheless affords, while in prospect, a support to their minds, and a pretext for indulging in present vicious inclinations²¹

Nor did the code of criminal laws offer solace. It was ‘by no means a power adapted to correct the depravity that pervades the vast body of the poor’. Not only were ‘the thefts committed under the gallows at times of public execution ... striking proofs of

¹⁹ *Appeal* (1790)

²⁰ *First Report*.

²¹ *First Report*.

this truth', but 'Justice, by waging war upon men's passions' seemed 'to have rendered their vices more formidable' and made 'dangerous enemies of neighbours whom a wise and gentle policy' might have attached as 'valuable friends'. Indeed, 'Governments, the province of whom it is to watch over the collective welfare of communities', had ignored 'society's essential interests'. Instead of planting the 'seeds of virtue':

with the retainers and retinues of justice, with the iron hand of the law, the plough and harrow of litigation, they over-run the ground and tear up the soil, carrying with them only desolation and misery, and still leave the roots of evil to shoot up anew, and the seeds to germinate with fresh vigour in the loosened earth²²

In contrast, the Philanthropic remedy would not be found wanting. It would strike at the roots of evil and '**lead to the reduction of every species of public burthen, which vice and misery induce; poor rates, hospitals and prisons; and to the restoration of peace, good order and personal security**'²³. These benefits would flow from attending to a 'sound principle' of trade in which '**giving ever has a return with interest**' in mind²⁴. It was this 'principle of policy' that had been 'too little' regarded 'in establishments supported by voluntary contributions and the legal provisions for the poor'. It was also sadly lacking in 'the alms given to beggars and the private donations of individuals' which altogether made 'a sum surpassing belief'.

Incorporating 'prospects of gain' might well be alleged to be a 'pollution of the spirit of pure benevolence'. Yet charity, when 'divested of any views of return', was a perpetual 'current from the purses of the rich to the miseries of the poor'. There it 'stagnated' and, in merely keeping people alive, threatened to be 'destructive of the main pillars of civil society'. This made a sad comparison to the approach taken by 'great trading companies, and capital manufacturers' which did not neglect to calculate the return on their investments and understood how 'the order of society has linked other interests to their own'. With this in mind, the Philanthropic enterprise was designed:

²² *Second Report*.

²³ *Appeal* (1790) - my emphasis.

²⁴ Original emphasis

to unite the spirit of charity with the principles of trade by erecting a Temple to Philanthropy on the foundations of Virtuous Industry²⁵

By doing so, the Society would see the ‘sum of happiness augmented beyond what has been hitherto known in any former period of mankind’. This would, moreover, be realised through:

[commencing its] operation on lives, which in their present state are below the zero point in the scale of estimation; which not only have, already, no positive value, but which on the contrary have a positive *disvalue*; if it may be so expressed, in the balance of which the evil prevails over the good²⁶

To this end, the Society would seek out in the ‘Augean stable of filth, disease and iniquity which disgraces the Metropolis’ and train-up to ‘virtue and usefulness in life, the children of vagrants and such who are in the paths of vice and infamy’. Since ‘corruption must inevitably be propagated from race to race, so long as children were brought up in the society and example of their parents’, the first step was to separate the young from the old ‘who would corrupt them’. The next was to ‘impress a contrary impression of their minds, virtuous dispositions, and industrious habits and lastly to find them the means of an honest employment and livelihood’.

Admittedly, objections could be raised at the prospect of the Society relieving the ‘burthens of bad members of the community, in preference to those of honest and industrious persons’. The danger of ‘ill consequences’ was ‘obviated’, however, by the choice of ‘Objects’: being children, they ‘*cannot form a deliberate purpose to become wicked* and cannot look to charity with hope’²⁷. Furthermore, they were not undeserving. Neglecting to provide for their moral education and employment posed even greater dangers, as:

They are a class which belongs to no rank of the civil community; they are ex-communicates in police; extra social; extra civil; extra legal; they are links which have fallen of from the chain of society and which going to decay, injure and obstruct the

²⁵ *First Report*.

²⁶ *Second Report* - original emphasis

²⁷ *First Report* - original emphasis

movements of the whole machine. A just policy requires that these links be replaced, by reuniting the vagrants of the country, to the classes of labourers and mechanics²⁸

Notably, other reasons were advanced for targeting these “zero-sum” children. They were beheld to be the ‘only subjects that could be employed for a grand experiment’ directed ‘to the improvement of knowledge’ and ‘designed to ascertain and fix the principles of a general reform’²⁹. They offered to ‘an experimentalist in mind ... an opportunity that was beyond price’. If these children were rescued and the first lessons taught them was ‘forgetfulness, and disuse of all they had hitherto learned and practised’, each would be ‘as a blank, ready to receive any impressions or forms, which were designed for it’. Then:

when the influence of moral education was experienced on the very lowest and worst description of people; when there should be change, by this means, so as to produce the best characteristics; when from the children of vagrants there should be formed a superior class of mechanics and servants; honest, industrious, affectionate, faithful, examples to others, and preferred before them, it would be impossible but that every order in society would be eager to wipe away the disgrace of being left behind in the race of virtue by those whom they had been accustomed to hold in contempt

By reforming the offspring of ‘the most degenerate class of poor’ and raising them ‘to a degree of superior utility’, the Philanthropic experiment would provide a ‘magnificent, striking and commanding’ model to ‘attract the eye of the nation’. Its ‘new mode for a plan of education’ should, indeed, be applied in other spheres. Regrettably, in regard to ‘British youth’ of higher stations more ‘consequence’ was placed on teaching them to read Homer or Virgil than on being good subjects, neighbours and citizens. This socially beneficial curriculum was likewise neglected by parish officers who tended not to feel as they ought to do ‘the agent[s] of the state, having a portion of its subjects committed to [their] care, but as appointed by [the] parish to reduce the burthens on the Poor’s maintenance’. In that the ‘economical maintenance and speedy riddance of them’ was the ‘grand arcana’ studied, the care of children’s morals and the formation of their characters were the ‘most remote from any plan of conduct they adopt’.

²⁸ *First Report*.

²⁹ *Second Report*.

The Philanthropic Plan, furthermore, was not an ‘obtrusion of a new Utopian vision on the world’. Rather, it was the ‘result of much study’, was based on facts and ‘designed for execution’ by men who were ‘prepared to commit their time and reputation on its event’. From this it derived a credibility lacking in the merely ‘speculative projects thrown on the mass of opinions which issue continually from the press’. It was, indeed, a practical Plan of Police that would ‘prevent the growth of evil and snatch the innocent from destruction ... deprive the jails from their inhabitants ... [and] ... add citizens to society’. As such, it should appeal to diverse interests, for:

If we regard humanity and religion, this institution opens an asylum to the most forlorn of the human race. It befriends the most friendless, it saves their souls from perdition.

If we regard national prosperity, and the public welfare, it is calculated to increase industry in the most helpful and necessary channels.

If we regard self-interest; its immediate object is to protect our persons from assault and murder; and our property from depredation; that our wealth should not endanger our lives, our repose be interrupted by thieves, nor our dwellings be exposed to the desperate design of midnight incendiaries: and this is a point in which the most selfish among mankind are most concerned, and which makes it in the interest even of avarice itself to be the most liberal³⁰

3. The Philanthropic network: ideas and interests

It is impossible to trace here the roots and gestation of all the ideas articulated in these Philanthropic refrains. Bringing children of a “dangerous class” into high profile was not an innovation. This progeny had fuelled fears about the ravages which the Elizabethan “sturdy beggar” might wreck on society. As well, the adage that “the devil makes work for idle hands to do” had not only been a recurrent theme in the socialisation of children but had circulated around the establishment of other charity Schools of Industry. Nevertheless, the Philanthropic response to children deemed ‘the most important object of police’ was particularly redolent of Enlightenment modes of thought. Strongly coloured by Lockean convictions about the malleability of human nature in its earliest stages of development and melded to an environmentalist theory about the roots of crime, it followed the empirical tradition by aiming to study human

³⁰ *Address* (1792).

nature 'not as it was found in books, but as it is in fact'. It was, indeed, the Society's 'peculiar distinction and boast' that its members sought an 'acquaintance with wretchedness in the last and lowest sources' which was only to be had by 'painful researches in which few will engage'. In visiting places where its Objects resided they had already discovered:

indescribable misery, which no friendly hand had reached, nor pitying eye had seen. The most abominable filth renders their habitations to the last degree offensive; swathed with rags, begrimed with dirt, the traces of the human figure, in them are almost lost; a person cannot go upstairs without apprehending danger to his limbs; an empty apartment, or at best, furnished with a broken chair, and a bundle of rags for a bed, is their wretched existence ... Sometimes there are two or three in a room. Begging and stealing are their ordinary means of subsistence; drunkenness, lying, quarrelling, profaneness and prostitution, are their manners and way of life. The springs of honest industry, in their minds are wholly unbent³¹

Yet, who were the Philanthropists who believed it important to embark on this experimental policing enterprise? Why might they have been concerned to restore outcast children to the 'civil community' and 'to the right knowledge of their God'? It is not the intention here to discuss all the personalities associated with the Society. However, it seems apt to begin with Robert Young. As glimpsed from the publicity texts, he renders the Philanthropic Plan with the assured tone of a gentleman of the Enlightenment, imbued with an optimistic spirit of scientific enquiry and a confidence in the possibility of solving social problems through the application of reason. In this he exhibits what Gay (1969:8) terms 'the engaging self-assertiveness' of the age and displays a competence in distilling from a currency of contemporary opinion, assumptions and theories, a solution for social evils that gripped the imaginations of a considerable network of Philanthropists. Indeed, he appears conversant with many of the issues and remedies discussed in coffee-houses, taverns and drawing rooms of London in the shadow of Smith's *Wealth of the Nations* (1776), Gilbert's revisions of Poor Law administration in 1782 and Return on the nation's charitable resources of 1786³². He also displays a familiarity with sentiments expressed by, for example, the Reverend Townsend whose arguments against indiscriminate charity and the effect

³¹ First Report.

the Poor Laws had in promoting evils they were meant to prevent, made a substantial impact when published in 1786 (Poynter 1969:43; see also Birch 1974; Himmelfarb 1984). Paying reverence to the Beccarian notion that it is better to prevent crimes than to punish them was likewise not ignored³³. As was stressed, the Philanthropic rationale rested on the conviction that:

long experience has shewn that punishments cannot subdue vicious propensities deeply rooted in the mind; and that the characters of men commonly depend on the impressions they receive in early life. The combined forces of habit, example and necessity, drag to their ruin those who are at once entangled in the snares of the wicked; and were justice armed with additional terrors, it would still be unable to stop the torrent of corruption, impelled by so many powerful causes. Increased severity would but make men more artful and more desperate, would occasion new devices and new crimes to assist or conceal the old³⁴

Although credited with establishing an Institution so often mentioned in the historiography of juvenile justice and welfare policy, little is known about Young's background. What is remarked upon, however, is the irony of this moral entrepreneur's subsequent disgrace and banishment from the Society. Indeed, the term "confidence trickster" may spring to mind. Within a few years, allegedly, money collected by him for Philanthropic purposes had not found its way to that end. This led to a Special Meeting being called on the 19th August 1790. On that occasion, a Constitution of regulations and rules was drawn-up in the hope of ensuring the Society's welfare - rather than an individual member's fortune - was secured. Subsequently, notices were circulated to the effect that:

The Philanthropic Society find it absolutely necessary to inform the public that Mr Young is no longer Treasurer to, or hath any connections with this Institution - a deficiency of 1,200£ and upwards having been found in his accounts, by Auditors appointed by a general meeting of Subscribers to inspect the same. Of which deficiency he himself admitted to the amount of 1,075£ on an examination before a very full committee³⁵

³² For an account of how Gilbert set the agenda for public debate on poor law strategies in the 1760-80s, see Innes (1996).

³³ McLynn (1989:251-3) provides a helpful appreciation of Beccaria's intellectual debt to Montesquieu on matters of jurisprudence; see also Bellamy (1995). This strand of Enlightenment thought is rather neglected by Dick (1979) although he goes some way in exploring Young's allegiance to Smith's ideas on political economy and touches on the 'natural theology' of the Reverend William Paley.

³⁴ *Address* (1789).

³⁵ *Address* (1792).

We might speculate on the possibility of the funds being used as venture capital for other schemes Young had in hand. Indeed, by March 1792, he was confidently promoting his *Undertaking for the Reform of the Poor, of which a principal branch is the Asylum of Industry, consisting of eleven houses in East Street, Walworth, in the Parish of Newington Butts*³⁶. This had been in operation for a year and, like the Philanthropic, aimed to instil virtue. It was, however, more ambitious in scope being intended to embrace:

Youth discharged from gaols, female prostitutes, seamen and soldiers in want, vagrants, and in general, all who are willing to labour but who cannot procure employment

Even grander designs were in contemplation. In 1790, Young had published 'Proposals for Raising a Capital, for erecting and stocking a settlement for the employment and reform of discharged convicts, criminals, and others'. This *British Settlement, for the Reformation of the Criminal Poor, Adults and Children* was projected in greater magnitude. Estimated to require £15,000 to establish 'in a central Situation of the Kingdom on some waste or cheap land' it had secured Earl Grosvenor as President and his son, Viscount Belgrave, as one of the Vice-Presidents. This enterprise had a further twist, however, in that its buildings 'consisting of cottages, workshops, and ware-houses' were to be erected on their discharge by 'persons who have suffered imprisonment ... whether they have been acquitted of a crime laid to them or have undergone a term of confinement by the sentence of the law'.

These schemes were not the limit of Young's fertility of invention or ambition. In 1790 he was also promoting a *Social Union for the Improvement of Civil Society*. This, he confided, was to be 'an association composed of various parts, organised into a grand machinery of active powers, having virtue for its spring, reason for its guide, and happiness for its end'³⁷. It was, moreover, 'Founded upon a science which

³⁶ The Office was at 22 Downing Street, Westminster.

³⁷ The scope was broad. It was to be comprised of Committees for the 'redress of injuries, the Constitution, the Laws, the Police, Public Justice, Medicine, Charities, [political] honour, Education, Parochial affairs, Literature, Culture and science, Elocution, New discoveries; Foreign correspondence'.

may be called the Science of Society, because its object is to reduce the knowledge of domestic policy to principles and methodological arrangements'. In this it would labour for the benefit of all mankind, 'theoretically as well as practically', and:

[disseminate] through all orders a knowledge of the social science, so that the concerns of life may be reduced to a system and method; and that light and certainty may accompany man's pursuits of future interest and happiness, instead of the darkness and doubt in which at present they are involved

This "Enlightenment manifesto" draws more explicitly on Humean ideas about the possibility that a science of man could be developed than is evident in the Philanthropic Plan. In the latter, however, there is such a heightened emphasis on the principle of utility which would become popularised through the writings of Jeremy Bentham that we may wonder whether Young's works would not have been quite so overlooked had he not been discredited. We might also believe that, like Bentham, he should be placed amongst the Utilitarians who were 'not so much great inventors but great arrangers of ideas'(Halévy 1928:33)³⁸.

Nevertheless, whilst Young's scribblings sank into relative obscurity, Bentham's designs for a Panopticon penitentiary (c. 1790) 'Morals reformed, health preserved, industry invigorated, instruction diffused, public burthens lightened, Economy seated, as it were upon a rock, the Gordian knot of the Poor-Laws not cut but untied' (cited in Bozovic, 1995:95) attained notoriety³⁹. If its calculated utility bears a close similarity to that claimed for the Philanthropic enterprise, his proposed National Charity Company (c. 1797) likewise aimed to pass the utilitarian test for an effective "police" - adding to the sum of happiness. Insofar as this plan for improving pauper management envisaged setting poor children to labour in the countryside rather than being allowed to congregate amidst the contamination of towns, Bentham's ideas had

³⁸ The British Library holdings for Robert Young "social reformer" include: *An Essay on the Powers and Mechanisms of Nature* and *An Examination of the third and fourth definitions of the First Book of Sir Isaac Newton's Principia and of three Axioms on Laws of Motion*.

³⁹ When discussing Bentham's reminiscences on his plans for a subsidiary to the parent Panopticon - the Paedotrophium - Semple (1993:294) cites a passage which has eerie echoes of Philanthropic deliberations on adding value to "zero-sum" children: 'According to the calculations which had then been ... made, the pecuniary value of a child at its birth, - that value which at present is not merely equal 0, but equal to an oppressively large negative quantity, would, under that system of maintenance and education which I had prepared for it ... have been a positive quantity to no inconsiderable amount.'

been rehearsed by Hanway (Semple, 1993:85). They were also reworked by Young when proposing that his British Settlement should be located in the 'waste-lands' of Derbyshire. They are evident too in the Philanthropic paean on 'Agriculture' being the 'grand source to which the Society looks for employment for their Wards'. This was held to have particular utility, for:

Our populous cities and towns are already too much crowded with manufacturers, mechanics and menial servants who flock from all parts of the country ... [to] ... preserve the just balance, let us then, send to wholesome air and exercise, the miserable wretches who are now perishing upon dunghills in London, and from them a hardy race of husbandmen, from the waste of society, to populate and cultivate the waste and barren parts of the country⁴⁰

When inviting us to recognise the diversity of ideas and their expression within the Enlightenment movement, Porter (1990:45-9) comments that it might not have flourished without an extensive support-network of friends, sympathisers and fellow travellers from the upper professional classes. Casting around for an English equivalent to the influential and educated circles of lawyers, administrators, the higher clergy, aristocratic landowners and dignitaries who were part of the learned societies in the French provinces, he lights upon the Lunar Society of Birmingham. Providing a local forum for knowledge of the scientific advances that could further the interests of capitalist industry, this complemented other groups established by men who were united in an amateur love of science and a desire to be involved in practical improvements in manufactures, husbandry and medicine.

The Philanthropic Society can shed some illumination on a London scene in which gentlemen were instilled with a belief that they could contribute to the improvement of society. Looking at the membership in its earliest years we can, for instance, find a Jeremiah Bentham, of Queen's Square Place, Westminster, on the Committee list of 1790. If, allowing for the vagaries of spelling that prevailed at the time, this is Jeremy, it is understandable why the Society's declared utilitarian ethos could have attracted his interest. Likewise, the promise it afforded for an 'experimentalist', with Baconian/Newtonian pretensions, to study and mould the minds of the young

accorded with his dictum that ‘observation and experience compose the basis of all knowledge’ (cited in Poynter, 1969:137). As well, the Philanthropic’s preventive rationale would have been admired for its reflection of Beccaria’s reasonings on the severity of punishment which emboldens men to commit the very crimes it was meant to prevent⁴¹.

However, this reference to “Bentham” needs to be handled with caution. It likely refers to Jeremy’s father, a Jeremiah Bentham. He, Semple (1993:20) notes, was a prosperous attorney and a magistrate on the Middlesex Bench. It was due to his prompting that Jeremy published the *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789) which encapsulated the utilitarian argument that all laws should work for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. He did not, however, promote his son’s Panopticon project to the same extent (Semple, 1993:100). Underpinned by the principle of the “all-seeing eye” it had been inspired by Jeremy’s visit to the Russian manufactory designed by his brother Samuel and was to be run for profit under privately contracted management⁴². Whether Jeremiah’s magisterial observations on the prevalence of vice suggested that investing in the Society’s voluntary managed enterprise would accrue more immediately beneficial returns⁴³, he amassed a considerable fortune through dealing in property. This Jeremy inherited on his father’s death in 1792⁴⁴. It was thereupon used to further his Panopticon ambitions and promote the many other ideas embraced in his wider agenda for remedying the ills of society. His vision of how this could be achieved may have been of a less Evangelical cast than that which many key Philanthropic players would display. It did not, however, deter him from forming a friendship with Wilberforce whose Evangelic approach to the moral reform of the nation found expression

⁴⁰ First Report. We will find these ideas re-circulating around the Society’s Reformatory Farm School plan in the 1840s.

⁴¹ For an outline of Bentham’s affinity with Beccarian thought, see Gay (1969).

⁴² As related in an *Outline* (c.1790), the principle could be applied to ‘any other establishment, in which persons of any description are to be kept under inspection: such as Prisons in general, Poor Houses, Manufactories, Mad-Houses, Hospitals, and Schools’.

⁴³ The bench had similarly afforded Sir John Fielding ‘an incomparable vantage point from which to study the criminal classes of the Metropolis’ (Owen, 1964:59). A preponderance of Philanthropic gentlemen would be party to this perspective.

⁴⁴ After 1792, the name of Jeremiah Bentham disappears from the Philanthropic Committee lists. Jeremy only took-up residence at Queen’s Square after his father’s death.

through establishing the Proclamation Society in 1787⁴⁵. Nor did it prevent Jeremy declaring that the equally pious prison reformer, John Howard, was ‘one of the most extraordinary men this age can shew’ (cited in McConville, 1981:114), with his *State of the Prisons* providing:

a model for method and for the sort of stile that is competent to his subject ... He is accurate to the extreme: takes nothing from report: and asserts nothing but what has come under the cognizance of his senses (cited in Semple, 1993:75)

Bentham was not alone in this reverence for Howard whose exposure of defects in custodial arrangements had fuelled the passage of the Penitentiary Act (1779). This legislation, however, was not implemented: in part, ironically, because Howard and the two other men appointed to oversee the construction of a model penitentiary ‘obstinately refused to agree on any one site’ (Webb and Webb, 1922:46). One of these, John Fothergill, was a Quaker physician who established one of the most successful medical practices of the day among prominent Nonconformist industrial and banking families. Renowned for being first in England to clinically describe diphtheria in his *Account of the Sore Throat (DNB)*, he was part of a coterie of medical men whose spirit of scientific enquiry helped revolutionise the practice of hygiene and management in hospitals, poor-houses and gaols (Ignatieff, 1978:59). He was also involved in the development of the dispensary movement. At a time when illness could cost the poor what modest means they had, dispensaries offered advice and free medicine to the sick who attended on an out-patient basis or who were visited at home (George, 1925:62-3). This afforded the medical men an opportunity to increase their knowledge of disease and distress and, in turn, disseminate the facts of their observations.

John Cloakley Lettsom was Fothergill’s protégé and another wealthy Quaker. He too was involved in the dispensary movement and certainly appears to have ‘received something of an education on the sociology of disease, especially associated with poverty and dirt’ (Owen, 1964:121). His ‘*Hints*’ designed to promote ‘*Beneficence*,

⁴⁵ The Royal Proclamation for ‘preventing and punishing’ Vice had been issued in June 1787. Jeremiah Bentham was probably amongst the Middlesex magistrates who were inspired to meet immediately afterwards and resolve ‘to make every effort to secure enforcement of all such laws as

Temperance and Medical Science (1797) were an important part of “scientific” philanthropy’s attempt to diffuse useful knowledge⁴⁶. Many of these *Hints* would be published under the auspices of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Improving the Comforts of the Poor (SBCP). With its goals prefigured to some extent in Robert Young’s proposed *Social Union*, this also was an Enlightenment project in that it intended to make ‘an inquiry into all that concerns the poor, and the promotion of all that concerns their happiness a science’ (cited in Ignatieff, 1978:76)⁴⁷. Acting as a sort of trading-exchange for collating and disseminating information on the latest scientific experiments conducted by its members and like-minded parties at home and abroad, it was founded by William Wilberforce, Thomas Bernard and the Bishop of Durham in 1795⁴⁸. As its membership reflected a web of personal and professional relationships connected by humanitarian concerns (see Brown, 1961), we might suppose that Lettsom found time to support Wilberforce and his cousin Henry Thornton when they founded a Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the summer of 1787⁴⁹. That endeavour was in keeping with the Quaker community’s efforts to promote the stand against slavery and Lettsom had already emancipated the slaves on his West Indies plantation⁵⁰. By 1788, however, he was being exhorted to join with Howard so as to give of ‘their talents as well as their purses’ in order to relieve the miseries of:

those unfortunate little boys, doomed to ignorance, filthiness, and the consequent diseases of the body and the mind, the Chimney-Sweepers⁵¹

related to the moral community, and the maintenance of public order’ (Radzinowicz, 1956:149-151).

⁴⁶ Lettsom’s *Hints respecting the Immediate Effects of Poverty* (1780) provides a graphic account of the adverse social conditions encountered on a visit to a family residing in a little court off Aldersgate Street. These, he observed, made a stark contrast to the ‘plenty and elegance which reigned within the extent of a few yards only’ and showed ‘how greatly the sight of real misery exceeds the description of it’.

⁴⁷ One of the ‘departments’ in Young’s proposed *Social Union* intended to introduce ‘among the industrious poor a few plain and simple regulations which common sense would dictate, and themselves readily adopt in their daily mode of life, the amusement of their leisure hours, their cleanliness, their habits of mutual good will, and their provision for sickness and old age’.

⁴⁸ “Experiments”, as can be seen in Lettsom’s *Hints*, sometimes revolved around recipes for what looks remarkably like Irish stew and potato bread.

⁴⁹ Wilberforce and Henry Thornton are noted in the Philanthropic’s early subscription lists along with Thomas Bernard. By 1823, Wilberforce had consented to be a Philanthropic Vice-President.

⁵⁰ The plantation was in Tortola (Cunningham, 1991:68) in the Virgin Islands. For an account of the anti-slavery movement, see for example, Rodgers (1949).

⁵¹ Letter signed ‘Eusebia’, *Gentleman’s Magazine* (1788, vol.58).

Lettsom also helped sustain interest in prison reform after Howard died in 1791. In a series of letters published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, we can find him promoting James Neild's further enquiries into the state of the prisons. In the sixth of these, he expresses sympathy with the 'reasonings of the benevolent Neild' who believed that idleness frequently led to crime and that the steps taken by many to the gallows could have been prevented by the promotion of Virtue and Industry by parish officers. Lettsom further comments that 'the seeds of future vices, which are often sown very early in life, ripen by example, and mature by age'. Hence, it was:

[of the] greatest importance to the community that the roots of these noxious plants be early removed; that the bad propensities of unguarded youth be corrected before they are exemplified by practice, and become familiar by repetition ... [and] ... as the most usual sources of early depravity may be ascribed to the want of a decent education ... which enables its possessor to apply his powers to the emoluments of industry ... prevents idleness, and fortifies resolution to withstand vice ... [the] ... man of feeling and piety contemplates, with high gratification, the increasing establishment of Sunday and other Schools, for the benefit of the rising generation ... and a pleasing source of future happiness⁵²

In view of the affinity of sentiments, we may not be too surprised to find that Lettsom had been attracted sufficiently by the Plan and principles of the Philanthropic Society to become associated with its enterprise. Indeed, in 1790 he was a member of the Committee in the company of Jeremiah Bentham, Samuel Whitbread, Sir Joseph Andrews, J.J. Angerstein and Thomas Boddington. At that date James Sims, George Hardinge and Alderman Sir James Sanderson were Philanthropic Vice-Presidents.

These individuals may not all be historically illustrious figures on the national stage. However, a brief examination of their interlacing circles of acquaintance provides a snap-shot of the diversity of interests and expertise brought together in the Philanthropic community of preventive police. Hardinge served as Solicitor General (1782) and then Attorney General (1794) to Queen Adelaide. He was a senior judge on the Welsh circuit (1787-1816), an M.P. for the "pocket" borough of Old Sarum (1787-1807) and acted as counsel, in the House of Lords, for the East India Company (*DNB*). Besides these legal and parliamentary involvements, he was

interested in the arts and sciences and, like Lettsom, acquired the status of F.S.A. and F.R.S.

James Sims, M.D. and LL.D. would be one of the most active Philanthropic players. The son of a Dissenting minister and born in County Down, he had been helped in his medical career by Lettsom. Rising to become the President of the Medical Society of London, Sims's works included a *Discourse on the best methods of prosecuting Medical Enquiries* (1774) and *Observations on the Scarlatina Anginosa, commonly called the Ulcerated Sore Throat* (1803). Whilst thus adding to the sum of medical knowledge, Sims accumulated charitable credentials and extended his own education in poverty and disease by serving as a physician at the Surrey Dispensary and the General Dispensary, Aldersgate Street (*DNB*). Along with Lettsom, he also helped advance the prospects of the Royal Humane Society which promoted techniques for 'the Godlike Art of Resuscitation' (Owen, 1965:60) of persons apparently in a state of suspended animation⁵³.

It is not clear which Samuel Whitbread belonged to the Philanthropic Committee in 1790. If Samuel senior, besides accruing a large fortune in the brewing business, he was John Howard's neighbour and friend and helped secure the Discharged Prisoners and the Health of Prisoners Acts of 1774. Although hardly implemented, this legislation enabled magistrates to pay acquitted prisoners' fees⁵⁴. In order to prevent gaol fever, it also empowered them to direct that prisoners be periodically washed and to provide proper ventilation and separate sick rooms. They could also select surgeons or apothecaries to attend the prisoners and report their condition to the Quarter Sessions. However, if this is Samuel Whitbread junior, in 1790 he became M.P. for Bedfordshire and was also a magistrate. While having no further direct involvement in the Society's governance, his activities in advancing the cause of Poor Law reform and the provision of pauper education would provide a back-cloth to later Philanthropic developments.

⁵² *Gentlemen's Magazine* (1804, vol.74).

⁵³ That is, 'sufferers from drowning, asphyxiation, lightening stroke or other mode of unconsciousness' (Brown, 1961:342).

⁵⁴ The issue had helped draw Neild into the prison reform movement. He is noted amongst the Philanthropic subscribers of 1792.

Alderman Sir James Sanderson we have already met as one of the Sheriffs who calculated the Returns on Newgate jail. As a banker and hop merchant⁵⁵, however, his commercial interests could have introduced him to the Whitbread brewing family and their reforming concerns. Sanderson's interest in a Philanthropic Society that offered to nip crime and disorder in the bud might also have been stimulated by the experience of having to quell riotous assemblies in the Metropolis. Indeed, as Lord Mayor of London, he would be thanked for doing so by the City Corporation in 1792⁵⁶. These disturbances were probably similar in nature, if not in scale, to those which erupted in the summer of 1794. Again attended by the Lord Mayor and his constables, the civil power had to send for the military. These "powers", however, could be one and the same for, in response, Alderman Newman:

hearing in the country what was passing, came in great haste to town, took his post as Lieutenant Colonel of the Artillery Company, and attended and rendered material assistance to the Lord Mayor in that situation. Several of the Aldermen were equally effective in their respective wards⁵⁷

The Lord Mayor on this occasion was Sanderson's companion Sheriff of the Newgate 'accounts', Paul le Mesurier. He afterwards informed the Home Department that he had 'been tender about committing, thinking that the best thing for the public service was to reserve a few strong cases such as a jury could not in conscience overlook' (quoted in Stevenson, 1977:46)⁵⁸. Whether le Mesurier's endorsement of exemplary punishment was received with rapture in all sectors of society, he was soon elected to the position of Lieutenant Colonel at a general Court of the Royal Artillery Company, in December 1794⁵⁹. He was also a member of the Society for Promoting the Gospel and, as an M.P., spoke so vigorously on behalf of

⁵⁵ Judd (1955:61) informs us that many bankers combined their financial activities with other such forms of commerce.

⁵⁶ Anon. (1792).

⁵⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine* (1794, vol. 64, August).

⁵⁸ These may have been the anti-crimp-house riots which were the most serious disturbances in London since the Gordon Riots and resulted in four executions (Stevenson, 1979:166-9). In outlining the scale of destruction in 1780, Hayter (1978:183) notes the innovative tactics for riot suppression employed by Lieutenant General Rainsford who had commanded the troops based in Hyde Park. Rainsford was another early Philanthropic Committee member and later a Vice-President.

⁵⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine* (1794, vol. 64, December).

the East India Company in the India Bill debate of 1783 that he was awarded a directorship (*DNB*)⁶⁰. Sanderson was likewise a M.P. and, as well as being involved with the Philanthropic, was on the committees of the Foundling Hospital and the Magdalen Asylum.

The Magdalen features in John Julius Angerstein's charitable profile. Russian born but a naturalised Briton under a private Act of Parliament, he was at various times head of the largest trading firms in the city, including those dealing with the East India trade. He too was a M.P. and, with Enlightenment enquiry and exactitude, devised a system of State lotteries that was taken-up by the Government. His business interests, however, enabled him to acquire sufficient fortune to amass valuable paintings which later formed the nucleus of the National Gallery collection. Besides being an under-writer at Lloyds and finding time to reform the arrangements under which its business was conducted, he was one of the Evangelic brotherhood involved in the SBCP. On his retirement from commerce, he became the first chairman of the branch of the Bible Society that was set up near his house in Blackheath in 1812 (*DNB*).

Angerstein also supported the Marine Society as did Sir Joseph Andrews. The latter had served on its Committee alongside Hanway and is noted as Chairman of a Committee which aimed to bring about the relief of the chimney sweepers climbing boys in 1788⁶¹. Angerstein similarly helped sustain this endeavour after Hanway's death and would later thank Patrick Colquhoun for the efforts made by that gentleman on behalf of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Infant Chimney Sweepers (*Iatros*, 1818:42).

Colquhoun was one of the first magistrates appointed to the Police Offices set up under the Middlesex Justices Act of 1792. In this capacity he also gained experience

⁶⁰ Philanthropic Vice-President Hardinge aided the Company's case from the Bar of the House of Lords.

⁶¹ *Whitehall Evening Post*- 8/7/1788.

in controlling turbulent mobs⁶². We will later find him expressing interest in the Philanthropic's work, but, for now, we can note that he was a close friend of Lettsom and took part in the SBCP enterprise of providing cheap food to the poor. Amongst Colquhoun's publications, however, his *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* (1795) attempted to quantify the incidence of - and stressed the connection between - poverty, indigence, vice and criminality. This formed part of his campaign to mobilise support for a reform of the existing fragmented and localised policing system of constables, justices and night-watchmen. While his efforts were thwarted in this regard, Colquhoun was more successful in seeing his idea for a Marine Police bear fruition in 1798. This privately established preventive police unit was designed to tackle the property losses of businessmen, such as the West India merchants, who contributed four-fifths of its finances (Johnson, 1992:16). Its apparent effectiveness in reducing thefts from the quays helped smooth the passage of the Thames River Police Bill through Parliament in 1800⁶³. The Bill was drafted by Colquhoun and Jeremy Bentham. Both had been called as witnesses to the Parliamentary Committee authorised by Pitt, in 1797, to enquire into the state of the police and convict establishments (Palmer, 1988:144-5). Around this time, Colquhoun helped collect information used in Bentham's plans for a National Charity Company (Poynter, 1969:141)⁶⁴. They may, perhaps, have come to discuss such matters with Thomas Boddington who had served on the Philanthropic Committee alongside Jeremiah Bentham and Lettsom. This would have been possible in this small world of intertwining interests. Boddington was most likely familiar with the impact of crime and interested in its prevention being a West India merchant, a director of the London Dock Company, the Royal Exchange Assurance and the Bank of England. He was also a Common Councillor of the City of London, a director of the Marine Society

⁶² In 1793, for instance, Colquhoun 'efficiently and speedily dealt with the uprising of Spitalfield weavers' (Radzinowicz, 1956:214) and helped quell the anti-crimp-house disturbances of 1794 (Stevenson, 1979:168-9).

⁶³The "mob", however, was not deterred by this innovation. In the summer of 1799, Colquhoun was standing close-by 'to an officer of justice' who was wounded by a shot fired by rioters who attempted to pull down the Marine Police Office, in Wapping (*Iatros*, 1818:56). For how he and fellow magistrates dealt with this disturbance, see Linebaugh (1991).

⁶⁴ For an assessment of Colquhoun's role as 'chief strategist of police in the transition to a liberal police in a modern world', see McMullan (1998).

and a supporter of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge among the Poor (*DNB*)⁶⁵.

Quite how individual strands in this complex web of relationships came to meet and interlock may remain a mystery. Nonetheless, as the impact of the forces of urbanisation and industrialisation began to ferment and entwine with a renewed alarm about crime, the configuration of ideas embraced within the Philanthropic Plan captured the imagination of men with diverse but often overlapping interests in the arts, politics, religion, commerce and the law. Having scrutinised the sources of disorder in society, they identified a particular constituency of children as a problem connected to prevailing concerns about the health, wealth and security of the nation. Whether inspired by compassion, the public welfare or even self-interest, theirs was a practical response at a local level and was fuelled by a conviction that social and personal improvement was possible. Indeed, many might be regarded as ‘proto-criminologists’ (Rock, 1994) who, with Enlightenment belief in the power of education to shape young minds, set out to explore how the principles of good business practice could be charitably applied to meet the utilitarian end of adding to the sum of happiness. Engaged in developing a science of society and disseminating the success of their crime prevention experiment, they helped construct the “juvenile delinquent” as a particular category of concern in public consciousness. Their preoccupations, as we shall see, would continue to shape the Society’s endeavours through changing social, economic and political circumstances.

⁶⁵ We may be more certain that, in reply to a letter of December 1796 on the subject of the plan for building Penitentiary Houses, Bentham invited Colquhoun to discuss the matter with him at dinner (see Milne, 1981b:325).

Chapter 2

THE EARLY YEARS

1. The Philanthropic Plan into practice

Having painted the social and intellectual back-cloth and introduced a few of the Philanthropic actors, it is time to see how the preventive policing Plan was enacted. As confidently envisaged, this was no speculative ‘bubble’ that might ‘rise and break and to the sea of fancy return’. Within a few months of commencing operations, the Society could announce that:

There are now above THIRTY CHILDREN under the Society’s care. As soon as these wards have, by persons appointed in town, been freed from their rags, filth and loathsome diseases, they are sent to houses hired at *Cambridge Place, Hackney*, for their more convenient instruction in virtuous principles and useful labours¹

These numbers had grown from the placement of a single child ‘out to nurse’. When the Philanthropic ‘Objects’ amounted to twelve, a small house had been rented in which a matron was installed ‘to superintend the household concerns and the government of the Society’s wards’. Little difficulty was experienced in finding young ‘ex-communicates in police’ and two more houses were swiftly hired nearby. In these, the children under its protection learnt ‘knitting, spinning or some such employ as may be useful to them in old age and infirmity’. The girls and boys were then separated. With the former being educated as ‘menial servants’, a shoemaker instructed the elder boys in one house and, in another, a tailor tutored his Wards. Soon six carpenters, six tailors, and six shoemakers were engaged and an additional small plot of land had been taken whereon ‘the boys assisted the gardener in their leisure hours’.

Publicising the ‘rapid progress’ of this collective ‘Reform’ was not neglected. With its ‘mode of living in distinct houses, as separate families’ designed to approach ‘common life’ and with each ‘manufacturer’ and his wife regarding the Wards ‘as their own children’, the Philanthropic proclaimed that its ‘establishment’ was beginning to:

¹ *Address* (1789) - original emphasis

give the semblance of a little village, which, in order and industry, and good morals, is a pattern to the poor²

Yet, pursuit of the Arcadian idyll was abandoned. Rather than being preliminary to setting-up an ‘establishment in the country for purposes of agriculture’, by 1792 that ‘grand and fundamental part’ of the original design had faded from view. Instead, the Society was embarking on a larger-scale operation at premises acquired in Southwark. This modification was guided, in part, by the Philanthropic’s accumulation of managerial knowledge. Not only would economy be derived from thus enabling more children to be instructed in ‘such trades as may qualify them by their labour, to diminish the expenses of the Institution’, but, their reformation could be more efficiently secured. As the public was informed:

The Committee of this Society are fully convinced by observation and experience, that it will be impossible to effect the great purposes of this Institution, to RENDER INDUSTRIOUS AND VIRTUOUS THE IDLE AND CRIMINAL POOR CHILDREN ADMITTED INTO THIS REFORM, unless they are enabled absolutely to exclude them from their former connections³

Fortuitously, terms conducive to achieving this ambition had been conjured-up. These were, perhaps, fostered by the Philanthropic network of City connections, for:

The accommodations absolutely necessary for these purposes the committee propose to erect in St. George’s Fields, on a plot of ground of which the City of London has been pleased to grant them a long lease, upon very liberal conditions⁴

The shift from Hackney also marked a significant retreat from the initial ideal of establishing an Asylum without the walls of a ‘prison’. The Philanthropists now disclosed that in order to transform the children more effectively:

[they] further propose to enclose the whole in a high Wall, in order to preserve the children from interruptions in their business, from temptations to wander, and from evil communications

² *Second Report*.

³ *Address (1792)* - original emphasis.

⁴ While Hackney was an area renowned for its market gardens at this time, St. George’s Fields was also hardly built upon. According to Weinreb and Hibbert (1983/1993) it was used as a training ground for soldiers and as a Sunday resort for Londoners. It was where the Protestant Association assembled before marching to Westminster and provoking the Gordon Riots.

Quite what was encompassed by this segregating innovation can be seen in a Memorial of 1793. This was relative to the ‘Sum wanting to complete the buildings already begun’ and was penned by Mr. Peacock, the Surveyor. He informed the Committee that:

The ground has been enclosed by a Wall twelve feet high and about eighteen hundred feet in circumference, on the north side of which and adjoining the said wall is erected a range of workshops five hundred and forty five feet in length, with a rope walk underneath, which I compute to be sufficiently capacious for the employment of four to five hundred boys ⁵

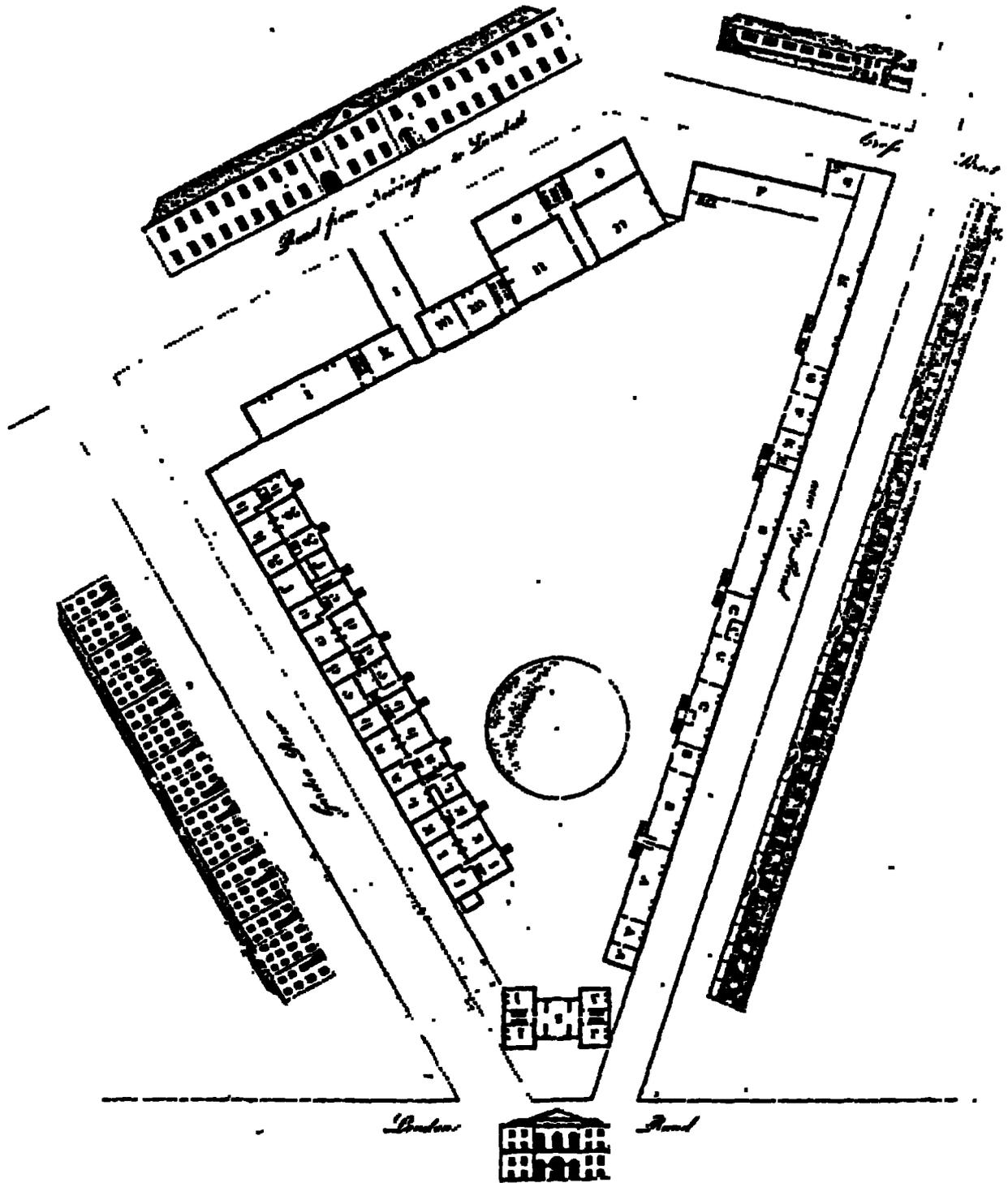
Pursuing this expansionist Philanthropic vision involved an adaptation of the family system. By then, three dwelling houses had been built ‘each of which is calculated to contain a master and mistress and forty five boys’ and the basement storey of each house was converted into a ‘temporary general kitchen, pantry, wash-house’. Plans were also in hand for constructing ‘cells of confinement for refractory objects’ and a ‘prison’ had already been ‘fitted up’ in temporary premises taken in Bermondsey⁶.

So, what knowledge of the potentially and already ‘obnoxious’ members of society might have led to these expedients? Indeed, what children had actually been deemed deserving of rescue and reform? In order to explore the Philanthropic world and how it worked it is necessary to begin turning the pages of the Admissions Registers and Description Books. Along with the Committee Minutes and Superintendent’s Journals, these records present the “facts” in an embryo “case history” format. They note the social background of the children and contain observations on their character. They also outline the trades children were put to, whether they were apprenticed, when they were rewarded or punished and who recommended them to the Society. Importantly, these sources often provide a glimpse of how the laws of the day played around them.

⁵ g/mns-31/5/1793. For a plan of the site and elevation of the buildings taken from Darlington (1954), see fig.1. The rope-walk is to the right.

⁶ *Abstract* (no.3). A Committee was set-up to consider the plans, supervise the construction of new buildings and raise funds for their completion. It had visited premises rented in St. George’s Market [b/c-28/7/1791] before meeting to consider moving the children [b/c-5/8/1791]. These premises appear to have contained the boys - some of whom were employed in painting and digging drains for the new Reform. While the girls’ location in Bermondsey is not identified, they would later come to reside in their own segregated Department at the St. George’s Fields site.

fig.1



2. The Philanthropic children

The categories of poor children to be taken under the Society's protection were rather loosely defined at the outset. This vagueness appears to have placed the reprobate Founder in additional difficulty. Oddly enough, although intent on demonstrating how carefully targeted Philanthropy could reap socially beneficial rewards and despite stressing that poverty *per se* was not a sufficient qualification for admission, his lack of discrimination in the selection process drew Philanthropic ire upon his head. This, for example, can be detected in the case of **Stephen Stemp** who had no father but his mother was:

a very decent woman who maintains herself & another child by millinery work - the boy is in every respect an improper object - one of those admitted by Mr Young⁷

If the Society's disapproval stemmed from Young selecting children not distinguished under the criteria of being vagrant or without friends, family or parish to support them, the following entries give some indication of the range of those who were deemed deserving:

John Cole (age 7) admitted 1789 - An orphan found in the streets almost starved and knows not to which parish he belongs

William Cotton (8) admitted 1789 - father and mother are beggars and being Americans can claim no relief from any parish

Thomas Hurst (13) admitted 1789 - Has no father, knows not where his mother is. In summer worked in the brick-fields - in winter, maintained himself by begging. Had not slept on a bed for near two years

John Major (13) admitted 1790 - A vagrant in the streets; lived in St. Giles'-recommended by the Revd. Mr Southgate

Mary Crawley (15) admitted 1790 - cruelly treated almost starved, and turned into the Streets by a Brutal Father in law who consumed his earnings in drunkenness, this girl was exposed to every danger of seduction and ruin - but for the timely succour of this Society⁸

George (13) and **James** (12) **Bucknell** admitted 1792 - father and mother are both dead; were taken from wandering about St. George's Market, sleeping in carts and in a complete state of vagrancy

⁷ Other clouds seems to have been cast over Young's reputation. In the case of **Thomas Hurst** (7) admitted in 1792, the entry reads: 'This boy and his sister, a girl of nine years of age, was under the care of Mr Young and by him left to starve, having nothing to subsist on'.

⁸ The term "father in law" seems used here to denote a step-father.

Richard Starkey (no age given) admitted 1792 - has no father nor mother - wandered up to town out of Somersetshire - was found in the streets sick and almost starved

Margaret Hagan (11) admitted 1794 - this girl has neither father or mother - from her infancy was put out to nurse by Aldgate Parish and afterwards apprenticed to a woman of infamous character by whom she was so ill treated that she could not continue with her ... has been in a state of vagrancy and almost starving on the streets

However, the boundaries between indigence, vagrancy and criminality could slip and blur⁹. This can be seen in the case of **Henry Humble** (13) admitted 1792. Henry's experience may, indeed, have reinforced the Society's unfavourable view of the Poor Law's operation. When illness had hindered his father from earning a living as a coal porter, indoor relief had been claimed. The application succeeded but afterwards 'the boy was turned out of the workhouse on account of his father's being incapable of paying a debt he had contracted there'. To survive, Henry then took to thieving.

The fate of many other children of the streets was to endure a spell in custody under the Vagrancy Laws. Flowing from the Poor Law statutes, these could be employed to apprehend, confine and punish persons suspected of less than good intentions when found loitering abroad or lodging in barns and outhouses¹⁰. They may have helped capture **Richard Shepperd** (14) in the first instance. Admitted in 1793, Richard was found to be:

A wanderer without any regular employment subsisting by begging & sleeping in the streets, when unable to provide two pence to pay for a nights lodgings was committed to Bridewell for stealing a Horsecloth

William James Perry (14) was likewise confined. His custodial experience may not have been so unusual at a time when it was at the discretion of the Keeper whether

⁹ Embracing ideas that informed the Philanthropic's preventive plan of police, Colquhoun would make a distinction between poverty and indigence in his *Treatise on Indigence* (1806a). In this he declared that '*Indigence*, and not poverty is the evil. It is that condition in society which implies *want, misery, and distress*'. He added: 'Since it is a state of indigence, fostered by idleness, which produces a disposition to moral and criminal offences, and they are so linked together, that it will be found impractical to ameliorate the condition of the poor without taking more effectual measures at the same time for the prevention of criminal offences'.

¹⁰ For an account of how these laws functioned to control the movement of able-bodied poor in the aftermath of the Black Death and for their development into the twentieth century, see Chambliss (1969).

bedding - and even food - would be provided without payment¹¹. William was rescued in 1792 after being:

Taken up as a vagrant and committed to Clerkenwell Bridewell and when received into this Reform was in the utmost state of wretchedness having been four and twenty days in confinement and sleeping only on boards without any covering

Besides the want and woe that could draw upon compassion, concern over the consequences of parental neglect took many children through the Philanthropic portals. One such was **Edmund Moon** who was admitted in 1793:

Born at Witley in the County of Surry - very much neglected by his father who is a bricklayer. This boy has been guilty of diverse acts of pilfering and threatening the lives of children younger than himself to obtain their victuals and was, on the 10th April confined in a solitary cell for one month

Also brought under the Philanthropic's care and control, but on account of other reasons for the neglect of his welfare, was:

William Sanders (12) admitted 1795 - The father of this boy was drowned about ten years ago - and his mother was out of her mind for a considerable time - is now tolerably rational, except at intervals - during the insanity of the mother, this boy has been left to himself. Has been absent for a fortnight or three weeks together, in which time he was connected with thieves and existed on what he could steal - his mother being totally incapable of taking charge of him he was recommended as a proper object for this Institution by William Knox Esq.

George Lefoy (10) assumed the No. 1 position on the ledgers. He was admitted in October 1788 having been at peril from living 'in a notorious resort of thieves in Goldsmith's Alley, St. Giles' with his 'father & mother very abandoned characters'. Although George's route of referral is, unfortunately, not identified, the following scene of London life reveals how **James Fordree's** pathway to the Philanthropic was paved by a vigilant victim. Brought before a magistrate at Bow Street court, he was admitted in 1796 after being:

charged on the oath of Michael Mintor with having picked his pocket of a pocket handkerchief. Michael Mintor stated that on Monday last, as he was coming out of Drury Lane Theatre, the prisoner Fordree followed him and picked the handkerchief out of his

¹¹ Various material and physical forms of "Garnish" could also be extorted by prisoners. For a

pocket - that the witness had tried to take him, but he was prevented by the prisoner getting among the carriages that stood about the Play House door - that yesterday evening he was again at the Theatre and seeing Fordree had him secured

James's danger to society was, moreover, compounded by the aggravating circumstance of his mother's reputation, for:

the lad's mother appearing in his behalf ... was found to be a woman of very bad character - and destitute of the means of supporting him in any way which might tend to rescue him from his present depraved state

The category of children "at risk" from being the offspring of convicted felons was also amply represented and included:

George Hicks (7) admitted 1797 - Son of William Hicks, formerly of Cheshunt, Herts., who was committed to Newgate for feloniously stealing from the Powder Mills at Waltham Abbey in Essex, a large quantity of Salt Petre, the property of His Majesty; was removed to Chelmsford, tried at the Assizes, March 1796, held there for the County of Essex, was Capitally convicted, but pardoned on condition of being transported, and is now on board the Hulks ... signed Jas. Bosanquet, Visitor

These Hulks were the old ships which had offered an expedient alternative to transportation when the War of Independence cut-off the supply of convicts to American Colonies. That event provided an impetus to the quest for a new penal colony and, after some brief experiments in African venues, Botany Bay had become operational. As the Newgate 'accounts' revealed, its potential had been swiftly embraced by the City Sheriffs. This destination does not appear to have proved so attractive to the father of **William Lilley**. Confined in Newgate before being sent abroad, William's father was noted to be:

one of the miserable beings who made their escape from Botany Bay in an open boat, was ten days without food, and brought to England in a Dutch frigate¹²

The father of **Henry Sheers**¹³ was even less fortunate. The Philanthropic ledgers disclose that he was 'executed for forgery'. They also note that he left:

description of this practice in a Bridewell regime for children, see Bayne-Powell (1939).

¹² William (8) was admitted in 1790.

¹³ Henry (9) was admitted in 1798.

a widow and four children as appears by a certificate from Mr Kirby, Keeper of Newgate. The mother is very poor and earns a scanty livelihood by her needle and hawking fruits in the streets

Mention of Mr. Kirby draws attention to an important source of referrals at this time. He also recommended William Lilley to the Society and appears again in the following account:

Francis Ross (6) admitted 1794 - This boy and his sister received in at the same time, are children of Francis Ross, at this time under sentence of death in Newgate, having been Capitally convicted during the last sessions of a forgery; sent by Mr Kirby to the Committee of the Philanthropic Society as proper objects for their humane attention, who confirms the truth of the above account by a letter addressed to the Superintendent. The mother is living and gets her bread by going out a-washing &c. and lives at No. 14 in the Gallery, at the Bull and Gate in Holborn.

The records do not reveal whether Mr. Kirby was motivated to increase the supply of Objects to the Society from altruistic sentiments or in consideration of some form of pecuniary advantage. The following case, however, suggests that at a time when there was no guarantee that children of prisoners would find a place of safety in the world, anxious parents would initiate the referral process:

Patrick Ryan (9) admitted 1795 - Son of Dennis Ryan who was executed at Kennington Common 27th April last and who earnestly requested before his execution that this boy, his only child, might be recommended to this Society in order to be taken into the Reform. The father was a native of Ireland, but [had] no parochial settlement, nor any person to take charge of this unfortunate child, excepting the Revd. Mr Winkworth, Chaplain to the County Jail of Surry who benevolently undertook to recommend the case to the Committee of this Institution

The Philanthropic records also remind us that many children could experience the terror of hearing a death sentence pronounced upon them. Indeed, although there is a paucity of evidence relating to the numbers of children actually executed in this period, the process of capital sentence, reprieve, Conditional Pardon and into Philanthropic protection provided an alternative to long-term incarceration in the Hulks or other contaminating custodial institutions¹⁴. This route, nonetheless, could

¹⁴ While Bayne-Powell (1939) cites a contemporary account of the hanging of boys of 14 who had been concerned in the Gordon Riots, Knell (1965) notes that no child under 14 years was executed

still entail a substantial period of prior imprisonment. For **George Cornelius Sharpless** (13) it seems to have lasted around two years. George was admitted in 1798 after:

[having] the sentence of death passed upon him July 13th 1796 at the Assizes at Nottingham for felony; was afterwards ordered to be transported for life and put aboard the "*Hillsborough*" for New South Wales; and at length pardoned by his Majesty on condition of his being received into the Philanthropic Reform

The nature of George's felony is not disclosed. That committed by **Mary Mander** (11), who was admitted in 1797, was as follows:

This girl was tried and convicted at the Old Bailey by the name of Ann Crawley for shoplifting and received a sentence of death but afterwards obtained His Majesty's Pardon on condition of her being received into this Institution - her father is a bricklayer's labourer and her mother is employed in making hammocks

Although the circumstances under which these children were deemed suitable candidates for Conditional Pardons are not mentioned, the Philanthropic could be pro-active in setting the process under way. **Stephen Lee** (10) appears to have merely received a sentence of "secondary" rather than "capital" punishment. But, with 'the case having appeared in the publick papers' and Stephen seeming a 'proper Object' to be 'rendered a useful member of society', the Society dispatched a letter to Lord Chief Baron Macdonald. As is noted:

This boy was tried with his mother at Reading Assizes, before the Lord Chief Baron, for a robbery and found guilty, but appearing to have acted under the influence of his mother, was sentenced to only six months imprisonment - at the Committee's request, His Lordship applied to the Secretary of State, by whose means His Majesty's pardon was obtained on condition that he should be delivered over to the Society¹⁵

If Stephen's disposal was thus a form of discretionary after-care rather than an alternative to prison under direct sentence of the courts, the Society's records also illuminate how magisterial discretion could be exercised in favour of diversion. In

after receiving a capital sentence at the Old Bailey between 1801 and 1836. While it was thus becoming an uncommon practice, Knell confirms that John Any Bird Bell (aged 13) was convicted of murder and executed at Maidstone, in 1831. For a more recent analysis of the change in administering capital sentences on children over the period, see Shore (1996).

¹⁵ s/j-14/10/1796.

many such instances, “tender age” was a mitigating factor. As the ledgers indicate in relation to **James Cooper (9)** who was admitted in 1793:

This boy with the following one [Edward Poole (8) son of Poole the Highwayman] were convicted on February 7th Sessions last for stealing a child’s frock - but on account of their youth were not punished but sent to the Institution by the recommendation of the Magistrates at Hatton Garden Police Office. The boy’s father is in St. Martin’s Workhouse, his mother is a washerwoman

Consideration of the culprit’s age likewise guided the decision to divert **William Price**. Evincing ‘an extraordinary instance of early depravity’ on his appearance at the Police Office in Bow Street, this was a boy:

hardly eight years old who had burglariously broke open a drawer in a gentleman’s house - where his mother lived as a servant - and stole therefrom a guinea and some silver after having destroyed some writing of great value

As he was perceived ‘too young an object for prosecution’, the magistrates then recommended William to the Society.

Similarly, some Shadwell magistrates took this mitigating factor into consideration in the case of **Daniel Arrogant**. As Daniel was 12 years old and appears to have committed a felony for which other boys might receive a capital sentence, his case helps shed light on how the full stretch of the criminal justice system could be circumvented. He had:

neither father or mother - apprenticed about eight months to Mr Peale, Taylor, Ship Alley, Willclose Square (from the Workhouse) by the officers of the Parish of Aldgate. Charged by the said master on oath before the magistrates at the Public Office, Shadwell, with having on the [...] day of [...] in the absence of his master in the country, forced open a door with a pair of tongs, and with a large spike, the lock of a till in the room, into which he had broken and with having stolen thereout two gold seals, a gold breast pin &c. - and upon the discovery of this offence, he also confessed the having robbed his said master at several times of halfpence - which his master had missed without being able to account for it.

The above magistrates committed him to the House of Correction in Cold Bath Fields for a further hearing, instead of fully committing him for tryal on account of his tender age, with a view to an application to the Philanthropic Society in his behalf, for which purpose the said magistrates, very humanely, sent him in the care of an Officer with a letter, dated October 27th, expressing a wish that this Society would take him under their care, as it was



not the desire of his master to prosecute him - but which must take place if he be not received by the Philanthropic Society

We are not informed whether magisterial pressure was applied to Daniel's master in order to sway his intentions. But, at this time, more than eighty per-cent of criminal prosecutions were conducted by the victims of crimes (Emsley, 1987/1996:178)¹⁶. They might, however, decide to let the matter drop if too much time and trouble would be spent in pressing ahead with the case and sometimes were satisfied to have the culprit verbally admonished from the Bench. This, Shoemaker (1991:6-8) suggests, was less likely to happen in cases of felony. Magistrates were legally required to refer these to Quarter Sessions or Assize Courts on indictment rather than dealing with them summarily. A degree of flexibility could, nonetheless, still be exercised in deciding which acts should be treated as felonies. Yet, if this helped determine Daniel's fate, misdemeanours offered rather more scope for discretion. These, indeed, were often disposed of by way of 'informal mediation'¹⁷. Such negotiations may have been conducted amongst parties interested in the case of **Jeremiah Willett (12)** admitted 1795:

Son of Jane Willett (Naked Boy Court, No.5 Ludgate Hill) who was left a widow with eight children and who since her husband's death has had another now at the breast, making in all, nine. The mother bears the character of a very honest hardworking sober woman and as such respected and assisted by her neighbours.

The above son, on the contrary, a very bad one. Has frequently robbed his mother and once of nine shillings which he spent on a boat on the Thames at sixpence an hour - has robbed several of the neighbours of different articles and escaped prosecution, particularly in one instance by Mr Purden out of tenderness and respect for his mother. The boy was recommended by Sir James Sanderson

If the mitigating circumstance of his mother's good reputation underpinned Jeremiah's fortunes, other children were directed to the Philanthropic after prosecutors failed to turn up in court. This occurred in the case of **Michael van Coulster (12)** who was admitted in 1794. Michael had been:

¹⁶ For an account of the voluntary associations for the prosecution of felons that were formed at this time, see Phillips (1989).

¹⁷ While King (1984) usefully outlines the range of factors taken into consideration by decision-makers, further insight on how offenders might 'exit' from different 'rooms' along the corridor of the eighteenth-century criminal justice system is provided by King (2000).

Born in Scotland Yard - his father was a Doctor of Physic - died 6 years ago - his mother died about 4 years ago - he lived with his mother until about half a year before her death - she got her livelihood by washing and sent him to sea as a servant to Lieut. Peacock of the "Satan" where he staid two years and a half - left the ship at Portsmouth about a year ago when the ship was paid off - he had lived with his godmother Lady Price in the King's Bench Prison as an errand boy ever since - he went every evening to his sister who lives in Drury Lane - a p-----t- He was asked by some boys to steal a rope from the ship which he did and sold it [for] 5/s. - he stole a till from a Chandler's Shop in Bishopsgate Street about three months ago and was committed by Mr Addington - but not convicted for want of prosecutors applying¹⁸

Whether Michael's reception was intended to prevent his catalogue of offences escalating, **Charles Smith** may be placed in the "one last chance" category of offender welcomed into the Reform. Adding to the Philanthropic's stock of knowledge on human nature, Charles was 13 years old when admitted in 1796 after being found:

totally ungovernable - at various times absented himself from home without the least provocation ... he was on Tuesday the fourteenth of February detected in robbing a Church in Cornhill, on the fifteenth committed to Bridewell to Hard Labour and to receive the correction of the House

This did nothing to deter Charles. After his time inside expired he went home and:

[on] April the fourth, found means in the night to get out of bed and leave the house, taking with him a canvas bag, tinder box, flint and steel, matches, candles and key of the door

Armed with these accoutrements, Charles entered a nearby house and hid before the family went to bed. On being discovered he 'confessed his design was to have let in a gang of thieves [to] strip the house'. Upon this information he was 'taken and committed next day to take his trial'. However, owing to some 'error' in the indictment, the Bill for the same was thrown out 'to the surprize and mortification' of his parents. They then had him confined by the Lord Mayor 'having now no recourse left but the expectation of getting him admitted into the Reform'.

¹⁸ Although Michael's godmother's abode was usually reserved for debtors, the conditions they could enjoy therein depended on what could be paid for from their remaining finances and those of their friends. In 1828, it would be described as one of most desirable places of incarceration in London. In its courtyard, tailors, hatters, piano makers, chandlers and oyster sellers plied their trades and 120 gallons of gin were sold weekly (Weinreb and Hibbert, 1983/1993).

The prospect of placing their son in the Philanthropic's corrective custody may also have afforded comfort to the parents of **James Dalziell**. James was 10 years old when admitted in 1793 and had 'at sundry times been guilty of pilfering and stealing alone, and in company with other boys'. Most other options available to his responsible parents had failed to produce a good citizen, for:

His father, who bears a good character, has hitherto tried every means to reclaim him from his wicked ways in vain, both by encouraging him to do well and also by severe punishment for his thefts. He has two other children younger and as he is absent from home on his business except at meal times or in the evening, cannot attend so much as the urgent necessity of this boy's care demands to his conduct; the mother also is in a great measure, by her younger children, prevented from checking his wicked courses. They had placed him in a School of Industry, but his lying and stealing practices were injurious to the other boys, from which cause he has been removed

Even more meagre evidence of being beyond parental care and control proved acceptable to the Society. In 1796, **James Brady (9)** gained a place in the Reform on the basis of barely emergent 'vicious' propensities:

His father in law and his mother bear a good character, they are poor and cannot afford to put the boy to school, having two other children - this boy is of ungovernable temper and behaves very ill to his mother who can maintain no influence over him; he once robbed her of three pence half-penny, the only instance which appears of dishonesty, though he is in utmost danger from the bad company he keeps

Although the Philanthropic net was thus cast around a wide range of Objects, some guidance on the selection procedure had been provided in the regulations drawn-up after Robert Young's downfall. These stipulated that four Visitors should be 'selected from the subscribers at large' to find and report 'Objects for the reception of the Society'. They were also to act as intermediaries through whom interested parties might recommend candidates. The Visitors were then expected to undertake the 'business of investigating their true circumstances'. As this entry indicates, the investigations could garner quite detailed facts:

Christiana Carter (12) admitted 1797 - Apprenticed from Cripplegate without St. Giles Workhouse the 15th November 1796, to Richard Allison of Newington Street, Holborn, St. Giles in the Fields, umbrella maker, until of age. Her master says the girl was recommended by Mr Bond of Bow Street to be brought to this Committee, charged with

diverse thefts at different times, instigated by her Mother who is in the same Workhouse, and an Aunt called Mrs Orsall, Mary le Bone, a woman shoemaker. The girl confesses several thefts. The master works for Adams Umbrella Manufactory, 207 High Holborn, opposite Bloomsbury Square. The girl's Father's a Taylor, but gone to Sea in the Shark Sloop now at Halifax. The above case, on enquiry of Mr Adams, umbrella maker, by Mr Coxe, Visitor, being fully identified, the girl was ordered admission

The Visitors also investigated whether changed family circumstances might allow children to leave the Institution. These enquiries could arise when parents who had previously been in a state of financial distress then claimed they could support their offspring. Occasionally, children were returned once the Visitors confirmed that formerly dissolute parents had themselves been reformed. As **Edward Sutton's** case history illustrates, even transportation could produce this beneficial effect. Edward was 9 years old when admitted in 1790 and his father had been sent to Botany Bay. But, when Edward ran away from St. George's Fields in 1797, his father brought him back. At a time when returning to England without Government permission was a further grave crime, suspicions about this circumstance led the Society to check on the situation. The father had prospered, however, for:

Colonel Harnage having reported to the Committee that the father of this boy, who was transported and released, had by his good conduct obtained from Governor Phillip his discharge and had since not only been appointed storekeeper by the Governor, but had also returned to England with an excellent character, had applied to have his son, who has been in the Reform eight years, delivered to him in order to take him and the rest of the family back to Port Jackson, to which he is now returning with the consent of the Government. Ordered that Edward Sutton be delivered to his father - and necessary clothing given to him¹⁹

Having briefly looked at the Visitors, we may detect elements in their role which could designate them precursors of the district visitors on whose case-work activities the foundations of the social-work profession developed in the next century. At this point, however, we can regard them as social explorers who became intimately

¹⁹ Governor Phillip was the Navy Captain under whose command the first fleet of eleven ships had carried 750 convicts and 250 marines to Botany Bay in 1787. When the marines wouldn't take any part in the preparation or government of the new penal settlement, Governor Phillip had resorted to finding all his overseers - and the first police force - from the ranks of the convicts. They were encouraged by perks and privileges, at first by 'freedom from toil' then by being allotted convicts for their own use and, further, by the 'granting or promise of pardons' (Hirst, 1995:237-9).

acquainted 'with wretchedness in its last and lowest sources'²⁰. Accumulating such knowledge had framed the endeavours of Dr. Lettsom and Dr. Sims. Another medical gentlemen, William Houlston, Surgeon, gained similar expertise. In the company of J.H. Hooper, Apothecary, he had been a Philanthropic Committee member alongside Jeremiah Bentham in 1790 and took his turn in attending to Visitorial duties. Mr. Coxe, who investigated Christiana Carter's case, does not appear to have had any medical interests but is probably the Daniel Coxe who was a Committee member of the Lambeth Asylum and a Common Councillor (Andrew, 1989). However, the Reverend Mr. Richard Southgate, M.A., who rescued John Major from the streets, had an interest in the arts and sciences and held the position of assistant librarian at the British Museum. As Curate of St. Giles in the Fields he was to be found:

through the last years of his life ... every day (with but few intervals of exception) consoling the afflicted, and pointing out the true grounds of consolation to the wretched inhabitants of St. Giles's²¹

James Bosanquet, who recorded Edward Hicks's case history, was a member of a prominent Philanthropic family. Samuel Bosanquet, for instance, was a city merchant, J.P. and High Sheriff for Essex and had been elected a Vice-President of the Society by 1792. The son of Jacob Bosanquet (a friend of Hanway), he was father to Philanthropic Committee members Charles and Samuel junior. While Charles would gain renown for his treatises on a variety of economic topics, Samuel junior supported the SPCK, was a member of the SBCP and subscribed to the Marine Society. He may also have been impressed by the transforming results of the Philanthropic enterprise at the Anniversary Dinner of 1793:

[when] the children under the Society's protection walked in procession round the room - First, upwards of thirty girls, preceded by their mistress: after these, near one hundred boys; each department led by their respective masters, the carpenter, printer, shoemaker, & taylor; the Superintendant & Steward also attending.

The decent appearance and orderly demeanour of the children filled the minds of the spectators with the most pleasing sensations, the natural result of contemplating the happy change which had been wrought in the situation of this numerous little group, lately in the high road of vice, now leading through the paths of Industry and Virtue to character and happiness. Thus a fair prospect opened of their becoming useful members of that

²⁰ *First Report.*

community of which, but for a timely and benevolent interposition of the Philanthropic Society, they must soon have been the dread and annoyance²²

This gratifying spectacle, as we shall see, could often be belied by disorders reigning within the world of the Reform.

3. The Philanthropic School of Morals

The Philanthropic venture had commenced with the intention of receiving children ‘not exceeding five or six years old’. However, when children of nine or ten came under notice, the Society’s members ‘felt it a duty not to consign such to ruin, without affording them a chance of salvation’²³. That humane impulse, blended with a pragmatic concern to select children ‘capable of immediately engaging in useful labours’, soon led them to accept children of ‘twelve or fourteen’. This ‘important alteration in the Plan’ also stemmed from the gentlemen’s Enlightenment pre-occupations. Grippled by faith in the ‘plastic power of education’ through which ‘virtue and industry ... are articles that can be manufactured and the stock increased at pleasure’, initial studies of their Wards revealed that:

the mischiefs many had feared from the evil habits of the children of so ripe an age must have contracted in bad company, and a vagrant life, were found within the power of seasonable correction and good government to prevent²⁴

So, how was this Philanthropic feat achieved? Indeed, what methods were employed to exercise the children’s minds in the ‘social character’ so that the qualities wanted in man would be ‘called forth in youth, put to tryal, brought under government ... and confirmed by habit’? At the foundation of the Philanthropic design was a ‘School of Morals’. Therein, a ‘Catalogue’ of vices and virtues was displayed to remind the children which they were to practise and which to shun:

²¹ *The Gentlemen’s Magazine* (1795, vol.65).

²² g/mns-18/4/1793. Mary Smith (9) most likely joined the procession. She had been admitted in 1792 and was declared to be ‘one of the most artful and depraved characters of her age that in all probability ever was heard of’. We might ponder over this assessment. To ‘exemplify the truth of this assertion’ her history was related as follows: ‘The person under whose protection she had been having often found it necessary to correct her died and during the time he was in his coffin she stole an opportunity unseen of getting into the room - and uncovered the sheet and spoke to the Corpse in these terms. “I don’t mind you, you can’t hurt me now”’.

²³ *First Report*.

²⁴ *First Report*.

<u>Virtues</u>	<u>Vices</u>
industry	idleness
honesty	dishonesty
piety	impiety
obedience	disobedience
good temper	ill temper
kindness	cruelty
decent language	immoral language
gratitude	ingratitude
contentment	discontent

To ensure that moral improvement proceeded as intended, each week a ‘Regulator’ tallied what had been recorded by the children’s masters and mistresses in the ‘Black Book’ of faults and merits. That personage then dispensed tokens of honour or disgrace on a ‘system’ explicitly ‘adopted from the practice of Mr Raikes of Gloucester, Institutor of Sunday Schools’²⁵. By 1792, this embryo mark-system of punishment and reward was being administered by a ‘Chaplain Superintendent’ appointed to be ‘resident near the spot’²⁶. Besides providing instruction in the ‘principles of morals and religion’ he was expected to report every instance of ill conduct on the part of the children to the Committee at their weekly meetings. When the Society moved to St. George’s Fields, most of these duties were under the remit of Superintendent Durand²⁷.

With industry given a privileged place in the virtues to be inculcated, yet believing that ‘no good is done to humanity or the state’ if ‘honest men’ were thus ‘turned out of bread’, the Society set out to employ their Wards ‘primarily, in the produce of such things as they would consume’. To some extent, self-sufficiency had been achieved through selecting trades which provided shoes and clothing. But, to keep the boys employed and provide ‘an opportunity for instructing them properly’,

²⁵ *First Report*. We may note that a ‘Mr Raikes of Gloucester accompanied by Mr Purchell visited the Reform and were pleased to express their satisfaction’ [s/j-5/4/1795]. This probably refers to the aforementioned ‘Institutor of Sunday Schools’, who also had an interest in Howard’s prison reforms (see Rodgers, 1949). His brother Thomas was a Philanthropic subscriber.

²⁶ As spelling of this title is particularly varied in the records, I will use the form “Superintendent” hereafter.

²⁷ Committee member, the Reverend Dr. Gregory, acted as Chaplain/Superintendent from the time Robert Young departed but had resigned from both situations before the move to Southwark.

outside orders were soon sought. Additional industry and income was generated by placing printing on the Philanthropic repertoire. This was joined by the rope-making trade on the transition to Southwark. However, in choosing trades to be enclosed within the Walls, the Society paid particular regard to their utility in protecting the children from the contaminations of the Metropolis. Early experience had, indeed, led to the trade of bricklayer being discontinued:

because as the buildings in the late situation of the Reform near Hackney were completed, the boys could not be employed, unless they went out to work, by which means they would have been removed from inspection, and greatly endangered in their morals by mixing with various characters, and frequently resorting to public houses²⁸

By the beginning of 1793, the numbers of children in the Institution had increased to 127 and were simply classified as follows:

At the Reform	91 boys
At the Female Reform	30 girls
At Retford	6 boys

Mention of Retford here, alerts us to the decision to accept the Revolution Mill Company's offer to take some children into a Worsted Manufactory located near Nottingham, in 1792. Apprenticing pauper children out to such mills was a common practice of Poor Law guardians (see, for instance, George, 1925; Thompson, 1963) and was also followed by the Foundling Hospital (see Nichols and Wray, 1935)²⁹. The Philanthropic initiative in this field was, however, presented to the public as an expedient measure for overcoming the problem of maintaining 'some of the younger children of both sexes whose labour would be productive of little benefit to the Institution'. Aware, nonetheless, that the children might experience adverse conditions, the Society attempted to deflect dangers by ensuring they were 'placed under the immediate care of a gentleman of known humanity'³⁰.

²⁸ *Address* (1792).

²⁹ For further details of the scale and nature of children's employment in this period, see Horne (1994).

³⁰ *Address* (1792). No girls appear amongst the children who were dispatched. The humane gentleman was a Mr Teschmaker who later gave a 'satisfactory account of the boys under his care at East Retford' [g/mns-31/5/1793].

The Retford experiment was short-lived³¹. Once settled into St. George's Fields, the Society's usual practice was to set boys to work under the guidance of master tradesmen within the Walls of the Reform. If they were old enough and proved to have some aptitude and liking for the master they were then apprenticed to a particular trade. These arrangements also followed Poor Law practice in being formalised before magistrates. In some cases the apprenticeship premium was paid by the Committee, in others the parent paid or, where the Ward's place of settlement was known, the parish was asked to do its duty.

Sometimes, downturns in one or another Philanthropic trade led the Society to 'place out' boys with masters whom the Visitors vetted for their moral probity. This would also be undertaken when placing girls in service. Placement was a fraught task, however, in regard to both boys and girls. As was lamented when reporting on the state of the Female Reform in 1796:

the difficulty of disposing of these girls is considerable - a menial domestic servitude is almost the only situation to be looked for, it has been found for several of them; very minute enquiries into the character of the parties with whom the girls have been placed having in every instance been made - the Committee has not always been successful - the girls have disliked their places, or their conduct has not been approved of by their masters or mistresses³²

We will leave the girls in the background for the moment to note that when suitable masters were found for boys already apprenticed within the Reform, they were taken before a magistrate to have their indentures cancelled. This could be facilitated by members of the wider network of Philanthropic support. In January 1793, for instance, the Superintendent was called to investigate how to deal with **Thomas Denbigh**, a boy 'of the most atrocious character' who had 'eloped' and was afterwards 'taken up as a vagrant by a Constable', Mr. Durand then:

³¹ In 1794 only one boy remained at Retford. A later request from Pendleton Mills for children, 'particularly females', was refused by the Committee [g/mns-1/4/1796]. However, Sheila Gallagher of the East Surrey Family History Society has kindly informed me that 29 children were sent to Cukney Mill, in Nottinghamshire, between 1792 and 1795, through the efforts of William Houlston, 'Philanthropic Society Visitor'. They may, nevertheless, have been Philanthropic "rejects" as the names on the Mill's apprenticeship register do not correspond with children admitted into the Society's care at this time.

³² g/mns-8/4/1796

waited on Mr Colquhoun, one of the magistrates of the Police Office, Shoreditch on account of Thomas Denbigh - who is to be taken proper care of until Friday when he is to be brought up to the Committee for further examination ... Mr Colquhoun expressed his satisfaction with the laudable intention of the Society and informs your Superintendent that he should be at all times ready to give every assistance in his power³³

In February this promise was kept. After waiting on the Secretary of the Marine Society to ask whether that enterprise would accept **James Davis**, the Superintendent was requested to return with James who would be examined for 'size and state of health'. With the examination proving satisfactory, Mr. Durand was given a 'note addressed to the magistrates signifying that the boy J. Davis should be received when his indentures were cancelled'. At this, he went to the Police Office and found Mr. Colquhoun who happily obliged. Thereupon, James was sent to the Marine Society at four o'clock and 'with many others set off that evening for Portsmouth'³⁴. For **William Lowe**, however, the destination was the King's Navy. Having had:

his indentures cancelled at Union Hall, [he was] sent under the care of the Porter, J. Dunn, and placed on board His Majesty's Ship "*Southampton*" commanded by the Honourable Captain Robert Forbes, under whose care he was placed³⁵

While William volunteered for a career on the ocean waves, sending boys to sea also featured in the panoply of Philanthropic punishments. Indeed, while many boys would be keen to earn gratuities for their productivity in the workplace and have their general good conduct rewarded by small gifts of 'Articles of Play, as Batts, Balls, Tops, &c. or in good wholesome Fruit of the Season'³⁶, some failed to calculate that these pleasures outweighed the pains of the world outside. Amongst those who proved resistant to the Society's reforming strategies was **Thomas Burn (13)**:

Bred a thief from his cradle - his mother was transported for uttering counterfeit coin and his father was hanged for housebreaking - the boy was imprisoned for a burglary, in the Compter

³³ s/j-28/1/1793

³⁴ s/j-8/2/1793

³⁵ s/j-30/4/1793

³⁶ tf/c-18/7/1796

Referred by Sir James Sanderson, Thomas was placed with the Shoemaker in January 1790. On 21st October he deserted. The ledgers reveal he had been found ‘perfectly incorrigible’³⁷. **Thomas Barrer** (17) also proved irreclaimable. Rather older than the boys usually accepted, he had maintained himself by theft and had been sentenced to transportation. He received the King’s Pardon and was ‘taken out of Newgate almost dead with cold and hunger’. He then contrived to escape the Reform’s comforts. Likewise “hardened” was James Still (15) who was admitted in 1789. On his desertion it was observed:

This boy never shewed the smallest marks of reformation but on the contrary was continually relating his old tricks with pleasure - had a very sullen temper - a most vindictive disposition - possessed of great cunning and had he not been particularly watched must have corrupted many of the other boys

Such failures did not prevent the Society giving recalcitrant Wards more than one probationary ‘tryal’. One beneficiary of this policy was **William Causer** (12). William was admitted on 7th July 1792 from Newgate where he had been confined for ‘having stolen a pair of plated buckles’. He escaped from Philanthropic custody quite quickly but, on 10th July, was ‘brought back by his mother and father’. This display of assiduous parental responsibility possibly had some impact on the Society’s deliberations over whether he should be readmitted. William’s history continues thus:

12 th July	deserted
24 th July	re-admitted
28 th July	deserted
14 th August	re-admitted - brought back by a Constable employed for that purpose
18 th August	made his escape from the place of confinement
30 th August	re-admitted again

Philanthropic patience was exhausted. Although no subsequent misdemeanours are recorded, on 4th September William was ‘Expelled the Reform’.

Whilst William may have been cast out to prevent a dangerous counter-culture pervading the Institution, expulsion from the Society’s protection had been held-out as an exemplary punishment from the commencement of its operations. This branch of the system of discipline also included badges of disgrace, early bed-times or

³⁷ For Thomas’s record, see fig. 2.

40 Thomas Burn - 13^{yr}

Bred a Thief from his cradle - his Mother was transported for uttering counterfeit coin & his father was hanged for house breaking - the boy was imprisoned for a burglary, in the Compter. Recommended by Sir James Sanderson. —

1790 Jan. 7. placed with the Shoemaker & employed knitting,
" Oct. 21. Deserted. —

This boy was found perfectly incorrigible —

41. Edw^d. Sutton - 9^{yr}

Has no Mother - his father is transported - to Botany Bay -

1790 Jan. 8th. placed with the Shoemaker & employed knitting,
1791 July 5. Apprenticed to D^o.

floggings as well as confinement in the cells on diets of bread and water³⁸. More formal means might be employed in regard to children who had been indentured by the Society. They could be taken before a magistrate and, as refractory apprentices under the Poor Laws, receive corrective whippings or a short spell in a Bridewell. Yet, as this tended to cancel-out any virtues a Philanthropic sojourn had instilled and with many boys not competent or old enough to be apprenticed, the Society searched for other solutions.

By the beginning of 1793, the Philanthropic gentlemen were looking to the sea with hope. That year had not started well. On the first day, the Master Carpenter informed the Superintendent that several of his boys would not obey his orders - 'viz. Lynch, Lewis, Vinney, Stewart, Mitchell, Seddon and Tucker'. At this intelligence, the Superintendent went with him to the Field where he saw several of the boys making their escape over the Wall. They were pursued, some were captured and when Lewis, Vinney and Mitchell returned in the evening they were separated from the other boys 'until the Committee's pleasure [was] known what to do with them'. No Minutes survive to record the Committee's thoughts on the matter, but, on 4th January, a Philanthropic expedition set out for the City:

The Superintendent attended Mr Harman, Mr Boldero, and Mr Jackson to the Mansion House - these gentlemen being deputed to consult with the Lord Mayor on some mode to punish the before-mentioned refractory boys. From his Lordship they went to the Marine Society office and then back to the Mansion House.

If this to-ing and fro-ing makes the Philanthropic gentlemen appear all at-sea, their explorations brought an interim reward. The Superintendent afterwards received:

a note from his Lordship addressed to the magistrates at Union Hall and also his Lordship's orders to wait on Mr Pasdon to enquire if there were separate places of confinement for disorderly apprentices in their prisons³⁹

Hopes were dashed, however. Joining the Superintendent on his onward journey we find that:

³⁸ No girls appear to have been 'flogged' although they were 'chastised' and confined in cells.

³⁹ Union Hall was the nearby Police Office.

Mr Pasdon being from home, he enquired of one of the Officers of Police - was told there were. He then presented the note to the magistrates and was informed by them that there were only two places of confinement and they were occupied.

They desired I would return to his Lordship and acquaint him how they were at present circumstanced - and were sorry it was not within their power to assist his Lordship's good intentions, as they were at all times willing to lend every aid for the good of the Society.

At this less than heartening news, Superintendent Durand returned to the Mansion House and was 'desired to attend his Lordship the next day at 12 of the clock'. Having done so, it would seem that whatever his Lordship's good intentions precisely were he couldn't carry them into practical effect. Indeed, the matter of being *ultra vires* appears to have loomed, for:

after his Lordship had consulted a person whom he then called in, desired that his compliments might be presented to the gentlemen and acquaint them he was extremely sorry that he could not do them the service he intended, it being a stretch of his power which he found it was not advisable for him to pursue⁴⁰

If the Superintendent's subsequent quest for captains willing to take refractory boys on their ships was underpinned by the belief that 'he might then, with the Committee's concurrence, save a few more from destruction by sending them to sea'⁴¹, a few determined lads would afterwards escape the rigours of maritime life and return to the perils of mainland society. One such was **Thomas Pearce**, aged 13 when admitted in June 1790. His catalogue of vices over the next three years led Dr. Sims to desire that the Superintendent should submit 'to the Committee for their consideration the propriety of consulting an Impress Captain' in order that Pearce - and two other boys:

may be sent to sea as from their general conduct and considering their age and the time they have been in the Reform, there seems little reason to expect they will answer the Intent designed⁴²

⁴⁰ s/j-5/1/1793. We may assume that the person consulted was a legal advisor. Such clerks, Abel-Smith and Stevens (1967:9) remind us, were not always successful in keeping justices' discretion within the bounds of the law.

⁴¹ s/j-9/2/1793

⁴² The rationale for this exclusionary practice would later be expressed thus: 'There are now in the Reform ten or twelve boys whom there are little hopes of reclaiming; whose association with the others may be highly pernicious to the rest; and who ought therefore to be got rid of, as soon as any tolerable situation can be found for them - perhaps it may be well to place them with some masters of vessels in the South Whale Fishery Trade or any other long voyages' [g/mns-8/4/1796].

Having been banished into the care of ‘a Captain William Lucas of the ship “*Mentor*”, bound to the South Seas for three years’, Thomas was discovered at the back gate of the Reform in April 1794. He was not re-admitted. Enquiries established he had run away from the ship and then wandered about the country while subsisting by begging. The Superintendent ordered him to be taken back to his Master. But, as Captain Lucas had sailed, Thomas was consigned into the care of Mrs Lucas ‘in order to be immediately sent on board a Man-of-War’.

To go aboard a Man-of-War with the prospect of the King’s Bounty or Prize money in view, was a compelling attraction for many boys⁴³. Indeed, the lure of the sea began, disconcertingly, to pose a problem. The day after James Davis had marched off to the Marine Society, **James Kidd** was sent in the same direction. Word of this opportunity for adventure appears to have spread and the Superintendent felt obliged to report that:

Some of the boys having expressed a desire to go to sea last night - and your Superintendent considering this and intending it as a punishment when he mentioned it to the Committee for this purpose - he found it necessary to address them on the subject lest instead of ... [preventing] ... their absconding - the novelty and youthful desire of change might induce them to it - by which means his intentions would be frustrated⁴⁴

The Superintendent’s desire for additional modes of punishment can be appreciated. The recital of escapades contended with included “elopements” out of skylights, down chimneys, through drains and over the Walls to go birds-nesting, black-berrying or searching gardens for peaches and nectarines. **John Amory** had different matters in mind. In October 1798:

It being a rejoicing evening on account of the naval victory obtained by the intrepid Admiral Nelson ...[he] ... got over the wall and absconded - it is imagined to see the illuminations

⁴³ The Society also discovered this to be the reason why one of their trades-men absconded.

⁴⁴ One boy’s desire was later quashed as follows: ‘William Millar was as ordered taken on Tuesday to the Marine Society - Mr Newby the Secretary forcibly pointed out the dangers he was likely to encounter & shewed him by a model the hazardous situation he would be most probably be placed in to perform his duty - from this recital the boy relinquished his idea of going to sea’ [s/j-15/2/1798].

Nathaniel Sturch and James Bailey prepared for greater adventures. This pair of ‘audacious offenders’ absconded early in the morning of 9th September 1793:

[and] took with them a box containing one shilling and eight pence, two New Testaments which your Superintendent had given them last week, three hats, two pair of breeches & their best shoes. They were sent after and directions given the route they were likely to take and were found by Mr Williamson and the Porter in a Hole between Blackheath and Shooters Hill - they had disposed of their breeches and shoes and had bought white metal buttons which, after cutting off the Buttons of the Reform, they had sewed on their jackets - the Buttons of the Reform being strewn about where they sat - they were immediately brought back⁴⁵

Failing to return after being sent on errands was another item in the boys’ repertoire. Such *exeats* may seem surprising in view of the intention to keep them segregated within the Walls. Allowing some to venture out was, nevertheless, in keeping with the Philanthropic philosophy of treating them like ordinary apprentices. It also provided an opportunity to assess whether they would conform to the Society’s rules for such excursions. Most displayed a willing obedience. However, one boy failed to return after expressing an interest in being a spectator to the dramatic aftermath of houses falling down in Clare Market in 1796⁴⁶. The desire to be a spectator at an execution drew another boy away from the path of virtue⁴⁷.

Minor mischiefs could, nonetheless, escalate into riotous assemblies. When such circumstances arose, handling the boys was no easy matter. As the Superintendent relates - somewhat breathlessly - on 16th May 1794:

this evening I found the boys in a state of disorder, on my inquiry into the cause was informed that some of the boys had been making a very vigorous noise in the shoemaker’s shop and that they had before squirted water at the Porter who had reprimanded them for this conduct - and was gone to the bottom of the Field to some of the little boys who were throwing stones.

But hearing so great a noise, and Mr Russell [the Steward] coming out of his office to enquire the cause, he returned and Mr Russell followed him, when, on entering the shoemakers shop several of the boys made their escape out of the windows upon the grounds and those he found in the shop he corrected as they would not tell who was

⁴⁵ Philanthropic buttons were embossed with a symbolic “Bee-hive” of industry.

⁴⁶ George (1925:83) notes that sixteen people were buried in the ruins.

⁴⁷ g/mns-13/3/1793

concerned, one of which (Watts) struck him and got a hoe in hand and said he would split the Porter's skull, and the others advanced as if to fall on him, which the Porter prevented, after which he came to his lodge and several of the boys threw stones at him - he came out and prevented any further mischief

On 17th January the previous year, the Superintendent had not been so fortunate. When punishing some boys for being insolent to hired workmen, another group took advantage of his attention being diverted and kindled a fire with wood shavings. Upon the Watchman relating he was 'afraid to touch' the boy bringing the shavings 'for fear of his life', the Superintendent sent one of the carpenters in pursuit. The boys surrounded the carpenter 'and threw anything they could lay hold of at him'. Catching-up at this point, the Superintendent received 'a stroke on [his] face with a large Battledore - and a blow from a brick or stone on the thigh'.

This alarming episode led the Society to set up a 'Committee of Enquiry into the Cause and Effects of the ill conduct of several of the boys in the Reform on Thursday last'. Having evaluated existing disciplinary practices and after examining the boys' ration of leisure hours, the Committee decided to establish an 'evening school'. On 21st January a further improvement was set in hand when:

The Carpenter went this afternoon to Deptford and received every information necessary for making the machines ordered by the Committee for refractory boys, six of which will be made as soon as possible

It is conceivable that these 'machines' were some benign contraptions designed to provide safe and sanitary conditions of confinement. They might even have been designed to deliver rationally calculated proportionate pain. But, as there is no record of such being employed, we might assume that the carpenter contrived to fashion some constraints in the shape of a Collar. These were certainly ready when James Ferry and George Wills made an escape the next month 'the former with a Collar about his neck and the latter with a Fetter'. Yet, while both types of device were used to restrain convicts, slaves and maritime mutineers in this era, the innovative Philanthropic Collar appears to have provoked a complaint about cruel - if not unusual - punishment. This found its way to outside authorities. The Superintendent records that Ferry was brought back to the Reform the next day by his mother:

after having been before the justices in Worship Street, and his mother there complaining of the cruelty he had sustained by having the Collar put upon his neck - and which had been taken off by some person on the street after much difficulty⁴⁸

The opening months of 1793 had, however, been particularly fraught for Mr. Durand. Not only had the boys proved troublesome but he had to contend with the Society's new neighbours at St. George's Fields. On the 11th January, he visited the person who kept the grocers shop opposite the Reform and was told that 'a boy had acquainted him that he saw three of our boys who had stole a box from him which I understood contained plumbs, and likewise a piece of bacon from his neighbour'. The Superintendent then contrived to be:

in the Reform as soon as it was light in order to see if I could find the bacon, box, or any of the plumbs hid. I searched every one of the Shoemakers boxes, Taylor's room & desired the Carpenter to look behind the doors but could make no discovery.

I then went to the person who had lost the articles and desired they would stop in future any boy of ours that should come to their shop and send for me and I should attend immediately

Later the same day:

The Carpenter informed me that [Richard] Starkey, one of his boys, had got very much affected by Liquor - and in a few minutes - as he had seen him but a little while before and he was perfectly sober. On enquiring, I learnt he had been at the Alehouse [at] the corner of the Reform where he had got some Liquor

I went to the House and reprimanded both the master and mistress for selling spirits to any of the boys - and desired they never would hereafter permit any of the boys to have liquor, or enter within their doors. They promised a strict compliance with this request

We might suppose the Superintendent was commended for attempting to put such temptations on the doorstep out of bounds. Although "small beer" was an acceptable refreshment - being one of the safest liquids to drink in these less than sanitary times - the Philanthropists frowned upon the consumption of spirituous liquors. As Dr. Lettsom graphically illustrated by means of a '*Moral and Physical Thermometer*', beverages such as water, milk and small beer could induce health, wealth, serenity of mind, and happiness. In contrast, the progressive consequences of consuming even a 'little drop' of spirits were punishments associated with vices and diseases; namely

⁴⁸ The Collars were still being employed in 1798.

debt, rags, hunger, the poor house, jails, whipping, the Hulks, Botany Bay and the Gallows⁴⁹.

The next day didn't augur any better for the Superintendent. Even without the aid of intoxicating substances, some boys forgot the catalogue of virtues they were supposed to digest. As he had to report:

James Hicks and Henry Humble went away this morning - the latter returned at three o'clock and I immediately ordered him to be tied up and chastised him ...

Thomas Barrer, one of the Taylors [boys], being caught gambling, confined him in the Solitary Cell

In the evening, the Superintendent visited the boys in the Field. On returning to his house he found another neighbour:

a Gingerbread Baker, who lives in the road and near the Reform [who] complained to me that one of the boys had broke his window - and said the same boy had brought him a bad shilling to be changed - but on refusing to take it [the boy] bid him take care of his windows

The Superintendent's day of trial had not ended. Following this account of threatening behaviour, the person who served the Reform with vegetables came and:

said he had lost two bunches of turnips and he thought some of my boys had stole them.

I told him I believed he was mistaken - as I had ordered the Carpenter's boys to be locked in and the others were under the care of their masters

Then, a little later:

the Blacksmith, who likewise does business for us, came to inform me that his son had picked up a bunch of Turnips, with a long string, part of which appears to have been artfully slung around them - and by which means they had been drawn off

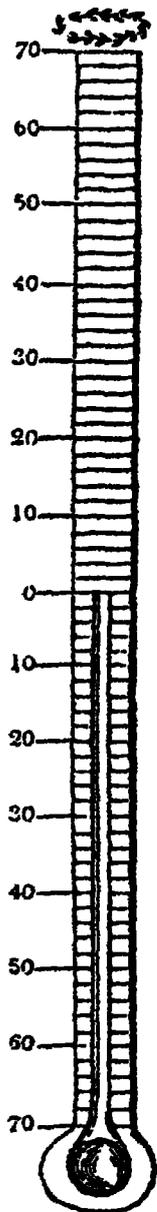
With exasperations accumulating we can appreciate why Mr. Durand curtly 'desired the Smith to return them to their proper owner'. We can also note he begged leave to observe:

that tho' it is not his intention to take the part of the boys improperly - and indeed he has very little reason - still, among such a bunch of Wretches with which the Market abounds, he trusts that the Committee will consider that every Robbery laid to the Charges is not

⁴⁹ See fig.3. from *Hints respecting the Effects of a Little Drop*.

fig.3

LIQUORS, with their EFFECTS, in their usual Order.



70	WATER,	} TEMPERANCE.	} Health, Wealth,	
60	Milk and Water,			} Serenity of Mind,
50	Small Beer,			
40	Cyder and Perry.	} Cheerfulness,		
30	Wine,		} Strength and	
20	Porter,			} Nourishment, when } only at Meals, and in moderate
10	Strong Beer,			
0				

INTEMPERANCE.

10	Punch	} VICES.	} DISEASES.	} PUNISHMENTS.											
20	Toddy & Crank,				} Idleness,	} Sickness, and Tremors of the Hands in the Morning, Swelledness, Inflamed Eye, Red Nose & Face, Sore and swelled Legs, Jaundice, Pain in the Limbs and burning in the Palms of the Hands, & Soles of the Feet, Dropsy, Epilepsy, Melancholy, Madness, Palsy, Apoplexy, DEATH.	} Debt.								
30	{ Grog. and Brandy and Water,							} Peevishness,	} Black Eyes.						
40	Flip and Shrub,									} Quarrelling,	} Rags.				
50	{ Bitters infused in Spirits, Uquebaugh, Hysterical Water,											} Fighting.	} Hunger.		
60	{ Gin, Aniseed, Brandy, Rum, and Whisky in the Morning													} Lying,	} Hospital.
70	{ Do. during the Day & Night.														
		} Obscenity,	} Jail.												
				} Swindling,	} Whipping										
						} Perjury.	} The Hulks.								
								} Burglary.	} Botany Bay						
										} Murder,	} GALLIES.				
												} Suicide.			

always committed by them - culpable as they are - and this he has been perfectly convinced of

The Superintendent was probably correct in his assessment. Having just moved into St. George's Fields, Philanthropic boys provided a new target for the displacement of blame. The boys, nonetheless, still had much mischief to do. They 'tossed up for halfpence' and continued their picaresque 'evening and morning excursions'. The Superintendent was concerned and:

fearing the ill consequences that might ensue from [..?..] boys being loose on the Town, he thought it proper to go to the Union Hall and desire some of the Runners endeavour to take them

He then 'went to Tower Hill, the place of their usual resort' but on being informed that 'the afternoon was the most probable time to catch them' returned to the Reform to see other boys to work. He set off again, taking two men with him and 'traversed the Quays, Tower Hill ... Whitechapel, Moorfields and the most noted places', but without success. Next day, however, one of the runaways was brought back and 'confined until one of the machines is ready'. The Superintendent also informed the Committee that:

a letter has been sent to his Grace the Duke of Leeds [the Society's President], reflecting on your Superintendent's Character as having been cruel to the boys under his care⁵⁰

As the Collars were not yet available, the "cruelty" likely referred to another mode of punishment. This, possibly, was one which the Reverend Mr. Southgate considered 'improper' when visiting to address the boys in May 1794. As was later reported:

Mr Southgate on his leaving the Reform mentioned to your Superintendent that the boys had complained to him about the Porter's chastisement and afterwards asked to see the Porter and what he usually chastised the boys with -

On being shewn the Cane, and having been informed, for the other offences, a cat-of-nine-tails was generally used - both of which he said was improper, and that a rod was sufficient - Mr Southgate desired that this remark might be reported to the Committee and he should mention it to the Revd. Mr Agutter who would speak to the Committee on the subject⁵¹

⁵⁰ The Marquis of Carmarthen had succeeded to the title in 1789.

⁵¹ The Revd. William Agutter M.A. had been a Committee member alongside Jeremiah Bentham.

The Superintendent certainly seems to have experienced difficulty in fitting punishment to offences with a Beccarian exactness. Indeed, as we will later meet the Reverend Sydney Turner similarly exercised in dispensing “just pain” to Philanthropic children in the 1840s, it is of interest to find Mr. Durand now reminding the Committee, that:

ever desirous as far as his power to act conformable to the Committee’s commands & to whom he looks up to for sanction and support in his situation, [he] hopes they will take the above into their consideration and having as hitherto endeavoured to proportion his corrections according to the offence committed and being eye-witness of the same when carried into effect, to prevent any accident or improper correction, respectfully requests the Committee’s orders for the mode of punishment in future as he is anxious not to incur their displeasure - at the same time to preserve that discipline which he from experience finds extremely necessary for the good government of the peculiar objects which the Committee have entrusted to his care - he begs leave to add that it is his constant practice never to inflict punishments until proper warning has been given & other means tried for their amendment

The case of **Thomas Trimbath** provides an illustration of how the amendment process could proceed. Although a-typical in regard to his route of referral, the efforts made to reclaim him are reflected in the histories of many other boys⁵²:

Thomas Trimbath, alias Murphy, age 14, admitted on the orders of the Committee, August 1797. Found under a hedge in Germany, draped in an old Drummer’s uniform, by His Royal Highness the Duke of York & supposed to be the son of some soldier who had abandoned him to the wide world.

The Duke and Dutchess were remarkably kind to him & he was placed in the capacity of Groom’s Boy in the Duke’s Stables, but having testified a strong disposition to thieve, His Royal Highness applied in his behalf to His Grace the Duke of Leeds who recommended him by letter to the Committee

28th August - Placed with Mr Thompson, Framework Knitter, on trial, having expressed a desire of being employed at the stocking manufactory.

16th October - Absconded this evening over the wall by the hemp Dresser’s shed. He made an attempt to abscond some time ago but was prevented & has in general appeared dissatisfied

25th October - Thomas Trimbath, the boy who had absconded was this day brought back by one of the servants of His Royal Highness and being interrogated before the person who brought him back, the reason for his going away, he replied [was] a desire to see his friends

- learnt that he had been at His Royal Highness the Duke of York's seat at Oatlands - and had there reported that the cause of his running away arose from his not having sufficient food⁵³

Thomas was 'afterwards log'd'. Heavy or light logs were used to prevent boys from absconding and could be chained to ankles and then to work-benches. They did not always have the desired effect. Richard Starkey (who we met in a state of intoxication) had one applied after he 'struck another boy with a hammer on the face and ... given him a black eye'. That rascal, however, not only contrived to saw-off part of the log 'but also got the fetter off his leg & went away'⁵⁴. The log, nonetheless, kept Thomas on the premises and on 3rd November he was 'Liberated'.

On Christmas eve:

Colonel Huugull visited at the request of the Duke of York to enquire after Trimboth whether he had again absconded and was informed he had not since attempted it and appeared to be in a state of reformation.

Unfortunately, appearances could be deceptive and on:

2nd January 1798. The boys being this day allowed their usual holiday - he took the opportunity of absconding⁵⁵

However, Thomas was recaptured and on:

16th January - Was this day brought to the Reform by His Royal Highness's servant who reported that His Highness had informed the boy that if he ever again absconded he should, when taken, be treated as a vagrant and punished accordingly - placed him on his return in solitary confinement

18th January - Expressing marks of contrition and promising not to offend again - he was liberated and set to work

22nd January. He soon again attempted to abscond, but was prevented - [for] this and other improper behaviour, gave him a smart chastisement - and is log'd

⁵² This account amalgamates entries taken from the Minutes and Superintendent's Journals.

⁵³ As will be discussed in the next Chapter, food shortages at this time had an adverse impact on the Institution's fare.

⁵⁴ s/j-20/1/1793

⁵⁵ As boys had already taken advantage of their 'holiday' trips to Norwood, the Committee sought to limit their scope for creating disorder by declaring: 'Boys be not permitted to go into the countryside for a holiday unless the Superintendent and masters see that they have no weapons, as guns, pistol &c. of any sort; and that they behave themselves with great regularity and never enter into any gardens, orchards, pleasure grounds &c. by which they can give offence or do any mischief & that they be always present with some of the masters' [g/mns-13/6/1794].

Yet, if Thomas proved resistant to what might appear harsh lessons, the Society had provided an Asylum from a world in which children could be left to ruin. Having looked at the background of the children brought under its protection, we might sense, indeed, that the compassion underpinning this appeal for funds was no mere rhetorical sham:

If, ten years to come, a malefactor at the Gallows should be heard to say, “when I was young, necessitous, unprotected, and compelled by my parents, by friends, by blows and by hunger to steal for my daily bread, I abhorred my condition and dreaded the fate which now has arrested me; at that time I begged of you the bread of industry - I entreated the means of employment - I sought your protection from my miserable parents and friends - I had the mortification to be left, while my companion was received into the Reform”⁵⁶

The companion could well have been **George Lefoy** or even **William Pearce**⁵⁷. Both had been with the Society from its infancy and by 1798 were about 18 years old. With Spring in the air they brought another reminder of the difficulties involved in taming ‘strong and restless impulses’:

The Superintendent, having stopped a letter from a girl which was directed to G. Bradbury, one of the boys of the Reform & having perused the same - desired the assistance of two of the Masters to attend out of the Reform in the evening after eight, when some little time after, Mr Morgan, observing Pearce, who had got over the Wall (without being noticed by the Watchman - tho’ charged to keep a careful outlook) give a letter to a girl in company with two others, whom I had not long before seen & heard use a Bird Call.

Mr Morgan caught the letter & brought Pearce to the Reform, who slipped away again and absconded, it being very dark.

Mr Morgan has since reported that G. Lefoy has before his companions boasted of the means that may be used to prevent a future discovery of this kind, and whose conduct had latterly been very reprehensible, altho’ advice, restraint, and punishment have been used to produce reformation without effect.

The Committee, he hopes, will excuse the length of the foregoing report, but conceives it his duty to point out the youthful temptations which appear to him the cause of these young men so frequently absconding - and which require strict attention in those persons who are to endeavour to prevent the pernicious effects of such natural but dangerous conduct⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Second Report*.

⁵⁷ George, as we saw, was rescued from the streets of St. Giles in 1788. William had been admitted in 1792 having been ‘guilty of many petty thefts and bad conduct’. He was the brother of Thomas who had been directed towards a Man-of-War.

⁵⁸ s/j-11/4/1798 - original emphasis.

These observations did not produce gloom and despondency. Neither had evidence on the success of the enterprise produced overwhelming disappointment. On examining the records, a Special Committee of gentlemen had been able to determine that of the 176 boys admitted from the Society's formation up to 1796⁵⁹:

- 51 have absconded
- 17 gone to sea, some of their own desire others sent by the Committee being considered incapable of reform
- 5 sent to the Marine Society two of these at their own request
- 3 have been expelled
- 10 delivered to their relations who were found to have been of good character and now able to maintain them
- 7 have been placed out; six of them to trades and other servitude
- 3 have died - two of these drowned, bathing

If they could also remark that 'it is with peculiar satisfaction that your Committee report that during the three last years only eight have absconded', their research had produced equally satisfactory results regarding the girls, of whom:

- 7 have been delivered to their friends
- 7 placed out to servitude
- 5 have absconded
- 1 has died

Whilst the absence of children's narratives does not allow us to understand how they viewed their situation, the Philanthropic records have highlighted the remarkably diverse range of boys and girls brought into the Society's care by various routes of referral. Thus providing the Reform with its human stock-in-trade and enabling the Philanthropists to increase their knowledge of youthful behaviour, they also presented ample evidence to suggest that the task of educating young minds to follow the path of virtue would not be easy. In these early years the gentlemen were sailing in the uncharted waters of experimental enterprise. But, with a blend of Enlightenment curiosity and compassion they sought to implement their preventive policing plan within the bounds of economy and the existing legal framework. In doing so, elements of the original design were amended and a pattern of response to institutional problems began to emerge. As this, however, was not set in a rigid template, we will now consider how their talents were harnessed to other aspects of governance that required adjusting in the light of experience.

⁵⁹ g/mns-8/4/1796

Chapter 3

THE DEVELOPING DIMENSION OF SELF-GOVERNANCE

1. Domestic oeconomy

If the year 1793 had opened by testing the Philanthropic system of discipline, it ended with the nation engaging in war with France. This heralded a decade of economic crisis in which food shortages and inflationary prices had an acute impact on the poor. It also found escalating sales of Paine's *Rights of Man* fuelling fears over the spread of Jacobin plots and fusing with suspicions provoked by the Corresponding Societies' agenda of:

taxes diminished, the necessities of life more within the reach of the poor, youth better educated, prisons less crowded [and] old age better provided for (quoted in Briggs, 1959/1979:133)

These were troubling times which saw the suspension of Habeas Corpus in 1794 and 1798 as well as the appearance of the Treason and Seditious Practices Act (1794) and the Corresponding Societies Act (1799). They also, we may recall, found members of the Philanthropic network both involved in controlling disaffection when it precipitated into riot and engaged in the SBCP enterprise of establishing principles on which various forms of poor relief could be dispensed. This era likewise saw Bentham formulating his National Charity Company solution for dispersing the burdensome poor and Colquhoun offering the Home Department his plan for a 'Village of Industry'. Somewhat prefigured by Robert Young's British Settlement scheme, this advocated the utility of providing employment for minor convicts and discharged prisoners who might 'be desirous of labouring for their subsistence in an honest way' (see Radzinowicz, 1956:257).

Amongst the growing number of local schemes for coping with the effects of economic downturn was that devised by the Speenhamland magistrates in 1795. Whether control or compassion underpinned this initiative for linking poor relief to the price of bread and size of family, ameliorative efforts at national level included Whitbread's Bill of 1796. Designed to endow magistrates with powers for adjusting wages in line with the cost of living, it failed to make progress. Likewise unsuccessful

was William Pitt's Bill for the Better Support and Maintenance of the Poor (1797).

This attempted to ensure:

that provision should be made for amending and enforcing the laws for the relief, instruction and employment of the poor; in order as far as may be, to improve their condition, and to insure a more comfortable maintenance and support to them and their families, to encourage the general habits of industry and good order; and thereby gradually to reduce the excessive amount of the poor rates¹

The demise of these legislative proposals owed much to inept drafting. Resilient opposition to State and other forms of intervention also played a part. Indeed, the strong currency of resistance that had motivated the Philanthropic Founders to defend the establishment of their voluntary enterprise re-circulated in Eden's *State of the Poor* (1797). In this, Eden criticised both Whitbread and Pitt on the grounds that their advocated statutory measures would undermine individual exertion, foster idleness and altogether undermine a family's moral responsibility for its economic well-being (Himmelfarb, 1984). Yet, although Malthus's *Essay on the Principles of Population* (1798) further stoked ideological conflict by setting out a case for abolishing poor relief on the grounds that it worsened the condition of the poor by encouraging them to have children they could not support, the Philanthropic Society did not beat a loud drum in the debate. Rather, it was preoccupied in fashioning its affairs on sound principles of trade. A variety of arising exigencies, however, would put the Philanthropists on their mettle.

Concerns about the running-costs of the enterprise loomed large on the Philanthropic agenda throughout the decade. At the outset, the Society had felt it important to convince subscribers that their benevolent bounty would be applied with 'utility only' consulted in every arrangement for the children's maintenance. From this, and having in mind that:

[as] the wards are forming for their humble station of labourers, it is thought an important care not to accustom them to conveniences and indulgences, of which afterwards they might severely feel the want

¹ Many of Pitt's remedies were sympathetic to the ideas encompassed in Lettsom's *Hints* and other SBCP publications.

the dietary regulation of 'two Banyan days every week, or days when meat is not allowed' was initially imposed².

There is nothing to indicate the Society's managers subsequently indulged in undue extravagance, or, that subscriptions sharply retracted. Nevertheless, by the time Society was preparing to shift into Southwark, the high cost of maintaining an increased number of children was under the scrutiny of a Special Committee of enquiry into affairs of trade and finance. By May 1793, its members were ready to lay out solutions. The 'first object' of their attention had been the reduction in expenditure. To this end, a range of retrenchments were advocated. These included the purchase of a washing machine to lessen the consumption of coals, a substitute for soap and the use of lamps instead of candles in the workshops during the winter months. While later recommendations for fuel economies would entail fireplaces in the Female Reform being 'altered on Count Rumford's plan', the gentlemen now begged leave to observe that 'if an oven could be erected, a further saving of £70 per annum in the present consumption might be made by baking bread, meat and puddings at home'³. As well, although no additional savings could be made on the 'article of woollen and linen cloathing' they had:

ordered the hats to be purchased ... at one shilling and four pence each, by which a saving is made of two pence per hat [and] also ordered stockings at one shilling and six pence per pair, by way of experiment, instead of those formerly used at two shillings and have adopted sundry regulations for the due care of the cloathing

Notions of propriety, however, appear to have regulated an item of the girls' apparel just after they had processed around the room at the Anniversary Dinner of 1793. Although their 'decent appearance and orderly demeanour' helped raise over £600 on the occasion, shortly afterwards the Society felt obliged to note that:

² *First Report*

³ *g/mns-10/11/1797*. Plumb (1963:169) notes that Count Rumford helped found the Royal Institution (1800). A friend of Lettson, he was an honoured guest at a Philanthropic Anniversary Dinner held in this decade. His improving designs for food and fuel economies were also applied by Thomas Bernard at the Foundling (see Nichols and Wray, 1935:313-4).

It having been represented to the Committee that the trimming of the girls hats is more than is necessary or seemly for children of this Institution, it was ordered that the Superintendent shall have the same taken off all, except the binding and tie strings⁴

While the detail of furnishing the girls with ‘bonnets instead of hats’ would not be overlooked on account of being ‘cheaper and more lasting’⁵ considerations of health as well as well as economy also entered Philanthropic calculations. This blend of imperatives inspired Dr. Sims and Mr. Coxe to conduct the ‘experiment’ of allowing boys working in the Field to go without shoes and stockings in the summer. The initiative was short-lived. With the extreme heat abating and with a rascally boy laying the cause of his ‘elopement’ down to being ‘obliged to go without stockings’, the order relating to the matter was rescinded⁶.

Items of food and drink, however, provided ample scope for economy. The ‘considerable saving’ expected from restricting the boys’ access to small beer by keeping it ‘locked up in the cellar under the care of the Steward’ is not quantified. But, that to be gained by making a ‘reduction in the quality of cheese allowed for supper’ was estimated at £20 per annum. Furthermore, having found the ‘article of milk very heavy’, a new contract was entered upon ‘by which, together with a reduction in the quality, in the proportion of two quarts of water to one of milk’ an annual saving of £55 was anticipated. As to the children’s diet, the even more substantial saving of £116 per annum would accrue from adopting the following ‘regulations’ for Dinners:

Sunday	Beef roast or baked potatoes or greens and bread as usual
Monday	Broth & bread, instead of mutton, broth, potatoes & bread
Tuesday	Boiled mutton, potatoes or greens & bread; instead of boiled beef &c.
Wednesday	Baked suet pudding: instead of pease soup
Thursday	Leg of beef & bread as usual
Friday	Broth & bread, instead of broth, mutton, potatoes & bread
Saturday	Boiled mutton & beef, potatoes, greens & bread instead of suet puddings

⁴ g/mns-3/5/1793

⁵ g/mns-14/3/1794

⁶ s/j-17/7/1793

While this suggests the children were entertained to a still reasonable bill of fare, rations were subject to further retrenchment at the end of 1795:

in consideration of the present alarming scarcity of wheat and wheaten flour for the use of bread which has so much excited public attention and calls for the strictest oeconomy in all public charities and the use of every substitute in lieu thereof

With this patriotic imperative in mind, the Society then:

Ordered: that until such scarcity be happily removed, potatoes only, in lieu of bread, be constantly served at dinner to all the children within the Reform - allowing nevertheless such a specific and due quantity of bread to be distributed to each of the children at breakfast and supper as the sub committee of trade and finance may think proper to direct

Whereupon, and having in view these gentlemen's deliberations on the matter, it was resolved:

that in conformity to their recommendation a bread of such a mixture as shall comprise two thirds wheat and one third barley be immediately adopted at the rate not exceeding two quartern loaves per week for each boy of the first class, two quartern for those of the second class and one quartern and an half for the third class and as soon after as in point of health may be judged convenient for such a change, the mixture of bread may be equal parts of wheat and barley ⁷

This allocation of provisions may have been based as much on physique as on age. The girls were to 'be divided into two classes and that the first class of the girls be served equal to the second class of the boys and the second class of the girls be equal to the third of the boys'. The canny gentlemen, however, did not omit consideration of being prey to frauds in this time of scarcity. Precautions were taken to ensure that the mixture of bread was as 'pure and unadulterated as possible' by having the Steward personally purchase the wheaten and barley flour. Afterwards, he was to employ a baker to 'work the same in the Reform according to the proper weight and quantity, under his inspection'. The loaves were then to be dispatched for baking 'with an Impression on each loaf so as to prevent Imposition'.

In the Spring of 1796, the Society noted that 'by the regulations lately adopted in the domestic oeconomy there will result a considerable diminution of the expenses - the

⁷ g/mns-23/12/1795.

Bill of fare for the boys lately established will be considered frugal⁸. It was as follows:

For Breakfast

bread, with milk & water

For Dinner

Monday	Broth & potatoes - no bread
Tuesday	The meat of which Monday's broth was made & potatoes
Wednesday	Puddings of potatoes and flour
Thursday	Legs of beef stewed and potatoes
Friday	Beef & mutton & potatoes stewed
Saturday	Rice puddings
Sunday	Baked beef and potatoes

For Supper

alternatively, bread with milk & water and bread & cheese

The diet for the girls was the same 'with the exception of rice milk for dinner Tuesday instead of meat'. This item, having 'in many instances been found prejudicial to the health of the girls', was later ordered to be changed to 'rice pudding' on the orders of the medical gentlemen⁹.

If this diet helps explain why Thomas Trimbath would run back to the servant's fare at the Duke of York's residence in 1797¹⁰, the one offered in 1794 appeared just as "less eligible" to several of the Shoemaker's boys. Their grievances on the matter were transmitted to the Superintendent who duly reported them to the Committee. He added, intriguingly, that 'their having broth twice a week is what they allude to and that without any meat ... these boys are very new to their eating and draw a comparison ... to ... how they used to live before'¹¹.

In view of such frugality, it is not surprising to find that work incentives came to include the prospect of having baked mutton for dinner - at least, for boys who earned nine shillings a week or upwards. The girls had to wait for a similar indulgence until June 1801 when those who were 'industrious in housework and

⁸ g/mns-8/4/1796

⁹ g/mns-18/11/1796

¹⁰ See Chapter 2.

washing' were given 'baked mutton with potatoes or greens, on Mondays, instead of soup'. No doubt this was welcome. With the scarcity of flour continuing to keep prices high, the allowance of bread for both boys and girls at breakfast had been 'reduced one half and that such reduction be supplied with oatmeal and milk, sweetened with molasses'¹².

In regard to work incentives, however, the 'experiment' of dangling pecuniary rewards before the boys had been introduced 'as a stimulus to their exertion' as early as 1793¹³. This was based on a plan submitted by the Surveyor who had pointed out the 'particular advantages' that could thus 'arise both to the Institution and the boys'. It is difficult to determine the extent to which the scheme added to the profits but the rewards accrued in some trades could be substantial. The Society sometimes exercised supplemental generosity. For instance, when **Thomas Carter's** apprenticeship with the Printer had expired and with the balance of his earnings amounting to £29.1.0d., this was ordered to be made up to £35 on account of his uniform good conduct. Benefiting likewise was **Charles Plant** whose rewards of £33.17.0d. were made up to £40¹⁴. Such diligent boys were also encouraged to place part of the sum in the hands of the Society's Steward who was 'directed to give them an accountable receipt bearing interest at five per cent'¹⁵.

With this scheme incorporated into the children's system of discipline, a form of profit-related pay was also adopted to 'excite the industry and attention of the masters and to connect their interests to the Society'. This was based on a formula whereby 'premiums or gratuities of five per cent of the clear profits of the articles manufactured by him and his apprentices' ensured that each Master's emoluments

¹¹ s/j-2/12/1794

¹² g/mns-21/2/1800. In December, similar reductions were undertaken by the Foundling in observance of a Royal Proclamation on the most effectual means of alleviating the pressure on food supplies 'so as to leave a greater portion' of both bread and meat to the labouring poor (Nichols and Wray, 1935:148).

¹³ g/mns-27/12/1793

¹⁴ g/mns-22/12/1815. While Porter (1982/1990) suggests that it 'makes little sense to give modern real-worth equivalents' of monetary units of the eighteenth-century because of fluctuations in inflation, we might set these rewards against some nineteenth-century Philanthropic annual salaries. In 1827 they were: Superintendent, £250 (with house, coals, candles but no provisions); Matron, £50; Beadle, £27.6.0; Gate Porter, £27.6.0; Boys' Nurse, £12.12.0; Cook, £10 (all with lodgings and provisions). The Schoolmaster received £30 with no additions [tf/c-9/2/1827].

would 'keep pace with and bear a proportion to the profits of their respective trades'¹⁶. But, while it was agreed the 'advantage that must result from this is so obvious that to enlarge upon or add anything to its recommendation becomes needless', extending the incentive scheme to other officers and servants defeated the gentlemen's ingenuity. Despite being 'so well convinced of the excellency of the principle' on which it was founded but with no 'specific profits' on which to 'find a scale by which the proportions of the premiums or gratuities for their extraordinary services can be ascertained', they felt 'under the necessity of postponing their opinion on that subject for the moment'¹⁷.

Another item on the trade and finance agenda further eroded the Society's original family-based system. Finding that the 'experience of some years has proved that the maintenance and accommodation of the wives and children [of the Masters] within the Reform are attended with great inconvenience and expense to the Society', the gentlemen were moved to:

recommend to the General Committee the expedience of allowing in future to the printer, the shoemaker and rope-maker the sum of seventy pounds annually in lieu of their present wages and board, house rent, coals and candles - for which annual sum, to be paid quarterly, they are to attend daily at the Reform as usual to instruct a certain number of boys in their respective trades, attend them at their meals and on Sundays to Church, instruct them in reading and writing three evenings in the week and be present with them during prayers and play hours untill bed time, when the masters shall be at liberty to return to their respective families, who are not to reside within the Reform

The knock-on effects of this rationalisation of resources had also been considered.

This resulted in the domestic care of the children being placed in the hands of:

a Matron at the Reform, a widow free from encumbrance, between forty and fifty years of age ... who would have her constant residence in the Reform to superintend and direct the conduct of the cook, to take care of the boys linen, to mend their stockings, to act as a nurse whenever any of the children are ill and to take the youngest boys under her particular care

¹⁵ g/mns-19/6/1812.

¹⁶ g/mns-9/5/1794

¹⁷ The notion of profit-sharing, as a stimulus to the industry of both officers and convicts, had been introduced in the Penitentiary Act (1779) but would remain a contentious issue in contemporary debates on prison reform.

at all times to see that the persons of all the children as well as their dormitories are kept perfectly neat and clean

And, to ensure no disadvantages would arise from the depletion of residential staff, they further suggested:

the appointment of a nightly watchman ... to go round within the Reform every half-hour; that he have a key to the dormitories of the boys, that in case of fire, illness or any other emergency he may give immediate notice to the Superintendent, Steward or Matron, if the presence of either of them should be necessary

While the future matter of furnishing the Watchman 'with Fire Arms, to be delivered to him loaded, as soon as the boys are returned to bed' conveys a hint of dangers to life and property lurking around the Reform¹⁸, the manner of dealing with a range of other concerns provides further insight on the moulding of Philanthropic self-governance. It is to these we now turn.

2. 'Ways' and 'Means'

The melancholy refrain on the "low state of finances" also hovered over the admissions policy from time to time. In 1794, for example, it led the Society to declare:

that in the present state of their funds and buildings they can admit only such objects as have been brought before a magistrate, liable to be discharged for defect of evidence, or some such other cause altho' a strong suspicion of their guilt still remains; or such as have been tried and convicted but from favourable circumstances are objects of mercy; and those only on the recommendation of the magistrate or judge before whom the culprit was examined or convicted¹⁹

This directive would soon be relaxed and the Society could relate, in 1797, that of the 18 girls and 26 boys received the previous year, 21 were the children of convicts, 20 were criminal children admitted from magistrates or prisons and 3 were deserted or vagrant²⁰.

¹⁸ g/mns-20/11/1801

¹⁹ g/mns-11/7/1794

²⁰ *Account* (1797). Around this time the Society seems to have ceased the practice of taking children rescued from the streets by its members or friends. While no explanation is given for this shift in focus, children more "formally" captured under the Vagrancy Laws were still admitted.

Cash-flow difficulties likewise threatened to impede the planned expansion of the Institution. The Building Committee had certainly approached the matter with caution in deciding to ‘pledge themselves to erect [buildings] only as are absolutely necessary for the accommodation of the children and those upon the most moderate and economical plan’. They also resolved that subscriptions should be solicited for that particular purpose rather than taken out of general funds²¹. Yet, whilst the terms under which the ground lease had been obtained allowed the Society to release surplus land in order to raise capital, with few takers for the plots on offer and with the flow of subscriptions rather slower than expected, the Philanthropists were soon immersed in the task of borrowing funds at acceptable rates. They were also faced with the difficulty of having penalty-clauses about to be invoked. Indeed, with the low state of the finances placing constraints on food provisions as well as the admissions policy in 1794, we can suppose they were more than a little perturbed to receive ‘repeated directions from the Committee of City Lands to begin building on the Lots of land adjoining the Reform’. The Society now discovered it was ‘expedient’ to erect a house to contain 150 girls at St. George’s Fields. This move was considered ‘prudent’. Firstly, it would ‘comply with the Injunctures of the City - which are become very peremptory’. Secondly, it had economic benefits, for:

to hire other premises for the girls, which must cost at least £60 annually, would be giving away more than the interest of the money that would accomplish the above purposes²²

By May 1795, the girls were settling into the new Female Reform under the care of a Matron.²³ A laundry maid superintended the washing and a house maid directed and assisted in the cleaning. As for the girls - they did not lead an idle life. After investigating ‘whether it might answer to take in some needlework for them’, it was found that they could hardly do any more work as:

it appears that all, except the young ones (and there are many very young) are fully employed in making and mending their own gowns, and all their own linen; and that of the boys; washing the same; the stockings; sheets and house linen and keeping the house clean

²¹ b/c-5/8/1791

²² g/mns-6/6/1794

²³ This Department would often be referred to as the “Female School”.

Despite such a work-load, Philanthropic industry may not have been quite so onerous as that demanded of the older girls when placed-out as servants elsewhere. Indeed, having been concerned to discover why so many had returned to St. George's Fields, the gentlemen enquiring into the matter felt bound to comment that 'it does not seem probable that the life which the girls lead in their gloomy apartments in the Reform, will induce any to quit a comfortable servitude'²⁴. Also dismayed by reports on the misbehaviour of both boys and girls in their placements, the Society was soon led to consider 'the propriety of appointing guardians to superintend their conduct in their several situations'. By March 1797 it was agreed:

That the Secretary send the names of any of the children in the list now laid on the Table to such members of the Society as reside in the neighbourhood of the children apprenticed, or in service, and that the said members be requested to accept the office of guardians to said children & that they from time to time call upon them when necessary & also to report on their conduct at every Quarterly Meeting in order that the accounts in the Description Book of Characters &c. may be continued up to the termination of their several terms of apprenticeship

This experiment in community after-care and surveillance does not appear to have elicited an altogether resounding response. Only four Members had volunteered to be guardians by the following August and nothing further on this initiative is mentioned. Although such "Patronage" would be an admired component of the reformatory system established at Mettray in the next century, the Society now had to be content with tracking the children's progress by mainly relying on them claiming a portion of their rewards after two years satisfactory service or seeing them attend Anniversary Dinners. Unsuccessful careers were sometimes detected in press reports on criminal proceedings.

Nevertheless, the prevailing climate of financial stringency led the Society to embark on other funding explorations. In 1794 a potentially fruitful source of money supply was spotted and pursued. This, significantly, was a Government grant. The quest for aid was not, however, based on the premise that the Philanthropic enterprise fell

²⁴ g/mns-8/4/1796 - original emphasis.

within the remit of Poor Law provision. Rather, it was connected to ideas abroad in the penal realm, for:

It appearing to the Committee that an application is now before Parliament for the grant of a sum of money for the purposes of constructing Penitentiary Houses for the reception and employment of such adult criminals whose crimes are not of sufficient malignity to subject them to transportation, the Committee are of opinion that it is a favourable opportunity for representing to [the] Administration the utility of this Charity in providing for the reformation and instruction of Criminal Infants²⁵

The Society is likely referring here to the provisions of the Penitentiary Act which passed before Parliament that year. This was composed by Jeremy Bentham and was based on his Panopticon ideas. These had caught the attention of William Pitt who accompanied Home Secretary Dundas on a visit to Bentham's abode in the previous year with the purpose of examining model designs. With their approval apparently conferred on the scheme, the Bill was brought before the House of Commons and, by June 1794, Bentham had received a development grant of £2000 from the Treasury (Milne, 1981b:xxx; see also, Evans, 1982:197).

Quite how rumours of this bounty were transmitted through the Philanthropic Parliamentary network is not mentioned in the ledgers. The Society, nonetheless, seems to have lost little time in requesting Committee member, Mr. Knox, to 'wait upon the Right Honourable Mr Dundas and the other Ministers with the plan and description of the ground and buildings and to solicit such a donation as might enable them to effect their purpose'. By 6th June Mr. Knox could relate:

that Mr Dundas was pleased to express his approbation of the Institution and desired to have another copy of the Plan to shew to Mr Pitt, and said that when he had time to consider of it he would send to desire to see him again upon the subject

Access to the corridors of power may explain why Mr. Knox had been chosen to represent the Philanthropic interests. He is probably the William Knox who had been Provost-Marshal of Georgia and Under-Secretary of State for America from 1770-

²⁵g/mns-16/5/1794. The Society often applied the term 'infants' to children over 7 years old. Those below this age were described as 'mere nurse children' and therefore not 'proper' Objects.

1782 (*DNB*). He was not re-called to the Home Department²⁶. The matter of Government aid was not forgotten, however. Next year, a Special Meeting was summoned to consider the state of the finances and resolved:

[that] the following Memorial be immediately transcribed fair and when done to be signed by the President and presented to the Right Honourable William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer &c.²⁷

It is worthwhile reading this Memorial at some length as it clarifies how the Society's debt had arisen. It also sets out the socially useful grounds on which the Philanthropists believed their bold application for £5000 was justified²⁸. Commencing with an exposition of the Society's aims and objectives, they then attempted to cultivate Ministerial interests by stressing their policing achievements:

In the pursuit of purposes so strongly inculcated by Christianity and so conformable to the mild spirit of the British Government, which wishes to prevent rather than punish crimes, your Memorialists have the great satisfaction to find their labours have not been unattended with success and they can with confidence appeal to the general observation to justify their assertion that the streets of this metropolis are less infested with young thieves, prostitutes, and vagrants since the commencement of their Society than they formerly were

A happy change! which will be readily accounted for when it is known that in the short space of the seven years which their Society has existed they have received into their Reform no less than two hundred and eighty eight Infants of both sexes ... all of whom were in the road to infamy and most of them would have been found in the streets as prostitutes or thieves.

With this confident claim, they settled down to business by pointing out:

That the expense attending the maintenance and instruction of these children of wretchedness has in the seven years amounted to upwards of twenty three thousand pounds, of which upwards of nineteen thousand pounds has been received by voluntary subscriptions and donations, and two thousand, five hundred pounds from the profits of the works in which the children have been employed - and the remainder is now a debt to the Society

²⁶ For an account of the creation of the Home Office in 1782, see Nelson (1969). In this study, it is usually referred to as the Home Department by contemporaries.

²⁷ At this time, Pitt held the positions of First Lord of the Treasury [Prime Minister] and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

²⁸ If we take-up Porter's (1982/1990) suggestion of applying a converting multiplier of either 60 or 80 to such figures of the time, it would seem that the Society sought to solicit a sum of between £300,000-400,000 - or possibly as much as a £½ million - at today's prices.

Further explaining how the City Corporation had supported their Plan and mentioning how ‘several of the trading companies of that opulent and liberal Corporation contributed very generously’ towards building costs, they were, nonetheless:

sorry to add that the expence of these buildings has amounted to upwards of nine thousand pounds, and the sum contributed to that purpose have but little exceeded five thousand pounds, so that the Society has incurred a debt upon that account of near four thousand pounds - which, with what remains unpaid of the exceedings of their annual expenses beyond the amount of their annual income, leaves the Institution indebted to the amount of five thousand pounds

Calamity would then ensue. As was argued, while they ‘flatter themselves that they can now receive all the wretched children of either sex ... which the judges of assize or the magistrates of the several counties and cities of the Kingdom may think fit to transmit to their Reform’:

If they are not otherwise enabled to discharge their present debt, they must be driven to the distressing necessity of relinquishing their plan entirely, dissolving their Society and disposing of the buildings and ground in order to do justice to the creditors of the Institution, and this at the very time they have carried it to the wished for perfection and rendered it of the greatest publick utility.

They therefore think it their duty to submit the present circumstances of the Institution to the consideration of His Majesty’s Ministers, in the earnest hope that they will judge the Institution deserving publick support and worthy to receive from the liberality of Parliament the grant of a sum of money, sufficient to discharge the debt with which the Institution is now encumbered

Alas, no Government aid was forthcoming. The appeal may have failed on account of memories of the way in which grants given to the Foundling Hospital had led to an escalation in the commitment of Treasury funds earlier in the century (see, for instance, Nichols and Wray, 1935; Innes, 1996). It is, however, likely that the Society’s threatened demise assumed low priority in the minds of Ministers who were preoccupied with the precarious state of the economy, wartime threats to national security and the rise of political radicalism. Indeed, even if the Society correctly detected a ‘mild spirit’ of humanity residing within the heart of Government, the

Philanthropic mode of crime prevention was not at the top of its agenda. Nor, apparently, was prison reform. Until 1810, little interest was taken in this matter beyond an occasional inquiry into the cost of the Hulks and the practicability of transportation to penal colonies (Webb and Webb, 1922:66).

Nevertheless, Government disinterest did not deter the Society from vigorously accumulating funds by means of public notices, Anniversary Dinners, Charity Sermons and ensuring that any legacies due were received. The Society's trading account also benefited from the support of the Philanthropic network. To keep the profits ticking over, Sir James Sanderson, for example, put business its way through an order to provide shoes for the Emanuel Hospital at Guildhall²⁹. Philanthropic Committee member Mr. Henry Hoare, a banker and supporter of the SBCP as well as the SPCK, ordered shoes for the Foundling Hospital along with printing work to be done at the Philanthropic Press. The printing trade was likewise aided by Philanthropic Vice-President, James Martin M.P. Another banker and SPCK supporter, he visited the Reform and desired 'that the master Printer might attend the treasurer of the Foundling Hospital to receive an order for some printing by his recommendation'³⁰. Word of mouth in SPCK circles, perhaps, drew the Reverend Rowland Hill to support the Society's endeavours. He does not feature as a Committee member but was a prison visitor, promoter of Sunday Schools and an advocate of the preventive benefits of vaccination (*DNB*). Along with occasionally recommending children for Philanthropic care, he can also be found 'using his interest in endeavouring to procure for the Institution the printing of books for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge'³¹.

Besides being aided by this network of enterprise, the Philanthropic did not neglect to advertise its wares and pro-actively sought orders from Government departments. As the Superintendent relates:

having desired Mr Russell to wait on Mr Arthur Young of the Board of Agriculture respecting the printing of their intended publications at the Reform - Mr Russell was favoured with the following answer - "That the Board of Agriculture have resolved that the

²⁹ s/j-1/4/1795

³⁰ s/j-26/12/1796

next book they print shall be done at the Reform". At present they have several books in hand at other printers and their next publication will probably be fit for the Press in the course of a month³²

Due care and attention was paid to other incidental matters arising. As this process of appealing against a Poor Rate assessment on the Matron's apartments at the former Female Reform illustrates, the Society could tenaciously pursue its charitable interests through the courts. The first appeal was granted in their favour in April 1793. On that occasion, four out of the five judges sitting at the Quarter Sessions at Reigate found that 'it was not a beneficial holding, but a holding in trust for the benefit of a charitable Institution'. The Parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, brought the case to be re-heard at the New Sessions House in the Boro' where the previous judgement was overturned on the opinion of 17 out of the 18 justices³³. The matter did not rest there, however. The Society's Counsel then 'prayed the Bench to permit a Case to be made, for the opinion of the Court of King's Bench, which the Chairman reluctantly granted'. On the 24th May 1794, the case of 'The King against Susanna Field, Matron of the Philanthropic Society' was argued before Lord Kenyon, Mr. Justice Buller and Mr. Justice Grose. This resulted in an opinion in favour of the Society for it was found that Mrs. Field:

was not an occupier of the premises subject to the payment of the poor rate, either within the general poor laws, or of the private Act of Parliament passed in favour of that Parish on that subject and therefore allowed the said appeal

Establishing this principle in law hardly made an overwhelming impact on the state of the Society's finances. As was seen in the Memorial to Pitt, Philanthropic fortunes depended heavily on private benevolence. In view of this, there was a continuing quest for donations with congratulations offered when a Committee member's personal approach was successful. Amounts such as £100 from the Duke of Bedford could be garnered this way³⁴ and were supplemented by the casual gifts of visitors to the Institution's premises. Appropriating such revenue, however, could place the

³¹ s/j-3/11/1794

³² The Board can be regarded as another Enlightenment project having been established by Pitt in 1793 to 'spread propoganda relating to new methods and techniques' (Briggs, 1959/1979:163).

³³ g/mns-21/2/1794

³⁴ g/mns-30/5/1794

Superintendent in some difficulty. Being aware of the rules drawn up in the aftermath of Mr. Young's misdemeanours, he was obliged to mention that:

The Right Honourable Lord Melbourne visited with a gentleman and having enquired what sum constituted a Governor for life, and being informed, gave your Superintendent a bank note for £10, which has been paid to Mr Boldero [the Treasurer] for this purpose. He was desirous of accepting it lest any foolish idea might arise and prevent this gift - and requests the opinion of the committee whether in future he has their permission to receive any donation which may be offered to him - instead of referring the donor to Mr Decy, the Secretary

Paradoxically, the carefully constructed rules did not regulate the rate at which funds were harvested. This oversight almost cut-off supply when the Collectors' over-enthusiastic pursuit of subscriptions provoked a complaint. It had come from the Evangelical Mr. Barclay, M.P., banker and long-standing annual subscriber who wrote to say he had been 'several times waited on for his subscription before it came due & that some Collectors had behaved very improperly on the occasion'. As Mr. Barclay was renowned for his benevolence and therefore not a funding source to be offended, the Superintendent was asked to investigate. He had to confirm to the Committee that:

Mr Brook called twice in the month of February, and Mr Browne in April, Mr Stiff waited on Mr Barclay at his Counting House in Town in May - when that gentleman paid him a life subscription, to prevent his being so frequently importuned for his three guineas³⁵

3. At 'War' with Mr. Young

Such difficulties paled in comparison to another problem that threatened the Society's well-being. This was: what to do about Mr. Young? As settling this matter played a vital part in bolstering the Society's reputation, communications on the affair are of special interest. They also provide extraordinary insight on how a voluntary organisation might pursue its interest through other legal channels in the period.

Robert Young had not departed quietly from the scene of his disgrace. Having been publicly disowned by the Society and the result of his 'examination' before the Committee circulated, he then applied for a 'conference'. This was refused, as was a

³⁵ s/j-19/2/1795

request for the return of his personal papers and an invitation for the Committee to attend a public meeting on the affair. Faced with this intransigence, Young did not hesitate to broadcast his views on the 'treachery' of the Philanthropists who had cast calumnies upon his head. He framed *An Introduction to an Account of the foundation of the London Philanthropic Society and the Author's relations, thereto* (1790c), with the intention of resuscitating his own reputation.

Outlining how the moral reform of the poor had exercised his attention since before he was twenty, Young disclosed that he had spent at least fifteen years systematically preparing his Plan by way of 'enquiries into the fruitful field of the universe'. Having 'found with delight, everywhere, a perfect analogy between physics and politics; between society and the natural world' and after writing 'above forty essays and treatises', he arrived in London in 1786. Hopeful of putting the principles of his design for moral reform into execution, he then made himself 'acquainted with many haunts of thieves; visited every prison and bridewell in the metropolis; solicited information and aid from the Bow-street and other magistrates'. He also engaged 'the constables, runners, and turnkeys' in his interests. Thus prepared and with a fund started among his 'private friends', the venture was commenced by 'placing six young children, taken from criminal parents, at nurse'.

Young's perspective on his ensuing predicament may raise some sympathy. As he declared, 'The system of moral Reform was my own, and it was entirely new; on it the success of all my hopes depended'. Yet, the enterprise which had 'arisen so rapidly to celebrity and consequence' had been taken-over by gentlemen interested in their own public 'glorification'. To this end he had been 'sacrificed' at the 'shrine of faction'. Admittedly, there were 'irregularities' in his books concerning the omission of charges for 'expences'. He had, however, provided a statement of expenditure which took these into account. It also included the sums paid out of his own pocket to get the enterprise started and to entertain Society members when meeting at his house. These supplementary items he had 'purposefully' excluded having thought it unnecessary to charge 'every minute expence, as an agent to his employer'. When taken into consideration, they demonstrated that it was he, in fact, who was at a loss.

His statement had been ignored. Moreover, little weight had been given to his workload in providing for the care of the children as well as advertising the Institution and pursuing patrons and funds. These time-consuming exertions not only accounted for his being in 'arrears' with some financial details but they also led to a 'long and severe illness, the effects probably of mental and bodily fatigue'. This illness, furthermore, had threatened his life at a time when his wife 'laboured under a very alarming indisposition; and an amiable child, the idol of both our hearts, we saw, daily and painfully lingering to her dissolution'.

The lack of Minutes for this period leaves the Society's reaction to his charges of 'treachery' somewhat cloudy. But, by 1793 the Philanthropic gentlemen were focusing on other difficulties. Mr. Young had not been subdued by public naming and shaming. As was stated:

The Committee of this Society having very strong reasons to believe that considerable sums of money, as subscriptions intended to be paid for the use of this Charity by many benevolent subscribers, are collected by, and paid to persons who assume to be Collectors of this Committee - but are in fact under such imposition, collecting for the Reform instituted by Mr Young after his dismissal from this Society³⁶

Young again sought an audience. Before any Committee business could be conducted at a meeting in June, the Superintendent arrived to inform the assembled gentlemen that Young was in the Reform and desired to be admitted. Being granted the request, he presented the following propositions:

First, that a Committee of six persons chosen, not of the Committee, but three chosen respectively by Mr Young's opponents and by the Committee of the 'Society for a General Reform in the Criminal and Destitute Poor' be appointed to investigate and finally adjust all matters and questions in dispute between them and Mr Young.

Second, that the same Committee be authorised to enquire into the causes, manner of procedure, and, object of the opposition made by them to the 'Society for a General Reform in the Morals and Condition of the Criminal and Destitute Poor'

³⁶ g/mns-26/4/1793

Upon this demand for arbitration and with Young also asking to be informed 'who was the Chairman of the Committee when the advertisement which he had read and of which he complains' was composed, the meeting adjourned. A Special Committee was then called to consider his requests and a reply was drawn up. This carefully avoided exposing any individual member to the wrath of Mr. Young³⁷. The only thing of issue they declared, was 'the balance of £1811.1.7¼ unaccounted for by him as Treasurer and Collector of the Society' and they had 'no other answer to give respecting the advertisement he complains of than it was ... not intended to oppose any other Society or Charitable Institution whatsoever'³⁸. Nevertheless, directions were given to the Porter, Steward and Superintendent to ban Young from the grounds 'in case he should in future attempt to intrude himself into any of the meetings of the Society or Committee'.

An Address was also sent to Lord Grosvenor. He, we may recall, had given his support to Young's projected British Settlement. He was also President of the Asylum of Industry established on the Philanthropic door-step at Newington Butts³⁹. Attempting to disabuse his Lordship of any offence which misrepresentation about their dealings with Mr. Young might have caused, the communication commenced thus:

My Lord - the benevolent purpose of a Society for the Reform of the Criminal Poor, to which your Lordship has given your sanction by accepting the Office of President, so entirely corresponds with the views of the Philanthropic Society that it could not fail of receiving our most hearty approbation and sincere wishes for its success, as soon as we became acquainted with the nature of the Institution - for as the utmost stretch of our ability can only extend to snatch the forlorn and impending Youth from the precipice of guilt - we rejoiced to find that another Society was formed under your Lordship's patronage, for the recovery of the already fallen wretch and the reformation of the repenting criminal.

Stating it was only from 'anxious wishes for its success' as well as 'in justice to their own' that it was felt incumbent to appraise him of how the pecuniary trust placed in

³⁷ Whilst the danger of libel proceedings may have been in mind, this was a time when honour and reputation might be defended by duel.

³⁸ g/mns-14/6/1793.

³⁹ See Chapter 1.

Young had been abused, they then explained how the ‘injury’ had been ‘aggravated’ by:

the depredations he committed upon our friends, [and] by the most impudent calumnies on those of our Society who had investigated his conduct and discovered his defalcations ... [as well] ... the similarity of the names and objects of the two Societies has led the public in several instances to mistake the one for the other, and subscriptions have in consequence been received by persons appointed by Mr Young - which were intended for our Society, the Philanthropic Society

They also stated that:

we have no intent of pursuing him further, for his late misconduct does not make us forget his former services, and we are still willing to acknowledge that to his assiduity the original Institution of the Philanthropic Society is greatly indebted

This missive appears to have assuaged Lord Grosvenor’s concerns. As was reported back to the Committee:

His Lordship expressed himself much pleased with the distinction made between their Society and Mr Young, which had not been so marked previously, insomuch as our attacks upon him had been considered as opposition to their Society ... they had entered into nothing of Mr Young’s case but thought it hard we would not hear him⁴⁰

As we shall find that a “union” of voluntary effort will come under serious discussion in the next century, it is of interest to note here that Lord Grosvenor ‘thought the two Societies ought to co-operate with and assist each other, as having the same object’. Nothing would come of this suggestion. His Lordship’s hope that matters were ‘now so far cleared up and settled, that neither Society would have any more trouble with them’ was also confounded.

Indeed, aggravations would accumulate and wend their way to the Court of Chancery. The relatively private matter of a letter ‘containing several charges against and many imputations on the Society’ was considered ‘unworthy of further notice’ and only a small amount of umbrage was taken upon it ‘appearing from Messrs. Coutts Banking Book’ that the audacious Mr. Young had ‘paid in to them one

⁴⁰ g/mns-28/6/1793. William Knox had presented the Society’s letter to Grosvenor. The Earl was his friend and patron (*DNB*).

guinea, as an annual subscriber to the Philanthropic Society'. Matters precipitated, however, when that Founder's side of the dispute was again presented to the public gaze. In July, a Special Meeting was summoned:

in order to consider whether any and what proceedings are to be taken in consequence of an advertisement in the True Briton, of the 5th instant, respecting this Institution, one of which newspapers, sent by Mr Young, was this day delivered to the Chairman by Mr Piper of Atkinson's Coffee House

Upon this information, it was decided to publish a rebuttal. It was also resolved that a deputation from the Committee should wait on their own President and Vice-Presidents to get their 'support and countenance' on the handling of the affair. Philanthropic President, the Duke of Leeds, conveyed his approval by letter. This concluded:

So strange a conduct, originating either from a disturbed imagination, or that degree of resentment so commonly derived from disappointment in a favourite object (no matter whether laudable or base) could not, however, be passed over unnoticed by the Philanthropic Society and I think the Committee have acted upon the occasion with the strictest propriety. They may depend upon the utmost sanction and support it can be in my power to bestow throughout this business⁴¹

However, the impetus for taking legal action wavered until May of the next year when it was determined that:

having used every lenient measure in their power respecting Mr Young and finding that their expectations have been disappointed by his continuing to take advantage of their forbearance, they are reluctantly compelled to advise some more rigorous measures and as such, they beg leave to recommend to the General Committee the propriety of proceeding in law against Robert Young, as a defaulter

The delay in taking proceedings may have been coloured by considerations of the costs that would be incurred. It is also possible that some argument had arisen over whether to proceed with a civil or criminal action. We can note, nonetheless, that the resolution was 'grounded on an opinion given by the late Attorney General on the case laid before him'. This had been sought at an early stage of the affair and was stated as follows:

⁴¹ g/mns-23/8/1793

“I think an action at law might be tried and a Bill of Equity filed for an account: the former is so much more expeditious and so much less expensive that I should recommend the experiment”.

(Signed) A. MacDonald

6th March 1791⁴²

Whether this opinion was delivered on the basis of friendship or payment, it again indicates that the Philanthropic had access to high quarters. Sir Archibald MacDonald had succeeded Richard Peper Arden as Solicitor-General in Pitt’s administration of 1784. Peper Arden, as Master of the Rolls, can be found amongst the first subscribers to the Philanthropic enterprise in 1788 and in that year MacDonald became Attorney General. He attained notoriety in 1792 by prosecuting Thomas Paine for publishing his *Rights of Man* and in 1794 took part in the trial of Thomas Hardy of the London Corresponding Society (*DNB*). In this Philanthropic story, MacDonald has appeared as the Lord Chief Baron to whom, in 1796, the Society petitioned for the favour of a Conditional Pardon in the case of Stephen Lee⁴³.

It is, perhaps, no coincidence that action to prevent further harm to the Philanthropic’s reputation and fortune was undertaken at the time the Government grant was applied for. Both were being threatened by Mr. Young’s imputations and debt due to the Society. As the Duke of Leeds observed on hearing a Suit would be instituted:

I think the Society are not only justified but consistently, with every principle of public justice bound to proceed against Mr Young to the fullest extent of legal prosecution, in which object they may depend on my particular support and the more general support, I should trust, not only of the Society but the public at large, in obtaining satisfaction to an Institution of such national importance as the Philanthropic Society for injuries sustained from any quarter - still more if from that whence its institution had perhaps derived its origin and from whence at a subsequent period it received the first determined insult and material injury⁴⁴

⁴² g/mns-16/5/1794

⁴³ See Chapter 2.

⁴⁴ g/mns-30/5/1794 - original emphasis.

Mr. Young was undeterred by impending legal action. In his collecting activities he was spotted by Vice-President, Dr. Sims, who reported to the Superintendent:

that a person the size of Mr Young, and by his manner he imagined it was him, alighted from a chariot yesterday and went to several houses in Hackney. He was so very importunate to a lady, the mistress of one of them, and in so urgent a manner, solicited even the smallest donation for the Philanthropic Institution. To get rid of so importunate and troublesome a guest, she gave him a crown - it is reported that he collected nearly £20⁴⁵

Other sightings and rumours were reported. The Reverend Mr. Thomas, Rector of the Parish Church in Woolwich and a resident of Maze Hill, Greenwich:

visited to enquire respecting a Mr Jackson who had obtained from him and some other gentlemen of his acquaintance, subscriptions, having been informed by the said Jackson that the Institution he collected for, under the title of the British Settlement, was a continuation and extension of the Philanthropic Society

Having used his 'utmost efforts for the present to stop the nefarious proceedings' the Reverend Thomas then received a letter from Mr. Young. The contents of this communication are not disclosed, but, with Young and his agents having continued success:

[the Superintendent] thought it most advisable to wait himself on the Reverend Dr. Burnaby of Greenwich, the Clergymen of Deptford, and the several magistrates on that road, and received from the above gentlemen their promise of using every means to prevent the progress of such iniquitous proceedings

With the clerical and magisterial network thus activated and with warning notices to the public put-out around Woolwich, another friend was called upon to protect the Philanthropic's interest. This came after:

Mr Hawes, a printer who lives at no. 12, White Row, Spital Fields came to report that a person of genteel address and decently habited had applied to him to print some cards (the title of which was the Philanthropic and British Settlement) for the purposes he has since imagined, of obtaining money under false pretences, on which account he thought it incumbent on his to give this information

⁴⁵ s/j-26/11/1794

At this, the Superintendent was ordered to ‘wait on Mr Colquhoun in whose district Mr Hawes resides and deliver the above card for his perusal and consideration’⁴⁶.

Amazingly, the British Settlement was in progress by 1795. Not, it appears, in the waste-lands of Derbyshire. Rather, its foundations were set on a tract of land in Sussex where the ‘ground had an abundance of stone, brick-clay, rich loam, and fine sand’ and where a ‘rill of excellent water’ could be harnessed ‘to make at once a fine reservoir for domestic purposes and an excellent fish-pond which may afford a valuable and cheap supply of provisions’. Its Founder, however, was still being ‘persecuted’. So much, it would seem, as to justify the publication of:

*Mr. Young’s reports on the attempts made by the usurpers of the Philanthropic Society, to destroy the British Settlement, founded on Tilgate Forest, Sussex, for the self-support and reform of the destitute and criminal poor (1795)*⁴⁷

Indeed, Young now rushed into print to allege that the ‘invaders’ of his first foundation had not only ousted him in order to ‘monopolize’ his Plan but had then set out to destroy his Asylum of Industry in Newington Butts. They succeeded in bringing about its downfall and, on hearing about the renewal of his labours, their ‘hostilities’ had been resumed. These signalled the start of ‘the second Philanthropic War’. This was a contemptible turn of events for the ‘War’ was waged by those very men who had ‘raised a Wall’ and turned his original Asylum into a ‘prison’ - a ‘sort of mill for grinding children good’⁴⁸. Not content with invading his first scheme and vanquishing his second, their attention was now directed to subverting the new project.

⁴⁶ s/j-7/9/1795

⁴⁷ Another version may have been published the previous year and sold from the British Settlement’s office. This was located at 12 Bow-street, Covent Garden. Young had also promoted the venture in the *Gentlemen’s Magazine*. It started a small flurry of correspondence with a reader who questioned whether Young could give subscribers any security for their money. He ignored the point. He did, however, address another slur by stating there was no substance in the assertion that the Settlement would be a ‘den of thieves’, *Gentleman’s Magazine* (1794, vol.64. February). We may also note that Colquhoun was devising his plan for a Village of Industry around this time (see Section 1).

⁴⁸ Bentham, coincidentally, conceived the Panopticon as a ‘machine for grinding rogues honest’ (see Ignatieff, 1978:68).

As Young scathingly related, with the Settlement's Superintendent and workmen 'on the foot, and proceeding rapidly' to fence the land and build a cottage:

The *Philanthropists* sent down a *spy*: as he had to pass through the village of Crawley, he spread there the calumny against me. He stopped at the Swan, at Pease-Pottage Gate, a public house opposite the land, where the Superintendent lodged. Rather unfortunately, almost as soon as he sat down, and began his enquiries, the Superintendent came in to his dinner; and the *spy*, guessing who he was, instantly got up, left his liquor and the money on the table, went out at the *back door*, got into a chaise from which he had alighted, and drove off. This *spy* I took, by the description, to be Mr William Houlston, of Chancery-lane; and here we found that the enemy could not even look a *servant* of the British Settlement in the face⁴⁹

The Philanthropists had also sought to ensure he remained '*in terrorum*' by circulating 'myriads' of pamphlets and Bills throughout the kingdom so as to assail his reputation with 'falsehood, innuendo and equivocal'. For this, the Philanthropic Press at St. George's Fields 'was made permanent like the guillotines of Robespierre, and groaned under the work of death'. Particularly reprehensible was a 'Caution' in the 'style, evidently' of 'a police advertisement'. It had been issued 'under the pretence' that he was defrauding the public. But, Young added:

That I was in the Fleet Prison is the only truth it contained; and I much question if any unfortunate prisoner those walls ever surrounded, has before been honoured with so general and assiduous a notification of his confinement to the world

If his enemies neglected to mention that this unfortunate circumstance was due to debts incurred in executing his original scheme and not as a result of being prosecuted at their instigation, Young had faced-up to their onslaught by placing Bills 'all over London, as companions to their own'. In 'fear' of having to account for their actions, the Philanthropists then applied to the Court of Chancery for 'protection'. Indeed:

It was an ample triumph to me to see them run crying to the Court of Chancery, to prevent a meeting of their own subscribers, on the subject of their dispute with me

Was Young correct in asserting 'the law' in ensuing proceedings was biased against him? Or, that the Philanthropists ensured that:

Every art of the black-legged practitioner was tried: my attorney was bought, and my Counsel left without briefs when they came to plead

We remain wondering about these allegations. Little more is mentioned of the affair in the Philanthropic Minutes until the **'Statement of the Proceedings, in Chancery - The Attorney General against Robert Young'** was inserted in the Spring of 1797. Outlining the complexities in the case, this helps explain why proceedings took so long to come to a head. It also reveals the high status of the legal figures involved and conveys something of the seriousness of the matter. Overall, it gives further insight on the character and circumstances of the defendant.

Not unexpectedly, Young confidently claimed that the information against him, 'did not contain any matter of Equity sufficient to raise or establish any right or demand against him, or to draw him into a Suit with the said Court'. Nevertheless:

This demurer came to be agreed before the Lord Chancellor on the 31st January 1795 when his Lordship, being clearly of opinion that the same was inadmissible, would not suffer the Attorney General to reply to Mr Mansfield who argued for the demurer, and ordered it to be over-ruled

On the 6th June 1795 the defendant put in an answer to the information, to which answer exceptions were filed on 2nd July following and which exceptions were, by order dated 20th July 1795, referred to Master Popham, to enquire whether said answer was sufficient or not

This Master Popham was an author of the two Gaol Acts of 1774 and had been an M.P. for Taunton and Chairman of the town's Quarter Sessions⁵⁰. By 1786 he had been appointed a Master of the Court of Chancery. There, in a report dated August 1795, he 'allowed all the exceptions taken to the defendant's answer. Subpoenas for a 'better answer' were then issued and afterwards 'attachments with proclamations both in London and Middlesex'. But, with Young 'absconding' these could not be served:

Whereupon, on 17th January 1796, a Commission of Rebellion was issued against him, and he still absconding, the same was on 3rd February returned *non est inventus*, upon which return an order was obtained, dated 4th February 1796, for the Sergeant-at-Arms to

⁴⁹ Original emphasis.

⁵⁰ As such he had seen an outbreak of gaol fever kill 8 out of the 19 prisoners in Taunton gaol.

apprehend the Defendant - but it appears by the Certificate of the Sergeant-at- Arms, dated February 19th, that the defendant could not be found.

The Defendant had, however, found means to put in another answer on the 18th February, which together with the former answer was by order dated 27th February, referred to the said Master Popham, on the former exceptions. The said Master, after much delay on the part of the defendant - and many attendances on the part of the Relators - and hearing counsel on both sides, made his report dated 4th May 1796, allowing the first, second and third exceptions.

An order was afterwards obtained on the certificate of the Sergeant-at-Arms for a Commission of Sequestration against the defendant - which Commission [was] accordingly issued, dated 13th May - and on the 27th was returned - no estate or objects of the Defendant having been found.

On the 28th June last, an order was obtained on Petition for that purpose, that the Case should be set down to be heard before his Honor, the Master of the Rolls, in order that the Information might be taken *pro confesso*. And the Relators' Clerk in Court was also ordered to attend at the hearing, with the record of the Information.

The matter continued on 14th July when the Master of the Rolls allowed the case to be heard on those terms. He also ordered that the proceedings be referred to another Master in Chancery. This was Mr. Wilmot who was to take account of all the sums of money received by Young as Intendant and Treasurer of the Society from 19th September 1788 to the 'the time he resigned the said offices' and since that time 'by him and any other person or persons by his order'. Mr. Wilmot was also directed to compute the interest due on the debt. As for Mr. Young: he was ordered to pay the costs of the Suit and an Injunction was awarded to 'restrain' him 'from interfering in or interrupting the Management of the said Charity or the receipt of subscriptions for the same in any manner whatsoever'.

The Society delayed putting the Decree into execution. That is, until the fearless Founder had 'by certain injurious letters and declarations, directed to his Grace the Duke of Leeds ... and lately made public by the said Robert Young, at Brecon, again attempted to disturb the interests of the Society'. This location was possibly carefully chosen by Young as a new pasture in which to defiantly - or vengefully - perpetrate further mischief. In the first *Report* he had noted that 'it will be learned, with pleasure, that the example of this Society has been already followed in other places.

A similar Institution bids fair to be established in Wales, by the exertions of George Hardinge, Esq., M.P., one of the Judges there, and a Vice-President of this Society'. As the Welsh Society was probably still operating⁵¹, reports of Young's re-emergence - along with the news that Master Wilmot had calculated the sum of £2289.9.6 was due - prompted the Committee to agree 'that the necessary steps be taken to enforce the law'.

As to whether Robert Young was eventually deterred or confined by the majesty of the law is a matter for other scholars to pursue. Considering his antecedents it is unlikely he could - or would - have willingly paid his dues to the Society. Even so, while he may have been treated rather unfairly, pursuing the Philanthropic interest was of fundamental importance in the governance of the Society's affairs. Not reluctant to seek Government aid for an enterprise perceived to have national utility and applying the principle of frugality to its domestic oeconomy, the Philanthropists had endeavoured to enhance the Society's public credibility in a period when there was no Charity Commission to call such voluntary operations into account. They thus played a crucial role in establishing the sound foundations on which their Institution entered the next century. There remained, however, much to adjust in the light of experience.

⁵¹ A clergyman who had recently recommended some children was informed that he should contact Hardinge so that they could be 'looked after by the Philanthropic Society in Wales' [g/mns-22/9/1797].

Chapter 4

NETWORK EXTENSION

1. A Philanthropic Prelude

By the time Highmore (1810) approvingly declared ‘that people never raised a more politic and useful Institution than this’, the Society’s fortunes were on the ascendant¹. Its petition for an Act of Incorporation had received the sanction of Parliament and its operations were being conducted in three distinct departments: a “Reform” for criminal boys, a “Manufactory” for other boys taken under its protection and a “Female School”. Significantly, not only had increasing numbers of subscribers invested in an enterprise designed as an ‘introduction to a new system of police in all civilised countries’ (Highmore, 1810)² but an extending network of high status gentlemen had spent time and trouble on these institutional developments. Some, we shall see, were at the height of their intellectual powers and others just beginning careers that established their reputation in wider fields of endeavour.

The Society had indeed continued to attract the support of men of rank and influence. Following the death of the Duke of Leeds in 1799, the position of President had been accepted by the Duke of York and Albany. His Royal Highness shared the improving concerns of many Philanthropic associates. As a professional soldier he had suffered the frustration of being unable to capture Dunkirk in 1793 (due to the Ordinance Department’s inability to supply a siege gun) and the ignominy of being blamed for a disastrous Netherlands campaign in 1794. On his appointment as Commander in Chief of the Army in 1795, he had embarked on a reform of its organisation. This involved devising a system of periodic reports on officers, standardising procedures for recruitment and discipline as well as bringing the internal management of regiments under centralised control (see Barnett, 1970). He furthermore ensured that the troops were inoculated against smallpox.

This “Grand Old Duke of York” also established a school at Chelsea Barracks for the orphans of soldiers and, we may recall, had placed Thomas Trimbath in the Reform

¹ Highmore was an early subscriber and had visited St. George’s Fields [s/j-5/6/1798].

and taken a personal interest in his welfare³. The Duke's Philanthropic patronage proved profitable to the Society. His first attendance at an Anniversary Dinner and gift of one hundred guineas 'so powerfully affected the feelings and liberality of the company' that voluntary donations amounted to £1004.15.7⁴. His brand of Royal Presidential "magic" may likewise have plumped-up donations to the Refuge of the Destitute. This Society had been founded in 1804 and had taken premises at Cupar's Bridge, Lambeth, for the purpose of:

[providing] places of refuge for persons discharged from prisons, the hulks - unfortunate and destitute females, and others, who, from loss of character or extreme indigence, cannot, procure an honest maintenance, *though willing to work*⁵

In many respects, the Refuge replicated the objectives of Young's Asylum of Industry in Newington Butts. It had on-board Edward Forster junior as Treasurer and the Reverend John Grindlay LL.D. as Chaplain, Superintendent and Secretary. Both gentlemen were early supporters of the Philanthropic venture. Dr. Grindlay appears on its Committee list of 1792, and Forster made an entrance in 1794. While the latter gentleman will remain in the background of this Chapter, we can note that he became Vice-President of the Linnean Society and, at the time of the Philanthropic's Act of Incorporation in 1806, was a Philanthropic Auditor. This responsibility was shared by Colonel Harnage (who also acted as Treasurer to St. George's Hospital) and Charles Bosanquet. As previously mentioned, Charles Bosanquet's brother, Samuel junior, was a Philanthropic Committee member and his father was a Vice-President. Other Vice-Presidents of the time included the Evangelical Earl of Aylesford, Viscount Cremorne and the Hon. Philip Pusey.

Swelling the Philanthropic complement of Vice-Presidential power and prestige were Earl Spencer, the Marquis of Salisbury and Earl Grosvenor (who had succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1801). These names may have haunted Bentham

² Andrew (1989:185) notes that subscriber numbers rose from 489 in 1790 to 1,871 in 1814.

³ See Chapter 2. He and the Dutchess recommended other children for Philanthropic care. Not all were admitted.

⁴ g/mns-21/3/1799. The amount usually raised was around £600-£700. While the Duke's moral character displayed many defects (see Brown, 1961:235), Prochaska (1995) observes that it was not unusual for charities to overlook dented reputations when pursuing Royal bounty.

⁵ *Short Account* (1806) - original emphasis.

as he reflected on the problems that had beleaguered his Panopticon ambitions. The Penitentiary Act of 1794 had not included a clause for the compulsory purchase of land and his proposal to build on a site at Battersea Rise had been tenaciously opposed by the ecclesiastical interests of the See of York and the personal interest of Earl Spencer who held the land. After failing to get a site up-stream from Woolwich in 1796 and with a view to building at Tothill Fields, Bentham again met resistance from Church authorities as well as from “old” Earl Grosvenor whose Belgrave estate was adjacent (Semple, 1993). The opposition was sustained by the “new” Earl Grosvenor who was an M.P. from 1790-1802 and Commissioner of the Board of Control of India 1793-1801. His charitable activities included support for the Bible Society to which Earl Spencer, a member of the SBCP and Vice-President of the Marine Society, was also attached.

Salisbury, however, was holder of the site subsequently acquired nearby at Millbank and on which a Penitentiary eventually appeared. This was not the one designed by Bentham. Although his hopes for the Panopticon were revived, in 1810, after Romilly urged Parliament to implement the provisions of the Penitentiary Acts of 1779 and 1794, they were finally dashed by the Holford Committee. In the context of renewed concern about the efficacy of the criminal code and existing penal measures, this had been set-up to consider the expediency of erecting a Penitentiary House or Houses. Whilst the Committee favoured a system of imprisonment directed ‘to the reformation and improvement of the mind, and operating by seclusion, employment and religious instruction’, it rejected Bentham’s arguments on the utility of contract management. Under that system it remarked, ‘a pecuniary advantage is made the most prominent object of attention’ rather than the reformation of the prisoners. Instead, the Committee recommended that the Penitentiary should be managed by a committee of gentlemen ‘whose rank and position in society may induce them to employ a portion of their time for the benefit of the prisoners and the public’ (McConville, 1981:132-4). When Millbank’s first Committee of Management was appointed by the Prince Regent on the 12th February 1816, at its head was the Rt.

Hon. Charles Abbott, Speaker of the House of Commons, and step-brother to Bentham (Griffiths, 1895:42)⁶.

Holford himself was on the management Committee. As he was also one of the three supervisors appointed to deal with Millbank's construction, these outcomes may well have drawn some wrath from Bentham who suspected Holford of 'packing' the Committee in order to destroy the Panopticon scheme and get himself a position (see McConville, 1981). Little has been written on Holford's background, however, despite his being at the heart of this important development in prison discipline and administration. As the Webbs remark, although 'destined to become for the next two decades, one of the ablest and most persistent of prison reformers', he has not merited an entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. To remedy the deficiency they note that he was called to the bar in 1791 and in 1802 was elected M.P. for one of the "pocket" boroughs in the hands of the Administration. In 1804 Pitt appointed him Secretary of the Board of Control for India and it was on going out of this office, in 1810, that he was pressed by Home Secretary Richard Ryder to become Chairman of the Prison Discipline Committee. In this capacity he 'thus began his career as a prison reformer' (Webb and Webb, 1922:47-8).

Remarkably, Holford had served a Philanthropic apprenticeship in the trust-management of reform. This may have bolstered his reputation in influential circles for he was key-player who contributed both time and ideas to advancing the Society's interests. As this phase in his life has been rather overlooked, we can note that Holford's involvement formally began with his election to the Committee in March 1800⁷. Perhaps drawn into the Philanthropic circle through a family relationship (his sister, Charlotte Ann, having married Charles Bosanquet in 1796), Holford's Philanthropic career commenced at a time when the expediency of obtaining an Act of Corporation began to loom higher on the Society's agenda.

⁶ Charles Abbott was one of the earliest subscribers to the Philanthropic. The Duke of Leeds had been his Parliamentary patron (see Milne, 1981a:169).

⁷ It is not clear which Mr. Holford attended a Philanthropic meeting in June 1794. It could be George's brother Robert (who was also present at the meeting of March 1800) but might refer to their father, Peter Holford, a Master in Chancery.

2. The Act of Incorporation and the Chapel Affair

An Act for establishing and well-governing the charitable Institution commonly called *The Philanthropic Society*, formed for the protection of poor Children, the Offspring of convicted Felons, and for the Reformation of Children who have themselves been engaged in criminal Practices; and for incorporating the Subscribers thereto, and for better empowering and enabling them to carry on their charitable and useful Designs

Incorporation was not a new idea in the realm of charitable activity. The Foundling and the Magdalen, for instance, had already employed this legislative device for the regulation of their affairs. It had also been mooted at an early stage in Philanthropic proceedings. At a meeting held to consider the progress of building upon the St. George's Fields site in 1794, it was 'resolved, that this committee recommend to the general committee to take into consideration the expediency of applying for an Act to incorporate this Society'⁸. It is not clear why this proposal was raised. Possibly some difficulties associated with obtaining building leases from the City Corporation had been encountered and then overcome by placing the matter in the trust of the Society's men of substance. This may have been the background to the 'Indenture' of 1793 which struck an agreement:

between the MAYOR and COMMONALITY and Citizens of the City of London of the one part and James Sanderson, Knight, one of the Aldermen of the City of London, John Harman of Frederick Place in the said City, Esquire and James Sims of Lawrence Lane in the said City, Doctor in Physic ..., vice presidents of the Charitable Institution or Society called the Philanthropic Society and Edward Gale Boldero of Cornhill⁹

This form of contract was still being used in 1805 when John Julius Angerstein, of Pall Mall, also underwrote the liability.

Problems concerning legal liability clearly arose when the matter of 'who is or are the proper person or persons to be made plaintiff in the case' against Robert Young was considered¹⁰. Towards the end of this episode the issue was still causing difficulty, for:

Mr Rooke, the Solicitor employed to carry into effect the decree of the Court of Chancery against Mr Robert Young, having reported that he had taken the necessary proceedings for

⁸ b/c-12/1/1794

⁹ SHC-2271/38/1

¹⁰ g/mns-13/6/1794

that purpose and that in order to facilitate the effect thereof he had applied to Mr Boldero, the Society's Treasurer, for a letter of Attorney to authorise him to demand of the said Mr Young the sum found to be due by him to the Society and that Mr Boldero had executed such letter of Attorney, desiring when he did so that this Committee would consider of Indemnifying him against any damage which might happen to him for doing so¹¹

The Poor Laws also laid the Philanthropic Trustees open to claims. In this regard, the idea of an Act of Incorporation had been raised in 1793 when it was resolved that:

A bond with sufficient penalty be given by the Treasurer and Trustees of the Society to the Church Wardens of the Parish of St. George the Martyr's, Southwark, in the County of Surry to indemnify the said parish and parishioners from all such costs, charges, damages and expenses which they may be put to on account of the apprentices or any such persons belonging to the said Society gaining settlements in the said Parish until an Act of Parliament can be obtained to prevent the same and that the funds of this Society be subject to such damages, viz. if any should happen¹²

Claims did occur. In 1803, on an 'application by Parish Officers of St. George for payment of a bill of £1.5.3d for the maintenance of a boy in the workhouse of that Parish belonging to this Society', the Committee 'ordered that the same be paid'¹³. It may be imagined that this was paid with reluctance. Indeed, the matter of a 'disclaimer of settlement' was already under investigation. As the Society's Solicitor reported in 1801, he had:

advised with Mr. Randal Jackson thereon, who thought it desirable to get a clause introduced into some private Act to relieve the Trustees from their present liability

Randle Jackson¹⁴, a barrister and Parliamentary counsel for the East India Company and the Corporation of London, was another useful member of the Philanthropic legal network. He had attended the Society's meetings from May 1794 and was elected a Committee member in 1797. While he later became Chairman of the Surrey Quarter Sessions and found time to set down his *Considerations on the Increase in Crime and the Degree of its Extent* (1828), his advice now led the Society to consider 'the expediency and practicability of such an application'.

¹¹ g/mns-21/12/1798

¹² g/mns-8/3/1793

¹³ g/mns-4/11/1803

¹⁴ His forename is variously spelt Randal/Randell/ and more frequently Randle in the records.

Urgency was lent to the matter when additional legal irritations began to emanate from the Philanthropic Chapel project. This may seem a surprising venture in view of the Society previously declaring that the ‘erection of an edifice, and all unnecessary expences for magnificence, will be avoided’¹⁵. Nonetheless, the prospect of conferring a religious resonance on their enterprise seems to have inspired proposals for this embellishment of the Philanthropic plan. More pragmatic considerations also brought the item to the fore. The Society was certainly satisfied to hear from the Reverend Dr. Grindlay that:

twenty five young men and eleven young women of the Institution were confirmed at St Saviour’s Church, Southwark, by the Bishop of Winchester, when his Lordship, the attendant clergy and several respectable inhabitants of the neighbouring Parishes expressed themselves much pleased with the proper behaviour of the young persons of this Society on this solemn occasion¹⁶

But, from time to time, the Philanthropists had been perturbed to discover that regular church attendance afforded the children an opportunity to create mischief along the way. By the turn of the century, these incidents had provoked them into declaring it necessary to ‘procure two additional persons’ to accompany the children to and from church ‘in order to prevent their absconding, or improper communication’¹⁷.

For a Society intent on presenting the mellow fruits of reformation to potential patrons, these ‘inconveniences’ were compounded by those met when arranging Benefit Sermons. This important aspect of Philanthropic business took place in a climate of competition with parishes and other charities that were equally intent on raising funds. Gaining access to this conduit of benevolence would, indeed, be another of Superintendent Durand’s travails. As his Journal for 1796 discloses, in pursuit of a venue for the Anniversary Sermon and in ‘obedience to the Committee’s orders’ he had waited on Mr. Knox:

who intends visiting the Reverend Dr. Eaton but considers that were the Doctor to grant this Society the use of the Church [St. Anne’s] for the Anniversary Sermon it would by no

¹⁵ *Address* (1789).

¹⁶ g/mns-27/5/1796

¹⁷ g/mns-14/3/1800

means be beneficial to the Charity, there being frequently charity sermons for the benefit of the Parish Children¹⁸

With the ‘concurrence of some gentlemen of the Committee’ the Superintendent then waited on a Dr. Hamilton to request the use of St. Martin’s. He was advised that it was out of the gentleman’s power to grant the request having already given ‘permission for a sermon to be preached for the Freemasons’ children’¹⁹. Afterwards desired to ‘wait on Mr. Baker to request the favour of his intent to procure the Pulpit of Saint Clement’s Church’, this Committee member ‘very obligingly accompanied him to visit the church wardens’. Alas, the Superintendent had to report that, as a sermon was to be ‘preached there for the benefit of the Lying In Hospital, shortly, and another for their own parish’, the request could not be granted²⁰. Within a few weeks, however, the Society was able to transmit ‘particular thanks’ to:

the Reverend Dr. Layard, Prebendary of Worcester and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty, for the excellent discourse delivered by him on Sunday the 17th April Inst. at King Street Chapel, Golden Square, for the benefit of this Institution²¹

Clouds of charitable rivalry could also be unwittingly provoked. During the previous year, the Superintendent had relayed the Aldersgate Church Wardens’ suggestion that ‘as a further inducement to have a full congregation’ it would be beneficial ‘to procure Mr. Printer of the Foundling to use his vocal powers in a hymn suited for the occasion’²². Mr. Printer, as a blind child, had been taken under the protection of the Foundling and trained-up by them as an organist. By this time he was “Singer” in their Chapel and a star attraction. He was not an asset willingly shared in the service of Philanthropic interests. As Philanthropic Committee member Mr. Ballard reported²³:

he had made an application to the Committee of the Foundling Hospital and was extremely disappointed by receiving from them a disapproval of Mr Printer’s favouring this Society

¹⁸ s/j-28/3/1796

¹⁹ s/j-30/3/1796

²⁰ s/j-8/4/1796

²¹ g/mns-29/4/1796

²² s/j-16/5/1795

²³ Andrew (1989) notes Joseph Ballard was also a Director of the Foundling. He appears on the Philanthropic Committee lists from 1790.

with his attendance on Sunday the 14th instant, which Mr Printer very obligingly was willing to do²⁴

Elements of “charity fatigue” also emerged to blight Philanthropic prospects. With the Aldersgate gentlemen additionally hinting that ‘it would be very beneficial to the Society’ to secure the attendance of the Lord Mayor and a Sheriff at the Sermon, the Superintendent was dispatched on this mission. Not only would he find that the Lord Mayor ‘wished to have some temporary retirement’ from charitable activity, but, waiting upon Sheriff Burnett he was:

informed by this gentleman that in his official situation he had been under the necessity of lately attending several charity sermons and likewise other duties of his office so very much attached his time he was really desirous of some little relaxation and Sunday being the only day which offered him an opportunity he trusted the Committee would excuse him

Whilst other similarly inauspicious responses likely coloured the decision to build their own Chapel, the Society approached the proposition with caution. ‘Much approving’ of the attention given to the matter when raised in 1797 it had, nonetheless, felt it ‘improper to incur any material expence for that object’. This hesitancy is understandable. As we saw, there had been an early pledge to only erect such buildings as were ‘absolutely necessary’ to accommodate the children²⁵. Yet, although a fortuitous legacy had allowed the Philanthropic to discharge its building debt and request an estimate of ‘the expence that might attend building a Chapel with 800 seats’²⁶, by March 1800 matters had progressed only to the extent of considering erecting:

a temporary building of board and canvas for the purpose of performing Divine Service

Making his Philanthropic entrance at this point, Holford drove the Chapel affair forward by donating £21 towards a permanent building²⁷. At this expression of faith in the enterprise, the Committee resolved that any similar donations would be kept in

²⁴s/j-28/5/1795. Mr. Printer accepted “outside” donations for his services as well as receiving a salary from the Foundling. By 1815, he had an income of £800 a year. Nichols and Wray (1935:233-7) also mention that at the “official” opening of the Foundling’s Chapel in 1753, Handel gave a special performance of music.

²⁵ See Chapter 3.

²⁶ g/mns-24/8/1798

²⁷ 18 guineas were also contributed by Mr. Baker and £10 by ‘a friend’.

a separate 'Chapel Fund'. Afterwards installed on the Chapel Committee²⁸, Holford lost no time in preparing an 'Address from the Philanthropic Society to the Public on the Subject of Erecting a Chapel'. One thousand copies of the same were ordered to be printed:

under the direction of Mr Holford and that one copy be sent to each life governor residing within the reach of the Penny Post and that each Collector be furnished with 50 copies for distribution²⁹

Now expressing a 'conviction of the infinite importance of giving as soon as possible the children under their care the advantage of attending Divine Service within their own walls'³⁰ and, moreover, finding the City Corporation amenable to a proposal for building on vacant land adjoining the Female Reform, the Society began erecting the 'shell' of a Chapel for 1200 persons³¹. As this edifice was not expected to exceed £8000 and with the means and time-scale for raising the money carefully calculated, all seemed set fair³².

Ecclesiastical discord loomed into view. The first intimation of trouble came in a letter from the Rector of the Parish of St. George's to whom the Society had applied for 'approbation' of the Chapel. Sufficiently moved by the contents to request its Solicitor 'to prepare a draft of a case on the subject of the Rector's answer for Counsel's opinion'³³, the Society was then nonplussed to hear that the Bishop of Winchester thought 'it would be irregular to open the Chapel without some arrangement putting it under ecclesiastical authority'³⁴. Grateful of receiving this 'caution', the Philanthropists strove to 'assure him that it had never been in contemplation to open the Chapel without his sanction or to have any person to officiate therein without his license'. Stressing that 'the contract now made is only for

²⁸ By 1802 the 'Permanent Chapel Committee' comprised Holford, Mr. Bosanquet jun., the Reverend Dr. Grindlay, Mr. Baker, Mr. Knox, Mr. Randle Jackson, Colonel Harnage and Mr. Houlston.

²⁹ g/mns-12/2/1801

³⁰ g/mns-13/5/1803

³¹ g/mns-6/5/1803

³² The records suggest that the Chapel exercise gave Holford some early experience of over-shooting estimates. This, however, did not match the magnitude of the over-spend encountered when supervising the construction of Millbank Penitentiary (see Griffiths, 1875:31-2).

³³ g/mns-20/7/1803

³⁴ g/mns-23/9/1803

the shell of the building' they asked him to allow a 'deputation of their body to wait upon him when he comes to town'. After all:

The Philanthropic Society has always had the children under its care instructed in the faith and principles of the Church of England and that it would be contrary to the wishes of the Society that any person should officiate who should be considered by the Bishop of the Diocese as unfit to give such instruction³⁵

The Chapel affair continued to aggravate and perplex. It may well be that ecclesiastical suspicions were aroused by the interdenominational composition of the Philanthropic body. At this time, indeed, the Established Church was feeling its authority threatened not only by the growth of Dissent but the emphasis placed on Bible-based Christianity by Evangelicals within the Anglican communion (Laqueur, 1976:3). So far as this encompassed a wariness about the dangerous influence of lay-authority, these apprehensions were shared by the Philanthropic cohort that met to consider a complaint made against one of the Master-tradesmen³⁶. This was Mr. Morgan:

[whose] conduct in putting a Hymn composed by himself into the hands of the boys without the sanction of the Chaplain was extremely reprehensible as was also his encouraging them to sing it at Bailey's funeral after the Superintendent's letter of the 29th July last and that he be ordered to attend the Committee on Friday next to make and apology to Mr. Durand for his disobedience to his authority and receive a censure from the Chair. And that he be informed that any interference with the boys on religious subjects in future will be followed with his immediate dismissal from the Society's service

Negotiations dragged on. The Society was at a loss to understand why this should be so. Theirs was an Institution whose 'utility' was 'so universally confessed' that its 'prescribed limits' in admitting children had been 'frequently made the subject of regret by some of the first characters in the legal administration of this country'. Their Chapel plan, moreover, had been undertaken to avoid the necessity of substituting "Domestic Prayer" for "Public Worship" and was thus intended to give the children 'early habits of attending Divine Service with their neighbours'. In addition:

³⁵ g/mns-10/2/1804

³⁶ g/mns-10/8/1804

[they were] not aware that any right of interference in the appointment of the persons officiating has ever been exercised in any of the Chapels belonging to the different charities in the metropolis and that the Society is apprehensive of great inconvenience and injury to the Charity from such interference (especially as the living of Saint George's is of small value)³⁷

The Society's 'future happiness and welfare' continued to be threatened by a particularly obdurate Rector. This was the Reverend Brand who published pamphlets on politics and political economy and opposed the Philanthropic Chapel by way of another³⁸. His 'small' living was, nonetheless, in the gift of a powerful Patron³⁹. Of this the Society was appraised when, after persistently attempting to cultivate his consent, they were informed that the Rector:

cannot on any point give legal validity to the arrangements you may lay before me respecting your intended Chapel, without the concurrence of the Bishop and of the Patron. That high officer of the Crown in whom the patronage is vested is the Lord Chancellor. He must therefore be contacted by you before any proper answer can be given by me to anything which relates to these arrangements⁴⁰

Mention of this Patron set the Philanthropic gentlemen to dispatch a deputation to confer with the Lord Chancellor. They were unsuccessful in claiming his attention. Despite frequent attempts to gain personal audience, or a reply by letter, the legality of the Chapel administration failed to capture his interest. Considering the magnitude of his Lordship's workload, the low priority given to Philanthropic concerns is not so surprising. We last encountered him as the Attorney General dealing with the case of Robert Young. Then Sir John Scott, in 1799 he had been created Baron Eldon and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Becoming Lord Chancellor in 1801, he retained the seal of this office until 1827 except for a short intermission from 1806-7. While Eldon's procrastinations in the Court of Chancery would later become a focus of the Philosophic Radicals' reforming rationality (see Stephen, 1900a:280; Stephen, 1900b:48), the Society's entreaties might scarcely have merited his attention at this

³⁷ Original emphasis.

³⁸ He was Rector of St. George the Martyr, 1797-1809 (Darlington, 1954). In response, a pamphlet 'pointing out his misrepresentations' was prepared by Messrs. Holford, Boldero and Bosanquet.

³⁹ Obelkevich (1990:313) notes that in 1810 nearly a quarter of parish livings were worth less than £100 a year.

⁴⁰ g/mns-31/5/1805

time. After a brief lull, hostilities with France had resumed in 1803 and, as a member of Pitt's war cabinet, he was most likely pressed by weighty affairs of State⁴¹.

With the Chapel building almost finished but no prospect of a settlement in sight, the Society prepared a petition for obtaining an Act of Parliament to 'incorporate the Society and legalise their Chapel'⁴². Leave to do so being granted, it was resolved 'that the Bill be prepared under the direction of Mr Holford and Mr Bosanquet jun. and that they be desired to attend its progress through Parliament'⁴³. This duty in the House of Commons was accomplished. Equally attentive to the Society's interests in the House of Lords was the Rt. Hon. Lord Hawkesbury (Home Secretary, 1804-06) along with Philanthropic Vice-President, the Rt. Hon. Earl Spencer (Home Secretary, 1806-7)⁴⁴. Their Lordships were duly thanked when the Act passed on 22nd July 1806⁴⁵.

A Chapel Keeper was then appointed to sleep on the premises and a 'Constable or Peace Officer' was requested to 'attend at the Chapel every Sunday' from the time the doors opened⁴⁶. Quite what local threats to order were envisaged are not mentioned but dangers from abroad were addressed by ensuring 'that a copy of the occasional prayer in case of Invasion be placed in the Reader's Book'. With Mr. Hatchard, 'Bookseller in Piccadilly', also directed to 'furnish' the Chapel with a range of religious books⁴⁷ the Society prepared to attract a substantial - and generously disposed - congregation to its Chapel in November⁴⁸. In March 1807, the Society agreed that the design of the Common Seal of their Corporation would be 'the device of a hand plucking a brand out of a fire'⁴⁹.

⁴¹ As Attorney General his 'opinion' had stalled the progress of a Bill drawn-up for the acquisition of lands for the Panopticon in 1797. Bentham then had to draft another Bill at his own expense (Semple, 1993:201-2).

⁴² g/mns-21/2/1806

⁴³ g/mns-14/3/1806

⁴⁴ Holford was 'an intimate friend' of Lord Hawkesbury (Thorne, 1986).

⁴⁵ g/mns-25/7/1806

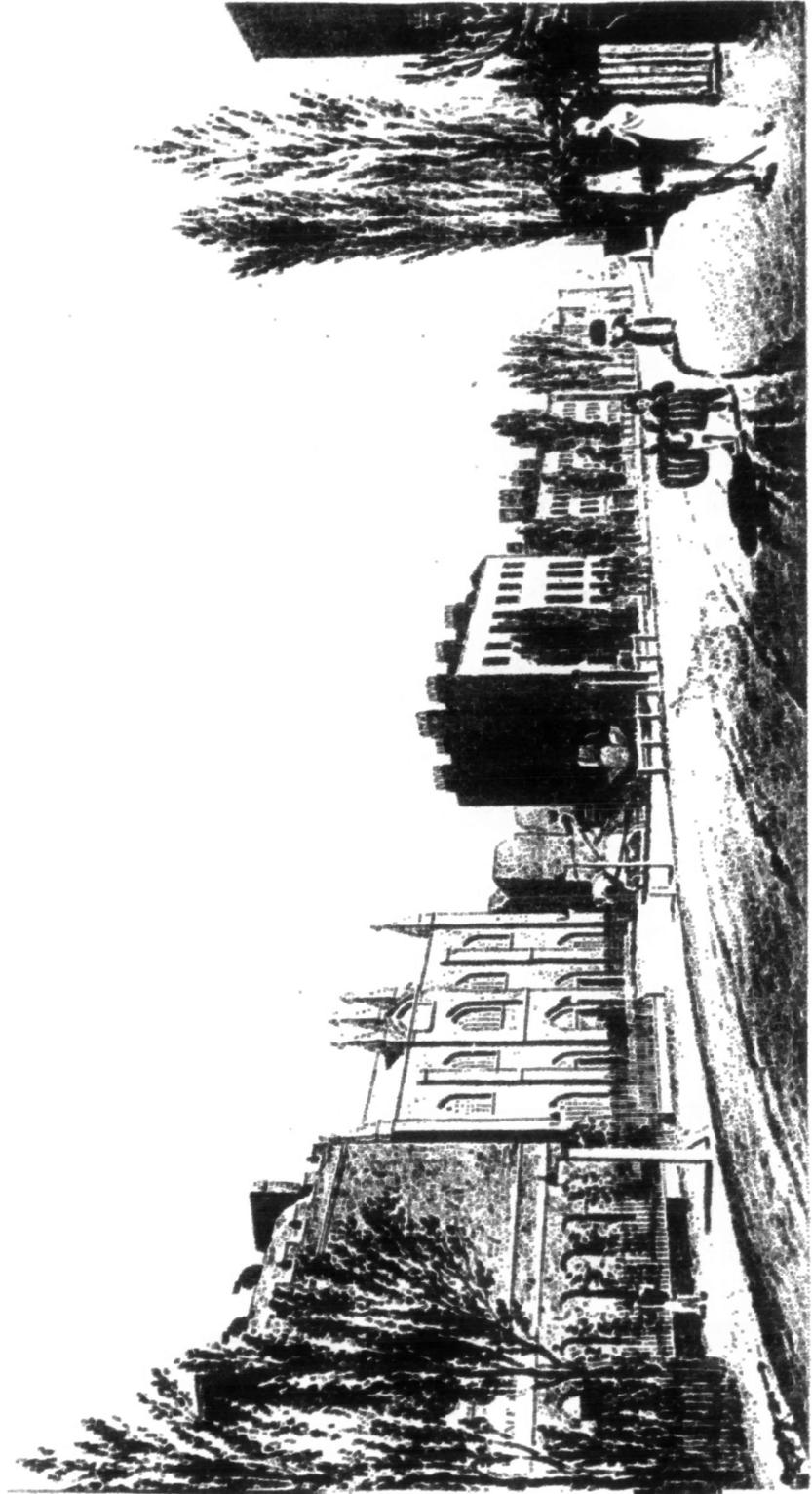
⁴⁶ c/c-1/11/1806

⁴⁷ c/c-27/2/1805

⁴⁸ HRH the Duchess of Gloucester had already expressed her wish to be 'accommodated with a front seat in the gallery' [g/mns-27/12/1805].

⁴⁹ g/mns-6/3/1807. For a view of the Chapel with Female Reform (to the left), see fig. 4.

fig. 4



3. Reformatory refinements

While Holford's subsequent elevation to the position of Vice-President probably recognised his Chapel building exertions⁵⁰, he had applied himself to a wider agenda of governance. Indeed, as he was at the heart of developments leading to a significant refinement of the Society's system for reform, it seems pertinent to return to the time he was elected to the Committee in March 1800. Soon installed as a Philanthropic Visitor - and thus furnished with ample proofs of defects in discipline - his interest in providing solutions may have been kindled by the case of **Edward Lion**. Having 'broken open the Porter's box and stolen a variety of articles thereout', Edward was ordered to be:

publicly and severely flogged round the inside of the Reform, in the presence of all the boys, with a label on his forehead with the word "Thief" inscribed thereon, his master attending and directing the punishment⁵¹

There is no record of Holford's thoughts on this punishment⁵². He was, however, in position to gather evidence on how other Philanthropic business was conducted. Within a week of being appointed a Committee member he was Chairing the sub-committee of Trades and Finance⁵³. By December he was ready to present a paper on his 'Considerations on the Expediency of putting out the boys &c.'. This led to his being nominated Chairman of a special sub-committee set-up:

to enquire into all matters relating to trade now carried on within the Reform for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent it is expedient for the Society to embark its Capital in Trade

Its deliberations sowed the seeds for a separation of the boys. Although finding it difficult to 'distinguish as far as possible what portion of the profit of each trade arises from the labour of the apprentices' with 'sufficient exactness', the gentlemen deduced the following:

⁵⁰ Holford replaced Samuel Bosanquet (senior) deceased [g/mns-25/7/1806].

⁵¹ g/mns-4/4/1800

⁵² In Millbank's initial regime, flogging for offences against discipline was prohibited (Playfair 1971:30).

⁵³ g/mns-14/3/1800

<u>Produced Profit in 1800</u>	<u>£</u>		<u>Employs Boys</u>	
Shoemaking	172	20	12 little boys	32
Taylor	108	6	& 3 botchers	9
Ropemaker	444	10	Spinners: 2 Dressers, 10 Wheelboys	22
Printer	478	3	3 Errand boys	6
Copper Plate Printer	17	3		3
Bookbinder	28	2	Boys in Warehouse	2
Deduct Errand Porter & loss on stocking goods	36		The rest of the boys are not so employed as to produce profit	
Total	1211			

Holford and his companions were then charged with devising a plan to apprentice-out some more of the boys. When this was delivered, the first of its many ‘regulations’ was that:

Two lists shall be kept in future of the boys within the Reform - all boys hereafter to be admitted on account of their own misconduct shall be entered on list No. 1 and such as shall be admitted in consequence of the viciousness of their parents on list No. 2⁵⁴

With the classification procedure thus clarified and with the Visitors employed in determining which boys should be apprenticed out ‘forthwith’, Holford laid a paper on the Committee table regarding the form of ‘indenture’ to be adopted. This matter had been settled by himself and James Allen Park⁵⁵. Yet another member of the Philanthropic legal network and a future Philanthropic Vice-President, Park would be promoted to the bench of Common Pleas in 1816 and was afterwards Knighted. Besides being a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries he was a governor of the Magdalen, a member of the SPCK and Humane Society and also a Vice-President of the Church Building Society along with Wilberforce⁵⁶. He expressed an early interest in that endeavour by serving on the Philanthropic Chapel Committee.

Holford meanwhile prepared a further ‘paper of instruction and advice to the boys as shall be apprenticed out of the Reform’. He then presented:

several copies of a printed paper relative to a plan for adding to the present establishment of this Society a vessel upon the river, for the reception of some of the boys⁵⁷

⁵⁴ g/mns-13/3/1801

⁵⁵ g/mns-8/5/1801

⁵⁶ This information is derived from Brown (1961), Andrew (1989) and the *DNB*.

⁵⁷ g/mns-20/11/1801

This proposal is intriguing. As an economic expedient, resort to ships would not have been unusual⁵⁸. The Hulks had provided a partial solution to a prison numbers crisis and, at the recommendation of Sir Joseph Andrews, the Marine Society used one as an initial training school for its boys (Taylor, 1985:178)⁵⁹. Nonetheless, Holford's Philanthropic innovation was specifically designed for boys on the "No. 1 List". As such, it can be considered an early expression of the idea of separate provision for criminal boys. This would be realised by the State when a Hulk was designated for that purpose in 1823.

While Holford would endorse that initiative on the grounds of its separating 'convict boys, under 14, who used to be distributed indifferently with those of maturer age' (Holford, 1826:47), his Philanthropic proposal was not adopted. The Committee was, indeed, swayed to the opinion that it was 'absolutely necessary to separate the two classes of boys under the care of the Society'⁶⁰. But, another paper on the subject, prepared by the still very active Dr. Sims, was swiftly laid on the table. The records, unfortunately, do not reveal whether this gentleman supplied his own detailed scheme or criticised Holford's suggestion⁶¹. What we do know is that Dr. Sims presided at a Building Committee meeting, in 1792, which considered a 'probationary house' to be 'absolutely necessary for the purpose of separating the disorderly and diseased from the rest of the boys'⁶². Yet, although the General Committee was then:

now and more convinced of the necessity of erecting a probationary house for the reception of the boys taken immediately from the gaols to prevent the danger of contamination not only of body but of the morals of those who have made a progress in improvement⁶³

it simply resolved that when 'any new objects' were admitted:

⁵⁸ Highmore (1822) provides a glimpse of the other charitable enterprises that recruited ships as floating chapels and hospitals.

⁵⁹ Sir Joseph Andrews was mentioned in Chapter 1. He died in 1801, shortly after being appointed to the Chapel Committee. A recent booklet relates that *The Marine Society* still supports young persons taking-up a career at sea and assists seafarers with their 'educational, training and welfare needs'.

⁶⁰ g/mns-4/12/1801

⁶¹ g/mns-11/12/1801

⁶² b/c-20/11/1792

⁶³ g/mns-4/12/1792

a plain coarse canvas frock be provided which they shall wear at all times whilst they remain in a state of probation, the period of which to be at the will of the Committee

Quite what was employed to deal with those diseased of body is not described. However, in respect to diagnosing moral diseases, new boys like **Richard Jackson** would be 'carefully watched and attended to, for a month during which period the Visitors are requested to make a constant report to the several committees of his conduct'. Richard did not await the Society's opinion. Instead:

this hypocritical and hardened offender by means of tying his sheets which he had torn in slips, as likewise his probationary jacket together - by the assistance of which he dropped from the window and made his escape⁶⁴

Used also to denote 'degradations' for misconduct, the probationary jacket was still being employed when the subject of separating the boys re-surfaced in 1801⁶⁵. This time, a sub-committee was appointed to consider the 'best means' to the end and Holford was invited to 'revise the rules and orders of the Society'. He undertook this task in association with the Reverend Dr. Grindlay and the Reverend Agutter⁶⁶. The 'most proper place and the necessary arrangements respecting the situation of the boys' was also considered and the sub-committee then reported - with some urgency - that:

it had seen a house situate near Bermondsey which appeared to them to be remarkably well calculated for the purposes of the plan approved of ... to be had on lease for 21 years at the low rent of 30gns. per annum - and that there were several other persons desirous of taking the said house

The Bermondsey house was taken 'without loss of time'. To signal the new arrangements the words "**Philanthropic Society's Manufactory**" were painted on the gates of the existing premises. The purpose of the new "**Philanthropic Reform**" was similarly distinguished and, with 'necessary' alterations made to the premises, the first boys were admitted.

⁶⁴ s/j-9/5/1796.

⁶⁵ There is no information about the contents of another paper, delivered by Mr. Houlston, entitled, 'Ideas for a Probationary Plan for the Boys' [g/mns-30/12/1796].

⁶⁶ The familiar names of Harnage, Knox, Coxe, Houlston and Samuel Bosanquet junior were added to this sub-committee.

That is, Reform boys entered once the rules and regulations for this Department were agreed. Presented in a copious Report, these reveal the development of a more rigorous reformatory regime: one still revolving around work and religion but with a heightened emphasis on constant surveillance⁶⁷. Priority was given to the task of engaging ‘a clergyman of the Church of England’ as Chaplain to the Reform. Its resident establishment was comprised of a ‘Master with his wife as a housekeeper’ along with a servant ‘called a Porter’ who was to ‘occasionally assist in instructing the Boys in their work’⁶⁸. The utility and economy of the ‘kind of work in which the boys should be employed’ was also considered. This was envisaged as:

slop work, a trade which is thought business may be easily procured; which is attended but with little waste materials; and which may be taught by the Master and his assistant

It is feasible that in referring to ‘slop work’ the practice of chopping-up rag material was in mind. However, as the Steward was then asked to supply a ‘small quantity of junk’ to employ the boys ‘until other work can be obtained’, it would seem that the Society commenced the initiative by training boys in the oakum-picking craft. Within two years, the Committee ordered that a ‘bason be erected within the Reform for draining water from the oakum’⁶⁹ and later observed that:

Mr Huffman who has lately supplied the Reform with Junk and Rope to untwist or pick into oakum and also Hairrope to be picked for the use of Plaisterers; having visited the premises has informed the Master that he cannot continue to send any more materials unless there is a proper shed or warehouse to keep these articles perfectly dry both before and after they are manufactured⁷⁰

Although oakum-picking would become associated with humiliations suffered in workhouses and prisons, there is no indication that the primary Philanthropic design

⁶⁷ g/mns-13/8/1802

⁶⁸ The ‘proper persons for the offices of Schoolmaster and Cook’ were recommended by the Reverend Gamble. A Committee member when the 1806 Act of Incorporation was passed, Gamble also served on the Chapel Committee. He is probably the Reverend John Gamble noted in the *DNB* as being Chaplain General to the armed forces and personal Chaplain to the Society’s President, the Duke of York.

⁶⁹ g/mns-20/4/1804

⁷⁰ g/mns-2/10/1807

in selecting this occupation was the imposition of degrading hard labour⁷¹. Rather, it was an expedient means for instilling useful habits of work in the boys within a regime where attention had been paid to ‘The distribution of their time with respect to instruction &c. &c.’. A tightened programme of ‘Rules for the Internal Management of the Reform’ was also applied. Indeed, if the Manufactory boys were allowed a degree of laxity in being allowed to go out on errands and were no longer guarded by their Masters at night⁷² it was now decreed that in the Reform:

The boys must not be left without some person to watch over them, either by day or by night - nor be permitted on any account to go out

Furthermore, to prevent contagion from external sources, it was specified that only Committee members and the Chaplain or Magistrates from the Counties of Middlesex, Kent and Surrey were allowed unrestricted access. The children’s parents had to be accompanied by the Chaplain or Visitors during visits for which written authority previously had been obtained. These terms were in line with those already adopted to prevent ‘material inconveniences’ arising at the Female department. Therein, visits had been restricted to ‘the first Monday in each quarter’ when family or friends of only three children at a time could gain entry for half an hour. The proviso ‘that admission on every occasion shall be refused to such parents or relations who may appear to be in liquor or anyway misbehave at the time of application’ was then added⁷³. We are not informed of the extent to which this disciplinary code induced the children’s relations to cultivate the appearance of respectability⁷⁴. Nevertheless, the Reform boys’ potential for creating ingenious inconveniences was also addressed. They were:

⁷¹ The Philanthropic’s Steward initially may have provided left-over material from the Society’s rope-making section. Oakum-picking, however, often involved the re-cycling of old tarred ships’ rope by way of teasing the fibres apart with a metal spike strapped to the leg. The resulting piles of hemp could then be stuffed between ships’ planks and again waterproofed. Mayhew and Binney (1862:400) illuminate how this art was later practised by boys in the oakum-picking room in the House of Correction at Tothill Fields. Therein, the atmosphere ‘grew hazed with the dust of abraded tow flying in the air’.

⁷²The economic rationale for dispensing with the night-time services of other Masters, during the previous year, was noted in Chapter 3.

⁷³ g/mns-3 &10/8/1798.

⁷⁴ Similar visiting conditions had been imposed at the outset of the enterprise. As mentioned in the first *Report*: ‘the parents on such occasions take pains to clean themselves, put on their best clothes, their best affections are called into exercise and this indulgence thus managed, is productive of good both to child and parent’. For an analysis of such “tutelage” of parents through their children, see Donzelot (1979).

[forbidden] to have money in their pockets - pens, ink, pencils, writing paper and all books (except such as have been seen and approved of by the Chaplain) must be kept out of their reach, and great vigilance must be used to prevent them from having in their possession any kind of rope or twine or any knives or other sharp instruments⁷⁵

Strikingly, the new arrangements allowed a two-way “stage-system” of punishment and reward to be implemented. On one hand, the rules prescribed that the Chaplain ‘make a report to the Committee, once in every two months on the state of the Reform’ with particular mention of ‘what boys are sufficiently reformed to be removed to the Manufactory’. They also decreed that boys placed in the Reform could be not only:

such as are admitted by the Society on account of their own delinquency - but that boys guilty of such vices or immoralities in the Manufactory as shall render them unfit to associate with the other boys there, may on a representation in writing to that effect, made by two Visitors to the General Committee, be transferred by order of such Committee to the Reform⁷⁶

Having explored what might work better to effect successful reformation, the authors of these refinements also took time to capture the essence of their approach. As they stated:

The foregoing regulations are submitted by the Special Committee as the best which have occurred to them, but they cannot conclude without observing that in forming an Establishment of this kind we must depend as much upon the information to be collected in the progress of the undertaking as upon the knowledge with which we set out on it - and that the Committee must therefore expect to be called upon to make alterations from time to time in any plan which can now be adopted as experience shall point out defects or suggest improvements⁷⁷

Shades of this evidence-based ethos would, as we shall see, inform a radical revision of Philanthropic arrangements in the 1840s.

⁷⁵ Considering these rules regarding rope and sharp instruments, a particularly close watch must have been kept on the boys engaged in oakum-picking.

⁷⁶ While the Reform regime thus extended the range of punishments, Rawlings (1999:96-7) is not quite accurate in suggesting that all the Philanthropic boys were given ‘punitive labour’ rather than ‘vocational training’ at this time. Although Manufactory employments may have been arduous, they still afforded an opportunity for gaining a range of trade skills - and held-out the prospect of accumulating rewards.

⁷⁷ g/mns-13/8/1802

4. Education, health and morals: united concerns

So, without further ado and having recruited **Thomas Urchin** and **Matthew Walker** as suitable Objects, the new Philanthropic Reform opened⁷⁸. The Reverend Dr. Grindlay was appointed its Chaplain on a salary of £100 commencing from the 3rd September 1802⁷⁹. By February 1803, he was able to report that two boys were ‘now sufficiently reformed’ to be removed to the Manufactory. Of the others:

10 are very much reformed and can read well

4 are extremely ignorant, and their general conduct not quite satisfactory

The following year, the Reform boys were assessed thus:

8 behave extremely well, can read distinctly, appearing to understand their [religious?] duties

5 behave correctly and can read well

2 behave correctly and can read a little

1 behaves quietly but appears to be dull and at present ignorant

It is difficult to determine the rate of successful reformation as these Reports are not systematically recorded in the Minutes. It would seem, nevertheless, that while some cases of rapid transformation did occur, most boys spent two years in the Reform before transferring to the Manufactory. Paying attention to details of previous education was, however, an increasingly important element in the assessment of the children’s condition on admission. For instance, **George Brookham** (12) was admitted into the Reform, in September 1803, having been found to be:

the natural son of a woman who lives in ... Kent, and was married to a person last Michaelmas who turned [him] out of doors soon after when he wandered about the country for some time with two different parties of vagrants till through their artful persuasions he broke into a house and stole several articles for which he was tried and capitally convicted last Oxford Assizes - he received sentence of death but was recommended to mercy by the judge through the humane interposition of Stephen Lushington Esq. In consequence of being ordered to be admitted into the Reform, His Majesty was pleased to grant him a

⁷⁸ Thomas was ‘guilty of many petty thefts’. Matthew had been ‘expelled by the Trustees of Tower Ward School for picking pockets, which he confessed and also the receiving of some shoes stolen by other boys’ [g/mns-13/8/1802].

⁷⁹ On this salaried appointment, Grindlay’s Philanthropic status became ambiguous and it was later resolved ‘that the Chaplain for the time being be empowered to act as Visitor but not be considered ex-officio as a member of this committee’ [g/mns-2/3/1804].

pardon, and he was received under the protection of this Society - **he is extremely illiterate but seems of a mild & intractable temper**

As for **Benjamin Downes** (13) and admitted in January 1803:

This boy was convicted at the Stafford Assizes of stealing a Fowl and recommended by the magistrates of that county. **He is of a soft disposition - very stupid and does not know his ABC**

The virtue of Benjamin's case was transmitted to the Society by the Honourable Dudley Ryder. Brother to Home Secretary Richard Ryder who would appoint Holford to the Penitentiary Committee, he was a former Under-Secretary of State for foreign affairs and was created Earl of Harrowby in 1809. By the 1820s he was a Philanthropic Vice-President. **Robert Bates** (11) however, was admitted in March 1809 having been:

recommended by Dr. Reeve a Physician & the Mayor of Norwich in consequence of his having been for several years past addicted to pilfering and stealing, altho' repeatedly admonished & very frequently severely punished - Dr. Reeve seems to consider his depraved appetite as a species of mental derangement ... **the boy cannot read but appears very intelligent**⁸⁰

Also destined for the "No.1 List" was **Samuel White**. Admitted into the Reform in consequence of an application made by Surrey magistrates, it was:

Stated that this boy had been deserted by his mother who had absconded after committing an inhuman murder on one of her children and it was thought the boy had been too often a witness of her many barbarous acts. **This boy cannot read or say his prayers - and is in a state of most deplorable ignorance of all religious or moral duties, although of an active vigorous body & lively capacity**⁸¹

While parental neglect of the children's moral education proved to be a resilient Philanthropic concern, the history of **William Jones** (10) also reminds us of how the Society sincerely sought to save souls from perdition. William had been admitted in

⁸⁰ Dr. Reeve appears to have thus presented an uncommon diagnosis of delinquency: other Philanthropic case histories of this time emphasised "environmental" causes.

⁸¹ The entry adds with a flush of condemnation: 'and the mother a Gipsy woman of very bad character, having six or seven children of various complexions'.

July 1799 after picking pockets of 'some half-pence'. His father had been dead for some time and he lived with his mother - a 'very bad woman':

It appeared by examination by the Committee, that she had totally neglected every good instruction possible, insomuch that he could not read a letter, was perfectly ignorant of the Creed, or Commandments, and even the Lord's Prayer, of which he was a stranger to the first two words - and strange as it may seem, although he was ten years old, he had never once in his life been within a Church during the performance of Divine Service

Who is there who has not shed a tear for this child who was wandering through paths that lead to an untimely fate, uninformed and without a friend till Providence delivered him into the care of the Society

Although William would be found 'greatly improved' and likely to become an 'expert workman' by June 1806, the records are too fragmentary to allow us to conclude how the Philanthropic system of education was conducted in all its Departments. We are informed, however, that the girls had 'expressed a wish to be taught to write and applied to Mr Bosanquet for the purpose'⁸² and had had the privilege of receiving Mrs Trimmer's morally edifying publications in 1797. The Society also engaged a 'person qualified for a schoolmaster':

from 6-8 five evenings a week, including Sundays, to instruct the boys ... in reading, especially such of them as cannot easily read the Bible and also an assistant schoolmaster only on Sunday evenings at the same hours and one of the master workmen, in rotation⁸³

Furthermore, the Philanthropists tried to ensure that the children learnt their ABCs, could read the Bible and repeat the catechism by ordering the following:

- 3 dozen of Bishop Wilson's Instructions to the Indians
- 2 dozen of Sellon's Abridgement of the Bible
- 1 dozen of the English Instructor
- 4 dozen Catechism Books
- 3 dozen Mrs Trimmer
- 6 dozen Bibles
- 3 dozen Prayer Books
- 2 books of Tutors Assistant
- 24 slates⁸⁴

⁸² g/mns-18/11/1796

⁸³ g/mns-26/9/1800

⁸⁴ g/mns-16/6/1809. 1 dozen spelling books were included in a similar order of June 1807.

This educational provision may hardly have extended beyond that available in many other Schools of Industry⁸⁵. At the outset, the Philanthropic had informed the public that it sought to avoid breeding discontent in the children by ‘forming’ them only to their humble station as labourers. It was now operating amidst a rising debate on whether it was safe to have the Bible read without the safeguard of authorised interpretation and whether seditious practices might stem from teaching the children of the poor to write. Indeed, in the aftermath of the French Revolution, even Sunday Schools which taught reading and writing without the benefit of being regulated under Established Church principles were feared to have the potential of inculcating seeds of insubordination and discontent (see Laqueur, 1976). Traces of such sentiments, as well as an endorsement of the preventive value of the Philanthropic curriculum, can be glimpsed in the case of the **Jewell** children. They had been ‘immediately admitted’ under these ‘very particular circumstances’:

The father now lies under sentence of death at Chelmsford - he stated to the court that he had lived honestly and industriously till that pernicious publication (Payne’s *Right’s of Man*) by chance fell into his hands and on this ground made it his dying request that the court would endeavour to procure admission for his children, or some of them, to the Philanthropic Reform where he trusted their morals and principles would be secured⁸⁶

In this atmosphere of apprehension, not only had ecclesiastical discord loomed over the Philanthropic Chapel venture, but, Whitbread’s Bill seeking rate-subsidised education for the poor failed to capture majority support in 1807. The Philanthropic syllabus might, however, have found favour on the grounds of its economy. That factor was certainly emphasised by Colquhoun when seeking the Legislature’s sanction for his *New and Appropriate System of Education for children of the labouring poor* (1806b). Echoing many of the crime prevention ideas paraded in early Philanthropic texts, he advocated that as one means of achieving ‘the greatest possible good at the least possible expense’, the mode of delivering moral and religious instruction should be set upon the Anglican Dr. Bell’s monitorial system. This, he explained, had already been adopted in the Free School, Westminster, as a

⁸⁵ Rule (1992:142) suggests that in scope and quality, the education offered to children of the poor at this time, probably amounted to little more than at the end of the seventeenth century.

⁸⁶g/mns-21/3/1801

‘means of preventing criminal offences by [instilling] habits of temperance, industry, subordination and loyalty’. Moreover, economy had been derived from making it the ‘province’ of the Master and Mistress ‘to direct the whole machine in all its parts ... from their respective chairs [and] overlook every part of the school, and give life and motion to the whole’. Monitors, appointed from amongst the pupils as ‘superior teachers’, would then ensure that ‘learning’ was passed down to the others⁸⁷.

Whether Colquhoun’s utilitarian recommendations were particularly in mind, in 1808 the Philanthropists sent two boys to learn from the methods of ‘Mr. Reynolds of Lambeth Charity School who is fully instructed in Dr. Bell’s plan of instructing young people in reading’⁸⁸. They also resolved to build a school-room around this time and revised the time-table for the boys of the Manufactory. Information on why these educational matters were raised is scanty but it would appear they stemmed from another enquiry into the state of Philanthropic trades. This was led by a Manufactory sub-committee which recommended that boys therein:

of the ages of nine, ten and eleven be placed under a schoolmaster and taught reading, writing and arithmetic in the present working hours with the exception of such a number as may be employed in turning the wheel of the Rope-spinners or as may be engaged usefully in any of the workshops but that the Boys so occupied shall be taken in rotation from the Schoolclass who will not therefore become permanently attached to any particular trade in consequence of such employment⁸⁹

Perhaps here attempting to strike a compromise between fostering trading profits and shadowing the educational requirements embraced in Peel’s Act for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices (1802)⁹⁰, the Philanthropic, nonetheless, conscientiously cared for the health of its children. Indeed, the level of attention paid

⁸⁷ If we can detect reflections of Panopticon rationality in this monitorial system, it was looked upon by contemporaries as a ‘kind of scientific discovery’ (Stephen, 1900b:19). Sir Thomas Bernard would approve of it applying a ‘division of labour to intellectual purposes’ (Jones, 1964:337).

⁸⁸ As the Dissenting Mr. Lancaster’s establishment was equally convenient in Borough Road, the prior Philanthropic commitment to Anglican-based instruction may account for this preference. A surviving Register (kept by the Reverend Dr. Grindlay, 1812-15) lists the girls’ daily position in class and indicates that a form of monitorial system was also adopted in the Female School.

⁸⁹ g/mns-5/2/1808

⁹⁰ While its educational provisions as well as those seeking to limit working hours to 12 hours a day were not rigorously enforced, the Act has been described as the ‘first tentative step’ towards regulating pauper children’s labour on the way to the Factory Acts of the nineteenth century (George, 1925:238).

to this matter possibly exceeded that displayed not only in factories and mills but in many gaols and houses of correction of the period. While the medical trio of Dr. Sims (physician), Mr. Houlston (surgeon) and Mr. Hooper (apothecary) had no precise medical duties prescribed in the Philanthropic regulations, they performed amputations, dealt with assorted disorders (including toothache, head lice and ‘the Itch’), dispensed medicines and directed how the children were to be protected against smallpox⁹¹. Sometimes supervising the infliction of floggings, they also reported on the state of the cells and their inmates⁹². The conditions found therein were variable. Whereas in the case of **Richard Starkey** it was considered ‘dangerous to keep him any longer in that situation’ on account of his feet swelling from ‘excessive cold’⁹³, the Society was likewise concerned to find that ‘exceptionally warm’ weather could render these places of confinement ‘rather offensive’⁹⁴. Dr. Sims would also:

submit the idea of having a dormer window in the stocking manufactory room as he conceives it will be prejudicial to the boys health, not being now sufficiently ventilated, and he likewise is desirous that an aperture be made in the wainscot in the room intended for the sick for the same purpose⁹⁵

As Dr. Sims would soon depart from the scene, a reprise of his Philanthropic career is due. He had visited the premises almost on a daily basis as the Institution settled into St. George’s Fields and, as we saw, had alerted the Society to Robert Young’s escapades. Besides offering probationary proposals, he had also inspected the quality of the small beer provision and discovered where milk could be purchased in a less adulterated state than previously obtained. Taking pains to seek ‘permission to have

⁹¹ For an account of the evolving tripartite structure of the medical professions at this time, see Berridge (1990).

⁹² Regarding flogging: ‘Mr Pritchard visited and desired that a letter might be sent to Mr Hooper requesting his attendance at the Reform tomorrow evening at 6 o’clock to be present at the correction of Bishop. The Superintendent immediately sent a letter to Mr Hooper who will endeavour to attend at the time requested ... Mr Hooper not attending the correction of Bishop did not take place’ [s/j-13 & 14/5/1795]

⁹³ Richard, we may remember, was fond of intoxicating substances and had escaped despite being chained to a log (see Chapter 2).

⁹⁴ s/j-13/10/1793. Previously, there had been a trial of ‘2 patent lamps for eradicating foul air’ offered by a Mr. Moser as a ‘present to the Society’ [s/j-18/4/1793].

⁹⁵ s/j-26/10/1795

Dr. Lettsom and his son to officiate for him in his absence - in the country - in the case of those indisposed at the Reform'⁹⁶, Sims even found time to deliberate on:

the propriety of having thin walls erected at certain distances in the range of shops to prevent any accident by fire spreading and consuming the whole. Likewise having Hartley's prevention Plates on the doors where necessary⁹⁷

At the age of almost 70 he retired to Bath. Before he did so, Sims wrote to the Society to give forewarning that he might no longer be so assiduous in its interests. As he not only communicates his strong belief in the importance of continuity in the high standard of health-care given to the children but provides a glimpse of how patronage might be donated, it is worth looking at this letter in some length. It announced to the 'Committee Gentlemen of the Philanthropic Society' that:

As the delicate state of my health may lay me under the necessity of occasionally having recourse to the benefit of country air, I take the liberty of requesting a permission similar to that which you before granted me for a friend to attend for me when under such necessity, or in case I should not be able to attend as often as I wish.

The gentleman whose assistance I mean to request is Dr Rees, who has been educated regularly, is a member of the College of Physicians, is a member of the College of London and Physician to the London Dispensary; he is besides the medical friend to whom I at present entrust the care of my own health and that of my family - He is a married man and the father of seven children.

Though I have now served you about twenty years, I am far from claiming *otium cum dignitate* but hope I may count upon your granting me liberty to request such a person to assist me as well as cordially coalesce with me in opinion and practice which I believe will be more for the benefit of the Reform than could possibly be obtained by clashing methods. Had I applied for this assistance fifteen months ago, I might probably have escaped a severe illness, brought on by over exertion, part of it in your service⁹⁸

⁹⁶ g/mns-20/7/1798

⁹⁷ s/j-25/6/1793. The Superintendent took an opportunity here to remind the Committee of 'his wish for having a small engine as an immediate check to the progress of the above calamity'. Whether on account of the thought of lost profits, as much as the safety of the children, this wish was granted. The Philanthropic site was also the scene of fire engine 'experiments' when, for instance, 'several gentlemen of the Phoenix, Royal Exchange & Sun Fire Offices visited in order to inspect the trial of some new invented machines' [g/mns-22/11/1794].

⁹⁸ g/mns-27/1/1809.

Possibly disappointed at his recent ousting from the Presidency of the London Medical Society⁹⁹, Dr. Sims eventually tendered his resignation from Philanthropic activity in February 1810. At this, Dr. Rees applied to be Physician to the Society¹⁰⁰. He too was disappointed. With the Committee then receiving a letter from ‘Dr. George Birkbeck, 25 Cateaton Street, offering himself as a candidate for the office of Physician to this Institution’¹⁰¹, that gentlemen was ‘unanimously elected’¹⁰².

Dr. Birkbeck would not be so immersed in the Philanthropic cause as Dr. Sims¹⁰³. He would, however, be heavily involved in advancing the spread of “popular education” by helping found the London Mechanics’ Institution in 1823. He later joined with Lord Brougham in establishing the Society for Disseminating Useful Knowledge and in founding University College. Nonetheless, Birkbeck’s reported approach to medical duties created some Philanthropic consternation. So much, it would seem, that the Secretary was requested to write:

expressing the regret of this Committee that the case of Mary Ann Worlock in the Female School had been neglected by him and requesting that he would pay immediate attention to her care¹⁰⁴

Considering that the Committee gentlemen ‘reclected’ a former instance of a lapse in Birkbeck’s attention, we can appreciate why this reprimand was issued. It elicited the following, somewhat caustic, reply. As this gives an uncommon insight into Birkbeck’s conception of voluntary medical duty it is worth reading in full. It is dated 30th November, 1823 and was sent to the Society’s Secretary from 50 Broad Street:

⁹⁹ The internal rifts surrounding this calamity are outlined by Abraham (1933:398) who remarks that his Presidency was ‘practically a dictatorship’.

¹⁰⁰ This Dr. Rees is probably the one noted in the *DNB* to have been admitted to the College of Physicians in 1808. A medical writer, lecturer and sometime house surgeon at the Lock Hospital, he later became medical superintendent of the Cornwall Lunatic Asylum.

¹⁰¹ g/mns-16/3/1810

¹⁰² g/mns-1/6/1810

¹⁰³ Birkbeck was a Quaker. Along with his personal friend Dr. Lettsom, as well as Dr. Sims, he participated in the affairs of the General Dispensary. Abraham (1933) provides a helpful account of these gentlemen’s small world of overlapping interests and patronage.

¹⁰⁴ g/mns-28/11/1823. As very few letters are copied out in full in the Minutes, the recording of this missive can be taken to signify the importance attached to the matter. Mary Ann was admitted in October 1820 after her mother had been ‘convicted at Gloucester Assizes of poisoning her husband, and executed for the same’.

I had yesterday the honor of receiving a letter from you, conveying a resolution of the General Committee and today I have obeyed the mandate of that Committee.

I found Mary Ann Worlock who has been the subject of visceral disease with consequent abdominal dropsy, in the Day Room of the Female Pupils, and both by her own account and my observations, improved in her health-

By what stretch of description her situation had been so represented to the Committee as to induce them to say she was "suffering under severe illness" I am unable to ascertain: and the expression is not only now inapplicable, but could not have been justly applied at any time since I first saw her for she has never been confined to her bed, and three out of the four visits I paid her, took place in the Matron's room-

That my visits have been as frequent as necessary, I have reason to believe; at least I know that many private patients circumstanced as she is, and under the care of a respectable Apothecary, have not required more attention than she has received. In such cases medical interference is not called for as it is in those which are acute. By careful management in time, and the time will not be short, this girl may I hope recover; and to that recovery I shall be ready as I have already been to contribute what is due to from me-

In what manner she has been "neglected" by me, my knowledge of the matter, which I presume is almost as accurate as that of the Committee, does not enable me to discover and I am quite at a loss to comprehend by what temper or mis-statement a resolution could have been dictated which conveys the most unwarrantable and offensive accusations to which I was ever subjected.

I have the honor to remain

Sir

Very faithfully yours

George Birkbeck

Although feeling that his 'explanation does not appear completely satisfactory', the Committee's 'investigation of this subject' was dropped¹⁰⁵. Birkbeck then continued as the Philanthropic's 'Consulting Physician' until his death in 1841.

5. A Philanthropic Coda

It would be surprising if Highmore (1810) did not have Dr. Sims in mind when he proclaimed that the 'difficulties' of the Society's 'infancy' had been 'subdued under the auspices of its worthy patrons'. Nor, indeed, would he have overlooked the particularly active Mr. Holford who would soon be enlisted for the Penitentiary enquiry with William Morton Pitt. Reputed to be both a cousin of Prime Minister Pitt

and William Wilberforce, Morton Pitt had visited the Philanthropic premises in the company of the Earl and Countess Spencer in 1796. He was elected to the Philanthropic Committee in 1804 and was asked to help 'recruit' the Society's finances in 1805¹⁰⁶. Also on the Magdalen's Committee, Morton Pitt was a subscriber to the Proclamation Society, the Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools and belonged to the SBCP¹⁰⁷. But, while urging his fellow magistrates to rebuild the penitentiary house at Dorchester more in keeping with the principles of Howard (see Ignatieff, 1978:97), his attendance to matters of Philanthropic governance is negligible in comparison to that of the committed Holford.

However, Holford's Philanthropic exertions began to wane. Not just, as might be expected, diminished by demands flowing from his Penitentiary avocations. Rather, the decline was initially generated by a dispute revolving around the appointment of a Reader for the Chapel. Clerical appointments were taken very seriously by the Society and would even summon a Philanthropic attendance by Vice-President William Wilberforce in 1826¹⁰⁸. But in 1810, Holford had led a sub-committee appointed to 'look into the qualification of candidates for vacant Offices in the Society' and encountered a rejection of its recommendations. He then wrote to express 'his intention to withdraw himself from the active management of the affairs of the Society'¹⁰⁹.

This jolted the Society. It had been an unsettling year in the staffing realm of its affairs. Following the death of 'worthy Superintendent' Durand¹¹⁰, his daughter Marian had been elected Matron of the Female School and a Mr. Napier appointed

¹⁰⁵ g/mns-12/12/1823

¹⁰⁶ Along with Dr. Grindlay and Committee member Henry Hoare [g/mns-14/6/1805].

¹⁰⁷ Like Lettsom, Morton Pitt busily diffused knowledge through publications such as *An Address to the landed interest on the deficiency of habitations and fuel for the Poor* (1797) and *A Plan for the improvement of the internal Police of Prisons* (1804).

¹⁰⁸ g/mns-17/3/1826. The splendid Vice-Presidential turn-out on the occasion included Earl Spencer, Earl Grosvenor, and the Earls of Hardwick and Harrowby. Wilberforce had been made a Philanthropic Vice-President in March 1822.

¹⁰⁹ His letter to this effect was dated 27th February 1810 [g/mns-2/3/1810]. After receiving another communication from Holford, the Committee replied that their 'main' objection was that only one person had been recommended for the position in the sub-committee's report.

¹¹⁰ g/mns-13/1/1809

his replacement. The latter, although seemingly a ‘fit person’, did not live up to expectations. He was dismissed for having ‘shewn great inattention to the interests of the Society’ by refurbishing his apartments ‘without authority’ and at ‘much unnecessary and unjustifiable expense’¹¹¹. Mr. Richard Collier was appointed in his place¹¹². “Mrs” Durand then departed from the scene. Her exit was somehow associated with the disgrace of the Reverend Mr. Forth. He had been summoned before the Committee who found the ‘charges’ brought against him ‘fully proved’ and:

that so much Indiscretion, and such Impropiety of conduct on his part, have appeared in evidence and have been admitted by Mr Forth as to make it impossible for him to hold the Office of Reader in the Society’s Chapel or that of Chaplain to the Manufactory¹¹³

One of these vacancies was at the root of Holford’s upset. Although prevailed upon to ‘retain some share’ in the Society’s ‘direction’, he thereafter restricted his involvement. He still served the Philanthropic interest, nonetheless, and soon communicated that:

he had received an intimation from the Secretary of State for the Home Department, the Right Honourable Richard Ryder, that there were now in Newgate three boys under sentence of death and whom it would be necessary to transport unless they could be taken by this Society, in which case they would on account of their youth ... be recommended to His Majesty for Pardon¹¹⁴

If finding a Home Secretary personally willing to refer cases was something of a novelty at this time, the development of this particular practice will later feature prominently in this study. For now, however, we can note that the criminal boys admitted to the Society’s Reform were accommodated at St. George’s Fields from May 1812. The Philanthropic had quite a few charitable neighbours by then¹¹⁵. The

¹¹¹ g/mns-29/9/1809

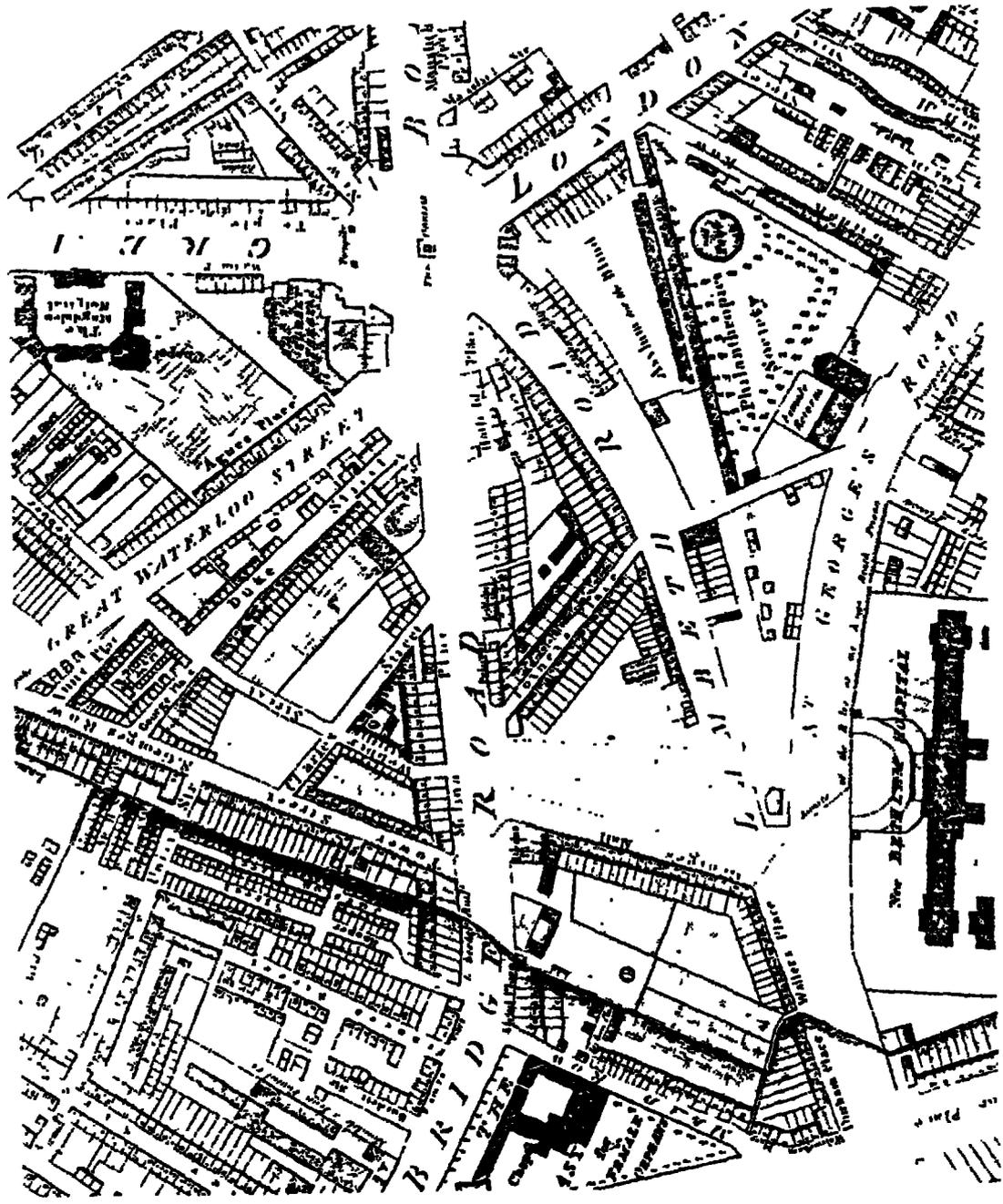
¹¹² g/mns-17/11/1809

¹¹³ g/mns-22/12/1809. The “trial” took place at the Manufactory in the presence of the Revd. Forth who took objection to the verdict. A sub-committee was afterwards appointed to enquire into the ‘conduct of the Matron and servants of the Female Reform’ [g/mns-29/12/1809] and the resignations of the Matron and under-Matron followed.

¹¹⁴ g/mns-1/3/1811. Only two boys were admitted. One of them, William Mann (18) was unusually old for Philanthropic reception. He entered the Navy the next year; the new Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth, having ‘consented to the same’ [g/mns-24/7/1812].

¹¹⁵ The proximity of other Institutions in the community can be seen in fig. 5, taken from Horwood’s map (1810 edition).

fig.5



Magdalen, for instance, had transferred to Southwark from Whitechapel even before the Society's arrival and the Female Orphan Asylum was in the vicinity¹¹⁶. As well, the nearby Long Room of the Dog and Duck hostelry had been used to start a School for the Indigent Blind in 1799¹¹⁷. By 1812, this School had settled into new premises fronting St. George's Circus and the Dog and Duck was demolished. Signalling its replacement were the foundations of the 'new Bethlem Hospital'. Its governors had decided to abandon the dilapidated and unsanitary "Bedlam" at Moorfields and seek larger premises where patients could be given better conditions and separated into categories (see Darlington, 1954; Margery, 1985; also Andrews et al., 1997).

As to the rationale for shifting the Reform boys: economy and efficient governance were again important considerations. Besides the 'material saving' on rent that would accrue, this move was beheld to afford 'greater efficacy with which this important branch of the Society's establishment can be controlled by the Committee'. It also allowed a reduction of expenses to be made through dispensing with the services of a second Porter and in the cost of cooking for the boys. Furthermore, it was considered 'not only practicable but indispensably necessary that the Reform Boys attend Divine Service in the Chapel - in a situation apart from the rest'. This, expediently, would enable the Society 'to consolidate the Offices of Chaplain to the Reform and Chaplain to the Manufactory'¹¹⁸.

Orchestrated to refrains on the low state of finances, such rationalising retrenchments had become a familiar feature of Philanthropic governance. This Chapter, however, has also displayed how the Society's men of business negotiated their way through a world ordered by deference and patronage to resolve a range of legal difficulties that threatened their socially useful enterprise. Setting the Society on the firmer foundations of Incorporation and establishing a Chapel along the way, they strove in

¹¹⁶ An abstract from the *Account* of this Asylum (printed by the Philanthropic Society in 1809) notes it had been instituted in the year 1758 for the reception of friendless and orphan girls due to the efforts of 'that vigilant and active magistrate, the late Sir John Fielding'. Besides having the Rev. W. Agguter as Chaplain and Secretary, other Philanthropic members active in its interests included the Revd. P. Dodd as Evening Preacher with Daniel Coxe, Charles Dodd and Samuel Bosanquet as 'guardians'.

¹¹⁷ The Philanthropic Samuel Bosanquet, Thomas Boddington and William Houlston were amongst the leading founders of this Institution (see Darlington, 1954).

¹¹⁸ g/mns-31/1/1812

a likewise tenacious manner to care for the health, welfare and education of their charges. It is difficult to find detailed accounts of how a similar configuration of associated voluntary effort engaged in protecting and reforming children from the lowest stratum of society in this period. We have seen, nonetheless, that the Philanthropic fellowship was comprised of particularly zealous and high-status medical, legal, political as well as religiously inclined gentlemen who self-consciously attached importance to testing and adjusting in the light of experience. Finding considerable scope to innovate outside the prevailing statutory framework, they devised new rules and regulations for effecting institutional improvements. In doing so, a classified structure of Departments appeared on the site and a more systematic stage-system of reformation was developed.

We now turn to exploring how future Philanthropic cohorts guided the Society into the Age of Reform. As the next Chapter will reveal, their journey would be attended by an increasing clamour of public concern about juvenile crime and delinquency. It was also accompanied by an internal chorus of rising alarm about the Society's well-being.

Chapter 5

A THINNING MESH OF SUPPORT

1. Highs and Lows

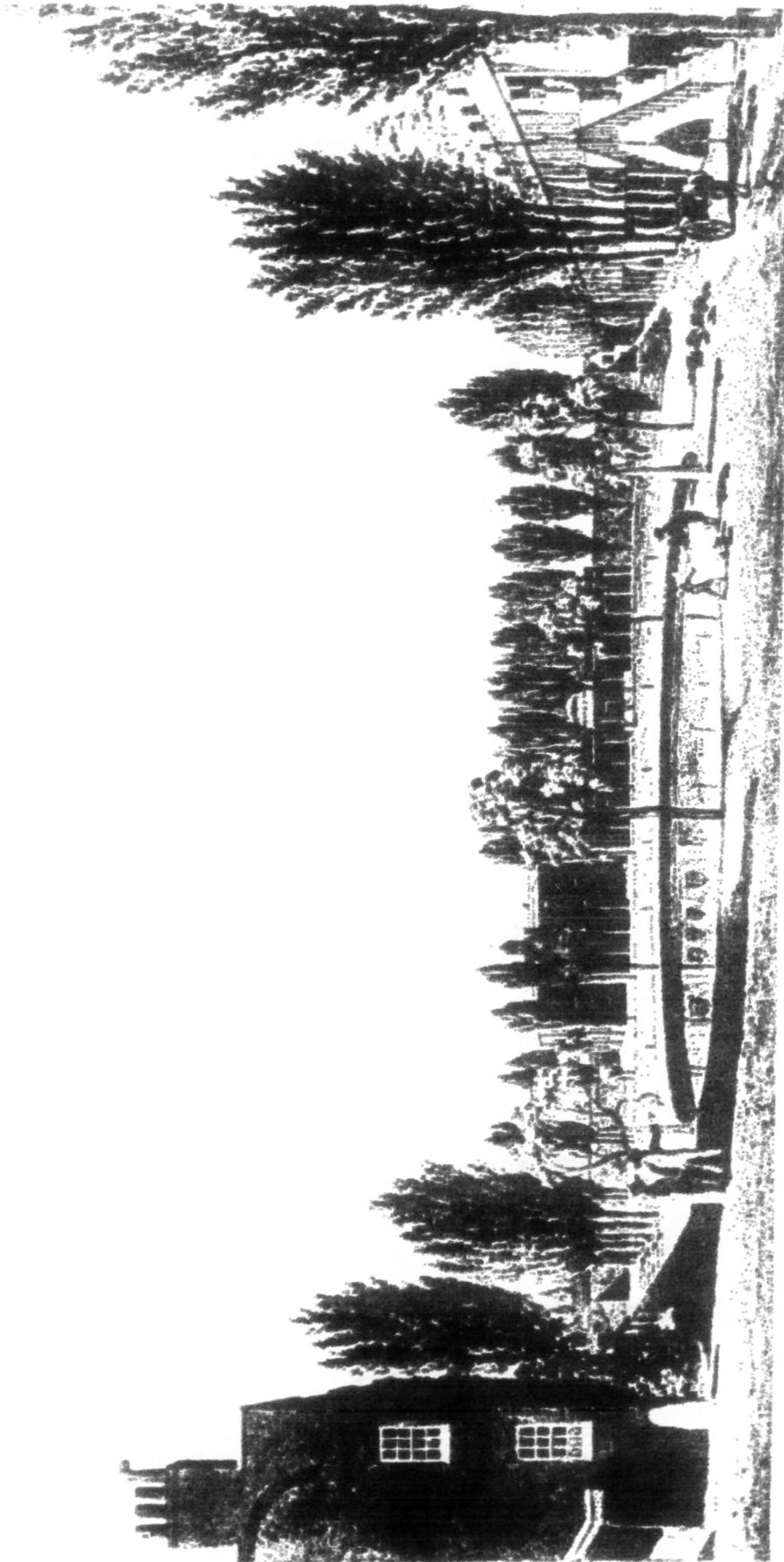
Having seen the effort expended on gathering friends and funds we might expect to find the Society's fortunes flourishing over the next few decades. Not so, however. Little financial advantage flowed from having carved a niche in providing for children of the dangerous classes. This is somewhat surprising considering that Luddite agitations and other insurrections would wrap around the issue of unemployment and the ever increasing Poor Law rates to concentrate minds on matters of law and order. The problem of juvenile crime and delinquency would, indeed, be brought into sharper relief and occupy the attention of a succession of Select Committees over the period. Nevertheless, by the time the State's response to juvenile offenders took shape in the Parkhurst Prison experiment in 1838, the Philanthropic was not enjoying a prosperous maturity. Rather, it was teetering on the brink of terminal crisis. This Chapter, therefore, seeks to trace how insidious seeds of decay shot forth from the unstable ground of voluntary effort. It will also explore how the Philanthropists grappled to sustain the Society's survival. In doing so, the stage will be set for considering why the Society decided to embark on a Farm School initiative in the 1840s.

Perusing the Matrons' Journals for the period 1814-19, the Philanthropic gentlemen would scarcely have anticipated the Society's slide from pre-eminence. After all, their Institution was such a show-case of voluntary innovation that it attracted an extraordinarily grand parade of visitors from home and abroad¹. Not only was the Female School graced by the attention of Her Imperial Highness, the Grand Dutchess of Oldenburgh (with a large party of ladies and gentlemen) but Sir Robert Peel (with three ladies) found the enterprise worthy of a visit². So too did the Grand Duke of Austria in the company of Sir William Congreve, M.P., Comptroller of the Royal Laboratory and superintendent of military machines. It also received the attention of

¹ For a Sketch of the Philanthropic grounds (c. 1814) see fig. 6.

² Robert Peel, the elder, was a Vice-President of the SBCP (Owen, 1964:108). It was through his efforts the Apprentices Act (1802) was passed .

fig. 6



His Imperial Highness, the Archduke Michael, as well as the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia who also inspected the Millbank penitentiary experiment. This Grand Duke was accompanied on his visit to the Society's premises by George Holford³.

As one of the focal points in a "grand tour" of enterprise and improvement, the Philanthropic was not ignored by John Griscom on his journey around Europe in 1818-19. A Quaker and professor of chemistry and natural philosophy at Columbia College in New York, Griscom was one of the founding members of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in that City⁴. He had embarked on his travels in a spirit of enquiry to see what ideas from the Old World could be applied with advantage to the New⁵. Arriving in London supplied with introductions, his first days were occupied in attending a meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society and one of Sir Joseph Banks' scientific levees where he conversed with the 'illustrious' Sir Humphrey Davy. He then dined with his 'worthy friend' William Allen. The proprietor of a pharmaceutical business, Allen was likewise a Quaker and active in the anti-slavery cause, involved in the Lancastrian School movement and, as McGowan (1995:86) notes, 'pressed' the cause of criminal law reform. He was also a partner in Robert Owen's New Lanark enterprise⁶. With its new system for spinning Sea Island cotton along with an innovative provision of housing for the workers and a child-centred approach to the education of children in its school, this undertaking was another high-point on the itinerary of both the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia and Griscom⁷.

³ The Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia had visited Millbank 'within a month or two of its opening' (Griffith, 1875; see also, Playfair, 1971:33).

⁴ While Hawes (1971:29) merely describes Griscom as a 'nationally known chemistry teacher', he was yet another philanthropist with multifaceted interests. Amongst publications held in the New York Public Library are his *Hints relative to the most eligible method of conducting meteorological observations* (1815) *Monitorial Instruction* (1825) and *School Discipline* (1832).

⁵ The following information draws upon Griscom's *A Year in Europe* (1823), vol.1.

⁶ Allen's 'religious scruples' would be the 'cause of Owen's retirement' (Stephen, 1900b:11; see also Harrison, 1969).

⁷ It also caught the eye of Bentham whom Allen encouraged to invest some of his Penitentiary compensation in the scheme (Stephen, 1900a:218). This was one of Bentham's sounder speculations. Even his Chrestomathic plan for the education of children of the middling classes came to naught although it was supported by Allen, James Mackintosh, James Mill, the Duke of York and Lord Brougham (Stephen, 1900b:22).

Allen also escorted Griscom on a visit to Parliament where the gallery was 'so entirely full, that, after remaining some time, crowded and squeezed most uncomfortably' they thought it 'best to retreat'. Griscom's visit the following day was more gratifying for he heard the 'distinguished philanthropist', William Wilberforce, speak 'in a style of great animation' on the 'cause of suffering humanity'. This was just after Sir Samuel Romilly had 'moved for further enquiries into some cruelties that had been practised' on slaves in a West India plantation and before Lord Brougham introduced a 'motion relative to a parliamentary inquiry into abuses upon charities, chiefly devoted to education'. Having been impressed with Brougham's 'masterly display of popular talent; abounding with keen invective against the House of Lords, for having stripped the bill of all its best features'⁸, Griscom continued on his investigations. These soon took him south of the Thames where, after spending time at the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb and the School for the Indigent Blind, his attention was 'next directed' to the buildings and workshops of the Philanthropic Society. He does not mention, however, whether Allen, who subscribed £1.1.0 annually to the Philanthropic⁹, accompanied him on this visit.

Griscom's tale of the Philanthropic's aims and approach made an impression on New York associates who perceived juvenile delinquency to be a major indicator of social and moral decay. Believing, like Philanthropic Founders, that poor parental guidance and association with adults in prison were at the heart of the problem, they engaged in a campaign to reclaim vagrant, delinquent and criminal children from contaminating environmental circumstances. By 1824, and with the Philanthropic establishment held up as a model which came 'nearest in its general system to that which we would recommend', they had acquired the sanction of their City Corporation, approval from the State Legislature and enough funds to open the New

⁸ Griscom would remark: 'I could scarcely have chosen a day more favourable to the wish of hearing the best speakers of Parliament upon subjects of general interest'. This more than made up for his visit, earlier in the day, to the Court of Chancery where he heard 'some dull pleadings before the Lord Chancellor, by lawyers with large powdered wigs hanging down to their shoulders'. Of their compliance with 'ancient custom', this Enlightened gentleman of a new Republic comments: 'To my unpractised eye there is a stiff formality in their appearance, which closely borders on the ridiculous'.

⁹ *Account* (1814).

York House of Refuge. This was publicised as ‘the first of the kind in the United States, by which the experiment of Juvenile Reformation has been fairly attempted’. With modifications to the Philanthropic plan ‘requisite to adapt it to the local circumstances’, this Refuge took root on the site of an old Arsenal ‘near the head of Broadway and the Bowery’. However, with frequent escapes indicating a need for purpose-built accommodation, new buildings were erected. These were based on a plan ‘somewhat similar to the state prison at Auburn’ with clanking doors to the separate cells in which the children were locked each night (Hart, 1832)¹⁰.

As to local Philanthropic circumstances: some cells there were, heavy doors indeed, and many windows undoubtedly barred. Like their New York counterparts, the children at St. George’s Fields attended to their duties within a regime regulated by the ringing of bells. Nevertheless, the New York configuration of penitentiary features was not introduced as a solution to problems that erupted in the Female School just before Griscom’s visit. By that time, about 111 boys resided in the Manufactory, 19 were in the Reform and around 35 girls were sheltered in their separate building. It is unclear what precise mixture of criminal and non-criminal girls composed its population or whether attempts were made to calculate which proportion of each category should be admitted. If there was such a policy in place, it is hard to detect beneath the inconsistencies betrayed by the record of admissions. From time to time the Society had, indeed, restricted the intake of girls convicted of felony from ‘the fear of contaminating the objects in the Female School’ who were ‘in a very excellent state of order’¹¹. However, in 1811 there was no difficulty in admitting **Jane Dampier** (11) who had been recommended by the Philanthropic Morton Pitt, one of the Magistrates who had placed her in confinement in Dorchester jail for ‘setting fire to her master’s house’. Nor had there been any problem in receiving **Jane Dent** (10½) who had stolen several articles and ‘frequently absented herself from her mother for some days altogether’, when sent by Mr. Colquhoun the

¹⁰ For an account of this Institution in the context of changing responses to deviant and dependent members of the community, see Rothman (1971); see also Hawes (1971) for details of the regime. Schlossman (1998:327) further acknowledges that the American Reform School phenomenon was the product of ‘a transatlantic cross-fertilisation of philanthropic ideas and designs, especially among Quakers’.

¹¹ See, for instance, g/mns-17/8/1804

next year¹². Likewise, minor offender **Eleanor Henry** (10) who had been found ‘guilty of pilfering’ and recommended to the Society’s care by Lady Wellington was admitted¹³. Yet **Sarah Plumb**, ‘stated to be 12 years old next April’, who also had been ‘frequently guilty of pilfering’, was refused admission when recommended to the Society by Sir Thomas Plummer, Attorney General and future Philanthropic Vice-President. This was:

on account of her mature age, appearance, and the apprehension that her being mixed with the other girls may be attended with mischievous consequences¹⁴

Mischievous consequences were certainly in flow by 5th February 1817. The Matron then had to report that ‘at a little after seven in the morning’ eight girls ‘made their escape at the street door by artfully contriving to take the keys from the place where they were deposited’¹⁵. This was not the first sign of disturbing breaches in the Philanthropic system of protective surveillance. The previous year, ‘communication’ with the Manufactory boys had required the external wall of the garden to be raised and topped ‘with glass set in the cement’ along with the following ‘requisite’ fortifications:

That a latticed door be placed at the foot of the stairs next the school room; that sun blinds should be fixed to the windows of the matron and sub-matron’s bedrooms, to be provided with padlocks and staples at the bottom, and that a positive injunction be given to the matron and sub- matron never to allow any girls to go into those rooms, until the blinds are locked down¹⁶

Although most of the truants were quickly returned by parents or friends, **Zelpha Williams’s** account of her escapade reminded the Society that it had no legal powers to retain children. This was a festering worry. Convinced of the importance of protecting the boys and girls from corrupting influences, the Philanthropic gentlemen had been particularly disconcerted by the case of **Charlotte Murrell**. Charlotte was

¹² g/mns-7/2/1812

¹³ g/mns-31/7/1812. The Duke of Wellington would donate £25 to the Society, (*Account*, 1829).

¹⁴ g/mns-5/2/1813. As T. Plummer Esq. of Lincoln’s Inn, he was a Philanthropic subscriber in 1789. Appointed the first Vice-Chancellor of England in April 1813, he became Master of the Rolls in 1818. He was also a Trustee of the British Museum and, like Vice-President James Allen Park (see Chapter 4), a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (*DNB*).

¹⁵ m/j-5/2/1817

admitted in 1790, aged 13. She had been found in a state of vagrancy and her mother was dead. In 1794, when her 'father in law' had removed her from where she had been placed in service, the Superintendent 'received orders' to take her from that person's house 'his character by no means being such as to intrust a girl of this age to his care'. Charlotte was re-admitted but later absconded from another placement with the 'determined resolution never to return to the Nunnery as she termed the Reform'. The Society's fears for her moral welfare deepened when Mr. Durand discovered Charlotte was again living in the residence of her 'father in law'. This person, moreover, posed other threats. He boldly informed the Superintendent that:

if I attempted to force the lock, or proceed further into his house ... as he was now up to me - having had proper advice, he should make the Society pay for it¹⁷

The Matron now informed the Committee that relatives could still resist the Society's benevolent intentions. As Zelpha had recounted:

she says she went with Mary French to her grandmother who lives by Shadwell Church and slept with Mary French at the grandmother's and also adds that when the person sent by the Superintendent came to the door to make enquiry the grandmother hid them under the bed - in the morning when Zelpha Williams came away Mary French tried to come with her but the grandmother would not let her, but said she would get her a place herself¹⁸

If the thought of leaving Mary under the grandmother's care caused the Society to fret, more worries followed. A flight of thirteen girls occurred in the evening of the 3rd May. They had made-off through the laundry window 'having previously unfastened it by taking out the rails and also forcing the padlock of the garden gate'¹⁹.

Further pandemonium ensued on the 5th September when seventeen girls came down from their dormitories and boldly 'made their escape by forcing back the lock of the street door'. Although three were 'recovered immediately' and some captured by the

¹⁶ g/mns-26/4/1816. The Philanthropic sense of propriety and protection would also extend to segregating the boys and girls in the Chapel by ordering that the 'curtains on each side of the organ be lengthened so as to prevent any communication from either side'.

¹⁷ s/j-3/10/1796

¹⁸ m/j-6/2/1817. Zelpha/Zylpha Williams had been guilty of pilfering and was admitted, age 12, on the recommendation of the overseers of St. Saviour's Parish, Southwark [g/mns-26/11/1813].

¹⁹ m/j-3/5/1817

‘several persons sent off in search of the others’, at this mass exit of nearly half the girls in the School an immediate enquiry was launched.

Some suspicion of at least one cause of the problem had already been aroused. The Special Committee set-up to prevent further escapes was specifically enjoined to consider ‘whether the confinement of the girls in the Female School has not been more severe than absolute necessity requires’²⁰. With this guidance before them, the investigators found that the escape had ‘not arisen from any vicious motive’ but from the ‘general restlessness at the close confinement to which the females were subject and from a desire to see their relations and friends’²¹. The recommended remedy was to reward the girls’ good behaviour by permitting home visits ‘provided their friends undertake to fetch them in the morning and return them by six o’clock in the evening’. It was also advised that ‘once in every week’ the Matron with proper attendants should:

take out such a portion of the girls as they can conveniently manage, and to accompany them in a walk for reasonable recreation; so that the girls may go out in turn, unless the matron should think it necessary to confine them at home as a punishment²²

Striking a balance between protection and over-control of their charges was a long-standing and fraught Philanthropic task. It had not, however, deterred the Society from allowing the boys more freedom to run errands and find opportunities to abuse the established system of tickets-of-leave. But, astoundingly, as a further remedy for the disorder reigning amongst the girls it was now decreed that ‘**no criminal girl shall in future be received into the Female School**’²³.

This decision is understandable in view of the investigation also revealing that the ‘restless conduct’ had:

²⁰ g/mns-5/9/1817

²¹ g/mns-12/9/1817

²² A sub-committee had previously recommended that the girls should have the ‘indulgence’ of being permitted to go out ‘occasionally’ to market with the Matron, ‘or on other domestic business, care being taken of their regular conduct and of their safe return’[g/mns-2/4/1813]. The Matron’s Journal suggest this seldom occurred - possibly due to her frequent bouts of ill-health.

²³ g/mns-12/9/1817 - my emphasis.

been much fermented by a few of the older girls who had been criminal before they were received into the Institution, and who have repeatedly disturbed the harmony which formerly subsisted in the Female School

Nevertheless, even though the female inmate-mix proved hard to handle, it is surprising to find the Society excluding all criminal girls rather than creating a Female Reform along the lines of that established for criminal boys. This is particularly strange considering the lack of specialised provision elsewhere in the Metropolis. While the Refuge for the Destitute would soon establish a separate department into which criminal girls were received and Elizabeth Fry helped institute a 'House of Discipline and School of Reform for viciously disposed and neglected Female Children' in 1825, the latter initiative was deemed necessary because 'As yet no Institution has been formed for the specific object of arresting the progress of Vice in the minds of Female Children, already contaminated by actual Guilt'. Indeed, its founders explicitly noted that:

On Application to the Committee of the Philanthropic Society they stated that they had no Power of receiving into their Female department Children guilty of stealing, or any similar misconduct; the Girls in their School being the Children of Criminals, but not themselves Transgressors²⁴

Reluctance to stretch scarce resources probably played a part in reducing Philanthropic endeavour in this sphere. The Society had, indeed, referred 'the practicability of erecting a Reform for the reception of female criminals' to a sub-committee in 1813, but, nothing further on the matter is mentioned. Nonetheless, if the reception of a very small number of girls was involved, we might suppose that justifying expenditure on separate provision (with its additional fixed costs) was found particularly problematic. Economic considerations had certainly coloured the Society's unwillingness to establish a department for the 'infant offspring of convicts' and concede to 'the immediate admission of a child of two years old of that description' in May 1812. This had been suggested by Philanthropic subscriber and

²⁴ Report of the Select Committee of Gaols and Houses of Correction (1835), Part IV, Appendix to Evidence, p.547. The School was for girls 'not under Seven Years of Age nor above Thirteen, who have been found guilty of stealing, or any other Offence causing Loss of Character or Danger of Imprisonment'. Providing for criminal girls would exercise Mary Carpenter who is credited with establishing the first girls' Reformatory School in England, at Red Lodge Bristol in 1854 (see Manton, 1976).

soon to be Attorney General, William Garrow²⁵. He, however, was informed that ‘the Society is neither provided with habitations for such an addition of children, nor suitable servants, nor friends adequate to such an undertaking’²⁶.

Yet, when a Birmingham magistrate enquired whether some arrangement could be made for occasionally receiving ‘criminal infants’ on ‘condition of the parish making an adequate allowance for them’, the proposition was rejected on the grounds that it was ‘not consistent with the rules of the Institution which require personal examination of each object previous to admission’²⁷. Perhaps underpinned by a reluctance to have its autonomy in the choice of Objects eroded, this rhetoric was nevertheless belied by the Society’s readiness to welcome other children from far-off places.

Such erratic exercises in discretion exasperated the Philanthropic Visitors of 1819. By then, the Society was taking pains to advertise that its attention was confined ‘to cases of grave delinquency’ and ‘that Objects are not admitted on account of mere youthful irregularities; of the effects of a truant disposition, or of such acts as bear the complexion of vagrancy rather than of fraud or felony’²⁸. Despite this declaration of intent - and with the Offspring of criminals still being admitted - the Visitors found ‘much of their time taken up in explaining who are the proper Objects of their Institution’. This, they believed, had grave implications for the welfare of the Society. Noting the lack of rules to guide them ‘other than are expressed in very general terms in the printed reports’, these gentlemen felt bound to warn that:

it has not infrequently happened that some Visitors have not had the same opinion on this subject as their predecessors - cases that have been rejected by one have been thought eligible by another; and there have been serious instances of offence given to valuable

²⁵ Garrow replaced Sir Thomas Plummer as Solicitor General in June 1812 and then as Attorney General in May 1813. He had visited the Philanthropic in May 1798.

²⁶ While this would have been considered a ‘mere nurse child’ and not a proper Philanthropic Object, the Society had received **James Randall**, aged 3, in July 1792. His father and mother had been transported after being concerned in a ‘daring’ robbery. James was placed under the care of the Matron at the girls’ branch of the Institution until he was seven.

²⁷ g/mns-26/11/1813

²⁸ *Account* (1814).

friends of the Institution who have had the Objects they recommended refused as ineligible, when similar cases have at other times been received²⁹

The harmful consequences of inconsistencies in approach was not the Visitor's only anxiety. Whilst retaining Philanthropic Wards within the Walls often posed problems, the Society was also prey to wily parents who sought to off-load responsibilities by claiming their children had committed crimes or delinquencies. Protecting the Society from accusations of relieving the 'burthens of the bad members of the community' had been close to the hearts of the Founders and weeding-out undeserving applications had been made an early Visitorial duty. It was, however, an on-going concern. As Holford commented when urging legislative action in regard to establishing a separate prison for juvenile offenders:

the punishment should apply in some measure to the minds of the parents ... who may be apt to congratulate themselves on having got him off their hands ... and may be considered by other parents as having a draw prize in the lottery of human life by their son's conviction. This is not only theoretical, but is founded in some degree upon experience. Those who have been in the habit of attending the committee of the Philanthropic Society know, that parents have often accused their children of crimes falsely, or have exaggerated their real offences, for the sake of inducing that Society to take them; and so frequent has been this practice, that it is a rule with those who manage that Institution, never to receive an object upon the representation of its parents, unless supported by strong testimony (Holford, 1821:45).

In the hope of standardising procedure, the Visitors applied themselves to formulating a list of 'precise rules' that would answer 'all questions upon the nature of the Institution in whatever concerns the admission of Objects'. In focus were the 'Offspring of convicted Felons' under 14 and 'Criminal Boys' between 9 and 13 years of age. For the latter category, it was particularly specified that the parents had to be 'in destitute Circumstance and unable to take proper Care of him; or of Characters so vicious, as to have been the Cause of his Delinquency'. Furthermore, if the boy had not been imprisoned but was charged with an offence on the oath of a 'credible' person (not a relation), magistrates who then declined to prosecute in the 'Hope of his future Amendment' were required to complete a specially devised form.

²⁹g/mns-12/2/1819

This certified the circumstances under which the delinquent was recommended 'to the Protection of the Philanthropic Society'.

Remarkably, a copy of this *Magistrate's Certificate* was inspected by a Select Committee of the House of Lords to which the Society's Steward was called to give evidence in 1835³⁰. While we must wait to hear more of this grand event, it was not Mr. Thomas Russell's first Parliamentary appearance. He had entered centre stage before a House of Commons Select Committee of enquiry into the State of Police in the Metropolis in 1817. On that occasion Russell was sandwiched, as it were, between former Philanthropic Auditor, Edward Forster, who appeared as Treasurer of the Refuge for the Destitute and 'William Crauford'³¹. Crauford was another Quaker. He was also the 'gratuitous secretary' of a Society which had been set up in 1815:

[to] ascertain the extent and causes of the alarming increase of juvenile delinquency in the metropolis, or rather the circumstances in the character and situation of the juvenile delinquent that might be justly considered as excitements to the commission of crime³²

Established in the year that brought Peace with France but when the 'riotous state of the Metropolis' had induced the Philanthropic to 'suspend all orders for the boys going out in their turns'³³, this Society would find the 'principal causes' to be the 'improper conduct of parents; the want of education; the want of employment; the violation of the Sabbath, and habits of gambling in the public streets'. To these were added the 'auxiliary causes' of the severity of the criminal code, the defective state of the police and the existing system of prison discipline. These findings would scarcely have startled the Philanthropic Founders. What lent the new Society a novel credibility, however, was the scale of evidence and the method of its collection. The Metropolis had been divided into districts and sub-committees armed with

³⁰ SC on Gaols, PP (1835), Vol. XII., Appendix to Evidence, Part IV. p.538. The Appendix provides further details of the children's work, diet and clothing.

³¹ For Forster's credentials, see Chapter 4.

³² SC on the Police, PP (1817), Vol. VII., Minutes of Evidence, pp. 428-9.

³³ g/mns-10/3/1815

questionnaires ‘calculated to obtain the necessary information’ then interviewed ‘some thousand boys’ in confinement and also their friends and relations³⁴.

Whilst this methodology was certainly more systematic than that displayed by the Philanthropic, the “facts” which Steward Russell delivered on his Society’s preventive policing performance were sufficient to impress the Select Committee of 1817. Not only did its members believe the Philanthropic had ‘fully answered the views of its benevolent founders’ for ‘much the greater proportion of those who have been there brought up, turn out well’, it also wished:

[to] direct the attention of the Public to this excellent Institution, which is well deserving a more extended patronage, not only for the end which the Establishment has in view, but also for the success which has attended its labours, arising from the excellence of its regulations, and the frugal manner in which its funds are administered³⁵

2. Fickle funding

Unfortunately, this glowing testimonial did not swell the Philanthropic coffers. Despite memories of riot and sedition that culminated in the Peterloo “Massacre” of 1819 and the Cato Street plot to assassinate the Cabinet in 1820, hopes of monetary recognition for the Society’s part in nipping crime and disorder in the bud would deflate over the next decade. It may well have taken the daughter of one of the Cato Street conspirators under its wing, but, instead of a steady replenishment of revenue, the period brought large clouds of financial gloom lowering overhead³⁶. Such a depressing forecast might hardly have seemed credible when:

Jeremiah Harman Governor of the Bank of England attended the Committee and communicated to them that the Court of Directors having frequent occasion to prosecute for forgery and as the Philanthropic Society appears to be the most eligible Asylum for many

³⁴ SC on the Police, PP (1817), Vol. VII., Minutes of Evidence, pp. 428-441. This Society’s membership has so many overlaps with the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline and the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders (SIPD) it is likely an off-shoot of that body. In turn, that may have had roots in the Society set up in 1808 (by William Allen amongst others) to Diffuse Knowledge on Capital Punishment. While Frouxides (1983) provides a useful account of the SIPD’s role as a ‘surrogate’ prison inspectorate, we might add that many individuals in that enterprise were also involved with the Refuge for the Destitute (see, for instance, *A Short Account*, 1818).

³⁵ SC on the Police, PP (1817), Vol. VII., Second Report, Part VII, p. 332.

³⁶ The Society admitted **Caroline Harrison** (9) whose father John ‘was convicted of High Treason and transported for life’ for being involved in the plot [g/mns-13/11/1820]. The plan was to blow-up the Cabinet as it sat at dinner in the house of the Lord President of the Council (Evans, 1983/1996:194). This personage was Philanthropic Vice-President, Lord Harrowby.

children who are hereby left in a destitute state, they had it in their intention to make occasional application on their behalf. The Governors also communicated that tho' the Court of Directors are aware that no subscription to this Institution entitles the subscribers to a preference in the reception of Objects - they had voted **a donation of one thousand guineas**³⁷

This was a spectacular donation: whether stemming from humanitarian concern for the children or as a means of salving consciences over the consequences of prosecuting parents in pursuit of the Bank's interest. Forgery was of particular concern at this time and, as Emsley (1987/1996:255-8) reminds us, it was one of the felonies for which reprieves were rarely given. In this context, it may not be so coincidental to find that, at the same meeting, the Committee's attention was also brought to:

the case of the eight infant children of Ann Woodman who was now under sentence of death in Newgate for issuing forged notes of the Bank of England at whose suit she has been prosecuted - the father of these children having been executed for the same offence³⁸

Only two of these children, Hannah aged 13 and Charlotte aged 11, were received into the Female School 'the remaining six children being too young for admission'. While the fate of these infant offspring is unknown³⁹, we can, perhaps, be more certain that Jeremiah Harman had exercised his influence to benefit the Society. Joining the Philanthropic Committee in 1792, he was a Director of the Bank of England from 1794, became its Deputy Governor (1814-16) and Governor (1816-18)⁴⁰. At the meeting during which the case of the Woodman children was discussed, he was nominated a Vice-President of the Society; a 'vacancy having occurred' on the death of his father John⁴¹. Afterwards continuing as a Director of the Bank, Jeremiah is likely to have played no small part in seeing that a further 'munificent donation' of £1000 came the Society's way in 1820⁴².

³⁷ g/mns-30/5/1817 - my emphasis.

³⁸ g/mns-1/8/1817

³⁹ Acres (1931) notes that the mother was later pardoned.

⁴⁰ Holdings of £2000, £3000 and £4000 respectively in that Corporation's stock were required for these positions (Roberts and Kynaston, 1995). For directing me to relevant Bank of England sources, I am indebted to its Deputy Archivist, Sarah Millard.

⁴¹ g/mns-1/8/1817. John Harman had been a Committee Member alongside Jeremiah Bentham and one of the Society's 'most zealous and liberal friends and benefactors'.

⁴² g/mns-7/4/1820

This largess was no doubt welcome to the Society. As some signs of financial depression had been detected, in 1819 a sub-committee was appointed to consider the causes of the ‘considerable drop’ in income over the past few years. Having ‘taken into account the amounts of subscriptions, life donations, the produce of several trades, Chapel collections and pew rents’, the ‘diminution’ was found to have:

arisen from there being less employment in some branches of the trades in time of peace than in time of war, the pressure of the times upon individuals of limited income, and the opportunities which other charitable institutes have of coming more fully before the public by an election of the Objects taken under their care, which this Society is unable to adopt and also from the very trifling contributions which are made at the Chapel doors⁴³

These conclusions do not seem untoward. Peace had not brought prosperity to the nation but, as Briggs (1959/1979:207) notes, ‘rapid demobilisation, a cessation of government orders and a fall in urban employment and a heavier burden on direct taxation’. Indeed, although no details are provided on how these external factors affected the Philanthropic, we might imagine the Society had experienced a falling demand for the products of its rope-making department once ships were laid-up after the war. The slump in business may also have been compounded by competitors who could afford to apply the latest technological advances to production and thus undercut prices in this and other trades⁴⁴.

In regard to being hampered from raising the Philanthropic profile and funds by way of “electing” children, internal factors were most likely at the root of the trouble. This method of admission, by which subscribers “voted” to “sponsor” specified children, was a long-standing and proficiently publicised practice of the Foundling (see Nichols and Wray, 1935). The Philanthropic, however, was in something of a bind on the matter. At the outset, the Society had not scrupled to publish lists of named children ‘together with the most striking circumstances that constituted their qualification for

⁴³ g/mns-23/7/1819

⁴⁴ There is no evidence to suggest that the Society invested, for example, in machinery of the type developed by Henry Maudsley in 1811 and employed at the Ropery at Chatham Dockyards. His innovations are noted in a booklet published by the *Chatham Historic Dockyard Trust* (1991). This also illustrates the more labour-intensive and craft-based methods of production probably employed in the Philanthropic’s Ropewalk.

its benefits'⁴⁵. This tool for soliciting funds had, nonetheless, been swiftly discontinued in 'tenderness to distant relatives, upon whom the details might bring an unmerited disgrace'. The censorship was then extended to cover the identities of 'immediate kindred and friends'⁴⁶. Ironically, subsequent experience indicated that children could also be disadvantaged by the stigma of their Philanthropic background. In reply to the 1817 Select Committee's questioning on why contact had been lost with the 'better part' of the girls who had left Philanthropic care, Steward Russell stated there could be 'no doubt' that:

they endeavour as much as possible to conceal their place of education, and with many persons it would be a great obstruction to their advancement in service if it was known that they have been educated in our establishment ... on account of their having been the children of convicts, they are more particularly liable to reproach from fellow servants than from masters and mistresses, who would of course be more liberal; instances have come to the knowledge of the committee of girls having lost their situations in consequence of representations of their fellow servants, that they could not live with them in consequence of their having been thieves, or the children of thieves⁴⁷

As to the diminishing returns on the Chapel investment, 'very trifling' contributions continued to be received. By 1827 its under-performance in this temporal sphere had become even more marked. Regrettably, with the impetus given to church building through Government subsidies from 1818, the pomp in which the Philanthropic Chapel once gloried had been punctured by new rival attractions in the neighbourhood⁴⁸. Realising it was engaged in a "Holy war" of market forces and discovering that:

Many of the pew renters having complained of the high price at which the seats in the Society's Chapel are let - and having expressed a wish for a reduction, and the seats in the neighbourhood churches and chapels now let at £1.0.0 per seat

the Society resolved 'that for the future the annual rent of each seat be reduced to five shillings'.

⁴⁵ *First Report*.

⁴⁶ *Second Report*.

⁴⁷ SC on the Police, PP (1817), Vol. VII., Minutes of Evidence, p.445.

⁴⁸ The £1 million given in 1818 and the further £500,000 in 1824 to promote the moral welfare of the nation was, Briggs (1959/1979:213) suggests, a government measure taken in preference to creating an efficient police force or repressing by force all signs of unrest.

Strangely, although a ‘falling-off of the company at the Anniversary Dinners’ had also been detected⁴⁹, the Philanthropists decided to buy the freehold of the land at St. George’s Fields. Ostensibly, this venture was driven by the necessity of reducing expenditure on the rates. As the Society reminded the City’s Bridge House Estates Committee when attempting to negotiate a reduction in the purchase price of £8980:

That your Committee was sensible of the benefits likely to arise from the Philanthropic Society at a time when there was no existing Establishment for preventing Juvenile crimes and therefore encouraged the Institution in its infancy by fixing a small rent for the interior ground-

Your memorialists have however at great expense become tenants of much additional frontage ground and have also by their buildings added a large and permanent value both to the property they occupy and that of its neighbourhood by which means the valuation now made has been greatly increased⁵⁰

Quite what was said by Treasurer Samuel Bosanquet, who headed the deputation ‘specially summoned’ before the City’s Court of Common Council, is not mentioned by the Society⁵¹. But, having reached an accommodation on the matter and taking the caution of addressing ‘a respectful letter to HRH the President and to such of the Vice-President’s as are Peers, apprising them of the Bill for the Society before the House of Lords, for the purchase of the freehold’⁵², the requisite Act passed on 17th June 1823.

Dipping into Philanthropic capital to complete the deal brought less than pleasurable returns in the short-term. Admittedly a measure thought ‘on the whole highly expedient and conducive to the permanent interests of the Society’, it was shortly recognised to have ‘involved its finances in increased embarrassments’⁵³. Indeed, the Society may have rued giving the appearance of possessing a chest of “Philanthropic silver” on one hand and pleading poverty on the other. Such mixed messages were, perhaps, especially regretted after a meeting under the Chairmanship of Vice-President, Mr. Justice Gaselee, decided:

⁴⁹ g/mns-14/1/1820

⁵⁰ g/mns-6/12/1822

⁵¹ g/mns-29/1/1823. Samuel Bosanquet (junior) had succeeded Boldero as Treasurer in 1812.

⁵² g/mns-4/4/1823

⁵³ g/mns- 6/5/1825

That it is desirable to make an application to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department for a grant of the sum of £10,000 which the Society have been compelled to expend on the purchase of the freehold⁵⁴

Nothing had come of previous entreaties to this quarter⁵⁵. We might, however, suppose that high hopes were riding on the persuasive powers of the deputation now sent to 'Mr Secretary Peel'. Peel, the younger, had succeeded Lord Sidmouth as Home Secretary in 1822 and had framed the Gaols Act of 1823 which attempted to effect a more systematic regulation of prison conditions and discipline⁵⁶. In that year he also ordered that the "*Bellerophon*" (under the Superintendence of J.H. Capper) should be used as a separate Hulk for juvenile offenders sentenced to transportation⁵⁷. Alas, although Peel 'promised' to take the Committee's representations 'into his consideration'⁵⁸, the Society waited in vain for a favourable reply.

Had the Society also made representations regarding aid towards running-costs? This remains a matter of speculation. Nothing is mentioned in the Philanthropic ledgers and no trace of a Home Department record of the deputation's visit has been found⁵⁹. Nonetheless, it would be surprising if Philanthropic aspirations had not been underpinned by awareness of the Government grant received by the Refuge for the Destitute in 1814 with the blessing of Home Secretary Sidmouth. Information on this benevolence is likely to have circulated within the Philanthropic network. Holford had been elected a Vice-President of the Refuge by 1806⁶⁰ and, around the time the grant was first dispensed, Philanthropic Samuel Bosanquet was a Refuge Committee

⁵⁴ g/mns-7/1/1825. Stephen Gaselee had been a Philanthropic Committee member from 1803 and had recently become a Philanthropic Vice-President [g/mns-2/7/1824]. Like Vice-President James Allen Park, Gaselee also supported the Humane Society, became a justice of the Common Pleas and was Knighted (*DNB*). He was apparently the 'very deaf, very short, and comically pompous and eccentric' Mr. Justice 'Gazelee' whom Dickens would caricature in *Pickwick Papers* (see Collins, 1962:182).

⁵⁵ See Chapter 3.

⁵⁶ Peel had also begun to drive through legislation which rationalised and reduced the number of capital offences.

⁵⁷ In 1825, this division of the Convict establishment was transferred to the specially fitted frigate "*Euryalus*" at Chatham.

⁵⁸ g/mns-18/2/1825

⁵⁹ Despite repeated attempts at the Public Records Office to retrieve a Philanthropic file possibly covering the period under study [HO-44/3] it remains "lost".

⁶⁰ *Short Account* (1806).

member along with the Reverend Dr. Grindlay, William Houlston and Morton Pitt⁶¹. By 1828, however, the Superintendent of the Refuge's Male Department could inform another Select Committee on the Police of the Metropolis that, in addition to the Government grant, the financial arrangements for maintaining the inmates were as follows:

Thirty four are paid for by individuals; there is an association at Guildford that sends lads; there is one at Maidstone; there is the Sheriffs Fund and the City Bridewell Committee; and there is one gentleman who pays for eight himself always⁶²

The vice of envy could well have been in the Philanthropic air. The decline in income was assuming such melancholy proportions that an *Address* was prepared. This was circulated in the particular hope that members would do all in their 'power to prevent so painful a result as the decay or extinction of what has long been deemed one of the most useful and meritorious charities which adorn this Metropolis'. As the predicament was summarised:

the expenditure, notwithstanding the utmost frugality in every department has for some years past greatly exceeded the income; and within the last year to the extent of £1200. The deficiencies have hitherto been supplied by occasional legacies; but upon these no prudent dependence can be placed. Very many of the early friends of the Charity have been removed by death; the Chapel, from the numerous Parochial Churches erected in the neighbourhood, has ceased to be a source of any considerable revenue, and amongst so many other appeals to the charitable Public, more novel indeed and speculative, the Annual Subscriptions to the Philanthropic have very seriously declined⁶³

It was a worrying situation for the gentlemen to consider. Theirs was a charity whose crime reducing objectives, they believed, could 'never want the charm of novelty to recommend' and whose 'happy experience of nearly forty years' had placed 'its success beyond speculation'. Yet, resources had not kept pace with needs. This was somewhat untoward at a time when the Legislature had 'noticed with alarm' the 'fearful growth' of juvenile crime and had taken the subject 'under their anxious enquiry' and when:

⁶¹ *Short Account* (1812). The *Short Account* (1818) notes that Lord Viscount Sidmouth had become a Refuge Vice-President.

⁶² SC on the Police, PP (1828), Vol. VI., Minutes of Evidence, p. 182.

⁶³ g/mns-7/12/1827

[as] Magistrates and Jurors especially we are called to view almost with hearts thuddering the ordering from session to session, the thronging groups of youth of both sexes at the bar of public justice waiting often with hardened indifference the sentence of the laws⁶⁴

A slight shift in Philanthropic funding policy now occurred. This, possibly, was triggered by thoughts of replicating the more varied funding arrangements adopted by the Refuge. These were certainly of contrast to those of the Philanthropic whose Superintendent Collier informed the Select Committee of 1828 that the Society's expenses were 'wholly defrayed by voluntary contributions'⁶⁵. Soon afterwards, a proposal was received from 'the Governor of Newgate on behalf of the Sheriffs Fund for the admission of two boys now in Newgate, upon terms similar to those upon which such boys are admitted into the Refuge for the Destitute'. The Society then resolved:

That in future it be made a Regulation for the government of the Committee that upon the payment of every hundred pounds by any Body Corporate or individual, the criminal boy recommended ... shall be admitted into the Institution provided the case shall appear to the Committee upon inquiry to be within the spirit and regulations of the Establishment, and free from any special objection⁶⁶

Uncertainty still reigned over the Society's future. Although the arrival of a magnificent legacy of £9,000 did much to stave-off imminent extinction⁶⁷, there were few signs that a steady flow of new subscription revenue could be so fortuitously secured. The Auditors of 1831 painted a gloomy picture. Donations and subscriptions had continued to decline from £1645 in 1824 to £1224 by 1830. This was of dramatic contrast to the hey-day year of 1813 when the total income from subscriptions and donations amounted to £2438.14.6d⁶⁸. The Society was certainly wealthy in terms of capital assets and would remain buoyant enough to celebrate its fiftieth birthday. Nonetheless, the downward spiral in revenue fortunes had become a worrying source

⁶⁴ g/mns-2/7/1824. In this context, Philanthropic Vice-President Randle Jackson (see Chapter 4) would produce his *Considerations on the Increase of Crime* (1828) and thus contribute to the debate on its extent and causes.

⁶⁵ SC on the Police, PP (1828), Vol. VI., Minutes of Evidence, p.163.

⁶⁶ g/mns-20/6/1828. The Sheriff's Fund for discharged prisoners had been founded in 1808 and was dispensed from the Sessions House at the Old Bailey (Low, 1850:113).

⁶⁷ g/mns-24/10/1828

⁶⁸ *Account* (1814).

of decay in the Society's foundations. This worry would combine with other problems of governance and create acute anxiety.

3. Diminishing returns

Meanwhile, in the world outside the Philanthropic Walls a degree of Parliamentary Reform took shape in the Act of 1832 and, in 1833, a Government grant of £22,000 came the way of voluntary schools that could match-fund a proportion of this State aid from their own subscriptions⁶⁹. The grant was increased in 1839 and thereafter administered by a Privy Council Committee with the aid of an Inspectorate set-up to supervise the standard of educational work conducted under the scheme⁷⁰. But, although the Society did not make any public contribution to the debate surrounding these measures and, indeed, is silent on the benefits or otherwise of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, it was not quite untouched by the political sensitivities of the time. As the Committee heard with 'deep regret':

on Sunday 28th August 1831 the gentleman engaged as a substitute for Mr Price gave great offence to the congregation by strong political allusions in his sermon so much so as to occasion great numbers to withdraw during the time of Divine Service⁷¹

No doubt dismayed at the prospect of having Chapel collections further diminished by clerical subversion, the Society was no less concerned to hear that 'upon many occasions of Anniversary Sermons, demonstrations have appeared among the elder boys of strong feelings excited by the allusions to the former criminal state of the Objects of this charity or their connections'⁷². The Philanthropists, however, had been particularly provoked by a display of insubordination among the boys in December 1829. As this brought the matter of internal discipline into heightened focus, it is of interest to see its nature and the means of dealing with the offenders:

-that **George Robinson** who had been intoxicated and riotous on Sunday afternoon and again on Monday evening and placed in confinement on Tuesday the 15th Inst. by the Chaplain and the Superintendent, be confined in the same upon bread and water another

⁶⁹ For a discussion of the provisions and their effects see, for example, Briggs (1959/1979:336); Fraser (1973/1984:81); Sutherland (1990:131).

⁷⁰ Although this Committee 'had no statutory existence and so no statutory powers', Roberts (1969:115) notes that it 'possessed the most effective power of all, that of the purse'.

⁷¹ g/mns-2/9/1831

⁷² g/mns-20/11/1829

week, and pay out of his rewards the amount of damages done by him, and be kept from going out during the pleasure of the Committee.

-that **George Armitage** who was intoxicated on Sunday and Monday evening, be fined one guinea from his rewards, and kept from going out until further orders

-that **James Warwick** who was intoxicated on Monday evening be fined 10/6d. and not allowed to go out without the leave of the Committee

-that **Walter Willis**, who was seen smoking on Sunday afternoon and in the evening guilty of very unruly behaviour and endeavouring to get out by deceiving the watchman, and yesterday going out for the day contrary to orders, be deprived of his monitorship and the coloured clothes for one month

-that **William Lacey**, who returned intoxicated the last time he visited his friends, and was seen smoking on Sunday, be confined for one week upon bread and water

-that the boy guilty of reading improper books in the Chapel ... be presented to and admonished by the Chaplain⁷³

This display of intemperance and an interest in amending the rules ‘respecting the forfeiture of the Boy’s earnings in cases of absconding, as established in 1809’ enticed George Holford into action. Continuing to attend Committee meetings from time to time and discussing matters of Chapel business, he now presided over a meeting which decided to ‘draw up some Rules and Regulations for the better government of the pupils’. It was, however, the twilight of Holford’s Philanthropic career. Although nominated to head a special sub-committee appointed for the purpose, he was not deeply engaged in this task. Nor does he seem to have investigated the grave misdemeanours that prompted the Society to give a gratuity to:

William Bates, the Society’s Beadle as a mark of the Committee’s approbation of his conduct in reference to the late attack made upon him by the Boys⁷⁴

If the ‘existing force’ was found ‘insufficient to keep order’, the appointment of an additional Beadle did not provide an adequate remedy. Next year, the ‘breakage’ of a chimney pot attracted the Watchman and Beadles ‘to the spot’ where they found themselves ‘too late’ to prevent some boys escaping over the spiked wall ‘with great

⁷³ g/mns-21/12/1829

⁷⁴ g/mns-20/8/1830. Outlining Holford’s Parliamentary career, Thorne (1986) relates that he retired as an M.P. in 1826 after having been a member of the Poor Law Committee as well as the Committee on London Prisons.

danger to themselves'⁷⁵. More disturbingly, when Superintendent Collier attempted to place a returning absconder, **William Smith**, in confinement 'according to rule', he found his mission frustrated when:

[William] commenced a most furious resistance. Mad with liquor - the noise he made and the horrible language he uttered, are altogether in-describable. Various efforts were made to seize him which were defeated by his great strength and activity. At this time a large portion of the older boys left their shops, and united in exciting Smith to further opposition. The monitors were called down and appeared well disposed, but shrunk from the menaced violence of the other lads. The Superintendent endeavoured to mark some names, but could not succeed to any extent from their continued motion, he also tried to expostulate with them, but to no purpose

Remarkably, while this incident rekindles memories of Philanthropic boys "in riot" at the end of the eighteenth-century, a new supplementary "force" could now be summoned to disturbances. Discerning that the Society's private policing system was defective and:

Conceiving it necessary to use strong measures, the Superintendent sent for a Police Officer, who, finding upon his arrival, that he was likely to be overpowered, went back for others and returned with a force of seven men, when the boys, after a slight contest, were subdued with the assistance of the monitors, and Smith apprehended

If, as seems likely, this account provides an early illustration of the "Peelers" in action, we may wonder at quite how many officers of this new professional corps of police were required to restore order within the Philanthropic Walls⁷⁶.

We might also be amazed to find another well-known figure from the annals of criminal justice policy appearing on the scene. This was John Henry Capper, Superintendent of the Convict Hulks. Indeed, as little has been written about Capper in a private role, it is particularly noteworthy to find that soon after the turbulence was quelled:

⁷⁵ s/j-4/4/1831

⁷⁶ This police body was created by Peel's Metropolitan Police Act (1829). The legislation did not provide the centralised control advocated by Bentham and Colquhoun. It did, however, incorporate the preventive and utilitarian ethos they embraced and which Chadwick echoed in evidence prepared for the 1828 Select Committee on the Police (Radzinowicz, 1956). For the development of professional policing, see also Reiner (1985/1992/2000), Gattrell (1990) and Rawlings (2002).

the Chaplain and Mr Capper (Visitor) arrived. The latter gentleman took much time and pains in investigating the circumstances, and the former in reasoning with the boys- By Mr Capper's orders, Smith was taken to the Police Station, until the evening, and Dinard, Childs and Abell, as most prominent in the outrage, were placed in the cells. Jones, a boy lately from the Reform, having been found prepared with a quantity of stones, was by consent of the Chaplain and Visitor returned to the Reform for the present.

The cells being nearly all previously occupied, Mr Capper was under the necessity of liberating Wright and Newton a few hours before their time to make room for others. In the evening, Mr Capper revisited, and remained nearly two hours - Smith was brought in after nine o'clock, and placed in one of the cells under Mr Capper's direction⁷⁷

As clerk for criminal business at the Home Department, Capper had been in communication with the Society at least as early as 1813 when it resolved 'that Ann Bowman Toft be delivered to her mother on the production of a certificate from Mr Capper of the Secretary of State's office that she is permitted to take this girl with her other children to her husband, now at Botany Bay'⁷⁸. Listed amongst the Philanthropic subscribers in the *Account* of 1814, Capper was elected to the Philanthropic Committee in March 1830 and lived nearby in Lambeth Terrace⁷⁹. This was a convenient residence from which to sally-forth and meet with other Philanthropic gentlemen who would ponder on how the Scale of Punishments and Rewards, 'so defective and injurious, in several points' could be altered to better effect⁸⁰.

Notably, Capper and Holford are fleetingly entwined in the Philanthropic tapestry. Both attended the meeting which decided to punish William Smith with a dose of solitary confinement. They may also have met again after the "riot". As the Superintendent records, the following day 'Visited - Mr Capper and visited the Manufactory and Reform. Visited - the Chaplain, Mr Pigou and Mr Holford'⁸¹.

⁷⁷ s/j-19/4/1831

⁷⁸ g/mns-26/11/1813

⁷⁹ Branch-Johnson (1957:94-7) confirms that this was Capper's address when appointed Hulk Superintendent in 1815. He combined this with his existing work as clerk at the Home Department (see also McConville, 1981:197).

⁸⁰ g/mns-1/6/1832

⁸¹ g/mns-22/4/1831. This seems to have been Holford's farewell appearance. Although he may have attended Chapel services, there is no further mention of him in the Minutes or Journals. After his death in 1839, his nephew and heir to the vast family fortune, Robert Stanyer Holford, was elected a

There is nothing to suggest that these gentlemen expressed conflicting opinions on how to improve the Philanthropic system of discipline. We can note, however, that Holford recently had felt the need to press the case for rectifying defects in the governance of the Hulk establishment. This was a long-standing subject of his interest. When Chairing the Penitentiary enquiry in 1812, he had been asked to investigate the state of the Hulks and had worked with Morton Pitt on the matter. They then presented a paper of suggested improvements to Home Secretary Sidmouth. But, as Holford wryly commented, their advice been ignored in preference to the views of the Superintendent of the time⁸². Moreover, the Hulk establishment's continuing 'evils' were the result of a 'defective system of management'. These, he maintained, required 'the interference of Parliament for their correction'. While carefully adding that he did not intend 'to charge misconduct on any of those who have the care or custody of the convicts in the Hulks' and was not inclined 'to pursue a course which would probably lead to controversy in writing between me and Mr Capper', Holford conceded that the 'appropriation of a separate vessel for the confinement of convict boys' had been a 'material improvement'. He was also convinced that:

if these youths are sent out of prison at the expiration of their confinement without further care or thought concerning them on the part of the public, they must in general, for want of better friends and connections, and from the ignorance of the world, fall again into the arms of their former acquaintance, and be drawn back into their old pursuits. I am much inclined to think, that an enquiry into this subject would shew the expediency of some arrangement respecting criminal boys, founded upon the principle of sending such as are friendless here, out of the country (Holford, 1826:48)

Capper was likewise interested in the matter of after-care provision⁸³. When called before the Select Committee on Police (1828) he candidly admitted that on release from the Hulks 'eight out of ten that have been liberated, have returned to their old

Philanthropic Vice-President. Committee member Charles Edward Pigou would also become a Vice-President [g/mns-2/1/1835].

⁸² They also mentioned that their enquiry would have been more satisfactory had it 'been conducted on board the ships themselves; where the inferior officers might have been examined if necessary. And the convicts might have been allowed to tell their own story, in regard to any circumstances of which they might complain' (Holford, 1826).

⁸³ The Refuge's *Short Account* (1818) also lists Capper amongst the subscribers to that Society.

courses; and those very boys are mostly boys who have had parents to receive them, which is a thing I have always studied, in recommending them for pardon'. He further confided that, with the difficulty of providing employment for boys on their discharge in mind, he had been induced to:

recommend to the Secretary of State that after a certain period of their sentence, when they grow into a state of manhood, they should be actually transported to New South Wales where there is occupation and there they may begin the world anew⁸⁴

A re-working of these sentiments on the benefits of "exile" would be rehearsed by Philanthropic Steward Russell when appearing before the House of Lords investigation into the state of Gaols and Houses of Correction in 1835. Conducted under the Chairmanship of the Duke of Richmond, the enquiry had been set-up in response to the escalating number of committals for serious offences that fed into the rapidly rising prison population and did little to foster confidence in existing penal policy⁸⁵. Underpinned by the 'most searching and comprehensive survey' of prisons ever conducted (Webb and Webb, 1922:111), many of the Committee's recommendations were embodied in the Act for effecting greater uniformity in practice in the government of several prisons in England and Wales and for appointing Inspectors of Prisons in Great Britain (1835). However, when asked whether it would 'be advisable instead of committing juvenile offenders for trifling offences, that they should be sent to reformatory asylums', Russell had replied:

Undoubtedly, if after a few years they were brought up and sent to the colonies it would be a wonderful benefit both to the Public and to the Boys themselves because if that were done they would never relapse into their former habits⁸⁶

Sending boys to sea for such purposes had been an important part of the early Philanthropic repertoire. It had become problematic to effect. As Superintendent Collier revealed to the Select Committee of 1828, the Society had 'occasionally during the war sent boys to sea, but that is now very difficult'⁸⁷.

⁸⁴ SC on the Police, PP (1828), Vol. VI., Minutes of Evidence, p.106.

⁸⁵ McGowan (1995:90) notes that in 1820, 13,700 people had been committed for serious offences. By 1840 the number had increased to 27,000. Over the corresponding period, the prison population doubled.

⁸⁶ SC on Gaols, PP (1835), Vol. XII., Minutes of Evidence, pp.523-4.

⁸⁷ SC on the Police, PP (1828), Vol. VI., Minutes of Evidence, pp.163-4.

A fresh disposal route now appeared on the scene. Just as the Society was deliberating over how to provide for **Thomas Brown** outside the Institution in 1833, an offer from the Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy was received. With it seeming ‘that the said Society will send this, or any other boy of suitable age, to the Cape of Good Hope and apprentice him there, upon payment of ten pounds’, Thomas was dispatched into its care⁸⁸. Subsequently renamed the Children’s Friend Society, this voluntary enterprise had been established by Captain Brenton, in 1830, and trained vagrant and delinquent children for employment in the Colonies. Possessing in this a novelty value which the Philanthropic now lacked, it attracted a flush of subscribers and trumpeted its merits before the Richmond Committee. Likewise proclaimed in that forum were the reformatory achievements of the Refuge for the Destitute, the Chelsea School of Discipline and those of the Warwickshire County Asylum which had been founded by magistrates at Stretton-on-Dunsmore in 1817.

Encouraged by these tales of success and dismayed by evidence on the alarming plight of ‘the hordes of boys congregated on the Hulks’, the Richmond Committee endorsed the virtues of a ‘system of Reformatory Schools established by private individuals for the reception of juvenile offenders’. It also recommended ‘that the practice of confining them on the Hulks should be altogether abandoned with the least possible delay’. Although this would not be effected until 1843⁸⁹ an Act for establishing a Prison for Young Offenders passed in August 1838. It was a fruit of the suggestion that ‘some unoccupied barracks or forts connected with the neighbourhood of places of embarkation’ might be found for:

[the] accomplishment of an object so important as the due Custody, the effective Punishment, and the timely Reformation of that large Class of Juvenile Offenders whom the Ingenuity of more mature and experienced Delinquents renders the instruments of so much increasing criminality⁹⁰

⁸⁸ g/mns-1/11/1833. The consent of Thomas’s parents was first obtained.

⁸⁹ The rest of the Hulk establishment would not be discarded until after Capper had been allowed to resign following an enquiry that shot his reputation as Superintendent to shreds.

⁹⁰ SC on Gaols, PP (1835), Vol. XII., Report.

The evolution, development and demise of the State's resulting Parkhurst experiment has been well documented. What is not so remarked upon is Clause XI of the Parkhurst Act. As this, however, would provide a crucial strand of legislative tracery surrounding future Philanthropic developments, it is important to note that it declared:

And whereas Her Majesty has lately exercised Her Royal Prerogative of Mercy in granting Pardons to young Offenders who have been sentenced to Transportation or Imprisonment, upon the Condition of placing himself or herself under the Care of some charitable Institution for the Reception and Reformation of young Offenders named in such Pardon, and conforming to and abiding by the Orders and Rules thereof ... it is expedient that some Provision should be made for carrying the same more fully into effect

Intriguingly, the Home Secretary, Lord John Russell, appears to have explored the likelihood of implementing this Clause in Philanthropic partnership just before the Act was passed. This, at least, seems at the nub of the communication sent from Whitehall to the Society, dated 16th June 1838:

Gentlemen,

I am directed by Lord John Russell to request you to inform his Lordship, whether in case he should think it advisable to recommend in certain cases Juvenile Offenders for admission into the Establishment of the Philanthropic Society they can be received. If you can allow them to be received I am to request information on the following points:

- as to the number of children, boys and girls, that can be received into the Establishment
- as to the probable cost of each child per annum
- as to the employment provided for the children during their continuance in the Establishment
- as to the manner in which the children may be disposed of by the Committee on their discharge

I am

Gentlemen

Your Obedt. Servant

S.M. Phillipps⁹¹

Peculiarly, the Philanthropic rafters did not resound with jubilation. Although the letter seems to express an interest in calculating the amount of Treasury grant required to reform Juvenile Offenders through voluntary agency, that potential source

⁹¹ g/mns-13/7/1838 - copy of letter.

of revenue was not tapped. The Society did not follow precedent and organise a deputation to pursue its financial interests. Instead, his Lordship was swiftly informed that as criminal girls were not admitted and the major portion of the accommodation was reserved for Manufactory boys, only the small Reform department would be 'qualified' for the contemplated objectives. Moreover, although the Society was 'most anxious to attend to the recommendation of the Government, Judges, and Magistrates as heretofore, in the admission of criminal boys' and:

However desirous the Committee might be of rendering their Institution available to the fulfilment of any wishes of the Government, they feel it necessary to point out that their buildings are not capable of being increased to such an extent as to render the admission of more than a very small number of children possible

This response seems rather timid. Past Government rebuffs may well have lessened the Philanthropic drive to bid for building funds. It is, nevertheless, surprising to find the Society not leaping at the opportunity to advance an estimate of the cost of maintaining the Juvenile Offenders. This seems even more so in light of the views recently expressed by Steward Russell. His final observation to the Richmond Committee had been that:

If the government would grant the Society a moderate sum per Annum for each of the criminal Boys that should be maintained and instructed in the Reform Establishment of the Institution, and if after their Two Years Probation the Government would then afford the Society pecuniary means for sending them to the Northern Colonies, to be there apprenticed to agriculturalists, they would very much assist the declining Funds of the Institution, and greatly increase its Benefits to the Public, by enabling the Society to extend its Protection to a far greater Number⁹²

This, remarkably, would prove to be a prescient vision of the shape of things to come. Whilst we must await forthcoming Chapters to see how such arrangements materialised, it seems apt to note here that Russell's Philanthropic service of nearly 50 years was drawing to a close. His death was announced at the beginning of 1837 and was followed by that of Richard Collier, Superintendent for almost 30 years. The vacancy caused by Russell's demise was filled by James Dingle who found the

⁹² SC on Gaols, PP (1835), Vol. XII., Minutes of Evidence, p.524.

Society's finances so alarmingly in ebb that he felt bound to place on the Committee table:

a statement of debt owing by the Society in the respective quarters of March, June and September amounting to £2570.10.10³/₄ besides the £1000 borrowed of Messrs Bosanquet and Co. in September ... and with no apparent means of paying even the Christmas salaries, the balance in the bankers hands being this day only £217.14.0.⁹³

Indeed, not all was well in the Philanthropic household. With resource flows steadfastly refusing to turn in the Society's favour by the end of the 1830s, a special sub-committee was appointed to deliberate on what could be done to diminish the expenses and increase the Philanthropic funds⁹⁴. The resulting Report marks something of a turning-point in affairs for it began to shake the Society out of the doldrums. It is also especially noteworthy in displaying how the Philanthropic evidence-gathering tradition was followed by this generation of gentlemen. As they related:

Your Committee have carefully enquired into the present affairs and arrangements of the Institution; and have also perused the various reports of former committees. They have visited and enquired into the constitution and success of other establishments corresponding in some degree with the objects of the Philanthropic Society⁹⁵

Since little has been written on how voluntary organisations conducted such enquiries in the period, it is of particular interest to see how widely the Philanthropic researchers ranged under the leadership of Samuel Richard Bosanquet⁹⁶. Embracing

⁹³ Previously, Mr. Dingle had been appointed Resident Schoolmaster having satisfied the Society's preference for 'a man about 30 years of age ... who must be well acquainted with accounts' [g/mns-16/3/1827].

⁹⁴ g/mns-6/12/1839

⁹⁵ g/mns-6/3/1840

⁹⁶ Samuel Richard Bosanquet was brought into the Philanthropic fold in 1838 and had been one of the revising barristers appointed on the passing of the Reform Act in 1832. By 1839 he had published an annotated edition of the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834) so as to demonstrate that the prevailing dislike of this regulatory measure was due to the 'misapprehension of its provisions conceived and acted on by the agents of the Poor Law Commissioners' (*DNB*). He was the nephew of John Bernard Bosanquet (brother to Charles and Samuel junior) who had been one of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the practice of the common law courts in 1828. A 'man of considerable learning and a great taste for scientific inquiry' John Bernard was knighted in 1830 (*DNB*) and in 1836 consented to be a Philanthropic Vice-President. We might also note that in a reworking of ideas that circulated when Samuel senior had joined the Philanthropic at the end of the eighteenth-century, the Charity Organisation Society - with a Charles and Bernard Bosanquet as leading lights - would seek to banish the ill consequences of "indiscriminate charity" later in the nineteenth-century (see Lewis, 1995).

the spirit of this age of Select Committees and Royal Commissions they examined all previous Committee Reports and the Trade Accounts for 1832, 1835 and 1838. They also took evidence from:

- Mr Dingle, the Steward, on the class of work and class of customers
- Mr Kettle, the new Superintendent, on the education, training and discipline of the boys
- Mr Barnes, the Beadle, on the state of order and discipline in the Institution
- W.J. Kent, the Warehouseman, on the state of the order book
- The Chaplain, on which boys were given religious instruction and its impact
- ‘persons who had been brought up in the Philanthropic Society’⁹⁷ as to the effectiveness of Philanthropic training in providing the means to earn a honest living
- Mr Searle, Superintendent of the Refuge for the Destitute, regarding how long the Refuge kept its inmates, what work they were set to and how much was paid to apprentice them out of that Institution
- Mr Robinson, Vestry Clerk, respecting the children apprenticed out of St Giles’s Workhouse, and
- the City of London Union and the Parish of Newington regarding their apprenticeship schemes

This sub-committee also explained why investigations extended beyond the original financial remit. Although the ‘necessary enquiry into the finances of the Society which the decreasing state of the funds rendered urgent’ was undertaken ‘in the first instance’, examination of the trade accounts had uncovered that:

taking into account the expences of clothing and maintenance of the apprentices, and omitting all charges which are not strictly personal, the trades taken altogether yield no profits, but occasion a loss to the Institution.

Having arrived at this result, it became necessary to ascertain what was the comparative benefit to the inmates themselves from their being apprenticed and taught their trades within the institution

Thus inspired to obtain evidence from the aforementioned sources they were ‘brought to the irresistible conclusion that the apprentices are not benefited by being bound to masters within the walls, and being kept in the Institution till their apprenticeship is completed’. They furthermore observed that:

The restraint also of an Establishment surrounded with walls, upon young men till the age of 21, gives it the character of a prison, and renders it irksome, and almost insupportable to

them. This produces discontent among the apprentices, and this discontent extends itself to the younger boys; among whom from the age of 15 to 17 the chief symptoms of insubordination are manifest ... there is also some impropriety in many young men of 20 and 21, undressing themselves in the presence of one another, and sleeping together in the same apartment.

With this state of affairs in mind and having contemplated the economic advantages a quicker turn-over of the inmates might bring, they proposed:

That in future, no boys be apprenticed within the walls of the Institution, but, that they be apprenticed to respectable masters in various trades and callings out of the Institution, at between the age of 14 and 16; according to their characters, and their advance in education. This will increase the number of trades and occupations to which the young men may apply themselves to an indefinite extent; which the Committee consider to be a great advantage. As they will remain in the Institution only 4 years on an average, instead of 10 years, a much larger number will receive the benefit of it⁹⁸

There was no great rush to amend existing practice even though the sub-committee had 'considered all their recommendations with a view to their practicability' and had 'reason to believe that none of the detail will present any great difficulty in the execution'. Nor did the Society swiftly take on-board the suggestion that, as 'your present committee have not sufficient data before them to bring them to a full conclusion upon this subject', it would be fitting for another complement of researchers:

to consider whether the space of ground occupied by the Society might not be somewhat diminished, and a profitable use made of the ground economised

This hesitancy is not altogether unusual. As we saw in relation to proposals for creating a separate boys' Reform and building the Chapel, new ideas took time to gain hold and their realisation often rested on the drive of energetic members. The present tardiness, however, may indicate the Society was not fully persuaded by the

⁹⁷ Such as G.W. 'now an old man' who had left the Society in 1811.

⁹⁸ Besides drawing on the Refuge's apprenticeship arrangements, the Philanthropic gentlemen may have considered the evidence given by the Children's Friend Society and Stretton enterprise to the Richmond Committee. These Institutions tended to retain their children for only 2-3 years before placing them out. In view of their enquiries into workhouse schemes, they may also have been mindful of the shift towards shorter apprenticeships which had been recognised in the Poor Law reforms of 1834.

sub-committee's analysis of the situation. There is also the likelihood that other governance issues clouded the picture. Indeed, while some movement was made towards accommodating a recommendation on "electing" children of criminals⁹⁹ the Chapel prospects were about to dim further. As the Reverend Dr. Rice warned, collections were 'likely to be seriously afflicted more or less by four additional churches ... in the neighbourhood, and one of which will be within two or three hundred yards of the Chapel itself'¹⁰⁰. In addition, further disorder within the Walls made the Society acutely aware of 'the sense of rebellion which has appeared in the Institution'. Thereupon, inmate leaders were punished and it was resolved to:

censure deeply all the officers, masters, journeymen, porters and other servants of the Institution who were present, or had any intelligence of it, for not immediately assisting to quell the disturbance and for not on this, and all other occasions supporting the officers of the Establishment¹⁰¹

Disconcertingly, rifts in the higher staff regions did not mend matters. By May 1840, the Philanthropists had been driven to conclude that:

much of the present difficulty in the present management of the Institution, arises from the want of cordial cooperation in the two chief officers which extends its influence over subordinate attendants, and to the boys who are well acquainted to the circumstance

Not all was bad news. The Society's mesh of support may have thinned but its enterprise now received the personal endorsement of one of the most influential figures in the field of criminal justice reform. This personage was no less than the Duke of Richmond who consented to become Philanthropic President at the beginning of 1841¹⁰². Furthermore, having considered how to control the disarray reigning within the Walls, the Society decided to appoint:

⁹⁹ g/mns-26/6/1840. This was put into practice the next year when the Society's Secretary was 'directed to request the favour of Mr Sharpe, the Superintendent of the Indigent Blind School to attend the Special General Court ... and instruct Mr Dingle in the mode of taking the poll on that occasion' [g/mns-3/12/1841]. Five children were elected [g/mns-17/12/1841].

¹⁰⁰ g/mns-30/10/40. The new attraction on the doorstep was probably the Roman Catholic Cathedral, designed by A.W. Pugin and built in St. George's Road (Darlington, 1954:72). Dr. Rice was acting 'gratuitously' as the Society's Chaplain and would later become Headmaster of Christ's Hospital (Low, 1850).

¹⁰¹ g/mns-20/3/1840.

¹⁰² g/mns-22/1/1841. The Society seems to have lost track of members involved in their enterprise for a 'correct account' was called for and presented on 5th March 1841. The review of affairs also found a sub-committee set on the task of tracing all previous Minutes and providing an Abstract of the same. A 'fair copy' of the earliest Minutes survived at that time.

one **zealous, clever, active**, and in every other respect qualified officer ... [and] ... That a resident Chaplain, anxious for the well doing of the Institution, and having the Superintendence of the Institution would be the most essential benefit in a variety of ways and would much lessen the labours of the Committee¹⁰³

With this in view, another special sub-committee was asked to search for a suitable candidate. The quest was rewarded. Having ‘carefully informed themselves’ on the matter they were presently:

assured of the full competency of the **Reverend Sydney Turner**, to discharge with great and signal advantage to the Institution the duties which they have proposed for your adoption [and] recommend him to your favourable notice¹⁰⁴

Their confidence in Turner’s abilities would not be misplaced. This Chapter has traced the decline in Philanthropic fortunes from the early decades of the century. Beset by problems of order and prey to vagaries in funding, the Society had found its enterprise no longer held a novelty value sufficient to attract a mass of new subscribers. Nonetheless, its governance was in the hands of gentlemen who were determined to prevent their enterprise becoming extinct. They may not have leapt at the opportunity for engaging in partnership with Government to provide for the reformation of Juvenile Offenders. Nor did they have a clearly defined survival strategy in mind. But, rather than being moribund they were prepared to explore new avenues for turning-around the Society’s fortunes. In that task, Turner would assiduously attend to his prescribed duties and ‘constantly endeavour, in every way in which he may be able to promote the prosperity of the Institution’. Somewhat unexpectedly, the Society’s revival entailed travelling from St. George’s Fields and into fresh pastures at Redhill by the end of the 1840s. This journey, as we shall see, also brought the Society into a closer relationship with the Home Department.

¹⁰³ g/mns-22/5/1840 - my emphasis. One aim was to reduce Committee duties from weekly to monthly attendances. We might also note that, in 1827, a sub-committee had reviewed ‘the mode of management and government’ which seemed ‘rather to have grown out of circumstances’. At that time, however, there were objections to appointing a ‘person of higher rank, and more intellectual and religious attainments’ as Chaplain/Superintendent. In having to intervene in ‘acts of riot and insubordination’ he would be called to ‘perform duties which a clergyman would justly deem offensive and degrading’ [tfc-9/2/1827].

¹⁰⁴ g/mns-26/3/1841 - my emphasis.

Chapter 6

ENLIGHTENMENT

1. Change -or- Decay?

The journey to the Reformatory Farm School was far from uneventful. Indeed, contrary to the impression conveyed by some authors, the changes wrought in the Society's mode of operation by the end of the 1840s were not simply dependent on Turner's vision and energy. While Carlebach (1970:15-39), for instance, suggests he 'assumed full control' on his appointment and that the influence of the Committee 'waned considerably', a significant number of Philanthropic gentlemen continued to take a very close interest in the Society's governance. They also discovered there would be many twists and turns along the road to Redhill.

Nevertheless, as Turner did play a key-role in revitalising and reshaping the Philanthropic enterprise, it seems apt to begin this Chapter by hearing him deliver his first 'Report on the Education, Discipline and Employment of the Children under the Society's Care'¹. This new Resident Chaplain certainly made an impressive entrance onto the Philanthropic stage. Considering he was only twenty-seven and addressing an audience that included one of the most influential figures in the land - the Society's President, the Duke of Richmond - it is remarkable to find him not so overwhelmed as to inform the gathering that it was 'necessary' to occupy their attention 'at a greater length' than he 'would have wished to do'. Turner, however, was not cast in the mould of recent Superintendents. Rather, his "mission statement" is so strikingly confident in tone and steeped in the empirical tradition of observation and analysis that it is as though an Enlightenment gentleman was striding on-scene, imbued with a belief in his ability to solve Philanthropic problems by a clear input of reason². He was, indeed, a self-conscious moderniser who declared:

¹ g/mns-3/12/1841

² Sydney (1814 -79) is only briefly mentioned in the *DNB* entry on his father, Sharon Turner, who was a historian; F.S.A; associate of the Royal Society of Literature, solicitor and legal advisor to the *Tory Quarterly Review*. At this point in his career Sydney had received an M.A. from Cambridge (1836), was ordained (1838) by the Bishop of Winchester (a Philanthropic Vice-President) and had 'held for some time the curacy of Christ's Church Southwark'.

On entering on the duties of Resident Chaplain I had laid it down as a fixed rule of my future agency to make in everything the utmost use of the means and materials already in existence - and while improving the plan and machinery of the Institution wherever according to modern principles of education and controul these might be defective to introduce no alteration suddenly or unless a clear and very evident advantage were likely to result from the change. I have therefore made few innovations in any part of the former system of the Institution - proposing to myself to wait and watch for opportunities to remodel silently and gradually those portions of its arrangements that still seem to me to require reform³

Doubtless reassured to find their new employee professing commitment to incremental rather than revolutionary change, the assembled gentlemen must nonetheless have been gratified to hear how he had already remodelled educational provision. Although assessing that the Manufactory Department's 'instruction in cyphering and writing' required no improvement, being 'equally good for its method and practical efficiency', Turner had been askance to discover that:

The points on which interference were most clearly called for were, the Style and Tone of reading - the deficiency of general information - and the sameness of Religious Instruction - which last by long use of the same few books had become an exercise of the memory - much more than of the mind - a result which experience has shewn will almost inevitably follow under any system unless there be a constant variation of the Books to be studied and a continual novelty and unexpected change in the questions asked

To remedy these deficiencies, SPCK publications entitled *Faith and Duty*, *The Miracles*, *Lessons on the Universe*, *Stories from History* and *The Second Class Reading Book* had been obtained. This literature was supplemented with books from the Society for the Diffusion of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge which had been set up by Lord Brougham and Dr. Birkbeck amongst others⁴. Believing that 'communicating a better knowledge of their own language' was a 'desideratum in the general education' of the children, Turner had also placed the 'elements and principles of English Grammar' on the curriculum and given prominence to 'the

³ g/mns-3/12/1841 - original emphasis. Turner's progressive ideas on education may have been influenced by his mother who had the reputation of being 'one of the Godwin school' (DNB).

⁴ The death of Birkbeck, who had continued as the Society's Consulting Physician (see Chapter 4), would be noted at the next Committee meeting [g/mns-7/1/1842].

writing from Dictation which exercises the pupils in the correct spelling and arrangement of his words'. The Reform's educational arrangements, however, had not required remedial measures. Its pupils displayed a 'remarkable':

quickness in progress in the elements of learning and for general good conduct ... much of it due to the diligence and patience of the Reform Master, [and] something of it may be also perhaps owing to the much smaller number and age of the Boys which the Reform contains

Regrettably, little of merit had been detected within the Female School. Scarcely changed from when the Reverend Dr. Grindlay recorded its achievements earlier in the century, the 'cleverest and most advanced girls' were still employed as monitors and the 'essential feature' of their education remained a training in 'household and laundry employments'. This curriculum did not satisfy Turner. Its utility was limited:

[for] it must not be overlooked that a knowledge of accounts, the writing a legible hand - and some acquaintance with the matters of most common use and interest in the world are essential to make them useful servants and especially to make them useful wives and managers of families - to enable them to do justice to those they be connected with and to have resources for making their homes comfortable and attractive

Whilst equipping the girls for these future duties soon placed them in the hands of a new Matron with experience as 'Assistant School Teacher', it is unclear whether they enjoyed the 'extended reading' advocated for the boys. This provision, Turner stressed, was no mere 'indulgence' that might be criticised on grounds of "less eligibility". Indeed, it did not stem from:

thinking it of any importance to give in the young persons in this Institution the actual knowledge to be thus attained but as a means of exciting intelligence and giving occupation ... [for] ... I believe that usually in proportion as an interest is aroused in Mental and Intellectual things, the craving for sensual excitement is diminished and that a taste for reading and a desire for acquiring information is seldom found combined with very low and degrading habits

This civilising philosophy brought Turner 'as an experiment' to encourage a taste of music and set books of a 'superior class' aside for the use of the older boys who had

ceased to attend school⁵. It was firmly entwined with his strategy for correcting defects in discipline. Although feeling it ‘hardly proper and certainly displeasing’ to allude to previous ‘errors’ in that realm of governance, he had concluded that:

There appears to have been a very much too low estimation of the character and qualities of these young men and boys themselves - a mistake that produced a tone and manner or style of expression and too often a style of conduct to them which at once excited a spirit of distrust and dislike upon their part destroying all confidence or regard towards those who superintend them - & blunting too many of the better and kinder feelings that might else have been awakened ... this error appears to have been accompanied by another perhaps even more unfortunate - namely a habit of continual resort to measures of violence and personal chastisement

That approach had certainly been counter-productive, as:

Punishment lightly and hastily inflicted on uncertain and changeful rules has always the effect of making its power and moral influences less felt - the just and the unjust inflictions are mingled together - and the defender becomes in his own & his companions’ estimation more or less a martyr ... to make the penalties effectual, they must be inflicted with discrimination as to the disposition and nature of the Criminal and must be inflicted with every possible appearance of form and serious consideration and there must be kindness and personal attention given when the offence has been punished to make the distinction evident between the offender and his fault - on any other system the punishment especially if an act of personal violence must have the effect of multiplying the offences it would correct

In this analysis we may recognise a tracery of the sentiments on “just pain” that coloured reformatory prison recipes at the end of the eighteenth-century (see Ignatieff, 1978). It is also worth recalling that moulding young minds through the persuasion of kindly moral influences had been a thorny problem for Superintendent Durand. But, undaunted by past failures, Turner resolved:

[to] study the individual Character of the Boys themselves. To give a fair and full hearing to every statement - whether in complaint against others or justification of themselves. To have as few laws and restrictions as possible and these simple and well known. To make

⁵ The books included some from his own library and were placed ‘in a closet in the dining room’ with the ‘custody of them’ given ‘to the chief elder’. The children’s singing performance in Chapel services was improved by ‘introducing a knowledge of vocal music on Mr Hullah’s plan’ (of the tonic solfa system) and two boys learnt to play the flute after a Committee member gave them the ‘necessary elementary instruction’.

the sentence and the reasons for it as public as possible and to excite as far as can be excited a spirit of self respect and in a certain degree pride and sense of dignity in all

Some success had been achieved. Admittedly, 'At first as was natural there was a tendency to mistake liberty for licence and mildness for weakness'. This had lessened as a 'clearer understanding' of the new system of 'mild government' gained ground. Furthermore, with the Schoolmaster designated 'The Lieutenant and the Sub-director of the Institution - my representative in my absence, responsible to none but myself':

[it] already had the good effect of decreasing the cases in which he had to resort to force to vindicate his authority for himself. He finds the Cane much less frequently required and there are often two or three days in the week in which he is able to let it remain shut up from view or is required only to bring it out and shew it without seriously using it

Remodelling of the authority structure also involved appointing a 'person who had received a free discharge from the army' as 'second resident subordinate'. As Turner enthused, by 'his means - and at the wish of the boys themselves', drill exercise had been introduced 'with a view to accustoming the boys to habits of regularity and subordination as well as to improve their general carriage and give them an additional object of attention and interest'. In addition, 'a more cheerful spirit' had been 'excited' by providing 'Hoops, Posts and Bars for swings and gymnastic exercises'. He had also ensured the 'grass plots which it was once punishable to be found upon' were 'left free to the use and enjoyment of all'. Moreover, he intended to take measures 'as Spring advances':

[to] encourage the taste and inclination for the Cultivation of Gardens, which have been always experienced to be useful instruments of moral formation⁶

Nonetheless, the audience to Turner's next Report may not have been too surprised to hear him confessing a resort to corporal punishment in four instances. These were for the familiar 'species of fault - insubordination, correspondence with the girl's school and continued idleness'⁷.

⁶ Similar ideas on the civilising influence of the arts and the moral benefits of cultivating the soil were colouring Captain Maconochie's system for reforming convicts on Norfolk Island, Australia, around this time (see Hughes, 1987:506-7).

⁷ g/mns-2/12/1842

The Philanthropists may have been rather more startled to find him requesting 'the enlargement and rebuilding of the Reform'. But experience - along with a close perusal of Philanthropic records - had 'confirmed and clarified' that the 'discipline' in that branch of the enterprise was such as 'hardly deserves the name'. After all, the 'facts' showed:

- That the acts of disturbance, theft, misconduct &c. which have taken place in the Manufactory have in the great majority of cases - been suggested and committed by boys who have originally entered the Society as Reform boys -
- That in almost all the instances on which the boys expulsion, absconding or after criminality - the Society's effects have been partially or wholly disappointed - such individual will be found to be of this same class of Reform Boys i.e. Juvenile Offenders -
- That among the boys of this Reform class itself a further distinction may be drawn - the cases above referred to as those in which the Society's endeavours have been more or less frustrated - being almost uniformly those in which the boy was certified or ascertained to be not only guilty of one or two misdemeanours but of confirmed habits of depravity

Such boys had plagued Superintendent Durand. They had also been in Holford's sights when he recommended the creation of a separate Reform. Turner now suggested a further refinement of the Philanthropic's probationary arrangements. This was to place the more hardened rascals in a 'first division'. Boys 'of a better sort and guilty of lighter offences' were to be transferred 'at once' into a 'second division' in which they would be allowed more liberty. Putting this new classifying system into practice was feasible. The Philanthropic had sufficient ground to build on and, if constructed to receive 60 boys, a new Reform would not amount to much more than £2500. Moreover, the 'advertizing, discussing and writing about such a plan of extension would be of most important service in keeping the Society's claims and operations before the public'. Indeed, if the Institution was thus enlarged in 'usefulness' it would:

be a weighty argument for the Government granting the Society an annual vote as is now done with reference to the Refuge for the Destitute⁸

⁸ g/mns-2/12/1842

His plea did not fall on entirely stony ground. Neither did it immediately flourish in the still unsettled Philanthropic climate. Although considered ‘highly important and advantageous’, as the Society was continuing to fret over how to execute its existing plan within the bounds of reduced resources, the proposals were referred to a sub-committee for consideration. At this - and hopeful of not being considered ‘troublesome or to be exceeding the proper limits’ of his position - Turner requested one of the Auditors to ‘lend his powerful assistance’ to the cause. As he declared:

I am too great an admirer of established things to like change. But when the choice lies between change and decay I would rather have and carry out the change while there are yet resources to give it force and efficacy sufficient to avert the evil⁹

A startling change materialised. Astoundingly, while the sub-committee refrained from making any recommendation ‘relative to the extension or alteration of the Reform premises’, these gentlemen now discovered:

several circumstances which combine to shew, that the Female School may be both judiciously and safely discontinued ... without serious diminution of the Society’s resources or of the Public interest in its operations¹⁰

This seems a mystifying recommendation. The enquiry of 1840 had found that that ‘branch of the Institution is most admirably conducted, and is highly satisfactory in its results’¹¹. The reconfigured complement of investigating gentlemen concurred with this assessment. Nonetheless, having been ‘compelled’ to recognise the Society’s plan of operation was ‘too extended, and the branches of its Establishment too numerous and costly for its resources’, they found good economic grounds for banishing the girls. Not only had the ‘average’ admissions dwindled from 9 in 1839 to 4 in 1842, but no candidates were on the waiting list. Furthermore, as only twenty five girls were expected to remain by the end of the year, the ‘advantages’ derived from this Department would soon be ‘wholly disproportionate to its expenses’ of not ‘less on the average than £850 per annum’¹².

⁹ g/mns-3/3/1843 - my emphasis.

¹⁰ g/mns-7/4/1843 - my emphasis.

¹¹ g/mns-6/3/1840

¹² g/mns-5/5/1843

Yet, it scarcely seems credible that so few girls had been found in need of Philanthropic protection in recent years. The country had shifted from recession into depression and with a series of bad harvests adding to widespread unemployment there was, Briggs (1959/1979:295) relates, ‘no gloomier year in the whole nineteenth century than 1842’. Admittedly, the sub-committee was deliberating before the bad winter of 1843 drove ‘even the honest and industrious’ into ‘extreme indigence’ and propelled the ‘dynamic Bishop Blomfield’ with other concerned clergy and laymen into forming the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association (Owen, 1964:140-1). Even so, these were hard times. As Engels discovered during his investigations into the *Condition of the Working Class*:

On Monday, Jan. 15th, 1844, two boys were brought before the police magistrate because, being in a starved condition, they had stolen and immediately devoured a half-cooked calf’s foot from a shop. The magistrate felt called upon to investigate the case further, and received the following details from the policeman: The mother of the two boys was the widow of an ex-soldier, afterwards policeman, and had had a very hard time since the death of her husband, to provide for her nine children. She lived at No. 2 Pool’s Place, Quaker Court, Spitalfields, in the utmost poverty. When the policeman came to her, he found her with six of her children literally huddled together in a little back room, with no furniture but two old rush-bottomed chairs with the seats gone, a small table with two legs broken, a broken cup, and a small dish. On the hearth was scarcely a spark of fire, and in one corner lay as many old rags as would fill a woman’s apron, which served the whole family as a bed. For bed clothing they had only their scanty day clothing. The poor woman told him that she had been forced to sell her bedstead the year before to buy food. Her bedding she had pawned with the victualler for food. The magistrate ordered the woman a considerable provision from the poor-box (Engels, 1892:30).

Strikingly, if these conditions reflected those which Philanthropic Founders encountered during their explorations in the “Augean stables” of the Metropolis at the end of the eighteenth-century, it appears that one of these boys was delivered into the Philanthropic Reform¹³. Despite some discrepancies in details of address, we find that an application was made on 2nd February 1844 for the admission of:

John Hoseroff, born Jany. 3rd 1832 - [charged with the offence of] Stealing a Cow-heel in company with his brother. There was no doubt of the crime being committed from Want &

¹³ We may recall Dr. Lettsom’s discoveries on the miserably stark contrast in social conditions (see Chapter 1).

Hunger - [parents names and description] John Hoscroft of "L" Divn. of Police - deceased & Mary, Charwoman. The family were found by the Police Constbl. in a most miserable state of Poverty - residing at 2 Coles [Pool's?] Place, Quaker St. [Court?] Spitalfields¹⁴

So, why in these times of hardship - when contemporaries like Disraeli would fret over the prospect of a divided nation if not revolution - should the Society's sub-committee consider abandoning its girls¹⁵? True, admissions had been restricted to those of criminal parentage. But, as this potentially dangerous class of future mothers hardly had fairer prospects than the Hoscroft boys, it is odd to find the gentlemen contending that 'the Female School is no longer wanted or appreciated by the friends of the Objects for whose benefit it is intended'. Indeed, some suspicions as to the veracity of their facts on the matter possibly led the Duke of Richmond to suggest that this branch the Institution:

should be continued for a time in its present state to enable the concern and interest of the public in its maintenance be fully proved¹⁶.

Astonishingly, expectations of a revival of interest were found to be 'without foundation'. Although the Female School was built to accommodate at least sixty girls, only eighteen remained by January 1845, several were ready to leave and just a few new applications had been received. Accordingly, as these were 'facts which shew strongly, how small a demand exists for the aid of the Society, on behalf of this class of Object', it was decided to disperse the girls¹⁷. By June they had all gone¹⁸. As to the causes of the decline in demand: the Society was now prepared to be satisfied that:

owing to various legislative and social changes, such as the extensive abolition of capital punishment, the adoption of reformatory instead of penal discipline in the treatment of offenders, and the alteration of the Poor Laws, the particular kinds of destitution and ignorance, which it was the special object of the Society to relieve have diminished in

¹⁴ For his admissions record, see fig. 7.

¹⁵ Sharon Turner was Benjamin Disraeli's god-father. There is no information on the friendship having continued up to this period but, in April 1828, Disraeli had written to him thus: 'oblige me by making my kindest remembrances to Mrs Turner and your family - my severe illness has of late prevented me from seeing them as much as I would wish, but I can never forget my dearest and oldest friends' (transcribed in Gunn et al., 1982; see also Bradford, 1982; Feuchtwanger, 2000).

¹⁶ g/mns/16/6/1843

¹⁷ g/mns-3/1/1845

¹⁸ g/mns-6/6/1845

Date of Application to Committee	Boys Name	Age and Date of Birth	With what offence charged	Parents Name, and Description	When admitted to the table
Feb 27 1843	George Brewer	bapt. January 9 1843.	Says he was sent to work hard labor in Marlborough Goal for stealing fruit etc.	William Brewer later deceased. & Elizabeth Mother has remarried. Henry Edwards - who is from the 2 ^d Lake Street - who has 2 Children	Dec 5 1843
February 27 1844	John Hoscroft.	born Jan. 3 ^d 1832 bapt. Jan. 11 1833.	Stealing a cow - heel. in company with his Brother There was no doubt of the crime being committed from want of hunger.	John Hoscroft - of I. div. Police. deceased & Mary (Charles) - The family was found by the Police last in a most miserable state of Poverty - residing at John Mortby. Bricklayer deceased - & Mary - Mother remarried to W. St. Charles	Feb 5 1844
February 8 1844	Thomas F. Mortby.	born March 27 1831.	Sentenced to 7 days imprisonment in Brixton House of Correction for having stolen property in his possession. There are seven other children all doing well & respectable - some are Child living	John Mortby. Bricklayer deceased - & Mary - Mother remarried to W. St. Charles	Feb 13 1844
April 26 1844	William Pipe	Aged 12 born Sept. 25 1831	Stealing Meat. This charge was the 2 ^d made against him for the former offence He was confined 14 days in Chatham well behaved & obedient	Allan Pipe. of H. div. of Police formerly in Coldbath Street & Broom. The father is respectable. His mother of Chatham	May 6 1844

amount, or from being otherwise provided for, now stand less in need of the charitable aid of such an Institution¹⁹

Had there been a conspiracy at foot, however? There is no evidence to suggest figures had been manipulated or that applications for admission were deflected. Nevertheless, as it seems curiously convenient for the Society to now have spare capacity for sixty children - just right for the numbers Turner envisaged in an expanded Reform division - we need to consider other influences that had appeared over the horizon. These, importantly, were ripening the Philanthropic temper for engaging in an even more radical re-interpretation its Charter. As Philanthropic members were reminded, this allowed room for flexibility:

[for] the original intention of the founders was expressed to be the prevention of crime generally, without specifically defining the means to be adopted, or the class or age of the children to be benefited²⁰

2. Government interest: ‘Ups’ and ‘Downs’

To pick up these threads in the Philanthropic tapestry we must return to a meeting held in November 1844. On that occasion Committee member, Mr. Gaussen, surprised the Society by announcing:

[he] had received a communication from Mr Forster, Treasurer for the Refuge for the Destitute referring to a proposal for an Union of that Society with the Philanthropic and wishing for a conference on that subject

This was not the first time an alliance of voluntary effort had been mooted. We may remember that, in 1793, “old” Earl Grosvenor had suggested the Philanthropic and Robert Young’s Society for the Reform of the Criminal Poor ‘ought to cooperate and assist each other, as having the same object’²¹. However, while that potential partnership withered from view, this new proposal was spectacular in prospect. It

¹⁹ Turner would retrospectively claim: ‘That changes in the laws relating to the relief of the poor, compelling the family of the transported or executed criminal to enter the Union House, instead of subsisting by aid of out-door relief, rendered the number of children of convicts (especially of the female sex) who applied for the Society’s assistance every small’ (*Report*, 1850).

²⁰ g/mns-3/1/1845. For a discussion of Victorian views on female crime and immorality and their influence on various modes of confinement developing elsewhere in this period, see Zedner (1991).

²¹ See Chapter 3.

was ‘approved by Sir James Graham, the Secretary of State for the Home Department’.

Remarkably, although few details of the Plan of Union survive in the Philanthropic archives, material uncovered in the Public Records Office reveals that the formation of a ‘new Institution called the London Refuge for Destitute Youths’ was in contemplation. This had the ‘object’ of affording ‘an Asylum, and the means of reformation, to young persons discharged from Prison, but who from destitution and loss of character, are unable to obtain employment’. The Plan also adds to our understanding of the context of discussions surrounding the disappearance of the Philanthropic girls. To make this provision ‘effectual’ it proposed:

[that] the male Establishment of “the Refuge for the Destitute” be abolished, and the Inmates therein transferred to the Premises of “the Philanthropic Society”, which shall become the Male Establishment of the New Institution and that the Female Branch of the “Philanthropic Society” be in like manner abolished, and the Inmates transferred to the Premises now occupied by the Female Establishment of “the Refuge for the Destitute”

The Plan was devised by William Crawford²². We last encountered that gentleman giving evidence to the Select Committee (1817) in company with Philanthropic Steward Russell and former Philanthropic Committee member, Edward Forster, who was promoting the Refuge interests²³. Crawford was at that time Secretary of the Society for Investigating the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis and heavily involved in the associated SIPD. He had since acquired such an aura of expertise that, in 1833, he was asked by the Government to undertake a study of the systems of reformatory discipline operating in American Penitentiaries and Refuges. The result of this particular trans-Atlantic cross-fertilisation of ideas was a lengthy Report which, in vigorously advocating the ‘separate’ (cellular) as opposed to ‘silent’ (associative) system of confinement, strongly coloured the climate

²² A copy of the Plan was sent by Crawford to a later Home Secretary in January 1847. The document is in a file relating to the Refuge [HO-45/1000]. This was discovered to contain some Philanthropic correspondence and has thus proved useful in the absence of the Philanthropic file that may cover this period [HO-44/3].

²³ See Chapter 5.

of debate surrounding the Richmond Enquiry²⁴. The deliberations of that body shaped the rationalising provisions of the Gaols Act (1835) and, as we saw, had influence on the Parkhurst Act (1838). By the time the Plan of Union was broached, Crawford had not only been appointed one of Parkhurst's first Visitors in the company of Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth, the Reverend Whitworth Russell and Lord Yarborough, but had become an Inspector of Prisons for the Home Division. In that capacity he had under his sights the new model Pentonville Prison. This State facility had been designed on the cellular system by fellow Parkhurst Visitor, Joshua Jebb, and had opened in 1842.

1842 had not just cast gloom because of widespread want and unemployment. In that year and with the support of his 'old friend Blomfield, Bishop of London', Chadwick published his *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population*²⁵. Confirming the extent of squalor existing in the richest country in the industrialising world, it also delivered a warning of the dire consequences flowing from ill-health. These had not evaded the notice of Philanthropic Founders who had embarked on their crime prevention enterprise amidst alarms about the health, welfare and security of the nation at the end of the eighteenth-century. Now, however, Chadwick's statistical evidence on the extent to which disease robbed many children of the moral guidance of responsible parents and left them to roam amongst Chartist mobs or take to crime, fed into fears about the "Condition of England"²⁶. Indeed, to many anxious eyes, the spectre of the dangerous classes already seemed manifest by an explosion in the committal of juvenile offenders which peaked in 1842²⁷.

We cannot be sure whether Turner attempted to exploit such anxieties at the end of that year when he urged the Philanthropists to consider enlarging that 'most really

²⁴ For an overview of the controversy on these systems of discipline, see McGowen (1995).

²⁵ For a discussion of how Chadwick benefited from Blomfield's patronage, see Finer (1952:162).

²⁶ While Morrow (1999) outlines how the "Condition of England" question became popularised by Thomas Carlyle when his *Past and Present* was published to great acclaim in 1843, Roberts (1979) further traces how it revolved around the adverse impact of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation on social relationships. For a useful account of the complex nature of the waves of protest sweeping around the country at this time, see Rudé (1978).

²⁷ Radzinowicz and Hood (1986:113) note that these were 50% higher than in 1836. Wiener (1990) provides additional insight on how the 'factual discussion' on juvenile crime was culturally reinforced through popular fiction at this time.

interesting part of the Institution’ - the Reform²⁸. He had, however, calculated that ‘the number of criminal boys received during the last 20 years’ had ‘been nearly double that of the sons of convicts’. This placed the Society’s Trustees in ‘obvious difficulty’. On one hand, they were trying to ‘ensure and enlarge’ its ‘pecuniary support’ by ‘endeavouring to interest the Corporations, quarter sessions, individual noblemen and country magistrates in its maintenance’. At the same time, they were refusing ‘8 or 9 out of every 10 applications made to them for the admission of juvenile offenders from such quarters’²⁹.

Yet, while Steward Russell had also identified an excess demand for the admission of the ‘criminal class’ of boys in 1817³⁰, the Philanthropic rejects of 1842 would have experienced difficulty in gaining entry to reformatory asylums privately established elsewhere. An extension of such voluntary provision had been recommended in the Richmond Report as a means of preventing minor offenders (like the Hoscroft brothers) from revolving in and out of local prisons on short sentences. It had failed to materialise. We may recall, moreover, that even the Philanthropists had rebuffed Lord John Russell’s exploration of a reformatory partnership during 1838. In this context, it is particularly interesting to find that the proposed Union was conceived in terms of an ‘experiment’ aimed at testing the viability of introducing a Government Bill:

[to] empower magistrates to defray from the County rates the expense of maintaining discharged juvenile prisoners in some reformatory Institution³¹

The Union foundered. Although the Refuge managers quickly and ‘unreservedly acquiesced’ to the scheme, their Philanthropic counterparts were not so impetuous. A Special Meeting on the 11th November 1844 did, indeed, support a new Committee

²⁸ g/mns-2/12/1842

²⁹ When the sub-committee for investigating the merits of an enlarged Reform was set-up the following February, this was in consideration ‘of the increase of juvenile offenders and the great degree of public attention and exertion now directed towards their reformation’ [g/mns-3/2/1843]. In March, the Society resolved ‘that a reporter for the public newspapers being in attendance he be admitted to hear the proceedings of the Society read’ [g/mns-3/3/1843].

³⁰ As he informed the Select Committee: ‘Since the separation of the criminal class from the children of convicts; the greatest number has been the criminal class’: SC on the Police, PP (1817), Vol. VII., Minutes of Evidence, p.443.

³¹ HO-45/1000

member in his motion to give approval 'on principle'. This came from Mr. Serjeant Adams who would later claim 'the honour of introducing into the Parkhurst Act' the provision which 'gave the Queen power' to send convicted children to reformatory schools³². The meeting also acceded to a proposal from future Attorney General, Richard Baggallay junior, to obtain some modification of the scheme³³. By the end of the month, however, another Special Meeting was expressing concern that the Plan:

may possibly be unacceptable to the general body of subscribers (to whose revision and rejection all their proceedings are subject) on account of the absence in it of all details as to the power of general Courts, the age to which Objects are admitted & the persons from whom and the manner in which the first body of directors is to be elected³⁴

To clarify what was encompassed in the Plan, a deputation headed by Treasurer Samuel Richard Bosanquet was dispatched to the Home Department³⁵. It was not altogether soothed by the Home Secretary. The Society seldom admitted criminal boys over twelve years of age but Sir James was of the view that it was 'very important that persons of greater age than 14 or 15 should have the benefit of the Institution, and of the step which it would afford to them, as well as more Juvenile Offenders, from the Prison to society'. Furthermore, while he gratifyingly mentioned that the Government's contribution 'would probably exceed in amount the £3000 now granted to the Refuge for the Destitute', some strings were attached. These were linked to what seems an unusual Government conception of State and voluntary agency partnership in this period. As Sir James explained, the governing body:

would be comprised of twenty four directors; eight to be nominated by the Treasurer of the Philanthropic Society; eight by the Secretary of State in consideration of the contribution from the public purse [and eight by the Refuge]³⁶

³² SC on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles, PP (1852), Vol. VII., Minutes of Evidence, Q. 1854. Serjeant Adams was elected to the Philanthropic Committee in March 1843. Around this time he was Chairman of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions.

³³ R. Baggallay junior attended an election of children for admission [g/mns-17/12/1841] before being placed on the Committee. Son of a merchant who donated £21 to the Society in 1831, he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn (1843) became Solicitor General (1868 and 1874) and then Attorney-General. Knighted in 1868 he was afterwards Lord-Justice of Appeal and a Privy Councillor (*DNB*).

³⁴ g/mns-17/1/1845

³⁵ Elected Treasurer on the death of his father, Samuel junior [g/mns-7/7/1843], Samuel Richard had led the investigation into the Society's affairs in 1840.

³⁶ g/mns-17/1/1845. A variation on the ratio of representation is outlined by Crawford in a memorandum of November 1844 [HO-45/1000].

An eruption of Philanthropic dissent put paid to the Union. Such was the depth of indignation about the manner in which the affair was being conducted that some members formally registered their objections:

being of opinion that the resolution on Friday the 17th Inst. relating to the Plan of uniting this Society with the Refuge for the Destitute and adopted by a very small majority should be submitted to the consideration of a General Court of the members, before the Secretary of State is led to take any further proceedings, in preparing a Bill for effecting such a Union of the two Societies³⁷

Quite how the Home Secretary got wind of this state of affairs is unclear. We might, however, suspect that Mr. Gaussen played a part. He had expressed 'his own decided protest' against the idea of putting the matter before a General Court 'on the ground of it being in his opinion a breach of confidence with Sir James Graham'. Indeed, these gentlemen certainly held overlapping interests and moved in interlacing circles of acquaintance. Sir James had been a Philanthropic subscriber in 1814 and William Gaussen, who was related to the Bosanquet family, was a life-member by that time³⁸. In 1843, Gaussen was elected to the Refuge Committee along with Crawford and J.H. Capper. The Refuge would then be favoured by having Sir James join former Home Secretary and now Prime Minister Peel as a Vice-President by 1846³⁹.

When Philanthropic gentlemen assembled on the 7th February 1845, they found the following communication had been received from Sir James's Private Secretary, H.H.D. O'Brien, in Whitehall:

Sir James Graham having been informed that the Plan which he has submitted for the Union of the Philanthropic Society and the Refuge for the Destitute had not met with the general concurrence of the Committee of the former Institution I am directed by him to signify to you his desire to withdraw the proposition⁴⁰

³⁷ g/mns-31/1/1845.

³⁸ *Account* (1814).

³⁹ While these figure-heads likely gave the Refuge a high public profile, it had managed to secure the Patronage of Queen Victoria when Incorporated in 1838. This information is derived from surviving Refuge records held in the London Borough of Hackney Archive Department, de Beauvoir Road, London, N.1.

⁴⁰ g/mns-7/2/1845. O'Brien would become a Prison Inspector.

This withdrawal of a Home Department life-line probably shocked the cash-strapped Society. Just at that moment it had decided to dispose of the girls and discontinue its unprofitable bookbinding and printing trades. The communication did not, however, depress hopes of an accommodation being reached. The Philanthropists now offered to receive Juvenile Offenders on payment of £20 each *per annum* to cover board and lodging. They were, moreover, prepared to go further than mooted in the Plan by way of submitting the Philanthropic Institution to Government inspection with the 'right' of nominating four Committee members vested in the Secretary of State. They also thanked Vice-President Lord Radstock 'for his endeavours to bring the Society under the favourable notice of Sir James Graham'⁴¹.

The negotiations stalled. Even the efforts of Vice-President Edward Harman were to little avail. Having written a note to the Home Secretary relating what actually had been decided at the meeting of the 7th February, he was tersely reminded that Sir James was:

not at present prepared to recommend on the part of Government any interference with that Institution⁴²

A worrying silence from the Home Department followed. As this was still sustained towards the end of the year, the Duke of Richmond was employed as the 'medium of communication' for a Memorial of goodwill. That had no impact and Turner then made it his duty to draw the Home Secretary's attention to the subject of supporting the Society's operations. Disappointingly, a letter was received from Under-Secretary the Honourable Manners Sutton which pointed out that:

the Government already receives from the Refuge for the Destitute the accommodation it requires for juvenile convicts with a view to their being instructed in trades or manufactures by the exercise of which they may gain an honest livelihood and Sir James therefore must decline to hold out to the Philanthropic the prospect of a pecuniary grant being made on the part of the Government⁴³

⁴¹ g/mns-3/3/1845. Radstock was also elected a Refuge Vice-President in 1845.

⁴² g/mns-7/3/1845. Edward Harman thus carried-on the Philanthropic Vice-Presidential tradition set by his father Jeremiah and grand-father John.

⁴³ g/mns-23/1/1846

Fearing 'that the Proposition of the Philanthropic Society' contained in the Memorial had 'been misunderstood', Turner swiftly composed a reply. This is worth reading at length for he confirms that the Society was bidding for *per capita* payments rather than 'any fixed annual grant from Parliament such as the Refuge receives'. As well, in comparing his Institution's quality of provision with that offered by the rival Refuge, he firmly constructs the Philanthropic conception of a "Juvenile Offender". As he stressed, the 'Committee of the Philanthropic are fully aware that in consideration of a Grant of £3000 per ann.' the Refuge receives '40 or 50 Young persons whom the Government recommends to its protection':

But in the first place These Objects are principally Females, & in the second place They are usually of a more advanced age than can properly be classed under the term Juvenile Offenders.- the Refuge receiving none under 12, & the average of its inmates being 15 or 16 years of age ...

The request of the Committee of the Philanthropic had reference, more especially, to the vast number of Boys under 14 years of age,- who are convicted annually in the Police Courts, - & at the Sessions, of the Metropolis & Large Towns

Furthermore, having boys 'who have been once or twice convicted of Crime' in focus and with 'the attention of the Public earnestly turned to the Duty & Necessity of Amending and Reclaiming as well as punishing this class of Criminals', the Philanthropic had:

such large means of Accommodation, Education and Employment, as are adequate to the Moral Discipline, and Industrial Instruction, of near 200 boys - with every requisite for their healthful physical development, & advantageous disposal in the World if only the expenses of the Boys' Clothing & Food could be provided for

The Refuge, in contrast, had to struggle with so 'many drawbacks and impediments' in its 'confined situation and inconvenient accommodations' it seemed:

impossible that that Establishment could, by any possibility, meet the increasing demand for some Public and systematic effort for the Prevention of Crime by the Reformation of the Young Offender⁴⁴

⁴⁴ The Male Refuge operation was located in an old sugar warehouse.

Indeed, the Philanthropic offer to take boys on payment of expenses either defrayed by the Magistracy from the local rates 'or any other public resources' should not be overlooked. There was:

little doubt that the measure would be one of economy - as well as Religious Benevolence - the Offender's Reformation being in every sense a far cheaper process than His repeated Detection, Trial and Punishment⁴⁵

The Home Secretary did not budge. Or, perhaps, we might surmise Crawford's influence held sway. His views on the Memorial's 'prayer' had been sought and were returned worded almost exactly as in Manners Sutton's communication⁴⁶. If so, it is somewhat curious. This senior Prison Inspector was likely aware of the escalating trend in admissions to Parkhurst which was jumping from 284 in 1844 to 540 in 1845 and 648 in 1846⁴⁷. Not all, admittedly, were in the Philanthropic's target age-range and, after the closure of the "*Euryalus*" Hulk in 1843, boys under 13 or 14 were accommodated in new Junior Wards built at Parkhurst. Nonetheless, a Report on the transgressions of the youngest exiles, after leaving Parkhurst for the Colonies, bore such testimony to the failure of this Prison's reformatory regime that, in early 1845, Crawford confided to Jebb it was a 'heart-breaking Document'. He continued:

The disposal of the junior boys is a most anxious question, and we should meet immediately on your return to Town, to consider whether we should not recommend Sir James to stop at all events this part of the System. Magistrates sentence these children to imprisonment. under the impression that by being sent to Parkhurst they are providing for them (quoted in McConville, 1981:209-10)

This sentencing preference, alongside the failure to 'force' local benches to set up their own reformatories, found Sir James attempting to stem the upward trend in admissions by 'insisting' that Parkhurst be reserved for the more 'serious' offenders of at least 14 years (Radzinowicz and Hood, 1986:153). Government sponsored boys, however, still did not come through the Philanthropic doors. Neither did boys supported out of County Rates.

⁴⁵ HO-45/1000 - letter dated 16/1/1846, original emphasis.

⁴⁶ HO-45/1649 - letter from Crawford dated 7/1/1846 to S.M. Phillips.

⁴⁷ Taken from a Table cited by McConville (1981:198) derived from the Return of the Number of Convicts under Sentence of Transportation Confined on 1st January each year.

Significantly, a new troupe of Philanthropic recruits did appear. Associations of County magistrates now began raising money to maintain boys they referred from local prisons for Philanthropic reformation⁴⁸. This was an important development. With the Staffordshire Magistrates leading the way at the beginning of 1846 with Lord Sandon at their head, this source of funding increased⁴⁹. It was supplemented by way of devising a scheme of payment by children's parents and friends. This further shift from the original practice of receiving all children gratuitously was first conceived in terms of a fixed charge of £20 *per annum*⁵⁰ and then modified to allow parents to pay an amount considered 'proper'⁵¹. Ironically, it did not always have crime preventing consequences. Having deferred the admission of John Flemming (twice imprisoned for stealing) until Mrs Flemming could 'endeavour to raise ... some pecuniary contribution towards the expenses of his board & clothing', the Society found that:

The mother of John Flemming (who applied in December last for the boy's admission but unsuccessfully as unable to pay towards his maintenance) appeared before the Committee, the boy having been again guilty of theft and imprisoned since the last application⁵²

The Philanthropic gentlemen still insisted on charging one shilling per week.

Whether this new means-tested strategy was intended to overcome the long-standing problem of deflecting undeserving applications, raising even meagre sums through enforcing parental responsibility was important. Having decided it was now expedient to reduce the holdings of land at St. George's Fields and reorganise how the boys

⁴⁸ While the Philanthropic had resolved to provide for the same in conjunction with the Sheriff's Fund at the end of the 1820s (see Chapter 5), there is no evidence of a permanent arrangement being made. An exploration of a such a partnership was, however, underway when the Philanthropic gentlemen had met with Sir James. Aware of this, and having dangled a Government grant before them, the Home Secretary reportedly warned they should not be confident of finding better terms from that quarter [g/mns-17/1/1845].

⁴⁹ Abiding by the terms of an 'agreement' on the matter, Lord Sandon and Captain Penrhyn were placed on the Committee [g/mns-20/1/1846]. It is not clear whether representation was afforded to other referring bodies, but some flexibility in payment arrangements was negotiated with the magistrates of West Sussex [g/mns-20/2/1846].

⁵⁰ g/mns-7/2/1845

⁵¹ g/mns-2/1/1846. While voluntary 'donations' from parents were occasionally proffered and accepted from the earliest years, the Society now tended to seek contributions of five shillings a week. The set amount was often paid through the joint effort of parents and other interested parties who recommended the children.

⁵² g/mns-13/5/1846

were trained on the premises, the Society found its 'new arrangements' involved unexpected costs. Plans for converting the Female School had run into trouble when the surveyor discovered 'the drainage was so very deficient & the brick and timberwork in parts so decayed as almost to endanger the stability of the building'⁵³. The Superintendent's 'habitation' was in equally bad repair. So too was the Chapel whose congregation had been further 'materially reduced' by 'the conversion of several dissenting chapels into Episcopal places of worship'⁵⁴.

The Society was not altogether despondent. Its enterprise had attracted the interest of Viscount Ashley. Besides being deeply involved in the campaign to ameliorate hardships experienced by chimney-sweepers' boys and children working in mines and factories, Ashley was also interested in the crime preventive benefits of educating the children of the streets. Already President of the Ragged School Union, he agreed to be elected a Philanthropic Vice-President in March 1846. With this impressive addition to the Vice-Presidential cast-list in place and £300 paid into the building account for the 'Chaplain's House and New Reform School', other improvements were put in hand. Indeed, having set out with the Reverend Dr. Rice to engage a 'suitable person to act as schoolmaster', Turner could report to a meeting on 1st July 1846 that:

the Revd. T. Jackson, Principal of the Training College Battersea had informed him that the National Society would allow him to furnish a thoroughly efficient schoolmaster from that Institution on condition of the Philanthropic Society paying £25 to the fund for the Mining and Manufacturing School

Extraordinarily, the road to Redhill suddenly hove into view. The Philanthropic enterprise had been embedded in St. George's Fields for nearly sixty years and looked set to continue there within the compass of its new arrangements. Nonetheless, the catalyst of future change was in the air and materialised when - at the very same meeting - the Society resolved that:

the Chaplain be requested to visit the Colonie Agricole at Mettray - to inspect the arrangements of the same, and report on them to the Committee

⁵³ g/mns-4/7/1845

⁵⁴ g/mns-5/2/1845

3. An experimental opportunity

The visit allowed Turner and his Philanthropic companion - Police Magistrate, Mr. Paynter - to feast upon one of the grandest experiments of the time. They were not disappointed with the menu on offer. Mettray was yet another fruit of an international cross-fertilisation of ideas. It had been founded through the 'benevolent exertions' of Monsieur Demetz who had 'visited and examined at various times, in previous years, the chief penitentiaries, and asylums of reform in America, England and Holland and Germany'⁵⁵. Interested in the 'moral and industrial' education of juvenile offenders, Demetz had then formed a Society for their 'protection' and, on land provided by another gentleman of 'considerable distinction and eminence'⁵⁶, a Farm School had been established near Tours in 1839. By the time the Philanthropic gentlemen visited, it was providing for 'between 400 and 500 children'⁵⁷.

It was not, however, these numbers that gripped their imagination. Rather, the Philanthropic investigators were enraptured to find there the seeds of a novel opportunity to replant the Philanthropic enterprise in the countryside. As they enthused in their *Mettray Report*, not only was the French experiment conducted far from the temptations, contaminations and costs of town, but it had achieved the feat of retaining and reforming boys without resort to walls, sentries or harsh punishment⁵⁸. This success was due to what Turner delineated the 'five leading features' of its system that were 'entitled to the rank of fundamental laws':

- 1st The employment of improved and prepared teachers for the training and instructing of the boys;
- 2nd The dividing up of the inmates into families, into distinct classes of moderate extent, and separated not by mere difference of name or dress but by the substantial distinctions of separate dwellings, each forming a *home* for its inmates.

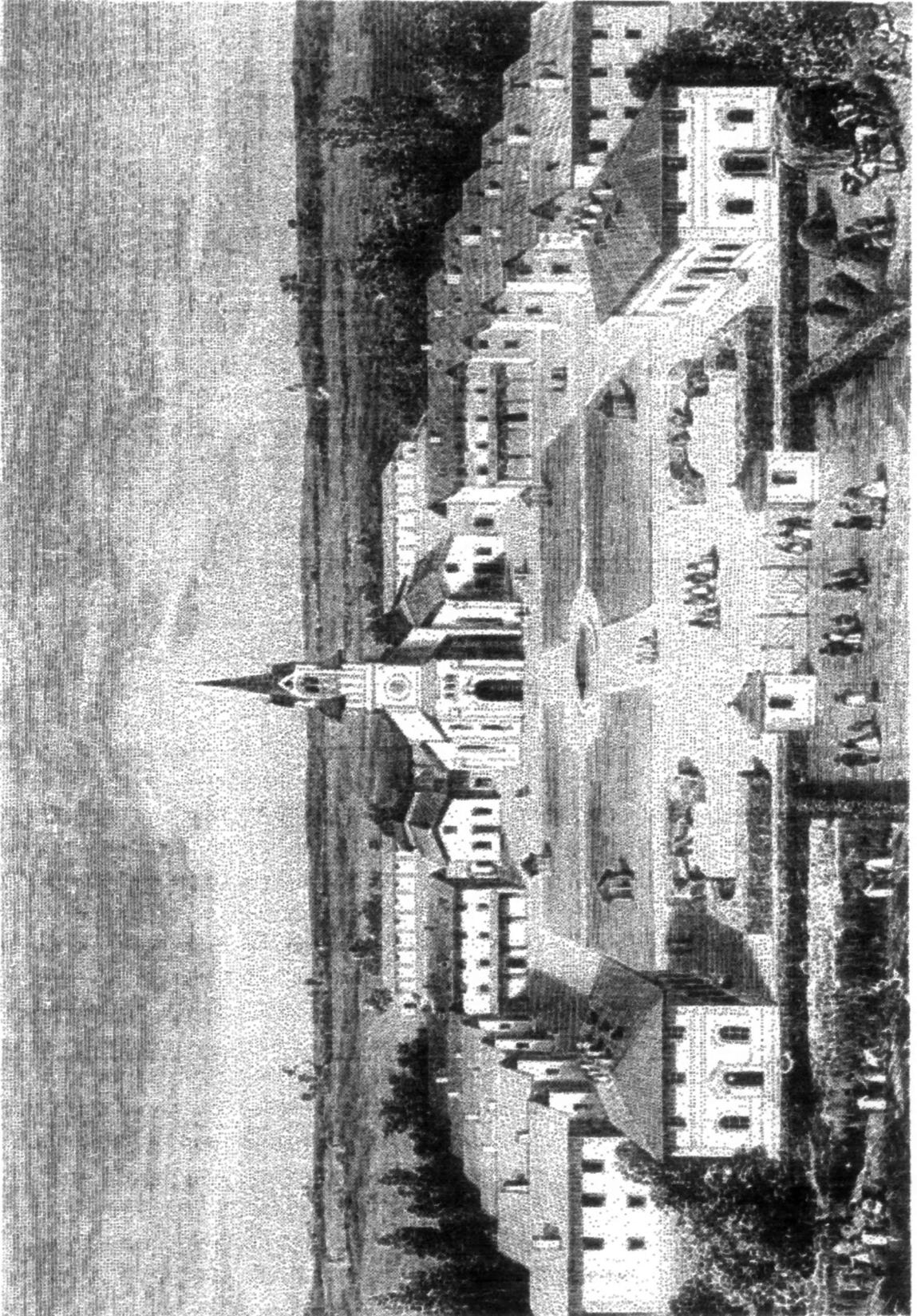
⁵⁵ Evans (1982:323) observes that just as Crawford had praised the 'transforming power of solitude' of American Penitentiary regimes, 'Auguste Demetz, an administrator, and Abel Blouet, an architect, did likewise in their report to the French Minister of the Interior' in 1837.

⁵⁶ The Viscompt de Bretignères de Courteilles.

⁵⁷ For a view of Mettray (c.1843) from a postcard kindly provided by Peter Breathwick, see fig.8.

⁵⁸ They delivered their findings to the Committee in August 1846 and the *Mettray Report* was swiftly printed. This section, however, draws heavily on Turner's Preface to the revised second edition of the same year. Turner notes that this had received Paynter's sanction.

fig. 8



3rd The acting on the boys by persuasion, not by force;

4th The giving the boys such active and outdoor occupation, by means of gardening, agriculture, &c. as shall always thoroughly and healthfully employ them, and prevent that constant communication and intercourse which can scarcely be avoided when the boys are collected together in sedentary trades;

5th the combining together the charity and interests of individuals with the support and sanction of the Government⁵⁹

There were reservations, however. Although these ‘laws of educational and moral agency’ were the result of ‘widespread and most intelligent enquiries’, there could ‘be no mere transplanting’ of the system into England. Whilst admirably adapted to the French nation’s social and political circumstances, Mettray’s regime was so coloured by a ‘military disposition ... the spirit of their religious faith and the character of their religious habits’ that, in consequence, Turner had to ‘confess’:

the countenance and demeanour of the boys give me the impression, that they rather submitted to their instructor and employment, as part of a fixed scheme of discipline, from which there is no escape, than entered into as things of their own spontaneous pursuit, with which they felt their own interests identified ... The boys appear a little too much looked after on a system of police, and hardly thrown enough upon their own *responsibility*⁶⁰

This may have been satisfactory for boys who were afterwards dispersed under Mettray’s system of “Patronage” to French farms where a close domestic surveillance on their welfare was maintained. It was not suitable, however, for Philanthropic boys whose ‘best hopes and prospects of subsistence’ would be by means of settlement in ‘our Colonial dependencies’. As Turner explained:

Voluntary, not forced, good conduct must be the object we aim at; for this alone will last. If we render the boy dependent on the superintendence and discipline which we subject him to, he will be but as a child in leading strings; and when the artificial support which he has been used to lean upon is necessarily withdrawn on his going forth into the world, he will be liable to fall at every step he takes in life

⁵⁹ Original emphasis.

⁶⁰ Original emphasis. Foucault (1977:293-4) chose Mettray to exemplify the carceral ‘because it is the disciplinary form at its most extreme, the model in which are concentrated all the coercive technologies of behaviour. In it were to be found “cloister, prison, school, regiment” ... [with its chiefs and their deputies] ... in a sense technicians of behaviour ... [whose] ... task was to produce bodies that were both docile and capable’.

Indeed, to ‘prevent any misapprehension’ on the matter, he desired:

to state distinctly, that the Intention of the Report, is not to offer the Institution of Mettray as a PATTERN to be in all, or even in many, respects copied or closely imitated, but is rather to offer it as an EXAMPLE in which the true principles of the Religious and Industrial Agency that must be employed for the Reformation of young offenders, may be seen in action; and the study and analysis of which may enable those who are interested in rescuing our youthful poor from the grasp of crime and vice, to so design, and so carry on their operations, that their endeavours may be crowned with success⁶¹

Remarkably, if this language of scientific enquiry carries echoes from the past, Turner explicitly paid homage to the Society’s Enlightenment heritage when urging the establishment of an English model Farm School. After all, the Philanthropic’s original Institution ‘was in fact a Miniature Mettray’ with its ‘family division of the children; their distribution into distinct houses; the parental relation of their masters; the varied occupation, and agricultural character of the establishment’. Indeed, that mode of operation, along with the idea of appointing ‘guardians’ in neighbourhoods where Philanthropic Wards had been placed out:

[showed] how singularly the views of the founders of Mettray were anticipated by the Enlightened Philanthropists who opened, sixty years ago, this Institution as an instrument for the diminution and prevention of crime

Importantly, it could be further taken:

as showing, too, that those, who of late have laboured to remodel and improve the system and the arrangement of the Philanthropic, have been labouring, not to *subvert* or to *destroy* its ancient constitution, but, in fact, to *renew* and *restore* it; to clear off the encumbrances and obstructions to its utility that time, and a forgetfulness of its founders original designs, have gathered around it ⁶²

Yet, although anxious to cast light on the way ahead, a worrying obstacle to success in English circumstances had been detected. This was the absence of legal control over the children. Lack of such power had long been a thorn in Philanthropic endeavours. The explorers, however, had discovered that under the French legal

⁶¹ Original emphasis.

⁶² Original emphasis.

Code, young offenders could be sentenced to ‘long periods of detention in a house of correction’ before being sent to Mettray. They were also intrigued to note that the ‘large number’ of Philanthropic boys:

who are received at once from the Police Courts without being committed to prison, and who are, therefore, innocent of serious and repeated guilt, although on the threshold of it, correspond to that division of the boys at Mettray, who have been sentenced to detention, as being friendless, and vagrants

Once there, moreover, the law continued to exercise its own ‘moral influence’ by inculcating the ‘fear of being sent back into custody without the chance of again returning to Mettray’. Convinced that this ‘restraining power’ - combined with the ‘personal control’ which the ‘Directors’ had over the boys - was pivotal to dispensing with walls and guards, they ‘earnestly’ submitted to the Committee:

the propriety of bringing under the attention of Government, the importance of making such a change in the law regulating the treatment of Juvenile Offenders⁶³

Their revitalising recipes created a Philanthropic stir. This must have raised the hopes of William Gladstone who had been present at the Committee meeting on the 1st July during which the visit was proposed. A cousin of statesman William Ewart Gladstone, it was indeed he ‘whose interest in Mettray, whose intimate acquaintance with its system, and whose desire to see something that may bear comparison with it established in this country’ had sped Turner and Paynter on their journey⁶⁴.

Excitement soon heightened. The door of the Home Department again opened. To the Society’s delight, Turner had been cultivating useful contacts. Not only could he relate that ‘a friend’ had offered to lay the *Mettray Report* before the new Home Secretary, but, Sir George Grey had ‘read it with much interest’ and was ‘very happy’ to receive some members if convenient for them to call⁶⁵. They swiftly sallied

⁶³ It is difficult to confirm whether they were correct in their grasp of how the English legal concept of *doli incapax* and the corresponding French concept of *sans discernment* were differently interpreted and applied to the issue of juvenile “responsibility” in the two countries. As this point of jurisprudence continued to be the subject of circulating debate, it was felt necessary to provide further clarification in the *Philanthropic Report* of 1854.

⁶⁴ Turner’s Preface to the *Mettray Report* is addressed to this gentleman.

⁶⁵ Sir George had become Home Secretary in June 1846.

forth and were accompanied by Turner's 'friend', the 'Honourable and Reverend R. Eden of Battersea'⁶⁶.

The Philanthropic pressure group was initially disappointed. Upon Eden stating that 'one chief object of the deputation was to ask the Government to bring in an Act for the legal detention of young offenders, and for securing effectual control over them', Sir George replied that he would:

be very glad to bring about some amendment in the present imperfect system, and that he thought such a power of detention by means of a conditional sentence could be given for such young offenders as had really incurred the penalties of the laws ... [but] ... he doubted the possibility of introducing a system so extensive as that of France or of sending any vagrant and delinquent boy to six or seven years detention: at least at present

They were quite overwhelmed, however, to find an unexpected item on the Home Secretary's agenda:

He then mentioned there were 70 or 80 boys in the Millbank Prison &c. sentenced to transportation but too young for Parkhurst by the new regulations there adopted and asked whether, if means could be found to send them to the Philanthropic, the Society could receive them

To which long-awaited invitation:

The deputation answered, yes, at once⁶⁷

This Government bounty was not dispensed without the reappearance of a familiar figure. Sir George may well have told the Philanthropic gentlemen he was 'but too happy to put the boys he had spoken of in such good hands'. He also asked Crawford to account for any 'new circumstances' arising since a Report to Sir James in 1845, which might 'render it desirable that arrangements should be made with [the Philanthropic] for receiving a certain number of convict boys belonging to Government prisons'. In response, Crawford would 'beg to state' that 'at that date' there had indeed existed 'great facilities in the disposal of criminal boys confined in

⁶⁶ This is probably Robert John Eden, later third Baron Auckland; vicar of Battersea from 1837 to 1847; Chaplain to William IV from 1831-37; to Queen Victoria 1837-1847 (*DNB*).

⁶⁷ g/mns-7/10/1846

the Millbank and Parkhurst Prisons, by sending them abroad'. Besides, the Refuge provision had been 'fully equal to the demands of the Home Office'. Now, however:

since the suspension of Transportation further measures for providing for convict boys in this country have become necessary. I am therefore of opinion that it is desirable to accept the offer of the Committee of the Philanthropic Society to receive from the Government a certain number of criminal boys upon payment being made for their maintenance, and on the condition proposed by the Committee of subjecting their establishment to Government Inspection. - I consider that at the present time twenty five boys might be disposed of

Whether this shift in stance was coloured by sensitivity to the whims of his new Chief of Department, Crawford retained a grip on the situation by suggesting:

previously to any Number being sent to the Society, the Home Inspectors of Prisons should be directed to visit the establishment, and report ... the description of boys whom it may be most desirable to select for admission⁶⁸

This, it transpired, was the 'class' of boys who had been in prison 'for periods of two years and nine months and upwards, and have conducted themselves satisfactorily' but who were 'too young or too small, to be sent to the Colonies with a prospect of finding employment there on their arrival'. At least, that was what Crawford and that other influential Home Inspector of Prisons, Whitworth Russell, concluded after visiting St. George's Fields. Entertaining 'no doubt' that 'the religious and moral improvement of the boys there is well attended to', they found the 'general arrangements' were only suitable for the 'younger class of criminal boys who do not require to be subjected to a corrective discipline, in the means of enforcing which the Institution is essentially defective'. Indeed, while:

Agreeably to the Rules of the Institution, every Boy, on admission, is placed for a certain time in the "Reform", or Probationary Ward, where he is associated with others.- As the Boys whom we now propose to remove to the Establishment are reported to be in a great measure reclaimed, we submit that the Committee would at once admit them into the General Establishment; by which means they will not be exposed to the contamination arising from association with other boys recently received from Prisons⁶⁹

⁶⁸ HO-45/1649 - letter to S.M. Phillips from Crawford, dated 16th November 1846 in reply to Sir George's enquiry of the 12th.

⁶⁹ HO-45/1649 - correspondence dated 30/11/1846.

Quite what Turner and Treasurer Gladstone thought of this criticism of Philanthropic arrangements is unknown⁷⁰. Nonetheless, as the Inspectors were assured of cooperation, the Society was soon informed that:

Sir George Grey is prepared to sanction the proposed arrangement for the immediate reception of 25 boys from Parkhurst Prison at an annual rate of payment not exceeding twenty pounds each, which sum is to include the whole expense of their maintenance, superintendence and placing out on leaving the Establishment.-

Sir George Grey has requested that the Inspector of Prisons will select the boys for admission and communicate with the Secretary on the subject of their reception.-

Sir George Grey thinks it essential to this arrangement, that while any such boys are in the Establishment, it should as proposed by the Committee of the Society be open to the inspection of any gentlemen to be named by Her Majesty's Government for this purpose.-

At present it is intended that this duty should be performed by the Home Inspectors of Prisons.

It is also to be understood that the payment on account of such boys cannot in any case be prolonged beyond the expiration of the term of the original sentence of transportation or imprisonment⁷¹

With terms agreed, the Queen's Boys arrived on 26th December 1846⁷². They did not shy from engaging in a miscellany of misconduct and were soon at the root of trouble encountered by the Society's newly engaged Drill Sergeant. This may seem a surprising appointment considering the *Mettray Report* had condemned that French Institution's military character - a reflection of which Turner had regretfully noted at Parkhurst when visiting there 'agreeably to the wishes of the Inspectors of Prisons'⁷³. But, drill *per se* had not been in contention. As we may recall, Turner had placed it on the Philanthropic curriculum in 1842. Thus 'Corporal Hogg' took up position on 3rd February 1847. Within a few days he was outmanoeuvred by wily Queen's Boys who stole a key he had left in the washing room door 'by an oversight'. By August he was defeated. On this short 'experiment' Turner sadly reflected:

In consequence of the state of feeling existing between the boys & the Sergeant Mr Hogg the latter has arranged to leave this day month. The Chaplain regrets to part with him but it

⁷⁰ Both met with the Inspectors. Gladstone had been elected Treasurer on 20th November 1846 in place of S.R. Bosanquet who had resigned this 'office of so great honor and distinction' [g/mns-4/11/1846].

⁷¹ g/mns-23/12/1846 - copy of letter from S.M. Phillips dated 10/12/1846.

⁷² Turner describes them as "Queen's Boys" at this time.

appears to be impossible for him to make the drill for the boys what it was meant to be - a means of exercise and good order - he says he cannot deal with it in any but the strict military style - This is incompatible with the general system of the place - & produces so much dissatisfaction & resistance on the boys part - as to be very troublesome - there have been near 30 punishments during the last two months on acct. of complaints at Drill⁷⁴

As to the grand Farm School experiment: plans were still in a state of flux. Sir George had had another surprising item on his agenda. Writing on the 16th November 1846 to confirm that the first Parkhurst cohort would be sent 'at once', he added:

if the Philanthropic Society could agree to some plan of Union or combined operations with the Refuge for the Destitute, many obstacles to the Government[s] cooperation would be removed, and the adoption of larger and more effectual measures facilitated⁷⁵

At this Home Department steer, another deputation was dispatched. It was headed by the Bishop of London. Chairman of the Royal Commission that set out to reform the Poor Law in 1832 and an advocate of the crime preventive virtues of educating the children of destitute parents (Webb and Webb, 1929:51), Bishop Blomfield has appeared in this Chapter as Chadwick's friend and a founder of the Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association. He had been elected a Philanthropic Vice-President in 1837⁷⁶ and was also a Vice-President of the Refuge. The Philanthropists afterwards resolved:

that in consideration of the wishes expressed by Sir George Grey and the strong recommendations on the subject by the Bishop of London, a special committee be appointed to consider a union of the two Societies⁷⁷

This Union courtship also failed. Not, this time, from any Philanthropic reticence. Rather, the Refuge managers were reluctant to be seduced. When they summoned their Philanthropic counterparts to a meeting on the 10th December, the latter party were confounded to hear Treasurer Forster say that his Society's representatives would not 'in any wise, discuss or confer upon' the subject of an Union but could

⁷³ g/mns-2/12/1846

⁷⁴ s/j-16/8/1847. For an account of how Chadwick became 'a fanatical exponent' of drill in schools, see *Finer* (1952:506-7).

⁷⁵ g/mns-20/11/1846

⁷⁶ g/mns-17/2/1837

⁷⁷ g/mns-20/11/1846.

‘only receive’ the Philanthropic’s proposition and relay it to the Refuge Committee. If this led Treasurer Gladstone to confide in Forster that the ‘disinclination which the Refuge managers had expressed’ would not allow him ‘to be very sanguine as to their cooperation’⁷⁸, his foreboding came to pass. Having assembled in March 1847 to discuss the scheme of Union in more detail, the Philanthropists were interrupted by the arrival of a ‘communication’. This informed them the Refuge Committee could not justify ‘abandoning the practical means they at present possess of reclaiming the Juvenile Offender for an experimental Institution which they consider inadequate’. Indeed, although willing to provide a London Depot for the transit of boys to an Agricultural Colony where ‘vagrant, pauper and criminal youth are collected and employed upon the land’, they nonetheless found themselves ‘after mature consideration’:

of an opinion that whatever may be the result at Mettray, in regard to these various descriptions of youth, an Institution of this nature would not be adapted to the class of boys which it is the object of the Refuge for the Destitute to reclaim.

The grounds for this opinion are:-

- 1st That in such a Colony, the personal detention of the boys could not be secured -
- 2^{ndly} That the Committee could not undertake the superintendence of an Institution not situated in the Metropolis - and
- 3^{rdly} That such a Colony could not be founded or maintained without incurring a large expenditure - such indeed as would absorb the entire funded property of the Refuge for the Destitute ⁷⁹

This sundering of the ways did not shake Philanthropic faith in the Farm School ideal. Nor was it dented by Crawford’s attempt to cast blight by informing Sir George he was:

assured that unless due provision be made for the safe custody of the Boys when employed on the land (which will be scarcely practicable without the erection of walls) escapes will be frequent. The desire of personal liberty in these boys is irrepressible, and experience has shewn that moral restraints of any kind prove feeble whenever opportunities for escape are presented ... The success which has attended the exertions made at Parkhurst on the recapture of the boys who have endeavoured to escape, cannot be expected in ordinary localities.- These attempts have been defeated by the difficulty which the boys have found

⁷⁸ HO/-45/1000 - letter dated 25/1/1847.

⁷⁹ g/mns-13/3/1847 - copy of extract from the Refuge Minutes of 10th March.

in leaving an Island. The shores of which are vigilantly watched, day and night, by a coast guard, to whom the notice of an escape is communicated immediately on its occurrence, and who have orders from the authorities under whom they act, to apprehend any boy who is suspected to have absconded from the prison⁸⁰

Despite such countervailing views, favourable opinion could be detected in the deluge of “speech and pamphlet philanthropy” beginning to sweep the land (Radzinowicz and Hood, 1986:172). The Philanthropic gentlemen may not yet have conceived this in terms of a “Reformatory Movement” on the upswing. We might imagine, nonetheless, that they were aware the *Mettray Report* had been endorsed recently by Matthew Davenport Hill when publishing his views on the ‘principles of punishment’⁸¹. As well as having this adversary of a purely punitive approach to Juvenile Offenders on-side, Turner could relate that another “Reformatory” advocate, Richard Monckton Milnes M.P., had visited the Institution with ‘Mrs Nightingale and friends’. Milnes informed him that:

Sir George Grey had spoken of the Philanthropic to the deputation of the Refuge for Prisoners Society which had waited on him last week & had expressed himself as relying greatly upon its plans and efforts for enabling him to make some effectual provision for Juvenile Offenders⁸²

Furthermore, when Turner had called upon ‘the Reverend Eden - and Mr Kay-Shuttleworth - to communicate the Refuge’s resolution to the latter’:

⁸⁰ HO-45/1000 - letter dated 31/3/1847 to Sir William Sommerville. The similarity of reluctant sentiments may remind us that Crawford was a Refuge Committee member.

⁸¹ Radzinowicz and Hood (1986:231-2) note that Hill was Recorder of Birmingham for thirty years and an intimate acquaintance of Jeremy Bentham and other ‘advanced liberals’. Sending the Home Department a draft Report concerning the need for amending the criminal law so that ‘reformation’ would be the ‘object of secondary punishment’ (and best begun with juvenile offenders) he clarified: ‘By a Reformatory system we understand one in which all the pain endured strictly arises from the means found necessary to effect a moral cure. A prison thus regulated becomes a hospital for the treatment of moral diseases’ (Hill, 1846:13; from a copy in HO-45/1471). His father had founded the Hazelwood School which reflected Bentham’s Chresthomatic ideas on education for the middle-classes and aimed to produce ‘men of business’ (Stewart, 1972:56). His brother Frederic became the Inspector of Scottish and Northern Prisons and brother Rowland found fame through postal innovations. They were distantly related to the Reverend Rowland Hill who had fostered Philanthropic trade in 1794 (see Chapter 3).

⁸² s/j-25/3/1847. For an account of Monckton Milnes’s wide-ranging interests and his courtship of Mrs Nightingale’s reforming daughter, Florence, see Pope-Hennessey (1949) and (1951).

Mr K-S said that he felt confident Sir George Grey's interest in the subject was so great and personal that he wd. be anxious to sanction and assist the Philanthropic Society if they were able to offer a well-grounded and comprehensive scheme⁸³

This opinion had an aura of authority. Kay-Shuttleworth had worked as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner (beside Secretary Chadwick) before being appointed as one of the first Visitors to Parkhurst (with Crawford) in 1838. That year, the Commissioners' Report on pauper education had condemned the neglected condition of children who were equipped only for a life of dependency by being taught in workhouse schools by other inmates. Believing, like Philanthropic Founders, that education of the rising generation was one of the most important ways to eradicate pauperism, Kay-Shuttleworth then championed the introduction of elementary district schools. These were to be staffed by properly trained teachers in place of monitors and subject to inspection (Webb and Webb, 1929:256-8)⁸⁴. Appointed Secretary to the Privy Council Committee on Education in 1839, he had a controlling interest in the School of Industry at Norwood which fed apprentice-teachers into the Normal College he helped found at Battersea in 1840. As it was to this Training College the Resident Chaplain had turned in his quest for a 'thoroughly efficient schoolmaster' in 1846, it would seem that Turner had been moving in intellectual circles of awareness of Kay-Shuttleworth's endorsement of European innovations which 'made a point of educating the heart and feelings as well as cultivating the intellect' on the lines pioneered by Pestalozzi and Fellenberg (Stewart, 1972:87)⁸⁵.

Although we can only speculate on the sources from which Turner distilled his educationally improving ideas, soon after returning from Mettray he 'interviewed' with 'Mr Kay Shuttleworth ... on the subject of the plans and operations of the Society'. He had found that gentleman 'sincerely interested and desirous of seeing'

⁸³ s/j-13/3/47

⁸⁴ Chadwick would particularly echo the Founders' utilitarian sentiments when bringing forward 'the children of the state, the orphans and deserted and neglected children - on whose correct training depends whether they shall grow up into armies of vagrants, trampers and delinquents to burthen the land, or whether they shall be added to the stock of honest and productive labour' (cited in Donajdrodski, 1977:68-9).

⁸⁵ This author also notes the controversies that led to Battersea enterprise being taken-over by the Anglican National Society around this time.

the Philanthropic proposals ‘as soon as possible practically realised’⁸⁶. Kay-Shuttleworth may also have taken the opportunity to appraise Turner of the Privy Council Committee’s plans for establishing a model Training College, at Kneller Hall, in which masters of workhouse and penal schools could be made competent. Indeed, a mutually beneficial circularity of interests seems to have been in contemplation. On taking-up Kay-Shuttleworth’s suggestion of sending Sir George a firmer outline of the plans for a Country Establishment, the Society declared its intent was:

to make the Institution publicly useful, not only in reclaiming the Boys received into it, but in the training of pupil teachers who may do good service to the country as Prison School Masters and Masters of schools in agricultural districts⁸⁷

Another silence ensued. Although the Home Secretary had received a detailed description of the Farm School’s projected mode of operation together with estimates on the Government’s anticipated contribution to its foundation and after-maintenance, nothing was heard until Philanthropic envoys obtained an interview in September⁸⁸. They found Sir George had indeed ‘proposed giving his answer previous to the dissolution, but that he had been prevented by the pressure of Public Business’⁸⁹.

Sir George’s inattention to Philanthropic anxieties is understandable. 1847 had been a particularly busy year for the Home Secretary. Successfully introducing a Bill which took expression in the Poor Law Board Act, his hopes of reviving Sir James’s plans for enabling Counties to set-up Reformatories out of local rates had been battered during stormy debate on a Juvenile Offenders Bill in the Spring. Although an Act empowering Magistrates to summarily sentence minor offenders in order to avoid ‘the evils of their long imprisonment previous to trial’ did pass in the Summer⁹⁰, Sir George was also entangled in controversies surrounding the management of Millbank

⁸⁶ g/mns-2/12/46

⁸⁷ HO-45/1000 - correspondence from Treasurer Gladstone to Sir George, dated 20/3/1847.

⁸⁸ Treasurer Gladstone’s estimated cost of the ‘gradual formation’ for 240 boys was ‘about £14,000’ and for 480 boys ‘nearly £20,000’. The Superintendent’s Journal reveals that Turner also devoted much time to these calculations as well as to sketching the outlines of the Farm School regime.

⁸⁹ g/mns-7/10/1847

⁹⁰ An Act for the more speedy Trial and Punishment of Juvenile Offenders.

Prison⁹¹ and the merits of transportation and the Hulks⁹². With this portfolio simmering, he was most likely keeping a very close eye on the proceedings of the House of Lords inquiry on the Execution of the Criminal Law especially respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation. This was instigated by Lord Brougham whose masterly Parliamentary performance had impressed American visitor Griscom in 1818. Involved with M. D. Hill - as well as Dr. Birkbeck - in forming the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Brougham's improving impulse had been behind the formation of the Poor Law Commission in 1832 and the provision of education grants to voluntary organisations in 1833. By 1847, Brougham was 'at the height of his influence' (Radzinowicz and Hood, 1986:173).

If the Philanthropists were delighted to hear that the Home Secretary was now willing to send them boys from other prisons, they may not have been so happy to know Crawford had cast further slights on their plans. Upon reading the Philanthropic application for pecuniary aid, he felt obliged to warn Sir George that acceding to the request would set a dangerous precedent and might draw the Treasury into its 'continuance'. Indeed, in his opinion 'the friends of the Philanthropic Society' were 'not such as to justify the expectation that the Agricultural Institution could be carried on without material assistance'.

It is difficult to estimate the weight of Crawford's influence on the matter and he 'expired' during a visit to Pentonville Prison in 1847⁹³. We might note, nevertheless, that the Philanthropists were informed:

[Sir George regretted] it would not be in his power to aid the Society with a grant of money towards the formation of a Country Establishment.

That the measures he [still] proposed to bring forward would enable counties and boroughs to make provision for the reformatory Education and Discipline of the Juvenile Offenders of their locality, either by establishing Penal Schools themselves or by using such

⁹¹ McConville (1981:212) notes this revolved around irregularities in staff supervision and led to a Royal Commission reporting on the matter.

⁹² One outcome of the deliberations was Capper's retirement as Hulk Superintendent.

⁹³ Besides noting that Crawford was 'suddenly seized' during a Board Meeting, McConville (1981:216) remarks that his Inspector colleague, Whitworth Russell, committed suicide in Millbank Prison that year.

Reformatory Asylums as the Philanthropic elsewhere - the expense of the maintenance and education of the children being defrayed from the rates.

That on this ground it would be impossible to give such a grant as the Society asked for as similar grants would be immediately applied for and expected in other localities ...

That with reference to a loan - that lay with the Treasury Department, but the possibility of such assistance must depend on whether the Philanthropic could be considered one of those Public bodies to which loans from the Treasury were restricted⁹⁴

This news failed to impede the Farm School's progress. The Philanthropic entrepreneurs took the risk of venturing out on their own. Although the exact destination was unknown, in January 1848 a Special General Court 'unanimously' found it 'expedient' to plant roots in the countryside where:

With a view to the thoroughly fitting the boys to maintain themselves in after life, they shall be taught to cultivate garden ground and fields - to look after cattle, to make and repair their clothes and shoes, to knit stockings, to plait straw hats and to be useful in ordinary housework, such boys as are peculiarly adapted for such employment being taught the business of carpenter, wheelwright, bricklayer and every boy being taught to read and cypher - and receiving as much other useful instruction as his employment allow of, and the religious instruction of the boys and the accustoming them to religious habits being a **fundamental** part of their training⁹⁵

Upon this resolution, it was decided to open a public subscription with a view to founding the Farm School when £3000 was obtained. Philanthropic 'friends' responded magnificently. By March, £2000 had been collected. Perhaps even more spectacularly, the Philanthropic Society was now able to send 'loyal and respectful thanks' to:

Her Most Gracious Majesty and to His Royal Highness Prince Albert for their kind encouragement of the Society's efforts in condescending to become its Patrons and in so liberally contributing to its funds⁹⁶

There were other pleasing portents. Sir George not only contributed to the Farm School Fund but visited St. George's Fields and had then 'given his personal testimony' on the Society's 'efficiency and usefulness' before the House of

⁹⁴ HO-45/1000 - letter dated 31/3/1847.

⁹⁵ g/mns-19/1/1848 - original emphasis

Commons⁹⁷. Moreover, the Right Honourable W.E. Gladstone, M.P. had become a Vice-President⁹⁸ and Monckton Milnes, M.P. had been elected to the Committee⁹⁹. The Society could also summon a Public Meeting on the subject of the laws regarding Juvenile Offenders and see its guest-list headed by veteran reformer Lord Brougham. With campaigning M.D. Hill and a cluster of influential others also attending, a Petition emerged which was presented to the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond and to the Commons by Monckton Milnes¹⁰⁰. And, if there was disappointment at finding this effort had been made ‘too near the end of Sessions to allow for that general movement which would else have been made in favour of some alteration in the laws’, Turner could report:

that petitions agreeing in the prayer sent up from the Meeting ... had been obtained from the magistrates of Montgomeryshire, Norfolk and Sussex and also from Reading¹⁰¹

Meanwhile, the Farm School acquisition was underway. Searching for a suitable site in Surrey or Middlesex, nothing was found to suit in the vicinity of Epsom, Croydon or, indeed, Reigate. Two plots were then spotted near Uxbridge but the asking price was too high and so a farm near Farnborough was considered. Bereft of a house and with the land entirely bare of trees, this was thought unsuitable. As an ‘advantageous site’ was then ‘lost from the managing committee not being in a position to at once make an offer for it’ Turner, Treasurer Gladstone and Committee member Mr. Cattley were granted the necessary powers. The Society also felt a need to escape the shades of “Nimbyism” that had haunted Bentham’s Panopticon progress¹⁰². It was agreed:

⁹⁶ g/mns-3/3/1848

⁹⁷ *Report* (1848)

⁹⁸ g/mns-3/12/1847. W.E. Gladstone came to the next Anniversary Dinner and presented prizes donated by his Treasurer cousin who was ‘unavoidably detained’ [g/mns-25/5/1848]. He was a regular visitor at Millbank Prison for thirty years and one of the founders of the Church of England Penitentiary Society (Gladstone, 1928:66). His other ‘social duties’ included that of being a Trustee of the Association for promoting the Relief of Destitution in the Metropolis (Low, 1850).

⁹⁹ Monckton Milnes was elected in March 1848.

¹⁰⁰ g/mns-24/6/1848

¹⁰¹ g/mns-6/7/1848

¹⁰² See Chapter 4.

it being probable that objections may be raised by vendors to selling the land for such purposes as the Society have in view the Treasurer be requested to purchase the same and to convey it by resale to the Society if this course shall be found desirable¹⁰³

By August the quest seemed at an end. The Duke of Richmond had been consulted on the subject and the sale of the London estate and Chapel was cleared by an Act of Parliament¹⁰⁴. The Society then sanctioned the purchase of a farm at Potters Bar. In this, they had in mind:

That the proposed Farm School being intended especially as a Model Institution and being especially a school of spade husbandry and gardening for boys the three chief points to be looked into in deciding on a site should be-

It being very easily accessible and within view from some frequented line of Railway communication and of it being of a light soil such as young persons could be advantageously employed upon¹⁰⁵

Yet, although a design prize of £20 was afterwards won by Mr. Moffat who had 'most fully realised the domestic and rural character of the proposed Institution' and building tenders were received in October, the Philanthropic Farm School was not built in the 'English Country Farmhouse style' near the Great Northern Railway. On 21st December 1848, Treasurer Gladstone announced that:

he had received an offer of a Donation of £1000 to the Farm School Fund on condition that the new Establishment shall not be fixed at Potter's Bar but be removed to some other locality where facilities for obtaining more land can be found and be placed at a distance of not less than 40 miles from St. Paul's upon the North side of London and not less than 12 miles on the south side - and that an estate near Redhill - on the Brighton Railway - which appeared, from the buildings on it, to be very eligible for the purposes of the Farm School - had been offered on a long lease, or to purchase - by the owner W.J. Tilley of Woodhatch, Reigate¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ g/mns-25/5/1848

¹⁰⁴ The Act passed on 22nd July 1848. Committee member Richard Baggallay junior was afterwards thanked for 'his kind and valuable services in gratuitously advising on and preparing the Act of Parliament recently obtained by the Society - the early and economical passing of which this Court feel strongly to be due to the clear and skilful manner in which the Bill was prepared' [g/mns-14/9/1848]. For the difficulties encountered by other charities in such transactions, especially before the Charity Commission was established in 1853, see Owen (1964).

¹⁰⁵ g/mns-2/6/1848

¹⁰⁶ The Society's little *History* relates that a lady had offered a bribe of £1000 to remove from Potter's Bar. Although notions of propriety may have cloaked a woman's identity, an unnamed

This was not an offer to refuse and terms were quickly agreed. Indeed, the publicity value of this new investment was soon milked by inviting Prince Albert to lay the Foundation Stone of the School and Chapel. A public celebration of the event was arranged to take place after Turner took-up residence in the existing buildings. The Festival was a roaring success. On Prince Albert's arrival:

the Royal Standard was immediately hoisted, and the band of the Royal Artillery struck up "God Save the Queen," the immense assemblage, from the surrounding neighbourhood, as well as those from the Metropolis, drawn thither by the exceedingly propitious weather, expressing their approbation by loud cheers and the waving of hats, &c. His Royal Highness was received by His Grace the Duke of Richmond, the President of the Institution, who formed into a procession, with the Committee, the boys now in the School, the clergy of this and adjoining districts, &c., by whom His Royal Highness was conducted to the stone, placed beneath a large pavilion, in which were about 600 ladies and gentlemen¹⁰⁷

As they contemplated this happy scene, some Philanthropic Trustees may have paused a moment to reflect on the way that their enterprise had come out of the shadows and into the light now shining on Red-stone Hill. It certainly had not decayed over the past decade. In many respects this was a radically different Society to that which set out to nip crime in the bud at the end of the eighteenth-century. No longer including girls amongst its Objects and intent on ending the admission of boys of criminal parentage, it was beginning to specialise in the reformation of male Juvenile Offenders. Importantly, however, this Chapter has revealed how the novelty of embarking on an English Reformatory Farm School experiment helped boost the Society's funding fortunes. It has also provided a rare insight on the complex negotiations involved in forging a closer relationship with the Home Department on the road to Redhill.

gentleman's donation of the same amount is mentioned in the records [fsm/c-30/11/1848 and g/mns-17/1/1849].

¹⁰⁷ For this and extracts of other published reports on the Festival, see SHC-2271/43/1-9.

Chapter 7

A PHILANTHROPIC NETWORK OF REFORM

1. A Fresh Start

Having traced the Society's progress to Redhill, its relatively sudden decampment might still lead us to suspect some grave incident had occurred at St. George's Fields which made retreat inevitable. Extensive enquiries into local records relating to Southwark have not, however, uncovered any aggravations caused to - or by - the Society's old neighbours. This Chapter then, will attempt to tie-off some loose strands of influence that coloured the decision to embark on that very 'important experiment':

viz.- how far the free discipline and out-door occupations of a country school, conducted on the footing of an Agricultural Colony, can be successfully applied to the moral Reformation and Industrial Training of such youths as the Philanthropic seeks to rescue¹

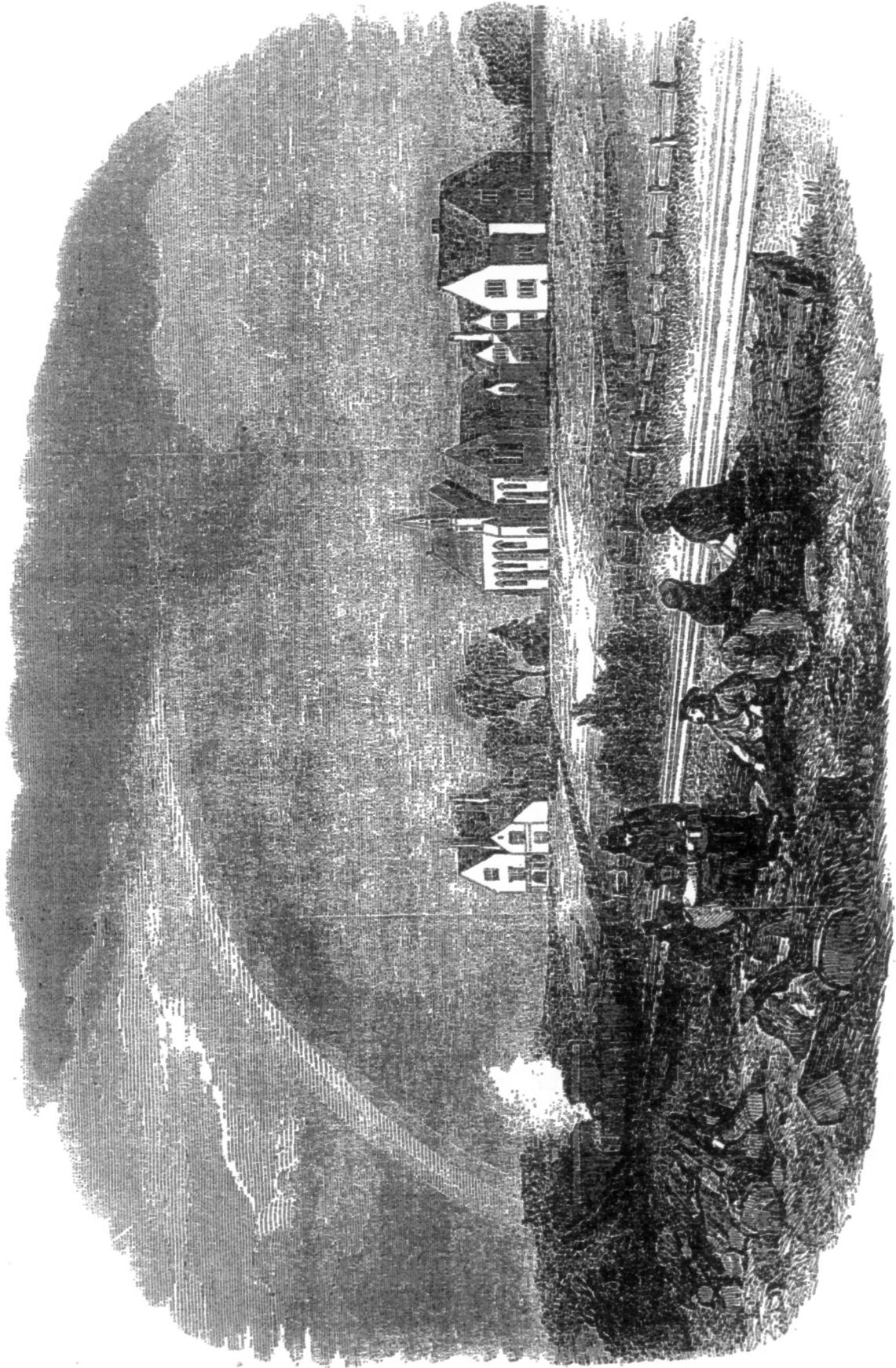
Whilst the implementation of the Farm School plan lies outside the scope of this study, it seems fitting to carry the Philanthropic story forward a few years. Doing so will provide an opportunity to extend our understanding of the relationship developing between the Society and Home Department. It will also, importantly, allow us to consider how the Farm School was zealously promoted as an exemplar of what might be achieved through a union of voluntary and statutory agency.

We shall begin by joining Turner as he drew once more upon the Society's Enlightenment heritage to stress that relocating in the countryside was in line with the Founders' ambitions. Those gentlemen had, indeed, intended to employ 'Agriculture' as a means of transforming outcast children into hardy husbandmen who could usefully cultivate 'waste lands'. Moreover, their sentiments 'strikingly' coincided with those expressed by the 'Enlightened Mirabeau'. When writing to Romilly in 1785 he had declared:

All hospitals ... all Institutions for the reception of the Infirm, of Foundlings, Beggars, Lunatics, &c., are established near Towns. Why are they not removed from Towns which

¹ *Farewell Anniversary* (1849). For a view of the Farm School (1851) taken from the *Illustrated London News*, see fig. 9. Reflecting an idealised image of English rural family life, the design is a contrast to the formality of Mettray.

fig. 9



THE PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETY'S FARM, AT REDHILL.

they infect, and which infect them, to the Country? ... let them be removed to the Country, where everything is cheaper ... Children bred there can only be brought up for Trade, and for Towns, while the sedentary employments of Trade kill the children, whose first want is to run and jump and play about ... These unhappy children, the produce for the most part of the vices of the Cities, will at least be brought up in the good and simple morals of the country²

Agricultural pursuits had failed to Philanthropically flourish after the transition from the Asylum (without Walls) at Hackney³. The utility of cultivating the soil was, however, firmly embraced in other experiments developed at home and abroad. It had, for instance, been a fundamental feature of the cottage-based initiative for delinquent children which Wichern established at the Rauhe Haus, near Hamburg, in 1833. Even before that enterprise was eclipsed by Mettray's scale of achievement, it underpinned the many "Farm School" schemes whose roots lay in the eighteenth-century Hanway Acts. These, the Webbs (1929) remark, were mainly barrack-like institutions to which Poor Law Unions "farmed" out their wards to contractors who ran them for profit (see also Nicholls, 1898)⁴. One of the most renowned was the School of Industry run by Mr. Aubin, at Norwood. That enterprise had been cross-fertilised with continental educational ideas upon being taken under the reforming wings of Kay-Shuttleworth and E. Carleton Tuffnell, Secretary of the London Statistical Society and Poor Law School Inspector (see Henriques, 1979: 212-3)⁵.

Notably, while the views of at least one of these gentlemen were considered when the Farm School plan began its progress, Turner had consulted other experts after returning from Mettray. He also met with 'Mr. Whitmore and Mr. S. Tremenheere' who 'fixed to visit the Philanthropic premises at St. George's Fields'⁶. Tremenheere,

² *Report* (1850) Although helpfully identifying another source filtering into the original plan, we remain wondering whether Philanthropic Founders - such as Jeremiah Bentham - were conversant with this correspondence. However, Jeremy had met with Mirabeau by that date (Finer, 1952:75).

³ Curiously, the Philanthropic Farm School was located about 12 miles north of where Robert Young had planted the foundations of his British Settlement.

⁴ Hanway (1772:169) had also advocated the provision of gardening plots in parish schools as a remedy for defects in police.

⁵ While Henriques provides details of the various employments undertaken in this pauper education experiment, for an extended account of the formation of the London Statistical Society and its members' reforming interests, see Cullen (1975).

⁶ s/j-2/6/1847

who became the first Inspector of Mines on the passing of Ashley's Act of 1842 and took-up duty as another Inspector of Poor Law Schools, does not appear to have kept that appointment⁷. Mr. W. Wolryche Whitmore did oblige. In consequence, Turner and fellow Mettray investigator, Mr. Paynter, quickly repaired to Bridgnorth to view the 'small Agricultural Establishment' which their new friend 'had in connection with the Union'. This contained '60 children all under 14 years' and occupied '4½ acres with a profit of £70 in the last year'. Mr. Whitmore was afterwards welcomed onto the Philanthropic Committee in recognition of his 'valuable assistance' with 'reference to the agricultural management' of the Redhill Farm⁸.

That the intrepid Philanthropic explorers were not tempted to visit the reformatory "asylum without walls" at Stretton is understandable. When its spokesperson appeared before the Richmond Committee in 1835, he confessed that its scheme for training criminal boys in spade-husbandry had lapsed as few farmers in the vicinity were willing to employ such lads. The problematic matter of after-disposal had also beset Captain Brenton's Children's Friend Society. Commenced on a small-scale as an agricultural establishment for boys at West Ham before removing to a larger site at Hackney Wick (with girls settled in its Royal Asylum at Chiswick), this welfare venture invoked the merits of 'the Bible and the spade for the boys; the Bible, broom and needle for the girls'. It was also touted as a vehicle for relieving parishes from the burden of maintaining young workhouse inmates. On discovering that many employers refused to take-on its children at home, attention turned to sending the boys and girls to Colonies where a demand for labour had been detected (see Bradlow, 1984).

This was not a new market in care and convenience. When the Virginia Company petitioned for a supply of youthful Londoners in 1618, the Mayor vindicated his

⁷ He was, however, later thanked for recommending a Schoolmaster from Cookham Union House for a situation in the Farm School [g/mns-2/8/1849]. Like Turner, Tremenheere had sympathy with Lockean/Pestalozzian educational ideas and advocated that habits of obedience should be 'founded on affections rather than fear, by appeals to reason and conscience' (Roberts, 1969:199). For the common views held by Tremenheere, Kay-Shuttleworth and Tuffnell on the socially beneficial purposes of education, see Johnson (1970).

⁸ *Report* (1850)

readiness to send them across the Atlantic in terms of the swarms of homeless waifs, orphans and children with criminal tendencies being a ‘nuisance’ to the authorities at home at a time when plantation owners were desperate for labour (Wagner, 1982)⁹. Such a *laissez-faire* approach would be at variance with the thoughts entertained by the “Colonial Reformers” of the 1830s. They, Pinker observes (1979:85), firmly believed that the State should play a greater role in regulating a more systematic settlement of the surplus poor in Colonial public lands. Nevertheless, the Children’s Friend Society successfully attracted the support of many subscribers. It also, we may recall, had procured Philanthropic money by offering to give some of its children a fresh start abroad¹⁰.

Yet, by the end of that decade, Brenton’s Society was encountering the escalating ire of settlers at the Cape who suspected it was off-loading rather too many children with criminal backgrounds into the Colony. It was also spinning into a crisis of public credibility at home surrounded by accusations of “selling” young children into conditions of exploitation and cruelty. This, Bradlow (1984) recounts, was ‘disastrous for the Society’. Not only was Brenton ‘persecuted to distraction’ by organs of the public press but Committee members had the frightening experience of being pelted with stones on their way into a general meeting. Indeed, as after Brenton’s death, in 1839, his remains were even ‘insulted on their way to the grave by a mob who cried out that he had been a slave dealer under the pretext of charity’, we can appreciate why funds dried up and the Society wound down.

Amazingly, this furore did not unnerve Turner from bringing the idea of emigration to the fore in 1843. Bending his mind to the ‘most effectual method of lessening the cost of the establishment’ - and with an expanded Reform in view - he suggested £900 a year could be saved if ‘the great part’ of the boys ‘should be retained in it three years (or in some cases one year more) and then be placed out in the colonies’. This, admittedly, was a risky business. He was ‘aware that in proposing the disposal of the

⁹ Percival (1911:141) adds that the idea of providing such children with a ‘fresh start in life’ was first given statutory recognition in an Act of 1717. See also Pinchbeck and Hewitt (1969).

¹⁰ See Chapter 5.

boys abroad' it was 'entering on difficult ground after the failures of the Children's Friend Society'. Nonetheless, he continued:

I believe no serious evil or difficulty would occur because-

1st The boys would be older averaging 14 years of age

2^d There would not be any money received for them

3^d Being criminals the protection and assistance of the government might be claimed and obtained for them, a point which all the information I can gain shews to be of primary importance. I have indeed been favoured with a perusal of several letters from influential gentlemen in Canada on this point which justify the expectation that the boys would do well if placed under the sanction and guardianship of the Colonial Authorities¹¹

Turner, regrettably, does not tell us how he came by the letters from these 'influential gentlemen'. Nor does he disclose whether the subject had been broached by particular Philanthropic members. Despite this reticence, we may suppose he had an opportunity to mull over the topic with Committee member Mr. Capper. That gentleman could well have appraised him of his own - and even Holford's - belief in the benefits of "exile" for the boys. In formulating the proposition, Turner might also have paid reverence to the views expressed by Steward Russell when before the Richmond Committee. As we saw, he had supplemented his thoughts on the utility of sending Juvenile Offenders to reformatory asylums by suggesting it would be a 'wonderful Benefit' to the public and to the boys if, after a few years therein, they were sent to the Colonies¹².

The topic of emigration subsided from view. It did not rise again until fused into the *Mettray Report's* recommendations regarding the "best prospects" for Philanthropic boys whose after-care frequently posed problems. This was of contrast to the French experience. As Turner and Paynter had discovered, there was 'no difficulty' in providing for Mettray graduates 'there being more applications than can be satisfied' from 'farmers and tradesmen in different towns and villages'¹³. Indeed, as emigration

¹¹g/mns-3/3/1843

¹² See Chapter 5.

¹³ We might note that in the Plan for Union with the Refuge, Crawford had envisaged the Directors of the combined Institution providing children who had conducted themselves 'satisfactorily' with employment at home or in a 'British Colony'. He added that the Plan was drawn-up 'with the view of adapting the best parts of the French system of "Patronage"' (HO-45/1000 - memorandum to Sir James Graham, November 1844).

was conceived as a crucial component of the Farm School scheme, we can appreciate why Turner would boast that he had communicated ‘with the under-secretary of state for the Colonies, Lord Westminster’ on the subject and had received an encouraging response¹⁴.

That news might lead us to reflect on whether Treasurer Gladstone had cultivated the contact. This could have been effected through the residual influence of his cousin, William Ewart Gladstone, who had just been replaced as Colonial Secretary in the summer of 1846. It is also conceivable that the necessary introductions were made by the Society’s President. Besides taking an interest in prison reform and secondary punishments, the Duke of Richmond had been one of the Commissioners appointed in 1831 ‘for the purpose of collecting information on the subject of emigration to British Possessions abroad’ (Hitchens, 1931:10)¹⁵. However, as the Farm School plan galvanised many erstwhile “figureheads” into action, we should not be too surprised to discover that the Philanthropic world had already embraced Lord Westminster as a Vice-President. Having followed in the Grosvenor family’s path of Philanthropic duty, his interest would extend to visiting St. George’s Fields on quite a few occasions. Also giving Turner the pleasure of recording he had ‘dined at Lord Westminster’s’¹⁶, his Lordship would be added to the Farm School Management Committee.

Although we cannot confirm which influential friend facilitated access to the Colonial Office, Turner was soon able to announce that he had met with another Under-Secretary therein. This was Benjamin Hawes who informed him:

That with reference to the emigration of boys from the Philanthropic School to the Colonies, every assistance would be readily given by the Colonial Office -

That he thought there would be no difficulty in placing a very considerable number (100 or 200) annually in Port Phillip and South Australia and in securing them efficient protection for a year or two after their landing -

¹⁴ g/mns-7/10/1846

¹⁵ Hitchens (1931) also notes that a “Wolryke” Whitmore was a member of the South Australia Association which had sought to put the Colonial Reformers’ theories into practice. This, possibly, was the new Philanthropic friend from Bridgenorth.

¹⁶ s/j-26/5/1847

But that boys would have little prospect of success if only trained to such sedentary trades and collective occupations as tailoring and shoemaking -

That in fact to prepare them properly for such a destination they should be practised in trades and labours connected with agriculture and trained in a country establishment ¹⁷

The promised assistance proved elusive. We might, indeed, suspect this account was tinged by a desire to drive the Farm School proposal forward. The Society would certainly pilot the scheme by sending a contingent of 19 boys to Swan River, Perth, 'under private arrangements' in August 1848¹⁸. Then, with this Australian venture apparently successful, Turner was empowered to negotiate with the Colonial Office (now in the hands of Earl Grey) for help in sending a batch of 36 boys to Algoa Bay, at the Cape. Alas, he had to disappoint Philanthropic hopes by announcing that:

[he] had communicated with the Emigration Officers agreeably to Earl Grey's suggestion ... [but] ... had reason to believe they would not be able to give the Society the aid applied for in the present instance, the arrangements for the boys' passage having been made independently of the Emigration Office¹⁹

This was as nothing to the shock of finding the second mass sortie into the Colonies had caused great 'outrage' amongst the settlers. Considering how fatal the Cape shore had been for the Children's Friend Society in recent memory, this destination was rather audacious. The boys' landing, however, was a matter of particularly bad timing. As Philanthropic friends there made known, 'it was most unfortunate that the introduction of these boys in the Colony' had coincided with the arrival of news that:

[the] dispositions of the Home Secretary just now is to make this a Convict Colony and at the moment the whole of the Colonists are extremely excited and using every constitutional

¹⁷ g/mns-7/10/1846. Hawes associated with the Philosophic Radicals (Thomas, 1979) and was a Surrey magistrate (*DNB*). He was also a Commissioner of Pentonville along with the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Chichester (a future Philanthropic Vice-President) and Sir William Molesworth who, with a Colonial Reformer's zeal, presided over an enquiry on transportation in 1837-8 (Low, 1850). For Chichester's range of 'paternalistic' interests, see Roberts (1979).

¹⁸ While the Society had helped individual boys emigrate from time to time, these large-scale arrangements were set in train with Treasurer Gladstone's help. The policy of sending others to sea was not abandoned. Of those dispatched by activating the Gladstone family's business connections was: 'George Jackson [a Parkhurst boy] admitted 30/10/1847 - Mr Gladstone offered to take this lad into one of his ships. He is this day bound to Mr G. The name of the ship in which he sails is "*The Duke of Wellington*" trading to Calcutta'.

¹⁹ g/mns-4/2/1849. Earl Grey had contributed to the Farm School Fund (*Report*, 1848)

means to resist the infliction they are threatened with. The excitement now is so great that we think was another lot of your boys to arrive just now they would not find masters²⁰

The awesome scale of resistance was confirmed by Her Majesty's Governor in Cape Town. He warned that:

the feelings on the subject of convicts is so strong and so universal at present in this Colony that I feel it would be most inexpedient to send out any more boys, at least for some time to come - However moral might be their character, and perfect their reformation, they would most assuredly be regarded at this moment by the inhabitants with suspicion and the object of their emigration be at once defeated²¹

Hearing that alarming opposition had been mobilised in the Cape press, the Society hastened to correct 'erroneous statements'. No copy of a published response survives in the Philanthropic archives but it probably echoed sentiments captured in the Minutes. The following extract is thus worth reading at length as it pin-points what was felt crucial to rebut. It also indicates that an awareness of Vice-President Ashley's bid for a grant towards transplanting Ragged School children into the Colonies had hovered around Philanthropic calculations²². As the Society retorted:

This Committee desire and most distinctly and emphatically to state that they have no understanding or arrangement of any sort whatever whether public or private with the Colonial Office or Emigration Board as to the sending their boys out.-

And that their connection with the Government is limited to the receiving into their Institution a few lads convicted at the Assizes or Quarter Sessions but pardoned and recommended to the Society's protection on account of the lightness of their offences and their favourable character. The only pecuniary contribution received in any way by the Society from the Government being the amount expended for such boys' maintenance, clothing and provision when apprenticed out; which is repaid by virtue of the arrangement agreed to by Secretary Sir George Grey three years ago ... an arrangement made at least twelvemonths before the idea of the Society's pupils being sent out to the Colonies was in any way entertained.

That in applying to the Emigration Board for aid towards the expenses of the passage of the thirty six boys sent out in February last the Committee acted under the impression that

²⁰ g/mns-7/2/1850 - letter dated 1/11/1849. The friends were to organise a Committee for the reception of the children and to 'protect and watch over them' [g/mns-2/8/1849].

²¹ g/mns-7/2/1850 - letter dated 24/10/1849.

²² Ashley laid this before the House of Commons in July 1848 but the Motion was withdrawn. He soon captured a grant of £1,500. It wasn't renewed as the scheme had not turned out well (see, for example, Battiscombe, 1974:205; Wagner, 1982:29; Kidd, 1999:87).

some part of the grant voted for sending out to Australia the boys selected from the Ragged Schools of London and its vicinity might be available for the lads of the Philanthropic, these being principally of the same class of destitute and neglected children as these schools contain.

That in reference to the boys spoken of as recommended from County Associations and as paid from the funds subscribed by magistrates and others - this Committee desire it to be distinctly understood that these lads are not of such character as that the magistrates are willing to pay £17 a piece to get rid of them²³

Turner also took up arms. He was particularly stung by suspicions of the boys being used as a covert spearhead of Government ambitions²⁴. Insisting that emigration was only offered to the most 'promising' lads as the 'Prize of the Institution', he decried:

The Colonial Press has attacked the Society as receiving JUVENILE CONVICTS from the Government, as being in league with the Colonial Office to introduce boys of this strictly criminal class into the Cape, under a charitable disguise. The Society's assailants overlook the essential difference between the boys received into the Philanthropic on Sir George Grey's recommendation, and those who are sent to Parkhurst; and they pass by altogether the important fact that the very reason why these boys are recommended for the Queen's pardon, and placed in the Philanthropic, is that, though nominally Convicts, they are not Criminals in the real sense of the word, and deserve and want the moral discipline and instruction of a School much more than the penal correction of a Prison²⁵

Whether this riposte punctured the 'assailants' outrage, the following cases illustrate that at least some of the Philanthropic emigrants were not hardened "convicts"²⁶. We might also note the variation in their routes of referral to the Society. Amongst the boys who embarked on the voyage were:

William Stanley admitted 30/10/1848 at £16 per annum ... [charged with] stealing money (£3) from his employer - the Butty (or overseer) of the coal mine he worked in - [sentenced at] Staffordshire Sessions [to] 4 months imprisonment & hard labour [recommended by the] Staffordshire Prisoners Reform Association - This boy states he was persuaded to steal the money by a man who had been discharged from the Pit & who told him where to find it - a fine intelligent lad

George James aged 15 admitted 29/1/1848 - concerned with another boy in stealing - tried at Guildhall Jan.13 - Complaint not pressed on condition of his being received into the

²³ g/mns-14/11/1849 - original emphasis.

²⁴ For the similar imputation cast on Brenton's operation, see Bradlow (1984).

²⁵ Report (1850) - original emphasis.

Philanthropic on the Sheriffs' Fund. Recommended by Alderman Sidney - £16 per annum on acct. of the Sheriff's Fund, Ludgate Hill. This boy is very ignorant - & appears to have great difficulty in learning anything - but is very quick & very fond of talking - he is a native of St. Helena where he has an aunt "Sally" alias Margaret James - in service with a person keeping a Public House

John Webb aged 13 admitted 10/2/1847 at £16 per annum [paid by the] Surrey Society ... committed for misdemeanour - says he had been 19 times in prison - but charged with Vagrancy ... at Union Hall - 5 weeks imprisonment in Brixton House of Correction with hard labour

The Cape crisis passed and emigration became a prominent feature of Philanthropic practice. Importantly, however, this episode reveals why the Society now reversed its ideas on seeking Government co-operation in the sphere of Colonial enterprise and decided the more 'privately' and 'unofficially' its emigration plans were worked out, the better it would be²⁷.

2. Reformatory returns

This retreat from partnership makes a surprising contrast to the Society's tenacious cultivation of Home Department territory. By May 1850 it was reaping a fruitful financial harvest. Out of the 100 children then in the School:

29 were on Government account at the usual rate

10 were on Government account by special agreement from Westminster Bridewell²⁸

28 were on account from various associations

18 were on account of friends or subscribers

15 were on the Free List

Marking the significant shift from the funding pattern of the early years, this also highlights the re-thinking on the appropriate allocation of reformatory responsibilities that recently had been fore-grounded. On that matter, the authors of the *Mettray Report* were convinced that:

²⁶ Convict status tended to be conferred on persons sentenced to over two years imprisonment.

²⁷ There is no room here to consider the shifting and complex arrangements made for the dispatch and after-care supervision of boys who subsequently emigrated. However, Radzinowicz and Hood (1986:217) note that 'Out of the 3,809 discharged between 1849 and 1871, 1032 were emigrated from Redhill, and in the four years ending 1871, 192 out of 317 discharged were emigrated'.

²⁸ We will shortly see that this was an extension of the scheme under which the Parkhurst boys had been admitted.

with regard to the formation and support of such Asylums of Reform, they should in all cases be, as much as possible, the result of *voluntary exertion* and *private benevolence*, and not simply *Government establishments*; but, as individual charity could not be reckoned on for supplying the funds required for their maintenance, either to a sufficient amount, or with sufficient certainty and regularity, that such a sum should be contributed either by the Government, or from the county or borough rates, on account of each boy received on the recommendation of the magistrates, or the Secretary of State

Furthermore, Turner and Paynter particularly urged that in regard to Treasury funding:

It would be advisable to have any such contribution *paid by head* ... and not in the form of an annual grant of a gross sum from the Government. The present experience of the Philanthropic, where boys are now received from country districts, in virtue of the subscriptions of the magistrates, shows that the plan of paying so much per head for the boy's expenses, does not interfere with private contributions; while the experience of the "Refuge" seems to show that an annual grant, and an apparent dependence on Government, discourages them²⁹

The fate of the Refuge suggests the Philanthropic approach was not misplaced. We last encountered that long-standing voluntary enterprise resisting exhortations to view the proposed Union as a 'means to secure the permanent existence of the two Institutions'. At that time, the Refuge was maintaining around 200 children. By 1850, it was reduced to catering for only 40 girls in a small establishment taken at Dalston (Low,1850)³⁰.

This makes such a stark contrast to Philanthropic fortunes that it is tempting to believe the Refuge's reluctance to risk the joint-venture - combined with a complacency bred by the annual government grant - contributed to this sorry pass. Merely to do so, however, would overlook a very significant factor in the background. This was, a Home Secretary alert to the duty of getting good value for public money. Indeed, as this item of Administrative interest appears to have had no small bearing on the Refuge's decline, it seems fitting to bring Treasurer Forster

²⁹ Original emphasis.

³⁰ We may recall that Crawford's Plan of Union had conceived these Institutions specialising in either male or female juvenile offenders. We should also note that the Philanthropic deliberately reduced its numbers preparatory to implementing the Farm School plan.

forward to ask for the 'usual' Government grant of £3000 at the beginning of 1848. Unfortunately, in also directing Sir George's attention to the 'state of the account, by which it appears that the expenditure during last year exceeded the income by £1578.1.11'³¹, Forster seems to have touched a Home Department nerve. He was swiftly requested to send a more detailed statement of the 'Objects' admitted to the Refuge under the Parliamentary grant. As this revealed the startling fact that only 7 males and 3 females had been received under the Secretary of State's orders the previous year³², Sir George then sent his civil servants scurrying to provide him with a yearly breakdown of the grant received since 1814. This was to be set against annual subscriptions and donations.

The exercise did not prove to be a study in fiscal prudence. Research disclosed that voluntary aid had dramatically declined while Government contributions remained more or less steady and, in effect, were being used for general purposes³³. The Treasury was hurriedly consulted and the outcome was a drastic reduction in the public money supply. As Forster was tersely informed:

[while] Sir George Grey is by no means disposed to underrate the usefulness of such an Institution ... [he] ... is unable to satisfy himself that there are sufficient grounds to justify a continuance of the application to Parliament for an annual grant towards its maintenance, which as the [Miscellaneous Estimates] Committee of the House of Commons observe is a subscription to its funds and which in fact entails the greater portion of its annual income. The effect of such grants appears to be to check the exercise of that private charity and benevolence from which the Institution derived its existence & on which it first depended for its support ... The payment from the Treasury should be limited to the amount requisite for defraying the expense of the maintenance of juvenile offenders sent to the Refuge by order of the Secretary of State, including some definite sum for the expense of their apprenticeship or outfit on leaving the Institution ... it is now proposed that in the next estimates for the year ending March 1849 the sum proposed to be granted to the Refuge shall be reduced to £200³⁴

³¹ HO-45/1000 - letter dated 11/1/1848.

³² HO-45/1000 - letter from Forster dated 22/2/1848. This states that on 1st January 1848, 106 Males were in the Hoxton establishment, with 102 Females at the Hackney Road branch.

³³ By 1847, the subscriptions and donations only amounted to £240 per annum.

³⁴ HO-45/1000 - letter dated 12/10/1848. While the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Estimates of 1847-8 provided a spring-board for Sir Charles Trevelyan's enquiries into government efficiency (Sutherland, 1972:6-7), Home Department administration was under particular scrutiny in 1848 (Donajrodzki, 1972:84).

This news must have been something of a bomb-shell. To compound Refuge woes, cholera ‘suddenly broke out’ on the 14th February 1849 at its Female Establishment and ‘raged for a fortnight with fatal malignity carrying off thirteen of the inmates and two of the matrons’. Having dutifully attended the scene, Forster was also inflicted and ‘died on the 21st of the month after a short illness’³⁵.

The Philanthropic enterprise was altogether in a much healthier state. The difficulty in obtaining suitable Masters had, admittedly, hindered efforts to put the family-based system fully into practice as intended³⁶. Nevertheless, the doctor had not been required to attend any ‘serious’ complaints and a ‘kindly interest and goodwill’ had replaced the ‘hostile and distrustful feeling’ expressed by some Redhill residents at the appearance of the Farm School on their doorsteps³⁷. Furthermore, the spectre of extinction that hovered over its diminishing subscriber-base at the beginning of the 1840s had receded. Although funding worries would not entirely disappear, the Society was now in a rather more favourable position to respond to risks arising from the sudden demise of any one of its informal partnership arrangements.

It also had a Resident Chaplain who determinedly flourished his competence before the Home Secretary. At least, that is, if Forster had been content to furnish the Home Department with a straightforward abstract of the Refuge’s income and expenditure, Turner outshone by ensuring his financial statement was accompanied by a careful tally of the after-destinations and outcomes of the boys. This was capped by a cost-benefit analysis of Philanthropic reformation viewed from a variety of angles³⁸. His conscientious assessment of the extent to which the Government had profited from

³⁵ Refuge Minutes. The epidemic had erupted the previous year and kept Ashley and Chadwick occupied on Public Health Board duties (see Battiscombe, 1974). By 1853, however, Sir George had become a Refuge Vice-President and thus followed in the footsteps of Home Secretaries, Sidmouth, Peel and Graham. The Refuge Archives also reveal that, in 1922, the Dalston Institution merged with the Elizabeth Fry Home for criminal women.

³⁶ Anticipating difficulties in obtaining competent staff, the *Mettray Report*’s authors noted that: ‘you want intelligent men; you want earnest men; you want, at the same time, cheap men’. As they added: ‘the only way that we can see to obtain such agents is, to prepare them as at Mettray’, this consideration probably coloured the Society’s bid to join with the Privy Council’s Kneller Hall scheme in early 1847 (see Chapter 6).

³⁷ *Report* (1850).

³⁸ HO-45/1649.

its reformatory investment was, no doubt, appreciated. As we shall soon see, it certainly did him no harm in Sir George's eyes. We might, indeed, consider Turner's Philanthropic apprenticeship was duly rewarded. After the Reformatory Schools Act passed in 1854, he became the first Inspector of Reformatories. He took-up this position in 1857, the year that the Industrial Schools Act was entered on the statute books.

3. A legislative quest

The shaping of these entwined legislative landmarks in juvenile justice and welfare policy has been amply discussed elsewhere (see, for instance, Carlebach, 1970; May, 1973 and 1981; Pinchbeck and Hewitt, 1973; Margarey, 1978; Radzinowicz and Hood, 1986; Wiener, 1990) and it is not the intention here to retread this ground extensively. Nonetheless, as the Philanthropic influence on the passage of the 1854 Act tends to be underplayed, it seems pertinent to bring this into prominence. For convenience, we will pick up the threads by returning to the year in which the *Mettray Report* provided a catalyst for recasting the Philanthropic mould.

That any Philanthropic governors attended the meeting of 'gentlemen and noblemen' convened in the Mansion House at the beginning of 1846 is not mentioned in the Society's ledgers. Had they attended, however, they would have heard City Solicitor, Charles Pearson, expound on his solutions for checking the growth of juvenile crime and delinquency. Displaying strong Benthamite leanings, Pearson advocated a nationally organised system of Asylums to which children under 'say 16 years, found violating the law, or in a state of destitution which will inevitably lead to crime' could be sent, instead of being committed to prison. He also endorsed the utility of 'market garden stuff and other productions of the soil' as a reformatory occupation, providing that it did not interfere with the 'free-labour market'³⁹.

Around the same time, Captain Maconochie published his tract on the "mark-system" he had devised for convicts in Norfolk Island, Australia. This publication appears to have been closely read by Turner who felt able to declare that the system provided

‘admirable’ incentives for the reformation of adult convicts in a Government penal colony⁴⁰. Nevertheless, his experience amongst boys for whom ‘the future is comparatively nothing, the present everything’ led him to believe it was ‘scarcely possible’ to apply the system to Philanthropic practice:

because it is not possible to place before the boy in such an asylum an incentive sufficiently strong to arouse in him, and yet, sufficiently far distant to call out and exercise his forethought and continuous self-control; the *man* must live by *faith*, but the *boy*, I fear, must live by *sight* ⁴¹

Convinced, instead, of the softening effects that a more instantly gratifying portion of ‘plumb pudding’ made on Philanthropic boys, Turner had an opportunity to discuss reformatory methods with Maconochie when that gentleman came to St. George’s Fields in the summer of 1847⁴². His visit took place just a few weeks before Sir John Pakington’s Juvenile Offender’s Bill was successfully steered through Parliament to allow ‘persons’ not exceeding 14 years, to be summarily convicted for acts of ‘simple larceny’⁴³. That legislative concession to “youth” probably seemed like a beacon of encouragement to the gentlemen who composed the Philanthropic Petition in 1848. As we saw, their plea for further legislative action had been put “in the bag” of the House of Commons by Philanthropic Committee member, Monckton Milnes, and presented to the House of Lords by Philanthropic President, the Duke of Richmond. His Grace, however, failed to elicit a positive response from the Lords despite declaring it was ‘not a party question’ and urging that:

When they saw what had been already done by the Philanthropic Society, there was a very cheering prospect that they might be able to extend their usefulness⁴⁴

³⁹ Pearson’s Paper was sent on behalf of the Lord Mayor to the Home Secretary for comment, preparatory to a general public meeting being held on the subject [HO-45/1471].

⁴⁰ *Crime and Punishment: the Mark System* (1846). Turner cites this work in his Preface to the *Mettray Report*. For a detailed account of Maconochie’s experiment, see Clay (2001).

⁴¹ Preface to the *Mettray Report* - original emphasis.

⁴² s/j-3/7/1847. Both gentlemen endorsed the civilising benefits of the arts and the cultivation of the soil (see Chapter 6). However, in Maconochie’s system of punishments and rewards, convicts were encouraged into good conduct by translating their sentences from an amount of time into a specified amount of labour (see, for instance, Hirst, 1995:260;).

⁴³ The Act passed in the midst of Sir George’s busy year (see Chapter 6). The age limit was raised to 16 years in 1850.

⁴⁴ *Hansard/HoL-4/7/1848*. For a copy of the Petition, see fig. 10.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

At a Public Meeting held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, on Saturday, June 24, 1848,

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF RICHMOND, K.G., IN THE CHAIR.

Present, The Rt. Hon. Lord Brougham, The Marquis of Westminster, The Earl of Harrowby, Lord Kinnaird, The Lord Bishop of Norwich, Sir Charles Lemon, Bart. M.P., R. M. Milnes, Esq. M.P., B. B. Cabbell, Esq. M.P., M. Wylie, Esq. M.P., Sir J. J. Hamilton, J.P., J. W. Freshfield, Esq. J.P., H. Pownall, Esq. J.P., R. Ricardo, Esq. J.P., Mr. Serjeant Adams, M. D. Hill, Esq. Q.C., B. Rotch, Esq. J.P., W. Cotton, Esq. J.P., E. Penrhyn, Esq. J.P., Josiah Wilson, Esq. J.P., F. P. Walesby, Esq. J.P., S. Ware, Esq. J.P., F. Wilson, Esq. J.P., W. Crake, Esq. J.P., C. H. Bracebridge, Esq. J.P., T. B. Herring, Esq. J.P., V. Knight, Esq., J.P., E. Halowell, Esq. J.P., A. Majendie, Esq., J.P., Thomas Paynter, Esq., John Cottingham, Esq., and J. P. Elliot, Esq., Police Magistrates, William Gladstone, Esq., W. Gaussen, Esq., E. Forster, Esq., Joseph Hoare, Esq., H. Hoare, Esq., The Rev. Dr. Rice, Rev. J. Brown, Rev. T. B. Murray, Rev. A. Kelly, &c., &c., &c.

The following **Petition** to the Houses of Lords and Commons was unanimously adopted. His Grace the Duke of Richmond, and R. M. Milnes, Esq. M.P., were requested to present the same to the Houses of Lords and Commons respectively.

To the Right Honorable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.*

The humble Petition of the undersigned Noblemen, Clergymen, Justices of the Peace, Merchants, and others,

Humbly Sheweth,

That your Petitioners have been led by their experience and observation of the administration of the laws relating to Juvenile Delinquency to entertain a deep conviction that Prisons are wholly ineligible places for conducting the Reform and Education of Youthful Offenders; that their Instruction and Detention therein, while very expensive to the Community, do not answer the important purpose to which they are directed; and that from the admitted contamination resulting from the intercourse of younger with older Offenders in the greater number of Prisons, and from the difficulty of assimilating the management of Juvenile and Adult Prisoners in those Gaols and Houses of Correction which are conducted on the silent system, it is of the highest importance, that some SEPARATE PROVISION should be made for the correction of Young Offenders.

That your Petitioners feel assured that Juvenile Delinquency would be greatly diminished, and thus much Adult crime be prevented, and, eventually, much expence to the Country saved, if powers were given to apply the same funds, which are now devoted to the repeated Prosecution and Punishment of Young Offenders, to the establishment of Reformatory and Industrial Institutions, where such Young Offenders might be reclaimed, and religiously and usefully instructed.

That whereas the benefit of such Asylums of Reformatory Instruction might be abused or be perverted by Parents into an encouragement to neglect their Children. Your Petitioners earnestly believe, that it would be highly expedient to enforce, in every practicable case, some contribution from the Parents of the Child towards its maintenance in such Asylums, and also to connect with these Asylums a system of Emigration and Colonization in British Settlements for the Juvenile Offenders received into them.

Your Petitioners therefore pray your Honorable House to pass an Act for the establishment of Reformatory and Industrial Institutions for Juvenile Offenders; empowering Police Magistrates and Justices of the Peace to commit Youthful Offenders to such Institutions instead of to Prisons, and authorizing the application of the same funds that are now spent on Prisons for such Offenders, to the Establishment and maintenance of such Institutions, under such regulations, restrictions and control, as to your Honorable House may seem fit.

* Or—To the Honorable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

Philanthropic pressure was renewed the next summer. This came from no less than Monckton Milnes who moved to bring in a Bill for amending the law relating to Juvenile Offenders. We have no means of discovering how this soon to be “Liberal” but at this time still ‘Tory poet and star of Europe’s smartest salons’ (Radzinowicz and Hood, 1986:175) came to be drawn to the subject. However, Milnes had voted for the abolition of capital punishment around the time he accompanied his friend W.M. Thackeray (an Honorary Member of the Philanthropic Society) to an execution at the beginning of the 1840s (Pope-Hennessey, 1949:128-30)⁴⁵. We might also imagine he had discussed the inter-linked topics of poverty, crime and delinquency with long-standing friends and Philanthropic Vice-Presidents W.E. Gladstone and Viscount Ashley⁴⁶. Milnes now took the opportunity of his slot in Parliamentary time to stress that:

Amongst the various subjects which did and ought to occupy the time of the legislature of this country, there was no one of the social questions more interesting to the philanthropist than the discipline and reformation of juvenile offenders⁴⁷

Reminding Members to ‘particularly bear in mind, that in legislating on such a subject they were not dealing with any difficult question ... the crime was petty larceny; the criminal, the children of the poor’, he contended that confinement in contaminating local prisons was of ‘utmost danger’ to these offenders. As it did not prevent repeat offending it was also of ‘great injury to society’. Furthermore, since all that was done at Parkhurst was ‘chiefly to give the boy a strong impression of punishment, instead of awakening his conscience’, Milnes wished to:

press upon the Government the necessity of establishing some such asylum for the criminal youth of Great Britain as that of the Philanthropic Institution, which, under the able guidance of Mr Sydney Turner, had been made the equal of Mettray in France

Remarkably, the Home Secretary was moved to say that he ‘entirely concurred’ in the ‘eulogium’ bestowed on the Society and that ‘Too much could not be said in

⁴⁵ Thackeray’s appellation of Honorary Member appears in the *Philanthropic Report* (1848).

⁴⁶ For their shared interests in various spheres of social reform, see Pope-Hennessey (1949) and (1951).

⁴⁷ *Hansard*/HoC-10/7/1849.

praise of Mr Turner, the excellent Secretary of that Institution'⁴⁸. His forbearance was not, however, bestowed upon Milnes's propositions. These were discarded with the scathing retort that:

he should rather be disposed to accede at once to the Motion, if he believed that his hon. Friend had really a Bill in his possession. Everything in these matters depended, not on the expression of benevolent sentiments ... but on the legal provisions which were necessary, and, at the same time, practicable, to give effect to these benevolent intentions

Sir George, indeed, felt obliged to 'protest' against the assumption of the path of legislation being 'clear and easy'. It required a 'very nice hand' to balance the sentencing principles which ought to be kept in view; namely, 'the element which, by its deterring effect, repressed the commission of crime, and that which led to the reformation of those who were under punishment'. Nevertheless, it was the 'duty' of Government to keep in view the reformation of juvenile offenders 'in a much greater degree than they were at liberty to do with criminals of a much more advanced age'. Accordingly, he could assure Milnes that:

he should be most willing to receive any suggestions on this subject; keeping in view the principle that crime required punishment, and that those who had been guilty of offences under the law ought not to be treated better than those who had not

This legislative conundrum would not be satisfactorily resolved by Milnes. Admitting 'how difficult it was for individual members to grapple with a question of this kind', he had hoped his Motion would prompt the Home Secretary to bring in a measure on the subject. With no movement evident in that quarter, he brought in an amended Bill the next year⁴⁹. This time, Milnes confessed that:

[his] connection with the Philanthropic Society had induced him to devote much attention to the dreadful state of the juvenile criminal population, the heavy cost and expense they entailed upon the country, while the means used for their reformation had proved inefficient

⁴⁸ Turner had been asked to take-on the role after it was felt that an 'unfavourable appearance' might be 'exposed' if the existing Secretary was also seen acting as the Society's solicitor in pursuit of the revised Act of Incorporation [g/mns-24/11/1847].

⁴⁹ *Hansard*/HoC-24/4/1850. Beforehand, Milnes had 'consulted' with Police Magistrates (including Mr. Paynter) and 'other persons of weight on the matter'.

He also invited Members to see from the circumstances in which this ‘class of boys’ were placed that ‘the wonder was, not that they were in prison, but that they were ever out of it’. Besides being a ‘question of police’, it was a ‘Christian duty’ to take care of the religious and moral education of those ‘unfortunate children’ by supporting his Bill. Indeed, its character could be described by reference to the inscription placed by Clement XI over the entrance to the Church of St. Michael in Rome:

Perditis adolescentibus corrigendis
Instituendisque,
Ut qui inertes oberant
Instructi Republicae Serviant⁵⁰

His hopes were again shot through by the Home Secretary. Scattering withering criticism over Milnes’s proposals, Sir George particularly doubted the expediency of establishing ‘industrial schools’ at public expense. Instead, he thought:

such schools would be much more useful if supported by private charities, such as the Philanthropic Institution, which acted on this principle, but without ostentation. The Government sent juvenile offenders to it, on paying the expenses for which they would be chargeable if the prisoners had remained in gaol ... [moreover] ... He had received only that morning a pamphlet from Mr W. Gladstone, the Treasurer of the Philanthropic Institution, containing a translation of a report presented to the National Assembly in France. Mr Gladstone differed to some extent from his views, but ... thought there should be two classes of these schools, one reformatory, and the other for the punishment of the wilfully criminal and vicious. The latter might be regarded as ordinary prisons, while the former, that gentleman thought they should be mainly founded by private benevolence

Altogether, he crushingly concluded, the ‘machinery of the Bill was perfectly impracticable’. In addition:

it should not be forgotten that there was at this moment a Committee sitting upstairs on prison discipline, of which his hon. Friend was himself a member, and he thought it would be wise to wait for the report of that Committee before proceeding to legislate on the subject

⁵⁰ ‘For the correction of young people who have lost their way/ That whoever should experience it/ Should, having been instructed/ Be of service to the commonweal’. Howard had been impressed by the “juvenile reformatory” attached to the Church and quoted another portion of the inscription in his *State of the Prisons* (1777). Its translation as given in Ignatieff (1978:53) is thus: ‘It is doing little to restrain the bad by punishment unless you render them good by discipline’.

Notably, this Select Committee not only comprised Sir George and Monckton Milnes but Philanthropic Committee member, Mr. Alderman Sidney. Also included were Sir John Pakington who had presided at a Philanthropic Anniversary Dinner in April⁵¹ and Charles Pearson who had descended on the Farm School in March with ‘several other parties interested in the treatment of juvenile criminals and vagrants’⁵². By the end of the Session, the Select Committee members were unable to offer any ‘distinct recommendations’ on the ‘interesting question’ of what system of prison discipline was best adapted to juvenile offenders. However, they were ‘of opinion’ that a ‘larger amount of industrial training and reformatory discipline might be advantageously adopted in their care than of ordinary criminals’⁵³. In this, perhaps, they were not so much guided by Maconochie’s explanation of how his mark-system had been adapted for juveniles in the Borough Prison, Birmingham, as by the exhortations of the Reverend Sydney Turner⁵⁴. This novice to Parliamentary proceedings was, nevertheless, not given an altogether easy time. Unsurprisingly, he was able to provide a shining account of Philanthropic operations under questioning by Monckton Milnes and mentioned that the Society now had only two children of convicts in residence. But, on parading the rigours of the Farm School’s regime against the ‘indulgences’ enjoyed by boys in prisons, he claimed that when the first boys came from Parkhurst:

their complaints were endless; they had not the comforts they said, which they had before; they wanted more clothing; they wanted mittens, they wanted comforters around their necks. They wanted gruel at night and cocoa in the morning, and a variety of things of that sort

At this, a keen nose for exaggeration - and an appetite for first-hand accounts - prompted the Chairman to enquire whether Turner had ‘actually ascertained’ if they really had those indulgences. The Resident Chaplain then had to admit:

I think they had not had the mittens or comforters; but they had been kept so much indoors that they did not feel the want of them; and at our place, where they had to go without caps,

⁵¹ g/mns-2/5/1850

⁵² g/mns-7/3/1850

⁵³ SC on Prison Discipline, PP (1850), Vol. XVII., Report.

⁵⁴ Maconochie sent boys from Birmingham to the Philanthropic on the Free List. His reign at Birmingham would soon be cut short after a dispute with the visiting justices.

and to be in their common clothing in the open air for a great part of the day, they felt the influence of the weather⁵⁵

If this amendment skirted past the “fact” that the first Queen’s Boys had been sent to toil at St. George’s Fields, other important visitors took time to “actually ascertain” how the Farm School experiment was conducted. In September, for example:

Mr F. Hill Inspector of Prisons visited with Lord Westminster - Mr M.D. Hill Recorder of Birmingham, Mr Alcock, M.P. &c. - Mr Hill went very thoroughly into the details of the Boys discipline and employment and expressed himself much satisfied and interested⁵⁶

A similarly glowing accolade was received from ‘Inspectors Mr Carleton Tuffnell and Mr Seymour Tremenheere’ the next month⁵⁷. The following year Treasurer Gladstone had the pleasure of reporting that ‘Mons. Demetz the celebrated founder of “Mettray” had visited the Farm School and had expressed himself mightily interested and gratified with everything he had seen of its arrangement and management’⁵⁸. The Society’s Patron, Prince Albert, then came to Redhill and:

expressed himself highly pleased with the School and the state of the farm. He suggested that brickmaking, charcoal burning and grafting should be taught to the boys ... [and] ... has been pleased to signify his intention to bestow a Bounty of £10 per annum to be given in two sums of £5 each to the two lads who shall earn the best character in the School to be given to them at the end of twelve months service in North America and Australia respectively⁵⁹

Soon afterwards, Turner was laid low by an ‘infection of the chest followed by jaundice’. He would later refer to this as a ‘long illness’⁶⁰. Hence, he may not have fully recovered by early December when a zealous band met at Birmingham bent on

⁵⁵ SC on Prison Discipline, PP (1850), Vol. XVII., Minutes of Evidence, Q. 8290-1.

⁵⁶ g/mns-5/9/1850. We may recall that Frederic, brother of Matthew Davenport Hill, was Inspector of Prisons for Scotland and the Northern District (see Chapter 6).

⁵⁷ g/mns-3/10/1850

⁵⁸ g/mns-4/6/1851. When the boys were settling into Redhill in 1849, Treasurer Gladstone had visited Mettray with Turner who thanked him for assisting ‘most effectively with his knowledge of the language and his personal acquaintance with de Metz and de Coureilles’. This visit provided an opportunity for cementing links through an exchange of letters between the French and English boys [g/mns-2/8/1849].

⁵⁹ g/mns 6/8/1851

⁶⁰ *Report* (1853). In September, Turner wrote to say his ‘nervous system was so shaken’ he couldn’t yet return and asked for a few more weeks rest [g/mns-1/10/1851]. His family had multiplied, however. When the 1851 Census for Reigate was taken, in residence at the Farm School were: Sydney (36); Mary (40); Sharon (8); Gordon (6); Florence (5); Alfred (2) and George (3 months).

swaying opinion to the cause of reforming the laws relating to juvenile crime and delinquency. This National Conference was convened on the initiative of M.D. Hill and Mary Carpenter⁶¹. The latter personage had recently stimulated debate on the subject by publishing a book in which she called for the establishment of 'reformatory penal schools' under 'the guidance of enlightened Christian benevolence, sanctioned and mainly supported by government inspection and aid' (Carpenter, 1851:349). With Conference resolutions drafted, a Committee was formed which went to Sir George in the hope he would take a lead on the matter. Meeting with a 'lukewarm response', they were spurred into engineering a Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children (Radzinowicz and Hood, 1986:176).

A Philanthropic perspective provides a fascinating insight on unfolding events. Indeed, as a further development in Farm School arrangements was entwined, we should note that Treasurer Gladstone had recently waited upon Sir George 'and had laid before him a proposition for the extension of the Society's operations in concert with the Government'⁶². The Society then heard that, on 27th December, Turner 'had gone up with the Deputation appointed by the Birmingham Conference - on Reformation Schools - to Sir George Grey'. The Deputation included Treasurer Gladstone. Having assembled at the Ragged School Union Office and, charging their spokesperson to confine his remarks to the Conference resolutions, they headed-off to the Home Department. On returning, they agreed that Sir George had entertained discussion on the main points of the resolutions and had said:

the Government would be ready to give its attention to any measure brought forward by gentlemen practically informed on the subject if the difficulty in the details could be overcome. He stated further that the Government had no general measure in contemplation and that if we thought it expedient he had no objection to a Parliamentary Committee of enquiry, but he considered that in many cases, such a course only tended to delay

Sir George also intimated that 'he would be glad to hear the details' of the Philanthropic plan which, if 'practicable', he was 'disposed' to help forward 'by all

⁶¹ The parents of both protagonists were Unitarian educationalists.

⁶² g/mns-17/12/1851

the means in his power'. As well, he was ready to see 'one or more' of the Society's members on the subject when the plan was 'more matured'⁶³.

Amazingly, the Home Secretary swiftly conducted his own investigation of the Farm School on the 24th January 1852⁶⁴. An 'official letter' from Whitehall soon followed. As this clarifies otherwise cloudy details of the Philanthropic proposition and indicates how voluntary zeal could be reigned in by Government temperance, it is of interest to note that Under-Secretary Waddington relayed the following information:

With reference to the proposal recently made by the Philanthropic Society to provide accommodation for 300 boys in the Society's Farm School at Redhill and also that the terms for the maintenance of such boys should be increased - I am directed by Secretary Sir George Grey to state that if the Committee of the Philanthropic Society can undertake to receive and provide for 100 boys to be recommended by the Secretary of State for the ensuing year, he will recommend to the Treasury that an estimate should be submitted to Parliament for the sum requisite to defray the expence of their maintenance for a year (irrespective of the term for which he may have been sentenced) at the rate of £18 a year together with the expence of the outfit or provision on leaving the School the amount however of such last named expence to be subject to the approval of the Inspector of Prisons for the District who will be instructed to inspect the School from time to time

I am to add that with respect to the proposal of the Committee to construct additional buildings, Sir George Grey cannot guarantee to the Committee the permanency of this arrangement, as it must be dependent on the sanction of Parliament⁶⁵

Whether these provisos tempered the Society's ambition to be of extended 'Public Service', nerves were probably stretched on hearing that February had brought in a new Administration. Upon this, Sir George was replaced by Spencer Walpole as Home Secretary.

However, Prison Inspector, Captain Williams, assured Turner that 'the change in the Ministry will in no way disturb the arrangement'⁶⁶. A special sub-committee also declared:

⁶³ g/mns/7/1/1852

⁶⁴ g/mns-4/2/1852

⁶⁵ g/mns-4/2/1852 - copy of letter dated 27/1/1852.

⁶⁶ g/mns-3/3/1852

With regard to these proposals we believe that they may be safely regarded as originating not solely from the heads of Departments liable to change, but in truth from the Executive Government which must be viewed as the Agent of the whole Community, the Public having been at length fully convinced that the time has arrived for active intervention and that no further delay should be allowed in adopting some practical and general measures for checking the growth and the spread of Juvenile Delinquency

If we have wondered quite why the Home Department had been so supportive of the Philanthropic experiment and by now suspect it was being used to test the “mechanisms” of legislative action, these gentlemen also took this into consideration. They continued:

No doubt could ever have arisen that the most feasible and obvious measure would in the first instance be to offer aid to an Institution already well organised and in successful operation-

It would also seem probable that the course now decided upon has been determined not for the simple object of availing themselves of the assistance and Agency of the Philanthropic Society in the rescue of Juvenile Offenders upon the comparatively small scale on which it could be conducted by one Institution in one District, but mainly for the purpose of showing by the experience and proofs which will be afforded by the Redhill Schools what may be effected and at what cost in other parts of the Country by the exertions of Charitable Associations combined with the Government aid⁶⁷

This conception of the Society’s experimental role is striking. Its echoes pervaded proceedings at the subsequent Anniversary Dinner. That event, indeed, reminds us of how spectacularly fortunes had blossomed since the gloomy 1820s when many such fund-raising occasions had been postponed for lack of support. In May 1852, however, the Society could trumpet that £1,400 had been pledged that evening in aid of the extension of the Farm School. It was also able to flaunt before the public gaze a very impressive guest-list of Philanthropic enthusiasts⁶⁸. Despite many gentlemen being prevented from attending by the ‘superior attractions’ of the Mansion House⁶⁹, Vice-President W.E. Gladstone presided and was flanked by his brother-in-law, Lord Lyttleton, who represented the House of Lords. Under-Secretary Sir William Jolliffe

⁶⁷ g/mns-18/3/1852 - original emphasis.

⁶⁸ This ‘Festival’ was held on the 8th May. A newspaper account of the proceedings was then ordered to be reprinted (*Anniversary*, 1852).

⁶⁹ The Lord Mayor was entertaining Lord Derby and Her Majesty’s Ministers.

also took a prominent part in the proceedings as did Prison Inspectors Williams and O'Brien along with Monckton Milnes and Mr. C.B. Adderley, M.P.

Just as strikingly, the Chairman's speech encapsulated an increasingly influential currency of thought on the role of voluntary organisations in civil society. Flexing his powers of oratory to pay tribute to a Philanthropic undertaking that promised 'interesting results to the happiness and virtue of the country', he declaimed:

It was a great characteristic of England, that in this land many problems were solved by private enterprise, by private benevolence, and by the spirit of the Christian religion. Difficult questions were first approached and were often finally solved by the efforts of individuals, with which the public law and the institutions of the country would never have ventured to grapple

This, Gladstone added, 'had been the case with the question of the reform of juvenile offenders'. On that 'most difficult and, unquestionably the most interesting of all matters', the Society had been 'ready to tread on unbroken ground' and had 'actually effected, had laid the foundation on which the officers of the Government might tread'. In doing so, it had not proceeded 'on any visionary theory, but on facts' such as those laid out in the latest Report. These showed that of the 114 boys now in the School:

45 or less than the moiety, had both parents alive; 54 had lost either father or mother, and 15 were wholly orphans, and of those who had parents living some 30 of those parents were bad or indifferent characters

Such 'figures', he continued, were 'a more conclusive demonstration than could be provided by any argument, however elaborate' that the 'principle of pity and commiseration were the sentiments appropriate to these children'. For them, the principle of punishment required 'modification':

[for] the strong hand of public justice was too rigid and severe ... it spared too little, and crushed too much ... when in the case of children you applied to them in its full breadth, the doctrine that man was responsible, and was to be made responsible ... Surely the common principle of responsibility must be modified as regards to them; whatever was said about the free agency of man, and however necessary it was to apply it to adults, yet in regard to these poor children, it was a mockery and cruelty to give it full course (loud applause). If that was so, then ... the promoters of the charity were not only giving free

scope to a benevolent impulse, but were acting strictly on the logical deduction of the understanding, when they said “Let us see if we cannot supply something which, whilst it will not induce and tempt to crime by laxity and indulgence, shall, on the other hand, mitigate the severity of public discipline by the elements of kindness and attachment - by something less stern than the countenance of a turnkey and the doors of a prison ...”

Did his audience appreciate how these reflections of the Founders’ sentiments were entwined with their Enlightenment ambition to solve social problems through the application of knowledge? While we cannot be sure they did so, we can be rather more certain that Gladstone’s evidence was based on a recent visit to Redhill and a close perusal of the Society’s Reports on the day⁷⁰. He also went on to extract even more “loud applause” when announcing that the House of Commons had:

appointed a Committee to devote special attention to the question and, the first witnesses to be examined would be the enlightened and benevolent officers of this Society - to gather the fruits of their experience, and render them available in a wider circle

And yes, the previous day a Select Committee had met. Monckton Milnes, Adderley and Sir William Jolliffe were amongst the members who elected Mr. Baines of the Poor Law Board into the Chair. They then briefly deliberated and, before adjourning, Adderley ‘stated that Mr. Sydney Turner would be prepared to attend and give evidence’⁷¹.

There is no room here to note all the individuals who came forth to offer frequently contradictory opinion as to which children the principle of *parens patriae* should be extended; to what type of institution they should be sent; quite how the principle of *doli incapax* had been interpreted and whether the Napoleonic Code’s application of the concept of *sans discernment* had more merit. Nonetheless, if witnesses also

⁷⁰ A transcription of Gladstone’s diary notes that he visited the Farm School on the 24th April and ‘made a short address to the boys’. On that occasion, his Treasurer cousin was in attendance with Monckton Milnes [g/mns-5/5/1852]. The diary entry for the 8th May records ‘Read the Philanthropic [Society] Reports - & presided at their Dinner at the London Tavern, 5 ¾ - 11½ . Lady Palmerston’s afterwards’ (Foot and Matthew, 1974).

⁷¹ SC on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles, PP (1852), Vol. VII., Proceedings. While Chairman Gladstone ‘believed it was true that, on the suggestion of a friend of his who sat near him (Sir W.G.H. Jolliffe) the House of Commons had appointed [the] Committee’, Pinchbeck and Hewitt (1973:473) give the credit to Adderley. He had written to M.D. Hill saying ‘Do pray come up. And give me at once, an outline of the men to be examined, the best sources of written information, and the line and drift to start upon. We want you terribly now’.

tussled over the benefits a period of prior imprisonment would bring to young offenders deemed deserving of reformatory treatment, Philanthropic Mr. Paynter appeared and confirmed that he formerly had been Recorder of Falmouth, Penzance and Helston⁷². That other Recorder, Mr. M.D. Hill, likewise attended and disclosed he had:

had occasion to pay a good deal of attention to the mode of treatment at Mettray and Redhill, which is the School of the Philanthropic Society, who have been so fortunate as to obtain the services of my excellent friend, Mr Sydney Turner⁷³

Hill would also mention the ominous lack of funds which threatened the survival of the Stretton-on-Dunsmore enterprise. So too did Serjeant Adams⁷⁴. Adams, however, went on to explain why he had left the Philanthropic fellowship⁷⁵. As well, he reminded the Select Committee that he had introduced the provision into the Parkhurst Act giving power to send convicted children to reformatory schools on Conditional Pardon. This, he confided, was taken from the system operating in the Children's Friend Society:

[but] became a dead letter as the Prison Inspectors set themselves against it; they said that a child who had committed an offence was a child of the state, and not the subject of private benevolence. I remember saying to one of them, "God bless me Sir! Is a child who had stolen a penny tart, to become a prisoner of the state?"⁷⁶

That Clause XI became a 'dead letter' seems a curious assertion. Particularly so if we have been correct in believing it was the basis on which the Home Department sent Queen's Boys to the Philanthropic.

⁷² SC on Juveniles, PP (1852), Vol. VII., Q.676.

⁷³ SC on Juveniles, PP (1852), Vol. VII., Q.415.

⁷⁴ During the passage of the Reformatory Schools Act, Lord Brougham would regret to say that Stretton 'had, within the last six weeks, come to an end from the want of funds' (*Hansard/HoL-11/5/1854*).

⁷⁵ This bluff character related: 'I withdrew my name from the Old Philanthropic Society for this reason; that they took the children of felons, and apprenticed them with premiums, sometimes amounting to 20*l.* to people at home. I said, "You are in error from beginning to end; what right have you to be giving felons, and to the children of felons, 20*l.*; when you will not give 5*l.* to apprenticing the children of honest hard-working people?"' (SC on Juveniles, PP (1852), Vol. VII., Q. 1873).

⁷⁶ SC on Juveniles, PP (1852), Vol. VII., Q.1854-61.

However, while Adams may have been alluding to opposition initially expressed by Crawford and Whitworth Russell, it is reassuring to find Captain Williams highlighting his role in ‘extending’ that ‘very beneficial clause’ in Philanthropic partnership. As outlined to the Select Committee, this Prison Inspector had applied it first of all to boys in Millbank ‘who were really so diminutive, and also of an age which seemed to render them quite unfit for transportation at all or even being sent to Parkhurst’. On finding that the majority turned out ‘remarkably well’ he had been ‘induced’ to pay more attention to the Philanthropic Society. He then:

recommended to the Secretary of State that it should be extended to young offenders in the prisons of the metropolis and elsewhere. Sir George Grey was pleased to consent to this, and I have since that time been selecting a number of boys from the Westminster House of Correction principally, and also from other prisons, who have been sent to the Philanthropic Society at the charge of the Government, and the experiment is still working remarkably well; indeed, has far exceeded my utmost expectations⁷⁷

Equally remarkable, when asked about the ‘principles’ on which the boys were selected, Williams not only illustrated the referral procedure but revealed he had devised a special “contract”. As he explained:

When there are any boys required to fill up vacancies in the Philanthropic Society I go to the Westminster Bridewell or to the other prisons, and I confer with the Chaplain and the Governor upon the subject, and select a number of boys for examination. A boy is brought before me, in the presence of the Chaplain, and I ask him if he is willing or has any wish to leave the life he is leading. If he says that he has, I proceed to take his examination in writing, telling him that it is within my power to recommend him for a conditional pardon, on condition of going to this charitable institution, and going abroad afterwards, if he wishes it. I also tell him that he must enter into an agreement, I may say with myself, for it is a sort of agreement between him and myself, that he must tell me everything that he has done or committed during the whole course of his life, in order that I may know that he is prepared to lead a new life and speak the truth hereafter; that if I detect any falsehood the condition is broken between us, and I cannot recommend him. In some cases they consent to this; in many they do not. I then proceed with their examination⁷⁸

⁷⁷ SC on Juveniles, PP (1852), Vol. VII., Q. 19-20. His efforts thus appear to have informed the ‘special arrangements’ noted in the Philanthropic Minutes of May 1850 (see Section 2).

⁷⁸ SC on Juveniles, PP (1852), Vol. VII., Q.22. The “contract” was as follows: ‘I do hereby acknowledge that the clause in the above related Act has been read over and explained to me, and that of my own free will and accord do promise that I will conform to the rules of the Philanthropic Farm School. And will go abroad whenever I may be found sufficiently instructed for employment by the governors of that Institution, and that I receive my pardon upon such a condition’ (at Q.61).

Then probed for an explanation of why boys wouldn't consent, Williams cited an 'extraordinary case of refusal'. This, he knew, had been witnessed 'only that morning' by Adderley on the part of:

a little boy about ten or eleven years of age, who had been eleven times in that prison. He was not as high as this table. I had sent his brother previously to the Philanthropic Society, who is doing remarkably well; in fact, although completely a professional thief, he surprises me by the way he has already conformed to the rules. This little boy refuses to go. I have tried every inducement to get the boy to go, but he will not, nor will he give me any reason why not⁷⁹

That this resistance might have stemmed from a canny consideration of the indeterminate length of the Philanthropic reformatory-care-package was not lost on the Committee members. They also heard Turner confirm it created a 'restlessness' which often caused boys to abscond. These defections continued to pose difficulties for the Society. Although the "Prize" of going abroad provided an incentive to good behaviour, the Philanthropic still had no legal powers of control over boys who were not apprenticed. Nor did it have compulsory powers to detain boys sent on Conditional Pardon once their sentence-term expired⁸⁰. Nevertheless, the innovative contract was signed by many boys including:

S. Piggot, aged 15 years, admitted March 1852, sentenced at the Central Criminal Court to twelve months in Wandsworth House of Correction for uttering false coins known to have been imprisoned before and also known as "a regular smasher" with mother and connections all very bad⁸¹

James Splan, however, was delivered into the Farm School through an especially noteworthy route of private zeal. Even before delegates were summoned to the Birmingham Conference in 1851, he had travelled to Redhill on the recommendation of Miss Mary Carpenter, Great George Street, Bristol. James was 10 years old when:

⁷⁹ SC on Juveniles, PP (1852), Vol.VII., Q.43. For an examination of such children's narratives on their family background and experiences, see Shore (1996).

⁸⁰ Clause XI had, however, provided power to bring Queen's Boys who flouted the Institution's rules before a court and be confined in a Gaol or House of Correction. For those who were not Queen's Boys, Williams mentioned the Redhill ruse of bringing re-captured absconders before magistrates with the claim they had 'stolen the Chaplain's clothes'.

admitted 26/9/1851 on terms of 1/6 per week [from his parents] - £1.1. annually [by Miss Carpenter] - charged at Bristol - stealing - one months imprisonment Bristol Gaol - convicted twice before (both for stealing - twice with the same punishment) - schools attended: St James Back Ragged School very irregularly

This appears to be the 'Jemmy S.' referred to by Miss Carpenter before the Select Committee (1852) as testimony to the need for reformatories conducted on the "family" lines of the Philanthropic. It is thus of interest to find that its "cords of love" were not altogether successfully applied to her protégé⁸². Jemmy took an opportunity to abscond on the 3rd November and, after being retrieved, was fined for swearing on 21st December. Again fined for swearing on 12th July 1852, he was then confined in the cells for robbing an orchard. As with boys who engaged in early Philanthropic escapades, this did not deter him. On 21st August, he was whipped for getting through a window and again robbing an orchard. However, on 30th September Jemmy was 'returned to Bristol (Miss Carpenter's School, Kingswood)'⁸³.

Much has been made of how Miss Carpenter's case against the coercive character of Parkhurst's regime was tarnished by the discovery that she had not visited that establishment⁸⁴. That she could speak with more authority on the Philanthropic experiment has been rather neglected. The Farm School had not been omitted from her itinerary of personal investigation. Miss Carpenter had travelled to Redhill in July 1851⁸⁵. On leaving, she was accompanied to the railway station by James Shaughnessy, another former pupil of the St. James Back Ragged School. Unfortunately, this protégé returned from his chivalrous expedition 'totally

⁸¹ While Kellow Chesney (1970) confirms that "Smasher" was the cant term for the profession of passing false money, Shore (1999) provides an illuminating account of the activities of young offenders within the criminal networks of the "Underworld" in the 1830s-40s.

⁸² Miss Carpenter's favoured philosophy would be articulated again in her book *Juvenile Delinquents* (1853). It was not new. It had informed Turner's practice when he entered the Society and had been in Superintendent Durand's mind. It was also embraced by John Brewster who, when writing on the utility of the penitentiary approach in 1792, had said: "There are cords of love as well as fetters of iron" (cited in Ignatieff, 1978:74). This may be the Reverend John Brewster who recommended the case of Jane Scorry/Scurrah to the Philanthropic [g/mns-14/8/1807].

⁸³ Kingswood Reformatory had just been opened with the support of Lady Byron (see Manton, 1976).

⁸⁴ Jebb particularly objected to her assertion that the Parkhurst boys were still restrained by the manacles employed in the earliest phase of the system (see Carlebach, 1970).

⁸⁵ At least, her Philanthropic visit does not appear to have been noted by the authorities referred to in the course of this research.

intoxicated'. Having caused the Resident Chaplain further grief, James was sent back to Bristol in February 1852⁸⁶. He successfully petitioned to return in June and was helped emigrate to New York on 12th August.

Had James met Charles Dickens just before travelling over the seas? We might like to think so. A few days previously, that gentleman had talked to some of the boys as he toured around the Farm School 'with the intention of making it the subject of an article'⁸⁷. This was published in *Household Words* on 11th September 1852⁸⁸. The article certainly provided a vehicle for pricking consciences at the plight of the thousands of neglected children who languished in desolate urban courts and alleys and 'went to pieces for the want of mending'⁸⁹. It was also adeptly employed as a tool for lauding the Philanthropic enterprise in juxtaposition with castigating Parkhurst's 'blind reliance' on a rigid system of discipline. Indeed, Dickens was not only 'glad' to find that at Redhill the 'rules were few, the punishments still fewer', but, in that "Correctional Arcadia" the boys leaving-off work for dinner could 'gambol about, and roll over one another on the grass, with a confidence in meeting no check while they do no wrong'⁹⁰. And, if this illustration of Philanthropic practice inclined him 'then and there to strongly embrace the chaplain', he received it as an 'encouraging sign' that:

the good chaplain does not deem it needful to put on his religion in the out-ward and visible form of a grievous waistcoat, or to make it known to all men by wearing a clear-starched dog-collar around his throat

⁸⁶ The 'boy Shaughnessy' had been admitted on the free list when 16 years old. His bad behaviour and the prospect of keeping him 'as a prisoner in the cell' if retained, provoked Turner into delivering a lengthy report to the Philanthropic Committee. He was discharged 'with as much shew of disgrace as possible for his great ingratitude to the Society and Miss Carpenter' [g/mns-7/1/1852].

⁸⁷ g/mns-4/8/1852

⁸⁸ Cunningham (1991:111) seems to credit Henry Morley with the article. This name is not mentioned in the records surrounding Dickens's visit, but Morley had joined the staff of *Household Words* in 1851 and wrote on educational ideas. First trained as a doctor like Kay-Shuttleworth, he later became Professor of English literature and language at University College (Stewart, 1972:110).

⁸⁹ A copy was kindly provided by Angela Alabaster, a recent Philanthropic Committee member and editor of the Society's little *History*.

⁹⁰ Employing the term "Correctional Arcadia" when outlining how the 'major themes of modern deviance theory' were already available within the nineteenth-century's consciousness, Pearson (1975:177) indicates how the 'complexity of urban life [was] contrasted with the simplicity of persons who are in some form of harmony' with nature. This imagery is evoked in Dickens's article. We may also recall that such cultural codes were embedded in the Philanthropic's eighteenth-century depiction of its "family" pastoral in the village of Hackney (see Chapter 2).

We do not know whether this intimate portrait of Turner made an equally favourable impression on all the Journal's readers. Neither are we informed if the visit had been suggested by friend and fellow social reformer, Monckton Milnes, to whose "Breakfasts" Dickens had been invited as early as 1840 (Pope-Hennessey, 1949:121). It might even have been sparked by Vice-President, Viscount Ashley, with whom Dickens had discussed a proposition for opening a Ragged School. Nevertheless, his friend, Miss Burdett Coutts, soon afterwards visited the Farm School 'two or three times' and donated £50⁹¹. In May 1853, the Society had the further pleasure of accepting Treasurer Gladstone's offer to fund the erection of 'a Gas Works on the Farm, for the purpose of testing the manufacture of Gas from Vegetable Oil'⁹².

In June, Ashley (now Earl of Shaftesbury) offered the House of Lords another solution to the problem of juvenile crime and delinquency. It took the form of a Juvenile Mendicancy Bill. This sought to lay down the principle that children should be taken from parents who sent them into the streets to beg and then lived in 'idleness and profligacy' on their earnings. It also aimed to eradicate the 'evil' by holding those who acted that way 'responsible for the maintenance of their children in their persons and their purses'⁹³. This, Shaftesbury claimed, was a remedy 'within compass'. The judicially experienced Mr. Serjeant Adams had assured him that 'the ability of these parents to support their children was the rule, not the exception'. As well, the Bill had received 'the full approbation of that zealous and intelligent body - the police magistrates'.

Although Shaftesbury hoped to 'strengthen his case' by a 'quotation' of these gentlemen's names, he did not carry the House⁹⁴. The Bill was put into the hands of the Poor Law Board for further consideration⁹⁵. Unfortunately, he soon heard that an 'insuperable difficulty' surrounded his suggestion of taking-up children found in a

⁹¹ Dickens and this heiress had been involved in setting-up the Urania Cottage for "fallen women". For his interest in this and other social and penal reforms, see Collins (1962) and Ackroyd (1999).

⁹² g/mns-19/5/1853. The experiment was conceived with the idea of adapting coal gas apparatus to extract gas from 'Oil Seeds &c.' so as to help light the Farm School and provide employment for the boys [g/mns-2/3/1854].

⁹³ *Hansard*/HoL -28/6/1853.

⁹⁴ The police magistrates included Mr. Paynter.

state of ‘vagrancy’ and placing them in the workhouse⁹⁶. Fellow Philanthropic Vice-President, the Earl of Harrowby, did, indeed, lend support by declaring the Bill’s principle ‘was to treat the children virtually as orphans, as having parents who were worse than dead’⁹⁷. The Commissioners, however, were ‘of opinion’ that:

it would render these establishments distasteful to the poor if the feeling once got abroad that persons were placed there who were destitute and criminal

The Lord Chancellor was inclined to agree. As well, he was disposed to rebut Shaftesbury’s interjection of ‘Not Criminal’ with the comment that:

The noble Lord has said these children were not criminal; but they are so nearly criminal, that it would be difficult to give any definition of criminality which did not include them⁹⁸

This blurring of distinctions was not new. It had resonated around the Philanthropic’s early efforts to straddle the spheres of penal and Poor Law policy and prevent children sliding from destitution or parental neglect into crime. It continued to cloud the matter of formulating legislation when Adderley introduced a Juvenile Offender’s Bill in the House of Commons the next day⁹⁹. This, Adderley argued, was a measure the country was ‘ripe’ to receive. It ‘was but a corollary’ to Pakington’s Act of 1847. Its object was the establishment of reformatory schools to which ‘young children detected in the commission of offences and vagrant children might be sent by magistrates’. Not only had magistrates and justices ‘anticipated the legislation, and taken the law into their hands by adopting most of the provisions contained in the Bill’:

[but] the House should remember that the theory of this Bill had already been adopted in this country. It was adopted by the Philanthropic Institution, which was first established in 1806, nearly half a century ago, by a private Act of Parliament

⁹⁵ *Hansard/HoL-5/7/1853*.

⁹⁶ *Hansard/HoL-12/7/1853*.

⁹⁷ Before being elected Vice-President in the place of his late father [g/mns-6/1/1848], Harrowby was the Lord Sandon who had sent boys to the Philanthropic on payment by the association of Staffordshire magistrates (see Chapter 6). He sat on the Farm School Management Committee with Lord Westminster and was also Chairman of the Society for the Promotion of Colonization (Low, 1850).

⁹⁸ *Hansard/HoL-12/7/1853*.

⁹⁹ *Hansard/HoC-13/7/1853*.

Viscount Palmerston now bent far enough to ‘trust’ that a measure upon the subject might be passed the next Session. This new Home Secretary¹⁰⁰ also proposed that:

we might combine this with that measure - the Juvenile Mendicancy Bill - which came down from the House of Lords ... [and] ... the best thing which hon. Members can do in this matter is to read, during the recess, the evidence taken before the [Select] Committee ... If they do that, we shall be able, when Parliament meets again, to enter into a discussion of the question, with a view to some immediate and practical measure¹⁰¹

With no draft legislation appearing by the opening of the Session, the Philanthropic network of reform ensured pressure did not wane by calling another Birmingham Conference. This was attended by the Reverend Sydney Turner who was charged with representing the Society’s views. On returning, he was happy to relate that:

the proceedings as fully reported in the Daily Papers were of a most encouraging description, both as regards the general cause of Legislation for Juvenile Delinquency and as refers to the efforts of the Philanthropic Society and their appreciation by the Conference¹⁰²

Meanwhile, the Philanthropic had been exploring the advantages of forging links with the Privy Council Committee of Education. The overtures were led by Monckton Milnes and Treasurer Gladstone. These revolved around the belief that regular scrutiny by one of the Inspectors of Pauper and Workhouse Schools would ‘stimulate the Teachers and Officers on one hand and give a satisfactory guarantee for the utility and efficiency of the system’ at Redhill on the other. Hopes of capturing funds also entered the calculations.

In reply, the Lord President of the Council found ‘no difficulty’ in directing Carleton Tuffnell to inspect and report on the Farm School¹⁰³. Regretfully, however, the Society’s operations did not fit into the scheme for pauper schools as set out in the

¹⁰⁰ The Administration had again changed hands in December 1852 (see Evans, 1983/1996:394).

¹⁰¹ Hansard/HoC-14/7/1853.

¹⁰² g/mns-21/12/1853. For Turner’s role in administering the Conference arrangements, see May (1981:378).

¹⁰³ Spending two days at Redhill on this task, Tuffnell stressed ‘he was not instructed to inspect the School regularly, and that he was desired to avoid giving any grounds to the Committee for expecting that the School would in any way be recognised by the Council’ [g/mns-19/3/1853]. See also his Special Report on the Philanthropic Society, PP (1852-3), Vol. LXXIX, in Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education.

Privy Council Minute of December 1846. Earl Granville was thus ‘not prepared to advise appropriation of any part of the Parliamentary Grant for Education towards its maintenance’¹⁰⁴. But, as a new Minute was in contemplation, he was willing to entertain the Society’s thoughts on combining with the Privy Council Committee:

to promote the establishment of Practising Schools upon the Kneller Hall estate ... either by the promotion of a second school, or by the transfer of the Establishment from Redhill¹⁰⁵.

The potential of such a partnership had been recognised and pursued by the Society at the beginning of 1847. Upon the proposition again looming into view, the Philanthropic gentlemen now decided:

[it] would not only be to sacrifice a large portion of the outlay which the Society have incurred (£16,000) ... but would be to interrupt and suspend for a year or two the beneficial agency that they are carrying on - without so far as they can see, any equivalent advantages either as regards the Public, or as regards the Charitable trusts they are administering¹⁰⁶

Attention again focused on the Home Department. Wishing to extend the Farm School’s utility even further, the Society had sought to increase the number of boys received on the Government account with the assistance of a ‘moderate’ building grant. By the turn of 1854, a Philanthropic deputation could report that the Home Secretary was prepared to increase the number of Government boys to 200 and had ‘thought that there was every reason for the connection of the Government and the School being *maintained and enlarged*’. Palmerston also indicated he was willing to have the Society’s views on Government help with building costs laid before him in writing¹⁰⁷.

This was duly done and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury were soon occupied in considering ‘the propriety of expending so large a sum of money upon the buildings of an Institution over which the Government possesses no direct control’. They were also anxious to know ‘whether the Committee was willing to give any security that the accommodation created in the manner proposed shall

¹⁰⁴ g/mns-6/4/1853 - copy of letter from Secretary R.R. Lingen who had replaced Kay-Shuttleworth.

¹⁰⁵ g/mns-21/4/1853 - copy of letter from Lingen.

¹⁰⁶ g/mns-21/4/1853

¹⁰⁷ g/mns-16/4/1854

always be held at the disposal of the Government'¹⁰⁸. As the Philanthropic was willing to provide guarantees under their Corporate Seal, the Treasury conceded to an additional yearly payment 'in the way of rent of £2 per head ... in consideration of the Society's gradually carrying out and enlarging the School from their own resources'¹⁰⁹.

This agreement was cemented just before the Reformatory Schools Act arrived on the statute books on the 17th August 1854¹¹⁰. Defining the slippery concept of "Juvenile Offender" as 'any person under the Age of Sixteen years convicted of an Offence punishable by Law, either on Indictment or on Summary Conviction', the legislation was hailed by M.D. Hill as 'the Magna Charta of the neglected child' (cited in Owen, 1964:155). Many members of the Philanthropic network would, however, continue their pursuit of an Industrial Schools Act. Based on a Bill laid down by Adderley, this successfully passed through Parliament in August 1857.

By then, the expansion of the Farm School was underway. Treasurer Gladstone had come to the aid of this cause with a donation of £1000 and the foundation stone of a new School House was laid by Demetz in May 1856. Whilst this event was adeptly celebrated by way of another large Festival, other eminent persons had continued to travel to Redhill to view its operations. Amongst those visiting in 1855, for example, was Sir Stafford Northcote who had established his own Reformatory School in Devon the previous year¹¹¹. He had also been engaged in a review of Government administration with Sir Charles Trevelyan. These gentlemen suggested the patronage system of civil service appointments should be abandoned and that men of calibre be instead recruited through open competition.

¹⁰⁸ g/mns-7/6/1854

¹⁰⁹ g/mns-26/6/1854. The 'rent' appears to have been a form of interest paid on the Society's outlay on a mortgage.

¹¹⁰ The terms were agreed in a letter received from Treasury Chambers [g/mns-2/8/1854]. We remain wondering whether Vice-President Gladstone played any part in the negotiations. On the change of Administration in December 1852, he had replaced Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

¹¹¹ For this and his involvement in the reformatory movement, see May (1981:400).

Quite how patronage shaped the search for candidates of calibre sufficient to administer the new Reformatory School system does not feature in the Society's records. Nonetheless, with Sir George re-installed as Home Secretary, 1857 dramatically opened with the 'zealous, clever, and active' Reverend Sidney Turner informing the Society that:

Sir George Grey has been pleased to confer on me the Appointment of Inspector of Prisons with special reference to Reformatory Schools - and that after a careful consideration of the matter I have felt it to be my duty to accept the appointment¹¹²

¹¹² g/mns-28/1/1857

Chapter 8 CONCLUSION

I.

At the outset of our odyssey of discovery, the intention was to re-assess the significance of the Society's foundation in 1788 and to uncover the circumstances surrounding the decision to embark on a Reformatory Farm School experiment in 1848. On one level, this study has detailed how the Society's development was nurtured and its survival secured by Philanthropists who harnessed their talents to that end. It has also provided insight on the interweaving ideas and interests that shaped its institutional policies over the period. Our journey has, however, also taken us through a pre-modern policy landscape to a point where the Founders' voluntary endeavours began to be more firmly transplanted into the field of statutory action. As this transition is of importance, we will start drawing this study to a close by briefly outlining some provisions of the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854.

This Act's "mechanisms" notably reflected many of the arrangements that had been pragmatically tested in Philanthropic partnership or were subjects of Philanthropic pleading. Recognising the merits of a "union" of voluntarism with government regulation and aid, Reformatory Schools were to be privately run institutions whose Directors or Managers had to apply to the Secretary of State for Certification. Establishments whose 'Conditions and Regulations' proved satisfactory were, thereafter, to be subject to the surveillance of one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Prisons 'from Time to Time'. Power was also given to the Treasury to defray, at a *per capita* rate, the whole cost of the care and maintenance of Juvenile Offenders or such portion of the cost that was not recovered from parents or step-parents. Moreover, for those who had 'sufficient ability to bear the cost', the Act followed Philanthropic precedent by setting parental responsibility at a sum not exceeding five shillings a week. It also provided the Schools with the long-elusive power of taking any Juvenile Offender who absconded before a Magistrate or Justices who could then commit the miscreant to any Gaol or House of Correction for up to three months - with or without hard labour.

However, as an answer to the “interesting question” of how to blend the deterrent and retributive principles of punishment with reformatory and welfare-orientated sentiments, this Act was essentially something of a legislative compromise. It on one hand empowered courts to send Juvenile Offenders to Reformatory Schools for a term of between two and five years and, on the other, declared that this could only take place once a mandatory sentence of fourteen days imprisonment had been served. This prior-imprisonment proviso may not have pleased those among the campaigners who believed the coercive impact - if not the corrupting potential - of even such a short, sharp, shock of incarceration would undermine reformatory outcomes. Nonetheless, with the Act bowing to the requirement of punishing wrongdoing with some certainty, yet coloured by conceptions of young offenders being in a state of dependency and not entirely responsible for their actions, attention turned to driving through the Industrial Schools Act of 1857.

This legislation again acknowledged the benefits of Government and voluntary agency partnership. However, Certification and Inspection was placed under the aegis of the Privy Council Committee of Education and no provision was made for Treasury grants. Parents deemed able to do so were, nevertheless, expected to contribute the lesser sum of up to three shillings a week towards the maintenance, training and education of their children. Additionally, in cases where a child had previously been ‘taken into custody on a Charge of Vagrancy’ but released on the parent’s written assurance of being responsible for their good behaviour, when a further committal was attributed to parental neglect the courts could punish parents by the infliction of a fine.

Although these Acts laid down the tracks on which a system of state-aided but voluntary managed institutions would develop, a series of revisions soon followed. Indeed, two further Acts of 1866 invoked noteworthy amendments. For instance, in regard to the Act relating to Reformatory Schools, scope was provided for reducing the term of prior-imprisonment to ten days. This also paid reverence to the “beneficial clause” of the Parkhurst Act by enabling the Home Secretary to send youthful offenders ‘convicted of an offence punishable with penal servitude or imprisonment’

to these Institutions on Conditional Pardon. As to Industrial Schools, while Treasury funds came their way in 1861, the consolidating Act of 1866 decreed that their regulation should shift to the purview of the Inspector of Reformatories¹. It also extended the ‘classes’ that could be detained under its provisions. Besides children beyond the control of their parents, those who were under twelve years and charged with offences other than felony were included. So too were children maintained in workhouses or pauper schools who were deemed ‘refractory’ or who had a parent ‘convicted of a Crime or an Offence punishable with penal servitude or imprisonment’. The legislation also embraced children discovered begging on the street who were of criminal parentage or who frequented ‘the Company of reputed thieves’.

These categories of children had certainly not been overlooked by the Philanthropic Founders. Indeed, as they remind us of how widely the Society’s net originally had been cast in contrast to its currently more specialised remit, we will now summarise some key events in its institutional history. We will then consider the significance of what has been revealed regarding the interaction of informal and formal agencies in the shaping of social policy.

II

In the opening Chapters we saw that the Society was formed at a time of social unrest when alarms over the failure of existing criminal laws to stem a perceived rising tide of crime connected into concerns about an increasing poor-rate burden. This served to focus attention on a constituency of poor boys and girls at risk of delinquency if not already embarked on criminal careers. The Philanthropic was not the first charity to attempt to rescue such children from neglectful parents, the perils of the streets or the clutch of the criminal laws. Nor was the enterprise unusual in being conceived as an informal “policing” project aimed at preventing crime through moulding productive, law-abiding citizens by way of moral education and training for employment. It was, however, nurtured by a very active complement of members with diverse interests in the fields of commerce, jurisprudence, medicine, local poor-

¹ For a more detailed account of these changes, see Rose (1967).

law and penal administration. Motivated by a blend of benevolence and self-interest and brought together by a common conviction that their experiment in protection, prevention and reformation could add to the sum of happiness, they stressed the social utility of investing in their venture and swiftly attracted both referrals and funds.

These crucial components of organisational survival were hardly ever in equilibrium. From the earliest years the Trustees were constantly employed in the fraught task of balancing the number of children maintained in harmony with the revenue accrued. That imperative frequently entailed modification of the Society's admission's policy and had particularly influenced the decision to cease taking-on the reformation of criminal girls in 1817. This major revision of the Society's conception of its role was, however, precipitated by an alarming display of disorder in the Female School. Indeed, maintaining internal discipline had been another recurring problem and had already led to the refinement of the Institution's system of classification by means of building a separate Reform for criminal boys. Nonetheless, by the end of the 1830s an escalating problem of disorder among the Manufactory boys was apparent. Along with the difficulty of placing their Wards with suitable employers, this problem became entwined with other concerns relating to the decline in the Society's trading profits and subscription revenue. While the Society remained a relatively wealthy charity in terms of capital holdings and investments, this combination of problems portended a crisis of survival and instigated an investigation and review of the Society's policies and practices.

The changes wrought over the next decade were dramatic. At the beginning of the 1840s the Philanthropic was still heavily involved in the preventive task of maintaining boys and girls deemed to be in need of its care and protection. By 1848 the girls had completely left its nest and the Society had re-cast an identity that was decidedly more reformatory in purpose. This transformation did not follow a pre-ordained path. Rather, it was shaped by a complex blend of ideas and interests that circulated within a shifting configuration of internal and external circumstances. The impetus for change can be located in the anxieties over the Society's survival and a vital ingredient for effecting recovery was put into place with the arrival of the

Reverend Sydney Turner on the scene. Nevertheless, the Philanthropic Farm School remedy for internal problems was fortuitously linked into wider issues of government and State.

The re-interpretation of the Philanthropic function reflected a shift in conventional conceptions of the appropriate roles of civil society and the State in solving social problems. That matter had been addressed by the Philanthropic Founders who, when delimiting the boundaries of State action on one hand and attempting to surmount the dangers posed by indiscriminate charitable giving on the other, had placed their venture within the sphere of carefully targeted voluntary enterprise. This, we saw, did not inhibit those gentlemen of utilitarian bent from seeking Government grants in the 1790s in furtherance of their policing objectives. Nor had considerations regarding the felicity of adding to the sum of national happiness been absent from their successors' request for Government aid in the 1820s.

While the Philanthropic temper was thus inclined towards a minimal level of Government help, a mood-shift had taken place by the time the Society resolved to move to Redhill in 1848. That year of revolutions in Europe and the peak of the Chartist agitation at home may have conveniently coincided with J.S. Mill propounding the view that the State should feel free to depart from the ideal of *laissez-faire* if it was in the public interest to do so and also consistent with facilitating competitive markets². It also saw the Society petition for more active State intervention in solving the social problems that had interested its Founders at the end of the eighteenth-century. The origin of this variant utilitarian discourse on the need for legislative action and partnership with Government is difficult to identify. It was, however, clearly articulated in the *Mettray Report* of 1846. By then, the advantages deriving from closer involvement with Government had come under serious discussion following the arrival of the Home Department inspired plan of "Union" with the Refuge in 1844. Initially dubious about losing some autonomy in the conduct of its affairs yet also swayed by the prospect of gaining Treasury funds,

² *Principles of Political Economy* (1848).

the Society's residual reluctance was dispelled by the time the Philanthropic Farm School plan appeared on the agenda.

Distilling old and new ideas on education and discipline, this plan for providing an English exemplar in reformatory training certainly helped revive the Society's fortunes. It also mapped out a new and more pluralist policy landscape. In itself, however, it did not create a legislative corridor to further changes of the same kind. This required it to be circulated through influential channels of Government by Philanthropic enthusiasts and then, importantly, find support within the Home Department. The initiatives stemming from that quarter since the arrival of Lord John Russell's enquiry about potential cooperation, in 1838, had already indicated a familiarity with reformatory ideas and practices on the part of its officials. They also displayed a degree of readiness to explore the mutual benefits of State and voluntary agency co-operation. Nevertheless, the engagement of interests only took a leap forward under the auspices of Home Secretary Grey. Sympathetic to the reformatory cause and persuaded of the soundness of the Society's existing mode of operation, his willingness to implement the Conditional Pardon clause of the Parkhurst Act helped fertilise the ground on which the Farm School enterprise took shape. Cloaked in the language of "experiment", this special relationship continued under successive Administrations with Redhill being used as an established and efficiently managed resource in which to test the feasibility of extending the principle of partnership between Government and a voluntary organisation.

Caution, nonetheless, remained the watchword at the heart of State. Political will at the Home Department still fell short of taking the initiative by statutorily cementing the partnership arrangements or by delegating compulsory powers of detention to voluntary bodies. Indeed, while this study suggests that the benefits of partnership had been recognised and to a considerable extent anticipated legislative provisions, the Colonial Office's reluctance to facilitate the emigration element of the Philanthropic operation, as well as the Privy Council Committee's hesitancy in providing an education grant, remind us that State intervention was undertaken mainly as a last resort.

With this political culture prevailing, it is conceivable that the Act of 1854 would have been even more delayed had it not been for the efforts which the “Philanthropic Network” made in pressing the case for new laws before Parliament and the public. The zeal of the Reformatory campaigners has been widely documented. This study, however, has provided additional insight into the frequency with which they used the Farm School experiment as an example of what might be achieved. Indeed, the constellation of personalities who made up the Society’s Board of Governors and friends, mostly evangelical in persuasion and with interests in politics, the arts, penal, poor law, health and education administration, exemplified the Enlightenment modes of thought that had percolated through the interlacing circles of early Philanthropic acquaintance. Drawn together by a common concern for social improvement, but having experienced the tribulations of driving innovative policy through Parliament, many of them subsequently became leading lights in the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS). Founded in 1857 with Lord Brougham at its head, the NAPSS was reminiscent of Robert Young’s planned ‘Social Union for the Improvement of Civil Society’. Reflecting the English empirical tradition in Social Science that was ‘problem orientated, eclectic in its choice of problems, and relatively unconcerned with theory’ (Pinker, 1971:65), its first ‘departments’ were devoted to gathering knowledge on the inter-connected matters of ‘Jurisprudence and Amendment of the Law’, ‘Education’, ‘Punishment and Reformation’, ‘Public Health’ and ‘Social Economy’. Its membership included Kay-Shuttleworth and Chadwick as well as M.D. Hill, Mary Carpenter, Sir John Pakington, Charles Adderley and Monckton Milnes. The Reverend Sydney Turner, who was also a member, delivered the inaugural Sermon entitled *Responsibility in Aims and Means*. As Brougham explained in his opening Address, its labours could be regarded as ‘ancillary to the action of the State’ in aiming to aid legislation ‘by preparing measures, by explaining them, by recommending them to the community, or, it may be, by stimulating the Legislature to adopt them’³.

³ *Inaugural Address* (1858). Goldman (1986) notes that W.E. Gladstone was the ‘favourite statesman’ of the NAPSS.

This Enlightened ambition was already supported by the Philanthropic in other practical ways. As Turner disclosed to the Philanthropic Committee in 1855, he had joined ‘gentlemen interested in the Reformatory Movement’ who met at the residence of Barwick Baker at Hardwicke Court, Gloucestershire. In consequence:

it had been resolved to form a Reformatory Association or Union of which the chief object would be to collect and disseminate information - to prompt & watch legislation, and to promote practical efforts - on the subject of the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders. To assist & watch over the young persons discharged from Reformatory Schools after they have left the Schools - and to secure the training & preparation of suitable Masters & Teachers⁴

Turner also remarked ‘that he was instructed by the Meeting to request the cooperation of the Philanthropic Society & that he had consented on the part of the Society to the use of their office up to Xmas for the purposes of the Union’. To this arrangement the Committee readily agreed and, ‘heartily’ concurring with the proposed objects, recommended the Union to the ‘support of all the friends of the Society’⁵.

Surprisingly, the Philanthropic gentlemen had continued to manage the Farm School’s operations outwith the provisions of the Reformatory Schools Act. In view of their tenacious legislative quest we can scarcely resist noting that - shortly after the Act was passed - they had met to consider a communication from the Home Department. This informed them that:

A case having recently occurred at the Quarter Sessions for the County of Worcester in which a boy named William Humphries has been sentenced to be imprisoned for one month - and at the expiration of that period to be sent to the Philanthropic’s Farm School at Redhill for Five Years. I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to request to be informed

⁴ g/mns-5/11/55. Thomas Barwick Lloyd Baker, who had subscribed to the Philanthropic Farm School fund in 1848, founded a Reformatory school on his estate, c. 1852. Adderley also founded a Reformatory school on his model estate at Saltley, Staffordshire, and Prison Inspector O’Brien established one at Newcastle-on-Tyne (Owen, 1964:155).

⁵ The Society had secured a London office in Crown Court, Threadneedle Street [g/mns-4/8/52]. This combination of reformatory effort was, however, fractured by the interdenominational rivalry that pervaded the more mainstream realms of education. As Radzinowicz and Hood (1986:181) relate, two bodies were eventually set up with the ‘exclusively Anglican’ Reformatory and Refuge Union presided over by Shaftesbury and the National Reformatory Union, more closely associated with the NAPSS, chaired by Barwick Baker. For an extended account of these developments, see May (1981).

whether the Society has any wish that the Institution should be certified under the provisions of the 17 & 18 Vict. - cap 86 - Sec. 1.⁶

They did not rush to be Certified. Instead, Turner was instructed to reply that:

The arrangements which Viscount Palmerston has lately sanctioned for the reception to the Farm School for a larger number of Juvenile Offenders on the recommendation of the Secretary of State - together with the Society's charitable operations in cases admitted gratuitously; or on the application of subscribers and others - will fully engage their means and resources of Reformatory action for some time to come

Ironically, the impact of legislative reforms on sentencing practice appears to have given the gentlemen pause to reconsider their position. Also anxious that a short-fall between the Government allowance and the actual maintenance expenses would leave an operating deficiency of nearly £2000 a year, the Committee was soon resigned to accept that:

the practice of sentencing boys for short terms & dealing with them by Summary Conviction under the late Criminal Justice Act has so much increased, as to make it improbable that the Government would be able to increase the number of boys under Conditional Pardons, or even to maintain the present amount. The number now in the School on the Government account are 178 of whom many will leave in the next six months.

That it would seem advisable under any circumstances to certify the Schools under the Act ... as this step would give the Committee power to have as many boys as they thought fit, at the rate of allowance which the Treasury might sanction. With any additional payment that they might be able to obtain from parties interested in the case; and at the same time would not oblige them to admit any others or any more than they deem desirable⁷

The Philanthropic Farm School was Certified by the autumn of 1856. In November, the Committee decided that the 'Corporate Seal be affixed to the agreement with the Kent Reformatory Association for the reception of Juvenile Offenders into Society's School under the provisions of the Act'.

⁶ g/mns-15/11/1854 - copy of letter from Waddington dated 7/11/54

⁷ g/mns-16/9/56 - original emphasis. Some forewarning appears to have been relayed by Jebb who intimated: 'The influence of the present measures with respect to juveniles is beginning to be felt in a diminished number of that class sentenced to Transportation and Servitude. I do not think therefore that I shall be enabled henceforth to recommend the removal of any but very exceptional cases to Red Hill' [g/mns-16/10/55].

III

Using previously underused Philanthropic sources and overlooked Home Department papers, this study has traced the genesis of ideas on protection, prevention and reformation from the time they were put into practical effect by local voluntary endeavour in the late eighteenth-century century to a moment when they were embraced within two major pieces of legislation. In doing so, it has shown how ideas about personal and social reformation, grounded in the Enlightenment, found expression in a new institutional form on the move to Redhill. It has also highlighted the complex network of informal relationships that developed between citizens and members of the Legislature in the shaping of innovative social policy during the first half of the nineteenth-century.

However, it seems appropriate to add a footnote on the Philanthropic future. Receiving a grant from the Privy Council Committee on Education in 1857⁸, the Society's financial arrangements at the turn of the century still broadly mirrored those formulated at the time the Farm School was established. Continuing to play a reformatory role in supplement to the State's penal provision its regime was, however, gradually modified to incorporate new ideas on the treatment of troubled and troublesome youth that emanated from the developing disciplines of criminology, child-psychology, psychiatry and the emerging social work profession (see, for instance, Fox, 1952; Garland, 1985 and 1994/1997; Cohen, 1985; Bailey, 1987; Hendrick, 1994; Muncie, 1999). When the Children and Young Persons' Act of 1933 formally amalgamated Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Redhill became an "Approved School" regulated by the Children's Department at the Home Office. In 1952, the Society petitioned for and received the accolade of a "Royal" title.

The Children and Young Person's Act of 1969 (CYPA) brought more significant change in its wake. The School was denominated a Community Home with

⁸ The particulars of the grant of £901.11.8 were as follows: '£150.0.0 towards payment of the Principal's Salary; £301.0.0 for ten Assistants [half salaries]; £356.16.8 towards the purchase of tools and raw material for labour; £90.0.0 capitation grant for 36 inmates not paid for by the Treasury and £3.15.0. towards payment of rent of land (now purchased) for two months' [g/mns-2/4/57].

Education on the premises, inspection shifted to the Department of Health and Social Security and the Society embraced “controlled” status. This meant that while it retained hold of its land and investments and Committee members were given some representation on the management board, the day-to-day running of the School effectively passed into the hands of the London Borough of Wandsworth.

By the beginning of the 1980s, the Royal Philanthropic Society was engaged in another radical re-interpretation of its Charter. Although the CYPA had, as Nellis (1992) reminds us, envisaged a ‘bright future’ for residential care and control in 1969, a rapid contraction of the sector had subsequently taken place. Indeed, while the Society had once been responsible for running one of the country’s largest campus establishments with capacity for 300 young people “in trouble”, its charitable resources were tied-up in providing for only 30 boys. With a further decline in referrals looming and believing it was no longer adequately meeting the charitable objectives set out in the Act of Incorporation (1806), the Committee decided to sell the Redhill property and strike out in another direction⁹.

Re-launched with a new corporate structure in 1987, the Society again aimed to provide for young people, both boys and girls, “at risk”. It did so, however, through a range of community based juvenile-justice and youth-care projects that operated in a variety of partnership arrangements with the statutory and private sectors along with other voluntary organisations. Forging relationships with professionals and forums as well as inter-Government Departments active in these spheres, the Society also revived its endeavours to influence policy and practice at home and abroad. To this end, its links with Mettray were renewed through involvement in *Euromet*: a network of European organisations working with young people. In November 1997, a “union” of long-standing voluntary effort took place when the Philanthropic merged with the Rainer Foundation. The organisation is now known as *RPS/Rainer*¹⁰.

The same issues of youth crime, delinquency, welfare dependency and social exclusion that gripped the imagination of the Philanthropic Founders remain at the

⁹ The circumstances surrounding this shift have to some extent been analysed by Hyland (1993).

centre of public debate and social research interests today. There is more to be written about the ideas and concerns that shaped the Society's policy and practice from the 1850s onwards. These developments, however, are for other scholars to pursue by way of exploring the Society's vast range of archival resources together with the narratives of recent Philanthropic actors. This thesis has, nonetheless, tried to provide a basis for further work by contributing to our understanding of the dynamics of philanthropy during the Society's early years of operation and growth in a period when the structures of Government and the procedures of policy making were very different from those which prevail today.

¹⁰ For an outline of Frederick Rainer's 'probation' initiative in 1876, see Whitehead (1990).

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 - (c) Miscellaneous**
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- 3. Refuge for the Destitute Archives**
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- 6. Books, pamphlets and unpublished theses**
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