

A Comparative Case Study of the Origins and Spatial Practices of Three Mid-Victorian Rural
Reformatory Institutions

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Nottingham Trent University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2019

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Abstract

This thesis focuses upon the origins and spatial practices of rural based juvenile reformatory schools which developed during the mid-Victorian period (1840-1880) in response to the anxiety within Victorian society regarding the delinquency of urban working-class youth. This thesis examines the notion of the rural idyll, that is idealised notions of rural life and its inherent morality, and the social climate behind its promotion as the solution to the problem of urban juvenile delinquency in the mid-Victorian period. The study then critically examines the managed spatial practices of three juvenile reformatories that were inspired and informed by the ideal of the rural as a model for their reformatory programmes. This involves close scrutiny and evaluation of how the spaces at the disposal of these regimes were managed and manipulated in order to educate, train and morally regenerate their inmates. The study then provides a comparative analysis of many of the key reformatory practices employed at all three institutions in order to evaluate their relative effectiveness. The three institutions studied are: The Philanthropic Society Farm School, Redhill, Surrey; the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School, Whitwick, Leicestershire; and The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, Market Weighton, East Yorkshire.

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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my Director of Studies, Dr Gary Moses, for his advice, support and encouragement. I could not have completed this research without his guidance and I am extremely grateful for his supervision throughout this whole process. I would also like to thank the AHRC for the funding it granted to me which enabled me to undertake this project. My thanks also go to the Surrey History Centre, the East Riding of Yorkshire Archives Office, the Hull History Centre and the British Library. I am also very grateful to the community at Mount St. Bernard Abbey for granting me permission to access their private collection of archives.

On a personal level, I would like to thank all of my friends and fellow PhD students for their moral support. In particular I would like to thank Dr Helen Drew, Dr Suzy Harrison, and Eddie Cheetham for their support, I am truly grateful for your friendship. I would also like to thank my incredibly supportive family, particularly my parents, Wayne and Jeanette, and my grandparents, Joan and Barry, for their constant encouragement and unwavering belief in me. Finally, a very special thank you must go to my fiancé Jason, who has supported me through this process in so many ways. Thank you for being a tower of strength, for being there beside me every step of the way, for always believing in me, and for encouraging me to follow my ambitions. This would not have been possible without you.

Introduction

This thesis focuses upon the origins and spatial practices of the juvenile reformatory schools which became a significant feature of English society during the mid-Victorian period (1840-1880s). They were the institutional response to the anxiety within Victorian society regarding the delinquent activities of working-class youth and the increasingly significant role this appeared to play in generating crime and social disorder. Despite the threat they were believed to pose to social stability, juvenile delinquents (a concept coined during this period) were also regarded as being particularly pliable and reformable by virtue of their tender years and therefore the mid-Victorian period witnessed the increased establishment of reformatory and industrial schools for this purpose.¹ These institutions and the legislation that enabled their growth were the product of intense concern, inquiry and debate about the possible causes and cures of the delinquent malaise. In both aspects of this discussion the potential power of environmental and spatial factors was increasingly salient; in one influential discourse the injurious influence of the urban environment as a cause of delinquency being countered by the supposed salving power of rural milieu. This environmental discourse and its implications for spatial practice form a major focus of this thesis.²

During the Victorian period (1837-1901) the urban environment was viewed by social commentators as playing a vital role in the moral degradation of the young delinquent. Youths who emanated from the 'man-made' and 'artificial' urban environment were regarded as products of the corruption and venality regarded as the characteristic traits of the 'moral plague spots' of the Victorian town and city.³ In contrast those who originated from the rural

¹ Teresa Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces: Gender, Class and Space in Victorian Reformatory Schools', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.20, No.4, (1994), p.413.

² Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.413.

³ Alun Howkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England' in R. Colls and P. Dodd, *Englishness, Politics and Culture, 1880-1920*, (Croom Helm: London, 1986), p.63; Felix Driver, 'Moral Geographies: Social Science and the

environment (the virtues of which have been held in high esteem throughout English history) were believed to lack the cunning ways of the urban deviant and were believed to be less inclined towards delinquency. Consequently there was a widespread view amongst contemporary reformers, philanthropists and social commentators that urban reformatories were not suitable environments in which to bring about a reformation of character. It was this belief that underpinned various reformatory experiments that looked to the recreation of ruralised environments as a means of treating the juvenile delinquent; the most famous example in Britain being the Philanthropic Society Farm School at Redhill, Surrey. In uniting these two principles - the idea of the influence of physical environment and the notion of particular institutions as places of social engineering - the reformatory potential of the rural idyll became a proffered solution to the problem of juvenile delinquency.

In this thesis juvenile delinquents were young male offenders who typically originated from the poorest urban areas and who were perceived to live troubled and morally destitute lives. Juvenile delinquency in the Victorian period was regarded as a largely male phenomenon, few considered female offenders in the discussions of criminal subcultures.⁴ When females did feature in such discussions it was most typically for sexually delinquent behaviour in the form of prostitution and precocious sexual activity. Females were therefore seen and treated differently to males. Whilst there was, amongst Victorian reformers, an increasingly common assumption that a rural location removed from the moral contamination of the town and city was essential for the reformation of working-class criminal boys, along with their application to honest, manual, agricultural labour, both of which were perceived to be morally restorative, this was not the case for female delinquents. As Teresa Ploszajska discussed, females were perceived to require a suburban location in which they could be

Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol.13, No.3, (1988), p.284.

⁴ Heather Shore, *Artful Dodgers: Youth and Crime in Early Nineteenth Century London*, (Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2002), pp.9-10.

reformed in institutions which trained them for domestic work.⁵ This thesis will focus on the contemporary concern with male juvenile delinquents and their treatment within rurally based reformatory institutions.

The thesis examines the notion of the rural idyll, that is idealised notions of rural life and its inherent morality, and the social climate behind its promotion as the solution to the problem of juvenile delinquency in the mid-Victorian period. The study then critically examines the managed spatial practices of three juvenile reformatories that were inspired and informed by the ideal of the rural as a model for their reformatory programmes. This involves close scrutiny and evaluation of how the internal and external spaces at the disposal of these regimes were managed and manipulated in order to educate, train and morally regenerate their juvenile inmates. The three institutions studied are: The Philanthropic Society Farm School, Redhill, Surrey; the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School, Whitwick, Leicestershire; and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, Market Weighton, East Yorkshire; rural-based reformatories that provide a good geographical spread, being located in the south of England, the Midlands and the north of England.

Reformatory Schools

The early decades of the nineteenth century witnessed what Martin Wiener has described as ‘a movement for national reform’ of criminal punishment.⁶ This eventually saw, by the mid-Victorian period, the focus of punishment shift from ‘the public arena to a private sphere and from direct assault upon, or removal of, the body of the criminal to a new focus on restructuring his environment and reorienting his mind’ through the use of reformed prison institutions for example.⁷ This philosophical principle increasingly came to embrace the ever

⁵ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.420.

⁶ Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England 1830-1914*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1990), p.93.

⁷ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.102.

expanding numbers of juvenile criminals who were processed through the criminal justice system. Consequently, Parkhurst Prison was established in 1838 as the first separate juvenile prison in England which, according to its supporters, represented a juvenile institution which was an advanced and civilised alternative to the local prison, Millbank, and the hulks. For its detractors however, Parkhurst represented a harsh, punitive, and ineffective regime and its frequent failures were exploited by these critics in order to highlight its inadequacies and to campaign for the establishment of reformatory schools.⁸

Born out of these circumstances, and of the belief that the problem of child crime and punishment required urgent attention, the reformatory movement emerged comprised of ‘a loosely knit coalition of men and women committed to developing new approaches to the children of “the perishing and dangerous classes”’.⁹ Its supporters increasingly turned their attention to the option of establishing new, privately run, reformatory schools as a more advanced method of dealing with youthful criminals. Accordingly the reformatory movement initiated a period of intense inquiry and vigorous debate on the subject of child crime and punishment, which included convening conferences and publishing papers in order to mobilise public opinion.¹⁰ In a climate of increasing clamour for non-prison treatment of the juvenile delinquent the government passed ‘*An Act for the better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in Great Britain*’, more commonly known as the Youthful Offenders Act,

⁸ See for example: Mary Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents: Their Condition and Treatment*, (W and F. G. Cash: London, 1853).

⁹ John A. Stack, ‘Reformatory and Industrial Schools and the Decline of Child Imprisonment in mid-Victorian England and Wales’, *History of Education*, Vol.23, No.1, (1994), p.62.

¹⁰ See for example: *Report of the Proceedings of a Conference on the Subject of Preventive and Reformatory Schools, held at Birmingham, on the 9th and 10th December, 1851*, (Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans: London, 1851); *Report of the Proceedings of the Second Conference on the Subject of Juvenile Delinquency and Preventive and Reformatory Schools, held at Birmingham, December 20, 1853*, (Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans: London, 1854); Parliamentary Papers (hereafter PP) 1852, VII, *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles*; PP 1852-53, XXIII, *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children*; Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders* (C. Gilpin: London, 1851); Mary Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents Their Condition and Treatment*, (W. & F. G. Cash: London, 1853).

of 1854.¹¹ This Act initiated a state supported and inspected but privately run reformatory school system. According to this statute, the judiciary was permitted, though not obliged, to send any person under sixteen years of age, who had been convicted of any offence punishable by law to a reformatory school for a period of between two and five years, after having served a preliminary period of imprisonment of at least fourteen days.¹² The resultant reformatory schools which emerged during the mid-Victorian period were separate juvenile institutions that were designed to be humanitarian, reformative and educational but also authoritarian, disciplinarian and quasi penal.¹³

These reformatory institutions took various forms, including the increasingly popular reformatory farm school type on which this thesis focuses. This type of reformatory school was rurally based and had a working farm at its centre which provided the principle occupation for its inmates. Influenced by the rural idyll - that is idealised notions of rural life and its inherent morality - the farm school sought to recreate carefully controlled and purposefully manipulated idealised and institutionalised recreations of village life. As well as applying its inmates to (mainly) rural labour, the farm school type reformatory also provided boys with an elementary secular education, moral and religious training, and strict social discipline. The reformatory regimes of three examples of these types of institutions will be examined throughout this thesis.

Literature Review

The discussion and management of delinquent youths in reformatory institutions is a topic that has received attention by historians. These histories have traditionally fallen into

¹¹ PP 1854, 17 and 18 Vict., c. 86., *An Act for the better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in Great Britain*.

¹² Stack, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools', p.62; John A. Stack, 'The Provision of Reformatory Schools, the Landed Class, and the Myth of the Superiority of Rural Life in Mid-Victorian England', *History of Education*, Vol.8, No.1, (1979), p.33;PP 1854, 'An Act for the better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in Great Britain'; The stipulated preliminary period of imprisonment proved to be divisive within the reformatory movement, with some supporting it and others condemning it.

¹³ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, pp.136-141.

two different interpretations of the reformatory system: the orthodox perspective and the revisionist perspective. Orthodox perspectives tend to offer an account that emphasises the role of enlightened, elite reformers in promoting a more humanitarian, modern and progressive treatment of miscreant youth which involved the growth of a more sensitive and specialised response to the social problem of youthful delinquency. Historians who have taken this orthodox approach include J. J. Tobias and James Walvin whose writings have emphasised the ‘profound transformations’ in the treatment of child criminals during the nineteenth century, and the enlightened nature of ‘those many earnest people who grappled so desperately, and on the whole with such humanity, with the overwhelming problem of the causation and nature of crime’.¹⁴ Tobias’s orthodox interpretation of the reformatory institutions themselves is evident in his text *Nineteenth Century Crime: Prevention and Punishment*. Here he states that these establishments ‘presented a success story in the treatment of juvenile offenders’ since these enlightened institutions were ‘regarded as being largely responsible for the drop in juvenile crime in the latter part of the nineteenth century’.¹⁵ Walvin has also viewed such institutions and the laws which supported and encouraged their formation as progressive and beneficent to children, protective rather than repressive. As a result of such measures, Walvin suggested that those children who broke the law and consequently entered such institutions, ‘found themselves treated as children, and were helped rather than merely punished’.¹⁶ They represented therefore ‘a fundamental revolution’ which meant that children were incomparably better cared for.¹⁷ Similarly Margaret May has suggested that the development of specialised reformatory juvenile establishments presented a ‘revolutionary’ progression in the treatment of child criminals and

¹⁴ J. J. Tobias, *Nineteenth Century Crime: Prevention and Punishment*, (David Charles: Newton Abbot, 1972), pp.7-10.

¹⁵ Tobias, *Nineteenth Century Crime*, pp.172-174.

¹⁶ James Walvin, *A Child’s World A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914*, (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1982), p.168.

¹⁷ Walvin, *A Child’s World*, p.168.

initiated a new found focus upon 'the welfare of the child'.¹⁸ More recent orthodox views have been expressed by Marianne Moore who notes that reformatory and industrial schools' 'establishment and enlargement' was based on 'a commitment to care rather than punishment'.¹⁹ Moore suggests that such institutions and the debates and legislation that surrounded their establishment and growth represented 'one of the most energetic child protection movements in modern England'.²⁰ The institutions themselves, suggests Moore, were not only important in the protection and reformation of children during the mid-Victorian period, but they also represented the 'paternalism' of Victorian society and the sense of 'philanthropy, Christianity and moral imperative' of reformers.²¹

Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt offer a partial continuation of the orthodox tradition in their text *Children in English Society*.²² These authors offer a history of the creation of modern progressive juvenile institutions, such as juvenile prisons, reformatories and industrial schools thus underlining their affinity with the orthodox perspective. Pinchbeck and Hewitt state that 'the pioneers of reformatory schools were pioneers in the sense that they were responsible for the formulation and introduction of social change' in the treatment of juvenile offenders.²³ The authors are, however, more sceptical than some in terms of their evaluation of the effectiveness of reforms such as the new police, and of the motives of reformers. Pinchbeck and Hewitt have suggested that although the attitude of reformers might have been more enlightened, the reformatory system, however, was nevertheless still harsh - sometimes brutal - and not as progressive as staunch orthodox historians suggest.²⁴

¹⁸ Margaret May, 'Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the mid-Nineteenth Century', *Victorian Studies*, Vol.17, (1973), p.28.

¹⁹ Marianne Moore, 'Social Control or Protection of the Child? The Debates on the Industrial Schools Acts 1857-1894', *Journal of Family History*, (October 2008), p.362.

²⁰ Moore, 'Social Control or Protection of the Child?', p.362.

²¹ Moore, 'Social Control or Protection of the Child?', p.369.

²² Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society, Volume II, From the Eighteenth Century to the Children Act 1948*, (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1973).

²³ Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society, Volume II*, p.483.

²⁴ Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society, Volume II*.

In contrast to the orthodox interpretation of reformatories and industrial schools a revisionist perspective has, since the 1970s, emphasised that these discussions and the institutional developments that resulted from them were part of a modern, repressive nineteenth-century agenda of responding to deviancy through the creation of reformatory disciplinary institutional regimes of social control. Unlike orthodox historians, revisionists do not interpret the development of a more specialised treatment of juvenile delinquents as a progressive response to the reality of increased youth crime in the nineteenth century. Instead, drawing on Foucault, revisionists focus upon the development of critical disciplinary discourses which identified poor working-class juveniles as a social problem. Susan Magarey, for example, discusses the fact that the description and observation of urban working-class youths by contemporary social commentators and reformers such as Lord Ashley, Henry Mayhew and James Greenwood galvanised fears through their discursive depictions of hordes of ‘naked, filthy, roaming, lawless and deserted children’ overwhelming urban populations.²⁵ Magarey, and more recently Cale, have suggested that this widespread identification of poor urban youths as a dangerous criminal element of society in need of correction was part of a wider process of middle-class suppression of the working classes.²⁶ According to revisionists, therefore, the increased observation and discursive description of the urban working classes, and in particular working-class youths, by upper and middle-class commentators and reformers as a social problem in need of correction and control created the problem of juvenile delinquency which, it was suggested, could then be treated through what revisionist historians have viewed as ‘bourgeois’ institutions of social control and class repression.

Revisionists have also suggested that the creation of juvenile prisons, reformatories and industrial schools was part of a broader nineteenth century process of creating ‘the

²⁵ Susan Magarey, ‘The Invention of Juvenile Delinquency in Early Nineteenth Century England’, *Labour History*, Vol.34, (1978), p.16.

²⁶ Michelle Cale, “‘Saved From a Life of Vice and Crime’: Reformatory and Industrial Schools for Girls c.1854-1900’, (unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, 1993), p.323.

policeman state'.²⁷ This term, coined by V. A. C. Gatrell, describes the nineteenth century upper and middle-class process of identifying the lower echelons of society as increasing lawlessness and delinquency which threatened social order and required control and reformation. Gatrell suggests, for example, in 'Crime, Authority, and the Policeman-State', that the upper and middle classes of Victorian society were keen to oversee the increased police surveillance of urban working-class culture and the development of institutions for its correction 'in the interests of reinforcing social discipline in an increasingly fissiparous society'.²⁸ It is with regard to the development of institutions with the purpose of imposing discipline on incarcerated working-class youth that the influence of Foucauldian thought is perhaps most salient in the revisionist perspective. Foucault argued, in his text *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, first published in 1975, that the development of modern institutionally located forms of disciplinary punishment marked the emergence of the 'carceral society'. Carceral is the term Foucault used to describe a society dominated by penitentiary techniques and he specifically cited the emergence of the nineteenth century juvenile reformatory institution at Mettray, France, in January 1840 as the date of the completion of the carceral system of disciplinary control.²⁹ The authorities at Mettray were, he stated, 'technicians of behaviour: engineers of conduct, orthopaedists of individuality' and the institution represented 'the disciplinary form at its most extreme' with 'hierarchical self-regulation, constant supervision, work, reform-minded education and isolation as punishment'.³⁰ The revisionist critique of the reformatory movement both echoes and builds upon Foucault's analysis of penal reform.

²⁷ V.A.C. Gatrell, 'Crime, Authority and the Policeman State', in F.M.L Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, Vol.3: Social Agencies and Institutions (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1992), p.244.

²⁸ Gatrell, 'Crime, Authority and the Policeman State', p.244.

²⁹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 2nd Edition, (Vintage Books: London, 1995), p.293.

³⁰ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p.293-94; Anne Schwan and Stephen Shapiro, *Foucault's Discipline and Punish*, (Pluto Press: London, 2011), p.166.

John Hurt's 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools Before 1933', for example critically explores the nature of the internal practices developed in institutions established for the reformation of working-class juvenile delinquents.³¹ In contrast to the orthodox Whiggish narrative of the development of an enlightened and progressive response to the problem of youthful delinquents, Hurt interpreted such institutions as a form of repressive control over working-class youth. He argues, for example, that children within reformatory and industrial school regimes 'underwent a disciplined and oppressive routine of hard work, severe punishment, austere living conditions, and a spartan diet to eradicate the alleged defects of their characters, the evil influence of their previous environment, and the sins of their fathers'.³² The harshness of reformatory regimes has likewise been discussed by Stephen Humphries who suggests that rather than representing a benevolent form of progress these institutions were centres of repression and control 'designed to inculcate discipline and obedience in working-class children and youth'.³³ More recently Michelle Cale has similarly suggested that industrial and reformatory schools were 'part of a movement that specifically aimed to control the behaviour of wayward' working-class children through their implementation of what she determines were highly ordered, repressive and 'quasi-militaristic regime[s] of uniforms, roll-calls, brass bands and hard digging'.³⁴

In contrast to the revisionist perspective which has interpreted the creation of the juvenile delinquent and reformatory institution in terms of class orientated anxieties about, and antagonisms towards, working-class criminality, a third, post-revisionist perspective has developed in more recent years. The more recent post-revisionist interpretation has been less inclined to see these developments within the prism of class. Post-revisionists have instead

³¹ John Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools Before 1933', *History of Education*, Vol.13, No.1, (1984).

³² Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools', p.49.

³³ Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939*, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1981), p.211.

³⁴ Cale, "Saved From a Life of Vice and Crime", p.322-23.

emphasised the creative role of Enlightenment and Evangelical ideas and discourses in shaping responses to juvenile delinquency and they have done so in a less class focussed way. For example, Clive Emsley has discussed the fact that ‘as concern grew about juvenile delinquency and as a new legal definition and discourse developed about the criminal child’ it became widely accepted that ‘what was needed was essentially Christian and moral education’.³⁵ He suggests that the role of discourses which advocated such measures (and which eventually led to the passing of the Youthful Offenders Act 1854) was therefore essential in shaping responses to juvenile delinquency. In doing so Emsley is neither as enthusiastically positive as orthodox historians nor as vehemently negative as revisionist historians about such developments.

Post-revisionist historians have focused on the discussion of intellectual, environmental and spatial factors in the creation of the climate of opinion that facilitated the institutional correction of the juvenile delinquent in the Victorian period. Martin Wiener for example has discussed how the rapid growth of towns in the early nineteenth century ‘with their crowding, fast pace, and younger population’ appeared for some to ‘dangerously stimulate the passions’ of their populations.³⁶ Wiener suggests that the young of urban settlements who were at risk of being, or who had been, involved in acts of delinquency, were perceived to be in need of quarantine away from the ‘moral contamination’ of their urban environments.³⁷ Wiener discusses the fact that Victorian reformers, concerned by the problem of juvenile crime, deemed it necessary for the young delinquents to be institutionalised within a ‘thoroughly controlled environment in which their characters could be reclaimed’.³⁸ This focus upon environmental influences over the correction and reform of youthful offenders is important in the post-revisionist interpretation of how juvenile delinquency was diagnosed as

³⁵ Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England 1750-1900*, (Pearson: London, 2005), p.66.

³⁶ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.19.

³⁷ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.132.

³⁸ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.132.

a social disease and how this shaped the development of juvenile reformatory institutions. The post-revisionist view has identified for example a belief in Victorian society that types of delinquent behaviour were the consequence of particular forms of environment. This perspective, as expounded by Felix Driver, suggests that juvenile delinquency was identified by any concerned observers and commentators as the consequence of the corrupting environment of the nineteenth century town and city and became critical in their diagnostic problematising of the causes of youthful offenders.³⁹ Likewise, environmental factors were also, according to the post-revisionist perspective, regarded as important in the correction and reform of youthful offenders since, as Driver highlights, it was believed the deliberate use and manipulation of positive reformatory and curative environments, the ruralised internal structures of rural based institutions, could be utilised to restore youthful delinquents to morality.⁴⁰

The post-revisionist perspective is also one which has identified in the past a belief that rural society was more wholesome, more moral and more healthful than the urban environment. Significant works such as Alun Howkins' 'The Discovery of Rural England', and Jeremy Burchardt's *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change Since 1800*, explore the notion that throughout English history, and particularly from the early nineteenth century, 'the rural' has been celebrated and regarded as organic, wholesome and a morally superior environment to the urban.⁴¹ Views of this nature have been connected by some with the development of delinquent reformatories in rural contexts. John Stack, for example, discusses the influence of idealised notions of rural life and agricultural labour in the evolution of rurally located reformatory institutions within the context of Victorian beliefs regarding the

³⁹ Driver, 'Moral Geographies', p.277; p.281.

⁴⁰ Driver, 'Moral Geographies', p.281-84.

⁴¹ Howkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England', p.63; Jeremy Burchardt, *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change Since 1800*, (Tauris: London, 2002), pp.25-35.

curative powers of the application of institutional recreations of the rural environment.⁴² Stack suggests that the ‘increased emphasis on the peculiar suitability of rural reformatories in reclaiming juvenile delinquents’ due to the perceived ‘reformatory value of rural life’ was so influential that ‘by 1875 almost all of the reformatory schools for boys were situated in rural areas and stressed agricultural work’.⁴³ Post-revisionist perspectives have also discussed how past space was used and manipulated in order to bring about the reformation of juvenile delinquents. This is examined, for example, by Teresa Ploszajska, in ‘Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces: Gender, Class and Space in Victorian Reformatory Schools’.⁴⁴ Here Ploszajska suggests that rural idyllicism was central in determining the location and design of rural reformatory institutions. She states that ‘contemporary faith in the capacity of environmental manipulation for human social improvement translated into the emergence of a whole array of institutions of social discipline’, including rural reformatory institutions.⁴⁵ Similarly, Felix Driver explores the translation of idealised notions of the rural into spatially informed reformatory practice. Driver, like Ploszajska, suggests that rural idyllicism was central in determining the location and internal design of rural reformatory institutions in Britain such as the Philanthropic Society Farm School at Redhill. He emphasised particularly that British reformatory schools sought to emulate the spatial conditions and practices of the French rural reformatory Mettray where ‘the attempt to foster supposedly natural social relations in a largely rural context’ and the ‘cultivation of moral agency’ was regarded ‘as the key to reformation’.⁴⁶ Driver suggests that rurally located juvenile reformatory institutions implemented correctional and reformatory regimes which ‘sought social regeneration through

⁴² Stack, ‘The Provision of Reformatory Schools’, pp.33-43.

⁴³ Stack, ‘The Provision of Reformatory Schools’, p.42; According to Stack 28 of the 32 Protestant reformatory schools for boys and three out of the five Catholic reformatory schools for boys operating by 1875 were rural based.

⁴⁴ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, pp.413-426

⁴⁵ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.413.

⁴⁶ Felix Driver, ‘Discipline Without Frontiers? Representations of the Mettray Reformatory Colony in Britain, 1840-1880’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.3, No.3, (September 1990), p.288; Driver, ‘Discipline Without Frontiers?’, p.273.

the design of moral landscapes and the manipulation of space'.⁴⁷ He argues that these moral landscapes and manipulated spaces were informed by a rural idyllicism which had a significant impact upon the design and location of Victorian reformatories. For example, these institutions deliberately manipulated and structured the reformatory space in order to facilitate the functioning of the family system of moral training, which placed the inmates into simulated families with each family residing in a separate house, in an attempt to recreate idealised rural family life.

This research builds upon this existing body of literature by taking an approach that embraces the increasingly influential 'spatial turn' in history. This 'turn' has encouraged a greater exploration of the importance of spatial factors in explaining the past.⁴⁸ This turn has involved for historians 'a reworking of the very notion and significance of spatiality to offer a perspective in which space is every bit as important as time in the unfolding of human affairs... *where* things happen is critical to knowing *how* and *why* they happen'.⁴⁹ This research draws upon such insights to examine how space was imagined and utilised in the mid-Victorian period, particularly the imagined rural environment, in the development and management of rural reformatory institutions. The thesis utilises Henri Lefebvre's triad model of spatiality (which will be explained in detail in the methodology section of this chapter) as a heuristic device through which to critically analyse and interpret empirical evidence regarding reformatory practices at three different juvenile institutions. The empirical research examines how the design and management of the internal space of these rural reformatory institutions shaped their correctional reformative practices. This research therefore develops a comparative approach to the examination and interpretation of the

⁴⁷ Driver, 'Moral Geographies', pp.281-84.

⁴⁸ For further reading see works such as: Barney Warf; Santa Arias, *The Spatial Turn*, (Routledge: London, 2009); Philip J. Ethington, 'Placing the Past: Groundwork for a Spatial Theory of History', *Rethinking History*, Vol.11, No.4, (December 2007); Felix Driver; Raphael Samuel, 'Rethinking the Idea of Place', *History Workshop Journal*, No.39, (Spring 1995).

⁴⁹ Warf; Arias, *The Spatial Turn*, p.1.

translation of idealised notions of the rural into spatially informed reformatory practice in three rurally located mid-Victorian reformatory schools. This has not previously been undertaken and consequently this thesis will provide an original contribution to historical knowledge.

Methodology

This research project is an empirical study and as such derives knowledge of rural based reformatory schools and their reforming regimes through the investigation, analysis, interpretation and contextualisation of extensive archival primary sources. The study utilises a broad and substantial evidence base. The key collections which are employed throughout the thesis include the government Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools annual reports (first published in 1858 reporting upon the year 1857), which exist in full for the years 1858-1880, and which facilitate a detailed examination of the state of these institutions. The inspector, (appointed by the Reformatory Department of the Home Office in 1857) in his role as advisor to the reformatories and interpreter of reformatory legislation, conducted annual visits and subsequently produced a yearly report on the condition and progress of each institution. These reports were ‘the machinery by means of which the executive inform[ed] itself as to the condition of the Reformatory and Industrial School, and their fitness to hold the official certificate and to receive the treasury grant’.⁵⁰ Thus, as Teresa Ploszajska has highlighted, they ‘provide a major and independent source of information’ about individual reformatory institutions; including the three schools which form the focus of this thesis.⁵¹ Since these reports ‘provide the official view on the efficiency and suitability of each institution, including its location and design’ they are of crucial importance in revealing the

⁵⁰ PP 1884, XLV, *Report of the Royal Commission on Reformatories and Industrial Schools 1884*, Vol.I., p.18.

⁵¹ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.415.

details of how these reformatory institutions operated, and how effectively they performed.⁵² Other source collections which are important to this study include the annual reports produced by each of these individual reformatory schools, which, like HMI's reports, chart the yearly condition and progress of each institution. These sources, which have survived in large numbers in the case of the Philanthropic Society Farm School and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, provide rich detail of the regimes and everyday processes of the reformatory school. This is critical in examining the management practices of these institutions and the ways in which the internal and external spaces at the disposal of these regimes were managed and manipulated in order to educate, train and morally regenerate their juvenile inmates. Further key primary source evidence which is vital to this study includes the private collection of archival documents held at the Mount St. Bernard Abbey in Leicestershire. This little researched repository of documents contains reports concerning the establishment of the reformatory, press cuttings regarding the school and its inmates, various correspondences of those in charge of the institution, as well as the committee of management meeting minutes and a visitors' book. Similarly, the archival collections held at the Surrey History Centre and the East Riding of Yorkshire Archives are important sources in the research and writing of this thesis as these archive offices hold documents which provide details pertaining to the inner workings of the Philanthropic Society Farm School and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School. These include sources such as committee meeting minutes, annual reports, visitors' books and, in the case of Redhill, various literature produced by the reformatory school in which the operations of and daily life in the institution are described in some detail. These sources therefore provide a critical insight into the management practices of these institutions, and the regimes in place at each. These collections are also under-researched, particularly those pertaining to the Yorkshire Catholic

⁵² Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.415.

Reformatory, and therefore this study brings into focus previously underused material in order to provide an original comparative study of the origins and spatial practices of three reformatory schools.

Whilst the thesis utilises a broad and substantial evidence base, there is, unfortunately, a lack of source material detailing the daily experiences of the boys incarcerated in each of these three institutions which is written from their perspective. The voices of the inmates at each of these reformatory schools only appear occasionally in the form of letters written to their respective institutions, after having left and settled into new lives, usually in the colonies. These letters, whilst interesting, do not typically provide an insight into how juvenile reform was perceived and understood by the inmates of these three institutions or the way in which it impacted on their experiences. Most often these sources simply contain a few lines from the former inmate detailing their good health and continued employment, the wish to be remembered to the reformatory staff and often a note of thanks to the institution for its intervention in their lives. The lack of direct source material from the inmates themselves regarding their personal evaluations of the reform process therefore means that it is difficult to gain an in-depth insight into the way in which the boys incarcerated experienced and negotiated reformatory space and how this possibly informed their agency. In taking part in incidents of misbehaviour, such as the rioting which occurred at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School, for example, which may be interpreted as acts of resistance, it remains problematic to gain first-hand insights regarding the inmates' precise motivations, and such incidents are therefore interpreted instead through the evidence of the primary sources discussed above.

As previously mentioned this research embraces the spatial turn in history and in particular the spatial insights of Henri Lefebvre.⁵³ The thesis draws upon such insights to examine how space was imagined, utilised, and created in the mid-Victorian period, particularly the imagined rural environment, and how this informed the design and management of the internal space of the rural reformatory institution. Thus, whilst the research project is an empirical study, it also aims to build in addition a dynamic and multileveled analysis as expounded by Lefebvre who has ‘introduced a generation of historians to the idea that space is [...] something that human beings produce over time’.⁵⁴ Lefebvre’s theory of spatiality suggested that there were three forms of space; *spatial practice*, *representations of space*, and *representational space*, and the thesis utilises this ‘triad’ in order to examine reformatory practice at the three aforementioned rural reformatory schools.⁵⁵

The thesis applies Lefebvre’s triad of spatiality as a model through which to examine the origins and development of these reformatory institutions. A model, according to Peter Burke, is ‘an intellectual construct which simplifies reality in order to understand it’.⁵⁶ Models work rather like maps in that they omit some detail in order to emphasise what really matters. They identify the most important elements and variables that are to be studied in order for the key components of a particular phenomenon or process to be better understood. Employing Lefebvre’s spatial triad this way highlights potentially the most salient aspects of the reformatory regimes in place at these institutions, and facilitates an in-depth examination of the spatial ordering of each. In carrying out this examination of the spatial ordering and reformatory regimes of each school in chapters three, four and five, the thesis is formulaic in its structure in these chapters. In each there is firstly an application of the first part of

⁵³ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1991).

⁵⁴ Richard White, ‘What is Spatial History?’ *Stanford University Spatial History Lab*, (February 2010), p.2.

⁵⁵ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, pp.38-39.

⁵⁶ Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory*, 2nd Edition, (Polity Press: Cambridge, 2005), p.26.

Lefebvre's triad: *spatial practice*. Spatial practice 'embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation'.⁵⁷ Examining spatial practice involves the study of the everyday functions of society and the spatial events of life. It focuses for example on the spatial movement of people from one place to another and the effect of this on their perception and experience of space; it involves examining 'the segregation of certain kinds of constructed spaces and their linkages through human movement'.⁵⁸ Therefore chapters three, four and five of the thesis, for example, examine the physical process of moving the juvenile delinquent from an immoral urban space to another supposedly more wholesome rural environment. They also involve examining the spatial practices, the daily routines of life, undertaken by the inmates of each reformatory school. Secondly, the thesis, in chapters three four and five, applies the next part of Lefebvre's triad of space, *representations of space*, to the examination of the spatially informed practices undertaken at the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory. Representations of space are space 'constructed out of symbols, codifications and abstract representations'.⁵⁹ Representations of space attempt to 'conceive in order to shape what is lived and perceived'; it is therefore the way in which space is conceptualised, designed and manipulated in order to shape the routines of life and lived experience within that space.⁶⁰ Representations of space are arguably the most influential part of the triad because, through their conceptualising and planning functions, they seek to guide spatial practice and representational space. There follows, therefore, an examination of the spatial ordering of each of the reformatory institutions and the ideas underpinning that ordering so as to understand how these sought to shape the spatial practices - the lived experience and daily routines of life - of the inmates of

⁵⁷ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.39.

⁵⁸ White, 'Spatial History', p.2.

⁵⁹ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, pp.38-39.

⁶⁰ White, 'Spatial History', p.3.

each in order to realise a reformation of their moral characters. Finally there is, in each of these chapters, the application of the third part of Lefebvre's triad of space, *representational space*, to the examination of reformatory practice at the Redhill, Whitwick and Market Weighton institutions. Representational space is space as directly lived and experienced through its associated images and symbols; 'it overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects'.⁶¹ The thesis therefore examines how those in charge of these institutions made symbolic use of space in order to give meaning to the spatial practices of each - the lived experience and daily routines of life – by, for example, seeking to remind their young inmates 'of the consequences of social non-conformity'.⁶² In applying each part of the triad to each of the case study reformatory schools this study seeks to identify potentially the most important aspects of the reformatory regimes employed in these institutions.

Lefebvre's triad model is employed, therefore, in this thesis as a heuristic device through which to critically analyse and interpret evidence of the reformative practices of three reformatory institutions in the mid-Victorian era with particular reference to their spatial dimensions. The triad model facilitates an integrated exploration of reformatory space which takes into consideration the nature of the physical, social and ideological spaces of the reformatory schools in question; something which has not previously been undertaken by historians. The thesis also utilises a theoretical aspect of Lefebvre's triadic approach to spatial practice. Theories are, according to Burke, more dynamic and explanatory than models, which generally seek only to describe, since they attempt to analyse and explain the causal connections between a range of potentially important variables.⁶³ This dimension of Lefebvre's triad, that which emphasises a potential dynamic within the operation of the triadic elements, offers a theoretical proposition explored and appraised in this thesis.

⁶¹ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.39.

⁶² White, 'Spatial History', p.3; Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.418.

⁶³ Burke, *History and Social Theory*, p.281.

Lefebvre argued that his triad needed to be conceptualised and applied in a manner that went beyond static modelling which involves viewing it as a discussion of an active creative process of mutually informed development. Lefebvre's theoretical insights on this process suggest that when, in past contexts, the three dimensions of human action suggested by the triad most dynamically and productively combined, creative and effective spatial transformation might be realised. Lefebvre's discussion of the spatial triad therefore posits that the greatest transformative use of space occurs when the three triadic elements combine dynamically and effectively to create space. This theoretical postulation is utilised in this thesis to explore and comparatively evaluate the spatially orientated reformative performance of each reformatory school. Specifically the thesis critically considers the possibility that it is when, within each institution, the three aspects of human action identified by the spatial triad - spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space - most dynamically and productively combined that the most effective reformatory regime was realised.

In employing models and theories in historical research it is important to be aware of the potential hazards which some have suggested pose a risk to the historian utilising these devices. One such potential pitfall, according to John Tosh, is that instances in the evidence of the past could be used and manipulated by the historian in order to support almost any theory and consequently theory might 'take over' from the evidence and overly drive the historical inquiry.⁶⁴ G. R. Elton suggested, for example, that historians who utilise social theory in their research 'too often show an inclination to accept their conclusions without critical considerations'.⁶⁵ Elton warned that 'when the externally obtained scheme becomes doctrine, as too often it does, it stultifies the study of history to a repository of examples selected or distorted to buttress the scheme'.⁶⁶ It is necessary, therefore, in utilising models

⁶⁴ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 6th Edition, (Routledge: London, 2015), p.183.

⁶⁵ G. R. Elton, *The Practice of History*, (Methuen: London, 1967), p.51.

⁶⁶ Elton, *The Practice of History*, p.51.

and theories in research to rigorously and critically employ them heuristically with a hypothesis or research question to raise stimulating questions about the past to then test them in the light of the evidence of actual experience of the past. As Tosh has suggested, the way forward is not to abandon the use of theory but to apply higher standards to the testing of theory, through the use of a hypothesis or research question and evaluated against the weight of the evidence overall, combined with a willingness to change tack if required by the evidence.⁶⁷

In incorporating Lefebvre's model and its theoretical implication into the research design the thesis will examine the internal workings of juvenile institutions which sought to progress programmes of reform through which their inmates were to be 'educated, moralised and disciplined' and in doing so it will utilise and critically consider the research question: did spatially informed practice in each of the rural reformatories studied deliver effective reformative regimes?⁶⁸ The examination of the three case study reformatory schools in this thesis uses Lefebvre's model and its theoretical implication to explore those factors which shaped the production of the reformatory space and therefore possibly influenced the effectiveness of the reformatory regimes implemented at these institutions. The thesis will also, however, in testing Lefebvre's model and theory against the available evidence, remain acutely aware of the possible limitations of both. The approach will be to guard against the danger that the model and theory might 'take over' from the evidence. The thesis will instead employ what Tosh terms a 'minimalist' approach to the use of models and theories in the process of research and interpretation. This involves embracing the possibility that the utilisation of models and theories may function as a source of 'fertile error' in generating evidence which goes beyond and challenges them but is nevertheless pertinent to the critical

⁶⁷ Tosh, *Pursuit of History*, p.184.

⁶⁸ John Muncie, *Youth and Crime*, 2nd Edition, (Sage: London, 2004), p.62.

consideration of the research question; ultimately allowing the historical evidence to drive the research process and its realisation of knowledge about the past.

Rationale

The aim of this thesis is to produce a detailed comparative case study of the intellectual origins and reformative practices implemented in three reformatory institutions in the mid-Victorian era with particular reference to their spatial dimensions and the levels of effectiveness these realised. The research addresses the current gap in the existing historiography which, as has been highlighted, has thus far failed to examine in any comparative detail the management practices of juvenile reformatories that were inspired and informed by an ideal of the rural as a model for their reformative programmes. This gap in the existing literature is one which has been noted by Teresa Ploszajska, one of the few historians who have explored, to some extent, the translation of idyllic visions of ruralism into spatially informed reformative practice within juvenile institutions. Ploszajska has asserted that ‘we need more case studies of how these models were translated into practice’ and this thesis responds to this call.⁶⁹

The thesis therefore provides an original contribution to the existing historiography and to this end utilises Lefebvre’s spatial triad as a model through which to examine spatially informed reformatory practice in mid-Victorian farm schools. Those academics that have begun to embrace Lefebvrian analysis have highlighted this approach as being underdeveloped within academia, and, according to Ceri Watkins, whose article ‘Representations of Space, Spatial Practices and Spaces of Representation: An Application of Lefebvre’s Spatial Triad’ utilises the Lefebvrian model to examine organisational space in the context of the theatre, this analysis ‘needs to be apprehended as fully as possible if a richer

⁶⁹ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.414.

understanding of the world is to be achieved'.⁷⁰ Therefore, in taking up 'the challenge inherent in Lefebvre's work', that is, that his spatial triad needs to be '*embodied* with actual flesh and blood and culture, with real life relationships and events', the thesis responds to this 'need'.⁷¹ This therefore highlights both the importance and the originality of this research.

Chapter Structure

Chapter One of the thesis examines the problem of juvenile delinquency in the mid-Victorian period. This chapter explores developing nineteenth century ideas of home, domesticity, family and childhood in order to contextualise the growing concern of contemporaries regarding the delinquent activities of working-class youth and the increasingly significant role this appeared to play in generating social disorder and an alleged crime wave. The chapter identifies that the concerns of contemporaries regarding working-class youth fell into two main areas of anxiety: firstly, the institution of the working-class family and secondly the environment of urban working-class life.⁷² These areas of social concern are therefore examined in this chapter.

Chapter Two explores the widely held belief amongst Victorian society that rural society was a more wholesome and Godly environment than its supposedly corrupted urban counterpart. It examines the influence of this belief on reformatory development and practice in the mid-Victorian period. This chapter identifies the lineage of the rural reformatory ideal through a detailed and critical examination of the literature associating the rural environment with moral health.

⁷⁰ Ceri Watkins, 'Representations of Space, Spatial Practices and Spaces of Representation: An Application of Lefebvre's Spatial Triad', *Culture and Organisation*, Vol.11, (September 2005), p.211.

⁷¹ Watkins, 'Representations of Space, Spatial Practices and Spaces of Representation', p.211; A. Merrifield, 'Henri Lefebvre: A Socialist in Space' in M. Crang and N. Thrift, *Thinking Space*, (Routledge: London, 2000), p.175.

⁷² Driver, 'Moral Geographies', p.284.

Chapters Three, Four and Five examine the reformatory practices of the three reformatory institutions with particular reference to their spatial dimensions. These chapters examine what life was like for those boys who attended the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory. This includes a detailed examination of the educational, training and disciplinary regimes of the institutions and their boarding and lodging arrangements.

Chapter Six provides a comparative evaluation of the performance of some of the key reformatory practices employed at these institutions in order to gain an overview of the overall effectiveness of each of these reformatory schools.

Chapter 1

The Problem of Juvenile Delinquency

Throughout the mid-Victorian period there was much anxiety within society concerning social disorder and a perceived crime wave. In particular, there was a great deal of unease regarding the activities of working-class youth and the increasingly significant role they appeared to play in generating social disorder and an alleged crime wave. The issue of juvenile delinquency (a term that was coined in this period and regarded as a largely male phenomenon) came to be considered by contemporaries as a major problem that posed a considerable threat to the stability of society. Within this discourse Victorian working-class male youth became the predominant focus of attention by nineteenth century social commentators, reformers and moral philanthropists who set about investigating and reporting upon their nature. ‘In order’ as one of their number put it, ‘to ascertain the means best calculated to remove or abate an existing evil, it is essential that the nature of that evil should be known’.¹ As historian of juvenile delinquency Heather Shore has stated, the research of these contemporaries shaped the views of politicians and the public alike, ‘indeed, outside legal, police and prison circles, these people were the expert opinion’.² The concerns of contemporaries regarding working-class delinquents fell into two main areas of anxiety: firstly, the institution of the working-class family and secondly, the environment of urban working-class life.³ These areas of social concern will be examined in this chapter. However, in order to fully contextualise that examination the chapter will first discuss developing nineteenth-century ideas of childhood, home, domesticity and family and how these ideas

¹ William Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester: its Causes and History, its Consequences, and Some Suggestions Concerning its Cure*, (Gavin Hamilton: Manchester, 1840), p.3.

² Heather Shore, *Artful Dodgers: Youth and Crime in Early Nineteenth Century London*, (Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2002), p.3.

³ Felix Driver, ‘Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in mid-Nineteenth Century England’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, Vol.13, No.3, (1988), p.284.

came to inform negative perceptions of working-class culture and its possible genesis of the emerging social problem of juvenile delinquency.

Hugh Cunningham has argued that by the middle of the nineteenth century an ideology of childhood 'had become a powerful force in middle-class Europe and North America'.⁴ At the heart of this ideology, he stated, 'lay a firm commitment to the view that children should be reared in families' and 'a conviction that the way childhood was spent was crucial in determining the kind of adult that the child would become'.⁵ Family and home life therefore came to be viewed from this ideological standpoint as crucial influences in determining the later character of the young and it was deemed to be of the utmost importance that these early influences should be morally appropriate. The development of this increasingly influential ideology had evolved over many centuries and was shaped by various intellectual movements in European history, including: the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment and Romanticism. However, the most influential intellectual force upon nineteenth century thinking was, according to many historians, Evangelical Protestantism. With its belief in Original Sin and the need for redemption from a corrupt nature, childhood, in Evangelical hands, was a time of protection and correction, in which the young should be safeguarded from the adult world, strictly disciplined, morally instructed, and taught the importance of living a good Christian life. Under the influence of Evangelicalism children, it was felt, should be taught the principles of love, family, honour, respect and duty.⁶

⁴ Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*, 2nd Edition, (Routledge: London, 2005), p.41.

⁵ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, p.41.

⁶ Harry Hendrick, 'Constructions and Reconstructions of British Childhood: An Interpretative Survey, 1800 to the Present' in John Muncie, Gordon Hughes, Eugene McLaughlin (Eds.), *Youth Justice Critical Readings*, (SAGE: London, 2002), pp.25-26.

Evangelicalism, which aimed to reform the ‘manners and morals’ of society was, according to Ian Bradley, ‘above all else the religion of the home’.⁷ Evangelical ideas emphasised the sanctity and morality of both the family and the home as sacred havens from the dangers of the outside world and they became particularly influential during this period.⁸ It was seen to be the duty of husbands and wives to build homes in which children could be properly raised. These homes, it was felt, should envelop the child, providing a protective shield from the sinful outside world. By keeping their children away from outside influences, cocooned in the home ‘attempts could be made to curb sin – in the world outside it was obviously far more difficult’.⁹ The protecting of children within this environment prevented their exposure to unwanted influences and it gave parents a greater degree of control over the activities of their young; a control which would not be afforded to them if the child were to be exposed to life beyond the household. The home, it was argued, should enable children to be nurtured and grow under appropriate moral influences and the household was seen consequently ‘as the basis for a proper religious life – morality began at home’.¹⁰ This setting, it was believed, would shape the lives of children from the very beginning, ensuring that they would go on to develop into good, honest and desirable citizens of the future. The popularity and influence of such beliefs regarding the ‘religion of the home’ led to a split, according to Catherine Hall, between the ‘world as hostile and the home as loving – a split which became commonplace in Victorian England’.¹¹ A divide famously articulated by John Ruskin when he wrote: ‘man... in the open world, must encounter all peril and trial’ whereas in the sheltered and protective environment of the home, individuals ‘need enter no danger,

⁷ Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians*, (Cape Ltd: London, 1976), p.180; Catherine Hall, ‘The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology’, in Sandra Burman (Ed.), *Fit Work for Women*, (Croom Helm: London, 1979), p.15.

⁸ Hall, ‘Victorian Domestic Ideology’, p.15.

⁹ Hall, ‘Victorian Domestic Ideology’, p.23.

¹⁰ Hall, ‘Victorian Domestic Ideology’, p.23.

¹¹ Hall, ‘Victorian Domestic Ideology’, p.24.

no temptation, no cause of error or offence'.¹² Ruskin further expounded that the home was a place of 'peace' and of 'shelter' from the 'hostile society of the outer world' when he stated that the home was 'shade as of the rock in a weary land, and light as of the Pharos in the stormy sea'.¹³

Closely related to the home as an arena in which the 'constant struggle' against the corruption and sin of the outside world took place was the belief that family life within that home should be wholesome and nurturing.¹⁴ As a part of the influence of the Evangelical religion of the home, family and domesticity were revered and celebrated. It was felt that, as poet William Cowper had put it:

Domestic happiness, thou only bliss
Of paradise that has survived the Fall.¹⁵

Family life under Evangelicalism therefore became 'idealised and sanctified'.¹⁶ It was primarily within the family that children learned about the world around them and the roles they would be expected to play in life; the child's 'most formative experiences took place within the family'.¹⁷ Therefore, whilst the main child-rearing duties fell upon the mother, the father, as the head of the family, also had an important role to play in the upbringing of children; overseeing the early education of the child and ensuring discipline was properly maintained.¹⁸ This was important as it was felt that left to themselves children would be corrupted since they needed guiding and steering in the right direction and, therefore, a strict regime must be upheld for them, as the Bible taught: 'Foolishness is tied in the heart of a child, but the rod of discipline shall drive it away'.¹⁹ The parenting provided by husbands and

¹² John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, edited by Agnes S. Cook, (Silver Burdett and Co: New York, 1900), p.84.

¹³ Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, p.85.

¹⁴ Hall, 'Victorian Domestic Ideology', p.22.

¹⁵ William Cowper, 'The Task' in W. Benham (Ed.), *Selected Works of William Cowper*, (Macmillan: London, 1889).

¹⁶ Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, p.180.

¹⁷ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, p.81.

¹⁸ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, pp.41-46.

¹⁹ Proverbs 22:15

wives was therefore crucial in the proper upbringing of the young; ‘only within the bosom of the family could virtues be cultivated and the ideal life be led’.²⁰ Within the family, and indeed the wider society, the role of the child was a subordinate one. As John Clarke has stated, implicit in the Victorian image of the family ‘is an understanding of childhood as a special status, characterised above all else by its *dependency* on the parents. In the iron grip of the family, the child – the unknowing repository of innocence – was carefully prepared for its delayed entry into the real world’.²¹ The importance of a good home and family which protected the child from the corruption of the outside world was paramount, therefore, in preparing them for a wholesome, honest, Christian life.

The concepts of the family and childhood, shaped by Evangelicalism and as prescribed by the middle and upper-classes it is argued: ‘underpinned an ideology of domesticity which was, in itself, an important economic and political force in Britain’.²² The Victorian ‘domestic ideology’, formed, according to Catherine Hall, between the years 1780-1830, became a foundation for Victorian beliefs and ideas concerning not only the family and childhood but which connected these with the order of society more generally.²³ It was felt that a stable home and family life in which domesticity reigned led to the sound upbringing of children, and peace and stability throughout the homes of the nation. This stability at home, it was believed, would permeate society at large and provide the foundation for a broader social stability.²⁴ Conversely, therefore, it was believed that the opposite was also true: instability within the family and the home would cause instability within society; as Harry Hendrick

²⁰ Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, p.180.

²¹ John Clarke, ‘The Three Rs – Repression, Rescue and Rehabilitation: Ideologies of Control for Working Class Youth’ in John Muncie, Gordon Hughes and Eugene McLaughlin (Eds.), *Youth Justice Critical Readings*, (SAGE: London, 2002), pp.125-26.

²² James Walvin, *A Child’s World A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914*, (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1982), p.13.

²³ Hall, ‘Victorian Domestic Ideology’, p.15.

²⁴ Pamela Horn, *Children’s Work and Welfare 1780–1890*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1995), p.4.

stated, it was felt that the lack of domesticity could result in ‘the damnation of souls, but also result in social revolution’.²⁵

The ideology of domesticity was founded upon the premise that men and women were innately different and that each had essential characteristics that were spiritually and biologically determined, making the sexes suited to different but complementary roles in life. This ideology divided the world into two separate spheres; the public sphere of labour and politics, which was reserved for men, and the private sphere of the home and the family, which was the domain of women. It was believed that a woman’s role was therefore the essentially domestic one of motherhood; one that centred around caring for her children, who, under this ideology, should be provided with a protected and nurturing childhood. This philosophy of separate spheres was, according to Helen Rappaport, endorsed by Queen Victoria who ‘constantly reiterated... her firm belief that her sex belonged in its own separate, domestic sphere’, something which she expressed in a letter to the prime minister, William Gladstone, in 1870: ‘Let woman be what God intended; a helpmate for man – but with totally different duties and vocations’.²⁶ The philosophy of separate spheres was also addressed by key thinkers of the period including John Ruskin, who in his lectures *Sesame and Lilies*, published in 1865, consolidated the view of contemporaries that the sexes were eminently different in character and therefore suited to different roles in life:

The man’s power is active, progressive, defensive. He is eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender. His intellect is for speculation and invention; his energy for adventure, for war, and for conquest wherever war is just, wherever conquest necessary. But the woman’s power is for rule, not for battle, - and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet orderings, arrangement, and decision... By her office, and place, she is protected from all danger and temptation. The man, in his rough work in the open world, must encounter all peril and trial: - to him, therefore, must be the failure, the offence, the inevitable error: often he must be

²⁵ Hendrick, ‘Constructions and Reconstructions of British Childhood’, p.28.

²⁶ Helen Rappaport, *Queen Victoria: A Biographical Companion*, (ABC-CLIO: London, 2003), p.426; Philip Guedalla, *The Queen and Mr Gladstone*, Vol.1, (Hodder: London, 1933), p.228.

wounded, or subdued; often misled; and *always* hardened. But he guards the woman from all this; within his house, as ruled by her.²⁷

Ruskin continued: 'This is the true nature of the home - it is the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division'.²⁸ 'Wherever a true wife comes, this home is always round her... home is yet wherever she is'.²⁹ Consequently Ruskin declared 'This, then, I believe to be, - will you not admit it to be? - the woman's true place and power'.³⁰ As Ruskin's sentiments highlight, within this gender ideology 'biological differences, together with assumptions about the contrasting psychological make-up of men and women, fixed social expectations' of each.³¹

Because the ideals of childhood, family, and domesticity were deemed to be so important in Victorian society through, Catherine Hall has suggested, a bourgeois 'recodification of ideas', upper and middle-class observers judged the strength or weakness of families lower down the social scale by assessing them against these ideals.³² By this measure the familial lives of the poor were found to be wanting, and therefore, within this ideological context, the working-class family caused much critical concern amongst upper and middle-class observers.³³ In contrast to upper and middle-class families where the domestic ideology was an economically viable way of organising married life, in working-class families this was generally not the case. In poor families often all members who could work did so as the waged labour of women and children was regarded as an essential economic resource for the household. The economic needs of the working-class household often required women and children to enter the public sphere, and to work side by side with men.

²⁷ Ruskin, *Sesame and Lillies*, p.84.

²⁸ Ruskin, *Sesame and Lillies*, p.84.

²⁹ Ruskin, *Sesame and Lillies*, p.85.

³⁰ Ruskin, *Sesame and Lillies*, p.85.

³¹ Diana Cordea, 'Two Approaches on the Philosophy of Separate Spheres in mid-Victorian England: John Ruskin and John Stuart Mill', *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Vol.71, (2013), p.117.

³² Hall, 'Victorian Domestic Ideology', p.15.

³³ Walvin, *A Child's World*, p.13.

Since the woman 'as wife and mother' was regarded as 'the pivot of the family, and consequently the guardian of all Christian (and domestic) virtues' contemporary critics of working-class life, whilst willing to accept the need for women from poor families to work, were only prepared to accept their participation in forms of employment deemed not to interfere with her role in the home. As Sally Alexander has argued: 'women's waged work... was discussed insofar as it harmonized with the home, the family and domestic virtue'... 'only those sorts of work that coincided with a woman's natural sphere were to be encouraged'.³⁴ However due to the separation of the space of the home and the space of the workplace as a result of industrialisation it was no longer always possible to combine employment with domesticity, and it was this, Catherine Hall has suggested, that troubled many.³⁵

Evidence of this concern is visible in the parliamentary enquiries conducted into the industrial working conditions of women and children in the early nineteenth century. Because of 'women's very special responsibility for society's well-being' suggested Sally Alexander, 'it was the woman working outside the home who received most attention from the parliamentary commissioners'.³⁶ Emphasis was placed 'not on the hours of work, rates of pay, and dangers from unsafe machinery - although all these were mentioned - but on the moral and spiritual degradation said to accompany female employment; especially the mingling of the sexes and the neglect of domestic comforts'.³⁷ Lord Shaftesbury, the prominent Tory paternalist politician, philanthropist, social reformer and Evangelical, most saliently and most influentially addressed the issue of the moral degradation faced by women workers outside of the home. In discussing the mining industry for example, in a speech

³⁴ Sally Alexander, 'Women's Work in Nineteenth Century London: A Study of the Years 1820-1850' in Anne Oakley and Juliet Mitchell, *The Rights and Wrongs of Women*, (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1983), pp.61-63.

³⁵ Catherine Hall, 'The Home Turned Upside Down? The Working-Class Family in Cotton Textiles 1780-1850' in Elizabeth Whitelegg (Ed.), *The Changing Experience of Women*, (The Open University: Oxford, 1982), p.18.

³⁶ Alexander, 'Women's Work in Nineteenth Century London', p.61.

³⁷ Alexander, 'Women's Work in Nineteenth Century London', p.61.

given in parliament, he advocated the abolition of women and children's work in the mines. He suggested their work in the mines was 'wasteful and ruinous to themselves and their families'.³⁸ And that by abandoning their natural domestic sphere he declared that such women:

Know nothing that they ought to know... they are rendered unfit for the duties of women by overwork, and become utterly demoralized. In the male the moral effects of the system are very sad, but in the female they are infinitely worse, not alone upon themselves, but upon their families, upon society, and, I may add, upon the country itself. It is bad enough if you corrupt the man, but if you corrupt the woman, you poison the waters of life at the very fountain.³⁹

Similar sentiments about the moral degradation of women working outside the home and its ruinous effects upon childhood, family, and domesticity were also expressed with regard to women (and children) working in the cotton factories and the agricultural gang labour systems. Both of these types of employment for women drew intense criticism. In his 1844 account of working-class life in the heartland of the Manchester cotton industry, for example, Friedrich Engels commented upon the disastrous familial and social effects of women's employment in the factories:

The employment of the wife dissolves the family utterly and of necessity, and this dissolution, in our present society, which is based upon the family, brings the most demoralising consequences for parents as well as children. A mother who has no time to trouble herself about her child, to perform the most ordinary loving services for it during its first year, who scarcely indeed sees it, can be no real mother to the child, must inevitably grow indifferent of it, treat it unlovingly like a stranger. The children who grow up under such conditions are utterly ruined for later family life, can never feel at home in the family which they themselves found.⁴⁰

In another controversial aspect of female employment, the case of agricultural gangs, women were seen to be at the mercy of gang masters who were 'generally men of indolent and drinking habits, and not infrequently of notorious depravity'.⁴¹ Under such influence these

³⁸ Parliamentary Paper (hereafter PP) 1842, LXIII, Employment of Women and Children in Mines and Collieries, Lord Shaftesbury's Speech to the House of Commons, *Hansard*, 7 June 1842.

³⁹ PP 1842, Lord Shaftesbury's Speech to the House of Commons, 7 June 1842.

⁴⁰ Friedrich Engels, 'The Condition of the Working Class in England' in *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels on Britain*, (Progress: Moscow, 1962), pp.175-80.

⁴¹ Anon, 'Agricultural Gangs', *Quarterly Review*, Vol.123, (1867), p.54.

women were thought to become ‘quickly depraved’.⁴² It was argued that women in the gang labour system became ‘unsexed’ through their bold, shameless, and wholly unfeminine behaviour which reputedly included using foul and obscene language and parading with ‘garments clinging tightly to the body, their appearance is by no means adapted to inspire respect for their character’.⁴³ Therefore, as Nicola Verdon stated, women who participated in gang labour ‘were especially vilified as being a disgrace to the female sex’.⁴⁴ Moreover criticism was aimed at the detrimental effect of gang labour upon the home lives of its members, especially of married female members. Contemporaries argued that:

The effect of gangs on the married women employed in them is to be destructive of all domestic virtues. Absent from their homes from seven in the morning until late in the evening, they return jaded and dispirited and unwilling to make further exertion. The husband finds the cottage untidy, the evening meal unprepared, the children querulous and disobedient, his wife dirty and ill-tempered, and his home so thoroughly uncomfortable that he not unnaturally takes refuge in the public house.⁴⁵

Clearly therefore it was widely believed and argued with force that women’s participation in the public sphere through labour systems such as those discussed above contravened the ideals of childhood, family, and domesticity which had come to be so highly revered within upper and middle-class Victorian society. By abandoning her natural domestic sphere, the poor working-class woman who entered the workforce outside of the home was thought not only to be jeopardising her own femininity, but also neglecting the family, the home and the provision of an appropriate childhood for her offspring.

For the children involved in waged labour, the construction in this period of childhood as a time in which the young needed protecting and guiding by their parents (as discussed above) meant that, according to Harry Hendrick, the wage earning child was no longer accepted as the norm and their employment was increasingly perceived as the exploitation

⁴² Anon, ‘Agricultural Gangs’, p.54.

⁴³ Anon, ‘Agricultural Gangs’, p.55.

⁴⁴ Nicola Verdon, *Rural Women Workers in Nineteenth Century England*, (Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2002), p.109.

⁴⁵ Anon, ‘Agricultural Gangs’, p.55.

and brutalisation of children.⁴⁶ As with women's participation in labour, philanthropic observers were concerned about the long hours and tough physical conditions experienced by children in employment. Such perceptions are demonstrated in the report of the *Commissioners for Inquiring into the Employment and Condition of Children in Mines and Manufactories* (1842).⁴⁷ In this report the commissioners stated that for children 'the hours of labour vary from eleven to thirteen hours' and the work consisted 'of the heaviest species of manual and bodily fatigue, in pushing loaded coal wagons, in lifting heavy weights, or in driving and constantly righting trains of loaded corves as they get jerked off the tram-ways'.⁴⁸ Descriptions of deplorable conditions of employment for children were not exclusive to the mines; long hours and physical abuse were experienced by many and in various occupations according to reformers. As Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt highlighted in *Children in English Society* however the physical conditions of children's employment were not the main area of concern:

More than the hours the children worked; more than the deplorable conditions in which they worked; more than the effects of both on life and health; more even than the alleged cruelty with which they were treated in the factories [and elsewhere]; the belief that employment in the growing number of mills, factories and mines endangered the morals of children and young people stirred men like Ashley [Lord Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper,] and other reformers into action to attempt to regulate and improve children's employment conditions.⁴⁹

Reformers of this nature were particularly concerned about the effect upon the morality of the young involved in what they saw as the conditions of brutalising and vicious depravity that accompanied their employment. The exposure of the young to such conditions powerfully contradicted the new ideal of childhood and prompted critical questions of the working-class parent who encouraged it, who, for many, came to be viewed as their children's

⁴⁶ Hendrick, 'Construction and Reconstructions of British Childhood', p.26.

⁴⁷ *Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition and Treatment of the Children Employed in the Mines and Collieries of the United Kingdom*, (William Strange: London, 1842).

⁴⁸ *Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Employment and Condition of Children in Mines and Manufactories*, (William Strange: London, 1842), pp.54-55.

⁴⁹ Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society, Vol. II, From The Eighteenth Century to the Children Act 1948*, (Routledge: London, 1973), p.412.

‘oppressors’.⁵⁰ One contemporary publication stated for example, that: ‘The children are, practically speaking, sold for slaves, and – oh! unutterable horror! – *the sellers are their own parents!*’⁵¹ This slave analogy, so often used within the discussion of the exploitation and brutalisation of working-class children by employers and parents, emphasised the ‘unfree’ nature of their employment, their difference from adults, and the need for a protected childhood to be brought to their lives.⁵² Such considerations powerfully informed the analysis of the causes of the juvenile delinquency problem.

Whilst the Victorians were concerned about the impact of the workplace on the morality of children intensively employed, there was also concern for those children from poor working-class families who were either underemployed or unemployed. As John Muncie points out, the protective legislation that resulted from the critique of child labour in the form of Factory Acts (prohibiting the employment of children under 9 and limiting the hours of those under 13 and under 19), and the volatility and uncertainties of the capitalist labour market contributed to what was seen as the increasing social problem of juvenile vagrancy and ‘the sight of children eking out a living on the street’.⁵³ Pinchbeck and Hewitt also highlighted these issues:

In a rapidly increasing population, the number of children competing for such employment added to its inherent insecurity and perpetuated, where it did not actually produce, a serious problem of vagrancy and unemployment. Meanwhile, piecemeal attempts to regulate the conditions of those at work for many years often exacerbated local problems connected with the employment of children in the nineteenth century. Lack of training and employment forced many boys into blind-alley jobs, from which they were often dismissed at the age of sixteen, when they could no longer be used as cheap labour.⁵⁴

They also suggested therefore that the insecurity and unavailability of employment during this period contributed to the social problem of juvenile vagrancy. The consequences of

⁵⁰ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, ‘Causes of the Increase of Crime’, Vol.56, (July 1844), p.10.

⁵¹ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, ‘Causes of the Increase of Crime’, Vol.56, (July 1844), p.10.

⁵² Hendrick, ‘Constructions and Reconstructions of British Childhood’, p.27.

⁵³ John Muncie, *Youth and Crime*, 2nd Edition, (SAGE: London, 2004), p.56.

⁵⁴ Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, p.413.

juvenile unemployment, therefore, according to Pinchbeck and Hewitt ‘were becoming a matter of some anxiety’.⁵⁵

This anxiety was evident during the Victorian period as concern was increasingly expressed for the wandering and nomadic existence underemployment and unemployment was believed to encourage. This precarious and loitering existence was associated by many with the moral depredation of the young which often led to the onset of juvenile delinquency.

As William Beaver Neale explained in 1840, the loitering existence of youths:

tends directly to vice, by blunting the moral sense... and exposes it to all the contaminating influences of wandering idly up and down the surface of a great city, it at the same time lays the foundation in the mind of all those propensities to idleness and dependence upon charitable relief, and to maintain existence by any other means than that of honest industry.⁵⁶

(A more detailed discussion of the street-life of urban dwelling youths will follow in the second part of this chapter). As Hendrick has pointed out this shift of focus from the critique of child workers and their neglect and exploitation to a growing concern about the lives of young vagrants on the streets marked a movement in the problematisation of the lives of the young urban poor from the ‘Factory Child’ to the ‘Delinquent Child’.⁵⁷

Clearly, therefore, there was much anxiety regarding the supposed morally debasing effects of both the employment and the unemployment of urban based youths. Whereas employed children were considered to be exploited and brutalised and denied a childhood by their participation in waged labour, underemployed or unemployed children were regarded as being encouraged into a wandering and loitering existence on the streets of the towns which often led to juvenile delinquency. The critique of child labour, as Hendrick has suggested, had fed into and was built upon in the developing critique of the delinquent child. In doing so it had drawn upon the views voiced in the critique of child labour; that those under sixteen

⁵⁵ Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, p.413.

⁵⁶ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, pp.12-13

⁵⁷ Hendrick, ‘Constructions and Reconstructions of British Childhood’, pp.26-30; Muncie, *Youth and Crime*, p.56.

were not free agents, without the protection afforded by childhood, home and domesticity they were exploited and brutalised by the adult world, and were in danger of becoming delinquent.⁵⁸ In the developing critical discourse which focussed particularly on the correlations between vagrancy and juvenile delinquency a critique of working-class parents and the working-class family became increasingly manifest which focussed on their failure to provide a protected and nurturing childhood for their young and the deleterious social consequences of this neglect.

The parents of juvenile delinquents were, for example, largely held to be responsible for their children's delinquency. This opinion had been set forth in the early years of the nineteenth century by the *Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis (1816)* which stated:

The first circumstances, which are allowed to operate in the formation of character, flow from the exercise, or neglect, of parental authority and love. It is apprehended that, in the many cases which have come before this Society, the number of boys is very small, whose original tendencies to do wrong have not sprung from the improper conduct of their parents.⁵⁹

In presenting the 'the causes in which evil originates' four cases cited in this report exemplify various types of parental neglect said to be experienced by many of the children of the poor and being instrumental in fomenting their delinquency:

A.B. aged 13 years. His parents are living. He was but a short time at school. His father was frequently intoxicated; and on these occasions, the son usually left home and associated with bad characters, who introduced him to houses of ill-fame, they gambled until they had lost all their money. This boy had been five years in the commission of crime, and had been imprisoned for three separate offences. Sentence of death has twice been passed upon him...

C.D. aged 10 years. He was committed to prison in the month of April, 1815, having been sentenced to seven years imprisonment for picking pockets. His mother only is living, but he does not know where she resides. He has a very good capacity but cannot read. When first visited, he discovered much anxiety about his condition; but every favourable impression was effaced shortly after his confinement to prison...

⁵⁸ Hendrick, 'Constructions and Reconstructions of British Childhood', p.29

⁵⁹ *Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis*, (J. F. Dove: London, 1816), p.11.

E.F. aged 8 years. His mother only is living and she is a very immoral character. This boy has been in the habit of stealing for upwards of two years. In Covent Garden Market there is a party of between thirty and forty boys, who sleep under sheds and baskets. These pitiable objects, when they arise in the morning, have no other means of procuring subsistence, but by the commission of crime. This child was one of a number; and it appears that he was brought up to the several police officers upon eighteen separate charges. He has been twice confined in the House of Correction, and three times in Bridewell. He is very ignorant but of good capacity...

Q.R. aged 12 years. He has no education: has a mother who encourages the vices of her son. She turns him into the street every morning, and chastises him severely when he returns in the evening without some article of value.⁶⁰

Evidence such as this led the Committee to conclude that a key cause of juvenile delinquency, and the one which they put at the top of their list of causes of delinquency, was 'the improper conduct of parents', followed secondly by 'the want of education', and then by the 'want of suitable employment'.⁶¹ Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt have suggested that the evidence used by the Committee was questionable in its accuracy and its findings. However, as Heather Shore has highlighted, its arguments proved influential and reflected a prevailing discourse developing about discussions of the causes of juvenile delinquency which focussed particularly on their negligent parents.⁶² Lord Shaftesbury, for example, in his speech to the House of Commons in February 1843, stated 'a vast number of children of the tenderest years, either through absence or through neglect of their parents, I do not now say which, are suffered to roam at large through the streets of the town, contracting the most idle and profligate habits'.⁶³

Another contribution to the discourse which saw the parents of youthful criminals as the chief cause of their children's delinquencies was made by social commentator William Beaver Neale. In his writings Beaver Neale focused upon what Heather Shore has identified

⁶⁰ *Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency*, Appendix, pp.29-31.

⁶¹ *Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency*, p.10.

⁶² Pinchbeck and Hewitt, *Children in English Society*, p.433; Heather Shore, 'The Idea of Juvenile Crime in Nineteenth Century England', *History Today*, (June 2000), pp.24-25.

⁶³ PP 1843, LXVII, Lord Shaftesbury, (Anthony Ashley Cooper), Condition and Education of the Poor: the Speech of Lord Ashley, M.P., in the House of Commons on Tuesday, 28 February 1843.

as the ‘truly dysfunctional family... the model often favoured in contemporary rhetoric’.⁶⁴ According to this dysfunctional family model parents were accused of ‘taking an active role in the corruption of their offspring’.⁶⁵ The ‘truly dysfunctional’ family included ‘the father and/or mother who actively encouraged their children to thieve; or the parents who abused their children; or the parents who neglected their children’s welfare in favour of their own entertainments’.⁶⁶ Beaver Neale, for instance, argued that ‘parental authority and parental protection... extends at best, among the class of whom we are speaking, for [only] a few brief years’ before the child is sent out ‘by its indigent parent, its hostile step-mother, or still more interested and unfeeling guardian, with strict injunctions not to return home without having obtained a certain sum of money, or quantity of provisions’.⁶⁷ He continued: ‘it therefore becomes the interest of the child to make up by peculation what cannot be procured by solicitation’.⁶⁸ These offspring of the dysfunctional were, according to Beaver Neale, ‘initiated by their parents, their brothers, or companions (who are probably themselves thieves) in the art of picking pockets, and shop-lifting; clothes lines are now stripped by them, gardens plundered, dogs stolen, and hen-roosts and dove-cots invaded’.⁶⁹ He asserted also that the parents of young delinquents trained their offspring in the arts of ‘robbing from drunken persons in the streets; plundering uninhabited houses, where property has been left; and cutting the lead and piping, and abstracting the panes of glass from newly-constructed

⁶⁴ Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, p.48; Here Shore identified three main constructions of family experience amongst contemporary discourse: the first being ‘a picture of a slightly dysfunctional family, probably a fairly normal circumstance, where drunkenness or illness or long-term unemployment had probably led to neglect of the children’. The second was ‘the respectable family, which perhaps again had fallen on hard times, whose child had bowed to peer pressure, or been corrupted by some outside force or another’. The final experience Shore identified was that of ‘the truly dysfunctional family, much less common, but the model often favoured in contemporary rhetoric – the father and/or mother who actively encouraged their children to thieve; or the parents who abused their children; or the parents who neglected their children’s welfare in favour of their own entertainments’. There was within contemporary writing on the subject of juvenile delinquency and parental neglect a wide and troubled variety of experience.

⁶⁵ Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, p.47.

⁶⁶ Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, pp.48-49

⁶⁷ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, pp.12-13.

⁶⁸ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.13.

⁶⁹ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.14.

buildings'.⁷⁰ Poor working-class parents training their young to 'professional dishonesty' challenged the Victorian middle-class notion of the role of the family and the parent.⁷¹ Rather than providing their children with a sound moral influence, the guiding principles of life, and protection from the corruption of the world outside, these parents were inducting their young into a life of depredation.⁷²

Another important contribution to this discourse which saw the parents of youthful criminals as the chief cause of their children's delinquencies was made by Mary Carpenter. Carpenter was a prominent nineteenth century social and educational reformer, whose 'day-to-day experience in the slums' through the ragged schools in Bristol alerted her attention to the social conditions of the poor.⁷³ In her text *Reformatory Schools for the Perishing and Dangerous Classes* (1851) Carpenter highlighted the 'gross parental neglect' experienced by many children of the urban poor as the 'original cause of the commencement of a vicious course'.⁷⁴ She drew upon the evidence of various people involved in working with such children to highlight their social circumstances and poor parenting they experienced. She cited, for example, the case of 'D. F., aged about 14. – Mother dead several years; father a drunkard and deserted him about three years ago. Has since lived as best he could; sometimes going errands, sometimes begging and thieving'.⁷⁵ Carpenter highlighted several cases which were similar to this, where several boys who, due to their parents' neglect and eventual abandonment, had been turned out onto the streets 'ragged, barefooted, friendless, homeless, [and] penniless' who survived through a precarious combination of running errands and petty

⁷⁰ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.14.

⁷¹ Mary Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents Their Condition and Treatment*, (W. and F. G. Cash: London, 1853), p.23.

⁷² Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.14.

⁷³ Frank Prochaska, 'Carpenter, Mary (1807-1877)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁷⁴ Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for the Perishing and Dangerous Classes*, (C. Gilpin: London, 1851), p.66.

⁷⁵ Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, p.62.

crime.⁷⁶ Further descriptions of the combinations of social circumstances and parental neglect faced by children of the poor which Carpenter drew upon included that of a boy, who, when charged for ‘sleeping in the open air’ and questioned about it by magistrates burst into tears and admitted he was alone:

The boy, a good looking and intelligent child, said, in reply to the bench, that when he went down to where his mother had lodged, he could not find her.

Q. ‘Do you mean to say that you have not seen your mother since!’

Boy (bursting into tears). ‘No, sir, I have not.’

Q. ‘Where did you sleep the night before last!’

Boy. ‘I slept out in the Park, sir.’⁷⁷

In drawing upon these various cases Carpenter illustrated the lack of parental care and protection experienced by these children and the failure on the part of the parents to provide for their children which she believed amounted to neglect. Carpenter asked her readers: ‘Can we wonder if juvenile crime increases when the young are growing up under such influences?’⁷⁸ In the final chapter of this text Carpenter reiterated her findings that in many cases the parents of those youthful offenders were ‘the guilty parties rather than the children, since juvenile delinquency usually originates in parental neglect’.⁷⁹ Although she accepted that in some cases this neglect was ‘unintended, a result of trying continuously to balance the scales between poverty and survival’, or simply ‘the result rather of weakness, than of design’ she nevertheless concluded that it was ‘the most injurious influences [imbibed] throughout their short lives’ through the malign influence of their parents which had most ‘diseased’ the young.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, p.63.

⁷⁷ *Bristol Mercury*, 1 March 1851, as quoted in Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, p.65.

⁷⁸ Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, p.60.

⁷⁹ Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, p.348.

⁸⁰ Mary Carpenter, ‘Reformatories for Convicted Girls’, *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, 1857, (John W. Parker and Son: London, 1858), p.339.

Carpenter expressed similar sentiments in her later influential text *Juvenile Delinquents Their Condition and Treatment* (1853) maintaining still that the cause of juvenile delinquency ‘in the most bold and hardened young offenders’ was ‘moral destitution, arising from want of early training, and parental neglect’.⁸¹ In this text Carpenter described, in her view, the differences between the treatment of the young in the higher ranks of society and that of those in the poorest echelons of society:

In these higher classes the young have a protecting care to shield them from treatment which would be their inevitable ruin; - in the “perishing and dangerous classes,” the child is, almost from infancy, exposed in his immatured, inexperienced, and untaught condition to face the dangers and share the treatment of *a man*! In the more favoured portion of society, parental love shelters like a guardian angel tender childhood, defending it from physical want, from spiritual danger; nor is the care relaxed, but rather increased, when independent boyhood would fain be freed from parental control, for then even greater dangers may assail him, and he still needs for his guidance the firm authority of a father, the yet more powerful check of a mother’s love... But these poor pariah children, these “moral orphans,” who watches over them with tender care through their early years? The streets their nursery, an elder brother or sister already well versed in crime their nurse, sometimes driven almost from their mother’s breast to seek their own living, knowing a father often only by hearing his curses, or bearing his drunken brutality, defying in the earliest years a parental authority which has been used but to abuse them, they have at twelve, perchance even at eight or nine years of age, the determined will, the violent passions, even the knowledge, in crime, of a man.⁸²

According to Carpenter therefore the parents of the delinquent children of the poor were negligent in failing to provide the love, protection, guidance and authority that should naturally extend from a parent to their offspring. Carpenter warned that those children who were ‘perishing from lack of...parental care, of all that should surround childhood’ were to become ‘positively dangerous; dangerous to society’ which, according to Carpenter ‘rises in formidable array to defend itself against them, and in a condition most dangerous to the world around, to succeeding generations, to their own souls!’⁸³ Carpenter suggested that drastic remedial action was needed but rather than being punished with imprisonment, she stated that ‘such a condition is one of grievous moral disease; it needs a moral hospital and requires

⁸¹ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.36.

⁸² Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, pp.5-6.

⁸³ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.16.

treatment guided by the highest wisdom'.⁸⁴ This view of such children as patients in need of treatment rather than punishment again illustrates a developing preoccupation amongst Victorian reformers that a lack of parental love and guidance had exposed these children to moral disease.

Carpenter identified three classes of delinquent children (who were the offspring of three classes of parent). The first consisted of 'daring, hardened young offenders, who are already outlaws from society... it is certain that they have led an undisciplined childhood, over which no moral or religious influence has been shed'.⁸⁵ The second consisted of 'youths who are regularly trained by their parents or others in courses of professional dishonesty' and who were therefore more 'dangerous to society' due to their 'more systematic... life of fraud'.⁸⁶ The third class Carpenter identified consisted of children 'who are not as hardened as the first, or as trained to crime as the second, but who, from the culpable neglect of their parents, and an entire want of all religious or moral influence at home, have gradually acquired, while quite young, habits of petty thieving, which are connived at, rather than punished, by their parents'.⁸⁷ Whilst the circumstances surrounding these three different types of youngster varied Carpenter maintained that in the case of all three categories the parents were to blame for the depredations of their children since they had, in all cases, failed to provide adequate care, protection, authority and moral guidance to their young.

As the discussion thus far has highlighted the nature of the working-class family caused much concern amongst Victorian society. The failure of the working classes to provide a protected and nurturing childhood for their young was regarded as particularly

⁸⁴ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.16.

⁸⁵ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.23.

⁸⁶ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.23.

⁸⁷ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.23.

problematic. As Muncie argued: ‘The causes of crime were seen to lie firmly in deficiencies in working-class family life, in the low moral condition of parents and in parental neglect’.⁸⁸

The environment of urban working-class life, particularly the character of the urban ‘slum’ and the street culture of working-class youths forms the second major area of focus of this chapter. By the Victorian period many towns and cities had become large, densely populated and socially segregated urban spaces.⁸⁹ Those Victorians concerned about the rise of juvenile delinquency spent much time contemplating these urban spaces and their changing nature. The poorest areas of towns and cities, where the working-classes generally resided, received much attention as they ‘appeared to both eighteenth- and nineteenth-century social commentators as anonymous, dangerous and dirty’.⁹⁰ Such regions were regarded, as the *Birmingham Daily Post* put it, as places of ‘disorder and sin’ that were ‘physically, mentally, and morally degrading to many of those who lived in them’.⁹¹ For many observers, the idea that many working-class children lived in Godless immoral slums, and it was this environment that fundamentally shaped their delinquency, became firmly entrenched: ‘it is out of such a community that crime has its birth, and principally emanates’.⁹²

The propensity to connect the environment of the working-class areas of towns and cities with juvenile delinquency was particularly salient in the writings of observers who were, as Felix Driver highlights, examples of the new social science ‘concerned with the relationships between anti-social conduct and the spaces in which it thrived’.⁹³ The *Report of the Royal Commission on Establishing an Efficient Constabulary Force* of 1839, for example, deployed selective evidence from the statements of magistrates, prison governors and other

⁸⁸ Muncie, *Youth and Crime*, p.61.

⁸⁹ J. J. Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century*, (Batsford: London, 1967), pp.34-35.

⁹⁰ Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England 1750-1900*, (Longman: London, 2005), p.120.

⁹¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, July 1844.

⁹² Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.9.

⁹³ Felix Driver, ‘Discipline Without Frontiers? Representations of the Mettray Reformatory Colony in Britain, 1840-1880’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.3, No.3, (September 1990), p.273.

officials emphasising the urban origins of the majority of criminals.⁹⁴ William Beaver Neale in his text *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester: Its Causes and History, Its Consequences, and Some Suggestions Concerning its Cure* (1840), also developed an environmental and spatial analysis of juvenile delinquency. He described those areas of towns in which most youthful delinquents lived as ‘the lowest, the most incommodious and loathsome in the city’.⁹⁵ These were the resorts he stated, of ‘gamblers, thieves and prostitutes’ all of whom lived in amongst the ‘narrow, ill-ventilated, and filthy streets’ in ‘dirty hovels’ and by means of ‘criminal pursuits’.⁹⁶ These were the areas in which he suggested ‘nests of juvenile delinquents find shelter’.⁹⁷ It was ‘from such a region of physical degradation that contagion and pestilence spread abroad, and it is out of such a community that crime has its birth, and principally emanates’, Beaver Neale suggested.⁹⁸ It was here, in these areas that ‘criminals of all kinds and from all quarters congregate, as the soil most congenial to them’.⁹⁹ Beaver Neale expressed his concern for the youths who inhabited these areas, asking; ‘to be born and bred in such a region, and exposed to such influences, what is it but to be predestined to a life of poverty, ignorance, misery, and guilt?’¹⁰⁰ Other notable observers who expressed concern about the nature of this urban environment and its effect on the behaviour of the young included Lord Shaftesbury, the Evangelical Tory reformer, who condemned these areas as ‘dens of filth, of suffering and of infamy’ and, in a speech in the House of Commons, he also presented the question: ‘What chance have these children of becoming good members of society?’ in regions such as this where they ‘gradually acquire vagrant habits, become

⁹⁴ PP 1839, XIX, *First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire as to the Best Means of Establishing an Efficient Constabulary Force in the Counties of England and Wales*.

⁹⁵ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.8.

⁹⁶ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.9.

⁹⁷ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.9.

⁹⁸ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.9.

⁹⁹ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.10

¹⁰⁰ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.10

vagrants [and] criminals'.¹⁰¹ Mary Carpenter also discussed the corrupt urban environment from which she believed many youthful delinquents emanated and its effect on the behaviour of those from these areas of town. She stated that the less salubrious areas of 'large towns are more favourable to that precocious development of crime which brings the young offender under magisterial correction'.¹⁰² Carpenter asserted that the 'slum' environment 'exhibits this early training to vice in an overwhelming extent'.¹⁰³

These areas of towns and cities which were associated with the poor and the criminal poor, the 'rookeries', as they became known, were said to promote both physical and moral disease, and were, as Felix Driver has noted, variously described as 'fever dens', 'plague spots', 'hot-beds of moral pestilence', 'rendezvous of vice', 'nurseries of felons', 'colonies of paupers', 'seed-beds of revolution' and 'nuclei of the disaffected'.¹⁰⁴ The combining of moral and sanitary analogies also reflects a wider strain of thought in Victorian society which influenced the discussion of the perceived causes of juvenile delinquency. The nineteenth century, as Driver has highlighted, experienced the growth of a new form of sanitary social science which was said to 'involve the mapping of types of behaviour onto types of environment; typically, an urban environment'.¹⁰⁵ This development reflected the growth of various currents of thought regarding social and moral organisation such as ethnology, medical geography and moral statistics which contributed to the rise of a 'sanitary science' in England from the 1820s.¹⁰⁶ Sanitary science examined the 'urban geography of disease, its relationship with local environmental conditions and the location, distribution and migrations of the population'.¹⁰⁷ This approach, according to Driver, 'rested on a specific aetiology of

¹⁰¹ PP 1843, Lord Shaftesbury, *Condition and Education of the Poor: the Speech of Lord Ashley, M.P.*, in the House of Commons on Tuesday, 28 February, 1843, p.31.

¹⁰² Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, p.11.

¹⁰³ Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, p.12.

¹⁰⁴ Driver, 'Moral Geographies', p.281.

¹⁰⁵ Driver, 'Moral Geographies', p.278.

¹⁰⁶ Driver, 'Moral Geographies', p.278.

¹⁰⁷ Driver, 'Moral Geographies', p.278.

disease (the miasmatic theory) which reached its apotheosis in the work of Edwin Chadwick'.¹⁰⁸ Miasmas, which were described by William Farr (epidemiologist and Chief Statistician at the Registrar General's office from 1842 until his retirement in 1880) as 'subtle, sickly and deadly', were said to be 'invisible atmospheric substances' forming a poisonous vapour in which were suspended particles of decaying matter, which caused disease and which were at their most dangerous in towns and cities.¹⁰⁹ There were, however, also said to be moral miasmas corresponding to physical ones; 'moral filth was as much a concern as physical'.¹¹⁰ This discourse fed into the discussion of the causes of crime, including juvenile delinquency. According to Mary Carpenter, for example, 'a subtle, unseen but sure poison in the moral atmosphere of the neighbourhood, dangerous as is deadly miasma to the physical health' was a major cause of juvenile delinquency.¹¹¹ The urban context, therefore, was perceived to constitute a miasma of sinful pollution which many of the children of the working-class experienced and therefore became morally diseased. Hence, it was argued that the sufferers of such a moral contagion needed quarantining in the moral hospital.¹¹²

This urban space was thought, therefore, to exert its contaminating influence over its youthful inhabitants in a number of environmental ways. It was argued, for example, that the close proximity of its 'teeming and anonymous populations' provided increased opportunities for crime.¹¹³ The anonymity of modern urban life was also perceived as problematic. In the very small suburban town it was suggested 'opportunities for delinquency are few and

¹⁰⁸ Driver, 'Moral Geographies', p.278.

¹⁰⁹ William Farr, 'Causes of the High Mortality in Town Districts', *Fifth Annual Report of the Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages in England*, (W. Clowes and Sons: London, 1843), p.418; Driver, 'Moral Geographies', p.278.

¹¹⁰ Driver, 'Moral Geographies', p.279.

¹¹¹ Mary Carpenter, 'Juvenile Delinquency in its Relation to the Educational Movement' in A. Hill (Ed.), *Essays upon Educational Subjects*, (Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts: London, 1857), p.321.

¹¹² See also: Sidney Godolphin Osborne, 'Immortal Sewerage' in Viscount Ingestre (Ed.), *Meliora Or Better Times to Come*, Vol.II., (J. W. Parker and Son: London, 1853), pp.7-17.

¹¹³ Emsley, *Crime and Society in England*, p.114.

limited; the pursuits and even character of each person are matters of notoriety and interest; not to be known of is to be an object of inquiry or suspicion: in a word, every one is the police of his neighbour, and unconsciously exercises over him its most essential duties'.¹¹⁴ In contrast in the large town and city 'there is no such vicinage, - no curiosity about neighbours, - every one is engrossed in his own pursuit, and neither knows nor cares about any human being except the circle to which he has been introduced and with which he is connected by ties of business, pleasure or profit'.¹¹⁵ Such environmental contexts, contemporaries thought, afforded 'so many facilities for the concealment of criminality' because urban centres were 'like an immense forest, in the innumerable avenues of which they [offenders] may always find retreat and shelter'.¹¹⁶ The great characteristic of all large towns, it was said in 1837, was that the 'lower classes' 'do not feel towards each other any of those kindly emotions which are so visible... in small towns'.¹¹⁷ This sense of anonymity, it was suggested, took away the restraint of 'neighbourly feeling' and facilitated criminality 'the restraints of character, relationship and vicinity are... lost in the crowd... Multitudes remove responsibility without weakening passion'.¹¹⁸ Indeed, as Jelinger Symons observed: 'in all large and crowded communities crime is sure to abound, unless vigorously met by counteracting influences... the depraving character of these crowded communities, both physically and morally [is undeniable]... Everything is of slower development in the country than in towns, where the communication of thought, and the contagion of habit and example, are more rife and rapid; the passions vegetate and develop themselves with more vigour...'.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ John Wade, *A Treatise on the Police and Crimes of the Metropolis*, (Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green: London, 1829), pp.6-7.

¹¹⁵ Wade, *A Treatise on the Police and Crimes of the Metropolis*, pp.6-7.

¹¹⁶ Wade, *A Treatise on the Police and Crimes of the Metropolis*, pp.6-7.

¹¹⁷ J. D. Grant, *The Great Metropolis*, Vol.1, 2nd Edition, (Saunders and Otley: London, 1837), p.324.

¹¹⁸ Wade, *A Treatise on the Police and Crimes of the Metropolis*, pp.6-7; *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 'Causes of the Increase of Crime', Vol.56, (1844), pp.7-8.

¹¹⁹ Martin Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830-1914*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1990), p.19; J. Symons, *Tactics for the Times as Regards the Condition and Treatment of the Dangerous Classes*, (John Ollivier: London, 1849), pp.48-49.

There was concern also that the urban ‘rookeries’, where poverty, idleness, disease and crime were supposed to prevail, exerted their contaminating influence over their youthful populations by offering ample opportunities for its young inhabitants to be exposed to the ‘moral sewer’ of street life.¹²⁰ The perceived ills of street life and the wandering ‘nomads’ who participated in this lifestyle were described in some detail by the noted Victorian journalist and social investigator Henry Mayhew (1812-1887):

The nomad... is distinguished from the civilised man by repugnance to regular labour and continuous labour – by his want of providence in laying up a store for the future – by his inability to perceive consequences ever so slightly removed from immediate apprehension – by his passion for stupefying roots and herbs... and for intoxicating liquors... by an immoderate love of gaming... by his love of libidinous dances... by his delight in warfare and all perilous sports – by his desire for vengeance – by the looseness of his notions as to property – by the absence of chastity among his women, and his disregard for female honour.¹²¹

It was into this muddle of crime, depravity, and idleness that poor children were plunged by circumstance. The dangers of comparable conditions were also discussed by the *Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency*:

Under these circumstances, his hours have usually been at his own disposal. The vivacity of youth has impelled him to action: he has had no legitimate object for the attention of his mind. Thus [he is] exposed to temptation... of folly and vice. In the public streets he has witnessed the gambling amusements of others of his own years. From being a spectator, he has naturally desired to participate in their amusements. Into such associations there is every facility of introduction. If the boy can but stake his penny, he is readily admitted into the society of gamblers. Hence he becomes degraded with characters of the most dangerous description, who, having made considerable proficiency in evil practices, are well qualified and inclined to contaminate all who join them. In this manner has many a deluded youth been ruined.¹²²

As the quotation from the report suggests, gambling was commonly regarded ‘as a precipitant into criminal behaviour’.¹²³ Central to this association of gambling with criminality, stated

¹²⁰ Driver, ‘Discipline Without Frontiers?’, p.280; Clarke, ‘The Three Rs’, p.126.

¹²¹ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, Vol.1, (W. Clowes and Sons: London, 1851), p.2.

¹²² *Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency*, pp.16-17.

¹²³ Heather Shore, ‘Home, Play and Street Life: Causes of, and Explanations for, Juvenile Crime in the Early Nineteenth Century’ in Stephen Hussey and Anthony Fletcher, *Childhood in Question: Children, Parents and the State*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1999), p.100.

Heather Shore, was 'its characteristically group nature', hence in the minds of contemporaries 'gambling and gang behaviour were strongly connected'.¹²⁴ William Beaver Neale also commented upon the participation of the young in gambling:

One of the most depraving and vicious habits to which juvenile delinquents... are particularly addicted, is that of gambling. This passion, which is much indulged in by criminals of all ages, develops itself at an early age in the juvenile delinquent, and rarely ceases to relax its tyrannical dominion over the human heart and mind, until it has absorbed all other passions and all other wants, and led its victim through every grade of guilt and degradation.¹²⁵

Beaver Neale argued that gambling 'operates in producing that frame of mind which is found to exist in criminals. It teaches him to regard every thing as the result of fortune, or the calculation of chances; and the young delinquent addicted to gambling sees in his criminal career only a more extended game of hazard, where, according to his good or evil fate, the player may be successful or unfortunate'.¹²⁶ As the *Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency* had stated earlier in the period, many believed that youths 'little considered the fatal consequences of the step which he was about to take' in joining the ranks of street gamblers and petty thieves.¹²⁷ Not only was he participating in immoral practices but he was entering into the networks of the criminal classes, which for many, was the start of a spiraling criminal career, which began with 'petty depredations', and then as his years increased he became 'advanced in the nature and extent of his enterprises, until his fame has obtained the notice of the experienced thief, who gladly enlists the victim into his service'.¹²⁸

One further way in which the street life of the young urban working-class juvenile concerned upper and middle-class observers was their participation in criminal gangs. Youths

¹²⁴ Shore, 'Home, Play and Street Life', p.100.

¹²⁵ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.16.

¹²⁶ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.16-17.

¹²⁷ *Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency*, p.18.

¹²⁸ *Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency*, p.18.

would, according to William Beaver Neale, at around twelve to fourteen years of age usually associate in gangs of from two to five and would 'generally place themselves under the guidance of the most expert among their number, or under that of some old and experienced thief; who, while he carefully screens himself from the reach of the magistrate, employs these young persons as his instruments, and directs their operations'.¹²⁹ In gangs youths would set about marauding the streets, the number involved varying depending, according to Beaver Neale, on the nature of the act to be committed: 'pocket-picking is generally accomplished by four or five persons, petty larcenies by two or three, and in robbing drunken persons in the streets, generally in numbers, assisted by prostitutes'.¹³⁰ Beaver Neale described in some detail the supposed workings of the criminal gang:

In pocket-picking, from persons walking in the streets, or standing at shop doors or windows, it is the lesser of the gang who picks the pocket, by slyly approaching the person, and is generally without shoes, that the sound of his footsteps may not be heard; an adult accomplice stands immediately behind him, in order to intercept the view of passengers, and in case of detection, to come to the rescue of the principal, by scuffling with the person whose pocket it has been attempted to pick, or if necessary, by dealing him a heavy blow, by which means the principal often effects his escape. Others, again, employ themselves as lookers-out, or hunt fresh prey; and attempt, by sham fighting in the streets, and every other device, to collect a crowd together, and thus afford facilities to their accomplices for picking-pockets.

In robbing houses, during the absence of the inmates, the first object is to ascertain if the key is in the lock, by one of the party introducing his little finger into the key-hole; he then knocks, and receiving no answer immediately communicates with the others, who are close in ambush awaiting the result. One then goes with the skeleton-keys, and as soon as the door is open, the signal is given and they enter... Should they fail in opening the front-door, the plan next adopted is, to go to the back-door, get over the yard, break a pane of glass underneath the window fastening, and to introduce their hand and unfasten the widow: but should this expedient likewise fail, the smallest of the party is passed through the aperture, who affords an entrance to the rest of the gang.¹³¹

Beaver Neale's extensive description of the operations of the gangs illustrates that it was believed that association in gangs and participation in the crimes this entailed, particularly picking pockets, was viewed as a way in which many children were initiated into a life of

¹²⁹ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.14.

¹³⁰ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, p.14.

¹³¹ Beaver Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester*, pp.14-15.

crime. Heather Shore has highlighted in *Artful Dodgers Youth and Crime in Early Nineteenth Century London*, that ‘there was a tendency to view pickpocketing as a progressive stage in the criminal career. Time after time, the portrayal of the youth drawn into pickpocketing, then burglary, was espoused by contemporary commentators’ and therefore it was a crime that was treated with ‘some seriousness’.¹³² Shore warned that whilst it is unwise to view larceny from the person ‘exclusively in terms of contemporary stereotypes’, like the ‘Artful Dodger’, pickpockets did tend to be children and male.¹³³ Shore highlighted also that, in evidence compiled by ‘moral entrepreneur’ William Augustus Miles, the accounts of the pickpockets themselves, such as that of William Holland, for example, a pickpocket interviewed by Miles in around 1836, highlighted the way in which older thieves would guide younger boys in their thieving. This suggests that some were indeed involved in the networks of the supposed ‘criminal underworld’.¹³⁴ This was certainly the case in the view of many contemporary observers and therefore the criminal gang was regarded as a corruptive influence upon the morals of the young, street-dwelling urban poor.

Urban street life also apparently offered additional opportunities for the moral degradation of the juvenile proletariat, through, for example, dissolute leisure practices. One prominent example was the cheap theatre or ‘penny gaff’. Generally found in previously vacant shops or warehouses the penny gaff provided ‘cheap, staged entertainment intended primarily for wage-earning children and adolescents of both sexes aged from about eight to twenty’.¹³⁵ These unlicensed theatres offered forms of singing, dancing and pantomime and a chance for the congregation of purportedly promiscuous youths. They became increasingly associated with immorality, depravity and juvenile delinquency.¹³⁶ The writings of urban

¹³² Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, p.59.

¹³³ Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, pp.58-59.

¹³⁴ Shore, *Artful Dodgers*, p.58.

¹³⁵ John Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics: Penny Gaffs to Gangsta Rap, 1830-1996*, (Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1998), p.12.

¹³⁶ Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics*, pp.12-14.

explorers such as Henry Mayhew and James Greenwood highlighted the popularity of the penny gaff as a pastime amongst urban proletarian youths:

In many of the thoroughfares of London there are shops which have been turned into a kind of temporary theatre (admission one penny), where dancing and singing take place every night... These places are called by the costers "Penny Gaffs;" and on Monday night as many as six performances will take place, each one having its two hundred visitors.¹³⁷

These theatres, 'or at least a humble substitute for one', and children who attended them, were viewed as a dangerous example of the precocious, immoral, and criminal youth culture formed in the working-class districts of towns and cities. Mayhew and Greenwood focused on London examples, but the penny gaffs existed in towns and cities throughout the country.¹³⁸

According to contemporaries the penny theatre openly encouraged 'ignorance and immorality' amongst their young audiences through the content of the shows which contained 'the most unrestrained debauchery'.¹³⁹ Mayhew lamented:

Singing and dancing formed the whole of the hours' performance, and, of the two, the singing was preferred... The "comic singer," in a battered hat and a huge bow to his cravat, was received with deafening shouts. Several songs were named by the costers, but the "funny gentleman" merely requested them "to hold their jaws," and putting on a "knowing" look, sang a song, the whole point of which consisted in the mere utterance of some filthy word at the end of each stanza. Nothing, however, could have been more successful. The lads stamped their feet with delight; the girls screamed with enjoyment. Once or twice a young shrill laugh would anticipate the fun – as if the words were well known – or the boys would forestall the point by shouting it out before the proper time. When the song was ended the house was in a delirium of applause... Another song followed, and the actor knowing on what his success depended, lost no opportunity of increasing his laurels. The most obscene thoughts, the most disgusting scenes were coolly described, making a poor child near me wipe away the tears that rolled down her eyes with the enjoyment of the poison. There were three or four of these songs sung in the course of the evening, each one being encored... it was absolutely awful to behold the relish with which the young ones jumped to the hideous meaning of the verses.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, p.42.

¹³⁸ Stacey Griffiths, 'Unmuzzled children of the gutter' *the Perception and Treatment of Working-Class Juveniles in mid-Victorian England*, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Nottingham Trent University, 2010), pp.16-17.

¹³⁹ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, p.42.

¹⁴⁰ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, p.43.

Mayhew's condemnation of the content of such shows was echoed amongst Victorian society which regarded them as 'indecent and disgusting'.¹⁴¹ In particular there was much concern waged against the re-telling's of the tales of Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard, which according to contemporaries, formed a principle part of the repertoire of the low theatres and singing-rooms in which boys and girls spent much of their time.¹⁴² The dissemination of such stories was thought to impact on the popular imagination of the young who delighted in the antics of these heroes of crime. Many felt that the penny theatre encouraged the legendary status of these criminals, whose adventures played an important part in the lives of juvenile criminals. James Greenwood expressed his concern:

At the present writing there are thousands of young gentlemen varying in years from ten to eighteen who... hold it to be true that Jack Sheppard, house-breaker, prison-breaker, thief, and murderer, was the most splendid fellow the sun ever shone upon, and who find their *beau ideal* of a hero, not in Lord Nelson or the Duke of Wellington, but in 'Blueskin', Claude Duval, or some similar ruffian.¹⁴³

This familiarity with such figures was, in a large part, according to their critics, the fault of the penny theatres. According to J. J. Tobias 'contemporaries were of course conscious of the part that Jack Sheppard played in the life of youngsters, and were worried about it. The plays, songs and stories were thought to be harmful, and crimes were often said to have been inspired by the desire to emulate Jack Sheppard'.¹⁴⁴

These 'dangerous dens of amusement', as James Greenwood described them, offered the opportunity for the unsupervised mixing of the sexes, and a chance for 'the grown-up lads' to spread their purportedly depraved influence to the younger and less experienced children they came into contact with.¹⁴⁵ Mayhew asserted that 'it is impossible to contemplate the ignorance and immorality' of those who attended the Penny Gaff but also of those who

¹⁴¹ J. Ewing Ritchie, *Here and There in London*, (W. Tweedie: London, 1859), p.115.

¹⁴² Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society*, p.89.

¹⁴³ James Greenwood, *The Wilds of London*, (Chatto and Windus: London, 1874), p.246.

¹⁴⁴ Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society*, p.89.

¹⁴⁵ James Greenwood, *The Seven Curses of London*, (Stanley Rivers and Co: London, 1869), p.21; Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, p.42.

performed at such venues and more especially of those who owned the establishments.¹⁴⁶ The owners of cheap theatres were particularly abysmal in character according to Mayhew since they preyed on their audiences' vulnerability:

The men who preside over these infamous places know too well the failings of their audiences. They know how these poor children require no nicely turned joke to make the evening pass merrily, and that the filth they utter needs no double meaning to veil its obscenity. The show that will provide the most unrestrained debauchery will have the most crowded benches; and to gain this point things are acted and spoken that it is criminal even to allude to.¹⁴⁷

This melee of bad characters, immoral surroundings and depraved entertainments in these gaudy theatres became, for many: 'the school-rooms where the guiding morals of life are picked up' according to Mayhew.¹⁴⁸ The example of the Penny Gaff therefore highlights the wider concerns surrounding the participation of working-class youths in the street life of Britain's slum and leisure practices and popular pastimes this offered. The environment of the urban poor, therefore, generated much concern amongst contemporary observers who, as has been discussed, felt that this environment greatly contributed to the perceived problem of youth and the threat they were thought to pose to the stability of society.

As has been demonstrated in this chapter there were many concerns regarding the perceived causes of criminality amongst the young throughout the Victorian period. As the examination of these concerns has highlighted anxieties fell into two main categories: firstly regarding the nature of working-class childhood and the institution of the working-class family; and secondly the environment of working-class life, particularly the character of the urban slum and the street culture of working-class youths. According to John Clarke, contemporaries felt that in the corrupting urban environment: '....the young were exposed to and contaminated and infected by the "moral diseases" of the city streets and turned to the

¹⁴⁶ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, p.42.

¹⁴⁷ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, p.42.

¹⁴⁸ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, p.42.

paths of gambling, licentiousness, drink and crime'.¹⁴⁹ Without 'the preventive inoculation of the moral guardianship of the family' which was perceived to be the case for many working-class youths as discussed in this chapter, 'the neglected young appeared to be doomed', since their characters were formed, according to reformers, through this combination of environment and (im)morality.¹⁵⁰ Victorian reformers and law-makers increasingly sought new methods of 'rescuing' juvenile delinquents and restoring them to their proper child-like nature, and a life of industriousness, sobriety and morality.¹⁵¹ In their attempts at the 'redemption of the innocents debauched' reformers increasingly advocated the reform school system and 'redemption through the countryside'.¹⁵² It is this movement which the forthcoming chapters of the thesis will examine further. An examination of the view which promoted the rural idyll - that is idealised notions of rural life - as a solution to the problem of youthful delinquency will follow in the next chapter.

¹⁴⁹ Clarke, 'The Three Rs', p.127.

¹⁵⁰ Clarke, 'The Three Rs', p.127.

¹⁵¹ Clarke, 'The Three Rs', p.127.

¹⁵² Clarke, 'The Three Rs', p.127.

Chapter 2

The Rural and the Reformatory Movement

‘God made the country, and man made the town’

William Cowper.¹

The sentiment expressed here by the famous eighteenth century poet William Cowper is central to the focus of this thesis as it underpins the belief held by many nineteenth century social commentators that rural society was a more wholesome and Godly environment than its corrupted urban counterpart. Consequently when deliberating the subject of juvenile delinquency (a term coined in this period and widely regarded as a mainly male and urban phenomenon) and how best to reform youths, many mid-Victorian social commentators and reformers believed that rural society proffered the solution.² It is this belief and its impact on reformatory development and practice that will be explored in this chapter.

Throughout history the virtues of the English countryside have been held in high esteem. As Alun Howkins suggested English rural society has traditionally been seen as organic and natural, the polar opposite of the ‘unnatural’, ‘artificial’ and man-made society of the town.³ This was especially true of the nineteenth century. England experienced during this period extensive industrialisation and urbanisation as Britain became the world’s first industrial nation. This served to sharpen the cultural contrasts between the rural and urban and in a nation of rural tradition, this evoked a sense of nostalgia for the pre-industrial rural past. The ‘peace, innocence and simple virtue’ of a pre-industrial society was much revered, and, as Raymond Williams put it: ‘through these transforming experiences English attitudes

¹ William Cowper, *The Task*, (London, 1785), p.49.

² Margaret May, ‘Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, *Victorian Studies*, Vol.17, (1973), pp.7-29.

³ Alun Howkins, ‘The Discovery of Rural England’ in R. Colls and P. Dodd, *Englishness, Politics and Culture, 1880-1920*, (Croom Helm: London, 1986), p.63.

to the country, and to ideas of rural life, persisted with extraordinary power'.⁴ According to Stuart Laing the increased pace of urban expansion 'enhanced the attractiveness' of the image of rural 'stasis and stable tranquility' as presented, for example, in many eighteenth and nineteenth century poems.⁵ In various contemporary literature the 'homely order of the village' was juxtaposed with the 'domestic chaos of the slum'.⁶ In the accounts of the households of rural and urban labourers given by social commentator Lucien Davesies de Pontes, for example, the idealised households of rural labourers with 'jessamine and clematis clustering over the window' and with 'snowy curtains, neat carpet, well-scrubbed table, and household utensils as bright as gold' were contrasted with the 'disorderly room' of the urban labourers dwellings.⁷ With 'a dirty table, a badly-cooked meal, ragged and undisciplined children, a wife exhausted by the fatigues of a day at the factory, and at all times ignorant of the simplest household duties' urban homes were not regarded as providing the wholesome and nurturing family situation as experienced in the countryside.⁸ The more industrial Britain became, the more the Victorians idealised its opposite. It was understood that it was in the countryside that the poor accepted their lot, engaged in honest toil and lacked the cunning ways of the urban deviant. This ideal environment, it was suggested, was therefore well suited to the task of providing the inspiration for the reformation of the juvenile delinquent.

This image of the rural idyll - that is idealised notions of rural life - was perpetuated in Victorian popular culture through various means. Popular works of art such as Miles Birket Foster's paintings, for example, depicted the simplicity and serenity of rural life and served to reinforce the notion of the rural idyll upon the English consciousness.⁹ Rural

⁴ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*, (Paladin: London, 1973), pp.9-10.

⁵ Stuart Laing, 'Images of the Rural in Popular Culture 1750-1990' in Brian Short, *The English Rural Community Image and Analysis*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1992), pp.138.

⁶ L. Davesies de Pontes, *Social Reform in England*, (Cassell, Petter and Galpin: London, 1866), p.21.

⁷ L. Davesies de Pontes, *Social Reform in England*, pp.21-22.

⁸ L. Davesies de Pontes, *Social Reform in England*, pp.21-22.

⁹ Selected works by Miles Birket Foster are reprinted in Rosemary Treble, 'The Victorian Picture of the Countryside', in G. Mingay, (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, Vol.1, (Routledge: London, 1981), p.169.

idyllicism was also disseminated through popular literary works. Literary works of the pastoral tradition ‘one of the earliest and most enduring literary genres’ described ‘an idyllic rural life... often located in a “golden age” set in the near past’.¹⁰ One example of this type of literature is Thomas Gray’s *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*, which Jeremy Burchardt has described as ‘the most influential rural poem of the mid-eighteenth century’ and which, he stated, ‘tended strongly to reinforce the pastoral stereotype of the countryside as a peaceful retreat from the travails of urban life’.¹¹ Another example of this type of literature is William Cowper’s *The Task*, wherein the idealised countryside served as a foil to the decadent town. Both of these eighteenth century poems remained popular and influential in the nineteenth century due to the appeal of their evocation of a timeless world of rural peace and simplicity.¹² In this genre of literary works Burchardt has argued rural people are represented as being ‘at peace with one another, amply provided with food, shelter and any other essentials for a happy life’.¹³

As the artistic, literary, and intellectual movement of the Romantic era evolved, in part, as a reaction against industrialism, the movement idealised and celebrated the traditions and cultures of the past and the rural itself became a romanticised ideal. The Romantic infusion of ‘individual moral meaning into nature’ made available a powerful vocabulary with which writers could critically evaluate urban growth and industrial expansion.¹⁴ The ‘central word in this vocabulary was “unnatural” (and its associated concepts)’.¹⁵ Since the natural ‘was the touchstone of goodness, of pure feeling and of poetry itself, to label something as “unnatural” was to deplore it in the strongest possible way’.¹⁶ Writers and

¹⁰ Jeremy Burchardt, *Paradise Lost, Rural Idyll and Social Change Since 1800*, (I.B. Tauris: London, 2002), p.26.

¹¹ Burchardt, *Paradise Lost*, p.27.

¹² Laing, ‘Images of the Rural in Popular Culture’, p.139.

¹³ Burchardt, *Paradise Lost*, p.26.

¹⁴ Burchardt, *Paradise Lost*, p.29.

¹⁵ Burchardt, *Paradise Lost*, p.29.

¹⁶ Burchardt, *Paradise Lost*, p.29.

reformers alike frequently condemned the urban environment as being wholly unnatural. Examples of this are evident in the poems of William Wordsworth, for example, as well as in the political journalism of William Cobbett, the essays of historian Thomas Carlyle, and in Charles Dickens' novel *Hard Times*.¹⁷ Through the influence of popular literature therefore Victorian society became well versed in the rhetoric of the condemnation of the urban through an idealisation of the rural.

As part of the Romantic period the nineteenth century witnessed the rise in popularity of melodrama as a literary genre. Melodramatic discourse was 'moralistic and sentimental', and worked on binary oppositions which included good versus evil and rural versus urban and the influence of this further encouraged a dichotomous view of rural and urban as good and evil respectively.¹⁸ Within this discourse, according to Rohan McWilliam: 'urban space became an important moral symbol', it symbolised disorder and criminality.¹⁹ This was contrasted with idealised versions of the rural and the agrarian past which were presented as being more simplistic, more wholesome and more orderly. In melodramatic discourse the 'Simplicities of village life were preferred to the city where order was overturned and custom replaced by lawlessness'.²⁰ McWilliam states that melodrama 'provided a cultural resource, a language and set of themes and narratives that enabled the nineteenth century to understand itself'.²¹ Arguably, through their engagement with melodramatic representations of the rural and the urban, many Victorians came to understand themselves as being of a nation where morality was cradled in the countryside and criminality was fostered in the urban. The binary

¹⁷ Burchardt, *Paradise Lost*, pp.30-32; Anon, 'Mettray and Redhill', *North British Review*, XXIV, (1855-56), p.424.

¹⁸ Rohan McWilliam, 'Melodrama and the Historians', *Radical History Review*, Vol.2000, No.78, (2000), pp.57-84.

¹⁹ McWilliam, 'Melodrama and the Historians', p.59.

²⁰ Michael Booth, 'The Metropolis on Stage' in H. J. Dyos and Michael Woolf, *The Victorian City: Images and Reality*, (Routledge: London, 1976), pp.211-24.

²¹ McWilliam, 'Melodrama and the Historians', p.60.

oppositions presented in melodramatic discourse therefore helped to further perpetuate and embed the rural idyll, or idealised notions of rural life, in the Victorian consciousness.

Another important influence in the rise to prominence of the idealisation of the rural in the Victorian period was the rise of what Alun Howkins has called the 'new paternalism'.²² The new paternalism saw rural elites (namely landowners and clergymen) consciously seeking to build hierarchical organic social relations which were inspired by idealised notions of the rural past. According to Howkins, the new paternalism 'turned the clock back to the mid-eighteenth century by selecting key rituals, especially those around the gift, to revive carefully controlled idyllicist notions of rural social life and order'.²³ The attempted Anglican parochial revival also formed part of the new paternalism. This saw the Church of England attempting to revive its parochial system and reassert its social influence through 'church building and restoration, declining non-residence, reduced pluralism, regenerated worship and cultural engagement'.²⁴

A classic ritual of the new paternalism was the invented tradition of the reformed harvest festival. This transformed the 'great climatic celebration of the farming year' at the end of harvest from an event marked by 'drunkenness, sexual freedom and even violence' into 'a tame and sanitized harvest festival'.²⁵ The end of harvest had always been marked by celebration and until the reformation one marked by Church involvement but, at least from the sixteenth century, it had become a secular celebration, which was marked by largesse, drunkenness and sexual freedom.²⁶ From the early nineteenth century however celebrations of this nature were suppressed and gradually expropriated and recreated as a Church centered 'invented tradition', and the reformed harvest festival came to be 'one of the great ritual

²² Alun Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England, A Social History 1850-1925*, (Routledge: London, 1992), p.74.

²³ Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, p.75.

²⁴ Gary Moses, 'The Cultural Contradictions of Rural Capitalism: Anglicanism and Agrarian Labour in Mid-Victorian England', *Labour History Review*, Vol.72, No.1, (April 2007), p.35.

²⁵ Howard Newby, *Country Life; A Social History of Rural England*, (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1987), p.95; Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, p.71; Newby, *Country Life*, p.95.

²⁶ Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, p.71.

celebrations of the new paternalism'.²⁷ The reformed 'Harvest Home' celebrated the joint endeavours of the agricultural community in the gathering of the harvest. It was a ritual in which masters and workers stood together to rejoice in their triumph of the year's toil. Celebrations involved decorated churches, thanksgiving services and secular tea and sports, as well as a thanksgiving supper in the evening. The invented tradition of the reformed harvest festival was 'in keeping with the public observance of Victorian middle-class morality. Respectable behaviour was thereby encouraged and the ideal of the village as an "organic community" reinforced'.²⁸ Such a 'tradition', therefore, not only served as an assertion of the new paternalism but also as a celebratory reassertion of essentially rural ideals of social order and communal harmony. As such it both symbolised and asserted the power and relevance of rural idyllic notions as models for social organisation in the modern age. The rise of the new paternalism in the mid-Victorian period advanced, therefore, the idea that the rural was a cradle of morality and wholesomeness and could become a tool for engineering order and harmony.

These rural idyllicist notions, this thesis suggests, became important in shaping ideas, debates and suggestions for the reformation of the male juvenile delinquent which will be discussed later in this chapter, but first it is necessary to locate such ideas, debates and suggestions within the broader context of the nineteenth century reform of the criminal justice system which eventually included a transformation in the treatment of juvenile offenders.

By the 1840s there was, according to Martin Wiener, 'a movement for national reform' of a criminal punishment system based on the use of violent public punishments due to the development of a 'deepest objection' to the 'effects on those inflicting and watching

²⁷ Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, p.72.

²⁸ Newby, *Country Life*, p.96.

the punishment'.²⁹ Public violence, corporal or capital, was 'increasingly perceived to be working against the civilising process, worsening popular character by legitimising the open expression of dangerous passions'.³⁰ According to Wiener:

The whipping post and especially the gallows, by their pornographic spectacle of violence, were seen as stimulating rather than subduing the passions, disordering the minds of spectators and calling forth just such scenes of saturnalia as would confirm the fears of character reformers.³¹

Such criticism of the public nature of criminal justice ensured that its reform remained at the forefront of discussion during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Contemporary reformers such as Samuel Romilly declared that public executions and floggings were: 'a disgusting spectacle...*shocking* to humanity'.³² The spectacle of public punishments were also deplored and commented upon by leading English writers of the period. W. M. Thackeray and Charles Dickens, for example, slammed the 'hideous debauchery' of these exhibitions and the 'bestiality of the crowd' that gathered at such events.³³ In the face of such criticism the spectacle of the gallows and other public punishments gradually became less and less tolerated.

Increasingly influential levels of opposition and criticism were also directed against the transportation of convicts overseas and the use of prison hulks with which it was associated. Both, like corporal and capital punishment, were regarded as:

arbitrary and uncertain in application, and although it did not involve such dramatic public corruption as floggings and hangings, it nonetheless was frequently both brutal and brutalizing – with not only prisoners, but even more important, as with public corporal and capital punishments in England, the free population looking on.³⁴

The system of transportation was also criticised for being either too severe or too permissive 'depending on the particular, unpredictable circumstances of its administration and the

²⁹ Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England 1830-1914*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1990), p.93.

³⁰ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.93.

³¹ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.93.

³² Quoted in Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.94.

³³ W. M. Thackeray, 'Going to See a Man Hanged', *Fraser's Magazine*, (1840); *The Times*, 14 November 1849.

³⁴ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.98.

personalities of its administrators'.³⁵ The assignment system, whereby many transported convicts in Australia were lent out to settlers, was condemned by reformers and by the *Select Committee on Transportation* (1837) for its 'strange lottery' system whereby convicts could find themselves between 'extremes of comfort and misery'; 'the condition of the convict depends on the temper and disposition of the settler to whom he is assigned'.³⁶ Neither scenario was desired by reformers who, according to Wiener, argued that the 'cruelties of bad masters reduced English justice to the degraded level of slavery in the United States' whilst 'good masters – and good fortune when one's sentence was up – posed a problem of their own, for they could undermine transportation's deterrent function'.³⁷

By the 1860s, then:

All the traditional penalties that had made up nearly the entire arsenal of Georgian criminal sentences – the pillory, the whipping post, the gallows, and the convict ship – were extinguished. All had come to appear demoralising in their arbitrariness and their tendency to incite dangerous passions. In their place were being put new, more measured forms of secluded punishment that would calm rather than inflame.³⁸

The mid-Victorian period saw the focus of punishment therefore shift from 'the public arena to a private sphere and from direct assault upon, or removal of, the body of the criminal to a new focus on restructuring his environment and reorienting his mind' through the use of reformed prison institutions the walls of which increasingly marked a clear divide between criminality and lawful society.³⁹ Although there was fierce debate within the burgeoning body of opinion opposed to the modes of punishment inherited from the eighteenth century most regarded institutional incarceration in the form of the prison as the mode of punishment to be utilised to rebuild the character of its inmates:

First of all, imprisonment, more than any other method, promised to be much more amenable to the felt need for certainty and uniformity in punishment. Terms of

³⁵ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.98.

³⁶ Parliamentary Paper (hereafter PP) 1837-38, XXII, *Report from the Select Committee on Transportation 1837*, p.8; pp.19-21

³⁷ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.98.

³⁸ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.100.

³⁹ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.102.

imprisonment could be allotted with arithmetical precision, and the conditions under which they were spent could be precisely calculated and controlled. At least potentially, prison sentences could be uniform, proportionate to moral guilt, and certain. Prisons themselves were to be run in a rational, rule-governed manner. As in reformed policing and trial, predictable and uniformly applied rules were to circumscribe the scope of personal spontaneity. At the same time, imprisonment would privatize punishment, withdrawing it from the public gaze, and abolish the irregularity of life on hulks and in penal colonies, which had entrenched the existing corruption of felons and spread it to others. Once rationalized and privatized, punishment could foster reform, both among prisoners and in society at large. Prison would become a school of moral discipline, that is, a training ground for, and a social representation of, the overcoming of immediate impulses and passions and the reconstruction of character.⁴⁰

The fundamental shift from public to private punishment and the focus upon restructuring the environment of the criminal in order to bring about a reformation of the character of the imprisoned meant that the prisons had become a major part of a newly reformed criminal justice system by the 1860s. These philosophical principles also came to inform the discussion of how best to accommodate the ever expanding numbers of juveniles coming before the criminal justice system. Increasingly, it was believed that institutional incarceration and reformative treatment was to be the preferred approach to the juvenile offender. Punishments other than institutional forms, such as transportation and capital punishment, were increasingly regarded by penal reformers as inappropriate for the juvenile offender. It was thought also to be necessary to separate the more malleable imprisoned juvenile offenders from hardened adult criminals ‘to protect the young from moral contamination’.⁴¹ Associated with this was the idea that the juveniles should then be placed in their own controlled environments in which their characters could be reclaimed. These two principles increasingly guided state policy on the treatment of juvenile offenders. Accordingly in 1838, Parkhurst Prison, the first penal institution solely for juveniles, was opened. This institution solely for juvenile boys was, as Wiener noted, in accordance with William Crawford’s (one of the ‘most influential [authorities] on juvenile delinquency in

⁴⁰ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, pp.102-103.

⁴¹ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.132.

early nineteenth century England') prescription: 'decidedly of a penal character', and regarded strict prison discipline as an essential part of the moral and religious reformation of the juvenile offender.⁴² Boys were required to wear an iron manacle on one leg for the first two years of their imprisonment, and once the manacle was removed 'the discipline was compensatingly tightened further'.⁴³ Inmates were often confined to their cells except for short periods in the schoolroom, chapel or exercise yard, they were subject to enforced silence and uninterrupted surveillance by prison staff, their diet was sparse and they were forced to march.

Whilst Parkhurst enjoyed early support from penal reformers as the severity of its regime became apparent it soon attracted criticism because the institution was regarded as 'insufficiently reformatory'.⁴⁴ For its detractors Parkhurst represented a punitive regime in which those juveniles subjected to it 'were neither deterred nor converted', only hardened and 'trained to prison life'.⁴⁵ The leg irons and the military guard put in place after the attempted escape of thirty four inmates in 1839 became, for many, symbols of its failure.⁴⁶ One of Parkhurst's harshest critics was Mary Carpenter who, in her text *Juvenile Delinquents: Their Condition and Treatment* (1853), criticised Parkhurst for 'the employment of physical force and the action of fear on the young convicts'.⁴⁷ Carpenter was particularly disdainful of the 'soldiers with loaded guns being on guard to watch the boys', and the appointment of

⁴² John Stack, 'Deterrence and Reformation in Early Victorian Social Policy: The Case of Parkhurst Prison, 1838-1864', *Historical Reflections*, Vol.6. (1979), p.388; *The Second Report of the Inspectors of Prisons for the Home District, 1837*, (W. Clowes and Sons: London, 1837), p.67; Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.132.

⁴³ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.133.

⁴⁴ PP 1852, VII, *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles: Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix*, p.102.

⁴⁵ Margaret May, 'Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in John Muncie, Gordon Hughes and Eugene McLaughlin, *Youth Justice: Critical Readings*, (SAGE: London, 2002), p.100; PP 1850, XVII, *Report from the Select Committee on Prison Discipline*, 29 July 1850, p.343.

⁴⁶ Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society Vol. II From the Eighteenth Century to the Children Act 1948*, (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1973), p.465.

⁴⁷ Mary Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents: Their Condition and Treatment*, (W. and F. G. Cash: London, 1853), p.193.

‘military men as officers’.⁴⁸ Under such conditions she argued that ‘the refreshment and invigoration of his mind is an evident impossibility’.⁴⁹ Carpenter stated; ‘it is utterly vain to look for any real reformation where the heart is not touched... this cannot possibly be done for children under the mechanical and military discipline of Parkhurst’.⁵⁰ This was demonstrated, according to Carpenter, by the many instances of ‘riotous conduct’ which included ‘assaulting officers, damaging prison property, arsony, attempting to escape’, that the prison was ‘twice in one year set on fire by its inmates’ and that ‘thirty... escaped in one year from the walls and sentinels of Parkhurst’.⁵¹ Carpenter developed a powerful critique of Parkhurst and in campaigning against ‘a plague of Parkhurst’s’ became a powerful voice, along with other reformers, lobbying for the establishment of non-prison like institutions in the form of reformatory schools.

Increasingly, therefore, the focus of those seeking a more advanced and effective reformation of the juvenile offender turned to the more favoured option of privately run reformatory schools where ‘juvenile offenders might be sent for longer periods, and in which they might be subjected to a form of discipline more appropriate to their youthful condition’.⁵² The new reformatories were designed to be ‘moral hospital[s]’ equipped to treat morally diseased juveniles through their application of what Mathew Davenport Hill called the ‘three great lessons’ of reforming regimes; ‘religious convictions, industry and self-control’, which he believed ‘if prosecuted in a right spirit and with perseverance, success is certain’.⁵³ There was during this period (1840s-1850s) a consensus within the reformatory

⁴⁸ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.193.

⁴⁹ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.169.

⁵⁰ Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for the Perishing and Dangerous Classes*, (C. Gilpin: London, 1851), p.322.

⁵¹ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.196; p.224.

⁵² John A. Stack, ‘The Provision of Reformatory Schools, the Landed Class, and the Myth of the Superiority of Rural Life in Mid-Victorian England’, *History of Education*, Vol.8, No.1, (1979), p.33.

⁵³ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.16; R. and F. Davenport Hill, *The Recorder of Birmingham. A Memoir of Matthew Davenport Hill*, (Macmillan: London, 1878), p.170.

movement that there should be separate juvenile institutions that were to be humanitarian, reformative and educational but also authoritarian, disciplinarian and quasi penal.⁵⁴

The Victorian spirit of ameliorism and environmentalism directed at juvenile delinquency saw the growth of a new 'reformatory science', a social science which placed reformation of character within institutions at the centre of curing criminality.⁵⁵ Under the principles of the reformatory movement juveniles were classified as a distinct category of offender. They were a group who were 'necessarily less culpable than adults because their moral sense had not matured sufficiently to allow them to judge between right and wrong'.⁵⁶ As Mary Carpenter advised, despite entering into criminal activities, a child criminal was still a child and should therefore be treated as such.⁵⁷ It was believed, therefore, that prison was an inappropriate place for a child because it obstructed their reformation of character; not least because it brought them into contact with more experienced adult 'career' criminals. It was argued that, in contrast, juveniles should be 'opened to new, more natural, more healthy, more kindly influences' as they required 'softening and training, not crushing or terrifying'.⁵⁸ Victorian reformers believed that 'the answer to the problem of juvenile crime lay in curing the disease rather than punishing the patient'.⁵⁹ Thus, reformatory institutions appeared to provide the solution since they offered the opportunity of returning the youthful criminal to 'the true position of childhood' and this was essential for them, according to Mary Carpenter, for their 'future well-being'.⁶⁰ These institutions became particularly popular after the passing of the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act.

⁵⁴ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, pp.136-141.

⁵⁵ Felix Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers? Representations of the Mettray Reformatory Colony in Britain, 1840-1880', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.3, No.3, (September 1990), p.280.

⁵⁶ Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.280.

⁵⁷ Frank Prochaska, 'Carpenter, Mary (1807-1877)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵⁸ Anon, 'The Correction of Juvenile Offenders', *Edinburgh Review*, (1855), p.387; Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.280.

⁵⁹ Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.280.

⁶⁰ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.298.

Whilst reformatory institutions had existed prior to the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act, these had been fairly small-scale and entirely private. The passing of the 1854 Act however led to the increased establishment of such institutions and these were state supported and inspected. According to the 1854 statute any person under sixteen years of age who had been convicted of any offence punishable by law might be sentenced to a reformatory school, after having served a preliminary sentence of at least fourteen days imprisonment. The Youthful Offenders Act also stated that those juveniles who were sent to reformatory schools should serve a sentence of at least two years but not more than five years.⁶¹ The passing of this Act provided the first institutional alternative to prison for young offenders and it marked the State's acknowledgement of the necessity for its interference in dealing with the matter of juvenile delinquency, which had, by this time, long been accepted as standing 'among the most serious of the social difficulties and dangers that we have to wrestle with'.⁶²

However, despite posing a social threat, juvenile delinquents were regarded as being pliable and reformable by virtue of their tender years. It was argued that due to the 'plasticity of character' of the young it was of the utmost importance to make the right decision regarding the reformatory spaces to which they were sent.⁶³ The contemporary concern with 'the relationships between anti-social conduct and the spaces in which it thrived' meant that the location and types of reformatory regimes were key considerations.⁶⁴ The desired aim was to create environments that would counter and purge the poisonous influences of the urban spaces previously experienced. Spatial factors therefore played a key role both in contemporary thinking about the origins of juvenile delinquency and in establishing and locating new institutions for the treatment of juvenile criminals. In thinking about juvenile

⁶¹ The 1854 Youthful Offenders Act permitted magistrates and judges to send juveniles to reformatory schools it did not however require them to do so. This Act was permissive but not obligatory.

⁶² *Reformation of Juvenile Offenders: The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, (James Truscott: London, 1848), p.8.

⁶³ Joseph Fletcher, 'Statistics of the Farm School System of the Continent, and of its Applicability to the Preventive and Reformatory Education of Pauper and Criminal Children in England', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol.15, No.1, April 1852, (John William Parker and Son: London, 1852) p.1.

⁶⁴ Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.273.

delinquency, and the spaces in which it thrived, contemporary reformers did not have to search far for the answer. The urban environment, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, was seen as a key factor in the moral degradation of the young delinquent. The idyllic English countryside was its absolute antithesis.⁶⁵ Consequently, urban locations for reformatories were seen as unsuitable: 'It is in vain to build and institute Reformatory Establishments in the hearts of great cities' where 'physical as well as moral... squalor and sickliness abound'; 'Nothing is so opposed to proper feeling'.⁶⁶ It was regarded as imperative that delinquent youths be removed from these environments and be placed in appropriate wholesome and nurturing environments in which they could be reformed. Because the reformatory was designed to be a 'moral hospital' its most appropriate location was believed to be the inherently moral environment: the English countryside.⁶⁷

As Teresa Ploszajska has argued, the idea of the rural environment as the truly wholesome and inspirational exemplar of a good life and sound morality came to dominate thinking about the best way in which to 'cure' urban male juvenile delinquency throughout the mid-Victorian period.⁶⁸ This idea underpinned powerfully the reformatory experiments that developed during the mid-Victorian period. This enduring image of the rural as an idyllic safe-haven from the trappings of urbanity ensured that rural based reformatories, surrounded by the wholesome environment of the countryside, sprang up around the country: in the twenty years following the passage of the 1854 Reformatory Schools Act, 41 reformatories for boys were certified, the vast majority being rural.⁶⁹ These sought to create manipulated

⁶⁵ Felix Driver, 'Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol.13, No.3, (1988), p.284.

⁶⁶ John Cockburn Thomson, *Mettray and Redhill, Reprinted from the North British Review with Observations on the Present Aspect of the Reformatory Question*, (Hamilton, Adams and Co: London, 1856), p.11.

⁶⁷ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.16.

⁶⁸ Teresa Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces: Gender, Class and Space in Victorian Reformatory Schools', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.20, No.4, (1994), p.413.

⁶⁹ See: Stack, 'The Provision of Reformatory Schools', pp.42-43.

and controlled ruralised environments as a means of treating the juvenile delinquent and thereby ‘cutting off the supply of future adult criminals’.⁷⁰

These rurally located institutions included the reformatory farm school type institutions upon which this thesis focuses. These institutions were carefully controlled and specifically calculated re-creations of idealistic rural villages, structured around a village community with a working farm at its centre. The reformatory regimes offered by these institutions centred on applying inmates to (mainly) agricultural labour. However, the boys who attended farm schools were also furnished with a basic education as well as moral and religious training and a regime of strict social discipline. Those reformers and commentators who advocated the use of farm schools in the reformation of juvenile delinquents proposed that ‘Life in the fields remedies all the inconveniences’ brought about by urban living.⁷¹ It was believed by those who advocated this view that there was a sense of innocence and simplicity inherent within rural society which meant that rural youths did not become contaminated by the dangers of modern society as did their urban counterparts; consequently they had less potential for criminality. Many, including Mary Carpenter, believed that the application of those who had been involved in criminality to a rural existence and agricultural labour through the farm school would be the means to reclaiming their characters. She argued that: ‘Of all kinds of labour, agricultural employment has been practically found to produce the most beneficial effect, both in engaging the willing exertions of the boys, and in producing a good moral influence’.⁷² She also asserted that a ‘farm school, removed from the allurements of the city, is essential for them [criminal boys]’.⁷³

⁷⁰ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.416.

⁷¹ Frederic Auguste Demetz, *Report on Reformatory Farm Institutions: Read before the International Charitable Conference at Paris*, (Hamilton, Adams and Co: London 1856), p.14.

⁷² Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.305.

⁷³ Mary Carpenter, ‘Reformatories for Convicted Girls’, *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, 1857, (John W. Parker and Son: London, 1858), p.340.

Carpenter and others involved in the promotion of reformatory institutions were greatly influenced by Frederic Auguste Demetz, an influential French jurist and penal reformer who advocated the idea of farm schools providing a cure for the problem of juvenile criminality. In his *Report on Reformatory Farm Institutions*, he described the benefits of such institutions and their role in quelling the criminality of urban juveniles as he, like others, saw urban environments as problematic and therefore turned to their rural antithesis for a solution. Demetz believed in the healing properties of nature and the restorative effect the ‘beauties of nature’ had upon the souls of those damaged by the ‘vitiating atmosphere’ of the urban.⁷⁴ He suggested therefore that the best way to reform youth was to situate them among the natural environment of the countryside and to apply them to manual agricultural work since: ‘He who labours on the soil... dreams not of evil-doing’.⁷⁵ Demetz believed that ‘hardy exercise, in the open air, strengthens the body’ and this, along with regular prayer, went hand in hand with the strengthening of character and of a proper moral compass.⁷⁶ In his 1856 report Demetz stated that:

The application to agricultural labour of young children, who through neglect, evil dispositions, or bad examples, are abandoned, without protection, to the dangers which surround them in the great centres of population – is no new idea... the moral influence of agriculture was early recognised; antiquity, even then, proclaimed it by the voice of Cato.⁷⁷

He suggested that this notion of the morality of agricultural life, which had been recognised even in antiquity, should be heeded more widely. Demetz insisted that the simple and wholesome way of life of agricultural workers was cathartic for those youths who had been immersed and polluted in urban environments:

The [agricultural] labourer receives, it is true, only small wages; but he knows neither the excitements which assail the workman in towns; nor the ruinous habits which devour, and render useless, a higher rate of remuneration; nor the frequent cessations

⁷⁴ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.14.

⁷⁵ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.8.

⁷⁶ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.9.

⁷⁷ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.8.

of work, that too frequently reduce him to a state of destitution, which his improvidence often renders him incapable of averting.⁷⁸

These judgements made by Demetz represented a ‘truth so incontestable’ he stated, that it was unnecessary to debate it any longer.⁷⁹ Demetz’s views reinforced the belief already held among many English reformers in the applicability of agricultural ways of life in reforming urban youth. Based on the principles discussed by Demetz therefore, the farm school, like the urban based reformatory, took youths away from the environment that had corrupted them in the first instance but it also added something else, something which it was felt that other types of reformatory institution did not: physical and moral improvement via the positive conditioning influence of experiencing institutionalised forms of rural life and labour in a rural context.⁸⁰

The pioneering farm school founded by Demetz at Mettray, France, in 1839 was regarded as a shining example of how the farm school system in England should be organised. Demetz’s work therefore received much attention by English reformers and philanthropists since his reformatory farm school was regarded as ‘an exemplar of progressive ideas about juvenile reform’.⁸¹ This was especially so following the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act which Demetz claimed was ‘drawn up... for the most part, under the influence of French legislation’ as England ‘could not fail to follow us in the course on which we had entered’.⁸² Following this Act, reformers looked to Mettray for practical guidance in establishing reformatory farm schools in England as it was accepted that: ‘the fundamental principles in action at Mettray are come to be recognised among us as affording the only

⁷⁸ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.8.

⁷⁹ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.9.

⁸⁰ Stacey Griffiths, ‘God made the country and man made the town’ the mid-Victorian Rural Idyll and its Translation into Rural Reformatory Practice’, (Unpublished MA Dissertation, Nottingham Trent University, 2013), pp.10-11.

⁸¹ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p. 414.

⁸² Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, pp.34-5.

secure basis upon which to raise a reformatory system'.⁸³ The attraction of Mettray, according to Felix Driver, 'lay primarily in its attempt to foster supposedly "natural" social relations in a largely rural context'.⁸⁴ In order to do this the reformatory space at Mettray was carefully controlled and deliberately manipulated, nothing at Mettray was 'merely routine, merely mechanism', the structures in place at the reformatory were calculated and 'specially prepared' in order to achieve these ends.⁸⁵ Rather than being incarcerated in a large institution, for example, the children were implanted into 'families', governed not by a prison regime, but – in the words of the colony's founder – by 'liberty and labour in the open air'.⁸⁶ The disciples of Mettray 'regarded the cultivation of moral agency as the key to the reformation of juvenile delinquents. Far from being the antithesis of authority liberty was supposed to be its guarantee'.⁸⁷ This cultivation of moral agency began, according to Demetz, with the division of boys into simulated families: 'Division by families must, it seems to us, be the fundamental principle of every penal and reformatory institution'.⁸⁸ Consequently, the boys at Mettray were dispersed into 'families' and resided in separate 'houses' in order to re-create appropriate familial situations which many had thus far been lacking.⁸⁹ This system it was thought could repair the damage caused by the familial breakdown and lack of parental concern experienced by many of the reformatory inmates. Demetz discussed at length the advantages of the family system of moral training as employed at Mettray and at various other reformatory institutions throughout Europe. He stated that:

Division by families renders the superintendence at once easier, more active, and more zealous: easier, because it extends over a smaller number; more active, because it brings home all the responsibility to one single person, who has his sphere well defined and his duties distinctly marked out; more zealous, because it tends to

⁸³ 'Mettray: From 1839 to 1856', *Law Review*, February 1856, (W and F. G. Cash: London, 1856), p.4.

⁸⁴ Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.273.

⁸⁵ *The Times*, 3 January 1854.

⁸⁶ Anon, 'Mettray: Its Rise and Progress', *Irish Quarterly Review*, (1856), p.918; Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.273.

⁸⁷ Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.273.

⁸⁸ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.25.

⁸⁹ 'Mettray: 1839 to 1856', p.4.

produce on the part of the superintendents, under the influence of that very sense of responsibility, and by habit of living together, feelings of sympathy and kindness.⁹⁰

The influence of this system upon reformatory inmates was equally as powerful according to Demetz:

The authority being less imperious, less oppressive, they become attached in turn to the master who is fond of them; they become accustomed to see in him a friend in whom they have confidence; they are more readily touched to the heart and convinced; and without discipline losing any of its vigour, education finds in this mutual affection a lever of incalculable power.⁹¹

Under the guidance of appropriate parental influences, therefore, the family system of moral training, according to Demetz, would impress upon the boys a sense of familial values and mutual ties of loyalty to those members of their simulated families. It was argued that through this system the youths at Mettray came to care about those in their family groups and, with the benefit of the moral training with which they were provided, they learned to take responsibility for their own actions. Consequently each of the boys residing at Mettray became ‘an accomplice in the process of his own reformation’.⁹² Those involved in the running of Mettray suggested that through the family system of moral training, boys were socialised into making correct moral choices and decisions: ‘Each lad is conscious that default on his part will not only bring ill consequences on himself, but on his family; while on their side his brethren have strong motives, by watchfulness, exhortation, and above all, by example, to keep him in the right path’.⁹³ In the familial environment of the farm school youths who had previously been surrounded by moral corruption, it was argued, became examples for each other to follow. Family, according to Demetz, was ‘the great moralising agent of the human race’.⁹⁴ The reformatory space of the farm school was therefore deliberately manipulated so as to create socialisation and regeneration through a transformative environmental experience. This moral improvement was thought to be a

⁹⁰ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.26.

⁹¹ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.27.

⁹² Driver, ‘Discipline Without Frontiers?’ p.276.

⁹³ ‘Mettray 1839 to 1856’, p.5.

⁹⁴ F. Demetz, cited in A. Doyle, *Proposed District School on the System of Mettray*, (London, 1873), p.7.

critical part of the role of rural reformatories. It was argued, for example, that ‘an improving moral sense in the individual will often work the most important and happy changes in his course of action’ and therefore help to permanently reform the young.⁹⁵

The other central tenet of effective reformation was, as discussed above, agricultural labour ‘in the open air’, which was equally important at Mettray (and at various other European reformatories).⁹⁶ In Sydney Turner and Thomas Paynter’s *Report on the System and Arrangements of “La Colonie Agricole” at Mettray* the authors described how the boys at Mettray were ‘all taught some useful branch of industry. The majority are instructed in agriculture and gardening, the rest in some one of the trades of carpenter, wheelwright, blacksmith, tailor, shoemaker, sabot maker’.⁹⁷ This application of boys to ‘such active and outdoor occupation, by means of... agriculture... shall always thoroughly and healthfully employ them’.⁹⁸ So important was the effect of hard honest labour surrounded by the ‘beauties of nature’ upon the morality of the boys that ten hours of a fifteen hour day were ‘entirely devoted’ to it.⁹⁹ Those in charge of Mettray believed that ‘the benefits we obtain by the aid of agriculture, as well in a moral sense as a physical sense’ were incontestable and therefore Mettray’s day was built around this influence.¹⁰⁰ The farm school environment was deliberately structured, therefore, around mainly agricultural labour in order to help diminish the criminal inclinations of youth.

The Mettray environment was also calculated in its nature in that the labour system employed aimed to make inmates more industrious, more diligent and capable of supporting themselves in the future. Thus, a certain amount of responsibility was placed on the inmates

⁹⁵ Fletcher, ‘Farm School System’, p.2; Griffiths, ‘God made the country and man made the town’, pp.12-13.

⁹⁶ For a detailed discussion of various other European reformatory schools see: Fletcher, ‘Statistics of the Farm School System’.

⁹⁷ Sydney Turner and Thomas Paynter, *Report on the System and Arrangements of “La Colonie Agricole” at Mettray*, presented to the committee of the Philanthropic Society, St. George’s Fields, 19th August, 1846, (John Hatchard and Son: London, 1846), p.34.

⁹⁸ Turner; Paynter, *“La Colonie Agricole”*, p.7.

⁹⁹ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.14; Turner; Paynter, *“La Colonie Agricole”*, p.44.

¹⁰⁰ P. J. Murray, ‘Reformatory Schools in France and England’, Reprinted from *The Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol.4, September 1854, (W and F. G. Cash: London, 1854), p.50.

through their work on the reformatory farm, for example. Adjoining the reformatory was ‘a farm of above 500 acres’ from which the boys ‘working under competent instructors, raise the corn, vegetables, and fruit, consumed in the establishment’.¹⁰¹ This ensured there was a sense of industriousness to the work of the inmates. The boys engaged in these agricultural occupations, it was argued, gained a sense of self-sufficiency and accountability since they cultivated the large majority of the produce on which the reformatory depended.¹⁰² This responsibility placed upon the boys for the provision of nourishment for themselves and their reformatory families not only helped to prepare boys for the future, but it also went hand-in-hand with the family system of moral training since it served to reinforce the familial values imbibed through this system. The idea of giving boys responsibilities and making them accountable was incorporated into various aspects of reformatory life (the boys were in charge of cleaning their own houses and the artefacts within those houses, for example) since it was hoped that whilst residing in the institution boys would become responsible and sagacious members of society. Thus, Mettray’s scheme of applying inmates to a system of (mainly) agricultural labour was deliberately calculated in order to place boys in an environment that would help bring about a regeneration of character and instil moralistic characteristics in the boys so that once fully reformed they may apply such qualities to their lives outside of the reformatory. It was this structured environment which led Foucault to regard Mettray as an exceptional expression of disciplinary incarceration with ‘hierarchical self-regulation, constant supervision, work, reform-minded education and isolation as punishment’.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Turner; Paynter, *"La Colonie Agricole"*, p.34.

¹⁰² Turner; Paynter, *"La Colonie Agricole"*, p.34.

¹⁰³ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 2nd Edition, (Vintage Books: London, 1995), pp.293-94; Anne Schwan and Stephen Shapiro, *Foucault's Discipline and Punish*, (Pluto Press: London, 2011), p.166.

The notions of the agricultural work, the open air and the familial regimes being the ideal moral and spatial setting for the reformation of delinquent youths thus became very popular in England. They appealed to mid-Victorian idealisation of rural life and bourgeois domesticity values and the parallel demonization of urban society and the familial inadequacies of the urban poor. One of the major contributions to this debate was made by Mary Carpenter whose day-to-day experience in the ragged schools movement alerted her to the social conditions of the urban poor. In her earlier works Carpenter focussed upon the weakness of working-class family life, which she stated was a reflection of their degenerate lifestyle. Carpenter discussed the effects of neglectful parenting and a poor family life upon working-class youths and their behaviour. She cited the ‘gross parental neglect’ experienced by many children of the urban poor as being the ‘original cause of the commencement of a vicious course’.¹⁰⁴ It was against this backdrop, therefore, that the family system of moral training employed at Mettray evoked much interest in England. Carpenter, along with many of her contemporaries, believed that the family environment and the working-class slum environment, from which many juvenile delinquents were thought to have originated, were related: without a nurturing family situation wielding appropriate control over the young, they were able to fall into a precocious existence on the streets where they could be easily contaminated by the depraved environment of the Victorian town and city. The system of ‘liberty and labour in the open air’ in place at Mettray therefore appealed to reformers in Britain in various ways: the combination of moving criminal youths to a carefully controlled, yet more natural environment, in a reform institution which placed boys into simulated families; along with the application of boys to morally healthful agricultural work, attracted much attention.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, p.66.

¹⁰⁵ Anon, ‘Mettray: Its Rise and Progress’, p.918.

The popularity of Mettray as a model for the reformation of the juvenile delinquent in Britain peaked in 1855-56 in the aftermath of the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act. Rather than just being examined by those individuals with a specialist interest, the institution was now studied much more widely. Numerous pamphlets and articles were written about Mettray in the wake of the 1854 Act, such as: P. J. Murray's *Reformatory Schools in France and England*; the *Law Review's* 'Mettray: From 1839 to 1856'; and the anonymously authored *Mettray: Its Rise and Progress*.¹⁰⁶ Prior to this, only specialist reports such as Turner and Paynter's 1846 Mettray Report, which was the first of its kind, had been produced.¹⁰⁷ The promotion of the Mettray model in Britain should be seen 'in the context of a wider set of strategies linking social science, moral reform and environmental design'.¹⁰⁸ The institution, Felix Driver argued, 'appeared at a particular moment in the history of social policy when the environmental and educational concerns of the Enlightenment were being fused with new strategies of reform and government'.¹⁰⁹ Hence, the widespread enthusiasm for applying the principles of the Mettray model to the British situation.

Whilst there were some doubts over the suitability of certain aspects of the Mettray regime to the English character, (namely the military discipline of the institution) this rarely prevented English visitors to Mettray from promoting its overarching principles as it was accepted that 'reformatory methods always needed adapting to each individual, with due regard to his or her moral, social, and national context'.¹¹⁰ As Felix Driver has suggested, the main principles of Mettray 'seemed to transcend considerations of time, place or culture; their application, however, was suffused with assumptions about differences in national character

¹⁰⁶ Murray, 'Reformatory Schools in France and England'; 'Mettray: 1839 to 1856'; Anon, 'Mettray: Its Rise and Progress'.

¹⁰⁷ Turner; Paynter, *"La Colonie Agricole"*; Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.282.

¹⁰⁸ Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.273.

¹⁰⁹ Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.273.

¹¹⁰ Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.283.

and political tradition'.¹¹¹ The principles of family division and rural labour in particular were most appealing to British reformers and this perhaps explains why those reformers turned to Mettray as a 'little utopia' during the 1850s and 1860s, the period in which reformatory institutions in Britain expanded rapidly.¹¹² According to Felix Driver, the 'potent alliance' of ordered discipline, represented not only by the military character of Mettray but also by the symmetry of the design of the institution and the uniformity and order of the place; along with its rural and tranquil setting which represented Mettray as 'fertile garden', where moral consciences were cultivated 'amongst the flowers' of 'fairest Touraine', captured 'the imagination of a generation of social reformers'.¹¹³ Mettray rapidly acquired an international reputation as an exemplar of a system of unremitting agricultural labour and the 'family system' of moral training, which was, according to Driver, at once a 'critique of conventional institutional models, a diagnosis of the sources of delinquent conduct and a basis for a new approach to moral reformation'.¹¹⁴ Those in charge of the Mettray reformatory were aware of the impact their institution was having in Victorian Britain in particular and this widespread interest in, and popularity of, their pioneering practices led the managers of Mettray to assert that: 'every new observer of Mettray departs, wishing to extend the adoption of its principles'.¹¹⁵

One prominent reformer who particularly wished to extend some of the principles of Mettray and emulate the success of the French farm school in England was Sydney Turner, the chaplain-superintendent of The Philanthropic Society Farm School, at Redhill, Surrey. The Philanthropic Society's was England's oldest reformatory school; the institution had

¹¹¹ Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.284.

¹¹² Anon, 'Mettray and Redhill', p.427.

¹¹³ Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.290: Anon, 'Mettray and Redhill', p.427: Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.290.

¹¹⁴ 'Mettray 1839 to 1856', p.5: Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.274.

¹¹⁵ 'Mettray 1839 to 1856', p.5.

been founded in 1792 by the Society who initially operated in London.¹¹⁶ However, in 1849 the Society moved its operations to rural Surrey due to the belief in the remedial powers of the countryside, which it was felt, could provide ‘a natural antidote to [the towns and cities] worst evils’.¹¹⁷ In doing so Turner believed that boys could be ‘more healthfully... trained and educated’.¹¹⁸ Those in charge of the reformatory institution determined to:

... Form an efficient country establishment, where [criminal] boys could be removed from the contaminating influences of [the] town, and prepared for service at home or in the colonies, by agricultural or mechanical training.¹¹⁹

Redhill was heavily influenced by the example of Mettray and in documentation regarding the moving of the Philanthropic Society’s reform school Turner made this abundantly clear in his outlines of the plan on which the Farm School was to be conducted. It was stated that:

To secure a greater degree of individual, moral, and religious influence on the boys, and to facilitate their instruction, the system which has been adopted so successfully in France shall be introduced.¹²⁰

Turner had visited Mettray in 1846, and he had been convinced of the correctness of an emphasis on rural training: ‘Those who have compared together the moral operations of crowded workshops and of a garden or a field, will have little doubt which is the best instrument of reformation’.¹²¹ The Redhill farm school followed a strict reforming programme based upon a rural way of life and agricultural labour in which boys were put to work in a variety of mainly agricultural occupations for up to eight hours of a fourteen hour day.¹²² This rural life and its agricultural labour it was believed ‘must be the staple of the poor man’s training’, as popular contemporary discourse stated:

Of all kinds of labour, agricultural employment has been practically found to produce the most beneficial effect, both in engaging the willing exertions of the boys, in

¹¹⁶ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.417.

¹¹⁷ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.418.

¹¹⁸ *Philanthropic Society’s Model Farm School, For Reformation of Criminal and Vagrant Children, By Religious and Industrial Instruction*, (James Truscott: London, 1848), p.1.

¹¹⁹ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.417.

¹²⁰ *Philanthropic Society’s Model Farm School*, p.2.

¹²¹ Turner; Paynter, “*La Colonie Agricole*”, p.15.

¹²² British Library, General Reference Collection 6059.a.5, *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Reigate, Surrey, 1860, (Varty: London, 1860), p.14.

producing a good moral influence, and in preparing them for whatever kind of labour they may be hereafter called on to exercise.¹²³

This institution quickly gained a reputation as being a pioneer of the reformatory system in England and was ‘frequently described by contemporary commentators as the British equivalent of Mettray’.¹²⁴ Hence, there will follow a detailed examination of the inner workings and spatially informed reformatory practices of this carefully controlled and purposefully manipulated rural based reform institution in the proceeding chapter.¹²⁵

In his report of 1856 on the evolution of the farm school system throughout Europe, Demetz was impressed by the situation in England. In particular, he praised the ‘existing Farm institution at Redhill, of which we cannot speak too highly’.¹²⁶ Demetz was particularly impressed with the ‘remarkable improvements’ made at the Philanthropic Society’s reformatory institution since the change in its location and reform systems.¹²⁷ In reference to the success of this institution Demetz asked: ‘How could it be otherwise under the influence of the manager of that institution, the worthy Mr. Sydney Turner?’¹²⁸ Turner had, since his visit to Mettray, become a dedicated supporter of agricultural work for delinquent boys, as he believed that rural labour ‘physically incapacitated youths from criminal careers, while simultaneously dampening their criminal ardours’.¹²⁹ It was Turner’s view that:

Handling the spade spoils the fingers for the delicate operations of the pickpocket, [and] the sights and sounds of nature – the associations of the field, the garden, and farm-yard – take away the inclination to pursue them.¹³⁰

This clearly illustrates Turner’s belief in the remedial powers of rural environmentalism and agricultural labour. Turner became a key proponent of this system, therefore, first as the manager of Redhill and then, from 1857 onwards, as the first government Inspector of

¹²³ Fletcher, ‘Farm School System’, p.40; Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.305.

¹²⁴ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.414.

¹²⁵ Griffiths, ‘God made the country and man made the town’, p.14.

¹²⁶ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.10.

¹²⁷ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.10.

¹²⁸ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.10.

¹²⁹ Sydney Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley Esq., M.P.’, reprinted in J. Symons (Ed.), *On the Reformation of Young Offenders* (Routledge: London, 1855), p.15.

¹³⁰ Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley’, p.13.

Reformatories.¹³¹ Although those who believed in the curative powers of farm schools promoted the virtues of ruralism, Demetz was also eager to point out that this was not a soft option. He stated: ‘It is a great mistake to believe in the pleasantness of a life of field labour’ as this sort of work obliged the labourer ‘to face the severity of the seasons and to brave the fatigues of long and wearisome toil’.¹³² Nevertheless, ‘agricultural employment’, he stated, ‘joined to a powerful religious and moral education’ was the ‘only thing that could snatch from a disorderly or criminal life, our youthful population once involved in a career of vice’.¹³³

Those in charge of The Philanthropic Society Farm School took inspiration from Mettray, as well as from contemporary discourse, by adopting the belief that the internal environment of these institutions was equally important in bringing about reform. The unique combination of Enlightenment thinking about environmental conditioning and educational improvement and the new strategies of reform and government of this period inspired by both, had ensured that contemporaries were now thinking about the necessity of providing a ‘thoroughly controlled environment’ in which the characters of young offenders could be ‘reclaimed’.¹³⁴ Throughout the penal system more generally, increased importance was placed on the careful control and manipulation of spaces of punishment and reform. Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon, for example, was conceived of this particular combination of influences. The idea that correctly designed institutions could bring about the moral regeneration of the character of youthful criminals became commonplace and consequently the environments of institutions and their application of punishment and reform were more thoroughly calculated. The manipulation of the institutional environmental space at Redhill Reformatory for example was considered ‘crucial to the influence of individual and collective

¹³¹ Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.414.

¹³² Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.15

¹³³ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.29; Griffiths, ‘God made the country and man made the town’, pp.15-16

¹³⁴ Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, p.132.

behaviour' as it was the management of this internal space which facilitated the 'full and effective functioning of the family system' of moral training, to which the reputation for discipline and order at Redhill was attributed.¹³⁵ The manipulation of the reformatory space and the recreation of carefully controlled ruralised moral landscapes at Redhill, and at two other rural based reformatory institutions will be examined in detail in the chapters which follow. This examination of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory at Whitwick, Leicestershire and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory at Market Weighton, East Yorkshire, which also sought to reform youths through application to agricultural labour and through the use of the family system of moral training, focuses on the ways in which each of these institutions attempted to implement spatially informed reformatory practices through the recreation of idealised rural spaces.

The ideas of pioneers of the rural reformatory movement such as Demetz and Turner regarding the curative powers of the rural environment were reinforced by the accomplishments of Mettray, and more especially in Britain, by those of Redhill, which was regarded by the 'official reformatory inspectorate as one of the best organised and most successful British reformatories' of the period due to the institution's situation, methods and level of reformatory success.¹³⁶ These ideas also gained salience and became more widespread throughout the mid-Victorian era amongst social commentators and reformers who increasingly believed that the farm school system reformed youths permanently by not only instilling into them a new moral code, but also directing youths towards a better life away from urbanism after leaving the farm school. This system, it was argued, furnished boys 'with far better employment prospects, both in England and in the colonies' upon leaving the reformatory by making them 'well instructed in the practice of the arts connected with

¹³⁵ Andrew Scull, 'A Convenient Place to Get Rid of Inconvenient People: The Victorian Lunatic Asylum', in A. D. King (Ed.), *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment*, (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1980), p.47; Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.422.

¹³⁶ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.419.

husbandry'.¹³⁷ Rather than apprenticing boys in already over-stocked urban trades, and therefore forcing them 'unavoidably, at the end of imprisonment, to go and increase our manufacturing population, and to share its vices and its dangers', as it was suggested other reformatory institutions did, the farm school provided boys with the necessary skills to enter into agricultural employment which was more abundant and reliable.¹³⁸ Indeed, agricultural employment was so abundant that there was, according to the Philanthropic Society report of 1848, 'so great a want of skilled farm labour, and so great an opportunity and call for its employment, that one may confidently expect... the boys trained in one such Institution will be readily absorbed'.¹³⁹ In the face of this popular climate of opinion and the success of pioneers such as Mettray and Redhill, ever-more contemporary social commentators and reformers came to the conclusion that farm schools were the most effective solution in the reformation of criminal youths.¹⁴⁰

The dominance of the idea that the rural world provided the inspiration for practical reforms orientated to the reformation of delinquent youths meant that, as the period drew on, the farm school system became increasingly widespread throughout England. More and more reformers became keen and influential proponents of the farm school system. A prominent example of such advocacy is T. B. Lloyd Baker, a member of the Gloucestershire gentry and a country magistrate. In 1852, Baker opened a small reformatory farm school on his estate in Gloucestershire which was praised for its progress in reforming youths by the *Gloucestershire Chronicle* and then by *The Times* which was 'effusive in its praise of Baker's school'.¹⁴¹ In particular, *The Times* praised the ruralist practices of Baker's school commenting favourably on the 'purely agricultural character of the employment' of the

¹³⁷ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.56; p.23.

¹³⁸ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.14.

¹³⁹ *The Philanthropic Report 1848*, p.24.

¹⁴⁰ Griffiths, 'God made the country and man made the town', p.17.

¹⁴¹ Stack, 'Reformatory Schools', p.35.

reformatory inmates.¹⁴² This agricultural employment involved all twenty inmates helping in the cultivation of the ten acres of reformatory farmland and in the raising of cattle and other livestock.¹⁴³ *The Times* stated that this ‘exclusive selection of agricultural employment’ for the reformatory boys reflected the ‘simplicity’ and ‘honour’ of this type of work.¹⁴⁴ The article discussed how a boy trained in agricultural labour would easily find work upon leaving the reformatory since employers valued the skills and resolve of those who could ‘toil all day long under wind, sun, or rain, at the plough, the spade, or the pick’.¹⁴⁵ *The Times* stated that ‘the labourer is, after all, the most marketable commodity, the most current coin, the true citizen of the world’ and, therefore, in making his reformatory a rural based institution which applied boys to agricultural labour, the newspaper judged that T. B. Lloyd Baker, the most ‘sensible Gloucestershire magistrate’, was absolutely justified in ‘making these lads agriculturists’.¹⁴⁶ This praise of ruralist practices in reforming youthful criminals was compounded by *The Times* when the article judged that: ‘where it is possible – that is, where there is land, and other requisites of agricultural employment, it is the best that can be selected for juvenile offenders’.¹⁴⁷ Again, this demonstrates the currency of the climate of opinion which judged that the most effective reformation would be born in the countryside, rather than the town, and should be delivered by gentlemen who could lead by example, in regard to their morality, their general conduct and their work ethic. It was suggested that the youths residing in their care within the farm schools ‘cannot escape the good influences which surround them on every side’.¹⁴⁸ These gentlemen, it was thought, were able to provide

¹⁴² *The Times*, 3 January 1854.

¹⁴³ *The Times*, 3 January 1854.

¹⁴⁴ *The Times*, 3 January 1854.

¹⁴⁵ *The Times*, 3 January 1854.

¹⁴⁶ *The Times*, 3 January 1854.

¹⁴⁷ *The Times*, 3 January 1854.

¹⁴⁸ Fletcher, ‘Farm School System’, p.11.

the means by which to demonstrate to youths that there was a different way to lead their lives.¹⁴⁹

For their part, many landowners, like Baker, felt a renewed sense of responsibility to try to tackle the problem of juvenile criminality. Inspired by the rise of the ‘new paternalism’ rural landowners accepted that ‘property has its duties as well as its rights’ and these duties for many included the alleviation of child criminality.¹⁵⁰ In establishing reformatory schools on their estates, therefore, landowners like Baker were able to provide a means by which to improve the morality of the local poor children, but also to put their social leadership and religious teachings into practice by helping those less fortunate and, perhaps, to enhance their own reputations as benevolent figures, thus satisfying the characteristics of new paternalism. As a result of Baker’s work, the success of his farm school, and the endorsement from *The Times*, his ideas became influential amongst the landed classes who ‘adopted the cause’ of the reformatory school movement and who saw the ‘attraction of the idea that rural reformatories were especially efficacious in reclaiming juvenile delinquents’.¹⁵¹ Sydney Turner also praised Baker’s work for the cause and recognised his influence amongst the landed classes stating that Baker’s work had encouraged ‘the magistrates and leading gentlemen of other counties to similar efforts’.¹⁵²

Although many of Baker’s peers responded to his call for the establishment of more rural reformatories, few who founded their own farm schools did so on their own land, and even fewer managed these establishments themselves, preferring instead to run them through a committee of local gentry. This led to the creation of several different types of reformatory farm schools; some Protestant, some Catholic, some were privately funded while others received voluntary contributions. However, the commonality amongst all of these

¹⁴⁹ Griffiths, ‘God made the country and man made the town’, p.18.

¹⁵⁰ Burchardt, *Paradise Lost*, p.60.

¹⁵¹ Stack, ‘Reformatory Schools’, p.35.

¹⁵² PP 1876, XXXIV, *Nineteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.7; Griffiths, ‘God made the country and man made the town’, pp.18-19.

institutions, argued John Stack, was the shared belief in the superiority of the rural environment and the simplicity and honesty of agricultural work in reforming young delinquents.¹⁵³ As well as The Philanthropic Society Farm School at Redhill, and Baker's 'The Children's Friend School' in Gloucestershire, successful farm schools were also established by various means in Cheshire, Devon, Exeter, Warwickshire and Yorkshire.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, some reformatory schools that had begun in an industrial setting, as Redhill had done, moved their operations to a rural location believing it to be more conducive of reformation, as the noted reformer James McClelland stated: 'the erection and foundation of reformatory institutions within the precincts of cities or towns will not serve the end in view of the promoters.... such institutions now situated in cities or towns should be gradually removed and located in districts of the country'.¹⁵⁵ The Newcastle Upon Tyne Reformatory School was one such establishment which relocated its operations, moving out of the city of Newcastle, stating that the institution was 'ill adapted for carrying out the objects of the society, chiefly in being too near the town', and settling in Netherton, a rural location about ten miles away from Newcastle.¹⁵⁶ The managing committee of the reformatory held it to be 'indispensably necessary' that the institution move to a rural situation 'because the experience of France and elsewhere led them to the conclusion that children who were to be reformed could not be so well employed in any pursuit as in that of agricultural labour, which tended to the improvement of both mind and body'.¹⁵⁷ The establishment of rural institutions and the relocation of others from an urban setting to a rural one, demonstrates the popularity of the belief held by many during the mid-Victorian period that rural society was wholesome,

¹⁵³ Stack, 'Reformatory Schools', p.41.

¹⁵⁴ Stack, 'Reformatory Schools', pp.39-40.

¹⁵⁵ James McClelland, 'On Measures Relating to the Adoption of the Family and Agricultural System of Training in the Reformation of Criminal and Destitute Children', *Report of the Twenty Fifth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, September 1855, (John Murray: London, 1856), p.183.

¹⁵⁶ *The Metropolitan and Provincial Reformatories, Refuges, Industrial Schools, etc. Authentic Accounts of 116 Institutions*, (London, 1857), p.81; Stack, 'Reformatory Schools', pp.35-40.

¹⁵⁷ From a report of 2 January 1856 meeting, *The Times*, 4 January 1856.

pure and inherently moral and, therefore, well suited to reforming juvenile delinquents. The popularity of the view that the countryside could provide the solution to the largely urban problem of juvenile criminality amongst both Protestant and Catholic denominations, as well as amongst both the landed and non-landed classes, who also became ‘convinced of the superiority of rural institutions’, explains why this became a dominant pattern of thinking throughout this period, and why, consequently, rural reformatory institutions increasingly became a popular response to the problem of juvenile delinquency.¹⁵⁸

As has been illustrated through an exploration of contemporary beliefs in the applicability of the rural idyll in the reformation of young offenders, it was widely felt that rural based reformatory schools held an advantage over other types of reformatories. The English countryside, it was believed, exuded special natural qualities which were able to remedy ‘all the inconveniences’ brought about by urban living and which, therefore, made this environment particularly well suited to reforming those who had been immersed in crime and dishonesty in the towns and cities of England.¹⁵⁹ Not only, suggested contemporary observers, could youths in these institutions engage in honest toil and follow the moral examples being set for them, but, as discussed, it was also argued by reformers that farm schools directed youths into a better life after leaving the institution, giving them ‘far better employment prospects’ than would be afforded to them in the towns and cities.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, it was suggested that the values and agricultural skills instilled into youths at rural reformatories produced habits which, according to Matthew Davenport Hill, the influential reformer and Recorder of Birmingham, ‘secure the crowning result - permanent

¹⁵⁸ Stack, ‘Reformatory Schools’, p.42; Griffiths, ‘God made the country and man made the town’, pp.19-20.

¹⁵⁹ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.14.

¹⁶⁰ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.56.

reformation', something which it was felt industrial based reformatory institutions could not hope to achieve.¹⁶¹

The exploration of the rural idyll, that is idealised notions of the rural and rural life, and its influence on reformatory location and practice in this chapter has demonstrated that mid-Victorian reformers and social commentators increasingly thought about the reformation of youthful delinquents in terms of a dichotomous spatiality. Delinquency was largely seen as the result of particular social spaces – the poorest urban areas – and reformation was seen as taking place in particular spaces: rural based reformatory institutions. This association of particular types of environment (physical, social and domestic) with types of delinquent behaviour 'provided a basis for remedial action. The new social science was, after all, a science of improvement; it sought social regeneration through the design of moral landscapes and the manipulation of space'.¹⁶² This manipulation of space was not confined to the location of Victorian reformatory institutions. The interior space of these institutions was to be carefully ordered and managed in order to reflect particular spaces: namely the idealised vision of the rural village. Consequently, these reformatory spaces were structured around unremitting rural labour, recreated family units and the pervading influence of religion. Spatial factors, therefore, played a key part in the establishment and management of rural based farm schools and in the reformatory regimes they operated in that they sought to recreate an idealised version of the countryside where 'homely disciplines and affections could be restored' amongst the young.¹⁶³

As this chapter has illustrated, the establishment of rural based reformatory institutions and the legislation that enabled their growth were the product of intense concern,

¹⁶¹'Mettray: the Exemplar of Reformatory Schools', Letter from M. D. Hill, Esq., Q. C., Recorder of Birmingham, to C. B. Adderley, Esq., M.P. *Law Review*, February 1855, (V and R. Stevens and G. S. Norton: London, 1855); Griffiths, 'God made the country and man made the town', p.20.

¹⁶² Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.273.

¹⁶³ Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers?', p.281.

inquiry and debate about the possible causes and cures of the delinquent malaise. As has been discussed, in both aspects of this discussion the influences of environmental and spatial factors were increasingly salient. In the discourses which have been explored throughout this chapter, the injurious influence of the urban environment as a cause of delinquency being countered by the supposed salving power of rural milieu. Contemporary writings on the causes of juvenile delinquency and its institutional treatment increasingly referred to the reformative implications of managed institutional spaces which were informed and shaped by an idealised vision of the rural. This consequently led to the implementation of spatially informed practices within these institutions in that they sought to utilise and manipulate ruralised forms of space in order to realise conditions favourable to the reform of juvenile delinquents. In the succeeding chapters the thesis will explore the translation of the rural idyll into spatially informed reformative practice within three different rural based reformatory institutions: The Philanthropic Society Farm School, Redhill, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, Whitwick, and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, Market Weighton. This exploration of the translation of the rural idyll into spatially informed reformative practice in the following chapters will, through the application of Henri Lefebvre's spatial model, seek to examine how those in charge of these institutions sought to deliberately manipulate the reformatory space in order to make transformative use of the reformative space.

Chapter 3

Spatially Informed Reformatory Practice, Case Study: The Philanthropic Society Farm

School, Redhill, Surrey

The Victorian belief in the virtues and moral purity of rural society informed the treatment of delinquent youths by influencing the types of reformatory institution to which they were increasingly sent.¹ This belief in the rural idyll – that is idealised notions of rural life – also informed the treatment of juvenile delinquents within these institutions as it led to the implementation of spatially informed reformatory practice. Spatially informed reformatory practice involved space being utilised and manipulated in order to realise conditions conducive to the reform of youthful delinquents. This chapter will examine the translation of the rural idyll into spatially informed reformatory practice at the Philanthropic Society Farm School, Redhill, Surrey. This exploration of the transformative use of space at the farm school at Redhill will be delineated according to the spatial model developed by the cultural geographer Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre’s model, which comprises a triad of spatiality, will be utilised as a heuristic tool by which to examine empirically the inner workings of this reformatory school and to identify the most salient aspects of the spatially informed reformatory practices of this institution. Utilising the theoretical aspect of Lefebvre’s triadic approach, which emphasises a potential dynamic within the combined operation of the triadic elements, this chapter considers empirically the possibility that it is when, within each institution, the three aspects of human action identified by the spatial triad - *spatial practice*, *representations of space*, and *representational space* - most dynamically and productively combined that the most effective reformatory regime was realised.

Just as the reformatory at Redhill set the precedent for rural based reformatory practice in England, so too will this examination of its reformatory practices set the precedent

¹ Felix Driver, ‘Discipline Without Frontiers? Representations of the Mettray Reformatory Colony in Britain, 1840-1880’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.3, No.3, (September 1990), p.281.

for the proceeding two chapters which will go on to explore the inner workings of two other rural based reformatory institutions: The Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School, Whitwick, Leicestershire, and The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, Market Weighton, East Yorkshire.

Firstly, there will be an exploration of Lefebvre's notion of *spatial practice*, which is space produced, situated, and perceived through movement and organisation 'the segregation of certain kinds of constructed spaces and their linkages through human movement'.² Spatial practice 'embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation'.³ It embraces the everyday functions of society and the spatial events of life and focuses particularly on the spatial movement of people and how this influences their perception and experiences of space. Therefore this chapter will firstly examine the process of moving delinquent youths from the supposedly detrimental urban environment to the purportedly more wholesome rural space, in which it was argued, inmates would be: 'opened to new, more natural, more healthy, more kindly influences'.⁴ These influences would, according to those who promoted rural reformatories, ultimately aid in the reformation of wayward youth.⁵

As discussed in the previous chapter, it was acknowledged, in accordance with the principles of the new reformatory science, that it was necessary to remove at once children from the urban 'Augean stable of filth, disease and iniquity', to the 'calm and invigorating scenes of the country' if a reformation of character was to take place.⁶ The boys who were sentenced to a term in the Philanthropic Society Farm School originated from London and its

² Richard White, 'What is Spatial History?', *Stanford University Spatial History Lab*, (February 2010), p.2.

³ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1991), p.39.

⁴ Anon, 'The Correction of Juvenile Offenders', *Edinburgh Review*, (1855), p.387.

⁵ Mary Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents Their Condition and Treatment*, (W and F. G. Cash: London, 1853), p.215.

⁶ *The First Report of the Philanthropic Society, Instituted in London, September 1788, for the Prevention of Crimes*, (T. Becket: London, 1789), p.22: Anon, 'Mettray and Redhill', *North British Review*, Vol.25, (1854-55), p.424.

surrounding areas, and towns far and wide such as Derby, Nottingham, Brighton, and Maidstone.⁷ For many of these boys, (who typically ranged in age from ten to sixteen years old and who were serving sentences of between one and five years for committing a range of offences including larceny and petty theft, robbery, and vagrancy) their journey to the Surrey countryside was their first experience away from their urban neighbourhood.⁸ It was this moving of the boys from the urban to rural space which marked the beginning of a process of spatial practice through which youths were to be encouraged to abandon the ways of life which it was believed had initiated their corruption. In being subjected to this spatial event - their removal from their former urban localities and their transfer to rural Redhill - the delinquent youths experienced their first taste of being immersed in the spatially shaped practices of the reformatory regime of the farm school. Consequently, the first part of Lefebvre's triad, 'spatial practice', was evident in the initial reformatory practice of the Philanthropic Society Farm School. As an observer of this process affirmed: 'changes of air and scene must necessarily precede a change of life, and this may eventually be followed by a change of heart'.⁹

The Reverend Sydney Turner was the first superintendent of the Redhill reformatory (1849-57) and later the first government Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools (1857-76). He had questioned, in the 1840s, the logic of locating institutions for the criminal in urban locations, noting with approval the words of Count Mirabeau: 'why are they not

⁷ British Library, General Reference Collection 6059.a.5, *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Reigate, Surrey, 1868, (Waterlow and Sons: London, 1868), p.10. (Hereafter these reports will be footnoted as *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Reigate, Surrey, 1868, (Waterlow and Sons: London, 1868) because all of the annual reports for this institution [1848-1884] are located in British Library, General Reference Collection 6059.a.5).

⁸ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Reigate, Surrey, 1860, (Varty: London, 1860), p.13.

⁹ Anon, 'Mettray and Redhill', p.424.

removed from towns, which they infect, and which infect them, to the country?’¹⁰ It was the believed importance of the delinquents’ transfer to a country situation that in 1849 informed the decision to relocate the Philanthropic Society’s reformatory school from St. George’s Fields, London, to the Surrey countryside where it became the Philanthropic Society Farm School. With this move it was believed that ‘the obstacles’ that had impeded the school in its London location would be ‘removed or greatly lessened by the transfer of the School to a country situation’, where ‘the purifying effects of nature [would aid] very greatly the reforming influences brought to bear upon both body and soul’.¹¹ Thus, the isolation of the institution and its inmates from the urban by their removal to the countryside was deemed to be crucial to their effective reformation. What Lefebvre encapsulated in his concept of spatial practice can be seen, therefore, to be a crucial part of the initial spatially informed reformatory practice undertaken at the Philanthropic Society Farm School, Redhill.

Upon arrival at the reformatory school the sense of isolation was further impressed upon the boys. On admission they were separated from the rest of the reformatory population, processed and registered, and kept in a separate building which housed the ‘probationary class’.¹² The probationary class was kept under the close supervision of the Chaplain, who, after assessing the boys’ characters and abilities, allocated them to one of the reformatory families where they were initiated into the normal routine of the institution.¹³ This period of seclusion, therefore, allowed the institution to process new-comers, reinforced the departure of the boys from their previous lives and began their initiation into the spatially informed practices of the reformatory regime.

¹⁰ Surrey History Centre (hereafter SHC) 7363/4/1, Anna Martin, *The Royal Philanthropic Society*, (September 1989), p.2; Muriel Whitten, *Nipping Crime in the Bud, How the Philanthropic Quest Was Put Into Law*, (Waterside Press: Hampshire, 2011), p.217.

¹¹ *Reformation of Juvenile Offenders: The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, (James Truscott: London, 1848), p.20; SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, Redhill, Jubilee, 1899, p.8.

¹² SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, p.11.

¹³ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, p.11.

The second tier of Lefebvre's triad of space which can be applied in order to examine and interpret the spatially informed practice undertaken at the Philanthropic Society Farm School is that which he calls *representations of space*.¹⁴ This is conceptualised space 'constructed out of symbols, codifications and abstract representations'.¹⁵ It is arguably the most dynamic part of Lefebvre's triad in that it potentially shapes the other aspects since 'what is lived and what is perceived' can be identified with 'what is conceived'.¹⁶ Representations of space attempt to 'conceive in order to shape what is lived'; in other words this is the way in which space is designed and manipulated in order to shape the lived experience within that space. There will follow, therefore, an examination of the spatial ordering of the Redhill reformatory in order to understand how this sought to shape the spatial practices and lived experience of the inmates.¹⁷ Human action of this nature has a dynamic and potentially causal relationship with human life in the other aspects of the triad in that it involves conceptions and representations that seek to both guide spatial practice and inform spaces of representation. Indeed the spatial practices already examined above: the forced movement of delinquents into rural reformatory space are an example of how representations of space, in the form of ideological idealisations of the reformative power of ruralised institutional environments, shape spatial practices.

One particularly important way in which those in charge of the Philanthropic Society Farm School sought to order and manage the space in order to bring about reform was by ensuring that its inmates were kept occupied with a full and unrelenting timetable of spatial practices in the form of organised working, educational, recreational, and religious activities. Contemporary discourse dictated that idleness drove boys to criminal habits, and common

¹⁴ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.38.

¹⁵ Ceri Watkins, 'Representations of Space, Spatial Practices and Spaces of Representation: An Application of Lefebvre's Spatial Triad', *Culture and Organisation*, Vol.11, (September 2005), p.209.

¹⁶ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, pp.38.

¹⁷ White, 'Spatial History', p.3.

idioms and religious maxims warned also that the devil made work for idle hands.¹⁸

Consequently, in seeking to reform delinquent boys, the Redhill reformatory implemented an active schedule of activities from dawn to dusk through the implementation of the following timetable:

Summer	Winter
5.30 Rise.	6 Rise.
6 Work.	6.30 School.
8 Breakfast and Play.	8 Breakfast and Play.
9 School.	8.45 Chapel.
12 Dinner and Play.	9.30 Work.
1 Work.	12 Dinner and Play.
5.30 End of work, Play.	1 Work until dusk.
6.15 Supper.	6 Supper.
7 Chapel.	6.30 School.
8 Retire to rest.	8 Retire to rest. ¹⁹

Schedules such as this ensured that reformatory inmates had little time to themselves which they might have dedicated to misbehaviour. Following the example of Mettray, the timetable employed at Redhill intended ‘that boys be continually occupied, and thoroughly fatigued’, meaning that their days were structured to be purposeful and productive, and their breaks were a well-earned rest from significant exertion.²⁰ However, the timetable at the Philanthropic Society Farm School was not as unrelenting as that employed at Mettray. There, according to Sydney Turner and Thomas Paynter’s 1846 Mettray Report, boys were allowed only five hours out of a sixteen hour day away from their labour, for meals, recreations, prayers, dressing, and school instruction.²¹

¹⁸ Proverbs 16:27-29.

¹⁹ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1860), p.14.

²⁰ Sydney Turner and Thomas Paynter, *Report on the System and Arrangements of "La Colonie Agricole" at Mettray*, presented to the committee of the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Fields, 19th August, 1846, (John Hatchard and Son: London, 1846), p.44.

²¹ Turner; Paynter, *"La Colonie Agricole"*, p.44.

Although the boys at Redhill were applied to a demanding and closely supervised timetable it was important, Turner argued, to allow inmates some limited time away from their managed activities in order to be ‘thrown upon *their own responsibility*’ and thereby avoiding being ‘too much looked after on a system of police’ as was the case, he suggested, at Mettray.²² It was important, Turner argued, that a boy became accustomed to acting responsibly ‘of his own accord’ and not simply being ‘dependent on the superintendence and discipline which we subject him to’.²³ Redhill inmates were, therefore, allowed some time for play as detailed, for example, in the timetable above. This practice was commented upon by Charles Dickens after his visit to the farm school in 1852 when he noted: ‘Responsibilities are placed upon their shoulders; they are even trusted out of sight, and are, as it were, prisoners on parole, living where there are no bars to break, no walls to climb’.²⁴

Nevertheless, the largest portion of the boys’ days was managed and structured around key activities which it was believed would realise, over time, the necessary re-formation of their character. The reformatory day was organised around three main types of spatial practices: the learning of agricultural skills through (mainly) rural work, the receiving of religious and moral training, and the gaining of an elementary education.

It was the first of these three main activities which formed the major, and, according to Turner, the most important part of the boys’ day:

I lay great stress on the industrial occupation of the boy; because the more I watch the improvement of any of the inmates of the Philanthropic, the more clearly do I trace the close connection between moral advancement and steady physical exertion – the more plainly do I recognise the wisdom and the goodness of the divine system towards our fallen race, in making labour the appointed lot of man, not merely as an instrument of correction for the faulty impulses that prevail in his nature, but as a means for developing and enlarging into fruitful and abiding action, all remains of better and more heavenly tendencies that still linger in him.²⁵

²² Turner; Paynter, *La Colonie Agricole*, p.14.

²³ Turner; Paynter, *La Colonie Agricole*, p.15.

²⁴ SHC 3521/Box 33, Charles Dickens, ‘Boys to Mend’, *Household Words; A Weekly Journal Conducted by Charles Dickens*, (11 September 1852), p.599.

²⁵ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.37.

Honest, manual labour, according to Turner, could be both an instrument of correction of immoral instincts and a means of nurturing and cultivating the ‘heavenly tendencies’ that lingered within the reformatory inmates. Particular emphasis was placed on the learning of agricultural skills through healthful rural labour, since it was this type of work that was believed to be particularly well disposed to the reformation of character:

There is nothing like gardening and farm-work for giving a new bias to the young criminal’s tastes and habits. The handling of the spade spoils the fingers for the delicate operations of the pickpocket and the till-stealer; and what is of far more importance, the sights and sounds of Nature – the association of the field, the garden, and farm-yard – take away the inclination to pursue them.²⁶

Agricultural work according to Turner ‘physically incapacitated youths from criminal careers’, whilst the calming milieu of the countryside was responsible for ‘simultaneously dampening their criminal ardours’.²⁷

The benefits of agricultural labour upon juvenile delinquents had also been discussed by others influentially active in the reformatory movement. Mary Carpenter, for example:

Now what occupation has a more healthful moral influence than agriculture? The salutary fatigue of the body removes from the mind evil thoughts, and renders it necessary to devote to repose the hours which in the towns are given to vicious pleasures... while the spectacle and continual enjoyment of the riches of the earth, raise the soul towards the all-bountiful Giver.²⁸

Similarly, M. D. Hill (Recorder of Birmingham) wrote of the importance of agricultural labour and its significance in reformatory institutions treating youthful delinquents: ‘Every successful Reformatory Institution of which I have any knowledge has made the cultivation of land a leading object of attention, and much of each day has been spent by the pupil in the garden or the field, to his great improvement in body, mind, and spirit’.²⁹ Reformatory

²⁶ Sydney Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley Esq., M.P.’, reprinted in J. Symons (Ed.), *On the Reformation of Young Offenders* (Routledge: London, 1855), p.13.

²⁷ Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley’, p.15.

²⁸ Mary Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.306.

²⁹ M. D. Hill, ‘Practical Suggestions to the Founders of Reformatory Schools’ in a Letter from the Recorder of Birmingham to Lord Brougham, with His Lordship’s Answer, 18 December 1854, reprinted in J. Symons (Ed.), *On the Reformation of Young Offenders* (Routledge: London, 1855), p.5.

practice at Redhill, therefore, reflected informed and influential contemporary expectations of its anticipated affect upon the boys' behaviour and character.

In placing rural labour and the farm at the heart of the reformatory regime Turner was insistent that the institution at Redhill should be: 'a really agricultural one, a *genuine Farm School*, as far as possible, both self-supplying, and self-supporting'.³⁰ He wanted the inmates to learn agricultural skills and put them to practical use on an authentic and genuine farm. In creating a '*genuine farm school*' Redhill had the means, according to Turner, 'of exacting a real industry, obedience, and regularity of conduct from the boys, and of accustoming them to the plain hardy system of the ordinary labourer's life'.³¹ This was of benefit to the inmates since the existence of the country labourer was regarded as morally wholesome and lacking 'the excitements which assail the workman in towns'.³² Turner described, in a letter to his contemporary reformer and Member of Parliament, C. B. Adderley, how inmates should be applied to 'the employments' of 'ordinary country life', following the rules of 'work, weather, [and] time... by which the ordinary labourer is regulated... Thus in the winter quarter, let them breakfast before they come out to work, and let them cease at an earlier hour in the afternoon, 4, 4 30, and 5, according to the shortening and lengthening of the day'.³³ Furthermore, in creating a *genuine farm school* Turner stated that it was important that the boys gained the sense that their labour benefitted them (and their peers) as it would in the real world, and as the Bible taught them it would:

It is of the first importance, as regards his activity and his cheerfulness, that he feel the truth of the Scripture rules, "He that laboreth, laboreth *for himself*, for his mouth craveth it of him," and "He that will not work neither should he eat." Labour should be imposed and pressed upon him on the grounds of duty, self-improvement, and future livelihood.³⁴

³⁰ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.22.

³¹ SHC 2271/40/26, *Philanthropic Society's Farm School, Redhill, for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders, Report on the Occasion of the Farewell Anniversary Meeting in St. George's Fields*, 28 October 1849, p.4.

³² Frederic Auguste Demetz, *Report on Reformatory Farm Institutions: Read Before the International Charitable Conference at Paris*, (Hamilton, Adams and Co: London, 1856), p.8.

³³ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.13.

³⁴ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', pp.13-14.

Impressing upon the inmates the need to labour in order to make provision for themselves bestowed upon them a sense of responsibility: ‘each boy is responsible for himself, and feels that he has something at stake... [he] is a gainer or loser by his own act’, such qualities, it was hoped, would furnish the inmates with better prospects upon leaving the reformatory.³⁵ It was important to Turner, therefore, for the success of the boys, to create a farm school which would accurately recreate an authentic agricultural labouring experience. Consequently, the Redhill reformatory space was managed and structured to recreate the daily exertions and experiences that governed the lives of ordinary agricultural labourers. This provision of an authentic rural way of life was a key responsibility of the reformatory school according to Turner, which eased the boys’ transition and adjustment to life after institutional confinement.

Another advantage of a *genuine farm school*, according to Turner, was its ability to ensure ‘the presence of that most essential condition of success – *constant*, and yet *varied* employment’.³⁶ Therefore, whilst farm-work and labour on the land formed the backbone of the reformatory labour regime (with inmates performing tasks such as harvesting, threshing, haymaking, hoeing, taking care of livestock, working in the dairy and the piggery and the cultivation of trees, gardens and crops) other tasks such as ‘trenching, draining, grubbing, [and] stone digging’ were also required ‘in aid of the ordinary farm operations’.³⁷ The young inmates also learned the skills of industrial trades connected with farming, such as those of wheelwright, blacksmith and carpenter. In addition, ‘Many branches of employment’ stated Turner ‘will naturally be resorted to in a large establishment, in aid of agriculture’ which included, he suggested, ‘tailoring, shoemaking, and brick and tile making’.³⁸ (Images of the

³⁵ Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley’, p.12.

³⁶ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.23.

³⁷ Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley’, p.14

³⁸ Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley’, p.14.

inmates at work are shown on the next page).³⁹ The varied nature of the labour tasks provided for the inmates ensured that the aim of engaging them with constant work was realisable throughout the seasons and ranged from working indoors as cooks, bakers and house boys (preparing the meals for the reformatory and performing domestic duties), to working outdoors as field boys (performing tasks such as harvesting vegetables, clearing the land of large stones and weeds and raking old grass), stable boys (whose work involved grooming, feeding and watering the animals), gardeners (who tended to the reformatory gardens), carpenters and smiths (working with wood and metals).⁴⁰ In their roles as carpenters and smiths boys not only carried out the usual kinds of work of their trades, but they also did ‘a good deal more besides’.⁴¹ As described in *Saved from the Wreck* (1892), a pamphlet produced by the reformatory school, the Redhill carpenter boys made:

doors, window-frames, gates, fences, wooden buckets, tables, benches, desks, wheelbarrows, and numberless other articles. We lay floors, rafters, beams, &c., in buildings; make, repair and upholster furniture;- in fact, we do ourselves all and every kind of work for our own premises that comes to hand, so that a boy who spends two or three years in this shop is sure to become a very handy and useful fellow.⁴²

Similarly the smiths also performed many tasks besides working at the forge and anvil:

The master blacksmith... is able to turn his hand to almost any kind of work in metal. He instructs the boys not only in ordinary smiths’ work, but also in gas fitting, water-pipe laying, pump fitting and repairing, making garden and farm tools, and in many other kinds of plumber’s and tinman’s work.⁴³

³⁹ SHC 2271/41/7-17, *Photographs c.1891*.

⁴⁰ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1860), p.14.

⁴¹ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, (Eyre and Spottiswoode: London, 1892), p.22.

⁴² SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.22.

⁴³ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.22.

The reformatory inmates gained, therefore, a range of varied skills which were put to use in the maintaining and improving of the reformatory buildings which then contributed to the running of the successful self-sustaining and revenue procuring farm at the Redhill institution.⁴⁴



Inmates milking [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].

⁴⁴ Cash sales of the produce raised by the boys on the reformatory farm, for example, regularly earned the institution between £1,000 and £3,000 per year, steadily increasing most years, as detailed in the Annual Reports of the Philanthropic Society covering the years 1855-1883.



Inmates hoeing a field [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].



Inmates loading a hay cart [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].



Inmates reaping corn [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].



Inmates mowing a lawn [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].



Inmates working in the shoemaker's shop [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].



Blacksmith and inmates at work [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].



Inmates at work in the carpentry shop [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].

Turner strongly believed that the acquisition of agricultural skills would also enable boys to acquire gainful employment upon leaving the reformatory.⁴⁵ The advantage of teaching agricultural skills through rural labour, Turner stated: ‘would be no less seen, I believe, in the greater opportunities it would give the boy trained in it of being *useful in after life*, and so earning a sufficient maintenance’.⁴⁶ Turner, like other reformers at this time, argued that industrial trades were ‘over-stocked’ but suggested this was not the case with rural trades. He suggested, for example, that there was ‘so great a want of skilled farm-labour, and so great an opportunity and call for its employment’ that boys leaving the farm school with a ‘sound practical education’ would be ‘readily absorbed’.⁴⁷ The farm school, therefore, Turner believed provided boys with a better opportunity to gain regular

⁴⁵ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.23.

⁴⁶ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.23.

⁴⁷ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.24.

employment and the means to continue their lives in the more wholesome, healthful rural environment either through ‘emigration or by agricultural occupation in this country’.⁴⁸

Fostering this opportunity for boys to continue their lives in the more wholesome rural environment was believed to be another advantage of the rural based reformatory school. A future life in the countryside meant that the boys’ old associations would remain ‘completely separated and kept away from them’.⁴⁹ Although Redhill actively encouraged its inmates to remain in the countryside upon their release many chose to return to towns and cities. However, it was hoped that the good conduct which had become habit to them and the routine of honest, hard labour which had been instilled into them in the reformatory, along with their reformed morals, would have a profound and lasting impact and, therefore, enable youths to lead honest lives ‘wherever their lot may be cast’.⁵⁰

In addition to physical labour the boys at the Philanthropic Society Farm School were also put to work in the classroom where they received religious training and a secular elementary education. It was the first of these which, according to contemporary reformative opinion, was especially important in the reformation of youths. Mary Carpenter, for example, spoke of the importance of the principles of religion and morality in the reformation of youthful delinquents: ‘Religious duty... should pervade the whole system, and bring the child’s mind into harmonious action with it’.⁵¹ She continued:

Religious and moral instruction will of course be a prominent object in all establishments of this kind; that it should be instruction rather of the heart than of the head will be evident; and that it should rather consist in the instilling of sound principles of duty to God and to man, than in the communication of dogmatic instruction, will probably be the experience of all who have practically engaged in the work [of reformation].⁵²

⁴⁸ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.18.

⁴⁹ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, pp.18-19.

⁵⁰ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, p.41.

⁵¹ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.303.

⁵² Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.303.

In placing greater emphasis on the religious training of its inmates, therefore, reformatory practice at Redhill reflected informed and influential contemporary opinion. On this matter Turner stated that: 'The hands and the heart require more attention, in the juvenile offender's case, than the head'.⁵³ Since 'the hands' were cared for through the boys' application to physical (mainly) rural labour, 'the heart' - the boys' moral character - then became the focus for the religious training at Redhill. The inculcation of a religious motive and the cultivation of religious feelings was deemed to be especially important. Turner argued that reformatory inmates needed to be taught 'in short, to act... in singleness of heart, looking to, and fearing God' and that this was 'the great business of a Christian Reformatory'.⁵⁴

Accordingly, the religious and moral education of the Redhill inmates comprised of 'daily services and prayers, religious instruction, and the personal influence of officers at home and at work' (the boys' 'home' and 'family' lives in the institution will be discussed later in the chapter).⁵⁵ The first aspect of this religious education involved the training of boys in their duty to their religion and to God through prayers and daily worship. There was regular family prayer, the opportunity for private prayers on rising and going to bed, and every morning there was a 'short bright service' in the Chapel, where on Sundays there were always three services, including Holy Communion at 8.30am.⁵⁶ The second part of the religious education involved the catechetical instruction of inmates and the imparting of a thorough knowledge of religion through the teaching and learning of the scriptures. (Inmates were regularly tested on the proficiency of their learning in this regard). The final aspect of the religious and moral education provided at Redhill involved the personal influence of the officers employed to supervise them. These officers, who oversaw all aspects of their young charges lives at the reformatory, were instructed to exert a personal religious and moral

⁵³ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.14.

⁵⁴ Turner; Paynter, *"La Colonie Agricole"*, p.15.

⁵⁵ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, p.37.

⁵⁶ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.6.

influence over the inmates through the close relationships they formed with the boys, and by the example they set.

The religious and moral influence exerted by the Redhill staff began at the head of the institution, the superintendent, who, throughout the period, was a Clergyman in Priest's orders and acted as the school's chaplain.⁵⁷ That the chief officer of the institution was a 'Clergyman in Priest's orders' was considered both important and beneficent to the management of the reformatory.⁵⁸ Charles Dickens, on his visit to the school in 1852, observed that: 'The boys at Red Hill have faith in their chaplain. They live under his eye, and experience the kind *spirit* of religion which dictates his daily care on their behalf'.⁵⁹ The positive influence of religion and morality upon the inmates was further ensured by the employment of men 'of the right tone of mind and character' in the general supervision of boys.⁶⁰ Those upon whom the daily duties of care and guidance devolved were expected to be virtuous, principled and pious, and provide a 'daily example of patience, kindness, industry, endurance, and devotion in his personal life'.⁶¹ Religious and moral education therefore suffused the every-day lives of the Redhill boys, in the words of the institution: 'religion... is really a part of their daily life'.⁶²

The Philanthropic Society Farm School also provided its inmates with a secular elementary education. For many of the boys at Redhill their sentence in the reformatory provided them with their first opportunity of gaining a proper, albeit elementary, education. The annual report for 1864, for example, indicates that of the 53 boys admitted in the year

⁵⁷ The first occupant of the post was the Rev. Sydney Turner, a philanthropist and, as discussed in the previous chapter, a key proponent of the reformatory movement. Turner continued at Redhill from 1849 (when the School removed) until 1857, when he was appointed as the first Inspector of Reformatories. He was succeeded in 1857 by the Rev. C. Walters who served until his death in 1882. The Rev. A. G. Jackson followed until his death in 1887, when the Rev. M. G. Vine, was appointed chaplain-superintendent.

⁵⁸ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.6.

⁵⁹ SHC 3521/Box 33, 'Boys to Mend', p.600.

⁶⁰ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.15.

⁶¹ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.15.

⁶² SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.5.

1863, only one boy ‘could read and write well’. The others ranged in ability from complete illiteracy (the number of boys falling into this category being listed as eleven), to being able to ‘read only very imperfectly’ (six boys fell into this category), being able to ‘read and write imperfectly’ (the number given is 21 boys), and finally to being able to ‘read and write fairly’ (of which there were 14 boys).⁶³ Similarly, for the year 1867 of the 96 new admissions only two boys ‘could read and write well’, 41 ‘could neither read nor write’, eight ‘could read only very imperfectly’, 27 ‘could read and write imperfectly’ and eighteen ‘could read and write fairly’.⁶⁴ The overall educational statistics of the boys entering the reformatory did not change vastly thereafter. The annual report for the year 1875 lists the educational state of the 69 new cases entering the reformatory as follows: fifteen ‘could neither read nor write’, four ‘could read only very imperfectly’, 30 ‘could read and write imperfectly’, nineteen ‘could read and write fairly’, and only one ‘could read and write well’.⁶⁵ The provision of an elementary secular education continued therefore to occupy a key part of the reformatory regime. Although Redhill maintained the belief that the boys’ industrial occupation was ‘far more important than their schooling’, and that simply providing boys with a ‘mere *intellectual* education’ would be insufficient in bringing about a reform, it was conceded that, in conjunction with rural labour and moral and religious guidance, this was an important factor in reforming the boy as a whole.⁶⁶ Therefore, the Redhill boys were taught to read, write and cypher during their time in the schoolroom.⁶⁷ (An image of the boys at work in the schoolroom is shown on the next page).⁶⁸ Furthermore, they were provided with opportunities

⁶³ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Surrey, 1864, (Varty: London, 1864), pp.10-11.

⁶⁴ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1868), p.12.

⁶⁵ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Surrey, 1876, (Waterlow and Sons: London, 1876), p.12.

⁶⁶ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1868), p.15; *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.37.

⁶⁷ Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley’, p.14.

⁶⁸ SHC 2271/41/18, *Photographs c.1891*; Inmates at work in the Queen’s House schoolroom.

to develop their literacy by borrowing one of the ‘amusing and instructive books’ deposited in boxes in each house during winter nights in order to encourage further reading.⁶⁹



[Image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].

As has been illustrated, therefore, representations of space, in the form of the educational and training dimensions of the reforming regime at Redhill was structured and managed in such a way as to tackle three key elements of the boys lives: providing boys with an agricultural trade or skills that could be used upon leaving the school; the provision of moral and religious instruction and guidance to restore them to morality; and the provision of a secular elementary education to give inmates the skills to become self-thinking members of society. The regime aimed to enable boys to become self-supporting financially in their future lives by utilising the trade skills they acquired, and, by providing inmates with a moral and religious education as well as an intellectual education they aimed to make the boys self-

⁶⁹ SHC 3521/Box 33, *The Hive of Bees; A Half-Yearly Chronicle of the Farm School, Red-Hill*, Edited by Rev. A. G. Jackson, Resident Chaplain, (February 1885), p.72.

supporting in ‘thinking *rightly*’ and thereby ‘act[ing] *rightly*’ of his own accord.⁷⁰ The regime wanted boys to be able to be self-supporting in all aspects of their lives; this ‘voluntary, not forced, good conduct’ was important Turner stated ‘for this alone will *last*’.⁷¹

Another of the important features of the Redhill system through which the reformatory space was managed and structured was the implementation of the ‘family system’ of moral training. This system was a conceived representation of space in that it was a planned regime of moral reform that consciously sought to shape spatial practice and its experience by the inmates of the reformatory. During a visit to Mettray in 1846 Sydney Turner and his companion, Police Magistrate Thomas Paynter, had been most impressed by what they saw as the ‘most remarkable feature of the internal organisation of Mettray’: the ‘family system’ of moral training.⁷² In their subsequent *Report on the System and Arrangements of "La Colonie Agricole" at Mettray* they described what this involved viz: ‘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’.⁷³ This ‘family arrangement’ was to be developed ‘as a means of supplying some substitute, however imperfect, for the parental relation’.⁷⁴ This ‘parental relation’ it was believed was what many of those boys entering the reformatory had been lacking in their troubled pasts. It was believed also that a ‘large portion of juvenile crime springs from that relation being lost or impaired’.⁷⁵ A view which reflected a broader conviction within the reformatory movement which strongly associated ‘juvenile delinquency with the absence of effective family disciplines’ and ‘demanded the simulation

⁷⁰ Sydney Turner, *Report on a Visit to Mettray*, (London, 1849), p.8. [original emphasis]

⁷¹ Turner; Paynter, "*La Colonie Agricole*", p.15.

⁷² Turner; Paynter, "*La Colonie Agricole*", p.37.

⁷³ Turner; Paynter, "*La Colonie Agricole*", p.45.

⁷⁴ Turner; Paynter, "*La Colonie Agricole*", p.38.

⁷⁵ Turner; Paynter, "*La Colonie Agricole*", p.38.

of a “family” setting within suitably-located reformatory schools’.⁷⁶ This philosophy was powerfully articulated by Frederick Demetz, Mettray’s founder, whose ideals were so influential in shaping practice at Redhill:

Division by families renders the superintendence at once easier, more active, and more zealous: easier, because it extends over a smaller number; more active, because it brings home all the responsibility to one single person, who has his sphere well defined and his duties distinctly marked out; more zealous, because it tends to produce on the part of the superintendents, under the influence of that very sense of responsibility, and by habit of living together, feelings of sympathy and kindness.

It was argued by Demetz that the application of this superintendence meant that in turn:

The authority being less imperious, less oppressive, they [the boys] become attached in turn to the master who is fond of them; they become accustomed to see in him a friend in whom they have confidence; they are more readily touched to the heart and convinced; and without discipline losing any of its vigour, education finds in this mutual affection a lever of incalculable power.⁷⁷

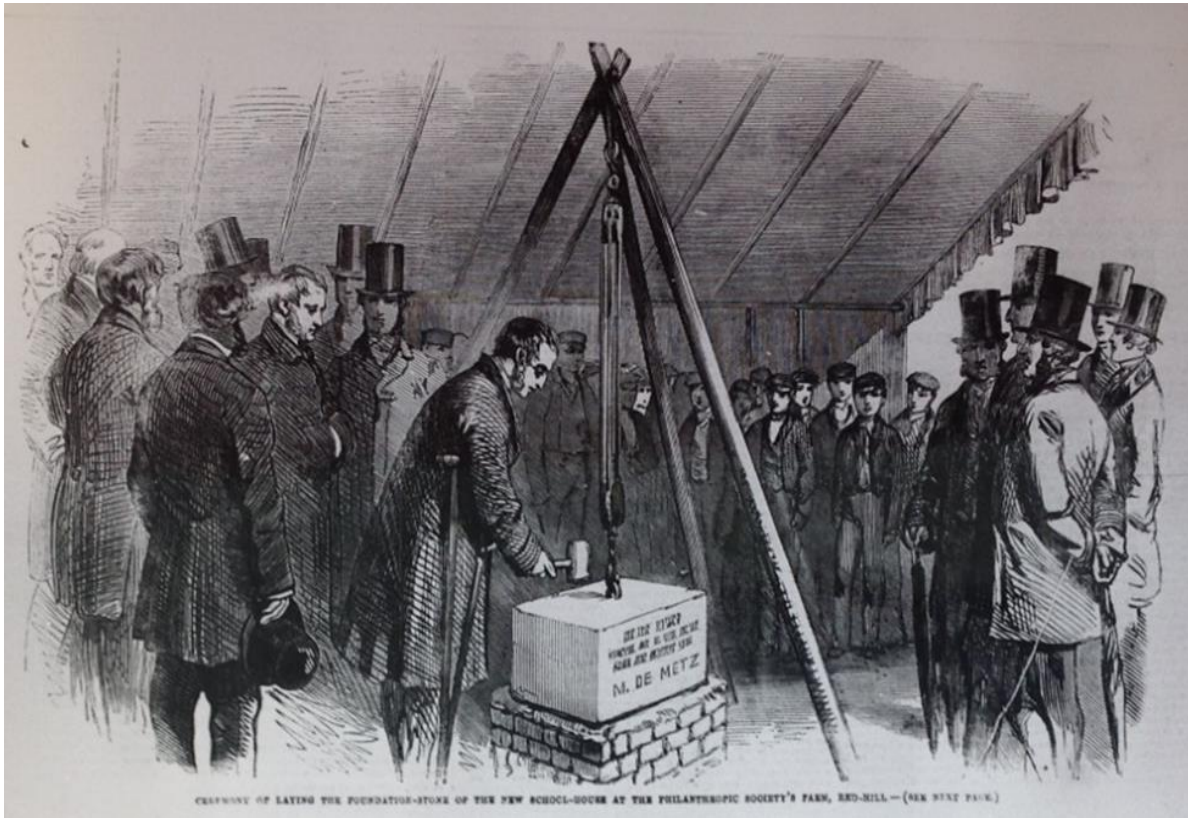
Demetz also stated in his 1856 *Report on Reformatory Farm Institutions*, that ‘moral influence can only be efficacious, when there is a kind of personal contact, heart to heart, mind to mind, with him whom it seeks to win over to the love of what is good’.⁷⁸ In recognition of Demetz’ influence he was invited to lay the foundation stone of one of Redhill’s family houses in 1857, as shown in the image on the next page.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Teresa Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces: Gender, Class and Space in Victorian Reformatory Schools’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.20, No.4, (1994), p.416.

⁷⁷ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.27.

⁷⁸ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.27.

⁷⁹ SHC 2271/41/101, *Nineteenth Century Prints and Illustrations*; The Philanthropic Reformatory School: Frederick Demetz laying the foundation stone of Gladstone’s House in 1857.



[Image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].

Convinced of the correctness of the family system of moral training, after his visit to Mettray in 1846, Turner implemented a family system at the Philanthropic Society Farm School upon its establishment in the Surrey countryside in 1849.⁸⁰ In discussing the family system in the 1850s, Turner stated that there were, within reformatory schools, two systems to be chosen between: ‘the old one of ASSOCIATION’, and ‘the new one (new that is in its application to public institutions) of FAMILY DIVISION’.⁸¹ The former system involved the gathering of inmates as into a regiment whereby they were nominally subdivided by wards or classes, but all sleeping under one roof, eating in one common hall, labouring, learning, and playing together in one common playground. Under this system, according to Turner, inmates were ‘left as one of a great undistinguished mass, lost among 200 or 300 others, the subject of

⁸⁰ Since 1792 the Philanthropic Society of London had run separate institutions for reforming the children of convicted felons and a separate reform school for criminal boys in the Metropolis, however by the 1840s the influence of ideas regarding the moral superiority of the countryside and its special reforming qualities meant that the society decided to focus upon its efforts to reform criminal boys and in doing so moved their operations to rural Surrey in 1849; See Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.417.

⁸¹ Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley’, p.8.

general teaching and general discipline, and not the object of personal study, personal association, individual care and influence'.⁸² The latter system, that of 'family division', on the other hand, involved the separating and distributing of inmates into distinct families and households, residing in separate dwellings which were distant from each other, giving them, as far as possible, separate fields of labour, making each family a unit by itself.⁸³ Under this system inmates were not one of hundreds loosely associated, they were instead members of a small and caring familial unit within which the personal influence of the staff assigned to oversee their family could be effectively asserted and positive bonds of attachment within each formed.⁸⁴ Under the system of family division, it was argued, reformatory inmates were the object of personal association, individual care and influence.

Accordingly, the inmates at Redhill were divided into family groups with each family residing in a separate house under the charge of a master and his wife. Each house (of which there were three initially but this was increased to five in the 1850s) was designed to accommodate 60 boys, with kitchens and offices, and rooms for the master.⁸⁵ The houses also had two dormitories, with a master's bedroom adjoining, and a central schoolroom which also served as a dining room.⁸⁶ Just as the Redhill reformatory sought to make the farm and its labour true to life, so too, did it seek to do this with regard to the boys living arrangements:

The whole arrangements of the School are made as domestic as possible, there being five separate houses of 60 boys each, instead of one large barracks – the object being to make it a "Home" rather than an "Institution," avoiding as far as possible everything artificial, and aiming in every way to make the School a real preparation for after life.⁸⁷

⁸² Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.8.

⁸³ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.8.

⁸⁴ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.8.

⁸⁵ SHC 325/24/16, *The Architect and Building Operative*, c.1848-49

⁸⁶ SHC 325/24/16, *The Architect and Building Operative*, c.1848-49; Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.422.

⁸⁷ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.31.

Each of the five houses - Queen's, Gladstone's, Gurney's, Garston's and Waterlands - had its own dedication, and each name signified an aspect of the history and development of the School.⁸⁸ The 'Queen's House', for example, told of the 'wealth of interest taken in this beneficent work by Victoria the Great and Albert the Good'.⁸⁹ (Prince Albert had laid the foundation stone of the chapel on 30 April 1849 and had become a patron of the school until his death in 1861).⁹⁰ Similarly, 'Gladstone's House' (opened in 1857) was named after 'Mr. W. Gladstone, the Treasurer [of the Philanthropic Society and cousin of the Statesman]' whose munificence paid for the building, the foundation stone being laid by 'Mons. Demetz, the founder of the well-known Mettray Institution'.⁹¹ Likewise 'Gurney's House' (opened in 1861) was built by Mr. Samuel Gurney M.P., in memory of his father, 'so long a firm friend and supporter of the Society'.⁹²

Turner felt that by placing boys into a simulated family environment appropriate parental and particularly paternal influences would be simulated. Under this system the masters' role was explicitly defined to include: 'in every way striving to make his house a well-ordered, cheerful and comfortable home for the boys under his care, towards whom, as far as possible, he should assume the position of a father'.⁹³ This, it was argued, allowed for 'a more kindly intimacy between the instructor and the pupil' which 'sinks deeper, and has a

⁸⁸ The initial three houses at the Redhill reformatory were Queen's, Prince's and Duke's. These houses formed part of the original block of buildings. However, they were deemed to be too close together to allow the boys to live as completely separate families and therefore whilst Queen's House remained and was extended, Duke's House was replaced by Gladstone's House in 1857; whilst Prince's House was replaced by Gurney's House in 1861. Meanwhile both Garston's and Waterlands Houses had been built, in 1854 and 1855 respectively, in order to increase the accommodation for boys to five houses in total. In the early years at Redhill the original farmhouse was also used to accommodate some boys (around twenty), however this ceased to be the case in the late 1850s. After this period the farmhouse was used to train small numbers of boys for emigration. See SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, pp.23-26.

⁸⁹ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Rescued, Reformed, Restored, Impressions of a Visitor to the Farm School, Redhill*, (1910), p.5.

⁹⁰ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, p.14.

⁹¹ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, pp.24-25.

⁹² SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, p.26.

⁹³ SHC 2271/39/1, *The Philanthropic Society's Farm School, Duties of the Principle Officers*, (18 March 1884); Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.423.

more lasting influence' than general teaching and general discipline.⁹⁴ Under the guidance of this parental influence familial values would, it was believed, be impressed upon the boys through the 'influence, example and association' facilitated by the system.⁹⁵ It was also believed that the system would encourage each member of the family to care for their 'brethren' and become 'personally interested in the moral well-being of the others'.⁹⁶

A key element of this family system was the distinct and separated nature of each household. The family dwellings at Redhill were placed informally about the estate (which encompassed 260 acres by 1910) and were built 'at a considerable distance from each other, giving them, as far as possible, separate fields of labour, making each family, in fact, a complete school or institution on a small scale by itself' each operating the same regime.⁹⁷ The boys in each family group experienced all aspects of their daily lives together as a family: they ate, prayed, worked, learned, played and slept together, in their houses, and under the charge of their masters. It was only in the chapel that the individual houses came together regularly as a wider community. All other facilities for each "family" of boys were self-contained within its own residential unit.⁹⁸ Even events such as Christmas were celebrated separately (with the exception of the Christmas service in the chapel) with each house having its own decorations, its own lunch and its own entertainment in the evening. The chaplain-superintendent (1882-1887) the Rev. A. G. Jackson described a Christmas at the reformatory:

I paid two visits to each House in the course of the day, and found them all decorated with even more than their usual good taste. On the whole, I think the Schoolroom at Queen's was the most neatly and elegantly done. At Gladstone's, the bedrooms were

⁹⁴ Turner; Paynter, "La Colonie Agricole", p.11.

⁹⁵ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools, A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.9.

⁹⁶ Sydney Turner and Thomas Paynter, Esq., *The Second Report of the Surveyor General of Prisons* (W. Clowes and Sons: London, 1848), p.45.

⁹⁷ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Rescued, Reformed, Restored*, p.5; Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.8.

⁹⁸ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.423.

prettily adorned. At Gurney's, I thought the addition of a little more colour than usual a great improvement...

... In the evening I paid my first visit to Garston's, where I was just in time to occupy a reserved seat at the grand drama of "We are a merry family"... There was a great deal of dying and coming to life again, breaking crockery, and knocking people down, but on the whole I think they all lived happily ever after ... I arrived at Gurney's in time to witness the closing scenes of "Dick Whittington and his Cat"... It was past eight when I reached Waterlands, but I found the boys still full of spirits. I saw a special performance of "On Guard", in which a gallant hero defended his country's flag against all assailants... It was late when I reached Queen's, and the great event of the evening was over. The boys... were refreshing themselves, after their labours, with the contents of their parcels and "scran-bags", so I wished them many more Merry Christmases in this happy place, and departed, having much enjoyed my round of visits.⁹⁹

The sense of separate family identity was, therefore, further reinforced through such celebrations and festivities. It was suggested that under these circumstances 'feelings of sympathy and kindness' for one another were fostered and the boys came to rely on each other as brothers.¹⁰⁰ This distinction and separation in the location and organisation of the houses was also intended to create inter house competition, further uniting the masters and the boys of each house.¹⁰¹ This sense of inter house competition was particularly evident at annual events such as the Harvest Home festival where each family of boys took part in competitions, games and sports to win prizes and rewards for their houses, proudly displaying their house banners as they did so, as shown in the image on the next page.¹⁰² The implementation of the family system at Redhill aspired, therefore, as Teresa Ploszajska has suggested, to foster 'a sense of mutual identity and community reliance among pupils analogous to the aims of the house system in public schools'.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ SHC 3521/Box 33, *The Hive of Bees*, pp.65- 66.

¹⁰⁰ Demetz, *Farm Institutions*, p.26.

¹⁰¹ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.422.

¹⁰² SHC 3521/Box 33, *Press Cuttings c. 1807-1910*; Image of the Harvest Home celebrations at the Philanthropic Society Farm School, 1890. Inmates parading from the reformatory chapel displaying their house banners.

¹⁰³ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.424; See also: Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, (Macmillan: London, 1857).



Harvest Home festivities; Garston's House banner is visible [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].

It was believed that the adoption of the family system, in conjunction with the moral and religious training that boys received in rural based reformatories, could furnish them with the necessary qualities to become party to their own and each other's reformation of character. By instilling the familial values of loyalty, honesty and mutual affection inmates were given, it was believed, the tools to take an active role in their own moral regeneration as each was trained to 'act on right principles of his own accord'.¹⁰⁴ However, as Turner pointed out in a letter to C. B. Adderley (1855) the paternal and familial aspects of the system complemented rather than supplanted a regime of disciplinary correction:

Of course, the adoption of the "Family System" entails as a necessary consequence, that the discipline be kindly and domestic, such as to attach, and not merely control, the boy. But it does not at all mean that the boy should be under no discipline at all, that his whims should be given way to, or his faults overlooked. The rules as to order, punctuality, cleanliness, civility, decorous behaviour in religious services, should be,

¹⁰⁴ Turner; Paynter, "La Colonie Agricole", p.14.

and may be, just as thoroughly observed, as to all essential points, in a common farmhouse, with a fence only round it, as if the boys were shut up within high walls, or under the eye of a regimental serjeant all day long, escape impossible, and submission absolute.¹⁰⁵

The family system was considered a success from the outset. In 1850 it was asserted by the Philanthropic Society's committee that 'the rare occurrences of serious faults or punishments... shows decisively how great the principles of family division really contributes to the moral progress of the boys'.¹⁰⁶ Teresa Ploszajska points out that the "family system" was retained at Redhill throughout the Victorian period and was considered integral to the institution's achievements: 'Throughout the second half of the nineteenth-century, the Redhill farm school was regarded by the official reformatory inspectorate as one of the best organised and most successful British reformatories' ... 'the key to its success was argued to be 'the well-regulated system on which control (was) grounded'; 'in other words, the manipulation of space which facilitated the full and effective functioning of the "family" system'.¹⁰⁷

A further way in which those in charge of the institution sought to shape the lived experience of the boys within the reformatory space was through the use of a system of rewards and punishments. This sought to reinforce and make functional the spatially informed reformatory measures discussed above. A key part of the rewards system was the 'Good Conduct List' which had been influenced by Mettray's 'Tableau D'Honneur'. The 'Tableau D'Honneur' or Table of Honour at Mettray was a list of names which had been painted on the wall of the main schoolroom – a highly visible and prominent location – of the best behaved boys at the reformatory institution:

When a boy has passed three months together without having incurred any punishment, his name is inscribed on this list. If one who is already there, incur

¹⁰⁵ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.11.

¹⁰⁶ SHC 2271/2/18, *The Philanthropic Society, General Court and General Committees December 1853 – May 1856*, p.249.

¹⁰⁷ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.424;419;422; Parliamentary Papers (hereafter PP) 1872, XXX, *Fifteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.69.

punishment, his name is struck out, so that in fact it is simply a list of well behaved boys.¹⁰⁸

From this list, boys were chosen for special privileges and some were given positions of authority over the rest of the inmates by becoming ‘elder brothers’ who helped the Mettray staff in maintaining order amongst the reformatory population and acting as a ‘connecting link between the boys and their superiors’.¹⁰⁹ The Table of Honour was one of Mettray’s ‘most remarkable objects’ according to E. B. Wheatley, a reformer who visited the institution in December 1854.¹¹⁰ One which was believed to ‘afford a most powerful motive to good conduct, and to be unattended by any ill effect’.¹¹¹ Lord Leigh, a prominent Member of Parliament and keen reformer, judged that incentives such as this ‘should form a part of the apparatus of every reformatory school’.¹¹²

Accordingly, the Philanthropic Society Farm School adapted such an incentive to its regime through the use of the ‘Good Conduct List’. This involved the putting up in each house of a monthly good conduct list, on which was placed the name of every boy in the family who had passed through the preceding month without any complaint or report made against him.¹¹³ Those boys who kept their names upon the list for three months successively (this was increased to four months by 1860) received a small personal prize chosen by themselves.¹¹⁴ Prizes included items such as a book, a cap, a neckerchief, or a pocket-knife.¹¹⁵ Thus, this system, it was suggested, provided ‘wholesome stimulants to self-discipline and improvement’ and the prerequisite of maintaining a position on the good

¹⁰⁸ E. B. Wheatley, *Reformatory Schools. A Visit to Mettray: A Lecture Given Before the Dewsbury Parochial Reading Society*, (T. M. Brooke: Dewsbury, 1855), p.15.

¹⁰⁹ Wheatley, *A Visit to Mettray*, p.12.

¹¹⁰ Wheatley, *A Visit to Mettray*, p.15.

¹¹¹ ‘Mettray: From 1839 to 1856’, *Law Review*, February 1856, (W and F. G. Cash: London, 1856), p.32.

¹¹² *Mettray: From 1839 to 1856*, p.32.

¹¹³ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Surrey, 1856, (W. Allingham: Reigate, 1856), p.14.

¹¹⁴ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1856),p.14; *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1860), p.19.

¹¹⁵ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1860), p.19.

conduct list for several months ‘ensures an amount of sustained exertion, which is strange to many of them, and must be good for all’.¹¹⁶

Over time the information inscribed on the good conduct list was expanded so that it stated ‘how many months a boy has been without serious offence or punishment, according to which they wear badges on the arm proclaiming the duration of their good conduct’.¹¹⁷ In the early 1880s ‘a gold good-conduct stripe’ was introduced and was awarded to those inmates who incurred no punishment and maintained their position on the good conduct list for three years.¹¹⁸ Once a boy had kept their gold stripe for a few months the Home Secretary was asked to issue a warrant for their discharge, on the ground of their reformation having been accomplished.¹¹⁹ It was thus open to boys sent to Redhill for periods of four or five years to shorten considerably their term of detention. This was, therefore, a strong inducement to prolonged good behaviour and one which worked alongside the family system of moral reform, as it, like the family system, was designed to allow boys to be party to their own reformation. The stipulation of a three year period without incident acted as a safeguard against those who might otherwise pretend to be reformed simply in order to gain the gold good conduct stripe. This system, therefore, provided a stimulant to self-discipline and improvement and it gave boys a further reason to immerse themselves into the reformatory regime and to fully engage with the reforming structures in place at the Philanthropic Society Farm School.

Another important aspect of the system of rewards instated at Redhill was the ‘Shield of Honour’. This was a prize, in the form of a trophy, awarded to ‘the best-conducted house’

¹¹⁶ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1860), p.19.

¹¹⁷ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.13.

¹¹⁸ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Surrey, 1884, (Walsall: London, 1884), p.17.

¹¹⁹ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm*, (1884), p.17.

each year at the annual Harvest Home Festival.¹²⁰ The winners of this prize also received a round of tea and cakes which were enjoyed by the entire family in the family house in the days following the Harvest Home Festival.¹²¹ The Harvest Home Festival was an institutional ‘invented tradition’ based on the reformed harvest festival becoming popular in Anglican parishes at this time.¹²² The Harvest Home Festival was an important occasion at Redhill and one which incited much merriment amongst the staff and inmates alike, who all came together to share in the occasion. A celebratory feast, sports, music and entertainment were enjoyed by all, and the presentation of the Shield of Honour (along with numerous other prizes for various individual achievements) in the main school hall formed a major part of the festivities. Therefore, to receive the Shield carried with it a sense of prestige which encouraged good behaviour and ‘family’ solidarity as each house united around the goal of winning the Shield of Honour.

The Redhill reformatory also instated a system of monetary rewards which were paid weekly for those who displayed ‘meritorious conduct’.¹²³ Conversely, fines were issued as a punishment to the houses of those boys who committed ‘slight offences’.¹²⁴ Heavier fines and the forfeiture of privileges were incurred by the houses of those who committed more serious offences such as absconding (other punishments reserved for the most serious offences, such as stealing and desertion, included confinement to a cell, and corporal punishment by use of the birch-rod).¹²⁵ In these cases the boys of each house were made to pay between them the recovery expenses of any of their number who absconded.¹²⁶ Inmates could both be given

¹²⁰ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Surrey, 1872, (Spottiswoode and Co.: London, 1872), p.19.

¹²¹ SHC 3521/Box 33, *The Hive of Bees*, p.68.

¹²² Alun Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England, A Social History 1850-1925*, (Routledge: London, 1992), p.72.

¹²³ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1868), p.16.

¹²⁴ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1868), p.16.

¹²⁵ Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley’, p.12.

¹²⁶ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1868), p.16; SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.11.

money by family or friends during their time in the reformatory and earn it at the school ‘by good conduct and diligence at work’:¹²⁷

We have a regular scale of money rewards, by which a boy can earn from 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 1/- per week, the money being banked for them by their Masters, and expended according to their wishes, in such ways as are approved and allowed.¹²⁸

Many boys, it was recorded, ‘save their money against the time of their leaving the school... others send money home’, inmates also used their money to buy personal items such as books and sweets, and some used it to pay for their family and friends to visit them at Redhill.¹²⁹ The liberal distribution of both rewards and fines worked in conjunction with the family system of moral training since the behaviour of individual boys had the potential to impact upon the whole house be it for good or for bad. It was made in the interests of the boys of each house to work together as a family to earn rewards and be ‘careful to guard their own honour’ against any fines or punishments.¹³⁰ The system was said to encourage the ‘very wholesome rivalry which exists between the five different houses, which makes them keen to obtain the various honours attaching to excellence in conduct’.¹³¹

Whilst this system worked to encourage familial unity and identity, it also worked to incentivise the individual since both rewards and fines were awarded to individual inmates and not just the family group as a whole. The system, therefore, according to Turner, made ‘the boy his own regulator, giving him a direct interest in his good or bad behaviour’.¹³² In discussing the function of the system of enabling inmates to earn monetary rewards and of deducting fines out of these funds Turner explained:

If it be arranged that sundry little luxuries, such as coffee for breakfast, treacle with his pudding for dinner, sweets, fruit, postage-stamps, knives, neck-handkerchiefs, Sunday caps, the journey home when allowed to go for a holiday, be all paid for by

¹²⁷ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.12.

¹²⁸ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.12. It was from this fund that fines were deducted.

¹²⁹ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.12.

¹³⁰ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.12.

¹³¹ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.13.

¹³² Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley’, p.11.

the boy himself out of these earnings, and be diminished and interfered with therefore by the fines which folly, or disobedience, or bad temper, involve, the power of the system as an instrument of discipline will soon be felt. It contributes most essentially to the teaching the boy what he most needs to learn, *self-control* and *self-regulation*. It has been in full action at Red-hill since we began six years ago, and I believe it has been a matter of no small surprise to those who watch and inquire into the daily working of the school, that our boys keep within our boundaries, and observe our rules as to work and discipline so steadily, and with so little interference, or direct compulsion. The secret is, that each boy is responsible for himself, and feels that he has something at stake; that he is doing his own business in fact, and is a gainer or loser by his own act.¹³³

Importantly for Turner, therefore, this system taught the Redhill inmates to regulate their own behaviour, making each responsible for his own actions, which was, it was believed, essential to the permanent reformation of character. The various aspects of the system of rewards and punishments instated at Redhill were essential, therefore, in reinforcing and making functional the spatially informed reformatory measures in place at this institution.

The final part of Lefebvre's spatial triad which can be applied to reformatory practice at the Philanthropic Society Farm School is *representational space*.¹³⁴ This is space 'as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols'.¹³⁵ This directs the historian of reformatory practice towards the study of how those in charge of this institution made symbolic use of the reformatory space in order to, for example, remind boys of the consequences of their past actions and the need to redeem themselves. In the first instance the visible location of the reformatory at Redhill had an important symbolic function:

In common with those other Victorian institutions of social control, asylums and workhouses, the site and sight of the reformatory was to be an imposing and forbidding reminder of the consequences of social non-conformity.¹³⁶

The remote rural location served the practical purpose of enabling reformers to place boys into idealised recreations of carefully controlled and purposefully structured rural village life. It also served the function of symbolising that entry into this rural space was a potential

¹³³ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', pp.11-12.

¹³⁴ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.39.

¹³⁵ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.39.

¹³⁶ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.418.

turning point towards salvation through ruralised edification. This symbolic function was later noted by a visitor to the institution:

The very position of the place is an education. The purifying and refining influences are everywhere acknowledged: how great, therefore, must be the effect produced upon the morale of a lad who finds himself suddenly transported from the dinginess of a City slum, where his surroundings are unwholesome and degrading, to the brightness of the open country, where his whole environment is healthy and inspiring. The Farm School meets his case exactly; it is most delightfully situated amidst the Surrey Hills, commands fine views right across the Sussex Downs, and it needs but little imagination to picture the fine sweep of open sea beyond.¹³⁷

From very first sight, therefore, the reformatory's location served to symbolically instill within the young inmates a sense of spatial and moral detachment from their former morally corrupting urban environments. The morally purifying nature of the institution's location and appearance was noted by numerous visitors to the school, one of whom, for example, observed: 'There is something refreshing and exhilarating in the very aspect of the place. Here, if anywhere, one feels it should be possible to live a clean, wholesome life'.¹³⁸

A further example of the ways in which symbolic use was made of the reformatory space at the Philanthropic Society Farm School was through the implementation of an experiential routine designed to represent the daily life of the respectable working-class labourer.¹³⁹ This was evidenced in the way that the institution aspired to faithfully recreate for the inmates the actual daily experience of the rural labourer. This meant assimilating Redhill's juvenile employments 'to those of ordinary country life' and in so doing following the rules of 'work, weather, [and] time... by which the ordinary labourer is regulated' and by making 'all his habits as natural as possible, and as near to those of the common life he has to enter into, when his course of discipline and education is over'.¹⁴⁰ This recreation of the daily life of the respectable working-class agricultural labourer was also evident in the clothing

¹³⁷ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Rescued, Reformed, Restored*, p.5.

¹³⁸ SHC 3521/Box 33, Hugh B. Philpott, 'The Bad Boy and the State', *The Quiver Magazine*, (1906), p.293.

¹³⁹ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.418.

¹⁴⁰ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.21. Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.13; *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.21.

provided by the institution for all inmates. This clothing deliberately mirrored that worn by ordinary rural labourers and as the Philanthropic Society explained on the eve of their move to Surrey was: ‘much more of the common country labourer’s dress, and much less of an uniform’.¹⁴¹ Finally the representational simulation of the daily life of the respectable labourer was evident in the accommodation provided for the inmates at Redhill for each family of boys. These houses were purposely designed in the old English farm-house style in order to make the arrangements as domestic as possible, and to faithfully recreate ordinary country life.¹⁴² This replication of respectable working-class life in their daily routine of spatial practices therefore provided the inmates of Redhill with an experienced example of the better life they might achieve through the redeeming experience of the reformatory regime. It also served the purpose of symbolising to the boys the social elevation that might result in the future after their being morally restored by the reformatory regime.

A final example of the way in which the space of the Philanthropic Society Farm School was structured in order to make symbolic use of its objects was through the physical structure of the institution. The founders of the farm school had been unhappy with the proximity of the original buildings used to house boys, and ‘the contiguity of these houses not proving a satisfactory arrangement’ they decided to erect ‘new houses at considerable distances apart’.¹⁴³ This was done in order to separate the boys into distinct families and avoid the aggregation of inmates, which, as previously discussed, was regarded as a less effective spatial arrangement for the moral reformation of the young delinquent. Garston’s House was the first of these new buildings (opened in 1854), followed by Waterlands House (opened in 1855), Gladstone’s House which replaced the old Duke’s House (opened in 1857),

¹⁴¹ *The Philanthropic Report for 1848*, p.27; The inmates’ clothing can be seen in the images included on pages 105-109.

¹⁴² SHC 325/24/16, *The Architect and Building Operative*, c.1848-49

¹⁴³ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, p.24.

and finally Gurney's House which replaced the old Prince's House (opened in 1861).¹⁴⁴ This spatial organisation of the housing system was designed to reflect a 'natural' rural village that had developed organically over time. To this end the houses were built in 'the old English farm-house style, substantial and good in their proportion, but not ornate in character'.¹⁴⁵ This is demonstrated in the images of each house shown below.¹⁴⁶ The naturalness of the physical structures of the institution, therefore, intentionally symbolised the naturalness and authenticity of the rural life implemented by the regime and under which the boys lived at the Philanthropic Society Farm School.



Garston's House c.1891 [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].

¹⁴⁴ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, p.24; The buildings which had formerly been the Duke's and Prince's Houses were used instead as additional space for the infirmary and offices once they had been replaced by the new Gladstone's and Gurney's Houses.

¹⁴⁵ SHC 325/24/16, *The Architect and Building Operative*, c.1848-49.

¹⁴⁶ SHC 2271/41/27-30, *Photographs c.1891*.



Waterlands House c.1891 [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].



Gladstone's House c.1891 [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].



Gurney's House c. 1891 [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].



Queen's House c.1891 [image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].

A further example of the symbolic function of the physical structures of Redhill can be found in the reformatory school's chapel. With its 'solid and substantial character' the chapel had a deliberately imposing presence in the reformatory's landscape in order to 'endorse the inculcation of religious habits which was a fundamental part of the boys' training at Redhill'.¹⁴⁷ As one visitor to the institution commented: 'the Chapel stands as the centre of the religious life of the place... A most beautiful building in itself, inspiring reverence and devotion'.¹⁴⁸ The chapel overlooked the site of the reformatory and it symbolised to the inmates the religious purpose at the heart of a reformatory regime which determined that religion was 'really a part of their daily life' and not simply 'an occasional exercise'.¹⁴⁹ The symbolic significance attached to the chapel is highlighted by the fact that this was the first building to be constructed upon the acquisition of new site at Redhill and that it was the building 'round which... the Farm School... began to be built up'.¹⁵⁰ The chapel was, therefore, both physically and symbolically an edifice at the very heart of the institution.

The interior arrangements of the chapel also articulated symbolically the corrective moral purpose of the institution. One significantly symbolic aspect of its interior design was 'The Boys' Window'. This window was placed in the chapel in 1872, and was 'greatly admired' both for the quality of its glass and the character of its drawings.¹⁵¹ Its art work 'representing six works of mercy', which were a key part of Christian iconography, added physically to the devotional effect of the chapel and served the symbolic function of reminding the boys of the importance of kindness, benevolence and charity.¹⁵² The Window's

¹⁴⁷ SHC 2271/40/26, *Report on the Occasion of the Farewell Anniversary Meeting in St. George's Fields*, 28 October 1849, p.15; SHC 2271/2/16, *General Court and General Committee Minute Book*, 19 January 1848; Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.422.

¹⁴⁸ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Recued, Reformed, Restored*, p.11.

¹⁴⁹ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, p.5

¹⁵⁰ SHC 3521/Box 33, *The Royal Philanthropic Society, Redhill, Surrey*, (no date)

¹⁵¹ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1872), p.31.

¹⁵² *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1872), p.31.

highest value however, according to Charles Walters, the resident chaplain of Redhill (1857-1882) during its instillation in 1872, was that it was the result of ‘the voluntary contributions of boys in the school through a period of about twelve months’.¹⁵³ Walters stated that the Window (which cost £50) represented ‘a most gratifying proof of the interest taken by the lads in the adornment of the Chapel and in its services’.¹⁵⁴ It also, according to Walters, symbolised the inmates’ ‘readiness to make some sacrifices for these praiseworthy objects’ since they had voluntarily given up sums of their own money to pay for the window themselves.¹⁵⁵ The Boys’ Window therefore both physically and symbolically signified the reverence and devotion inculcated within Redhill inmates by the religious system which lay at the heart of the reformatory regime. In ‘justice to their sentiment’ Walters wrote that he ‘declined several offered donations towards the window from old boys, as well as from other friends’.¹⁵⁶

The use of symbolic images in the chapel was also evident in the hanging of pictures in the vestry and on the chapel walls. One such picture which was placed upon the wall for staff, visitors, and the inmates to see was that which had been the altar-piece in the old chapel of the Society in St. George’s Fields, London. This image symbolised ‘Philanthropy feeding and nurturing the young’.¹⁵⁷ This was clearly therefore a symbolic representation of the loving work of the Philanthropic Society in reforming juvenile delinquents. The interior of the chapel is shown in the image included on the next page.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1872), p.31.

¹⁵⁴ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1872), p.31.

¹⁵⁵ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1872), p.31.

¹⁵⁶ *Annual Report for the Philanthropic Society’s Farm School*, (1872), p.31.

¹⁵⁷ SHC 3521/Box 33, *The Hive of Bees*, p.62.

¹⁵⁸ SHC 2271/41/22, *Photographs c.1891*.



[Image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].

A further example of this use of symbolism within the reformatory space was the Certificate of Merit, which was introduced as another of the prizes handed out each year at the Harvest Home festival. The Certificate of Merit was a picture which was presented to one house for exemplary conduct during the year (this was separate to and independent from the Shield of Honour discussed above which was reserved for the best conducted house of the year). The Certificate of Merit, which was hung in a prominent location in the winning house, was, according to the Rev. A. G. Jackson (chaplain-superintendent from 1882 to 1887), ‘a very remarkable picture’:

In the middle stands a good, kind and great Angel representing the Philanthropic Society, with the Star of Hope shining above his head. At his feet is a young prisoner, with his fetters falling from his limbs, and the yoke of slavery lying broken beside him. On the other side of him are boys learning reading, writing, geography, &c., whilst that domestic animal the cat, purring amongst them, shows that they have found not merely a School, but a Home. In the Angel’s right hand is a rod; partly concealed, because never used if it can possibly be avoided. In his left hand is a Cap of Liberty, which he gives to those who gain a gold-stripe, and bestows in a higher sense on all whom he teaches to be no longer sin’s slaves but Christ’s free-men. In the

background a plough is seen at work, and a steam-ship waits to convey young emigrants to a new life in new countries. The inscription round the picture is as follows:- "Certificate of Merit, awarded to this House at Harvest Home, for exemplary conduct during the year".¹⁵⁹

The imagery in this picture, therefore, clearly served the symbolic purpose in that it represented the work of the Philanthropic Society at Redhill as offering escape from the hopeless confinement of the prison and the hope of redemption in the more caring, enlightened, home-like space of the reformatory school. The imagery also symbolised in graphic form the workings of the reformatory regime of the school; depicting boys learning and working on the land, and enjoying its homely and domestic nature. This picture also articulated symbolically the liberty the reformatory regime would ultimately bestow on its inmates by rescuing them from criminality and offering them a respectable future life. In depicting the gold good conduct stripe (the award of which meant eligibility for early release) the imagery also suggested that good behaviour and exemplary conduct and submission to the reforming influences presented the opportunity of freedom. Finally, in showing a waiting ship ready to transport emigrants, the picture also symbolised the opportunity of starting a new life in the colonies, something which Redhill actively promoted.¹⁶⁰ Those in charge of the Redhill reformatory, therefore, clearly made symbolic use of the space of the institution and of its objects to remind the inmates of the consequences of their actions and, perhaps more importantly, to show them the significance of submitting themselves to the reforming regime in place at Redhill and the opportunities this would present to them.

Having examined the spatially informed reformatory practices of the Philanthropic Society Farm School it is also necessary to consider the role of a factor that is not overtly about the management, manipulation and creation of space but which had an influence upon daily life in the reformatory: the nature of the boys committed to the reformatory institution.

¹⁵⁹ SHC 3521/Box 33, *The Hive of Bees*, p.62.

¹⁶⁰ SHC 3521/Box 33, *Brief History of the Farm School*, p.12.

Particularly within the first few months of their sentences, before the reformation process had had time to get properly underway, many of the inmates were likely to be troublesome, disruptive and resistant to reform. This was especially the case with those hardened in their criminality and more advanced in years. For example, during the period 1878-79 the Redhill reformatory experienced increased amounts of disturbance due to more cases of absconders and higher levels of insubordination caused by a small number of ‘hardened and determined’ individuals.¹⁶¹ In reporting on the institution the Inspector of Reformatories Colonel William Inglis (Inglis replaced Turner as government Inspector in 1876 upon Turner’s retirement due to ill health) referred to 1878 as a ‘troubled year’ at Redhill during which, he explained:

There have been a larger average of abscondings than for many years, and the amount of serious punishment has been in excess of previous years. It is accounted for in some degree by the pernicious influence of one or two boys of depraved and mischievous character in the particular houses to which they were attached. It is to be borne in mind that the school deals resolutely with a hardened and determined class of juvenile offenders, and wrestles manfully with characters of a formidable type.¹⁶²

Similarly, the following year Inglis commented on the ‘trial, trouble, and anxiety’ faced by the institution.¹⁶³ There had again been above average levels of absconding and punishment and the Inspector observed that ‘the discipline of the school generally has been severely tested’.¹⁶⁴ This, Inglis stated, was again due to the influence of a small number of hardened criminals:

A kind of epidemic of unruliness passed over it, [the reformatory] and, just as in 1878, it may be accounted for directly by the baneful influence and example of a few individuals of depraved and abandoned character in the home to which they belonged. The school is sub-divided into separate homes or houses of about 60 inmates each. These homes were not equally affected by the spirit of disturbance. Several of the communities had only the ordinary amount of misconduct and punishment. In one, however, the disorderly element was in excess, and it is the home in which the older and more criminal boys are chiefly dealt with. I do not hesitate to say that the hardest work of the school has been taken in hand in the house where there has been the

¹⁶¹ PP 1879, XXXVI, *Twenty-Second Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.80.

¹⁶² PP 1879, *Twenty-Second Report of the Inspector*, p.80.

¹⁶³ PP 1880, XXXVII, *Twenty-Third Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.83.

¹⁶⁴ PP 1880, *Twenty-Third Report of the Inspector*, p.83.

greatest amount of insubordination... The superintendent of such a division, however resolute and vigorous, is overcome sometimes by the united and determined efforts of a knot of vicious, hardened, and depraved young men bent on mischief.¹⁶⁵

Despite the difficulties faced during these more unsettled years there remained, however, a sense of confidence in the overall order and discipline maintained at this reformatory. There remained also an unwavering satisfaction with those in charge of the school. In reporting on the year 1878 the Inspector voiced his maintained confidence in those running the Redhill reformatory:

I know of no school in which the evil to be overcome is more faithfully taken in hand, and persevered with until hope is pretty well extinguished; at the same time, it must not be forgotten that a large proportion of the inmates have gone on satisfactorily, and that the uniform success of this excellent institution has not been in any way impaired... The manly good order and submission to discipline of the majority of the lads gave me great satisfaction.¹⁶⁶

Similarly, this sense of overall satisfaction with the institution was also commented upon in Inglis' report on the year 1879 when he stated that 'the excellence of the work' 'is not to be forgotten' and that Redhill had been 'abundantly productive of practical results' in the reformation of youths, which were 'encouraging and successful in the highest degree'.¹⁶⁷ The Rev. Charles Walters, Redhill's superintendent, also commented upon the 'undaunted, patient, and persevering spirit' which he stated 'characterised the management' of the reformatory during this period.¹⁶⁸ As a result of this resolute and skilful management therefore, along with the removal of two of the 'leading offenders' of the mischief (whose behaviour was such that they were sent back to prison due to testimony solicited from some of their fellow inmates) the disruptions were eventually abated.¹⁶⁹ The following year, therefore, the Inspector noted a marked improvement at the institution:

¹⁶⁵ PP 1880, *Twenty-Third Report of the Inspector*, pp.83-84.

¹⁶⁶ PP 1879, *Twenty-Second Report of the Inspector*, p.80.

¹⁶⁷ PP 1880, *Twenty-Third Report of the Inspector*, p.84.

¹⁶⁸ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Redhill, Surrey, (George Mitton: London, 1880), p.17.

¹⁶⁹ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1880), p.17.

I am glad to report that the year 1880 has been far less disturbed by disorder or insubordination than the two preceding years... The masters exercised control without difficulty, and the boys were well-behaved and obedient as well as cheerful.¹⁷⁰

It is clear, therefore, that despite the influence of the less overtly spatial factor of inmate resistance to spatially informed reformatory practice on the daily administration of Redhill reformatory school, the generally effective management of the institution meant that the exceptionally hardened inmates did not impede the overall effective functioning of the spatially informed reformatory practices of the Philanthropic Society Farm School.

This chapter has considered the management of the Philanthropic Society Farm School at Redhill through the lens of the potentially effective combining of the three triadic elements of Henri Lefebvre's model of spatial practice, representations of space and representational space. It has also considered the institution's effectiveness in dealing with potentially problematic less overtly spatial factors in the form of inmate resistance to its reformative regime. In all respects the institution demonstrated its effectiveness and demonstrated why the Redhill reformatory school 'was frequently described by contemporary commentators as the British equivalent to Mettray', as an 'exemplar of progressive ideas about juvenile reform' and 'one of the best organised and most successful British reformatories'.¹⁷¹

As Lefebvre discussed it is important to consider the three elements of the spatial triad as a whole since each part is interconnected, potentially combining creatively and dynamically.¹⁷² Lefebvre's discussion of the spatial triad posits that the greatest transformative use of space occurs when the three triadic elements combine dynamically and effectively to create space. After disseminating each part of the triad in the discussion of this chapter it is now possible to consider the triad as a whole with regard to the spatially

¹⁷⁰ PP 1881, LIII, *Twenty-Fourth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.89.

¹⁷¹ Płoszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.414; p.419.

¹⁷² Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.40.

informed reformatory practice undertaken at Redhill. In doing so, it is apparent that the Philanthropic Society Farm School effectively managed to facilitate and creatively combine all three parts of the triad; spatial practice, representations of space and representational space to create a coherent and harmonious whole, and therefore dynamically and effectively create space in the form of an idealised microcosm of rural life.¹⁷³ The application of Lefebvre's triad paradigm has, therefore, enabled a multi-layered examination of the 'production of space' which has facilitated a richer understanding of the reformatory regime implemented at the Philanthropic Society Farm School at Redhill. It has, through the examination conducted in this chapter, become apparent that the Redhill institution effectively translated practices inspired by the rural idyll into ideally recreated rural reformatory space creating a pioneering example for other rural reformatory institutions in Britain to follow. The thesis will, in the succeeding two chapters, examine the spatially informed practices of two further rural reformatory institutions whose practices were influenced by the example set by the Philanthropic Society Farm School.

¹⁷³ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.40.

Chapter 4

Spatially Informed Reformatory Practice, Case Study: Mount St. Bernard

Reformatory School, Whitwick, Leicestershire

The idealisation of rural life and beliefs surrounding its inherent morality were also central to the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School, at Whitwick, Leicestershire. This reformatory farm school, like that at Redhill, also attempted to translate the rural idyll into practice through the implementation of a regime of spatially informed reformatory practice which will be examined in this chapter. In doing so the chapter will utilise Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad model in order to facilitate an in-depth empirical examination of the spatial ordering of the reformatory regime at this institution. The chapter will also, as in the previous chapter, explore and appraise the notion that it is when, within this reformatory school, the three dimensions of human action identified by Lefebvre's spatial triad combined most dynamically and productively that the most effective reformatory practice was achieved.

The first part of Lefebvre's triad of space is *spatial practice*, which is space produced and understood through movement and organisation. Spatial practice 'embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation'.¹ It embraces the everyday functions of society and the spatial events of life, and it focuses in particular on the spatial movement of people from one place to another and the effect of this on their perception and experience of space. Therefore, this chapter will first of all examine the spatial movement of juvenile delinquents from their urban hometowns to rural Leicestershire. That is the movement from a supposedly corrupting environment to another supposedly wholesome and restorative environment.

¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1991), p.33.

It was widely agreed amongst reformers that: ‘the child must be at once removed from the exciting and unnatural city life and the neighbourhood of dangerous associates, to the calm and invigorating scenes of the country’, only here, it was argued, could a reformation of character be truly realised.² This process of moving the young from one place to another reflected the preoccupations of Victorian social scientists of the 1830s and 1840s who were concerned with ‘the relationships between anti-social conduct and the spaces in which it thrived’.³ According to the principles of the new reformatory science, juvenile delinquency was associated with disordered urban environments and its attendant problems of chaotic family lives and unreliable, unregulated work.⁴ The moving of boys out of the disordered urban environment and into carefully designed, closely controlled, and well-ordered rural environments in which they could be provided with simulated ‘family’ settings and agricultural training, was considered the only way in which to ‘snatch the child’ from the ‘dangerous associations’ of the urban world.⁵ Consequently this change of space was believed to be absolutely necessary in the reformation of the young delinquent. Those committing the boys to, and accepting boys into, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, therefore, facilitated an arguably necessary and critical move from a demoralising urban context to a purportedly curative rural one. A move which marked the beginning of the process of spatial practice.⁶

The reformatory at Whitwick was a Catholic institution. It was established in connection with the Cistercian Abbey of Mount St. Bernard by the second Abbot of the

² Anon, ‘Mettray and Redhill’, *North British Review*, XXIV, (1855-56), p.424.

³ Driver, ‘Discipline Without Frontiers?’, p.273.

⁴ Driver, ‘Discipline Without Frontiers?’, p.280.

⁵ Anon, ‘Reformatory Schools’, *Quarterly Review*, XCVIII, (1855), p.33; R. Bray, *The Town Child*, (T. Fisher Unwin: London, 1907) in Felix Driver, ‘Discipline Without Frontiers?’, p.281.

⁶ Stacey Griffiths, ‘God made the country and man made the town’ the mid-Victorian Rural Idyll and its Translation into Rural Reformatory Practice’, (Unpublished MA Dissertation, Nottingham Trent University, 2013), p.23.

monastery, George Burder, in 1856.⁷ Catholic reformatory schools were in short supply throughout the period (between 1854 and 1875 only five Catholic reformatories for boys were certified compared to 36 Protestant institutions).⁸ Catholics consequently voiced their concerns that ‘there are a great number of Catholic children inmates of Reformatories, and educated by force in [the Protestant] religion’.⁹ The 1864 *Annual Report of the Reformatory School, Mount St. Bernard’s*, addressed these concerns as it confirmed that there were ‘numbers of Catholic Boys known to be inmates of Protestant establishments, in consequence of the absence of accommodation in Schools of this kind belonging to our own body’.¹⁰ This shortage of Catholic institutions meant that those extant took inmates from across the country as was the case at Whitwick. However, the vast majority incarcerated there emanated from the cities of Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool.¹¹ These typically ranged in age, from ten to sixteen, and were each serving sentences of between three to five years for a range of crimes which included larceny and petty theft, housebreaking, arson, fraudulent offences, robbery and assault, and vagrancy.¹²

For many of the boys who were sentenced to a term of detention in the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, the journey to Whitwick likely involved their first experience of moving away from their urban communities. The journey to the Leicestershire countryside

⁷ George Burder oversaw the running of the institution from 1856-58. During this time the reformatory was run by a resident superior and a small staff of religious brothers (including some monks seconded from the abbey) who were appointed by Burder and worked under his tutelage. Eventually ties between the abbey and the reformatory would be relinquished as the management of the school was passed to a managing committee of the Salford Diocese of the Catholic Church, and subsequently the Institute of Charity, who would rent the reformatory school’s buildings and land from the abbey. This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

⁸ John Stack, ‘The Provision of Reformatory Schools, the Landed Class, and the Myth of the Superiority of Rural Life in Mid-Victorian England’, *History of Education*, Vol.8, No.1, (1979), p.41.

⁹ Mount St. Bernard Abbey Archives (hereafter MSBA Archives), R. J. Gainsford, *Reformatory Schools*, 28 July 1856.

¹⁰ British Library, General Reference Collection RB.23.a.19415, *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s, 10 December 1864*, (John J. Sale: Manchester, 1864) p.5. (Hereafter this report will be footnoted as *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s*, (1864).

¹¹ *Leicester Journal*, 17 April 1863.

¹² *Leicester Journal*, 17 April 1863; *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s*, (1864), p.15; British Library, General Reference Collection RB.23.a.19416, *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s, 1 November 1866*, (John J. Sale: Manchester, 1867), p.17. (Hereafter this report will be footnoted as *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s*, (1867).

marked the beginning of a process of spatial practice in which they were removed from the perceived immoral space of urban centres and placed in the isolated, segregated, controlled and manipulated, environment of the rural reformatory school. Here the boys were immersed in the 'everyday functions' and the 'spatial events' of life in a regime of corrective control in a remote and often bleak setting.¹³ Whilst the sense of seclusion from their past lives is not documented it can be inferred that the removal of the boys from their urban contexts to the unfamiliar and isolated location of the Whitwick reformatory served as a sharp reminder of the consequences of their social non-conformity.¹⁴ This spatial event – the moving of boys – therefore gave youths their first experience of immersion in the spatially shaped practices of the reformatory process. Crucially, for Victorian reformers who had advocated rurally informed reformative regimes the spatial practice of moving boys involved youthful offenders being relocated from an environment characterised by a total absence of order to one characterised by carefully controlled and managed order. What Lefebvre encapsulated in his concept of spatial practice was, therefore, a crucial part of the initial spatially informed reformatory practice undertaken at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory (or St. Mary's Agricultural Colony as it was also known).

Upon entering the reformatory the sense of isolation was further emphasised as new arrivals were kept separate from the reformatory population for a period of up to seven days. During this quarantine period, as it was called, each new-comer was registered, medically examined, given a haircut, bathed, and clothed in the uniform of the Colony. During this induction period boys were also assessed as to their intellectual abilities and religious

¹³ Maureen Havers, *The Reformatory at Mount St. Bernard Abbey 1856-1881*, (Mount St. Bernard Abbey: Coalville, 2006), p.41.

¹⁴ Griffiths, 'God made the country and man made the town', pp.24-25; This was largely because the majority of the boys were either completely illiterate (52 per cent of the 50 boys admitted to the reformatory in the year 1863-1864 were illiterate according to the annual report of 1864) or had very low literacy levels (44 per cent of those 50 boys admitted only had very basic skills in reading and writing according to the same report) see: *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864), p.15.

knowledge.¹⁵ Upon the expiration of this period the newly inducted inmates were then admitted into the normal routine of the reformatory. This initial period of separation and isolation served to quarantine new arrivals from the Colony population, allow reformatory staff to process the new inmates and, seclude boys from their previous lives. Here they were being stripped of their former identities as juvenile miscreants and inculcated into the spatially shaped practices of the reformatory regime. Spatial practice as defined by Lefebvre did, therefore, correlate with the actions of the reformatory regime in place at Mount St. Bernard.

The second element of Lefebvre's triad of space, which will now be applied to the examination and interpretation of the spatially informed practice undertaken at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, is termed *representations of space*.¹⁶ Representations of space according to Lefebvre 'are tied to the relations of production and to the "order" which those relations impose'.¹⁷ This is the 'conceptualised space' which 'attempt[s] to conceive in order to shape what is lived and perceived'.¹⁸ In other words, it is the way in which space is designed and manipulated in order to shape the lived experience within that space. In exploring the translation of the rural idyll into spatially informed reformatory practice, it is necessary therefore to examine the ways in which the space of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School was structured and managed in order to shape the spatial practices within the institution and the lived experience of the inmates in an attempt to bring about a reformation of their characters.

As was the case at the Philanthropic Society Farm School, one essential way in which those in charge of the Whitwick institution sought to manage and structure the space of the

¹⁵ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

¹⁶ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.33.

¹⁷ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.33.

¹⁸ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.33; Richard White, 'What is Spatial History?', *Stanford University Spatial History Lab*, (February 2010), p.2.

reformatory in order to bring about reform was by ensuring that the boys were kept continually occupied. As previous discussion has highlighted, popular Victorian discourse dictated that ‘idleness is the bane of the juvenile population and almost inevitably leads to crime’.¹⁹ This sentiment was shared by those in charge of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory. Abbot Burder, in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Catholic Standard* in November 1855, stated, for example, that an important ‘cause of moral degeneracy among the children of the poor is idleness – the mother of all vices’.²⁰ ‘This evil’ he stated ‘must be remedied by work’.²¹ Consequently, a full timetable of spatial practices in the form of organised work activities was deemed to be a necessity in keeping minds distracted from criminal inclinations. The reformatory space was therefore manipulated and structured through the implementation of the following timetable:

Summer Season Working Days.	Sundays and Holidays.
Hours A.M.	Hours A.M.
5 Boys rise, wash &c.	6 Boys rise, wash &c.
5.30 Morning prayers in common.	6.30 Morning prayers in common.
5.45 Moral and intellectual training.	7 They assist at Mass.
6.30 Breakfast.	8 Breakfast.
6.50 Recreation.	8.30 Recreation.
7.15 Distribution of work.	10 Sunday report.
11.30 End of work.	11 Recreation
11.45 Midday prayers.	11.45 Midday prayers.
12 Angelus. Dinner.	12 Angelus. Dinner.
P.M.	P.M.
12.30 Recreation.	12.30 Recreation.

¹⁹ A. K. M’Callum, ‘Juvenile Delinquency-Its Principal Causes and Proposed Cure, as Adopted in the Glasgow Reformatory Schools’, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol.18, No.4, (John William Parker and Son: London, 1855), p.359.

²⁰ MSBA Archives, *The Reformatory in Charnwood Forest, A Letter from The Lord Abbot of Mount St. Bernard’s, to the Editor of the Catholic Standard*, 4 November 1855.

²¹ MSBA Archives, *The Reformatory in Charnwood Forest, A Letter from The Lord Abbot of Mount St. Bernard’s, to the Editor of the Catholic Standard*, 4 November 1855.

1.30	Distribution of work.	2	Catechism.
5.30	End of work. Recreation.	3	Vespers. Recreation.
6	Supper.	6	Supper.
6.30	Recreation.	6.30	Recreation.
7.30	Night prayers. Singing.	7.30	Night prayers. Sacred singing.
8	Boys retire to rest.	8	Boys retire to rest. ²²

Those in charge of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory explicitly stated that the timetable was designed to continually occupy the boys and ensure that they engaged with the reformatory regime:

As may be seen from the above table, the daily exercises are arranged, and the boys' time divided, in such a manner, that, on the one hand, a constant series of occupations preserves them from easily contracted habits of sloth, and inspires them with a real love of labour; and, on the other, a pleasing variety is introduced, which, by frequently renewing their attention, imparts cheerfulness of their youthful minds.²³

Whilst there was some slight variation in the timetable under the different regimes that ran the reformatory during the course of its existence, the main types of spatial practices that boys participated in were essentially the same: the learning of agricultural and related skills through work, the receiving of religious and moral training, and the gaining of an elementary education.

The first, and most important, of these daily activities, and the one which formed the main part of the boys' day, was to take part in manual labour. Good, honest, manual toil was believed to be crucial in the reforming of youthful delinquents as it acted, according to reformers, as an instrument of correction. The greatest stress was placed on the learning of agricultural labouring skills as it was argued that this type of work was the most suited to the

²² MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58; The timetable for the winter season (also given in this document) remained largely the same, however the boys rose an hour later, they lost some recreation time and some extra time was dedicated to instruction.

²³ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

reforming of youthful delinquents.²⁴ As Abbot Burder stated in a letter to the *Catholic Standard*:

Manual labour is the direct cure of idleness, and therefore the parent of good, as idleness is of evil. Manual labour was the original penance imposed by the Almighty on fallen man – a penance never revoked under the Gospel, but taken upon Himself by our Divine Lord, who worked for many years at the trade of a carpenter. Manual labour, by its wholesome fatigues, puts to flight bad thoughts; it is the sister of religious simplicity, the guardian of holy poverty, and the helpmate of prayer. The word “laborare” is, we know, a compound of “labor,” labour, and “oro,” to pray. Thus, one and the same word unites the two ideas, showing how intimate may be the connection between manual labour and prayer. Of the various kinds of manual labour, that of agriculture is the best for a Reformatory. Agriculture is the mother of all the arts, a healthy occupation for all the seasons of the year. It places man, as it were, close to his Creator, and stirs up in his heart the sentiments of trust, and hope, and gratitude.²⁵

Rural labour in particular was, as the above quotation highlights, regarded as being a Godly form of reformation due to its healthy occupation and its propensity to instil honest, moral sentiments of ‘trust, and hope, and gratitude’.

The division of labour at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory therefore focussed on rural occupations. These ranged from working on the reformatory farmstead, enabling boys to learn about livestock care and milking, to working on the land whereby boys were able to learn the skills needed for field labour and the cultivation of the soil. Furthermore, boys were able to work in the reformatory kitchens as cooks and bakers. The agricultural training provided was summarised in the reformatory school’s literature:

The agricultural education comprises land culture; the management and care of horses, cows, pigs, and other live stock; gardening, planting, and care of trees, &c.; in fine, all practical knowledge appertaining to farming business. A part of the land and farm stock of Mount St. Bernard’s is set apart for this purpose.²⁶

²⁴ Burder made it clear from the outset in his proposals for the establishment and management of the reformatory school that the application of boys to manual labour, the learning of agricultural skills through rural work, was the most important activity which the boys would participate in, and one which was crucial to their reformation: ‘With regard more particularly to the management of the boys, the main element in the system of Reformation will not be instruction, but work; and work in the fields, as well as and even more than in the shops’. See: MSBA Archives, *The Midland Catholic Reformatory, Abstract of the Proceedings at the Meeting Held at Birmingham*, December 11th, 1855, p.6.

²⁵ MSBA Archives, *The Reformatory in Charnwood Forest, A Letter from The Lord Abbot of Mount St. Bernard’s, to the Editor of the Catholic Standard*, 4 November 1855.

²⁶ MSBA Archives, *Reformatory Papers (2), Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

However, the reformatory also offered inmates the opportunity to learn other trades such as: shoe-making, tailoring, stocking-weaving, carpentry and joinery which, in an establishment of this kind, came in aid of agriculture.²⁷ Again this ‘operative education’ as it was called, was summarised by those in charge of the institution:

The operative education is accomplished by an apprenticeship to one of the usual trades, such as that of blacksmith, wheelwright, shoemaker, tailor, &c., by which the boys destined to live in towns may there gain an honest livelihood.²⁸

The Mount St. Bernard Reformatory therefore aimed at equipping boys with the necessary skills that could be utilised to earn an honest living upon leaving the reformatory. Whilst the main focus of the regime was upon agricultural training, it was accepted and acknowledged that some boys would, on release, return to their former urban environments and that they should be equipped with skills that could be utilised there. It was, nevertheless, firmly maintained that rural labour, amongst the sights and sounds of nature, was especially suited to the reform of character and morals. All boys, therefore, even those who were learning one of the various non-rural trades offered by the reformatory regime, were expected to take part in some portion of agricultural work:

The Abbot regards labour in the fields as necessary for all the boys more or less, both for their health and for their reformation; even those boys who may be taught the trade of a tailor, &c., will be required to work in the fields during some part of the day, for entirely sedentary employments would be alike injurious to health and morals.²⁹

The range of skills taught and the effect of (mainly) rural labour upon the inmates in the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory was commented upon by Walter White, a Victorian writer and librarian to the Royal Society, after his visit to the Whitwick reformatory in July 1859:³⁰

²⁷ Walter White, *All Round the Wrekin*, (Chapman and Hall: London, 1860), pp.341-42.

²⁸ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

²⁹ MSBA Archives, *The Midland Catholic Reformatory, Abstract of the Proceedings at the Meeting Held at Birmingham*, December 11th, 1855, p.6.

³⁰ Anita McConnell, ‘White, Walter (1811-1893)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (23 September 2004); Walter White’s visit to the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory is recorded by the following entry in the institution’s Guest Book: 1859 July 22. Mr Walter White, London, Protestant, Much pleased. Left 23rd. See: MSBA Archives, *Reformatory Visitors’ Book*, 22 July 1859.

[The boys] are allowed to choose any one of a variety of trades and you may see cloggers, smiths, tin-workers, painters, book-binders, shoe-makers, tailors, stocking weavers, carpenters and joiners, and other useful employments. A range of capability is observable; some prefer farm work, and some have no faculty beyond mere labour, and are stone breakers and mortar-bearers... Go where you will you see a lay-brother or a secular in charge; which may be taken as a sign that the training of the boys is carried on as real earnest work; and if one may judge from a casual visit, the boys appreciate the endeavours maintained for their welfare. I saw none but contented or animated faces... even the stone-breakers plied their hammers as if engaged on piece-work at ten shillings the ton; and as for the smiths they clearly enjoyed smiting and shaping the stubborn metal to the music of the anvil.³¹

It was believed that such work evoked a sense of well-being and achievement amongst the boys and that the rustic simplicity of their surroundings was morally cleansing; as Sydney Turner put it in reference to his own reformatory institution ‘the sights and sounds of Nature – the associations of the field, the garden, and farm-yard - take away [criminal] inclination’.³² It was anticipated, therefore, that the reformatory regime would have a lasting impact upon the morality of the boys: ‘The good conduct which had become a *habit* to them at the Reformatory, and the virtuous and religious feelings and principles instilled into them there, would enable many, perhaps most of them... to keep right themselves afterwards’.³³

When the boys were not working in their various employments they were given religious and moral training. This was held to be especially important since ignorance of religion ‘of Religious truth and Religious doctrine’ was regarded by Abbot Burder as a major cause of the immorality of delinquent youth.³⁴ The religious training at Mount St. Bernard’s was designed to develop the conscience and invoke the respect for, and obedience to, a superior authority that was regarded as being important in rescuing inmates from their moral destitution. Furthermore, in receiving this religious and moral training, Burder believed that the example of the Brothers and the earnestness with which they carried out their work, could

³¹ White, *All Round the Wrekin*, pp.341-42.

³² Sydney Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley Esq., M.P.’, reprinted in J. Symons (Ed.), *On the Reformation of Young Offenders* (Routledge: London, 1855), p.13.

³³ MSBA Archives, R. J. Gainsford, *Untitled Correspondance*, 19 April, 1858.

³⁴ MSBA Archives, *The Reformatory in Charnwood Forest, A Letter from The Lord Abbot of Mount St. Bernard’s, to the Editor of the Catholic Standard*, 4 November 1855.

not fail to touch the hearts of the boys. In a letter to the editor of the *Catholic Standard* regarding his proposal for the establishment and management of the reformatory school, Burder had stated that:

It is not so much intellectual ignorance we have to deplore and to fear, as moral and religious ignorance. Though it is evident that all the children of the poor should be taught to read and read well... It is sound religious instruction that must develop the conscience, and set free the moral faculties and the heart. Religion persuades, because it speaks in the name of a superior authority, and because it supplies a supernatural motive; all our labour will be thrown away, unless we lay a good foundation in the juvenile offender's heart and conscience of fear and reverence, of respect for, and obedience to, authority. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and this fear can only be engendered by careful religious culture... Our system will be, to give these poor boys simple and solid instruction out of the Catechism; to teach them to pray, and to pray from the heart, and with great simplicity; to keep the Ten Commandments; not to steal; to honour and obey their parents; and especially to honour, love and invoke their good Mother in Heaven. Our aim will be lovingly to instruct them in their duty to God; their duty to their neighbour; and their duty to themselves. The Brothers of the Third Order will do all this, in a very simple, earnest and affectionate way. Such Religious teaching will not fail to reach the hearts of the boys, when given by instructors, themselves Religious men, devoted to the good work of their Reformation, not for temporal reward, but solely from the love of God and the desire of their salvation.³⁵

Clearly therefore religious instruction was to play an important role in the reforming regime at Mount St. Bernard.

The religious instruction of the inmates at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory was left to the resident chaplain who 'catechises them, and imparts to them a thorough knowledge of their religion. He prepares them for the reception of the sacraments, celebrates the Holy Mysteries in the Colony Chapel, and attends to the spiritual necessities of the community'.³⁶ The inmates were instructed in the basic principles of the Catholic religion, and were closely examined in their learning. In addition, 'Every year, at a period fixed by the Superiors, they [the inmates] make a spiritual retreat, in order to renew in them the spirit of piety and

³⁵ MSBA Archives, *The Reformatory in Charnwood Forest, A Letter from The Lord Abbot of Mount St. Bernard's, to the Editor of the Catholic Standard*, 4 November 1855.

³⁶ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

Christian virtue'.³⁷ During a spiritual retreat aspects of the boys' ordinary timetable were set aside and the time was dedicated instead to the special purpose of spiritual exercises. Abbot Burder described some of the exercises and their supposed effects upon the boys during one such retreat:

During the greatest part of the Retreat, the boys were assembled three times every day in the Colony chapel for instructions – instructions so plain, so fervent, so holy, that the boys listened to them with the greatest attention. The good Fathers pointed out so vividly the nature and evils of mortal sin, the punishments of hell, the happiness of reconciliation with God by means of a good confession, the way to make a good confession and a good communion, and they painted sin in so vivid a manner, the arts, snares, and cruelty of the devil, and the power and the love of the Blessed Virgin, that the boys were astonished and struck to the heart, and sometimes one might have heard, as the saying is, a pin drop, so breathless was their attention. The highest and holiest truths were brought *home* to them, and made level to their comprehension, by simple and beautiful and most striking stories and illustrations. They will never forget what they have heard in this Retreat.³⁸

The annual spiritual retreat was therefore designed to, amongst other things, help inmates reflect on their own behaviour, to recognise their own sin, and to seek redemption. Burder submitted that this occurred during such events: 'During the instruction on mortal sin... another boy came to me, and said, "Oh, Rev. Father, I must go to confession to-night; I am afraid to lie down to sleep lest God should strike me dead for my sins!" He made his confession that night'.³⁹ The religious retreat as given at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory was, therefore, an intense religious experience which encouraged inmates to play an active role in their own reformation. The boys were also taught their duty to God through their involvement in the religious life of the Reformatory School more generally. They were required, for example, to assist at Mass and Vespers on Sundays, and at festivals of the Church throughout the year. Furthermore, 'besides morning and evening prayers, which are

³⁷ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

³⁸ MSBA Archives, Brother M. Bernard, Abbot, *St. Mary's Agricultural Colony, Mount St. Bernard's Abbey, Leicestershire, Retreat by the Fathers of Charity*, (no date).

³⁹ MSBA Archives, Brother M. Bernard, Abbot, *St. Mary's Agricultural Colony, Mount St. Bernard's Abbey, Leicestershire, Retreat by the Fathers of Charity*, (no date).

said in common, the [daily] exercises are generally begun and ended by a short prayer'.⁴⁰ It can be said, therefore, that the religious instruction at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory was an important and all-encompassing aspect of the reformation of young criminals in that it was not restricted to formal religious teaching but suffused the every-day lives of the boys.

The inmates of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory were also given an elementary secular education. For the majority of the boys their sentences at the reformatory offered them their first opportunity of gaining a formal education. This was highlighted in the statistics given in the annual report of the reformatory in 1864 for example: of the 50 boys admitted to Whitwick in the year 1863-64, only two 'could read and write well', whereas 26 of the boys were illiterate and the rest had very low literacy levels.⁴¹ Similarly, in the annual report of 1866, the statistics indicated that of the 90 boys admitted in the year 1865-1866, 56 'could not read or write', 31 could 'read and write imperfectly' and only three could 'read and write well'.⁴² Consequently it was deemed to be important to give these boys a basic education which was to be an 'intellectual or elementary education' and 'in harmony with the station of life they are expected to occupy in society on their liberation, viz., that of honest and intelligent servants, workmen, or tradesmen'.⁴³ Care must be taken, Abbot Burder cautioned, 'that they are not crammed with knowledge above their station and prospects in life'.⁴⁴ The education of the inmates at Mount St. Bernard therefore comprised of 'reading, writing, mental and figured arithmetic; elementary notions of English grammar, geography, and history; a summary of sacred history; and, for those to whom it may be thought useful, some notions of linear drawing'.⁴⁵ Furthermore, as a 'complement to their elementary

⁴⁰ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

⁴¹ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864), p.15.

⁴² *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1867), p.16.

⁴³ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

⁴⁴ MSBA Archives, *The Midland Catholic Reformatory, Abstract of the Proceedings at the Meeting Held at Birmingham*, 11 December 1855, p.6.

⁴⁵ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

instruction, the boys have the use of a library of useful and amusing works'.⁴⁶ Besides the ordinary routine of school lessons, the boys were also 'Initiated in the usual customs and transactions of every-day life; they are taught simple but solid notions of civility and politeness, and are trained to conduct themselves in society with becoming discretion and propriety'.⁴⁷ As has been exemplified, therefore, those in charge of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School sought to manage and manipulate the way in which the youthful inmates experienced and engaged with the reformatory space in order to realise their moral and educational reformation. Each was to be released with a good trade, a good character and a good basic education derived from a reformatory regime aimed at 'educating the *whole* boy, physically, morally, intellectually, and socially'.⁴⁸

Another of the most important ways in which the reformatory space at Mount St. Bernard was designed and manipulated in order to shape the lived experience of its inmates was through the implementation of the family system of moral training. This system was a conceived representation of space in that it was a planned regime of moral reform that consciously sought to shape spatial practice and its experience by the inmates of the reformatory. Taking its lead from the pioneering examples set by the Mettray Farm School in France, and by the Philanthropic Society Farm School in England, the reformatory at Whitwick also employed the family system. This involved the separating of the inmates into various different family groups, with each family having a house father who resided with the boys and watched over them when they were not under the charge of their various labour masters or school instructors for example. The operation of the family system was described in the *Rules and Statutes* of the institution: 'the population of the Colony is divided into two local divisions. The first division comprises the boys of twelve years of age and upwards. The

⁴⁶ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

⁴⁷ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

⁴⁸ M'Callum, 'Juvenile Delinquency', p.357.

second is for those who have not yet attained that age'.⁴⁹ Within these two divisions (which were kept as separate as possible in order to avoid the mixing of the older inmates with the younger ones) there existed several different families, all of which were named after Catholic saints. For example, there was St. Joseph's Family, St. Mary's Family, St. Patrick's Family and St. John's Family.⁵⁰ Whilst each family of boys resided in a separate house at the Redhill institution, the Whitwick reformatory housed all families of boys within the same building. However, each had its own separate dormitory within that building. The dormitories in which each family resided were described in Charles Dickens' *Household Words* after a journalist for his weekly magazine had visited the Reformatory in 1857:

A description of one will apply to the whole. Down each side of the room, which is lofty and well-ventilated, is ranged a row of small iron bedsteads, one for each lad, furnished with mattress, sheet, blanket, and coverlid. In the centre of the room stands an iron stove, which diffuses a grateful warmth through the place on winter nights; and winter nights in Charnwood must be bleak indeed. In each room a brother from the monastery sleeps among the lads, his bedstead being undistinguishable from theirs.⁵¹

Within the family system at Mount St. Bernard the boys of each family were also classed into three sections according to their conduct. The first section was known as the Section of Honour, 'the boys of which it is composed are the models of their companions for obedience, order and morals. The successful candidates for this honour must have exhibited, at least, three months of exemplary conduct... This section is distinguished by certain exterior marks, and enjoys certain privileges'.⁵² The second section was known as the Section of Reserve and was composed of 'boys whose conduct being not decidedly bad, leaves, nevertheless, great room for improvement... candidates likewise pass a time of trial in this section, until their conduct be sufficiently tested for ulterior classification'. The final section was known as the Section of Discipline, 'the boys who have been guilty of serious faults, whose conduct is

⁴⁹ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

⁵⁰ MSBA Archives, Diocese of Nottingham, *St. Mary's Agricultural Colony at St. Bernard's Abbey*, by Br. M. Stanislaus, Prefect, St. Mary's Colony, 7 May 1858.

⁵¹ Thomas Speight, 'Charnwood', *Household Words*, 25 April 1857.

⁵² MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

habitually bad, and who make no effort to overcome their bad habits, are placed in this section until they give proof of amendment... This section is the object of special watchfulness on the part of the Masters. The boys comprising it undergo certain privations and corrections'.⁵³

As was the case at Redhill, it was anticipated that this system would encourage the inculcation of familial values within each group and promote mutual ties of loyalty so that, with the benefit of the religious and moral training they received, the boys might be party to their own, and each other's, reformation of character. This practice and the optimism of its institutional success reflected influential contemporary reformatory discourse that the family, including the idealised form recreated within reformatory spaces, was 'the great moralising agent of the human race'.⁵⁴ It was expected that the observance of social conformity within the family unit would exert social control and deter potential troublemakers; as Walter White explained in his observations of the operation of the family system upon his visit to the school: 'control of the unruly member is enjoined by example as well as precept'.⁵⁵ Another insight into the operation of this regime of familial order within the institution was provided in 1858, by Brother Stanislaus (one of the monks involved in the running of the Whitwick reformatory). In a letter to the *Tablet* he included an account of some 'advice' that was given by one of the reformatory boys to his companions in St. Mary's Division, and St. Joseph's Family; the boy was appealing to his family members 'to be good':

Companions - Last Sunday Brother Prefect held the chapter of our division, and only one hundred were called up for good conduct; he then said that he hoped more than that would be called up for good conduct next Sunday.

Now, I wish to ask you if you think you could show the Brothers that more than a hundred can rise up, and with a good conscience say, 'I have been good last week?'

⁵³ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

⁵⁴ F. Demetz cited in A. Doyle, *Proposed District School on the System of Mettray*, (London, 1873), p.7.

⁵⁵ White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p.342.

There are 22 lads in St. Mary's Family, 28 in St. Patrick's, 30 in St. Peter's, 23 in St. John's, and 32 in St. Joseph's; total, 135.

So I think we ought to show that 130 can show themselves worthy of being enrolled amongst the list of good.

Look what our dear Rev. Father has done for us all; but look still more into the manner in which you should repay his paternal love... He has loved you even as a mother, and more than a father.

... Do you see where you are all; (sic) do you not think that this is a fit place to promise to observe the rules even to the last tittle; to show a good example in the ranks? If any of you has such a noble heart let him stand (at this all instantly stood up) forward and proclaim his intentions to all around, and let the Brothers see that for the future more than a hundred lads in St. Mary's division can say, "*We are in the Section of Honour*"... He then asked them [his fellow family members] if they would do their best... in showing their companions in everything a good example. They all immediately replied, "Yes, we will".⁵⁶

Despite the possible licence in this account, which appears to be rather too articulate to be the original words of the reformatory inmate, it nevertheless highlights the operation of one of the most important structures within the reformatory.⁵⁷ It demonstrates the ethos of the familial regime of spatial ordering and its aim of instilling mutual loyalty and exerting social control over its members. It exemplifies that this was to be achieved through exhortation and that this system encouraged boys to take part in their own reformations.

A further way in which those in charge of the institution sought to manipulate the reformatory regime in order to shape the lived experience of the boys within that space was by introducing a system of rewards and punishments. This sought to reinforce and make functional the spatially informed reformatory measures discussed above. For example, the boys were not entitled to any wages for their labour (unlike at Redhill where boys were paid for their work) but: 'their activity, progress, and readiness, [at work] are carefully noted and rewarded, whilst any idleness or carelessness which they may manifest is the object of correction'.⁵⁸ Additionally, in the course of their elementary education 'prizes and other encouragements are awarded to those who are distinguished for their application, progress,

⁵⁶ MSBA Archives, Brother Stanislaus, *Letter to the Tablet*, May 1868.

⁵⁷ Griffiths, 'God made the country and man made the town', pp.26-27.

⁵⁸ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

and behaviour in the school'.⁵⁹ The rewards included personal items such as tools, articles of dress, books, and small sums of money reserved for their departure. Conversely, boys who did not apply themselves, or who misbehaved, earned punishments such as public reprimands, denial of recreation, solitary confinement and, for more serious offences, corporal punishment by use of the birch-rod. Rewarding the boys for their positive engagement in the various elements of the reforming regime and the punishment of inmates' misdemeanours would, it was hoped, 'urge on to [the boys] the acquisition of virtue and the rooting out of habits of vice'.⁶⁰ One of the key elements of the system of rewards and punishments, and one which went hand in hand with the family system of moral training, was the way in which it was used to order the division of the inmates into the three different sections of honour, reserve and discipline. In allocating boys to one of these sections based on their conduct they either enjoyed privileges or experienced privations. This system provided a stimulant, therefore, to self-discipline and improvement, and it encouraged family cohesion and purpose as the boys strove to add their family members to the section of honour (as can be seen in the account discussed above in which a member of St. Joseph's Family appeals to his family members to behave well and increase their number in the section of honour). The system of rewards and punishments, therefore, gave boys another reason to immerse themselves into the reformatory regime in place at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory.

The final part of Lefebvre's triad of space which can be applied to the examination of reformatory practice at Mount St. Bernard is *representational space* which is 'space as directly *lived* [and experienced] through its associated images and symbols'; 'it overlays

⁵⁹ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

⁶⁰ MSBA Archives, *The Midland Catholic Reformatory, Abstract of the Proceedings at the Meeting Held at Birmingham*, 11 December 1855, p.6.

physical space, making symbolic use of its objects'.⁶¹ The application of this part of Lefebvre's spatial triad to the examination of the reformatory regime at Mount St. Bernard is useful because it facilitates the exploration of the symbolic and representational articulations and meanings given to reformatory space. This therefore enables a multi-levelled analysis of the regime, one which considers the lived experience of the space of the reformatory school. The application of this part of the triad to the reformatory regime at Whitwick is relevant since those in charge of the institution made symbolic use of the reformatory space through various means, which will now be explored in detail.

Firstly, the very location of the reformatory site had an important symbolic function. As Teresa Ploszajska stated in reference to the Redhill institution, 'in common with those other Victorian institutions of social control, asylums and workhouses, the site and sight of the reformatory was to be an imposing and forbidding reminder of the consequences of social non-conformity'.⁶² The reformatory at Whitwick, like other institutions of this kind, was an intentionally isolated space. Walter White, for example, described the isolated nature of the site upon his visit to Mount St. Bernard commenting that the abbey and its grounds were a walk 'of about 4 miles' from any populated area, surrounded by 'fertile fields and the bleak uplands of Charnwood'.⁶³ From the top of the hill which looked down upon the abbey site White described the scene: 'Looking forward from the top of the ascent you see on the left the abbey-grounds skirted by plantations, the verdure of cultivation, and the road stretching away a straight pale stripe till it disappears on a distant brow'.⁶⁴ From the lower level of the abbey and reformatory grounds he discussed how 'the elevation commands the abbey and its territory' and encompassed 'well-tilled fields, and well-kept gardens' as well as 'those belts

⁶¹ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.39.

⁶² Teresa Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces: Gender, Class and Space in Victorian Reformatory Schools', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.20, No.4, (1994), p.418.

⁶³ White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p.318.

⁶⁴ White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p.318.

of trees and sheltering plantations'.⁶⁵ The remoteness of the site, therefore, 'present[ed] a scene of order' which arguably symbolised to the boys their entry into a rural space which was a potential turning point away from their previously demoralised urban existence towards prospective salvation through ruralised edification.⁶⁶

Another way in which the Mount St. Bernard reformatory symbolically reminded its delinquent residents of the consequences of their past social non-conformity was through the compulsory uniform policy. All inmates at the Whitwick reformatory were issued with a working dress of a cotton tunic and a cap, as well as another uniform specifically for wear on Sundays.⁶⁷ This wearing of the uniform served the practicality of providing the boys with suitable, clean clothes, but also had the symbolic function of replacing the boys former identities as juvenile criminals. The wearing of the uniform de-individualised inmates, it signified their institutionalisation and it further aligned their lives with the disciplined and isolated instructional space in which they were incarcerated. Additionally the school uniform at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, like that at Redhill, mirrored the clothes worn by 'respectable' working class labourers.⁶⁸ It can be inferred therefore that this served to symbolically remind the boys of the elevated status of respectability they could gain through reformation.⁶⁹

Symbolic use was made of the reformatory space through the utilisation of religious symbols in and around the institution. An example of this was the etching of religious messages into the furniture and on to the walls of the reformatory buildings. Walter White described some of the messages and maxims that were located around the reformatory in his account *All Round the Wrekin*:

⁶⁵ White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p.331.

⁶⁶ White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p.342.

⁶⁷ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

⁶⁸ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

⁶⁹ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.418; Griffiths, 'God made the country and man made the town', p.31.

“He who keepth his mouth and tongue, keepth his soul from trouble” is written on the wall of the joiners’ shop; and at the end, visible from every bench appear the solemn words “Oh Eternity, Eternity – All for Jesus”.⁷⁰

The first of these messages: ‘He who keepth his mouth and tongue, keepth his soul from trouble’, served as a reminder to the inmates of their Christian duty; they were not commanded to govern their tongues by supreme authority but were instead guided to do so for their own reward: a trouble free soul. This message, therefore, symbolically reminded inmates that they had free will and design over their own actions and suggested that their choice should be to follow the Christian path and reap its rewards. Furthermore this particular inscription also served to symbolically reinforce to the inmates the rules of the reformatory which stipulated: ‘All unnecessary conversations are prohibited during work-time; the boys ought only to speak when their occupations require it’.⁷¹ Similarly, the second of these inscriptions ‘Oh Eternity, Eternity – All for Jesus’ referred to eternal destiny and the final judgement during which man will, according to Christian teaching, receive their verdict from the Creator, and be served with eternal reward or punishment. This particular etching upon the wall of the reformatory, therefore, reminded inmates that their conduct and obedience from hereon in gave them the opportunity to earn for themselves eternal salvation. Walter White also described how at the washhouse ‘Whenever they look at the door they may read the invocation written thereon, “St. Stephen pray for us”’.⁷² This again served a symbolic purpose in that it reminded boys of the importance of forgiveness for wrongdoings (St. Stephen forgave those who murdered him for his faith in Jesus). In asking St. Stephen to pray for the boys, those in charge of the reformatory symbolically reminded inmates of the importance of forgiveness and of the power of redemption. The use of religious symbolism such as this served as a reminder to the boys, therefore, of their sinful pasts and the need to live in their future a good, honest Christian life. This was further reinforced by the fact that

⁷⁰ White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p.342.

⁷¹ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

⁷² White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p.342.

the reformatory made symbolic use of its idealised family structure by naming each family after Catholic Saints. In all aspects of the boys' lived experience of reformatory space religion played an integral role, both in the physical and symbolic structuring of the reformatory space.

Another example of the way in which the representational space of the Mount St. Bernard reformatory was used to impress upon the boys symbolically the importance of being reformed through religious compliance was through the physical structure and interior design of the colony chapel. The prominence of the chapel in the reformatory landscape was noted by Walter White, who described:

Yellow panes shining at the side of one of the courts indicate the chapel, a showy place compared with the Abbey church. The altar was fitted up by one of the brethren who happened to be acquainted with the art of decoration and he has certainly made it attractive to the eye.⁷³

The architecturally assertiveness of the reformatory chapel compared with the abbey church (which was noted by White for its white-washed interior and its 'general plainness of appearance') symbolised to the boys the religious purpose at the heart of the reformatory regime.⁷⁴ The impressive structure and location of the chapel ensured that it was a central feature of the reformatory site which would catch the inmates' attention daily and remind them of the importance of religion and devotion to God in their daily lives. The interior arrangements of the chapel also articulated symbolically the corrective purpose of the institution. The hanging inside the entrance of the chapel, for example, two coloured images which depicted 'the deathbed of the good accompanied by the blessing of the Church and hovering angels, while in the other the wicked is shown lost to the Church, and a prey to spirit-forms which are not angelic'.⁷⁵ These pertinently located religious images, which graphically counterposed morality and immorality, were reportedly 'impressive to the

⁷³ White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p.343.

⁷⁴ White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p.334.

⁷⁵ White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p.343.

youthful imagination'.⁷⁶ By hanging such representational images at the entrance of the chapel (a space which the boys experienced regularly as dictated by their timetable) the institution impressed symbolically upon all inmates the moral consequences of their behaviour to encourage them back into the fold of the moral and faithful.

The application of Lefebvre's model of space to the reformatory practices at the Mount St. Bernard institution suggests that its reformatory regime did correlate with key elements of his spatial triad. Like the Philanthropic Society Farm School at Redhill, the Mount St. Bernard reformatory manipulated and structured its space so that its inmates were applied to honest, manual, and essentially rural labour as a means of reform. It also structured and managed its space in such a way as to facilitate the functioning of the family system of moral training. Furthermore, Mount St. Bernard, like Redhill, also made symbolic use of its reformatory space in order shape the lived experience of the boys within it, reinforcing the reformatory purpose at the heart of the regime. The key aspects of spatially informed reformatory practices were therefore in place. However, in the daily running of the reformatory there were two other less overtly spatial factors which influenced practice at the institution. The first was the calibre of the staff presiding over the reformatory school, particularly the role of George Burder, Abbot of Mount St. Bernard Abbey (1853-1858) and founder of the reformatory school, and the monks of the monastery. The second was the financial constraints under which the reformatory operated.

This chapter will now consider these factors through a discussion of the origins of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School and a detailed examination of the management of the institution during its 25 year existence. After his election as Abbot of Mount St. Bernard Abbey in 1853, George Burder was focussed upon making his personal mark at the abbey. A convert to Catholicism and a monk of only seven years upon his appointment, Burder was

⁷⁶ White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p.343.

ambitious, strong willed, and keen to explore new opportunities for the abbey and he was content to do so without consulting his religious community.⁷⁷ Consequently, when the suggestion to open a reformatory for delinquent Roman Catholic boys was put forward by the founder of a similar institution at the Monastery of La Grande Trappe, in France (with which Mount St. Bernard had ties), Burder responded with alacrity. This opportunity offered to him, it seemed, the possibility of saving Roman Catholic children from crime, restoring them to their faith and possible personal acclaim. Without obtaining the consent of his community, and before approval had been given, Burder initiated the establishment of a juvenile reformatory at Mount St. Bernard Abbey and authorised the commencement of building works.⁷⁸ At a subsequent meeting of the leading Catholic clergy and laity of the Midlands, held at Birmingham in December 1855, Burder put forward a statement ‘explanatory, financial, and practical - with reference to a Reformatory Institute proposed to be established in connexion with Mount St. Bernard’s Abbey’.⁷⁹ In this statement he estimated that £4,000 would be required to establish a reformatory for 100 boys.⁸⁰ At the same meeting Burder asserted that the reformatory school would become self-supporting and would not impinge upon the finances of the abbey: ‘On the certification of the Reformatory, five shillings a week will be given by the Government towards the support of each boy. With this help from the Government, and from there being no officials to pay, it is fully anticipated that the Reformatory will become self-supporting’.⁸¹ The meeting accepted Burder’s proposal and a subscription list was opened. Subscribers included the Bishops of Birmingham, Northampton,

⁷⁷ Bernard Elliott, ‘Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory, Leicestershire, 1856-1881’, *Recusant History*, Vol.15, (1979), p.15; Havers, *Mount St. Bernard*, p.16.

⁷⁸ Elliott, ‘Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory’, p.16.

⁷⁹ MSBA Archives, *The Midland Catholic Reformatory, Abstract of the Proceedings at the Meeting Held at Birmingham*, p.2.

⁸⁰ MSBA Archives, *The Midland Catholic Reformatory, Abstract of the Proceedings at the Meeting Held at Birmingham*, p.5.

⁸¹ MSBA Archives, *The Midland Catholic Reformatory, Abstract of the Proceedings at the Meeting Held at Birmingham*, p.5.

Shrewsbury and Nottingham.⁸² Having acquired some financial support for the project Burder decided to open his reformatory as soon as the buildings were ready.⁸³

The reformatory opened on Ash Wednesday in February 1856. From the outset, Burder asserted his own engaged personal approach to the management of the newly formed institution. Those involved in the day-to-day running of the reformatory commented for example that: ‘the good abbot thinks that the Colony will not go well unless he is here every day’.⁸⁴ Burder’s ‘zeal and interest in the objects of the work’ of the reformatory were noted also by Sydney Turner in his annual Inspector of Reformatories report.⁸⁵ However, between the opening of the reformatory in 1856 and his later enforced resignation in 1858, Burder became an increasingly beleaguered leader as the institution under his personal, but increasingly unsure, control foundered. He faced escalating problems with the growing numbers, and hardened nature, of the inmates residing within the institution, with the staffing of the reformatory, and a growing rift between himself and the community of monks under his charge. He also encountered financial difficulties during this period due to the shortage of funds available for the reformatory institution and his indiscretion in the spending of those funds that were available. Although therefore there were, in theory, elements of spatially informed practice evident in the reformatory regime created for the juvenile delinquents incarcerated at Whitwick other factors impacted upon the effective functioning of these practices. The discussion in this Chapter will now, therefore, conduct a more detailed examination of the effectiveness of the management regime in place at the reformatory school at Mount St. Bernard. This discussion will be broken up into three seminal periods in

⁸² MSBA Archives, *The Midland Catholic Reformatory, Abstract of the Proceedings at the Meeting Held at Birmingham*, p.8.

⁸³ Elliott, ‘Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory’, p.16.

⁸⁴ MSBA Archives, *A Letter from Br. Stanislaus to His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman*, c.1857-1858.

⁸⁵ Parliamentary Paper (hereafter PP) 1860, XXXV, *Third Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, p.41.

the reformatory's existence: the early, tumultuous years of 1856-1864, the calmer and more stable years of 1864-1875, and the final years in the reformatory's existence 1875-1881.

The first seminal period discussed is from 1856 to 1864. These early years in the development of the reformatory were characterised by the inconsistent and generally weak management of the institution which culminated in disorder and rioting. From 1856 to 1858 the reformatory was run by a resident superior, Brother John McDonnell being the first, and a small staff of Third Order Brothers appointed by Abbot Burder and working under his tutelage. This Third Order, as Burder called them, was separate from the monastic community. The Third Order Brothers were given some monastic training, they took temporary vows, they wore black habits, and many, at the expiration of their vows joined the lay brothers in the monastery.⁸⁶ Some members of the monastic community seconded from the abbey were however also involved in the work of the reformatory school.⁸⁷

Initially the reformatory school appears to have functioned effectively as it received positive reports from visitors to the institution. One of the most notable comments in the visitors' book being that of Frederick Demetz, the much admired manager of the pioneering Mettray institution, who, in May 1857, remarked:

I have visited this Institution with a lively interest, and I leave it with a deep emotion, foreseeing all the good which will be realised hereafter by it, in having been able to convince myself of all the benefits which by it have been obtained already.⁸⁸

The Government Inspector of Schools, T. W. Marshall, who also visited in May 1857, noted:

The testimony of authorities... has been freely given, after personal investigation and appears to be perfectly uniform. The Rev. Sydney Turner of Redhill; the Rev. Thomas Carter, chaplain of Liverpool Borough Gaol; Captain Mitchell, Governor of Salford

⁸⁶ Bernard Elliott, 'Mount St. Bernard's Reformatory: A Reply', *Recusant History*, Vol.15, (1979), p.302.

⁸⁷ The involvement of the monks of St. Bernard's Abbey in the reformatory school is illustrated in PP 1858, XXIX, *First Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, and in other archival sources held in the collection at Mount St. Bernard, such as an article written by Abbot Burder detailing the death of Brother Laurence, one of the abbey monks who was heavily involved in the reformatory school: Br. M. Bernard, Abbot, 'Christmas Eve at Mount St. Bernard's Abbey in Leicestershire', in *The Weekly Register*, 27 December, 1857.

⁸⁸ MSBA Archives, *Mount St. Bernard Reformatory Visitors' Book*, 7 May 1857.

House of Correction; William Harper, Town Clerk of Bury; and many other competent judges have recorded in terms of praise their opinions of the institution.⁸⁹

However this initial enthusiasm about the functioning of the reformatory regime soon dissipated as Abbot Burder increasingly struggled to oversee both the running of the abbey and the reformatory. There were a number of factors which were contributing to his difficulties and creating problems. Firstly, the number of inmates admitted into the reformatory was rapidly increasing due to the pressure for admission as a result of there being so few Catholic reformatories. Sydney Turner, in his *Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools* commented, for example, that the difficulties experienced at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory ‘no doubt [arose] from the institution having been too rapidly increased. The admissions in the first two years amounted to above 250; a serious strain on a new and still imperfectly organised establishment’.⁹⁰ A further factor contributing to the difficulties experienced by the institution during this period was that the character of the inmates was, according to Bernard Elliott, decidedly recalcitrant.⁹¹ As a result of an agreement between Abbot Burder and the Liverpool Catholic Reformatory Association the agricultural colony at Whitwick took in 200 of the Association’s delinquent youths. This meant that the majority of the inmates at Whitwick now emanated from Liverpool, together with a large portion of inmates from Manchester. These cities were widely noted for their high levels of severe juvenile delinquency. Consequently these inmates formed a perceived hard core at the institution and, therefore, ‘right from the start’ the Mount St. Bernard reformatory ‘was noted for the appalling character’ of some of its occupants.⁹² The decision to accommodate the Liverpool Catholic Reformatory Association’s delinquents also had deleterious financial consequences for the school. In exchange for taking in 200 boys Burder had accepted a sum of £2000, however, as ‘each boy cost the reformatory about £20 a year’

⁸⁹ MSBA Archives, *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1857-58*, p.598.

⁹⁰ PP 1860, *Third Report of the Inspector*, p.41.

⁹¹ Elliott, ‘Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory’, p.16.

⁹² Elliott, ‘Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory’, p.16.

to keep for one year alone the expense of accommodating the Liverpool contingent came to £4000.⁹³ The increasing numbers and challenging nature of the inmates at Whitwick, therefore, meant that keeping order within the institution proved to be a growing challenge for the Abbot and his Third Order brothers and behaviour began to significantly deteriorate. The most graphic example of this was a series of small-scale breakouts in 1857.⁹⁴

The behavioural difficulties encountered at Mount St. Bernard were compounded by a growing rift between the Abbot and his community of monks as he attempted to take the abbey away from the Cistercian Order and place it in the hands of the Benedictine Order. Burder argued that the mixture of contemplative and active life under Benedictine rule rather than the largely contemplative nature of the Cistercians would be better suited to the now more active demands being made of the religious community at Mount St. Bernard. Burder suggested, for example, that ‘the establishment of St. Mary’s Agricultural Colony adds the active element to the contemplative, in strict accordance with the Holy Rule [of St. Benedict]’.⁹⁵ There was now an affinity he suggested between the Benedictine Order and its more active way of serving God and the demands of the institution at Mount St. Bernard with its reformatory establishment. However, the monks at the abbey ‘could not stand [Burder’s] infidelity towards their order’ and were intensely opposed to his suggestion to change allegiance and the rift between the Abbot and his community grew.⁹⁶

The above problems were compounded by Abbot Burder’s mismanagement of finances. From the outset the cost of establishing the reformatory exceeded the £4,000 that Burder had originally estimated, the sum of which he had not managed to raise by the time

⁹³ G. A. Beck, *The English Catholics, 1850-1950, Essays to Commemorate the Restoration of the Hierarchy of England and Wales*, (Burns Oates: London, 1950), p.564; Elliott, ‘Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory’, p.16.

⁹⁴ MSBA Archives, *Abbot Burder Letter*, 22 April 1857.

⁹⁵ MSBA Archives, B. M. Bernard, Abbot, Mount St. Bernard’s Abbey, *St. Mary’s Agricultural Colony*, Whit-Monday, 1857.

⁹⁶ Elliott, ‘Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory’, p.17; David Lannon, ‘Bishop Turner, The Salford Diocese and Reformatory Provision 1854-1872’, *British Catholic History*, Vol.23, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1997), p.395.

the reformatory opened. Financial difficulties also arose as the subscriptions of those wishing to donate to the reformatory's funds were not necessarily renewed on a regular basis. Furthermore, Burder continued to plough money into the reformatory at the expense of the monastery such that the debts increased alarmingly.⁹⁷ By April 1859 for example, just months after Burder's resignation, the abbey's financial obligations were stated to be £12,650.⁹⁸

Abbot Burder dismissed the apparent problems of the institution. He downplayed, for example, the seriousness and significance of inmate breakouts in 1857: '[we] have had, it is true, runaways, how could it be otherwise? But these have either come back of their own accord, or have been brought back'.⁹⁹ However, concerns about the running of the institution were growing within the Catholic hierarchy and in consequence Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, visited the abbey in his role as Apostolic Visitor in September 1857.¹⁰⁰ After investigating the leadership, the finances, the physical and environmental conditions, and the day-to-day management of the reformatory, and its impact on monastic life, Wiseman condemned the leadership and management of Mount St. Bernard, concluding that there was:

A total lack of system and government; no head; no direction; no economy shown in the spending of money; filthy conditions; chaos in building and finance; an enormous debt that threatened the stability of the house; no religious instruction; no order; boys having the run of the abbey were destroying the peace and contemplative spirit of the monastery.¹⁰¹

Wiseman instructed that a Father Robert Smith, his choice of superior for the reformatory, should take charge at the school in order to give Burder more time to dedicate to monastic

⁹⁷ Elliott, 'Mount St. Bernard's Reformatory', p.16; J.L.G. Tucker, 'Mount St. Bernard Reformatory 1856-1881: A Correction', *Recusant History*, Vol.15, (London, 1980), p.216; Havers, *Mount St. Bernard*, p.22; MSBA Archives, Father Ignatius Sisk, *Letter to Monsignor. Talbot*, 7 June 1858.

⁹⁸ Tucker, 'Mount St. Bernard Reformatory', p.216; MSBA Archives, Letter Book 1859-1874, *Copy of a Letter from Secretary to Cardinal Wiseman*, 26 April 1859.

⁹⁹ MSBA Archives, *Abbot Burder Letter*, 22 April 1857.

¹⁰⁰ Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman was Archbishop of Westminster from 1850 until 1865; Richard J. Schiefen, 'Wiseman, Nicholas Patrick Stephen (1802-1865)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (19 May 2011).

¹⁰¹ MSBA Archives, *Letter from Cardinal Wiseman to Mgr. Talbot*, 5 October 1857.

life at the abbey and reduce his interference at the Colony.¹⁰² However, Wiseman continued to receive complaints about Burder's continued interference in the management of the reformatory school which alleged that his overbearing role was a major contributory factor to its difficulties. In a letter to Wiseman, for example, a Brother Stanislaus complained of the:

constant interference of the good Abbot, which distresses [the superior, Father Robert Smith] for he promised to leave to him the management of the Colony, he [Father Smith] says the Abbot interferes with a many things, which he promised Your Eminence and himself he would not and I think that this lays very much on Father Superiors mind. The good abbot thinks that the Colony will not go well unless he is here every day, and proposing this and that, which if he lived with us, he would see quite the contrary, and proposing to build this and that, before we have our present buildings finished, taking the men here and there and finishing nothing. These things lay much on our Superior's mind. I thought perhaps Your Eminence might see to them.¹⁰³

Complaints of this nature fuelled continued concern regarding the condition of the reformatory. Consequently, a meeting of a Deputation of Commissioners of the Catholic Church to further review the management of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School was held in Nottingham in January 1858. This deputation comprised the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the Bishops of Birmingham, Northampton, Salford, Shrewsbury and Nottingham.¹⁰⁴ The state of the reformatory was deemed by this meeting to be most unsatisfactory due to:

[T]he absence of a competent resident superior; the absolute want of competent assistants; the absence of sufficient religious or even secular instruction; the want of discipline and cleanliness; the inexpedient union of the abbey and the reformatory accounts; financial difficulties; too large numbers; no feasible plan to remedy this state of affairs.¹⁰⁵

Despite this, no significant action was immediately taken and the problems continued. Father Robert Smith, superior of the reformatory, complained in March 1858, for example, that many of the colony brothers were unfit for their work, and that consequently there had been

¹⁰² MSBA Archives, *Letter from Cardinal Wiseman to Mgr. Talbot*, 5 October 1857; Havers, *Mount St. Bernard*, p.25.

¹⁰³ MSBA Archives, *A Letter from Br. Stanislaus to His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman*, c.1857-1858.

¹⁰⁴ Tucker, 'Mount St. Bernard Reformatory', p.214.

¹⁰⁵ Notes of Bishops' Meeting, January 1858, cited in Tucker, 'Mount St. Bernard Reformatory', p.214.

many instances of insubordination from the inmates. He bemoaned also the continued and erratic leadership of Abbot Burder which, he suggested, meant that the colony had had five resident superiors in under two years.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, in June 1858, Father Ignatius Sisk, one of the abbey monks and future superintendent of the reformatory, complained that:

[T]he Abbot is so changeable in his mind, and adapts his plans so suddenly, that we never know from one week to another, what he will do. His will is practically in all things the law of the House.¹⁰⁷

Eventually, Cardinal Wiseman accepted that it was necessary to resolve the issues concerning the deteriorating condition of the reformatory and the monastic community at Mount St. Bernard Abbey. He passed the matter on to higher authorities within the Catholic hierarchy who raised the issue with Pope Pius IX.¹⁰⁸ The Pope in turn commissioned a visitation to Whitwick in December 1858 by Wiseman and two other bishops to observe and review the workings of the establishment. At the culmination of this visitation Abbot Burder was asked to resign by this deputation of commissioners.¹⁰⁹ Burder left Mount St. Bernard in December 1858.

After Burder's resignation the Cistercian monastic community shouldered the burden of the running of the reformatory and the Reverend Bartholomew Anderson was appointed as his successor as Abbot. The new Abbot appointed Father Ignatius Sisk as superintendent of the reformatory (the first of five superiors to be appointed between 1858 and 1863). Sisk and each of his successors found that the management of the institution was a task of enormous and increasingly challenging proportions. This was due in part to the fact that the abbey continued to be heavily in debt, 'owing well over £6000' in 1858 and at least £6000 in

¹⁰⁶ Tucker, 'Mount St. Bernard Reformatory', pp.214-15; MSBA Archives, *Copy of a letter from Fr. Robert Smith to Cardinal Wiseman, 4 March 1858.*

¹⁰⁷ MSBA Archives, Father Ignatius Sisk, *A Letter to Mgr. Talbot, 7 June 1858.*

¹⁰⁸ Elliott, 'Mount St. Bernard's Reformatory', p.17.

¹⁰⁹ Elliott, 'Mount St. Bernard's Reformatory', p.17.

1863.¹¹⁰ Another difficulty was posed by the fact that the reformatory had grown to be one of the largest in England, and the largest Catholic reformatory in the country, housing nearly 300 inmates by 1859.¹¹¹ Such a number of criminal youths residing in what Inspector of Reformatory Schools Sydney Turner called a ‘greatly mismanaged reformatory’ caused such concern that it was deemed necessary by the government Inspector to curb admissions to the institution.¹¹² By 1861 the number of inmates had been reduced to 214 from nearly 300 in 1859, and by 1863 this number had been reduced further still to 161.¹¹³ It was the Inspector’s view that this reduction in numbers was absolutely necessary to help the institution gain and maintain a steady course.¹¹⁴ To make matters worse there was a major case of sexual misconduct involving three of the lay brothers preying on some of the young inmates.¹¹⁵ There was also an evident lack of commitment to the work of the reformatory on the part of the monastic community. Sydney Turner commented for example that for ‘the majority of the community of St. Bernard’s, the reformatory [was] felt by them rather as a burden extraneous and foreign to their monastic position’.¹¹⁶ Consequently, despite the reduction in the number of inmates discipline and order further deteriorated. Evidence of this deterioration can be found in the annual reports of the Inspector of Reformatories. In these reports the Inspector’s evaluation of the establishment over the years 1856-1863 became more damning. Initially maintaining an optimistic outlook for the school, but noting the need for stricter discipline, the Inspector’s reports increasingly focussed upon the deficiencies of its management with comments on its ‘very serious difficulties’ in 1857 and the ‘great anxiety arising mainly from

¹¹⁰ Elliott, ‘Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory’, p.17; Lannon, ‘Bishop Turner, The Salford Diocese and Reformatory Provision’, p.393.

¹¹¹ PP 1860, *Third Report of the Inspector*, p.41.

¹¹² PP 1862, XXVI, *Fifth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.45.

¹¹³ PP 1862, *Fifth Report of the Inspector*, p.45; PP 1864, XXVI, *Seventh Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.34.

¹¹⁴ PP 1864, *Seventh Report of the Inspector*, p.34.

¹¹⁵ Lannon, ‘Bishop Turner, The Salford Diocese and Reformatory Provision’, p.396.

¹¹⁶ PP 1862, *Fifth Report of the Inspector*, p.46.

the misconduct and inefficiency of several of the Brothers' in 1859.¹¹⁷ In 1860 he connected the absence of an 'efficient and responsible manager' to the breakdown of discipline at the institution.¹¹⁸ By 1862 the Inspector stated that a better quality of staff was required to improve a reformatory school which he argued 'has become, unhappily, notorious for bad management and ill success'.¹¹⁹

There was also mounting dissatisfaction with the institution within the Catholic Church. The poor state of the reformatory was commented upon by Father Henry Manning, for example, an influential Catholic priest and the future Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, who accompanied Sydney Turner's annual inspection of 10 December 1860.¹²⁰ In a letter to Father Sisk (the first superintendent of the reformatory after Burder) on 13 December 1860, Manning offered a condemnatory overview of the course the reformatory school:

...Whether it was prudent or not to attempt the direction of a Reformatory school at all, it is not prudent with the experience of the last five years to continue it.

... The present and past state of the Colony is proof enough that the Abbey can neither supply out of its own members, nor find elsewhere a staff of managers equal to the direction of so vast and difficult a work.

... The Inspector Mr Turner was with difficulty restrained last year from withdrawing the Certificate and his last words to me were, "If this were one of our Reformatories, I should act at once".

... I am bound to say, with the knowledge I have of Reformatories and of the great dangers which beset a multitude of boys congregated together without most efficient and vigilant direction that I cannot make answer to the Inspector's objections... I can see but one prudent course, namely to transfer the management of the Colony with all its responsibilities to other hands...

... It seems to me, Reverend Father, that the Abbey would celebrate a Jubilee on the day that it could return to its own former state of freedom from the responsibility,

¹¹⁷ PP 1858, *First Report of the Inspector*, pp.37-9; PP 1860, *Third Report of the Inspector*, p.40.

¹¹⁸ PP 1860, *Third Report of the Inspector*, pp.40-41; PP 1861, XXX, *Fourth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, pp.39- 40.

¹¹⁹ PP 1863, XXIV, *Sixth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.6.

¹²⁰ Father Henry Manning became the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster in 1865, succeeding Cardinal Wiseman; Schiefen, 'Wiseman, Nicholas Patrick Stephen (1802-1865)'.

anxiety, and danger of worse to come and enter again without distraction upon the life for which it was founded in the beginning.¹²¹

Such views proved increasingly influential and consequently the Salford Diocese of the Catholic Church assumed direct control of the reformatory school on the 1 July 1863.¹²² From this point the monks of Mount St. Bernard Abbey ceased to have any involvement in the management of the reformatory and as the Bishop of Salford stated were now 'able to return to their more congenial offices of silence, meditation, and prayer'.¹²³

It was within the context of this managerial upheaval that the first serious trouble at the Whitwick reformatory occurred in April 1863. The lack of efficient leadership and a growing disaffection amongst some of the older inmates at being detained for several years combined to generate what was described as an 'artfully planned and determinedly executed' insurrection.¹²⁴ In initiating this incident, a riot in a dormitory, the two ringleaders, John Glennon and John MacNamara, were, it was reported, 'anxious to find a pretext upon which to cause trouble' and 'began to smoke in contravention of the rules'.¹²⁵ Upon being requested to give up their pipes the youths refused to do so and 'became obstreperous and violent in their behaviour'.¹²⁶ Glennon, in a rage, attacked Tomkins, a reformatory overlooker of work, cut his lip and knocked out one of his teeth. 'The superior [Father Roberts] desired the offenders to desist but they refused'.¹²⁷ The absence of managerial authority and institutional discipline within the reformatory at the time was illustrated by the fact that the leadership and

¹²¹ MSBA Archives, Father Henry Manning, *A Letter to Father Ignatius Sisk*, 13 December 1860.

¹²² The Salford Diocese paid an annual rent of £200 to the Cistercians for the use of the buildings and 97 acres of land. The livestock, tools and equipment were bought at a cost of around £709; Lannon, 'Bishop Turner, The Salford Diocese and Reformatory Provision', p.397; PP 1864, *Report of the Inspector of Reformatories*, Correspondence between the Rev. Sydney Turner and Mr. Waddington, 4 June 1864, p.5.

¹²³ MSBA Archives, William, Bishop of Salford, *Catholic Reformatories*, 12 September 1863.

¹²⁴ *Leicester Journal*, 17 April 1863.

¹²⁵ *Leicester Journal*, 17 April 1863.

¹²⁶ *Leicester Journal*, 17 April 1863.

¹²⁷ *Leicester Journal*, 17 April 1863.

staff were unable to restore order and the police had to be sent for and soon found themselves participating in events spiralling out of control:¹²⁸

...The policemen proceeded upstairs accompanied by Father Roberts... On reaching the upper room the superior called out for Glennon and MacNamara to come quietly out of their beds... It was then seen that they were armed with iron bars about two feet long... The plot was then unveiled. A lot of their confederates sprang out of bed after their chiefs with the like weapons which they had prepared by twisting their bedsteads to pieces, they bade the civil authorities defiance...they charged upon him [Challoner, a police Officer] in the most furious and fearful way and bade fair to tear him limb from limb. The starting up of the lads from their beds armed with these implements was like the un-masking of a battery. The police officer's hat was knocked off, he was dragged by his coat shirts and battered with the iron clubs or weapons in the possession of his antagonists... [Challoner] defended himself in the best manner possible... At that point the rebels simultaneously rushed upon Challoner and Glennon, who was foremost, dealt the constable a sharp and heavy blow on the right hand side of the head with an iron bar... The policeman was stunned, staggered and retreated... His head having been attended to, he inquired of Father Roberts how it was that he did not assist and the reverend gentleman said that it was against his creed to fight. [Challoner] then sent to Whitwick for more assistance... in the Queen's name to help him in the emergency.¹²⁹

Upon the arrival of further police reinforcements from Whitwick the battle continued with renewed vigour. In the fray, a police officer Kelley received a near fatal blow to the head with an iron bar: 'He reeled against the wall, suffused with blood, and in a sinking state, was taken away'.¹³⁰ Eventually, further police from Coalville managed to quell the riot. The

Leicester Journal concluded its coverage of the insurrection by stating:

...The consequences [of the riot] were serious; the attitude of the enemy alarming... After a hard fought battle in which many were hurt... [The ringleaders] were apprehended... The police from Coalville having arrived they were all overpowered and taken into custody.¹³¹

The occurrence of the riot in 1863 demonstrates that although those in charge of the institution sought to implement structures which made transformative use of the reformatory space, these were not effectively implemented because of the ineffective leadership and inadequate staffing of the institution. The inconsistency in the management and staffing and,

¹²⁸ Griffiths, 'God made the country and man made the town', pp.37-38.

¹²⁹ *Leicester Journal*, 17 April 1863.

¹³⁰ *Leicester Journal*, 17 April 1863.

¹³¹ *Leicester Journal*, 17 April 1863.

consequently, in how the structures modelled by Mettray and Redhill were imperfectly applied at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory allowed the boys to contest the management of reformatory space and render that management largely impotent. The family structure, in this instance, was so contested by the inmates that it operated contrary to its intended function: it served to facilitate mutiny and riotous behaviour rather than reform. In considering Lefebvre's suggestion that space is something that is created by people over time it appears that, in this instance, it was the inmates who most creatively used space: as a place of machination. It would therefore seem that despite being an idealised recreation of ruralised space, the reformatory at Mount St. Bernard did not manage to create, during this period of its existence, a curative environment in which to bring about an effective reform of its juvenile inmates.¹³²

It was hoped however that under the more experienced leadership of the Salford Diocese and the first superintendent appointed by the committee of that diocese - the Reverend Thomas Quick - the institution was now in the hands of those who were more able to 'carry out a strict, but, at the same time, kind system of discipline among the boys'.¹³³ This confidence in the ability of Reverend Quick (who had had considerable practical acquaintance with reformatories before becoming a priest) and the Salford Diocese to lead the reformatory found sustenance in the judgement of Sydney Turner, who visited the reformatory school at Mount St. Bernard after only a few months of the new regime. Turner commented upon the 'marked improvements visible in the appearance and manner of the boys; the order and cleanliness of the premises; and the activity and useful character of the industrial training'.¹³⁴ Turner also noted the 'better state of discipline' within the institution,

¹³² Griffiths, 'God made the country and man made the town', pp.38-39.

¹³³ PP 1864, *Report of the Inspector of Reformatories*, Correspondence between Mr Harper and Sydney Turner, 19 June 1863, p.2.

¹³⁴ PP 1864, *Report of the Inspector of Reformatories*, Correspondence between Sydney Turner and Mr Waddington, 17 October 1863, p.3.

and the improved demeanour of the inmates, which he judged to be ‘far more quiet and contented’.¹³⁵

Despite this apparent improvement in discipline at the reformatory, by the time the Salford Diocese had taken control there was a hard core of boys ‘in whom insubordination had become habitual’ and whose behaviour was such that the Inspector of Reformatories admitted that it would have been preferable to dispose of them elsewhere upon the takeover.¹³⁶ Although initially contained by the new regime, this hard core soon began to cause unrest and were the instigators of the second major riot at the reformatory in May 1864. On 24 May, 36 inmates employed to agricultural labour refused to continue with their work and ran off into adjacent woods. The boys were pursued by three reformatory staff who in effecting the absconders return were pelted with stones and ‘two of the men were a good deal hurt’.¹³⁷ The next day a group of inmates again absconded from their work and in order to take revenge upon one of the men who had helped to recapture their companions the previous day, and who was drinking in a nearby public house at the time, broke its windows and, according to the local press, ‘a state of siege resulted’.¹³⁸ This incident is depicted in the image shown on the next page.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ Correspondence between Sydney Turner and Mr Waddington, 17 October 1863, p.4; Griffiths, ‘God made the country and man made the town’, p.39.

¹³⁶ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s*, (1864), p.6; PP 1864, *Seventh Report of the Inspector*, p.34.

¹³⁷ Correspondence between Sydney Turner and Mr Waddington, 4 June 1864, p.5.

¹³⁸ Correspondence between Sydney Turner and Mr Waddington, 4 June 1864, p.5: MSBA Archives, *Press Cuttings Book*, June 1864.

¹³⁹ MSBA Archives, *Press Cuttings Book*; Image depicting a group of rioting Mount St. Bernard Reformatory inmates throwing rocks at the windows of the nearby Rock Inn public house in May 1864.



THE LATE RIOT AT THE MOUNT ST. BERNARD REFORMATORY.—THE ATTACK ON THE "ROCK INN"

[Image reproduced with permission of Mount St. Bernard Abbey].

In a report upon this occurrence Sydney Turner stated that these repeated breakouts and violent conduct by the criminal inmates of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, along with ‘the apparent absence of all control on the part of the officers’ had caused ‘great alarm’ amongst the community of Whitwick.¹⁴⁰ These events resulted in the Leicestershire Police Force having to maintain a small contingent in the reformatory for several days in order to protect the superintendent and his staff from further disorder.¹⁴¹ This second major incident to occur at the reformatory within little more than a year of the previous one illustrates that whilst the spatially informed reforming structures inspired by Mettray and Redhill were theoretically in place, in practice, the management of these structures was still ineffective. Although Reverend Quick and the Salford Committee had made some ‘quiet progress’ at the institution, it appears that this had not been enough.¹⁴² Therefore, in the wake of the riot

¹⁴⁰ Correspondence between Sydney Turner and Mr Waddington, 4 June 1864, p.6.

¹⁴¹ Correspondence between Sydney Turner and Mr Waddington, 4 June 1864, p.6; Elliott, ‘Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory’, p.20.

¹⁴² Correspondence between Sydney Turner and Mr Waddington, 4 June 1864, p.6.

Turner had little choice, given the severity of the incident, but to give the reformatory a one year probationary period in which to ‘materially strengthen, and, as far as possible, improve the staff employed’.¹⁴³

It appears, therefore, that whilst in theory it was possible to instate reformative practices inspired by the ideals of the rural idyll within reformatory institutions outside of those flagship establishments of Mettray and Redhill, those in charge of the institution at Mount St. Bernard found it difficult to manage effectively this reformative space. This appears fundamentally to be due to the difficulty presented by the demands of the day-to-day management of a large institution with so many inmates, with inefficient staff and inadequate finances. This is a problem which historian John Hurt suggested was common amongst reformatory institutions: ‘financial constraints, and the inadequacies of local voluntary management and central government control... put them [the children] at the mercy of low calibre staff in institutions intended to administer a punitive regime, isolated from the outside world’.¹⁴⁴ In many respects the case of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School seems to lend weight to Hurt’s critical evaluation of such institutions in that it failed to maintain an effective and firm regime of control and reform and this resulted in a lack of consistency in the way that idyllically informed reforming structures were applied.

The second period of management at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory to be examined is 1864-1875. In consequence of the second riot discussed above the superintendent in charge, Reverend Quick, was swiftly replaced by Thomas Carroll. Carroll was an Irishman (with much experience of working within reformatory institutions) who had been ‘strongly recommended’ for the post by P. J. Murray, Inspector of Reformatories for

¹⁴³ Correspondence between Sydney Turner and Mr Waddington, 4 June 1864, p.7; Griffiths, ‘God made the country and man made the town’, pp.40-41.

¹⁴⁴ John Hurt, ‘Reformatory and Industrial Schools Before 1933’, *History of Education*, Vol.13, No.1, (1984), p.51.

Ireland, and was selected by the Committee for ‘his energy and ability’.¹⁴⁵ Of all the superintendents of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory Carroll ‘stands out as easily the best’.¹⁴⁶ He remained at the reformatory for nearly eleven years and during that time it enjoyed a period of stability and developed a good reputation. In 1866, for example, Sydney Turner reported: ‘The great improvement which I noted last year at Mount St Bernard’s has been amply sustained, the management and consequent progress being most satisfactory’.¹⁴⁷ In 1870, he reported that the managers ‘have brought the institution to a very different condition from that which they found it... They are well seconded by the superintendent, Mr Thomas Carroll’.¹⁴⁸ These reflect generally the positive evaluations by the inspectorate of the institution’s performance during Carroll’s period of superintendence.

Evidence of the changes implemented by Carroll and their progressive impact can be found in the Annual Report of the Reformatory School. In the governor’s report of 1864, for example, Carroll reported: ‘Since I have had charge of the Reformatory...some of the staff who were either too old for their duties, or otherwise inefficient, have been superseded by younger and abler officers, so that there is now at Mount St. Bernard’s a thoroughly competent staff’.¹⁴⁹ The conduct of the boys he stated ‘is very good; the cases I have for punishment are few, and, you will be glad to hear, gradually diminishing... The boys are perfectly subordinate, evidently contented and happy’.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, in 1866 Carroll reported: ‘the conduct of the boys is very satisfactory... At work, also, the boys evince more readiness, and those who have been some time in the school work quite as well as ordinary lads not held in detention’.¹⁵¹ Under Carroll’s leadership the reformatory also witnessed an improvement in

¹⁴⁵ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s*, (1864), p.11.

¹⁴⁶ Elliott, ‘Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory’, p.20.

¹⁴⁷ PP 1867, XXXVI, *Tenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.6.

¹⁴⁸ PP 1871, XXVIII, *Fourteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.60; Elliott, ‘Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory’, p.20.

¹⁴⁹ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s*, (1864), p.13.

¹⁵⁰ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s*, (1864), p.13.

¹⁵¹ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s*, (1867), p.10.

other aspects of the reformatory regime. Turner noted, for example, in his 1866 Inspector's report: 'The educational state of the School has considerably advanced. The boys in the upper classes passed my examination very fairly in ciphering, dictation, &c.; and I found a marked improvement in the amount of instruction given to the lower and more backward division'.¹⁵²

The curriculum was extended under Carroll to include some nautical instruction, with a boat purchased for this purpose. Furthermore, under Carroll's leadership Turner noted that:

The industrial training of the boys has also made great progress. The labour of the lads is far more real, and much more skilfully used than formerly. The number of indoor employments has been judiciously lessened, and now limited to tailoring, shoemaking, clogging, and carpentry. The farm stock has been considerably increased, and a good dairy established.¹⁵³

Carroll also expanded and improved the farm 'until it was one of the largest (some 500 acres) and best in the district, on which was grown flax and whose farm produce won prizes at the Royal Agricultural show'.¹⁵⁴ It is evident, therefore, that under Carroll's leadership the effectiveness of the implementation of rurally informed spatial practices improved. This is further illustrated, for example, in the annual reports for the institution, wherein 55 per cent of boys were listed, in 1864, as working in one of the many rural occupations implemented at the reformatory, whereas by 1866, two years into Carroll's superintendence, this number had increased to 72 per cent.¹⁵⁵ Thus, during Carroll's tenure as superintendent of the reformatory the Colony enjoyed a period of success, so much so that governors of some of the chief English prisons, such as Wandsworth, Cold Bath Fields and the City of London, asked permission to send Catholic boys to Mount St. Bernard after they had served their period of imprisonment.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² PP 1866, XXXVIII, *Ninth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.40.

¹⁵³ PP 1866, *Ninth Report of the Inspector*, p.40.

¹⁵⁴ Elliott, 'Mount St. Bernard's Reformatory', p.20.

¹⁵⁵ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864), p.17; *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1867), p.19.

¹⁵⁶ Elliott, 'Mount St. Bernard's Reformatory', p.21.

However, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory continued to face financial problems. From the very beginning expenditure on the day-to-day running of the reformatory had exceeded the income received through state grants and donations.¹⁵⁷ Upon their acquisition of the reformatory institution the Salford Diocese soon noticed that ‘the difference between income from Government grant and other sources, and the cost of running the colony, was unacceptably large’ and the committee was therefore ‘compelled to incur expenses which it had then no means of meeting’.¹⁵⁸ This deficiency of finance continued to impact on the running of the reformatory, by limiting, for example, the numbers of inmates who could be disposed of by means of emigration, which was widely acknowledged as one of the most successful means of disposal. Furthermore the reformatory institution was in dispute during this period with both the Liverpool Diocese, who wanted to claim back the £2000 it had invested in the early years of the reformatory during its agreement with Abbot Burder and the Cistercian monastic community who refused to decrease the annual rent they charged the Salford Diocese for the reformatory buildings and land; and who instead tried to increase the rent from £200 to £300 per annum.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, financial problems continued to impact negatively upon Mount St. Bernard’s and throughout its existence the reformatory operated under an umbrella of debt.

The final period examined covers the years 1875-1881. This period witnessed the resignation of Carroll from his post in June 1875, as he accepted a position as land agent for a local landowner, and the withdrawal of the Salford Diocese who, after nearly twelve years of management, were ‘desirous of retiring’.¹⁶⁰ In their place the Institute of Charity (a Rosminian religious order which focussed on establishing and managing philanthropic institutions, including reformatory schools, such as the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory

¹⁵⁷ Havers, *Mount St. Bernard*, p.32.

¹⁵⁸ Lannon, ‘Bishop Turner, The Salford Diocese and Reformatory Provision’, p.400; p.398.

¹⁵⁹ Lannon, ‘Bishop Turner, The Salford Diocese and Reformatory Provision’, pp.400-1.

¹⁶⁰ MSBA Archives, *The Mount St. Bernard’s Reformatory for Catholic Boys, Heads of Proposal*, 30 May 1875.

which it had managed since 1857) took over the management of the institution in July 1875, and Father Joseph Ryan, one of their priests, became the superintendent in charge.¹⁶¹ During this period the rurally informed spatial practices which had increased in importance under Carroll receded as discipline, rather than education, became the main focus of the regime as the new superintendent sought to ‘establish his own mark upon the discipline of the Reformatory’.¹⁶² As a result, according to the *Leicester Journal*, a ‘strong feeling of disaffection’ developed within the inmate body against the new governor.¹⁶³ Consequently, and only four months into Father Ryan’s superintendence, a riot broke out in which the older inmates went to the institutional coal yard and armed themselves with coal which they ‘pelted [at] the attendants’ who were reportedly ‘terror-stricken’.¹⁶⁴ The older boys who had instigated this riotous assembly then ‘succeeded in getting the whole of the youths, numbering over 100, to join them in making their escape’.¹⁶⁵ All of the escapees were eventually recaptured, returned and summarily dealt with: ‘the majority being soundly birched’.¹⁶⁶ This event was considered in the annual report for 1876 where it was admitted that ‘there was a considerable unwillingness on the part of the older boys to submit to the new management’ and, therefore, an ‘insubordinate spirit’ had developed amongst them.¹⁶⁷ Father Ryan’s response was to ‘place the discipline of the school on a firmer basis still’, and although he stated that there had been ‘a steady improvement ever since’, a breakout occurred again in July 1878.¹⁶⁸ This time 54 boys who had been gathered on the playground attacked the master in charge and made their escape towards Loughborough ‘armed with sticks, stones, knives and other weapons’.¹⁶⁹ The regime of strict punishment was again blamed as

¹⁶¹ MSBA Archives, *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s, 1875-1876*, (1877) p.5.

¹⁶² *Leicester Journal*, 19 November 1875.

¹⁶³ *Leicester Journal*, 19 November 1875.

¹⁶⁴ *Leicester Journal*, 19 November 1875.

¹⁶⁵ *Leicester Journal*, 19 November 1875.

¹⁶⁶ MSBA Archives, *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s*, (1877), p.5.

¹⁶⁷ MSBA Archives, *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s*, (1877), p.6.

¹⁶⁸ MSBA Archives, *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard’s*, (1877), p.6.

¹⁶⁹ MSBA Archives, Press Cuttings, *Loughborough Advertiser*, 1 August 1878.

the cause of the breakout.¹⁷⁰ Clearly, therefore, the management regime of this period, although not weak, was ineffective in maintaining order at the reformatory. The financial constraints that had impinged upon the management of the reformatory throughout its history proved to be the final nail in the coffin of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School. In response to the latest breakout, the Home Office, being completely dissatisfied with the performance of the reformatory, instructed its managers to build a wall around the institution with a view to better containing its inmates. However, those in charge were unable to comply due to the lack of funds to carry out the works and consequently the institution was ordered to relinquish its certificate.¹⁷¹ The Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School closed, therefore, on 30 June 1881.¹⁷²

As the discussion in this chapter has demonstrated, applying Lefebvre's model triad of space to the analysis of reformatory practice at Mount St. Bernard suggests that elements of spatially informed reformatory practice as discussed by Lefebvre were in place at this institution. However, these elements of spatially informed reformatory practice were not effectively implemented, for the most part, due principally to the inconsistent and ineffective management the reformatory experienced for much of its existence. Furthermore, the increasing financial debts Abbot Burder incurred in the establishment of his project were to remain with, and impinge upon, the institution's functioning long after his reign. This financial constraint, along with the inadequacies of the staff employed to run the institution, and the lack of central government control, allowed for variation in the firmness of the disciplinary and reforming regime. Consequently, order and discipline was able to frequently

¹⁷⁰ MSBA Archives, Press Cuttings, *Loughborough Advertiser*, 1 August 1878.

¹⁷¹ PP 1884, *Crime and Punishment, Juvenile Offenders*, 4, Session, p.746.

¹⁷² Griffiths, 'God made the country and man made the town', pp.43-44.

break down at the Whitwick institution making the creation of a consistently effective reforming regime impossible.¹⁷³

In explaining Lefebvre's triad of space and discussing its utility in historical studies Richard White of the *Spatial History Project* has stated that all three parts are potentially 'mutually constitutive' and dynamic and the greatest transformative use of space occurs when the three triadic elements combine dynamically and effectively to create space.¹⁷⁴ However, as White proceeds to point out 'Human beings, who create all three, can, but do not always, or even usually, add up to a seamless or congruent whole'.¹⁷⁵ In many respects performance at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School aligns with the latter observation in that the institution partially, but not fully or consistently, implemented a regime that combined spatial practice, representations of space and representational space. The application of Lefebvre's triad to the analysis of practice at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory has highlighted that the institution successfully managed to facilitate the reception of criminal boys into the reformatory. However, it failed to effectively implement representations of space such as, for example, the family system, which meant that the application of spatially informed reformatory practices was haphazard. Consequently the recreation of the envisaged curative idealised form of a rural environment within the bounds of the Colony of Mount St. Bernard Abbey was incomplete. There is evidence within the reformatory regime of representational space, such as an attempt to make symbolic use of the space and its objects, but as major aspects of the implementation of representations of space, such as the family system, for example, were often not functional, the attempt at utilising representational space was disrupted and, therefore, its impact on the inmates was limited. Therefore, in the case of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School, those in charge of the institution did not, for the

¹⁷³ Griffiths, 'God made the country and man made the town', pp.44-45.

¹⁷⁴ White, 'Spatial History', p.3.

¹⁷⁵ White, 'Spatial History', p.3.

majority of its existence, effectively create a unified or congruous whole. Under the steady and experienced leadership of Thomas Carroll the institution came much closer to achieving this, though financial constraints still impinged upon the fully effective functioning of the regime. This underlines the importance in creating an effective reformatory regime of strength, skill and ability of its leader. However, despite Carroll's experienced and firm leadership the translation of a curative regime inspired by the rural idyll into effective spatially informed reformatory practice at the Colony of Mount St. Bernard Abbey was never fully realised. The next chapter of this thesis will examine the attempted implementation of spatially informed reformatory practice at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School at Market Weighton in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

Chapter 5

Spatially Informed Reformatory Practice, Case Study: The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory

School, Market Weighton, East Yorkshire

Another reformatory farm school influenced by the idealisation of the rural and the belief in the moral superiority of the environment of the countryside, the restorative effect of rural labour and the reformatory powers this was thought to possess, was the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory at Market Weighton, East Yorkshire. The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, like Redhill and the catholic institution at Whitwick, was influenced by the beliefs underpinning the popular discourse of the rural idyll and therefore this chapter will examine the attempted translation of this idyll into the institution's spatially informed reformatory practice. As in the previous two chapters this exploration of the farm school at Market Weighton will apply Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad model. This model will be utilised as a heuristic device through which to examine the reformatory practices of this institution and to assess whether the recreation of ruralised spaces there realised an effective restorative reformatory regime. As was the case in the previous chapters applying each part of Lefebvre's triad model of space to reformatory practice at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory will highlight potentially the most salient spatial aspects of the reformatory regime implemented at this reformatory, and will facilitate a thorough empirical examination of its spatially informed reformatory regime. Furthermore this chapter considers also the possibility that it is when, within this institution, the three aspects of human action identified by the spatial triad combined most productively that the most effective reformatory practice developed.

As previously discussed, the first part of Lefebvre's triad of space is *spatial practice*, which 'embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets

characteristic of each social formation'.¹ Spatial practice focuses on the everyday functions of society and the spatial events of life. It involves 'the segregation of certain kinds of constructed spaces and their linkages through human movement'.² It focuses in particular on the spatial movement of people from one place to another and the effect of this on their perception and experience of space. In the case of rural based reformatories this meant the moving of boys from what were regarded as their previous corruptive urban worlds to new, supposedly Godlier and morally healthier rural space. In the case of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, as in the case of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, this meant the moving of boys from many different and widespread urban conurbations across England (due mainly to the shortage in Catholic reformatory institutions) to the countryside. Whilst many of the boys residing in the reformatory (who typically ranged in age from ten to sixteen and served sentences of between three and five years) emanated from the nearby towns of Leeds, Bradford and Sheffield, this was not exclusively so. Others came from further afield, from cities such as Manchester, Hull, Liverpool and London, for example.³

The process of moving boys out of 'their haunts of idleness' to the farm school, marked the beginning of a process of spatial practice in which youthful delinquents were removed from what was perceived to be the immoral spatial events of life in urban centres and placed in the secluded and controlled environment of the rural reformatory school. It was here, according to Mary Carpenter, in the midst of the seclusion and tranquillity of the structured rural setting, that juvenile offenders would 'become orderly, docile and good

¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1991), p.39.

² Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.38.

³ East Riding of Yorkshire Archives (hereafter ERoY Archives), DDSW/87, *The Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, 25 January 1864*, (Bernard Valentine: Sheffield, 1864), p.9. (Hereafter these reports will be footnoted as *The Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, 25 January 1864*, (Bernard Valentine: Sheffield, 1864) because all of the annual reports for this institution [1857-1921] are located in ERoY Archives, DDSW/87).

boys'.⁴ The site upon which the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was established was purposely located in an isolated rural setting. This setting was deemed a suitable location for a reformatory school for criminal boys due to 'the small number of inhabitants in the surrounding country, and the distance of the land from any town or populous place'.⁵ The moving of boys from their hometowns to this intentionally isolated location, therefore, marked their spatial alienation from the corrupting urban environment, and their entry into the everyday functions and the spatial events of life in a regime of ruralised corrective control and reform. The moving of youths gave them their first experience of immersion in the spatially shaped practices which were intended to have a profoundly reformatory impact on their perceptions and experiences. The notion of spatial practice encapsulated by Lefebvre was, therefore, a key part of the initial spatially informed reformatory practices implemented by the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory.

Before moving on to examine the second part of Lefebvre's triad of space in relation to the spatially informed reformatory practice undertaken at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, it is important to note the complicated origins of this institution which influenced its later development as it emerged from the ashes of a failed joint Protestant and Catholic attempt to establish a reformatory school. After the passing of the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act which granted a legal status to reformatory schools the establishment of such institutions throughout the country increased significantly. The ideas and principles of the reformatory movement took root in Yorkshire during this period. In 1854, Samuel Warren, the Recorder of Hull, and Thomas Travis, a local magistrate, raised the issue of opening a reformatory school for criminal boys in the area which was to prove influential. In his *Charge*

⁴ Mary Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents Their Condition and Treatment*, (W. & F. G. Cash: London, 1853), p.215.

⁵ ERoY Archives, DDSW/96, *Notes on the History of St. William's School and Site 1842-1941*; The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was established on land owned by Edward Marmaduke Vavasour, the elder brother of Charles Langdale of Houghton Hall, near Market Weighton, who was a prominent Catholic layman and a key figure in the foundation of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory.

to the Grand Jury in January 1854 Warren highlighted the issue of the ‘crying and alarming evil of Juvenile Delinquency’, which he suggested was ‘a cancerous taint, fast eating its way to the very vitals of the community’.⁶ Warren also emphasised the importance of reclaiming young criminals and restoring them back to morality rather than simply punishing them, typically, through imprisonment, and then, releasing them unreformed and further corrupted to continue in their criminal habits. To imprison a young offender without attempting to reform him was, according to the Recorder of Hull, akin to ‘thrust[ing] a patient, just recovering from a deadly disease, again into the fatal focus of contagion’.⁷ In discussing the treatment of juvenile offenders Warren stated that ‘a constitutional malady requires constitutional treatment’ which could best be provided, he believed, through the establishment of reformatory institutions:⁸

I have not the least hesitation in thus publicly declaring, and that in the most ardent and solemn language at my command, and as the result of all my observation and experience, and communication with some of the best men of the age, that we must have, and that without delay, Reformatory Institutions of some sort or another; or be held accessories, before or after the fact, to the destruction of great masses of the rising generation.⁹

In sending young offenders to reformatory schools instead of prisons Warren argued this would prevent them from becoming irreclaimable, thus rescuing their morality: ‘in the case of the unhappy youthful criminal’ he explained, the entrance to a reformatory would ‘be really a passing from moral death unto life’.¹⁰ It was important he argued, therefore, that efforts be made to establish such an institution in the locality.

In January 1855 a committee was established by local magistrates to discuss the opening of a reformatory school and this led to the formation of a committee of Hull town council. The committee, chaired by the mayor of Hull, Sir Henry Cooper, was made up of

⁶ Samuel Warren, *A Charge Delivered to the Grand Jury, at the Epiphany Quarter Sessions, 1854, for the Borough of Kingston-Upon-Hull*, (William Blackwood and Sons: London, 1854), p.12.

⁷ Warren, *Charge Delivered to the Grand Jury*, p.13.

⁸ Warren, *Charge Delivered to the Grand Jury*, p.14.

⁹ Warren, *Charge Delivered to the Grand Jury*, p.14.

¹⁰ Warren, *Charge Delivered to the Grand Jury*, p.20.

prominent local men including landowners, clergymen and laymen of the Church of England and members of the Protestant non-conformist churches.¹¹ Amid discussions regarding the running of a reformatory the committee was in contact with magistrates from adjoining areas and soon a reformatory joint committee was formed with Canon William Harcourt, son of the late archbishop of York, as chairman, with a view to opening a boys' reformatory for Hull, the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire and the city of York.¹² The planned reformatory was to be a rural based institution which would place agricultural training and moral and religious education at the forefront of its reforming regime.¹³ As plans advanced, however, tension between the Protestant and Catholic contingents of the reformatory joint committee (upon the formation of the joint committee prominent Catholic figures had joined) arose as it became increasingly clear that the institution was to be a Protestant establishment.¹⁴ The reformatory joint committee was prepared to accept Catholic boys and would appoint a Catholic vice-president to see to their welfare but no Catholic priest would be allowed to visit those boys.¹⁵ It was also stated that if a Catholic reformatory came into existence the committee would relinquish charge of Catholic boys to it.¹⁶

The Catholic vice-president of the reformatory joint committee was Charles Langdale, a prominent Catholic layman, former Member of Parliament, wealthy local landowner, and the East Riding magistrates' representative on the committee. In a public meeting held in York on 4 October 1855 to launch the planned reformatory institution, Langdale and his

¹¹ J. D. Hicks, *The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, Market Weighton*, (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1996), p.8.

¹² Hicks, *Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, p.9; ERoY Archives, DDSW/96, *Notes on the History of St. William's School and Site 1842-1941*.

¹³ York Public Library (hereafter YPL), EPH/2/3118, *Report of a Committee Appointed to Recommend A Plan of Reformatory Schools for the North and East Ridings of York, and the Town of Hull, at a Meeting Held on 4 October 1855*, pp.12-13.

¹⁴ *Hull Advertiser*, 29 September 1855; YPL, EPH/2/3118, *Report of a Committee Appointed to Recommend A Plan of Reformatory Schools*, p.15.

¹⁵ Hicks, *Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, p.10; *York Herald*, 29 November 1856; YPL, EPH/2/3118, *Report of a Committee Appointed to Recommend A Plan of Reformatory Schools*, p.15.

¹⁶ *York Herald*, 29 November 1856; YPL, EPH/2/3118, *Report of a Committee Appointed to Recommend A Plan of Reformatory Schools*, p.15.

fellow Catholic committee members, raised their dissatisfaction at the prospect of the institution being a purely Protestant establishment. The meeting consequently saw a parting of ways of its Protestant and Catholic contingents.¹⁷ On 23 October 1855, at a meeting of the former Catholic contingent of the reformatory joint committee, it was resolved that: ‘Reformatory Schools for juvenile offenders being about to be established in the county of York on exclusive Protestant principles, this meeting recognises the obligation upon Catholics of providing a Reformatory School upon the principles of the Catholic Religion’.¹⁸ Consequently, an institution of this nature was instigated and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School was opened at Market Weighton in the East Riding of Yorkshire in July 1856. This occurred just two months after the opening, in May 1856, of the planned Protestant reformatory school which was established at Castle Howard in North Yorkshire.¹⁹

Although the Protestant and Catholic contingents of the joint committee disagreed regarding the religious orientation of the planned reformatory, neither disputed the importance of the rural aspect of the reformatory. Both the Protestant and the Roman Catholic institutions that were established in 1856 were rural based reformatory schools intended to run according to the farm school model. Both had working farms at their centre and both applied their inmates to rural labour as a means of reformation.²⁰ This transcendence of religious difference emphasises how influential the reformative ideals of the ‘rural idyll’ were in the psyche of reformers concerned with youthful offenders at this time.

To return to the examination of the inner workings of the spatially informed reformatory practice at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory it is necessary to examine this

¹⁷ ERoY Archives, DDSW/96, *Notes on the History of St. William’s School and Site 1842-1941*.

¹⁸ ERoY Archives, DDSW/51, *Committee of Management Minute Book, 1855-1914*.

¹⁹ Hicks, *Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, p.11; ERoY Archives, DDSW/96, *Notes on the History of St. William’s School and Site 1842-1941*.

²⁰ Parliamentary Paper (hereafter PP) 1858, XXIX, *First Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, p.35; p.39.

utilising the second part of Lefebvre’s triad of space, *representations of space*.²¹ This is the conceptualised space ‘constructed out of symbols, codifications and abstract representations’.²² Representations of space attempt to ‘conceive in order to shape what is lived and perceived’, it seeks to shape spatial practice.²³ Representations of space refers to the way in which space is designed and then manipulated in order to shape the lived experience of that space. There will follow, therefore, an examination of the spatial ordering of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory in order to understand how this ordered space sought to shape the spatial practices and lived experience of the inmates.

As was the case at Redhill and Whitwick, a particularly important way in which those in charge of the Market Weighton institution sought to order and manage the space in order to bring about reform was by ensuring that the boys within it were continually occupied by spatial practices. As discussed in previous chapters reformers believed that idleness was a continual problem in the boys’ lives and that this had inevitably led to crime.²⁴ Reformers believed that without family discipline or appropriate employment, and a structured daily routine ‘a spirit of recklessness, discontent and revenge takes possession of his heart’.²⁵ Therefore, it was deemed necessary by those in charge of reformatories to establish a busy timetable that structured and organised every aspect of the boys’ lives. The following timetable was therefore implemented at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory:

Week Days	Sundays
h.m	h.m
5.30 Rise, Wash, &c.	6.00 Rise, Wash, &c.
6.00 Morning Prayers, Mass	6.30 Morning Prayers, Mass, School
6.30 School	7.30 Breakfast and Play

²¹ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.38.

²² Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, pp.38-39.

²³ Richard White, ‘What is Spatial History?’, *Stanford University Spatial History Lab*, (February 2010), p.3.

²⁴ A. K. M’Callum, ‘Juvenile Delinquency-Its Principal Causes and Proposed Cure, as Adopted in the Glasgow Reformatory Schools’, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol.18, No.4, (John William Parker and Son: London, 1855), p.359.

²⁵ Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents*, p.49.

7.30	Breakfast	8.30	School
8.00	Work	9.30	Play
12.10	End of Work	10.00	Mass and Sermon
12.30	Dinner and Play	11.30	Play and Drill
1.30	Work	12.30	Dinner and Play
6.00	End of Work	4.00	Vespers, Instruction, & Benediction
6.45	Supper and Play	5.30	School
7.30	School	6.30	Supper and Play
8.30	Evening Prayers	7.30	School or Report of General Conduct. ²⁶
9.00	Rest		

As the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory stated in its Third Annual Report: ‘you will readily perceive that they [the boys] are not kept in idleness... the daily timetable is arranged in such a manner that they be continually occupied’.²⁷ This continual occupation of the inmates’ energies prevented them, it was argued, from ‘squandering away their time in idleness’.²⁸ To this end, the reformatory day was structured around three key spatial practices: the learning of agricultural and related skills through (mainly) rural work, the receiving of religious and moral training, and the gaining of a basic elementary education.

The first of these activities, and the one which occupied the main part of the boys’ day, was their participation in manual labour. As discussed previously, honest hard work was argued to be a key tool in the reformation of youthful offenders. Therefore the boys at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory were, according to its managers, ‘taught and encouraged to consider work the best occupation, and for them a positive duty’.²⁹ Agricultural labour in particular was regarded as being especially well suited to the reformation of young offenders.

²⁶ *The Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*, 21 February 1867, (Samuel Harrison: Sheffield, 1867), p.11.

²⁷ *The Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*, 18 January 1860, (Richardson and Son: London, 1860), p.9.

²⁸ *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.14.

²⁹ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.9.

The managers of the institution, for example, stated that ‘agriculture furnishes one of the most healthy employments for boys’, and they ensured that rural occupations formed the core of the institution’s labour regime.³⁰ Inmates were put to work on the reformatory farm (which by the late 1870s consisted of 400 acres) where they worked, for example, as field boys (harvesting vegetables, clearing the land of large stones and weeds and raking old grass), stable boys (whose work involved grooming, feeding and watering the animals), shepherds (who tended to and herded sheep), and gardeners (who tended to the reformatory gardens).³¹ Inmates were also able to work indoors as cooks, bakers and house boys (preparing the meals for the reformatory and performing domestic duties). The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory also offered boys the opportunity to learn various trades, such as shoe-making, tailoring, and carpentry which, in an establishment of this kind, were regarded as in aid of agricultural practices. As the annual report of 1867 put it: ‘Everything is done to make them acquire habits of labour and industry, they are made to work, and work with a will’.³²

The main focus of the regime was, therefore, upon the provision of agricultural training, it being a farm school, on the large working farm at its centre. As the General Rules and Regulations of the reformatory stated, however, agricultural labour was the core activity but it was supplemented by ‘such handicrafts as can be conveniently practised’.³³ It was envisaged that some boys would return to urban industrial contexts upon the expiration of their sentences at the reformatory, therefore, it was school policy that they should be equipped with skills that could be utilised on their return to these environments. The Tenth Annual Report for example stated that:

³⁰ *The Eleventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*, 17 February 1868, (Samuel Harrison: Sheffield 1868), p.13.

³¹ *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School for the year 1879*, (York, 1879), p.14.

³² *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.14.

³³ The National Archives (hereafter TNA) H045/9574/B0107, *General Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Certified Reformatory School Commonly Known As:- “The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School for Boys”*, at *Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, near Market Weighton*, (1878).

What the Managers have in view is to teach every branch of trade thoroughly, as then only can they hope that the boys will be well prepared to return home, and practice what they have learned in the Establishment... The Managers are so fully convinced of the importance of trades for town boys, that they are most anxious to increase the number [of trades taught].³⁴

For example, modern machinery was purchased for the shoemaking, tailoring and carpentry departments to allow boys to expand and develop their range of skills and abilities and to be able 'to compete with regular tradesmen' upon leaving the institution.³⁵ These additions also meant that the institution could take in more work from outside customers, financially benefitting the institution. Over time the range of trades taught at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was expanded to encompass, for example, a slipper shop (introduced in 1869), a stocking-making workshop and a printing works (introduced in 1884). Of all the non-agricultural trades taught at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory the printing works became the school's 'special feature' and one which Government Inspector, Colonel Inglis, referred to as 'by far the largest and best printing business in any school under inspection'.³⁶ He added that 'the instruction is thoroughly practical and valuable, and the business is likely to be a profitable one'.³⁷ Although the importance of teaching trade skills was acknowledged agricultural labour did nevertheless remain, throughout its existence, because of its supposed reformative qualities, the main branch of employment for the majority of inmates at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory. This combination of agricultural and industrial work performed by the young inmates at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was, therefore, both

³⁴ *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.20.

³⁵ *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.18.

³⁶ *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, 1889*, (York, 1890), p.11; PP 1890, C.6085, *Thirty-Third Report for the Year 1889 of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.105.

³⁷ *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, 1889*, (York, 1890), p.11; PP 1890, *Thirty-Third Report of the Inspector*, p.105; William Inglis became Inspector of Reformatories in 1876 and remained in the position for the remainder of the period of study. He assumed the role upon the retirement of the first Inspector of Reformatories, Sydney Turner, who held the position from 1857 to 1876.

ideological and pragmatic and according to the government Inspector functioned well, ‘the industrial training, both in the workshops and on the farm, is thoroughly attended to’.³⁸

In addition to physical labour the boys were also given religious and moral training. This was held to be particularly important by the reformatory movement in the reformation of youthful criminals and reorienting the young offenders to the moral conventions of a decent and honest society. Accordingly, the *General Rules and Regulations* of the reformatory determined that: ‘Each day shall be begun and ended with morning and evening prayers’ and ‘On Sundays, and other days of obligation, the inmates shall attend public worship in the chapel of the school’.³⁹ The content of the religious instruction at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was determined by a bishop from a local diocese, who, from the early 1880s also conducted his own inspection of this instruction at the institution.⁴⁰ The daily religious classroom-based teaching of the inmates in the institution was left to the reformatory’s resident chaplain. He provided catechetical instruction, imparted to the boys a thorough knowledge of the Catholic religion and prepared them to receive the sacraments.⁴¹ This religious education also involved the boys being formally examined on their level of attainment in religious learning. Evidence suggests that this aspect of the implementation of representations of reformatory space was regarded as a success. For example, upon the inspection of the religious education of inmates in 1882, the Diocesan Religious Inspector reported:

I scarcely know how I can adequately express the great pleasure which the inspection of this School gave me. Every standard obtained the mark either of “Excellent” or “Very Good;” and, I may truly say, that the boys proficiency in religious knowledge is admirable and almost perfect... The good Fathers deserve unstinted praise for the

³⁸ PP 1867, XXXVI, *Tenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.60.

³⁹ TNA H045/9574/B0107, *General Rules and Regulations*.

⁴⁰ The Bishop’s findings were included as a short report in the annual reports of the reformatory school each year.

⁴¹ *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.11.

thorough way in which they succeed in grounding the boys under their charge in religious knowledge.⁴²

Similarly, in 1883 the Bishop's report on the religious instruction of the inmates referred to the 'very creditable manner indeed' in which the 196 boys he examined acquitted themselves as a result of the 'very regular and painstaking religious instruction' they received at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory.⁴³ These sentiments were repeated each year throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.

A further part of the religious instruction of the reformatory inmates was their participation in spiritual retreats (at periods determined by the superiors). During a retreat parts of the boys' ordinary educational timetable were set aside and the time dedicated instead to spiritual exercises in which boys received for example, extended religious instruction and warnings about the perils of sin. The religious retreat was designed to be an intense religious experience for the inmates and one which enhanced and reinforced their daily religious training at the reformatory school. According to those in charge of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, the spiritual retreat was a powerful and successful tool in the religious training of its inmates. In the 1860 annual report for example, Father Caccia, the superintendent in charge of the reformatory (1857-1865), referred to one such retreat which had taken place the previous year. He stated that its effects upon the religious and moral scruples, and the good behaviour of the inmates were still observable: 'A Spiritual Retreat of 8 days was preached by two Fathers of the Order – The Institute of Charity – which was productive of such admirable results, that even to this day, its fruits are perceptible'.⁴⁴ Similarly, in the annual report of 1864 Caccia recorded another retreat given to the inmates: 'A Mission preached to the boys in summer by the Rev. Father Furlong, the Director of the

⁴² 'Report of the Diocesan Religious Inspector' in *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, 1882*, (York, 1883), p.9.

⁴³ 'Report of the Diocesan Religious Inspector' in *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, 1883*, (York, 1884), p.9.

⁴⁴ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.4.

Reformatory at Upton, county Cork, had a particular influence in maintaining the good behaviour [of the inmates]’.⁴⁵ The intense spiritual guidance and instruction boys received during a retreat therefore, which often encouraged boys to reflect upon their own behaviour, to renounce sin and to follow the path of the righteous by dedicating themselves to God, purportedly stimulated good behaviour amongst the inmates and it reinforced their daily religious training at the reformatory school in order to aid in their moral reformation.

In addition to this formal religious instruction the boys were instructed in their duty to their faith and to God through daily participation in the religious life of the reformatory school more generally. They were required, for example, to assist at Mass and Vespers on Sundays, and at festivals of the Church throughout the year. Furthermore, as highlighted in the *Rules and Regulations* of the institution, each day was ‘begun and ended with morning and evening prayers’.⁴⁶ In becoming involved in the religious life of the school it was hoped that the boys would not only be reformed and morally restored, but that they would become attached to the church and involved in the religious life of the communities to which they might belong upon their release from the reformatory institution. This aspect of the boys’ religious training was described in some detail by the superintendent of the reformatory in the annual report of 1860:

Last Winter, we commenced singing Vespers regularly on Sunday afternoons, that the boys being accustomed to them, may afterwards be admitted into the Choirs of the congregations to which they may belong, and thus associate with good Christians, and become attached to the Church. Upon this latter point I lay great stress, and fail not to seize every opportunity to impress a deep feeling of Religion in their hearts. Never do I allow any Festival of the Church to pass unnoticed, for instance, in Holy Week, we had on Palm Sunday, the Blessing of Palms and the Procession – the Sepulchre on Maundy Thursday – the Singing of the Passion on Good Friday, and the solemn blessing of the Paschal Candle on Holy Saturday.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1864), p.15.

⁴⁶ TNA H045/9574/B0107, *General Rules and Regulations*.

⁴⁷ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.4.

The annual report went on to offer the following evaluation of the success of these representations of space in realising a positive representational space that, it was argued, had meaningfully influenced:

These outward developments of Religion in connection with the daily Catechetical Instruction, the monthly Confession, and the constant care to promote gradually their moral reformation, have produced a tranquility of mind, which, combined with the natural buoyancy of youth, makes the boys so cheerful and contented.⁴⁸

It can be suggested therefore that the religious instruction at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was, like that at the Philanthropic Society Farm School and the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, all-encompassing. It was not restricted to formal religious teaching in the classroom as it suffused beyond that the every-day lives of the inmates. Such was the importance attached to the role of religion in the reformation of the young criminals, according to the superintendent of the reformatory, ‘no trouble is spared in preparing them month after month to approach their religious duties worthily’ and it was concluded by the Diocesan Inspector that: ‘The good Fathers of Charity are indefatigable in their care and instruction of the boys, and the Catholics of England owe them a debt of great gratitude for the good work which they so successfully carry out at the Reformatory’.⁴⁹

In addition to religious instruction the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory inmates were also given an elementary secular education. As was the case at the Redhill and Whitwick institutions, the reformatory at Market Weighton provided many of the boys with their first opportunity to access a formal education. This is highlighted in the annual reports that exist for the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory from this period. Of the 70 boys admitted to the institution in the year 1863 for example, 30 could not read or write, 39 could only do so imperfectly, and none were able to do so fluently.⁵⁰ These statistics were similarly pessimistic

⁴⁸ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.4.

⁴⁹ *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.14; ‘Report of the Diocesan Inspector’ in *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, 1884*, (York, 1885), p.8.

⁵⁰ *Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1864), p.9.

for the following year, of the 62 boys admitted in 1864, 32 were illiterate, and 28 were only able to read and write imperfectly.⁵¹ The educational statistics for the boys admitted into the reformatory did not improve with the passage of time and in the year 1868 of the 66 boys admitted 36 ‘could neither read nor write’, 30 could only do so ‘imperfectly’, and with regard to religious education 48 of those 66 boys were ignorant of religion.⁵² It was deemed to be important to provide the inmates with an elementary secular education, in conjunction with (mainly) rural labour and religious and moral guidance, in order that they might become more informed and engaged members of society, and to help to reform the boys as a whole. As Captain Bryan Stapleton, the first superintendent of the reformatory (1856-1857), explained in 1856 with regard to the secular education provided at the institution:

It was not intended that they [the inmates] should become scientific or learned men, but merely useful members of society, and honest and industrious citizens. To make good labourers and clever workmen, making a wise and honest use of their faculties, were the results the society aimed at.⁵³

It was hoped, he stated, ‘that the instruction given to them might have the effect of making them intellectual and orderly members of society’.⁵⁴ Accordingly, time was devoted daily ‘to secular instruction, viz:- reading, spelling, writing and arithmetic’.⁵⁵ This formal education involved teaching and learning in the schoolroom, and the examination of boys in their learning. The inmates were also examined yearly in reading, spelling, cyphering, and writing from dictation, by the government Inspector during his visits.

The education provided for the inmates at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was highly regarded by the government inspectorate and, throughout the majority of the period, the education at Market Weighton was classified as amongst the best of all the reformatory

⁵¹ *Eighth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, 27 February 1865*, (Leader and Sons: London, 1865), p.10.

⁵² *Twelfth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, 1 March 1869*, (Samuel Harrison: London, 1869), p.8.

⁵³ *York Herald*, 29 November 1856.

⁵⁴ *York Herald*, 29 November 1856.

⁵⁵ TNA H045/9574/B0107, *General Rules and Regulations*.

schools in the country. In the *Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools* for the year 1867 for example, Sydney Turner, referred to the high standard of the elementary education at the school in the main body of his general report, and again in the individual reports of the Bradwall Reformatory School, and the Philanthropic Society Farm School.⁵⁶ In his special report on the Bradwall Reformatory School, the Inspector stated: ‘Bradwall indeed stands almost first among the English reformatory schools for the efficiency and general extent of the school instruction, ranking nearly if not quite on a level with Market Weighton’.⁵⁷ Similarly in his special report on the Redhill institution the reformatory at Market Weighton was classified amongst those which took the first place.⁵⁸ In the Report of the Inspector for the following year praise was similarly effusive. With regard to the educational condition of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, Turner judged that: ‘The School stands in this respect above all other English Reformatories’.⁵⁹ This high praise for the education provided for the inmates at the Market Weighton institution continued throughout the period. In 1873 the Inspector concluded that:

The lads receive the benefit of an excellent education. They are stimulated to exertion by zealous and painstaking teachers, and the results are certainly remarkable and quite superior to those of most reformatory schools. All the classes alike were receiving the most careful attention.⁶⁰

In 1874 it was found that:

The educational condition of the school gave me, as on previous occasions, the highest satisfaction... The system of instruction is thoroughly painstaking and intelligent, and reflects great credit on the chief teacher, Mr. Barrett.⁶¹

Similarly in his 1877 and 1878 reports the Inspector stated: ‘I never saw boys more anxious to pass a good examination, or take more evident interest in their work. The education was far

⁵⁶ PP 1867, *Tenth Report of the Inspector*, p.7; p.35; p.53.

⁵⁷ PP 1867, *Tenth Report of the Inspector*, p.35.

⁵⁸ PP 1867, *Tenth Report of the Inspector*, p.53.

⁵⁹ PP 1868, XXXVI, *Eleventh Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.57.

⁶⁰ PP 1873, XXXI, *Sixteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.79

⁶¹ PP 1874, XXVIII, *Seventeenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.81.

above average, the boys lively and intelligent’ and ‘Nothing could be more satisfactory, the education is much above the average, and very creditable to the schoolmaster’.⁶² The provision of an elementary education, therefore, formed an important and highly successful part of the regime at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory.

The examination of the ways in which the reformatory space was managed and structured has discussed how those in charge of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School sought to manipulate the way in which the inmates experienced and engaged with the reformatory space in order to realise their moral and educational reformation. The examination of how spatial representations in the form of the working and educational regimes of the institution has illustrated, therefore, that the reformatory space was managed and structured in such a way as to implement a reformative educational regime of spatial practices which aimed to reform the ‘*whole* boy, physically, morally, intellectually, and socially’.⁶³

A further way in which the reformatory space was managed and structured in order to shape the lived experience of the inmates at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was through the implementation of a family system of moral training. This system was a conceived representation of space in that it was a planned regime of moral reform that consciously sought to shape spatial practice and its experience by the inmates of the reformatory. Under this family system the delinquent inmates at Market Weighton were divided into two divisions. There was a junior division for those under twelve years old and a senior division for those over that age.⁶⁴ Within each of these divisions the inmates were organised into separate family-like groups, which were named after Catholic Saints. There was, for example,

⁶² PP 1877, XLII, *Twentieth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.77; PP 1878, XLII, *Twenty-First Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.91.

⁶³ M’Callum, ‘Juvenile Delinquency’, p.357.

⁶⁴ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1868), p.4.

St. Marie's Family and St. Charles' Family.⁶⁵ As was the case at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, the family groups at the Market Weighton institution lived together in the same building but within separate dormitories. (There were, however, some dormitories at this institution which were so large that they housed more than one family.⁶⁶) Each family-like group lived under the charge of a member of the reformatory staff who acted as a father-like figure to his boys, residing with them in the dormitory and looking after them during those hours they were not at work or in the classroom. This system placed the inmates into a simulated family environment in which they were cared for and guided by appropriate parental, and particularly paternal, influences. This was particularly important in the reformation of young offenders, according to the reformatory movement, since it was the absence or impairment of this relation which had contributed to the criminality of many juveniles.⁶⁷ The importance of inculcating paternalist relations and affections in reforming criminal boys was acknowledged by the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory in its description of the aspirations underpinning the operation of its family system: 'their hearts, their affections, must be gained by a spirit of sincere charity, and by tempering the strict severity of the watchful superior with the sympathising affection of a parent'.⁶⁸ It was this aspect of the reformatory regime which particularly impressed a delegation of the *Hull Natural History and Microscopical Society* during their visit to the reformatory institution in June 1864:

The excursionists wended their way to the Catholic Reformatory School, near Market Weighton, where they had an invitation to view the establishment... The visitors were conducted over the Reformatory, and were much gratified with the admirable arrangements in connection with the juvenile criminals, and the kind and fatherly manner in which the head of the establishment keeps watch over his charge.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ EROy Archives, DDSW/1-2, *St. William's Community Home Particulars of Boys Detained, 1856*.

⁶⁶ PP 1859, *Second Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, p.55.

⁶⁷ Sydney Turner and Thomas Paynter, *Report on the System and Arrangements of "La Colonie Agricole" at Mettray*, presented to the committee of the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Fields, 19th August, 1846, (John Hatchard and Son: London, 1846), p.38.

⁶⁸ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.5.

⁶⁹ *Quarterly Journal of Microscopical Science*, Vol.5, January 1865, p.71.

The family system was therefore an important part of the reformatory practice at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory. The system was essential in creating the ‘domestic and homelike’ nature of this institution, which it was argued by reformers, was necessary for moral reformation.⁷⁰ It was anticipated by advocates of reformatory regimes of correction that the family system of moral training would instil in the delinquents a sense of mutual familial ties and belonging so that each would become ‘personally interested in the moral well-being of the others’.⁷¹ This, along with the religious and moral training they received in reformatory institutions, would, it was envisaged, provide the boys with the tools to be party to their own, and each other’s reformation of character.⁷² With its expected reformative and social control effects, this system formed an important part of the spatially informed reformative regime that was put in place at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory.

The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory also sought to shape spatial practice and the lived experience of the inmates through the introduction of a system of rewards and punishments. Rewarding inmates for their positive engagement with the reforming regime emphasised to the boys the beneficial consequences of social conformity to the correctional ideals and practices of reformatory space. Similarly the punishment of inmates’ misdemeanours sought to impose on the young mind the negative consequences of non-conformity. The key feature of the rewards and punishments system at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was the placing of boys into the Section of Honour or the Section of Disgrace in cases of either exemplary or deplorable conduct. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School also had a Section of Honour and a Section of Disgrace, as well as a third Section of Reserve. However, the system at the Yorkshire

⁷⁰ PP 1867, *Tenth Report of the Inspector*, p.60; Sydney Turner, ‘Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley Esq., M.P.’, reprinted in J. Symons (Ed.), *On the Reformation of Young Offenders* (Routledge: London, 1855), p.2.

⁷¹ Sydney Turner and T. Paynter, Esq., *The Second Report of the Surveyor General of Prisons* (W. Clowes and Sons: London, 1848), p.45.

⁷² Turner; Paynter, *The Second Report of the Surveyor General*, p.45.

Catholic Reformatory worked slightly differently. At Mount St. Bernard all boys were allocated to one of the three sections according to their conduct as a means of dividing inmates. The system, therefore, worked as a classification process within the family system. However, the allocation of boys to one or other of these sections, and the possibility of moving up or down a section according to conduct also ensured the system acted a means of reward or punishment. At the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, however, inmates were not always and necessarily put into one of the two sections as a means of classification within the family system.⁷³ They were instead allocated to either the Section of Honour or the Section of Disgrace only as a reward or a punishment for their behaviour. Those whose conduct was neither decidedly good nor decidedly bad were not allocated to either section; they were, therefore, the unexceptional majority.⁷⁴

Allocation to the Section of Honour at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory brought with it certain privileges. Inmates in this section, for example, had their names inscribed upon the 'Tablet of Honour', a list of the best behaved which was hung in a conspicuous part of the reformatory.⁷⁵ From 1859 the boys in this section were also offered more tangible rewards for their continued good behaviour. These included a monetary reward, a special uniform and a Medal of Honour.⁷⁶ The uniform of the Section of Honour is shown on the next page.⁷⁷

⁷³ *Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1864), p.11.

⁷⁴ *Eighth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1865), p.12.

⁷⁵ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.4.

⁷⁶ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.4.

⁷⁷ ERoY Archives, DDSW/32/1, *Photograph Album c.1856-1869*.



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This extension of the rewards system was described in the Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory in 1860:

The Section of Honour has lately been reorganised, on what we consider an improved plan... As an encouragement a reward of sixpence a week will be set apart for each Member of the Section of Honour, provided he perseveres in it to the expiration of his time of detention. A suit of a different description, with the Medal of Honour upon the breast will distinguish them from the rest.⁷⁸

Conversely, inmates allocated to the Section of Disgrace as punishment were subject to certain privations. These included the replacement of the usual reformatory uniform with a special uniform which had the words 'YORKSHIRE CATHOLIC REFORMATORY' written across it in order to mark these boys out from the rest.⁷⁹ The uniform of the Section of

⁷⁸ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.4.

⁷⁹ ERoY Archives DDSW/32/1, *Photograph Album c.1856-1869*.

Disgrace is shown in the image below.⁸⁰ Other privations for bad behaviour included solitary confinement and moderate corporal punishment.⁸¹



[Image reproduced with permission of the Middlesbrough Diocesan Archives].

Additional means of rewards and punishments were also used. Well behaved inmates were able to enjoy occasional days out for example:

They [the inmates] had a pic-nic party at Everingham Park, and we need not say how thoroughly they enjoyed themselves. From time to time, half play-days have been allowed when they have gone out for a walk, and in no instance has a boy been known to take any improper advantage, or give trouble by attempting to abscond.⁸²

Those who behaved well were also able to receive visits from parents and near relations 'once in two or three months'.⁸³ This privilege was however 'to be forfeited by misconduct or

⁸⁰ ERoY Archives DDSW/32/1, *Photograph Album c.1856-1869*.

⁸¹ TNA H045/9574/B0107, *General Rules and Regulations*.

⁸² *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.17.

⁸³ TNA H045/9574/B0107, *General Rules and Regulations*.

interference with the discipline of the school'.⁸⁴ Other punishments for misconduct included the forfeiture of rewards and privileges, reduction in the quantity and quality of food and the deprivation of recreation.⁸⁵ Thus, the system of rewards and punishments gave inmates stimulants to self-discipline and an incentive to good behaviour and reasons (besides their own reformation) to immerse themselves into the reformatory regime of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory.

The final part of Lefebvre's triad of space which can be applied to the analysis and interpretation of reformatory practice at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory is *representational space*.⁸⁶ This is space 'as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols'.⁸⁷ Representational space Lefebvre argues 'overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus, representational spaces may be said though with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs'.⁸⁸ Thus, representational space is that which is lived and experienced through a set of symbolic associations. Examining representational space involves the consideration of how those in charge of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School made symbolic use of the reformatory space in order to shape the lived experience of its inmates.

Firstly, the remote and isolated rural site of the reformatory had a symbolic function. As Teresa Ploszajska stated in her discussion of the Redhill reformatory, the site and sight of the Victorian reformatory institution, like other nineteenth century institutions of social control, was designed to be a reminder of the consequences of social non-conformity.⁸⁹ The reformatory at Market Weighton was purposely located in isolated rural space in stark

⁸⁴ TNA H045/9574/B0107, *General Rules and Regulations*.

⁸⁵ TNA H045/9574/B0107, *General Rules and Regulations*.

⁸⁶ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.39.

⁸⁷ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.39.

⁸⁸ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.39.

⁸⁹ Teresa Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces: Gender, Class and Space in Victorian Reformatory Schools', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.20, No.4 (1994), p.418.

contrast to the urban environments from which the inmates originated. The site had been specifically approved because of ‘the small number of inhabitants in the surrounding country and its distance from any town or populous place’.⁹⁰ The remoteness of the site symbolised to the boys their spatial movement into the rurally located reformatory space as a turning point away from their previously demoralised urban existence.

The reformatory at Market Weighton sought to symbolically shape the inmates experience. Upon entering the reformatory inmates were provided with a standard uniform which consisted of a cotton tunic, trousers and boots.⁹¹ The wearing of the reformatory uniform had an important symbolic function in that it symbolised the institutionalisation of the boys, it denoted the stripping away of their former identities and their immersion in the controlled reformatory space of the reformatory school. This uniform of ‘plain useful clothing’, which all inmates were required to wear (and which was similar to the uniforms worn by inmates at both Redhill and Whitwick), deliberately mirrored the clothes worn by respectable working-class labourers.⁹² It can be inferred therefore that the reformatory uniform symbolised to the boys the respectability that could be earned through their reformation of character and the importance of submitting to the reformatory regime.

The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory also used different variations of uniforms in order to signify both good and bad behaviour within the institution. Those in the Section of Honour wore a special uniform consisting of a dark tunic with red braid collar which had several white stripes on the sleeve and a cap which also had white stripes around the base.⁹³ Those in the Section of Disgrace were made to wear a cap, tunic, and trousers which had the words ‘YORKSHIRE CATHOLIC REFORMATORY’ printed in large text down each sleeve

⁹⁰ ERoY Archives DDSW/96, *Notes on the History of St. William’s School and Site 1842-1941*.

⁹¹ ERoY Archives DDSW/32/1, *Photograph Album c.1856-1869*.

⁹² TNA H045/9574/B0107, *General Rules and Regulations*; Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes’, p.418.

⁹³ ERoY Archives DDSW/32/1, *Photograph Album c.1856-1869*; This uniform is shown on page 208.

and the main body of the tunic, as well as across the top of the cap.⁹⁴ The different uniforms of the sections of honour and disgrace served a practical purpose of marking out the best and worst behaved inmates, and therefore making it, for example, instantly obvious to labour masters and others which of the boys should be subject to extra watchfulness. The uniform of the section of disgrace also served the very important and practical purpose of deterring potential escapees as they would be instantly recognisable once outside the bounds of the institution. These different uniforms also, however, served a symbolic purpose. The uniform of the section of honour symbolised the potential for social elevation through reformed conduct and conformity to social norms. The uniform of the section of disgrace symbolised the way in which social non-conformity and bad behaviour would result in castigation and segregation. Thus, those in charge of the reformatory at Market Weighton did indeed make symbolic use of its spatial practices in order to shape the experience of its inmates.

This chapter has thus far shown, having applied Lefebvre's model of space to the reforming regime at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, that elements of spatially informed reformatory practice put into place in this institution correlated with the spatial triad. The key reforming structures of the Philanthropic Society Farm School at the flagship reformatory institution of this period were implemented here also. There were, however, some less overtly spatial factors which also shaped the reformatory experience at Market Weighton. These were: the inadequacies of aspects of the management regimes and the financial constraints under which the reformatory laboured. This chapter will now discuss how both factors, at times, impacted negatively on the reformative regime of the institution through an examination of the management of the institution throughout the period.

⁹⁴ ERoY Archives DDSW/32/1, *Photograph Album c.1856-1869*; This uniform is shown on page 209.

This discussion of the effectiveness of the management regimes of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory will be divided into three seminal periods in the reformatory's existence. The first of these periods examines the management of the reformatory under the superintendence of Captain Bryan Stapleton from its opening in July 1856 until the annulment of his services, after less than a year, in May 1857. The second seminal period examines the management of the institution during the superintendence of Father Charles Caccia from June 1857 to September 1865. The final seminal period examines the management of the reformatory during the long superintendence of Father Stephen Peter Castellano who was in charge for over 40 years, from September 1865 to September 1906.

The first period in the development of the reformatory space at Market Weighton is from July 1856 to May 1857. Appointed on 7 July 1856 Captain Bryan Stapleton was a former military officer from a wealthy Catholic landowning family with a charitable interest in the care and education of poor children.⁹⁵ There is unfortunately limited evidence available regarding Stapleton's administration of the reformatory. However, comments made by his successor, Father Caccia, provide some insight in to the nature of the management of the reformatory space and its spatial practices under his tenure as 'governor'.⁹⁶ This suggests that Stapleton was more concerned with discipline than reform. According to Caccia the boys in the reformatory during Stapleton's regime were coerced into a state of outward orderliness by a strict system of discipline. They were not, however, subjected to any attempt to reform their morals or characters. Caccia stated in his diary dated 3 June 1857, for example that:

Up to our time the boys had been reduced to EXTERNAL order only by the general system of discipline but without any attempt to subdue their passions or to progress them in virtue.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ ERoY Archives DDSW/51, *Committee of Management Minute Book 1855-194, Monday July 7 1856; York Herald*, 29 November 1856.

⁹⁶ ERoY Archives DDSW/51, *Committee of Management Minute Book 1855-194, Monday July 7 1856.*

⁹⁷ 'Diary of the Revd. C. Caccia' in Hicks, *Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, p.15.

Stapleton's military background clearly played an important role in the way he ran the reformatory. For example, he introduced terms such as 'sergeant' and 'corporal' for those boys who were elected to the section of honour.⁹⁸ According to Caccia, Stapleton was a disciplinarian who relied upon corporal punishment to keep control over the inmates and maintain order. Caccia stated, for example, that the inmates were left 'to the mercy of an ex-corporal who considered the stick as part of his attire, keeping it always with him and administering it upon every trifling recurrence'.⁹⁹ Father Caccia believed that this system, and the lack of Catholic iconography present at the reformatory, meant that the inmates at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory were educated in much the same way as the inmates of Protestant reformatories. The latter did not, he believed, place enough emphasis on the moral and religious training of its boys. He complained, for example:

This system [of harsh discipline] – joined to the Protestant appearance of the house, for except in the chapel, which itself was very poor and neglected, there was not the least sign of religion even of a picture on the walls – educated the boys in a way little different from that of Protestant reformatories. There was a chaplain occasionally in attendance, who besides not being allowed to interfere with the discipline was perhaps unfit for the duty, wanting that peculiar knowledge requisite for such boys.¹⁰⁰

Upon inspection of the Market Weighton institution, Sydney Turner, the government Inspector of Reformatories, did not take the same critical view of Stapleton, referring instead, in his first annual report, to the 'vigorous cheerful spirit' which Stapleton 'seemed to have infused' into the inmates, and which, he stated, 'promised successful results'.¹⁰¹ Despite the views of the Inspector, however, the reformatory committee, in January 1857, decided to annul its agreement with Captain Stapleton.¹⁰² In March 1857 it was decided that the Fathers of Charity (a Rosminian religious order) would be given unfettered management of the reformatory school. Originally founded in Italy in 1828 their numbers were relatively few in

⁹⁸ ERoY Archives, DDSW/1, *St. William's Community Home, Particulars of Boys Detained*, 1856.

⁹⁹ 'Diary of the Revd. C. Caccia', pp.15-16.

¹⁰⁰ 'Diary of the Revd. C. Caccia', p.16.

¹⁰¹ PP 1858, *First Report of the Inspector*, p.39.

¹⁰² ERoY Archives DDSW/51, *Committee of Management Minute Book, 1855-1914*.

England, but the Rosminian Fathers were active in philanthropy and this included working on reforming juvenile offenders.¹⁰³ The Fathers of Charity appointed Father Charles Caccia as the ‘superintendent’ (a decidedly less militaristic term and the more common one used amongst reformatory institutions) of the reformatory from 1 June 1857.¹⁰⁴

The second seminal period to be examined is, therefore, the management of the reformatory from June 1857 to September 1865 under the superintendence of Father Charles Caccia. Having previously spent time in Milan working with delinquent boys, Father Caccia was deemed by the Fathers of Charity and the reformatory committee suitably experienced for the role of superintendent of the still fledgling Catholic reformatory at Market Weighton. Between the Rosminians signing of the agreement to take-over in March 1857, to the actual take-over in June 1857, Father Caccia visited several reformatories including the Catholic institution at Mount St. Bernard Abbey in order to make informed plans for the new reformatory regime.¹⁰⁵ Despite his many years’ experience Father Caccia’s regime got off to a shaky start when, only days into his administration of the reformatory school, he was met with insubordination by some of the inmates. On 3 June 1857, for example, there was unrest at the institution when several of the inmates wilfully disobeyed the instructions of the reformatory staff, and were obstinate and defiant in their behaviour. Of this incident Father Caccia wrote:

Today we experienced a great trial. The boys showed unmistakeable signs of insubordination. Plots were arranged for running away, mocking and looks of defiance were seen at every turn, grumbling and discontent were the order of the day, all of which no doubt had been previously planned in order to try our strength... the unruly dispositions of the boys rendered the trial of the first two days very severe.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ ERoY Archives DDSW/101, *The Institute of the Fathers of Charity, 150 Years, 1835-1985*.

¹⁰⁴ ERoY Archives DDSW/96, *Notes on the History of the St. William’s School and Site, 1842-1941, and the Vavasour Family 1578-1887*.

¹⁰⁵ Hicks, *Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, p.16; Mount St. Bernard Abbey Archives, *Mount St. Bernard Reformatory Visitors’ Book*.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Diary of the Revd. C. Caccia’, p.17.

Occurrences such as this one were, according to Sydney Turner, the result of the mild and lenient nature of Catholic Orders when they took charge of reformatories. This opinion was largely influenced by his views about the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School, which under the charge of a religious brotherhood was at this time experiencing mounting difficulties in keeping order. In his *Second Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools* Turner warned that the leniency of the Catholic brotherhoods on juvenile criminals ultimately hindered the task of maintaining order and reforming the young: 'indulgence makes discipline easier for the time, but harder in the end. There is some danger of this in schools carried on like this and St. Bernard's, by religious brotherhoods'.¹⁰⁷ Turner in his report suggested that Catholic brotherhoods:

Being extremely strict with themselves, they seem naturally disposed to be less so with their pupils, and to grant immunity and privileges to them, in contrast with the limitations and privations they impose on themselves, and debarred from many other sources of social interest and activity, they are apt to concentrate their kindly feelings and sympathies too unreservedly on the children they have taken under their care. This might not produce injury in ordinary schools, but reformatories will not succeed by excusing the wrong dispositions and indolent tempers of their inmates, but by resisting them, and training the pupil to resist them also.¹⁰⁸

As a result of incidences such as the one on 3 June 1857 and the resultant criticism from the government Inspector of Reformatories, Father Caccia strengthened the discipline at the reformatory. In doing so Caccia sought to allay Turner's concerns and, in the *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, he explained how his regime would combine discipline and understanding to control and reform its inmates:

The wrong dispositions and indolent tempers of these unfortunate children, are not indeed to be indulged, but corrected, and that too with severity when necessary; but at the same time their hearts, their affections, must be gained by a spirit of sincere charity, and by tempering the strict severity of the watchful superior with the sympathising affection of a parent.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ PP 1859, *Second Report of the Inspector*, p.46.

¹⁰⁸ PP 1859, *Second Report of the Inspector*, p.46.

¹⁰⁹ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.5.

Turner noted that the strengthening of the regime at Market Weighton had produced a ‘marked’ improvement in the discipline of the establishment in his annual report the following year.¹¹⁰ By the time of the *Fourth Report of the Inspector of Reformatories* for the year 1860, Turner was able to remark upon the ‘well-arranged discipline’ that the institution was ‘unquestionably distinguished by’.¹¹¹

Over the course of Caccia’s tenure as superintendent of the reformatory the government Inspector praised many aspects of the regime including its physical and spatial development. The buildings were improved and extended by the addition of a chapel, and the site was extended by the acquisition of additional land; by 1862 the land under cultivation comprised of 113 acres (it comprised of around 70 acres upon its establishment).¹¹² The industrial training of the inmates during Caccia’s superintendence was considered by the Inspector to be skilful and effective and the school instruction ‘extensive and practical’.¹¹³ Turner also frequently remarked that the manner and appearance of the inmates was cheerful and the general tone of the establishment satisfactory.¹¹⁴ He also praised the ‘remarkable talent and energy’ of Father Caccia in the administration of his managerial duties.¹¹⁵ He reflected positively also on the levels of institutional order he had witnessed on his visits to the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory. In his report for 1861 he came to a very positive evaluation of reformatory practice at Market Weighton remarking for example that: ‘for all matters of internal regulation and school organisation there are few establishments that may

¹¹⁰ PP 1860, XXXV, *Third Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, p.54.

¹¹¹ PP 1861, XXX, *Fourth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, p.56.

¹¹² PP 1863, XXIV, *Sixth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, pp.47-48; ERoY Archives, DDSW/96, *Notes on the History of St. William’s School and Site 1842-1941*.

¹¹³ PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.57.

¹¹⁴ PP 1862, XXVI, *Fifth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.57.

¹¹⁵ PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.57.

be visited with more satisfaction and studied with more advantage by those who take an interest in reformatory schools than this at Market Weighton'.¹¹⁶

There were, however, two criticisms which were levelled at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory under the leadership of Father Caccia by the government Inspector. Namely, the retaining of many older boys in the institution and the harshness of some of the punishment dealt out. Upon the first issue Turner noted in several of his Inspector's reports that a considerable number of the inmates at the Market Weighton institution were young men rather than boys. This was due, he stated, to them having been committed to the reformatory for long periods, such as four or five years, and retained for the whole of their sentences rather than being released on licence.¹¹⁷ The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory had not, unlike other reformatories, introduced a licencing system whereby it could place boys (issuing them a ticket of leave) with friends or employers.¹¹⁸ Placing older boys (who usually had served three years of their sentences) out on licence, according to Turner, had many benefits:

It enables the managers to maintain a control over those whom they place out for a considerable period after they have passed from the actual restraint of the school, and to accustom them to the habits, duties, and temptations of free life, before entirely launching them amidst its trials. It is undoubtedly far better for the boy or girl to be thus gradually restored to freedom and accustomed to self government in partial liberty, than to be detained for the full term of their sentence under the exact and necessarily artificial discipline of the school.¹¹⁹

This was, Turner stated, the intention behind the awarding of long sentences: to allow for a period of confinement in the reformatory as well as a period of gradual reintegration into the routines of normal life under a ticket of leave. He also argued that three years in the reformatory should be sufficient time in which to reform the character and morals of juvenile offenders:

¹¹⁶ PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.57.

¹¹⁷ PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.56.

¹¹⁸ PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.15; PP 1862, *Fifth Report of the Inspector*, p.18.

¹¹⁹ PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.15.

This is in fact the intention and purpose of such long sentences of detention as the Reformatory Acts allow of. To keep a lad of average age in a reformatory for five years or even four years should hardly ever be necessary. If he has not improved sufficiently to be placed out, and put in the way of supporting himself by his own labour, in at the most three years it is a sign that there is a want of life and vigour in the school; that there is more routine management and mere discipline than of personal and moral influence on the part of the superintendent and teachers.¹²⁰

Turner concluded that failure to introduce the licencing system was imprudent:

I believe this system to be injudicious, in a strictly organised reformatory such as this, where discipline is carefully enforced, and likely to result in great disappointment to the expectations and efforts of the school managers. It has great drawbacks; it keeps the lad in the school when he ought, as to age and physical strength, to be earning his livelihood independently. It continues too long the more childish state of obedience to school regulations, and familiarity with boyish sports and habits; and it deprives the managers of the power of placing out the boys on licence, and so gradually introducing him into life, and accustoming him to free action when about 17 or 18, previously to finally discharging him. I do not believe that the longer detention has any effect in making the reformation of the boys character more complete and permanent... there is no doubt that in most cases the boys' efforts to improve wear out, and that discontent takes the place of hope and energy when the detention is prolonged much after the third year.¹²¹

In his sixth annual report for the year 1862, Turner stated that Caccia's insistence on keeping the older boys within the institution rather than letting them out on licence had led to a decline in their behaviour: 'the boys appeared to have given more trouble in reference to conduct and discipline than in previous years, the chief cause of which I believe to be the impatience of the older lads at being too long detained'.¹²² In response to Turner's criticism Caccia countered that detaining boys for longer periods was necessary for their reformation and that it was, in any case, impossible to place criminal Catholic boys in suitable situations:

I have expressed my opinion on many occasions regarding the necessity of a lengthened period of detention, now I say only that magistrates take the same views of the matter, as out of sixty-nine boys sent to Market Weighton during the last fifteen months, there are fifty-one for five years detention. But as the same Rev. gentleman makes a *long sentence* one of the essential points in the Reformatory System, I cannot understand the object of his remark on the boys being *too long detained* at Market Weighton, except by the difference between *sentence* and *detention*, as he seems to imply that I ought to use the power of sending boys out on leave, and of petitioning for a warrant of discharge for good conduct after staying three years, for boys

¹²⁰ PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.15.

¹²¹ PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, pp.56-57.

¹²² PP 1863, XXIV, *Sixth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.46.

sentenced to four or five years' detention. I omit at present to repeat the old story, that I cannot find situations in order to be able to send them away on a ticket-of-leave, or a warrant of discharge.¹²³

Turner, however, maintained that the length of the inmates' detention in the school, and the advanced age many reached before leaving the institution reflected Caccia's failure 'to understand the character and the condition of the life of the boys'.¹²⁴ The matter of detaining the boys for the duration of their sentences remained a contentious issue between the government Inspector of Reformatories and Father Caccia for the period of his superintendence at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory which despite criticisms and pressure to change continued to shun the licencing system.

The second criticism levelled at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory during the latter part of Father Caccia's superintendence was regarding the severity of punishments. These included for example confinement to a punishment cell with reduced rations for up to three days, and up to eighteen strokes with a birch rod or school cane.¹²⁵ These punishments were administered at Market Weighton by the superintendent, the 'prefect' or assistant superintendent, and, on occasion other members of the religious brotherhood in charge at the institution. Whilst the government Inspector endorsed such methods as necessary tools of the reformatory system, he cautioned that these forms of punishment should be reserved for cases of particularly bad conduct. Conduct such as insolence or defiance towards a member of staff, indecent behaviour and cruelty towards their peers should, according to Turner, be punished in such manner.¹²⁶ Turner cautioned also that the superintendent should sanction each instance of the confinement of inmates to a punishment cell, and in the case of corporal punishment only the superintendent himself should administer it.¹²⁷ However, since this was

¹²³ *Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1864), p.17.

¹²⁴ PP 1864, XXVI, *Seventh Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.47.

¹²⁵ TNA H045/9574/B0107, *General Rules and Regulations*.

¹²⁶ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.12.

¹²⁷ Turner, 'Reformatory Schools: A Letter to C. B. Adderley', p.12.

not the case at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory Turner was dissatisfied with, and critical of, the severity of some of the punishments recorded, commenting in 1862 that ‘the punishments had been in some cases more severe than I think the school-character which should belong to a reformatory, allows of’.¹²⁸ Furthermore, the ‘considerable number’ of ‘serious punishments’ was commented upon again unfavourably by the Inspector the following year.¹²⁹ In his seventh annual report Turner condemned ‘the minute and severe discipline to which they [the inmates] are throughout subjected’ and suggested a harsher regime considered by Caccia ‘favourable to order and submission’ had been adopted at the institution.¹³⁰ The adoption of harsher discipline to enforce order and submission at Market Weighton was likely due to the increased numbers of inmates at this time due to the pressure of applications for admission because of the restrictions on receptions at the troubled Catholic reformatory at Mount St. Bernard’s Abbey. The numbers of inmates in the institution in the early 1860s (their number reached 213 by 1862 which was more ‘than the school can conveniently accommodate’ according to the Inspector) exacerbated the problem, as discussed above, of large numbers of older boys being held within the institution rather than being released on licence, who, according to Turner, had recently caused more trouble than previously due to their increased dissatisfaction at being too long detained.¹³¹ Caccia’s adoption of a regime of severer discipline and punishments was, therefore, aimed at imposing order on an expanding and increasingly unsettled body of inmates during the latter period of his superintendence. This system had the desired effect in that incidences of unrest and insubordination on the part of the inmates declined. However, it also meant, according to Turner, that the reformatory was not necessarily, during this period, managed as effectively as it might have been. This was, Turner suggested, because many of the inmates only

¹²⁸ PP 1863, *Sixth Report of the Inspector*, p.47.

¹²⁹ PP 1864, *Seventh Report of the Inspector*, p.46.

¹³⁰ PP 1864, *Seventh Report of the Inspector*, p.47.

¹³¹ PP 1863, *Sixth Report of the Inspector*, p.47.

submitted themselves to the external order imposed upon them, rather than becoming reformed individuals.¹³² As previously discussed the moral transformation of the inmates from within was crucial for Turner who believed that inmates in reformatory regimes should be taught to '*think rightly*' and thereby '*act rightly*' for themselves: 'voluntary, not forced, good conduct' was crucial 'for this alone will *last*'.¹³³ It was the perceived absence of these attributes in the regime at Market Weighton that prompted his criticisms of its reformatory regime at this time.

By the end of 1865 Father Caccia had resigned the office of director of the reformatory and removed to the superintendence of a Catholic mission in South Wales.¹³⁴ He was replaced by Father Stephen Peter Castellano whose superintendence saw the introduction of a system 'wisely adopted of not detaining the boys so long' and the adoption of a 'more kindly discipline', which was, according to Turner, an improvement to the system at Market Weighton.¹³⁵ However, despite this improvement the Inspector nevertheless spoke highly of Father Caccia upon his departure, 'to whose ability and experience' he stated 'the organisation and arrangements of the institution have been so materially indebted'.¹³⁶ This sentiment was echoed by the committee of management who, when commenting upon Caccia's departure, stated that they wished their thanks 'be especially given to the Rev Father Caccia' for his 'attention to the interests of the institution and for his efficient management of it during the whole time that he held the position of Director'.¹³⁷ Despite the criticisms of aspects of Caccia's regime, therefore, the overall performance of the reformatory and his administration of it were well regarded by both the Inspector and the committee of

¹³² PP 1864, *Seventh Report of the Inspector*, p.47.

¹³³ Sydney Turner, *Report on a Visit to Mettray*, (London, 1849), p.8. [original emphasis]; Turner; Paynter, "*La Colonie Agricole*", p.15.

¹³⁴ *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.4.

¹³⁵ PP 1867, *Tenth Report of the Inspector*, p.60.

¹³⁶ PP 1866, XXXVIII, *Ninth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.56.

¹³⁷ ERoY Archives, DDSW/51, *Committee of Management Minute Book 1855-1914*, Meeting Held on 27 August 1866.

management. Whilst the Inspector of Reformatories did raise concerns regarding the number of older boys held and the severity of punishment within the institution towards the end of Caccia's superintendence, these factors did not, on the whole, prevent the regime from successfully effecting the translation of the rural idyll into spatially informed reformatory practice during the greater part of his superintendence.

The final period in the management of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School to be examined is that of Father Stephen Peter Castellano. Originally from Italy, Father Castellano was ordained in Britain in 1855, where he was engaged in the philanthropic works of the Fathers of Charity in the Midlands.¹³⁸ Upon the resignation of Father Caccia, Castellano was immediately appointed as his successor and his superintendence of the institution spanned 41 years, from September 1865 to September 1906. Under Father Castellano's control the institution witnessed a reinvigoration and expansion of the industrial training and educational provision as the instruction of inmates in these areas became the priorities of the regime. The industrial training and educational provision of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory's regime had been, under Caccia's superintendence, well regarded by the Inspector of Reformatories, however, they came to the fore during Castellano's charge. The farm and its stock for example were expanded considerably during the first two years of Castellano's superintendence from 120 acres in 1865, to encompass nearly 400 acres by 1867.¹³⁹ This meant that the inmates could be afforded sufficient agricultural occupation which Castellano stated was 'the most healthy employment for the boys'.¹⁴⁰ In making industrial training a priority, Castellano sought to expand the knowledge and skills the reformatory was able to teach its inmates, thereby making them more accomplished workers

¹³⁸ Hicks, *Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, p.26; ERoY Archives, DDSW/101, *The Institute of the Fathers of Charity*.

¹³⁹ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1868), p.13; PP 1868, *Eleventh Report of the Inspector*, p.57.

¹⁴⁰ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1868), p.13

upon their release. In taking on a larger farm, for example, which consisted of largely uncultivated land, the inmates were able to learn the skills needed for applying different drainage and sewerage systems, as well as applying different crop rotation systems. The staff engaged to instruct the inmates in their industrial training on the farm, were, according to Castellano, highly skilled and were ‘unremitting in their exertions’ with the boys.¹⁴¹ The quality of the farm and the inmates’ training in rural labour were frequently commented upon favourably by the reformatory inspectorate. Both Turner and his deputy, Henry Rogers, referred to the ‘very well cultivated’ farm and the nature of the work done on the farm which was, they stated, ‘real and thoroughly attended to’.¹⁴² Moreover Turner’s successor, William Inglis, also echoed this sentiment, stating in regard to the rural labour training, for example, that: ‘All work is carried on energetically with good practical results’.¹⁴³ Agricultural labour was also ‘one of the most remunerative’ forms of moral reform and training to the institution and its advance and its application to the expanded acreage of the farm also had the advantage of boosting the income of the reformatory.¹⁴⁴

The prioritisation of the inmates’ industrial training at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory under Castellano was also evident in the expansion of the number of trades taught and in the enlargement and improvement of the workshops provided for this instruction. Additional trades such as stocking-making and printing were introduced to the regime, giving boys a wider range of employment opportunities upon leaving the reformatory. Under Castellano’s regime those trades already well established at the institution were also reinvigorated by the purchase of new modern machinery in order to broaden the inmates’ trade skills, allowing them to ‘compete with regular tradesmen’ upon their

¹⁴¹ *Twelfth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1869), p.13

¹⁴² PP 1871, XXVIII, *Fourteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.79; PP 1872, XXX, *Fifteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.80.

¹⁴³ PP 1878, *Twenty-First Report of the Inspector*, p.91.

¹⁴⁴ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1868), p.13.

release.¹⁴⁵ The reinvigoration of the industrial training of inmates was also evident in the enlargement of the existing workshops and the addition of new ones in order to provide better work spaces for those engaged in the various trades taught. The Inspector commented favourably on these improvements:

Some useful alterations have been made in the arrangements of the premises, the workshops for the tailoring and shoe making classes have been enlarged, the adjoining building raised and a carpenter's shop fitted up in the upper portion of it, the smith's shop being removed and placed near the farm buildings, outside.¹⁴⁶

As well as enlarging the workshops Castellano also instigated the improvement of the conditions within them, ensuring that there was 'an abundance of space, light and ventilation'.¹⁴⁷ As was the case with the expansion of agricultural training, the expansion of industrial training in the trades was remunerative and its advance and expansion also had the advantage of boosting the income of the reformatory.¹⁴⁸

Another way in which the industrial training at Market Weighton was expanded as a result of Castellano's prioritisation of this aspect of the regime was through the introduction of a nautical class 'for the benefit of those boys who intend leading a sea-fairing life'.¹⁴⁹ In providing boys with the opportunity to receive nautical training the reformatory aimed to broaden their employment opportunities upon leaving the institution as these boys were encouraged to join the navy upon their release. The introduction of a nautical class, according to Castellano, gave inmates the opportunity to 'obtain a knowledge of the various parts of a ship, and be enabled to obtain better wages at the outset'.¹⁵⁰ To further this object a boat was purchased in which inmates were taught, as far as possible, the management of sail and oar in the adjacent canal.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.18.

¹⁴⁶ PP 1867, *Tenth Report of the Inspector*, p.60.

¹⁴⁷ PP 1871, *Fourteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.78.

¹⁴⁸ *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.18.

¹⁴⁹ *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.18.

¹⁵⁰ *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.18.

¹⁵¹ *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.18.

The educational provision at Market Weighton was also prioritised under Castellano's superintendence and the standard of the education under his charge was frequently praised by the Inspector of Reformatories. In the *Eleventh Report of the Inspector of Reformatories* for the year 1867, with regard to the educational condition of the school Turner commented that: 'The school stands in this respect above all other English Reformatories'.¹⁵² The inmates at Market Weighton he stated made 'more rapid progress than in any school I have inspected'.¹⁵³ This high praise for the standard of education continued throughout Castellano's regime with the government Inspector asserting that 'very few of our schools could compete with Market Weighton in this respect' and 'the standard of education is quite above that of ordinary reformatory schools'.¹⁵⁴ The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory under Castellano, therefore, became something of a yardstick by which the inspectorate measured other reformatory institutions' educational provision. In consequence of such developments and of the inspectorate's satisfaction at the overall management of the institution, the annual reports of the Inspector of Reformatories often expressed general approval of the Market Weighton reformatory under Father Castellano. It was stated in the 1870 report, for example, that 'the school continues to be very well managed, and in point of building arrangements, general fitness, and efficient superintendence, stands in the foremost rank of reformatory schools'.¹⁵⁵ Similar sentiments were expressed in 1874 when the Inspector judged that the reformatory was 'in excellent order... The establishment generally indicated careful and thoughtful regulation, and systematic supervision'.¹⁵⁶

During Castellano's tenure as superintendent, however, certain issues posed problems for the director. One particularly prominent issue was the financial constraints under which

¹⁵² PP 1868, *Eleventh Report of the Inspector*, p.57.

¹⁵³ PP 1868, *Eleventh Report of the Inspector*, p.57.

¹⁵⁴ PP 1870, XXXVI, *Thirteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.69; PP 1871, *Fourteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.78.

¹⁵⁵ PP 1871, *Fourteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.79.

¹⁵⁶ PP 1875, XXXVI, *Eighteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.104.

the institution operated, particularly during the early years of his regime. As a result of the costs incurred in the establishment of the reformatory school, and in the subsequent building works carried out to enlarge and improve the institution, the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory carried with it, for several years, a debt. In the 1865 annual report of the institution this debt was reported as amounting to £3,100 and whilst this figure was gradually reduced and paid off in the late 1870s, it nevertheless impinged upon the running of the reformatory during this time.¹⁵⁷ The existence of this debt impacted particularly upon the disposal of the inmates upon the expiration of their sentences by limiting, for example, the numbers of boys who could be disposed of by means of emigration. Emigration was especially effective, according to Castellano, because it completely separated boys from their former urban environments and their associates within them, helping to prevent them from relapsing into their former criminal lives. He explained:

Emigration to the Colonies is one of the safest modes of disposal of a Reformatory boy. By cutting him off at one stroke from all connexion with his old associates, and placing him in a new sphere of life, it removes him far away from the more immediate cause of relapse. Whenever it has been fairly tried, it has been attended with the most favourable results. Taking Redhill as a case in point, it appears that, while of the home disposals the result given in the last Report is 79 per cent unconvicted and 20 per cent re-convicted, of those boys who emigrated 88 per cent are unconvicted and 7 per cent only re-convicted. The Reverend Manager of the Upton Reformatory, Cork, in a letter lately received, attributes the very few cases of re-conviction amongst the boys discharged from that School, to the fact that so many of them emigrated. Fully impressed with the truth of this the Managers are very anxious to promote emigration, but funds are wanting for the purpose.¹⁵⁸

The availability of emigration as a means of disposal was, however, a limited option at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory due to the debt incumbent on the institution because financial constraints meant that very limited funds were available to cover the costs of emigration. The management committee therefore urged the importance of paying off this debt as soon as possible:

¹⁵⁷ *Eighth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1865), p.6.

¹⁵⁸ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1868), p.14.

The debt on the Institution has during the last year been reduced from £2,001 to £1,730, but it is very desirable that this remaining incumbrance should be at once got rid of so as to enable better provision to be made for the boys on discharge, especially in the way of emigration, which is often the most eligible mode of disposal and would give to many well-disposed youths the best opportunity of commencing a new life and of supporting themselves by honest labour and good conduct, but the first cost of sending youths out is more than we are at present able to incur, and this is one especial reason why our returns do not appear to show such good results as may be observed in Institutions which have the means of sending out most of their discharged youths as emigrants to the colonies. The committee therefore trust that an extra effort will now be made to discharge at once this debt which interferes so much with the results of the Reformatory treatment in our Institution.¹⁵⁹

The Committee believed, therefore, that the inability of the Market Weighton reformatory to send large numbers of boys out to the colonies upon their release was impacting on the results of the school in regard to the numbers of those known to be doing well after discharge. Sentiments echoed by Castellano who argued that until the reformatory could effectually provide for the emigration of its discharged inmates it would compare unfavourably in terms of the numbers of those doing well after their discharge and not suffering reconvictions with those reformatories that could provide this means of disposal.¹⁶⁰ He stated that ‘Red Hill Reformatory is reported to have sent last year 40 boys to the colonies. We have here the secret of the fewer reconvictions reported against that School’.¹⁶¹ This debt remained with the reformatory until the late 1870s when it was paid off (due in no small part to the profitability of the industrial departments which, as discussed, Castellano had worked to improve as part of his prioritisation of the industrial training of boys, which had also increased the profitability of these departments) and it continued to impact upon the inability of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory to dispose of its inmates in this most effective way until then.

As Castellano’s superintendence wore on other issues arose at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory which were highlighted by the Inspector of Reformatories as causes for concern.

¹⁵⁹ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1868), p.3.

¹⁶⁰ *Twelfth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1869), p.13.

¹⁶¹ *Twelfth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1869), p.13.

For example, the extent of the use of punishments gave rise to some concern during the early 1870s. In the annual report of the government Inspector for the year 1871, for example, Sydney Turner stated that ‘there seemed to me to be too much punishment’.¹⁶² He noted also his disapproval of the strict ‘military character’ of the discipline carried out at the reformatory.¹⁶³ The Inspector was also dissatisfied with the number of petty offences being dealt with by corporal punishment. Turner’s deputy, Henry Rogers, also reported unfavourably on this aspect of the regime the following year, stating that there was:

A considerable average of punishment. Discipline is maintained by resorting too freely to the infliction of corporal punishment. There is not sufficient encouragement. I found a great many punishments for slight offences in the shops and schoolroom. I thought the boys unnecessarily harassed, and that offences of a trifling character could be differently dealt with.¹⁶⁴

A feeling of alienation appears to have spread amongst some of the boys caused by this punishment regime. In October 1872, a ‘considerable disturbance occurred’ during which 50 boys escaped from the reformatory.¹⁶⁵ The incident had been carefully planned by the group, the leader of which obtained possession of a key to the institution and used it to unlock a door through which 50 stampeded into the surrounding countryside.¹⁶⁶ Order was immediately re-established at the reformatory and those involved were quickly recovered and returned. Henry Rogers concluded that this incident was the result of the ‘spirit of discontent’ which existed amongst a small number of the boys at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory. In the wake of the outbreak the institution was advised by the inspectorate to alter its disciplinary regime.¹⁶⁷ This advice appears to have been accepted as Castellano and his staff implemented a milder disciplinary regime from this point onwards. The following year Turner reported that ‘the conduct of the boys has been very satisfactory since the outbreak and disorder of the

¹⁶² PP 1872, *Fifteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.80.

¹⁶³ PP 1872, *Fifteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.80.

¹⁶⁴ PP 1873, *Sixteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.78.

¹⁶⁵ PP 1873, *Sixteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.78; *York Herald*, 26 October 1872.

¹⁶⁶ *York Herald*, 26 October 1872.

¹⁶⁷ PP 1873, *Sixteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.79.

previous year', he noted also their 'more comfortable and contented spirit' due to the changes in the disciplinary regime.¹⁶⁸ For the remainder of the period the inspectorate noted with satisfaction the reduction in the number serious punishments and the milder tone of the general approach to discipline in the institution.

The reformatory inspectorate also raised concerns, towards the end of Castellano's superintendence, regarding the state of some of the reformatory buildings. The Inspector stated that these were in need of modernisation, particularly the dining and washing facilities, in which he stated 'there is a painful want of anything like comfort or refinement'.¹⁶⁹ The ventilation in the dormitories, schoolroom and dining room were also considered to be poor, as were the provisions for the sick-room.¹⁷⁰ The health of some of the inmates also became, according to the annual report for 1900, 'a cause of serious anxiety'.¹⁷¹ This led to the reformatory inspectorate declaring that 'until the health improves, and the various alterations for effecting this have been completed, the school cannot be considered in a satisfactory state'.¹⁷² Improvements were made to the physical condition of the reformatory as measures were taken to modernise the sanitary provisions by the installation of new baths and showers. Improvements were also made to the ventilation of the buildings by the addition of extra windows and the lowering of the schoolroom floor to increase air space and air flow.¹⁷³ As a result of these alterations, and better provisions made for the sick-room, the health of the inmates improved.¹⁷⁴ However, by the end of Castellano's tenancy as superintendent the health of the inmates was once again regarded as a cause for concern by the inspectorate.

¹⁶⁸ PP 1874, *Seventeenth Report of the Inspector*, p.81.

¹⁶⁹ PP 1899, XLIV, *Forty-Second Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.126.

¹⁷⁰ PP 1901, XXXIII, *Forty-Fourth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.72.

¹⁷¹ PP 1901, *Forty-Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.74.

¹⁷² PP 1901, *Forty-Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.74.

¹⁷³ PP 1903, XXIX, *Forty-Sixth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.72.

¹⁷⁴ PP 1903, *Forty-Sixth Report of the Inspector*, p.74.

In September 1906 Father Castellano retired as the superintendent of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory and Father Charles Francis Ottway took over the position.¹⁷⁵ Whilst Castellano's superintendence had encountered some problems, namely the financial constraints under which it operated in the early years of his tenure, and the reformatory inspectorate had, at times, raised concerns regarding specific aspects of his regime, on the whole there remained throughout his long superintendence a general satisfaction with the way in which the institution was managed. The overall performance of the reformatory and Castellano's administration of it were generally well regarded and considered to be satisfactory by both the inspectorate and the committee of management throughout the period.¹⁷⁶ In receiving criticisms of specific aspects of his regime, Castellano appears to have accepted the issues raised and reacted to them in order to improve the operation of the institution. These issues were not, therefore, judged to impede the overall effective functioning of the spatially informed reformatory practice in place at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory. Therefore, it can be said that, on the whole, Father Castellano's regime successfully effected the translation of the rural idyll into spatially informed reformatory practice.

As the discussion in this chapter has shown, by applying Lefebvre's triad of space to the examination of the reformatory regime of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School it is evident that elements of spatially informed reformatory practice, which correlate with the triad, were in place at this institution. It is important to consider the three elements of the triad as a whole since, according to Lefebvre, rather than being distinctly separate and static categories in an abstract model, each of the three parts potentially shapes the other parts.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ PP 1907, XLII, *Fiftieth Report for the Year 1906 of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.72.

¹⁷⁶ ERoY Archives, DDSW/96, *Notes on the History of the St. William's School and Site, 1842-1941*; See Various Inspector of Reformatories Reports; ERoY Archives, DDSW/51, *Committee of Management Minute Book 1855-1914*.

¹⁷⁷ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.40.

Lefebvre's discussion of the spatial triad posits that the greatest transformative use of space occurs when the three triadic elements combine dynamically and effectively to create space. After disseminating each part of the triad in the discussion of this chapter it is now possible to consider the triad as a whole with regard to the spatially informed reformatory practice undertaken at Market Weighton. In doing so it appears that in the case of this reformatory establishment these three elements of spatial reformatory practice; spatial practice, representations of space and representational space, were, on the whole, successfully facilitated and dynamically combined to effectively create a coherent whole.¹⁷⁸ The application of Lefebvre's triad paradigm has, therefore, enabled a multi-layered examination of the 'production of space' which has facilitated a richer understanding of the reformatory regime implemented at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory. It has, through the examination conducted in this chapter, become apparent that despite some criticisms of certain specific aspects of the regime at Market Weighton, and the impact of the debt under which the reformatory operated until the late 1870s upon the disposal of boys, for example, the institution effectively translated practices inspired by the rural idyll into ideally recreated rural reformatory space. After having examined the reformatory practice at each individual reformatory school thus far, the final chapter of the thesis will provide a comparative evaluation of these regimes and the effectiveness each achieved.

¹⁷⁸ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.40.

Chapter 6

Comparative Evaluation of the Effectiveness of the Reformatory Practices Implemented at the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School

Having conducted a detailed examination of the inner workings of the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, the thesis will now provide a comparative evaluation of the effectiveness of the reformatory practices employed at these institutions. Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad model has been employed in previous chapters as a heuristic device through which to examine the reformatory regimes in place at these institutions. This has highlighted the most salient and similar spatial aspects of these regimes. These identified similar areas of spatial practice will inform the discussion in this chapter but the triad model will not be utilised as the overarching framework of comparative investigation. Instead, to facilitate a comparative analysis of the differences in the effectiveness of the implementation of spatially informed reformatory practices at the three reformatory schools a variation finding approach will be employed to analyse and evaluate variably key aspects of the management regimes of these institutions identified by the empirical analysis conducted in conjunction with the triad model in the three previous chapters. As Charles Tilly has argued a variation finding approach lends itself to the task of identifying key differences within essentially similar phenomena.¹ This comparative analytical evaluation will encompass, therefore, discussion of the financial arrangements of these institutions, the spatial physicality of the schools, the industrial training and elementary education provided by each, as well as the staff and boys who inhabited these reformatories.

¹ Charles Tilly, *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons*, (Russell Sage Foundation: New York, 1985), pp.81-143.

In conducting a comparative evaluation of the performance of the reformatory practices implemented at the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, the denominational difference between these institutions is worthy of discussion here. Whilst the Philanthropic Society Farm School was a Protestant, Church of England institution, both the Mount St. Bernard and Yorkshire Catholic Reformatories were Roman Catholic establishments. During the nineteenth century Britain experienced a mass influx of Irish immigrants, particularly during the Famine period of 1845-1852.² Irish immigrants (the terms Irish and Catholic were virtually synonymous in British eyes at this time) were widely regarded as harbingers of crime and disorder (this applied not only to adults but to children) they were held to be more criminal than other sections of British society, and, as such, a salient part of 'the dangerous classes'.³ Whilst Irish immigrants were not an homogenous group, poor Irish Catholics were the largest and most visible portion. The presence of large numbers of poor Irish Catholics, particularly in northern towns and cities, fuelled further the anti-Catholicism which had been present in Britain for centuries and was greatly reinforced by the Evangelical Revival.⁴

This view of the Irish as troublesome and prone to mischief, as it applied to youths in reformatory institutions, was commented upon by Sydney Turner in his Government Inspector's Reports. In these reports Turner referred to the 'difficulties which the managers of Catholic schools have to deal with in the almost exclusively Irish element they receive'.⁵ The difficult nature of this Irish element came from what Turner described as their inherent

² According to Roger Swift in 1841 the Irish born population of England, Wales and Scotland totalled 415,725 by 1851 this had risen to 727,326 and by 1861 this figure peaked at 805,717 when it comprised 3.5 per cent of the total population. See: Roger Swift, *The Irish in Britain 1815-1914 Perspectives and Sources*, (The Historical Association: London, 1990), p.11.

³ Swift, *The Irish in Britain*, p.22.

⁴ Swift, *The Irish in Britain*, p.29.

⁵ Parliamentary Paper (hereafter PP) 1865, XXV, *Eighth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.8.

impulsiveness which he suggested made them ‘naturally more rough and unruly’.⁶ This was in contrast, he suggested, to the inmates of Protestant institutions such as Redhill for example, who, according to the Inspector, belonged to a more orderly and settled class of the population.⁷ Whilst the character and impulsive nature of the Irish was taken into consideration by the Inspector of Reformatories, for example, when evaluating reformatory performance it was not, however, regarded as a major operational concern to reformatory managers and those involved with reformatory schools since it was not regarded as an influence on reformatory practice other than that pertaining to religious observation. Thus, whilst the Catholicism of the Mount St. Bernard and Yorkshire Catholic Reformatories as opposed to the Protestantism of the Philanthropic Society Farm School is a necessary consideration; in terms of evaluating the comparative performance of the reformatory practices of each institution this is not a sufficient explanatory factor.

In turning then to the comparative evaluation of the performance of the reformatory practices implemented at the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, the discussion will begin with a consideration of the financial arrangements of reformatory schools. According to the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854 reformatory schools were to be run on an independent basis by voluntary management aided by voluntary subscriptions. According to the Act, parents of convicted children had a duty to contribute to the maintenance of their offspring whilst at the reformatory school where possible.⁸ The government was empowered under the 1854 Act to examine and certify reformatory schools and to assist with the cost of maintaining offenders

⁶ PP 1872, XXX, *Fifteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.80.

⁷ PP 1875, XXXVI, *Eighteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.17.

⁸ E. Hartley, ‘The Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency: Aspects of the English Reformatory and Industrial School Movement in the Nineteenth Century’, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 1986), p.123.

sent to these certified private reformatory institutions.⁹ The government grant for each child committed was set at seven shillings per week in 1854.¹⁰

The financial support provided by the government to reformatory schools was essential from the outset, and this aid steadily increased throughout the period, particularly as voluntary subscriptions and contributions declined after 1860.¹¹ During the period 1853–1873 treasury contributions increased from just under £44,000 per annum to £85,000.¹² Voluntary contributions to the reformatory schools were initially high. Sydney Turner reported in his *Second Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain* published in 1859, that £150,000 had been given in the founding and starting up of the reformatory schools which were in operation up to that point.¹³ This was, he stated, ‘a noble testimony to the sincerity and earnestness with which the promoters of reformatory agency have laboured in the cause’.¹⁴ For the year 1858, upon which the *Second Report of the Inspector* was based, the amount donated to reformatory schools through voluntary contributions was £13,102.¹⁵ This amount increased to £16,168 in 1859 and it peaked at £24,903 in 1860.¹⁶ The amount donated in this way however decreased after 1860 and by the time of the *Tenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatories* (1867) for example, voluntary contributions amounted to only £7,480.¹⁷ Whilst voluntary contributions failed to reach the highs of earlier years post 1860, the amount donated varied year on year so that some years saw highs of around £12,230, for

⁹ John Stack, ‘The Provision of Reformatory Schools, the Landed Class, and the Myth of the Superiority of Rural Life in Mid-Victorian England’, *History of Education*, Vol.8, No.1, (1979), p.34.

¹⁰ Hartley, ‘Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency’, p.126.

¹¹ PP 1887, XLII, *Thirtieth Report for the Year 1886 of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.8.

¹² See various Reports of the Government Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain; Hartley, ‘Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency’, p.125; Further aid was given by the Committee of Council Grant which provided some money towards the rent, equipment and raw materials needed by these schools, see: PP 1856, XLVI, *Minutes of the Committee of Council of Education Offering Grants for the Promotion of Schools wherein Children of the Criminal and Abandoned Classes may be Reformed by Industrial Training*, (2 June 1856).

¹³ PP 1859, *Second Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, p.24.

¹⁴ PP 1859, *Second Report of the Inspector*, p.24.

¹⁵ PP 1859, *Second Report of the Inspector*, p.24.

¹⁶ PP 1887, *Thirtieth Report of the Inspector*, p.8.

¹⁷ PP 1867, XXXVI, *Tenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.11.

example, whilst others saw much smaller voluntary contributions of around £3,780.¹⁸ This variation in voluntary contributions can be seen in the accounts of the three reformatory institutions which form the basis of this thesis. At Redhill, for example, voluntary contributions amounted to around £780 in 1855 and around £440 in 1863, after this year such donations fell to around £249 in 1875.¹⁹ Similarly, these figures also fluctuated at the Whitwick institution, ranging from a high of £161 in 1864 to a low of £51 in 1866.²⁰

The financial burdens of the reformatory schools discussed above were not offset by parental contributions. This was partly because they were not intended to form a major part of the system of funding and partly because it proved to be difficult to extract payment from parents.²¹ Although this contributory principle remained official policy, its worth in actual terms was minimal.²² In the year 1855 the Philanthropic Society Farm School, for example, received £135 from parental contributions out of a total income of £15,617; similarly, in 1859 the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory received £27 from parental contributions out of a total income of £2,769; and in 1864, for example, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory received £57 from parental contributions out of a total income of £2,936.²³ This illustrates the difficulties each institution faced in extracting payments from the parents of its inmates who

¹⁸ PP 1868, XXXVI, *Eleventh Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.9; PP 1887, *Thirtieth Report of the Inspector*, p.8.

¹⁹ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Reigate, Surrey, (London, 1856); *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Reigate, Surrey, (Varty: London, 1864); *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Reigate, Surrey, (Waterlow and Sons: London, 1876).

²⁰ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School, Mount St. Bernard's*, December 1864, (John J. Sale: Manchester, 1864); *Annual Report of the Reformatory School, Mount St. Bernard's*, November 1866, (John J. Sale: Manchester, 1867).

²¹ Hartley, 'Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency', p.128; PP 1869, XXX, *Twelfth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.15.

²² Hartley, 'Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency', p.128.

²³ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1856); *The Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*, January 1860, (Richardson and Son: London, 1860); *Annual Report of the Reformatory School, Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864).

were often unable or unwilling to contribute. By 1882 the total state contribution stood at £134,000 whilst parental contributions constituted less than five per cent of that sum.²⁴

Having considered the general financial arrangements of reformatory schools during this period it is now necessary to consider the financial health of the Redhill, Whitwick and Market Weighton institutions more specifically by looking, for example, at the balance of income and expenditure at each. In examining the statements of receipts and expenditure produced by each institution throughout the period it is evident that each experienced variable levels of financial health. The Philanthropic Society Farm School's finances appear to have fared particularly well over the period of study. Each year for example the institution saw a surplus of income after having covered all necessary expenditure, this surplus ranged from £520 to £1,914 from 1854 to 1883.²⁵ The institution's financial health was largely due to the increasing success of the farm and industrial departments, which garnered annual profits of between £500 and £2,000 from 1854 to 1883.²⁶ The stabilisation of expenditure over the period also contributed to the financial health of the Redhill School. (The reformatory generally became more expensive to run over the period but other aspects of expenditure decreased, including, for example, the cost of emigration and building works).²⁷ The surpluses in income and the profitability of the farm and industrial departments enabled the Philanthropic Society Farm School to undergo a period of self-funded physical expansion during the late 1860s and early 1870s which included the erection of the Moxon Hall (used for entertainments, lectures, harvest home celebrations and various meetings and services) and enlargements and improvements to the houses, Chapel, and other buildings. Finally, the

²⁴ Hartley, 'Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency', p.129.

²⁵ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Reigate, Surrey, 1860, (Varty: London, 1860), pp.46-51; *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Reigate, Surrey, 1868, (Warterlow and Sons: London, 1868), pp.54-60.

²⁶ See Annual Reports for the Philanthropic Society Farm School 1855-1884.

²⁷ The cost of running the school increased year on year from £6,145 in 1854 to £7,660 in 1875 for example, due to the increase in inmate population particularly from the 1870s onwards.

financial health of the Redhill institution was aided by a marginal increase in income from the County and Boroughs maintenance payments, indicating a growing faith in the institution from these local government bodies. The institution remained free from debt throughout the period, an achievement which the Mount St. Bernard and Yorkshire Catholic Reformatories did not realise.

Conversely, the finances of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School did not fare so well. From the outset the cost of establishing the institution had exceeded the funds available to its founders and, therefore, the reformatory was burdened by debt from its conception in 1856. In 1863 this debt was said to stand at £6000.²⁸ Furthermore the institution's general account highlights the fact that despite farming being the main occupation of the inmates, it did not, as at Redhill, form as significant a portion of the reformatory's income. This consequently appears to have come mainly from the government's payments. This was not sufficient to finance the workings of the reformatory and the institution carried with it a financial deficit during the 1860s. It also carried the burden of a loan of £600 taken in order to be able to complete necessary building works to extend and improve the reformatory.²⁹ Thus, the institution was in debt throughout the 1860s. Whilst similar financial information has not survived for the 1870s, it is evident that the institution's finances continued to be problematic for the duration of its existence. For example, financial straits compelled the reformatory during the 1870s to seek a reduction in the annual rent of £200 paid by the institution to the monastic community for the lease of the reformatory land and buildings.³⁰ This was refused by the monastic community and a dispute over the issue ensued. Finally, it is evident that financial problems persisted as it was the lack of available funds which

²⁸ David Lannon, 'Bishop Turner, The Salford Diocese and Reformatory Provision 1854-1872', *British Catholic History*, Vol.23, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1997), p.393.

²⁹ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864) p.20.

³⁰ Lannon, 'Bishop Turner, The Salford Diocese and Reformatory Provision', pp.401-3.

prevented the institution undertaking the works ordered by the Home Office in order to better contain its inmates, which resulted in the reformatory's eventual closure in 1881.

The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory finances, like those of Redhill, appear to have been in a good state of health for much of the period. From its foundation and early years in the mid to late-1850s the total annual income of the institution increased considerably so that by the 1860s it had more than doubled, from £2,769 in 1859 to £6,833 in 1867.³¹ This appears to be mostly due to the profitability of the industrial department at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory.³² In 1859 the industrial department garnered a profit of £106 but by 1863 this profit had quadrupled to £413 and by the end of the 1870s it had increased nearly tenfold.³³ In consequence, as the institution developed it became far less reliant on government income which was in its early years a large portion of its total annual income. By the 1870s, for example, government payments accounted for less than half of the reformatory's income. Thus, the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory became a largely self-sufficient operation. Despite this success the institution was encumbered by a debt incurred in the establishment and expansion of the institution. By 1865 this stood at £3,100.³⁴ This debt impinged particularly upon the reformatory's ability to, for example, send boys abroad upon their discharge (as was discussed in Chapter Five). This debt was, however, gradually reduced by the institution and was eventually paid off in the 1870s. Overall, therefore, the institution's finances fared relatively well.

Overall, the Philanthropic Society Farm School stands out as the dominant institution with the largest and most diverse incomes; this reflects the institution's status as one of the

³¹ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.9; *The Eleventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School For Boys*, (Samuel Harrison: Sheffield, 1868), p.15.

³² In this context 'industrial department' refers to both the farm and the workshops.

³³ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.10; *The Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (Bernard Valentine: Sheffield, 1864), pp.21-22; *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School for the Year 1879*, (York, 1880), p.18.

³⁴ *The Eighth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (Leader and Sons: Sheffield, 1865), p.6.

most successful British reformatories and a flagship reformatory school, one which could list the Prince Consort amongst its supporters and subscribers. The Market Weighton reformatory was a financially smaller institution than Redhill and it did not benefit from the reputation that Redhill boasted, however, it too was generally financially healthy. The Mount St. Bernard Reformatory on the other hand did not experience the financial health of the other two institutions. Instead it carried with it throughout the period of study debts and deficits. This absence of financial health would eventually contribute to its eventual closure.

This chapter will now turn to a comparative evaluation of the effectiveness of key aspects of the reformatory regimes of each institution. In this evaluation HMI's annual reports will be the major source drawn upon since they are, as Teresa Ploszajska has pointed out, 'a major and independent source of information' about each institution.³⁵ These reports provide 'the official view on the efficiency and suitability of each institution' therefore they will form a crucial part of the evaluation of the effectiveness of each provided in this chapter.³⁶

In evaluating the 'efficiency and suitability' of reformatory practice the government Inspector of Reformatories considered a range of managed spatial practices undertaken by each reformatory school.³⁷ If it was judged by the Inspector that: boys were well taught a trade (agricultural labour being the priority) by zealous and skilled staff; the labour of inmates was real and practical; the educational provision (which encompassed the religious teachings) was deemed to be to a suitable standard; progress was made in the inmates' knowledge each year as a result of the work of competent teachers; boys were assisted in acquiring habits of industry and morality; those in charge of the institution exerted a kindly

³⁵ Teresa Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces: Gender Class and Space in Victorian Reformatory Schools', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.20, No.4, (1994), p.415.

³⁶ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.415.

³⁷ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.415.

yet firm control over its inmates; and there was a general feeling of satisfaction surrounding the school overall, then these institutions were judged to be effective in their implementation of reformative interventions in which inmates were ‘educated, moralised and disciplined’ by the government Inspector of Reformatories.³⁸ The comparative analysis in this chapter, therefore, encapsulates these areas of enquiry and evaluation in considering the comparative effectiveness of the three institutions. The arrangement, set out in the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act, by which reformatory schools were managed voluntarily and inspected by the state, meant that each reformatory institution could develop relatively freely their own regimes providing they did not transgress the acceptable boundaries set by the Home Office. However, as the detailed examination of the reformatory regimes of the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory in previous chapters has highlighted there were many similarities in the core aspects of the reformatory regimes that these three institutions implemented. These various and recurring aspects of these reformatory schools and their reformatory regimes will now form the basis of the comparative evaluation in this chapter.³⁹

The first aspect of these reformatory schools to be examined is the physical condition of the schools’ estate. Each of these farm school type reformatory establishments was considered to be a large institution.⁴⁰ The original site of the Philanthropic Society Farm School was around 133 acres and this was increased to 300 acres by the mid-1860s, a size which it maintained throughout the 1870s and 1880s.⁴¹ The Mount St. Bernard Reformatory

³⁸ John Muncie, *Youth and Crime*, 2nd Edition, (Sage: London, 2004), p.62; This is based on the areas of enquiry consistently pursued in the inspectorate’s reports throughout the period of study.

³⁹ In this context regime refers to the processes involved in everyday life in the reformatory and the attempt to bring about a reformation of character of youthful criminals.

⁴⁰ Any reformatory school which held over 100 inmates was considered to be a large institution; Hartley, ‘Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency’, p.152; Nicola Sheldon, ‘Something in the Place of Home’: Children in Institutional Care 1850-1918’ in N. Goose and K. Honeyman., *Childhood and Child Labour in Industrial England: Diversity and Agency, 1750-1914*, (Ashgate: Farnham, 2013), p.263.

⁴¹ Surrey History Centre (hereafter SHC) 325/24/4, *The Architect and Building Operative*, (no date); PP 1866, XXXVIII, *Ninth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.47.

School site initially comprised of around 230 acres and this was extended through the purchase and lease of additional land so that by the early 1870s it comprised of around 500 acres.⁴² After the departure of Thomas Carroll (1864-75), however, large amounts of this land were given up so that from the mid-1870s onwards the land attached to the reformatory was reduced to around 100 acres.⁴³ The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School site was around 70 acres during its early years, however, it too was extended and by 1867 the institution comprised of nearly 400 acres, which it maintained throughout the period.⁴⁴ These institutions were also considered to be large ones in terms of the number of inmates each accommodated; at Redhill a maximum of 306 boys, at Whitwick a maximum of 301, and at Market Weighton a maximum of 230.⁴⁵

Whilst each of these three reformatory schools was a similarly large institution, in other aspects of their physical state, such as their architectural style for example, there was some variation, particularly between the Redhill institution and its Catholic counterparts. The Redhill reformatory was built, according to the plans of Mr W. B. Moffatt the architect, 'in the old English farm-house style'.⁴⁶ The farmhouse style buildings at Redhill reflected the domestic and familial environments the institution was trying to recreate.⁴⁷ The Whitwick reformatory by contrast stood in the grounds of the Abbey of Mount St. Bernard. Originally built in 1835, it had been re-designed by the famous nineteenth century Catholic architect A.W.N. Pugin, and re-built in 1840-41 (by George Myers, Pugin's builder) in the Gothic

⁴² Mount St. Bernard Abbey Archives (hereafter MSBA Archives), *The Midland Catholic Reformatory, Abstract of the Proceedings at the Meeting Held at Birmingham*, December 11th, 1855, p.5; PP 1873, XXXI, *Sixteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.60.

⁴³ PP 1875, *Eighteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.85.

⁴⁴ East Riding of Yorkshire Archives (hereafter ERoY Archives), DDSW/96, *Notes on the History of St. William's School and Site 1842-1941*; PP 1868, *Eleventh Report of the Inspector*, p.57.

⁴⁵ PP 1875, *Eighteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.93; PP 1859, *Second Report of the Inspector*, p.65; PP 1889, XLII, *Thirty-Second Report for the Year 1888, of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.376.

⁴⁶ SHC 325/24/16, *The Architect and Building Operative* c.1848-49.

⁴⁷ SHC 325/24/16, *The Architect and Building Operative* c.1848-49; The farmhouse style buildings of Redhill are shown on pages 131-133.

revival style.⁴⁸ Built in Pugin's 'early English phase' the buildings were unadorned and reflected the simplicity of the lives of the Trappist monks inhabiting them.⁴⁹ However, the buildings were also noted for what Pugin described as 'the massiveness of the architecture'.⁵⁰ Thus, the buildings, whilst simplistic, were impressive to the eye, as noted by journalist Edmund Yates who was struck by the 'heavy Gothic building' which met him upon his arrival at the Abbey in 1857.⁵¹ The buildings of the reformatory school were a later addition but their situation on the Abbey site, amongst the imposing Gothic architecture, made this reformatory a physically impressive one, described by Sydney Turner as 'a picturesque and striking institution'.⁵² An example of the reformatory buildings is shown in the image below.⁵³



[Image reproduced with permission of Mount St. Bernard Abbey].

⁴⁸ Victoria M. Young, 'A. W. N. Pugin's Mount Saint Bernard Abbey: The International Character of England's Nineteenth-Century Monastic Revival', *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide*, Vol.1, (2002); Thomas Speight, 'Charnwood', *Household Words*, Vol.XV (1857), p.390.

⁴⁹ Young, 'A. W. N. Pugin's Mount Saint Bernard Abbey'.

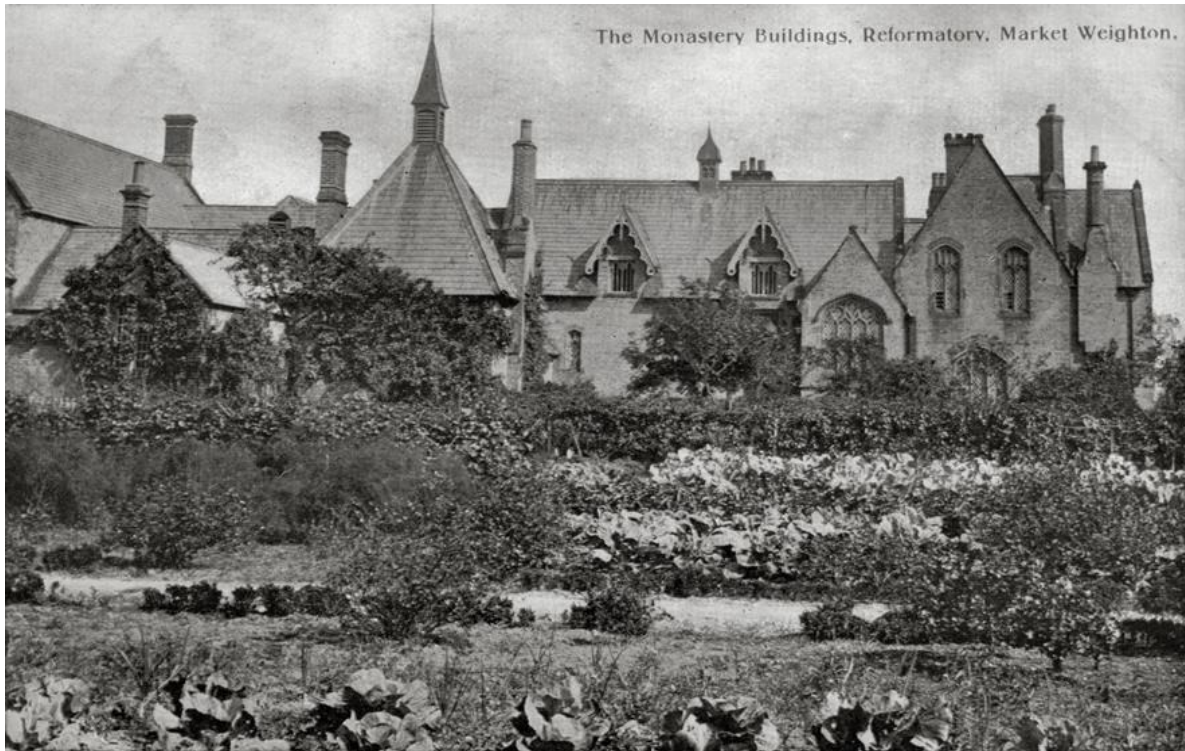
⁵⁰ Young, 'A. W. N. Pugin's Mount Saint Bernard Abbey'.

⁵¹ Edmund Yates, 'Out of the World', *All the Year Round*, Vol.I, (Chapman and Hall: London, 1859), p.89.

⁵² PP 1858, XXIX, *First Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, p.37.

⁵³ MSBA Archives, *Pictures of the Past*.

The buildings of the Market Weighton institution were also built in the Gothic revival style, as shown in the image below, and were described in 1855 as ‘a large and handsome structure’.⁵⁴ This site too, therefore, was impressive to the eye, which, as discussed in the previous chapters in regard to all three institutions, served a purpose in that it provided an imposing reminder of the consequences of social non-conformity.



[Image reproduced with permission of the Mary Evans Picture Library].

Although, as Sydney Turner highlighted in his *First Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools* (1858), ‘considerable differences exist in the extent and character of the buildings’ of the various reformatory schools; ‘the general characteristics of them all’ he suggested were ‘simplicity, plainness, and practical utility’.⁵⁵ A description of a typical reformatory school was provided by Turner:

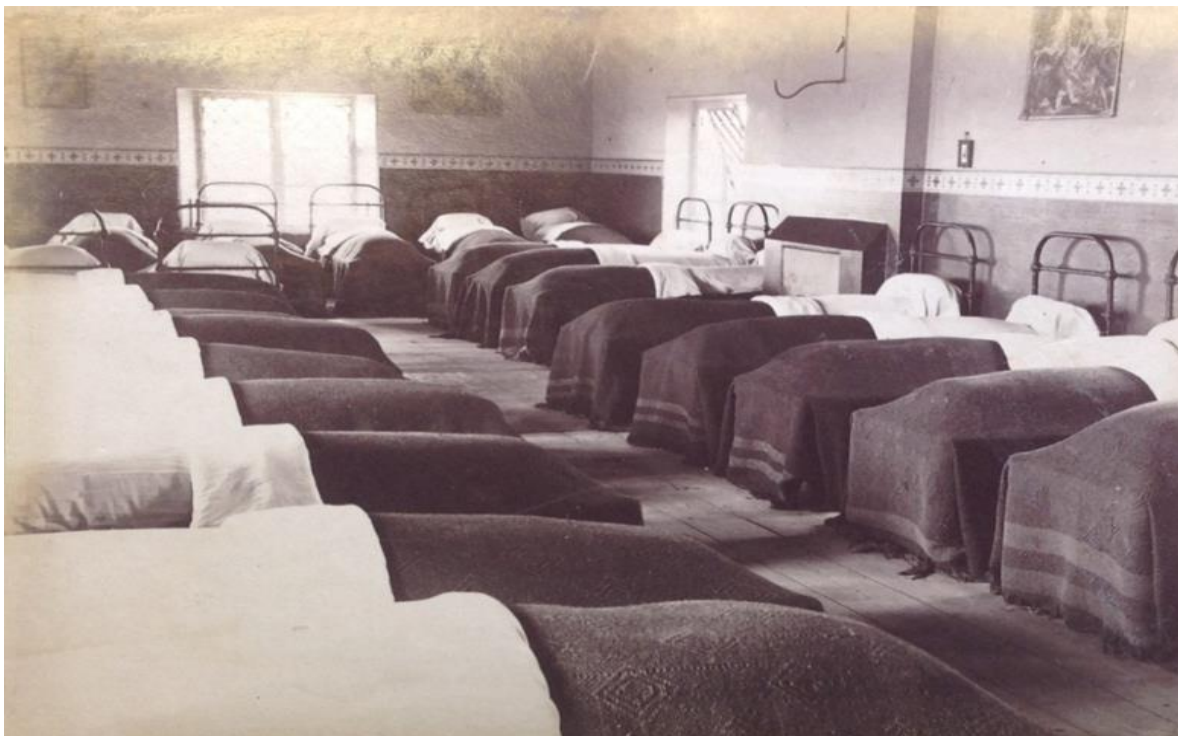
A single room, about 35 feet long and 18 broad, with walls of plain brick whitened over with lime, floored with tiles or concrete, and warmed by a common stove or

⁵⁴ Mary Evans Picture Library/Peter Higginbotham Collection, Picture Number 10678237, *Market Weighton Reformatory, Yorkshire*, (no date); ERoY Archives, DDSW/96, *Melville and Co. Directory and Gazetteer of the City of York, 1855*.

⁵⁵ PP 1858, *First Report of the Inspector*, p.7.

open fireplace, serves for a school-room, meal room, and, in wet weather, for work and play room. The dormitories are generally unplastered and ceiled roughly under the rafters of the roof. The yard for exercise and recreation in the play hours is open and unpaved. An outbuilding or shed is fitted with a bath and a trough for washing.⁵⁶

Turner shared the views of many other reformatory pioneers, that to make the inmates too comfortable would undermine the punitive and reformative nature of these institutions. These views were reflected in the accommodation and buildings at the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School which were all physically plain and simple offering inmates the necessary rudiments for reformatory life but not indulging them in comfort or luxury. An example of this is shown in the image below, taken of a dormitory at Redhill.⁵⁷



[Image reproduced with permission of the Surrey History Centre].

At times throughout the period the Inspector of Reformatories both praised and criticised aspects of the physical state of the schools. However, since the Redhill institution regularly

⁵⁶ PP 1858, *First Report of the Inspector*, p.7.

⁵⁷ SHC 2271/41/24, *Photographs c.1891*.

made improvements and updates to its buildings and accommodation and dealt with any minor concerns quickly and efficiently, no major concerns were ever raised. There were some concerns regarding the physical condition of the Whitwick institution but these do not appear to have been a key focus for the Inspectors at this reformatory. Finally, at the Market Weighton institution, the Inspectors appeared to be generally satisfied with the buildings and accommodation until the 1890s and early 1900s when the physical state of the reformatory received acute criticism.

The next aspect of the reformatory regimes pursued in these three institutions to be evaluated is the industrial training provided by each. As discussed in previous chapters it was thought by those in charge of these reformatories and more generally by pioneers of the reformatory movement that hard, honest, labour could be an effective antidote to criminality. This was especially true, it was believed, of agricultural labour carried out in the countryside:

Of all kinds of labour, agricultural employment has been practically found to produce the most beneficial effect, both in engaging the willing exertions of the boys, and in producing a good moral influence.⁵⁸

Consequently, the application of reformatory inmates to industrial training, particularly agricultural based industrial training, was the single task which occupied the biggest part of the daily timetables at the Redhill, Whitwick and Market Weighton institutions. At each of these institutions the inmates were engaged in labour for a period in the morning and then again in the afternoon. Whilst all three institutions followed the same general pattern in their working hours, the boys at Redhill began their morning work significantly earlier than their counterparts at the other two institutions as this was their first task of the day. At the two Catholic institutions morning prayers and mass occurred before work began.

⁵⁸ Mary Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents Their Condition and Treatment*, (W. and F. G. Cash: London, 1853), p.305.

During their period of work the inmates at each institution were engaged in the same core tasks. These included agricultural labour which involved working as field boys, stable boys, shepherds, livestock keepers, and gardeners, for example. Inmates at these institutions could also work indoors as bakers and house boys. Each of these schools taught a range of non-agricultural trades which included tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking and blacksmithing.⁵⁹ Whilst the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory offered their inmates the same core industrial training, each institution offered some additional trades which were not offered at the other institutions. The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, for example, opened a printing works in 1884 and, therefore, inmates at this particular institution could also be trained as printers and bookbinders.⁶⁰

Despite offering training in a range of non-agricultural trades, agricultural labour remained the key form of industrial training provided by these three reformatory institutions. At all three reformatory schools the largest numbers of inmates were engaged in agricultural labour above all other types of occupation. At Redhill from the late 1850s to the early 1870s, for example, between 75 and 78 per cent of inmates were put to work in agricultural occupations.⁶¹ Similarly at the Whitwick reformatory 48 per cent of inmates in the mid-1860s were engaged in rural labour, the largest single occupation at this school. At Market Weighton too the largest number of inmates was concentrated in rural work, with 60 per cent of inmates working in these occupations in the mid-1860s.⁶² Although the number of inmates engaged in agricultural work at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory dropped to 31 per cent in the mid-1870s this nevertheless remained the single most important occupation at the

⁵⁹ See Various Annual Reports for Each Institution

⁶⁰ *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School for Boys for the Year 1885*, (York, 1886), p.11.

⁶¹ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1860), p.14; *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1864), p.16; *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys*, Red Hill, Reigate, Surrey, 1872, (Spottiswoode and Co: London, 1872), p.20.

⁶² *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864) p.17; *The Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*, (1864), p.12.

school.⁶³ The Inspector of Reformatories commented during this period that ‘the farming operations are on a large scale and occupy a considerable number of boys’.⁶⁴

Unlike other aspects of the reformatory regimes of these institutions, the industrial training provided at each of these reformatory schools, was, on the whole, judged to be similarly efficacious from the mid-1860s onwards (although the Philanthropic Society Farm School appears to have maintained a slight edge over its counterparts). From the very outset, for example, the Inspector of Reformatories was effusive in his praise of the industrial training of inmates at Redhill: ‘I have not seen anything superior to the industrial training at Red Hill, nor do I think so much real work is done, and so much of the real working habit stimulated, anywhere, as here’.⁶⁵ In subsequent reports the Inspector remained consistently and highly satisfied with the state of the industrial training at the Philanthropic Society Farm School. In his report published in 1866 for example, the Inspector’s appraisal of this aspect of the regime at Redhill was succinct, stating simply that: ‘The industrial training appears to need no improvement’.⁶⁶ This enthusiastic praise for the industrial training provided at Redhill continued. In the early 1870s, for example, Turner, not for the first time, judged that the reformatory took first place in the industrial training of its inmates:

The institution fully maintains its rank as the foremost in the practical training of the boys, which embraces farming, brickmaking, carpentry, smiths’ work, tailoring, shoemaking, &c. The farm now extends to about 300 acres, and work is encouraged, and active labouring habits developed to the utmost. The industrial results show this. The actual cash returns (exclusive of stock in hand) showing a profit on the boys labour of above 2l. per head.⁶⁷

⁶³ *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School for Boys, for the Year 1875*, (Johnson and Tesseyman: York, 1876), p.10.

⁶⁴ PP 1875, *Eighteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.105; The introduction of work such as match-box making for example at this institution saw many of the younger and smaller inmates redirected into such toil as occupations such as this brought in a profit for these institutions. Thus the inmates were spread more thinly over a wider range of occupations.

⁶⁵ PP 1860, XXXV, *Third Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, p.46.

⁶⁶ PP 1866, *Ninth Report of the Inspector*, p.47.

⁶⁷ PP 1873, *Sixteenth Report of the Inspector*, pp.67-68

The new government Inspector of Reformatories, from 1876 onwards, Colonel William Inglis, was also impressed with Redhill's industrial training. In one of his earliest reports he described the situation as he found it:

There is a very large farm attached to the Institution, it is admirably cultivated, and above all it seems to pay its way with a considerable profit besides. The boys have a very practical training in care of farm stock, &c. Tailoring and shoemaking are carried on to advantage. There is a good bakery, and gas is also manufactured on the premises. There are carpenter's and smith's shops also. The industrial department is a particular feature in the establishment.⁶⁸

Similar sentiments were expressed by Inglis throughout the remainder of the period. In 1889, for instance, he described the industrial training as 'of the healthiest character', and thoroughly well attended to.⁶⁹ As has been highlighted, therefore, the industrial training at the Philanthropic Society Farm School was, for the entire period, judged to be amongst the best of any English reformatory school.

The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory also received praise from the outset for the industrial training it provided for its inmates and is, therefore, discussed next. Sydney Turner described in the *Fourth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools*, for example, the 'skilful training and instruction [which] the institution unquestionably is distinguished by'.⁷⁰ He also commented in subsequent reports on the proficient management and thorough attention paid to this aspect of the inmates training: 'The state of the farm and farm stock, and of the workshops and other departments, showed that these portions of the establishment are under efficient management' and 'The industrial training, both in the workshops and on the farm, is thoroughly attended to'.⁷¹ As was the case at the Redhill institution, the Inspector of Reformatories remained largely satisfied with the industrial training provided by the Market Weighton establishment throughout the period. The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was

⁶⁸ PP 1878, XLII, *Twenty-First Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.78.

⁶⁹ PP 1889, *Thirty-Second Report of the Inspector*, p.96.

⁷⁰ PP 1861, XXX, *Fourth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Great Britain*, p.56.

⁷¹ PP 1864, XXVI, *Seventh Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.46; PP 1867, *Tenth Report of the Inspector*, p.60.

never put forward as standing amongst the ‘first class’ for its industrial training as Redhill was, for example, however, it was nevertheless consistently regarded as effective by the Inspector, who noted that all work in the industrial departments was ‘carried on energetically with good practical results’.⁷²

In contrast the initial reports on the standards and efficiency of the industrial training at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory were not favourable, hence this institution is discussed last. The government Inspector of Reformatories in 1858 for example focussed on the inadequacy of this aspect of the reformatory regime:

The chief deficiency [of the institution] is in the industrial training, especially the outdoor farm work. The fathers act up to the Emperor Napoleon’s description of their order, - they eat little and work much. But they seem to reverse this rule for the boys, who eat much and work little. Stricter discipline on this point would be more likely to form strong and lasting habits of industry and self-support.⁷³

In subsequent reports the Inspector referred to ‘imperfections’ in the industrial training due to the ‘lack of competent teachers’ engaged at the reformatory.⁷⁴ The underemployment of inmates, the inefficiency in the industrial training and the ineffectiveness of the instructors engaged to oversee it were according to the *Eighth Report of the Inspector of Reformatories*, amongst the chief causes of the riot that occurred at the institution in May 1864:

The riot arose from the same causes as had produced the previous disorders, a deficiency, that is, of judgement and firmness on the part of the superintendent and other officers, and the want of ... sufficient labour and industrial supervision amongst the boys.⁷⁵

Thus, in comparison to the Redhill and Market Weighton institutions, where the industrial training had already, by this point, been consistently praised by the Inspector for its efficacy, the Whitwick reformatory was performing poorly in this respect.

⁷² PP 1878, *Twenty-First Report of the Inspector*, p.91.

⁷³ PP 1858, *First Report of the Inspector*, pp.37-39.

⁷⁴ PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.40; PP 1863, XXIV, *Sixth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.34.

⁷⁵ PP 1865, *Eighth Report of the Inspector*, p.38.

From the mid-1860s, however, the Inspector noted a marked change for the better in the industrial department at Mount St. Bernard under the new leadership of Thomas Carroll: ‘The industrial training of the boys has made great progress. The labour of the lads is far more real and much more skilfully used than formerly’.⁷⁶ By the late 1860s the inspectorate regarded this reformatory as an example of good practice: ‘the managers have now above 400 acres in hand, and have certainly made the institution an example of good farming and industrial training’.⁷⁷ This dramatic improvement in the industrial training provided at Mount St. Bernard was, according to subsequent reports, sustained, and, for the remainder of the period of this study the inspectorate continued to be satisfied with the effectiveness of industrial training at Whitwick. Even when the Inspector was dissatisfied with other aspects of the reformatory during its later years, the industrial training provided to inmates did not come under criticism. Reporting on the year ending 31 December 1880, for example, just months before the reformatory’s closure in June 1881, the Inspector concluded that the industrial training was ‘carried on energetically and successfully, under able and experienced workmen’.⁷⁸ It is fair to say, therefore, that after a poor start, from the mid-1860s onwards the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory enjoyed praise and commendation for its effective industrial training comparable to that of the Redhill and Market Weighton institutions.

Overall, therefore, each of the reformatory schools provided a good level of industrial training to its inmates which meant that they gained skills and knowledge that they could utilise outside of the reformatory. This effective industrial training also meant that each of these reformatory schools was able to make a return on the labour of its inmates, which was not an achievement all reformatories realised.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ PP 1866, *Ninth Report of the Inspector*, p.40.

⁷⁷ PP 1869, *Twelfth Report of the Inspector*, pp.46-47.

⁷⁸ PP 1881, LIII, *Twenty-Fourth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.78.

⁷⁹ PP 1867, *Tenth Report of the Inspector*, p.9.

The next aspect of the reformatory regimes to be comparatively evaluated is the elementary education provided to inmates. As the discussion in previous chapters has demonstrated the schooling of inmates in each of these reformatory institutions was regarded by the reformatory movement as a lesser priority than their industrial training. The curriculum in these institutions generally reflected this view and consisted of reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, some history and geography, and scripture knowledge (the Inspector's judgement of the religious education was encompassed in his comments on the educational provision of each school).

It was suggested by the Inspector of Reformatories that three hours per day be dedicated to the elementary education of inmates (this was later confirmed in legislation passed in 1866).⁸⁰ The Redhill reformatory allowed for three hours per day of the inmates timetable to be dedicated to their education.⁸¹ Inmates in this reformatory were put to their school work in the summer season during the morning, between the hours of 09.00 and 12.00.⁸² During the winter period the inmates received half of their schooling in the morning and half in the evening, between the hours of 06.30 and 08.00 and 18.30 and 20.00.⁸³ The Mount St. Bernard Reformatory initially allowed for its inmates to be in the schoolroom for 45 minutes per day in the summer, and one and a half hours per day in the winter.⁸⁴ This had increased by the mid-1860s to just fewer than three hours per weekday in the summer and just fewer than four hours per weekday in the winter; with no school on a Sunday.⁸⁵ Similarly, the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory also initially fell short of the recommended time to be dedicated to the elementary education of its inmates. Rather than the prescribed three hours, this institution allowed for two hours per weekday in the summer and three hours

⁸⁰ PP 1858, *First Report of the Inspector*, p.7

⁸¹ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1860), p.14; *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1872), p.16.

⁸² *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1860), p.14.

⁸³ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1860), p.14.

⁸⁴ MSBA Archives, Reformatory Papers (2), *Rules and Statutes*, c.1855-58.

⁸⁵ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1867), p.19.

on a Sunday.⁸⁶ This was increased by the mid-1870s to two hours and fifteen minutes per weekday and four hours and fifteen minutes on a Sunday.⁸⁷ It was not until the early 1880s however that the Market Weighton institution fulfilled the government recommendation of dedicating three hours per day to the education of its inmates. From this point onwards the boys at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory received an educational provision of three and a half hours on weekdays and four hours on Sundays.⁸⁸

The Redhill reformatory, therefore, was the only one of the three to allow for the full three hours of educational provision from the very beginning, but it was not this institution which enjoyed the highest level of evaluated effectiveness. The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, despite falling short of Redhill's allocation of time and the government recommendation throughout the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s (before finally fulfilling it in the 1880s), was held in the highest regard in terms of its educational provision and, therefore, this institution is discussed first. From the very beginning the standard of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory's education (including religious education) was commended by the Inspector of Reformatories for the very creditable performance of the boys during his examinations.⁸⁹ However, as the school progressed so did its educational provision. Reporting on the educational condition of the Market Weighton institution, Sydney Turner stated in his *Eleventh Report of the Inspector of Reformatories* for example that:

The school stands in this respect above all other English Reformatories. I examined 170 of the boys, and found the higher classes more advanced and the lower ones making more rapid progress than in any school I have inspected.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.3; *The Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*, 21 February 1867, (Samuel Harrison: Sheffield, 1867), p.11.

⁸⁷ *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*, (1876), p.10.

⁸⁸ *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School for Boys, for the Year 1882*, (York, 1883), p.13.

⁸⁹ PP 1866, *Seventh Report of the Inspector*, p.46.

⁹⁰ PP 1868, *Eleventh Report of the Inspector*, p.57.

This praise for the high level of the educational provision at Market Weighton was typical of the Inspector's comments throughout the period.⁹¹ Turner's deputy, Henry Rogers, was equally vociferous in his praise:

The lads are very well taught. Their natural intelligence is excited; and their proficiency in the ordinary subjects highly creditable. The standard of education is quite above that of ordinary reformatory schools.⁹²

The success of the educational provision at Market Weighton was, according to the inspectorate, the result of effective and skilled teachers employed to execute the schooling of inmates at this institution:

The lads receive the benefit of an excellent education. They are stimulated to exertion by zealous and painstaking teachers, and the results are certainly remarkable and quite superior to those of most reformatory schools. All the classes alike were receiving the most careful attention.⁹³

Similar opinions were expressed by the inspectorate throughout the remainder of the period, who continued to be impressed with the educational standard and the efficacy of the teaching staff at Market Weighton. The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was, therefore, deemed to be amongst the best of all English reformatory schools in this respect and it became something of a yardstick by which to compare the educational performance of other reformatories.

At the Redhill reformatory the education provided to inmates was also deemed to be highly satisfactory. In his *Third Report* for example, Sydney Turner described in some detail the standard of the schooling of inmates:

I examined the different departments of this school very carefully on the occasion of my last formal inspection, and found reason to be very well satisfied with the instruction which the boys are receiving. The house called Garston's, under the care of Mr. Butcher, and that called Waterlands, under Mr. Howe, stood in the first order. In both of these a majority of the boys were able to write fairly from dictation, to read well, and cypher correctly (many understanding proportion, fractions, interest, &c.) Most of the boys, some of the older lads in the Garston's school more especially,

⁹¹ PP 1870, XXXVI, *Thirteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.69.

⁹² PP 1871, XXVIII, *Fourteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.79.

⁹³ PP 1873, *Sixteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.79.

showed an intelligent acquaintance with the meaning as well as the contents of the Scriptures, which did great credit to their instructors. Their general knowledge on the places and common subjects which their future circumstances are likely to make of importance to them was very satisfactory.⁹⁴

The Inspector continued in this report to provide a similarly detailed description of the educational status of the remaining three houses at Redhill, and, in concluding this section of his report he declared himself to be ‘extremely satisfied’ with the effectiveness of the education (including the religious teachings) at this institution: ‘On the whole I think that the Red Hill School may fairly divide with the “Akbar” the credit of standing first among English reformatories as to the school teaching’.⁹⁵ His satisfaction with the educational provision at Redhill was sustained over the next few years but from the mid to late-1860s the Inspector gave a more mixed account of the standard of education at Redhill. In his *Seventh Report* for example, he expressed his disappointment at the performance of the inmates during his examination:

They did not acquit themselves so well as I expected. With the exceptions of the schools called Waterland’s and Garston’s, I found them backward in the essentials of cyphering, dictation, and spelling, and all were dull and uncertain in mental calculation.⁹⁶

He again expressed his disappointment at the educational state of the school in his *Ninth Report*: ‘The educational condition of the school disappointed me’.⁹⁷ He found the boys on this occasion to be ‘generally dull and unready’ for their examination.⁹⁸ Two years later the educational status of the Philanthropic Society Farm School was also disappointing:

I examined four out of the five houses (Queen’s, Waterland’s, Garston’s, and Gladstone’s), and was disappointed to find the amount of instruction and the progress of the boys much below what I had expected.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ PP 1860, *Third Report of the Inspector*, pp.45-46.

⁹⁵ PP 1860, *Third Report of the Inspector*, p.46.

⁹⁶ PP 1864, *Seventh Report of the Inspector*, p.39.

⁹⁷ PP 1866, *Ninth Report of the Inspector*, p.47.

⁹⁸ PP 1866, *Ninth Report of the Inspector*, p.47.

⁹⁹ PP 1868, *Eleventh Report of the Inspector*, p.48.

However, the following year, in 1868, the education at Redhill had improved and Turner was able to comment: ‘I thought the general standard considerably advanced as compared with my last year’s inspection’.¹⁰⁰ This was, according to the Inspector, due in a large part to the masters who had ‘evidently taken more pains and interest in their instruction’.¹⁰¹ This improvement was sustained, the Inspector stated in the 1872 report for example:

I had ample reason to be satisfied with the educational proficiency of the boys. Reading generally was fluent, intelligence well excited, dictation and spelling very creditable. The arithmetic was well and accurately done... Full justice is done to the schoolroom in all the houses, and the education imparted is plain but real, and I am inclined to think sufficient for the class it is intended to benefit.¹⁰²

Similar sentiments were expressed by the inspectorate throughout the 1870s and 1880s. Thus, the educational provision at the Philanthropic Society Farm School was regarded for a time as disappointing and did not receive the esteem of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory but it was on the whole regarded by the inspectorate as largely effective.

The elementary education at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory also experienced some mixed evaluations of the standard of its provision. In his early reports Turner consistently highlighted the need for better teachers in the schoolroom. He complained for example of the ‘inefficient training of the boys while in the school’ due in part to the ‘lack of competent teachers’ in the various departments.¹⁰³ However, by the time of the *Ninth Report of the Inspector of Reformatories*, when the institution was now under Thomas Carroll’s leadership, Turner noted an improvement:

The educational state of the school has considerably advanced. The boys in the upper classes passed my examination very fairly in cyphering, dictation, &c., and I found a marked improvement in the amount of instruction given to the lower and more backward division.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ PP 1869, *Twelfth Report of the Inspector*, p.51.

¹⁰¹ PP 1870, *Thirteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.62.

¹⁰² PP 1872, *Fifteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.69.

¹⁰³ PP 1863, *Sixth Report of the Inspector*, pp.34-35.

¹⁰⁴ PP 1866, *Ninth Report of the Inspector*, p.40.

The following year the Inspector also expressed his satisfaction the boys having ‘passed my examination very fairly’; though he did note that they could not ‘stand [in] comparison with those in the “Clarence” or Market Weighton’.¹⁰⁵ Over the next few years, however, Turner commented that ‘the schoolmaster requires more effective assistance’ and observed that: ‘The managers have had difficulty in obtaining good officers’.¹⁰⁶ The level of education attainment was judged, by the early 1870s, to be mixed:

The upper school passed a very creditable examination in reading, dictation, and arithmetic... I had much reason, however, to be dissatisfied with the educational status and training of the lower school. I found nearly a hundred of the boys who were very ignorant... A more careful and discriminating system of instruction is highly necessary.¹⁰⁷

This was an issue which was still prevalent by the time of the 1875 report when, after examining the inmates, the Inspector’s overall judgement of the education at Mount St. Bernard was that: ‘the general educational standard is below the average. The managers find great difficulty in getting really efficient teachers’.¹⁰⁸ There was an improvement during the late 1870s due, according to the Inspector, to the better attention paid by the teachers employed to the education of the inmates.¹⁰⁹ This improvement in the educational provision was sustained until the closure of the institution in 1881. Therefore, the educational provision (which included the religious teaching) at the Mount St. Bernard reformatory received mixed reviews due largely to the ongoing difficulty of obtaining additional efficient teachers. This mixed evaluation of educational effectiveness was more salient than at either of the other two institutions.

Overall then the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was deemed to provide the most effective elementary education of the three institutions. It enjoyed one of the best reputations

¹⁰⁵ PP 1867, *Tenth Report of the Inspector*, p.47.

¹⁰⁶ PP 1868, *Eleventh Report of the Inspector*, p.43; PP 1869, *Twelfth Report of the Inspector*, p.47.

¹⁰⁷ PP 1870, *Thirteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.56.

¹⁰⁸ PP 1875, *Eighteenth Report of the Inspector*, pp.85-86.

¹⁰⁹ PP 1877, XLII, *Twentieth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.56.

in the country because it provided a stimulating and intelligent education to its inmates, by efficient and skilled teachers. In contrast, the Redhill reformatory, which was also effective overall in the educating of its inmates, provided, according to the Inspector, a plain and simple education for boys, though one which was suitable for the class it was intended to benefit. Consequently, the educational provision at this institution did not receive the same level of acclamation as the Market Weighton School but was considered generally effective. Finally, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory fared least successfully out of the three schools with regard to its educational provision since it struggled to engage enough efficient teachers. As a result, this institution received mixed reviews regarding the effectiveness of the education provided to inmates.

The next aspect of the reformatory regimes to be comparatively evaluated is the staff employed to manage each school. They were responsible for the interpretation of reformatory principles and the implementation of these in the day-to-day running of the schools, and therefore they were a key part of the regimes of each institution. The three institutions upon which this thesis focuses were large and each employed a greater body of staff than smaller institutions which often had only a superintendent, a bailiff and a schoolmaster. At the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, additional staff were added to that body. These included instructors in specialist trades such as farm workers, a carpenter, a tailor, a shoemaker, and a blacksmith for example, also general assistants, and a matron. Each of these institutions also secured the services of a chaplain (at Redhill the superintendent, who was always a clergyman in priest's orders, was also the chaplain), and a medical officer (who was employed to conduct an initial examination of inmates upon their entry to the reformatory and thereafter to make regular

routine visits to the schools).¹¹⁰ The overall numbers of staff employed remained fairly constant at each reformatory school throughout the period (as did the number of boys at Redhill and Market Weighton, though this number fluctuated at Whitwick). The Redhill School employed the greatest number it being the largest of the three schools, ranging from between 17 in its early years to 34 in the 1870s for example, though for the majority of the period this number was typically between 30 and 32 (to around typically 250-300 inmates).¹¹¹ The Whitwick and Market Weighton institutions employed less staff than Redhill: ranging between 18 and 28 at the former and between 11 and 29 at the latter.¹¹² At both of these schools, however, the number of staff employed was typically somewhere between 20 and 23 (to a typical number of around 200-230 boys at the Market Weighton school and from 278 to 99 boys at the Whitwick institution).¹¹³

Although occasional comments were made regarding the work of individuals involved in education or instruction, in comparing the effectiveness of reformatory staff in their reports the government Inspectors of Reformatories focussed at the Superintendent level. Superintendents were expected to carry out their practical duties which included exercising a general superintendence over all staff employed and their duties relating to the discipline, instruction and the management of the inmates. They were also expected to be a ubiquitous influence and loving father figure to the boys under their charge. The superintendents in charge of these reformatory schools came from different backgrounds and possessed varying levels of experience of the work. All of Redhill's superintendents were well educated Anglican clergymen who had served as curates before their postings at the reformatory

¹¹⁰ See Various Reports of the Inspector of Reformatories; SHC 3521/Box 33, *Saved from the Wreck*, (Eyre and Spottiswoode: London, 1892), p.10; MSBA Archives, *Annual Report of the Reformatory School, Mount St. Bernard's*, (December 1876); *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*, (1876), p.4.

¹¹¹ PP 1859, *Second Report of the Inspector*, p.78; PP 1879, XXXVI, *Twenty-Second Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.261.

¹¹² PP 1863, *Sixth Report of the Inspector*, p.114; PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.109; PP 1859, *Second Report of the Inspector*, p.78; PP 1863, *Sixth Report of the Inspector*, p.114.

¹¹³ See Various Reports of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools.

school. As such they were experienced in pastoral care. At the Whitwick reformatory however those in charge were more varied in their backgrounds. As discussed in Chapter Four this institution came under the charge of many different Catholic monks, as well as various Catholic priests and a lay superintendent. Those in charge of the Market Weighton reformatory were, for almost all of the period, Catholic priests with experience of reformatory work. This variation in background and experience probably influenced the variable degrees of effectiveness experienced by the schools. Inefficient superintendents and reformatory staff at the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School, for example, enabled its inmates to take advantage to instigate insurrectionary movement.

In comparing reformatory superintendents in his reports the government Inspector of Reformatories was more critical in his opinions on those at the two Catholic institutions. This was due to his concerns that religious brotherhoods might be too lenient on their criminal inmates:

I hope that the error will be avoided of making the school[s] too much a place of privilege and enjoyment; indulgence makes discipline easier for the time, but harder in the end. There is some danger of this in schools carried on like this [the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory] and St. Bernard's, &c., by religious brotherhoods. Being extremely strict with themselves, they seem naturally disposed to be less so with their pupils, and to grant immunity and privileges to them, in contrast with the limitations and privations they impose on themselves, and debarred from many other sources of social interest and activity, they are apt to concentrate their kindly feelings and sympathies too unreservedly on the children they have taken under their care.¹¹⁴

Such reflected Turner's concern, as previously discussed, that the raw material taken in by the Catholic reformatories was potentially somewhat more challenging due to their being Irish and Catholic which he stated made them 'rather difficult to manage from their impulsiveness'.¹¹⁵ He believed, therefore, that Catholic reformatory schools especially needed strong proficient leaders at their helm. He particularly found the monks of the Mount St. Bernard reformatory wanting in these respects. He commented, for example, that the

¹¹⁴ PP 1859, *Second Report of the Inspector*, p.55.

¹¹⁵ PP 1872, *Fifteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.80.

institution had been ‘greatly mismanaged’ under their charge mainly due to ‘the want of concentration of authority in the hands of one efficient and responsible manager’.¹¹⁶ He was also critical of their successor the Reverend Thomas Quick who he described as ‘lacking judgement and firmness’.¹¹⁷ This had been a key factor, he stated, in the cause of the 1864 riot.¹¹⁸ In contrast Turner praised the effectiveness of Quick’s successor the ‘efficient lay superintendent, Mr. Carroll’.¹¹⁹ In 1873 Turner referred to Carroll as the governor who ‘has so long been associated with the successful management of this large and important school’.¹²⁰ Turner also voiced his praise of the ‘remarkable talent and energy’ of the experienced Father Caccia, and referred in 1870, to the ‘very efficient superintendence’ of the experienced Father Castellano at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory.¹²¹

Based on Turner’s regular assessment of those in superintendence at the two Catholic reformatories (and the examination of the management of each school in previous chapters) it is fair to conclude that the leadership at Mount St. Bernard was, on the whole, excepting the eleven year superintendence of Thomas Carroll, considered largely ineffective. The leadership at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was, he thought, more effective. Despite his concerns regarding religious brotherhoods as managers Turner accepted and concluded that this reformatory was effectively managed by its brotherhood leaders without any major incidents and without its superintendents having to be regularly replaced. The regimes of both Caccia and Castellano (who remained in their posts for eight and 41 years respectively) were not without their problems but the Inspector expressed his overall satisfaction with their management throughout the majority of the period. Evaluation by Turner, and his successor

¹¹⁶ PP 1862, XXVI, *Fifth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.46.

¹¹⁷ PP 1865, *Eighth Report of the Inspector*, p.38.

¹¹⁸ PP 1865, *Eighth Report of the Inspector*, p.38.

¹¹⁹ PP 1865, *Eighth Report of the Inspector*, p.39.

¹²⁰ PP 1874, XXVIII, *Seventeenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.62.

¹²¹ PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p. 57; PP 1871, *Fourteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.79.

William Inglis, regarding the superintendents of the Philanthropic Society Farm School was both less salient and less critical. Probably because the Redhill reformatory was perceived by the inspectorate to have performed well throughout its history. Instead the Inspector in his annual reports tended to state his overall satisfaction with the state of the school and its staff, describing them for example, as ‘steady and experienced officers thoroughly acquainted with the character and failings of the class they have to deal with’.¹²² Turner’s lack of criticism of the superintendents in charge of the Redhill institution reflected his overall satisfaction with the institution which included his approval of those in charge at this school.

It is also necessary to comparatively evaluate the characteristics of the inmates of each of the three reformatory schools in order to assess whether the raw material of one school can be said to have been more difficult to manage than that of the others. The government Inspector’s reports and the individual institution’s reports provide some insight into the nature of the inmates of each institution. As discussed in Chapter One, the majority of juvenile delinquents were believed to have emanated from the large towns and cities that had arisen across the country since the industrial revolution. This appears to have been the case with these three reformatory schools. Whilst the Philanthropic Society Farm School’s annual reports do not provide evidence regarding the precise locations from which its inmates originated (as is the case for the other two institutions studied) these records do suggest that the majority came from urban settlements. In evidence provided in the reformatory admission registers wherein the places of origin of each boy are typically given, it is apparent that the majority of those admitted to Redhill originated from towns and cities.¹²³ These included for example, London, Maidstone, and the various urban settlements of Surrey which was one of

¹²² PP 1878, *Twenty-First Report of the Inspector*, p.77.

¹²³ SHC 2271/10/8a, *Reform Register 1848-1851*.

the most highly urbanised counties in England and Wales.¹²⁴ Similarly, the majority of Whitwick's inmates also emanated from towns and cities. Of the 50 boys admitted to the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School from July 1863 to September 1864, the majority originated from the industrial towns and cities of the North. For example: 24 per cent, originated from Manchester, 20 per cent originated from Liverpool, and 14 per cent originated from Birmingham.¹²⁵ Others came from the urban areas of Bolton, Preston and Salford. Evidence of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory also suggests that the majority of its inmates originated from urban settlements. During the year 1863, for example, of the 70 boys admitted, the largest portion, at 27 per cent, originated from Manchester, whilst 14 per cent originated from Hull and 11 per cent from Leeds.¹²⁶ Significant numbers at this reformatory school also came from Sheffield and Bradford. These patterns continued throughout the period with the largest numbers of reformatory inmates at each of these institutions emanating from these urban areas. At all three reformatories a clear majority of inmates emanated from large towns and cities. Those at the Mount St. Bernard and Yorkshire Catholic Reformatories were predominantly from the industrial north (the area of the country in which there were concentrations of working-class Catholic juveniles). Those committed to Redhill in contrast predominantly emanated from the south, from London and its surrounding areas. Overall the inmates of all three were from those towns and cities which were regarded as the prime sources of juvenile delinquency.¹²⁷

It appears, therefore, that the delinquent inmates at these schools were of a similar nature. The majority, for example, were committed to each of these institutions for similar offences, the most common crimes by far being larceny and petty theft. 45 per cent of those

¹²⁴ John A. Stack, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools and the Decline of Child Imprisonment in Mid-Victorian England and Wales', *History of Education*, Vol.23, No.1, (1994), p.60.

¹²⁵ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864), p.15.

¹²⁶ *Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1864), p.9.

¹²⁷ Felix Driver, 'Discipline Without Frontiers? Representations of the Mettray Reformatory Colony in Britain, 1840-1880', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.3, No.3, (September 1990), p.280.

received at Redhill upon their first conviction during the year 1863 for example, had been convicted of these offences; the largest number of any of the offences committed.¹²⁸ At the Whitwick reformatory 88 per cent of all those admitted from July 1863 to September 1864 had been convicted of these crimes.¹²⁹ Similarly, 93 per cent of all inmates admitted to the Market Weighton institution during the year 1863 were also convicted of these offences.¹³⁰ These figures are representative of the national trend.¹³¹ During the year 1856-57, for example, 76.8 per cent of all offenders committed to reformatories had been found guilty of larceny, and by 1872, this figure had risen to 81.8 per cent.¹³² Other offences for which the boys of these three reformatory schools were committed included, for example, attempted theft, robbery and assault, housebreaking, and being 'a rogue and vagabond'.¹³³

The extent of the past criminality of inmates sentenced to these three reformatory schools was also similar. The majority of the inmates admitted into the Redhill, Whitwick and Market Weighton reformatories were first convictions or second convictions.¹³⁴ Furthermore, the sentences given to the inmates at the three schools (which could range from between two and five years) was also, for the majority of the period, similar, with terms of detention of four and five years being the most common.¹³⁵

Similarities of the inmates admitted to each of the three reformatory schools are also apparent in characteristics such as age and familial situation. The boys at all three schools

¹²⁸ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1864), p.26.

¹²⁹ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864), p.15.

¹³⁰ *Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1864), p.10.

¹³¹ Hartley, 'Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency', p.178.

¹³² Hartley, 'Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency', p.178.

¹³³ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1864), p.26; *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864), p.15; *Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1864), p.10.

¹³⁴ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1864), pp.10-11; *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1868), p.12; *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864), p.15; *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1867), p.17; *Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1864), p.10; *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.10.

¹³⁵ See Various *Annual Reports of the Philanthropic Society Farm School*; *Annual Reports of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*; and *Annual Reports of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*.

tended to be most commonly between fourteen and sixteen years old and living with either both or one of their parents.¹³⁶ At each a small proportion of those admitted were orphans or abandoned children. In the institution's annual reports of 1864, for example, it was reported that 3 per cent of admissions to Redhill fell into this category, at Whitwick this number was 6 per cent, and at Market Weighton 13 per cent.¹³⁷ The educational condition of the boys upon entering these institutions was also broadly similar. A lack of previous education was a typical feature of reformatory children throughout the country and those sentenced to the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatories were no different. The 1864 annual report for example shows that of the 53 boys admitted to Redhill in the year 1863 only one (or 1.8 per cent) 'could read and write well', eleven (20.7 per cent) 'could neither read nor write', six (11.3 per cent) 'could read (only) very imperfectly', 21 (39.6 per cent) could 'read and write imperfectly', and 14 (26.4 per cent) 'could read and write fairly'.¹³⁸ The 1864 annual report for the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory reveals that of the 50 boys admitted in the year 1863-64, only two (or four per cent) 'could read and write well', 26 (52 per cent) 'could not read or write', and 22 (44 per cent) 'could read and write imperfectly'.¹³⁹ The 1864 annual report for the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory demonstrates that of the 70 boys admitted to the institution in the year 1863, 30 (or 42.8 per cent) 'could not read or write', 39 (55.7 per cent) 'could read and write

¹³⁶ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864), p.15; *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1867), p.16; *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1876), p.10; *Third Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1860), p.1; *Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*, (1864), p.9; *Tenth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1867), p.9; *Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory*, (1879), p.11; *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1860), pp.11-13; *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1864), pp.10-12; *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1868), pp.12-13; *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1872), pp.12-13.

¹³⁷ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1864), pp.10; *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864), p.15; *Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*, (1864), p.9; A sample survey of the reports of several years across the period indicate similar levels.

¹³⁸ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1864), p.10.

¹³⁹ *Annual Report of the Reformatory School Mount St. Bernard's*, (1864), p.15.

imperfectly', and none could do so well.¹⁴⁰ This pattern of the inmates having low levels of educational attainment on their incarceration continued. 15 out of the 69 boys (or 21.7 per cent) admitted to Redhill in 1875 for example, being unable to read or write, 4 (5.7 per cent) being able to read (only) very imperfectly, 30 (43.4 per cent) being able to read and write imperfectly, 19 (27.5 per cent) being able to do so fairly, and only 1 (1.4 per cent) being able to do so well.¹⁴¹ At the Market Weighton reformatory 33 of the 83 inmates (or 39.7 per cent) admitted in the year 1879 for example, could neither read nor write, and 50 (60.2 per cent) could only do so imperfectly.¹⁴² It is difficult to fully and accurately compare the educational state of reformatory inmates, as Turner acknowledged in his Third Report of the Inspector, since the categories used to define this varied at different schools. It is fair to state however that the Redhill reformatory often had fewer illiterate inmates than the Whitwick and Market Weighton institutions.¹⁴³ This school also had amongst its numbers a portion of inmates who were able to read and write fairly, a group which does not appear to have been present at the two Catholic reformatories. However, these differences should not be overstated, the overwhelming majority of those admitted to Redhill, like those admitted to Whitwick and Market Weighton, were either illiterate or had very low literacy levels. The raw material taken in by these three institutions was similarly uneducated and each, therefore, faced a steep challenge in effecting an elementary education to its inmates.

Overall, therefore, having comparatively evaluated the characteristics of the inmates admitted to each of the three reformatories, it is apparent that in many of the most important respects, they were overwhelmingly similar. The exception to this being in their religion and ethnicity. Whilst these were notable characteristics they were not a crucial factor in

¹⁴⁰ *Seventh Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School*, (1864), p.9.

¹⁴¹ *Annual Report of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School*, (1876), p.12.

¹⁴² *Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School For Boys, For the Year 1879*, (York, 1880), p.12.

¹⁴³ PP 1860, *Third Report of the Inspector*, p.46.

influencing or explaining the criminality of the inmates of each of these three schools, since boys of Irish Catholic heritage and those of British Protestant heritage were, as illustrated above, equally criminal. The boys at the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory were all convicted of similar crimes (mainly larceny and theft), they were similarly early on in their criminal careers having generally been admitted upon their first or second convictions, they received similar sentences for their crimes (typically four to five years), and they were all of a similar age (fourteen to sixteen), background (living with one or both parents), and educational condition (largely very uneducated). It can be said therefore that at these particular schools each had a similarly difficult starting point in applying their reformatory regimes to equally challenging raw material.

Having conducted a comparative evaluation in this chapter of the most essential aspects of the reformatory regimes in place at each of the three reformatory schools, it is fair to say that the Philanthropic Society Farm School generally stands out as the leading institution which enjoyed the highest level of overall effectiveness. This is confirmed by the Inspector of Reformatories' assessment of the overall performance and effectiveness of the institution, as described in his reports throughout the period which are effusive in their praise for the Redhill reformatory in its entirety. Just as Turner, his deputy Henry Rogers, and his successor William Inglis, remarked frequently on the effectiveness of individual aspects of the reformatory regime at Redhill, so they commented regularly upon the overall effectiveness of the school, singling it out as standing first amongst reformatory institutions stating for example that:

The school continues to maintain its position as the foremost among our reformatory schools, whether one regards its system of management or its successful operation generally, it supports its character as a remarkable place of special training and education.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ PP 1872, *Fifteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.69.

This evaluation explicitly illustrates the highest regard in which this institution in its entirety was held by the inspectorate and endorses Teresa Ploszajska's view that throughout the period, 'the Redhill farm school was regarded by the official reformatory inspectorate as one of the best organised and most successful British reformatories'.¹⁴⁵ As does that the Inspector of Reformatories, on occasion, requested that Redhill admit boys who had been deemed to be incorrigible by other reformatory schools, and that teachers seeking reformatory posts visit Redhill to learn the work.¹⁴⁶ The effusive praise of the overall effectiveness of the Philanthropic Society Farm School and its position as one of the best reformatories in the country were reiterated by William Inglis in 1877, for example, when he summarised the situation at the institution as follows:

I found the Institution well ordered and regulated in every detail. The health and due comfort of the boys are carefully provided for. Steady and experienced officers thoroughly acquainted with the character and failings of the class they have to deal with carry on the operations of the school. The various "Houses" are under daily supervision of the superiors, and the establishment is a model of organisation based on a kindly and rational system of government and personal influence, in which friendly relations are maintained among all ranks, and the one great object of the Institution kept steadily in view, to which all engaged in the work are induced to combine... Redhill still maintains its foremost place among Reformatory Schools. Its work is continuous year by year, and it is distinguished as it always has been by quiet unobtrusive labour in a sphere of duty of the utmost importance.¹⁴⁷

Thus, the Redhill reformatory school enjoyed extensive and continued effectiveness and maintained its place as the foremost reformatory institution in the country throughout the period.

The overall effectiveness of the Redhill reformatory is also highlighted by the numbers of boys who were known to be 'doing well' upon their release from the institution. This was an important index of effectiveness employed by reformatory schools themselves and the inspectorate. In this respect the Philanthropic Society Farm School significantly

¹⁴⁵ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.419.

¹⁴⁶ Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes', p.419; SHC 2271/2/14,24, 41, *General Court and General Committee Minute Book*, 1840-1841;1879-1888.

¹⁴⁷ PP 1878, *Twenty-First Report of the Inspector*, pp.77-78.

outperformed the other two institutions discussed in this thesis. The statistical returns given to the Home Office by the reformatory institution indicate that for the years 1854-1860 for example, of the 126 boys discharged, 68 per cent (or 86 boys) were known to be ‘doing well’; meaning that they were living a settled life, they had found employment and they had become honest members of society.¹⁴⁸ These figures improved over time. The return of discharges for the years 1862, 1863 and 1864, showing the number doing well since their discharge to 31 December 1865, for example, was 72 per cent (or 176 boys out of 243 discharged).¹⁴⁹ This figure had increased to 83 per cent (or 176 out of 213) by the time of the *Thirteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatories* which presented the return of the discharges for the years 1866, 1867 and 1868, and indicating those doing well to 31 December 1869.¹⁵⁰ The *Seventeenth Report of the Inspector* which presented the return of the discharges the years 1870, 1871 and 1872, indicated the numbers doing well since their discharge to 31 December 1873 and revealed that this figure had risen again to 86 per cent (or 208 out of the 245 discharged).¹⁵¹ The impressive performance of the Redhill School in this respect was highlighted by William Inglis in his 1878 Inspector’s report:

The Institution still carries on its operations very successfully, and is remarkable for the good per-centage of reclamation it can point to among those who have been brought under its influence.¹⁵²

For the remainder of the period the statistical returns indicated that the institution continued to reclaim the vast majority of its inmates, which as a principal aim of a reformatory school, highlighted the effectiveness of this institution. As the examination in this chapter has demonstrated, therefore, this institution enjoyed a high level of overall effectiveness throughout this period.

¹⁴⁸ PP 1862, *Fifth Report of the Inspector*, Appendix VI, p.99.

¹⁴⁹ PP 1866, *Ninth Report of the Inspector*, Appendix VI, p.122.

¹⁵⁰ PP 1870, *Thirteenth Report of the Inspector*, Appendix VI, p.172.

¹⁵¹ PP 1874, *Seventeenth Report of the Inspector*, Appendix VI, p.220.

¹⁵² PP 1878, *Twenty-First Report of the Inspector*, p.78.

The reformatory school which is evaluated as having enjoyed the second highest level of effectiveness is the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory. This is confirmed by the Inspector of Reformatories' assessment of the overall performance and effectiveness of the school in his annual reports. This institution received regular praise for its overall performance by the reformatory inspectorate for much of the period. In the early 1860s for example, Turner remarked upon the 'well-arranged discipline and skillful training and instruction [that] the institution unquestionably is distinguished by' and he judged that:

For all matters of internal regulation and school organisation there are few establishments that may be visited with more satisfaction and studied with more advantage by those who take an interest in reformatory schools than this at Market Weighton.¹⁵³

Furthermore, in the late 1860s Henry Rogers expressed his satisfaction with the institution overall when he stated that 'I can but in justice say that nothing is left undone at this place to contribute to the success of the undertaking'.¹⁵⁴ This was a sentiment he echoed the following year upon his inspection of the school when he judged that the Market Weighton institution stood amongst some of the best reformatory schools: 'The school continues to be very well managed, and in point of building arrangements, general fitness, and efficient superintendence, stands in the foremost rank of reformatory schools'.¹⁵⁵ Similarly William Inglis summarised his satisfaction with the institution overall in the *Twenty First Report of the Inspector* when he stated that 'few schools [are] better arranged, or better managed'.¹⁵⁶

The statistical returns of those boys discharged from the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory who were known to be doing well also bare testimony to its second placing in terms of the effectiveness of the three reformatory schools examined in this thesis. Whilst the Market Weighton establishment did not achieve the same high levels realised at Redhill, it

¹⁵³ PP 1861, *Fourth Report of the Inspector*, p.57.

¹⁵⁴ PP 1870, *Thirteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.69.

¹⁵⁵ PP 1871, *Fourteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.79.

¹⁵⁶ PP 1878, *Twenty-First Report of the Inspector*, p.91.

did mostly outperform the Whitwick institution in this regard, and it generally experienced a steady improvement in these numbers throughout the period. In the return of discharges for the years 1862, 1863 and 1864, indicating the numbers doing well since their discharge to 31 December 1865, for example, 51 per cent (or 78 out of 152) were placed in this category.¹⁵⁷ This figure had risen to 61 per cent (or 81 out of 132) by the time of the *Thirteenth Report* which presented the return of the discharges for the years 1866, 1867 and 1868, showing the numbers doing well since their discharge to 31 December 1869.¹⁵⁸ The return of the discharges for the years 1870, 1871 and 1872, indicating the numbers doing well since their discharge to 31 December 1873, revealed that this had increased to 68 per cent, a level of success it largely maintained until the 1880s.¹⁵⁹ It is fair to say, therefore, that overall the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory enjoyed a good level of effectiveness throughout the period.

Finally, the reformatory school which is evaluated as having generally experienced the lowest level of effectiveness was the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory. This is confirmed by the Inspector of Reformatories' assessment of the overall performance and effectiveness of the institution, as described in his reports throughout the period. This institution faced many serious problems during the course of its history, as discussed in Chapter Four, which meant that it was often characterised by the chaos and upheaval frequently described by the Inspector.¹⁶⁰ Although the Inspector did express his general satisfaction at the overall effectiveness of the school during the superintendence of Thomas Carroll, describing the greater efficiency of the institution overall for example:

The steady advance which the institution has made has answered to the exertions of the managers, who have spared no pains to make it more thoroughly efficient, and to promote the welfare and greater comfort of the boys.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ PP 1866, *Ninth Report of the Inspector*, Appendix VI, p.122.

¹⁵⁸ PP 1870, *Thirteenth Report of the Inspector*, Appendix VI, p.172.

¹⁵⁹ PP 1874, *Seventeenth Report of the Inspector*, Appendix VI, p.220.

¹⁶⁰ See the *Fourth* (1861), *Fifth* (1862), *Sixth* (1863), *Eighth* (1865) *Reports of the Inspector* for example.

¹⁶¹ PP 1873, *Sixteenth Report of the Inspector*, p.60.

This soon reverted back to descriptions of disorganisation, unruliness, and, of course, break outs which occurred in the late 1870s and early 1880s.¹⁶²

The statistical returns of those discharged from the reformatory also suggest that this institution generally realised the lowest level of effectiveness. It achieved the lowest numbers of inmates 'doing well' upon their release for much of the period. Furthermore, the number of inmates known to be doing well upon their discharge from this institution was also inconsistent, rising and falling throughout the period. In the return of discharges for the years 1864, 1865 and 1866, for example, which featured in the *Eleventh Report of the Inspector*, and which indicated the numbers doing well since their discharge to 31 December 1867, this figure was 55 per cent (or 54 out of 99 boys).¹⁶³ This had risen to 66 per cent (or 136 out of 207) by the time of the return of the discharges for the years 1870, 1871 and 1872, indicating the numbers doing well since their discharge to 31 December 1873.¹⁶⁴ However, this figure had fallen to 37 per cent (76 out of 205 boys) in the return of the discharges for the years 1872, 1873 and 1874, it increased again to 46 per cent (100 out of 216) in the return of the discharges for the years 1874, 1875 and 1876, before falling once more to 31 per cent (56 out of 182) in the return of the discharges for the years 1876, 1877, and 1878.¹⁶⁵ The somewhat less successful and largely inconsistent course of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory in the reclamation of its inmates is reflective of the lower level of overall effectiveness achieved by this institution throughout the period.

It should be noted here that whilst the statistical returns for the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory highlight the higher numbers of boys who went on to do well in the three years

¹⁶² See: PP 1876, XXXIV, *Nineteenth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, p.71; PP 1879, *Twenty-Second Report of the Inspector*, p.69.

¹⁶³ PP 1868, *Eleventh Report of the Inspector*, Appendix VI, p.136.

¹⁶⁴ PP 1874, *Seventeenth Report of the Inspector*, Appendix VI, p.220;

¹⁶⁵ PP 1876, *Nineteenth Report of the Inspector*, Appendix III (D), p.207; PP 1878, *Twenty-First Report of the Inspector*, Appendix III (D), p.239; PP 1880, XXXVII, *Twenty-Third Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain*, Appendix III (D), p.259.

after their discharge from the school than the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, they also highlight that this institution experienced higher numbers of boys who went on to be reconvicted upon their discharge. The statistical returns in the Inspector's reports show that the Market Weighton institution experienced reconvictions of between 21 per cent and 37 per cent, between the years 1860 and 1880, as compared with reconvictions of between 11 per cent and 24 per cent at Whitwick during the same years.¹⁶⁶ In the return of discharges for the years 1864, 1865, and 1866, for example, 30 per cent (or 44 out of 149) of boys were reconvicted upon leaving the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, as compared with 11 per cent (or 11 out of 99) of boys from the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, in the return of the discharges for the years 1868, 1869, and 1870, and in the return of discharges for the years 1872, 1873, and 1874, the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory saw 23 per cent and 37 per cent respectively of boys reconvicted of crime, in comparison with 17 per cent and 15 per cent respectively at Mount St. Bernard's.¹⁶⁸

These figures might initially suggest that the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory was less effective than the Mount St. Bernard institution in deterring its inmates from reoffending. However, it is more probable that the figures for the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory were affected by the large proportion of inmates who had been discharged from this institution whose subsequent conduct was unknown. The Whitwick reformatory reported by far the largest numbers of ex-inmates in this category of any of the reformatory institutions discussed in this thesis. These figures ranged from a high of 100 per cent to a low of eleven per cent between 1854 and 1880.¹⁶⁹ This number continually fluctuated throughout the period, however, it remained much higher than the figures given for the other two institutions

¹⁶⁶ See Various Inspector of Reformatories Reports.

¹⁶⁷ PP 1868, *Eleventh Report of the Inspector*, Appendix VI, p.136.

¹⁶⁸ PP 1872, *Fifteenth Report of the Inspector*, Appendix VI, p.204; PP 1876, *Nineteenth Report of the Inspector*, Appendix III (D), p.207.

¹⁶⁹ See Various Inspector's Reports from PP 1862, *Fifth Report of the Inspector*, to PP 1882, *Twenty-Fifth Report of the Inspector*.

which saw the numbers of those whose subsequent conduct was unknown ranging from a high of 33 per cent to a low of one per cent at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, and from a high nine of per cent to a low of two per cent at the Philanthropic Society Farm School during the same years.¹⁷⁰ It is likely that a higher proportion of those large numbers of former Whitwick inmates whose conduct was reported as unknown could be criminal since the reformatory tended to lose track of those who lived an unsettled and potentially criminal existence. Those discharged who disappeared into the casual labour market, for example, and who frequently changed jobs and addresses.¹⁷¹ The higher proportion of criminality amongst former reformatory school inmates who were out of contact with their old schools is highlighted by Barry Godfrey et al in their historical study of young criminals.¹⁷² Godfrey et al found that nearly three quarters of those who went on to reoffend after their release from the sample of reformatory and industrial schools in this study were those who had maintained poor levels of communication with these institutions. Godfrey et al state that there was ‘a strong correlation between good levels of communication and close supervision following the conclusion of periods of institutional care, and desistance from crime’.¹⁷³ It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that many of those former inmates who were reported to be unknown in the statistical returns presented to the Home Office by the Mount St. Bernard institution were those who had continued in criminality and would have fallen into the ‘(re)convicted’ category presented in the returns of the discharges. This was certainly a possibility according to the evidence of Sydney Turner who stated in his sixth annual Inspector’s report for the year 1862, for example, that he recognised ‘upwards of 80’ former Mount St. Bernard inmates ‘in various prisons during the year... and there can be little doubt that the proportion

¹⁷⁰ See Various Inspector’s Reports from PP 1862, *Fifth Report of the Inspector*, to PP 1882, *Twenty-Fifth Report of the Inspector*.

¹⁷¹ Sheldon, ‘Something in the Place of Home’, p.267;269.

¹⁷² Barry Godfrey, Pamela Cox, Heather Shore and Zoe Alker, *Young Criminal Lives, Life Courses and Life Chances from 1850*, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2017).

¹⁷³ Godfrey et al., *Young Criminal Lives*, p.124.

of relapse after discharge must be at least 50 per cent on the number which has left the institution'.¹⁷⁴ Yet despite these estimations given by the Inspector, this was not reflected in the statistics given to the Home Office by the reformatory. In the return of the discharges for the years 1860, 1861, and 1862, 100 per cent of the discharged inmates were listed as unknown. In the return of the discharges for the years 1862, 1863, and 1864, only one inmate out of the 186 discharged is listed as having been (re)convicted, whilst 174 are reported as unknown.¹⁷⁵ Had the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory been more efficient in their monitoring of former inmates, and consequently been able to provide more accurate information regarding the subsequent character of its discharged youths, it is likely that the rate of (re)convictions presented in the statistical returns would have been higher than that at the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory.

Overall, therefore, the empirical examination in this chapter, which has conducted a variation finding comparative evaluation of key aspects of the implementation of representations of space by the reformatory regimes of each institution, has highlighted the varying levels of effectiveness achieved in this endeavour at each of these reformatory schools.

The Philanthropic Society Farm School stands out as the most effective institution overall, realising acclaim beyond that of most other English reformatories during the period. The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory also generally enjoyed a good level of overall effectiveness in many respects for much of the period but it did not realise the levels of effectiveness attained at Redhill. Finally, the discussion in this chapter has illustrated that, of the three institutions examined, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory generally experienced the lowest level of overall effectiveness for the majority of the period.

¹⁷⁴ PP 1863, *Sixth Report of the Inspector*, p.34.

¹⁷⁵ PP 1864, *Seventh Report of the Inspector*, p.98; PP 1866, *Ninth Report of the Inspector*, p.122.

These findings correlate with those generated by the empirical research conducted in the three previous main chapters which examined empirically each institution's development and implementation of reformative space utilising the Lefebvre triad model. The comparative analysis of key elements of the implementation of representations of space at the three reformatory schools conducted in this chapter suggests, consistent with the earlier triadic examination, that the most effective transformative use of reformative space was achieved respectively by the institutions which realised the most dynamic and productive combination of the three aspects of human action identified by the spatial triad model: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space.

Conclusion

This thesis has provided a detailed comparative case study of the intellectual origins and reformative practices implemented in three reformatory institutions in the mid-Victorian era with particular reference to their spatial dimensions and the levels of effectiveness these realised in each. The mission of institutions of this nature was to intervene into the lives of their inmates, insulate them from what was regarded as a contaminating outside world and implement a reformative regime in which they were 'educated, moralised and disciplined'.¹ In examining the attempted implementation of this mission within the three reformatory institutions this thesis has therefore critically considered the research question: did spatially informed practice in each of the rural reformatories studied deliver effective reformative regimes? In critically considering this research question the thesis has reflected on qualitative and quantitative evidence of the effectiveness of each institution through the lens of the potentially effective combining of the three triadic elements of space as expounded by Henri Lefebvre's spatial model and through a comparative variation finding analysis and evaluation of institutional performance in the key areas of spatially informed reformatory practice implemented at all three reformatories.

The study has examined the problem of juvenile delinquency in the mid-Victorian period by exploring the developing nineteenth-century ideas of childhood, home, domesticity, and family in order to contextualise the growing concern of contemporaries regarding the delinquent activities of working-class youth and the increasingly significant role this appeared to play in generating an alleged crime wave. As identified in Chapter One the concerns of contemporary observers regarding working-class youth fell into two main areas of anxiety: firstly, the institution of the working-class family and the nature of working-class childhood and secondly, the environment of urban working-class life. In their attempts at

¹ John Muncie, *Youth and Crime*, 2nd Edition, (Sage: London, 2004), p.62.

‘rescuing’ juvenile delinquents and realising their moral reformation reformers increasingly advocated the reform school system and ‘redemption through the countryside’.² In Chapter Two the thesis provided an exploration of the lineage of the rural reformatory ideal through a detailed and critical examination of the discourse associating the rural environment with moral health. As illustrated in this chapter the uniting of the idea of the influence of environment factors and the notion of particular institutions as places of social engineering saw the rural idyll become a widespread proffered solution to the problem of juvenile delinquency. The translation of the rural idyll - that is idealised notions of rural life - into spatially informed reformatory practice has been explored in Chapters Three, Four and Five of this thesis. Here the study critically examined the reformatory practices of the Philanthropic Society Farm School, the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School and the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, with particular reference to their spatial dimensions. This involved an exploration of the daily life of those incarcerated at these three reformatory schools through the examination of the educational, training and disciplinary regimes of the institutions and their boarding and lodging arrangements. Finally, the thesis has considered the levels of effectiveness these institutions realised through a comparative evaluation of the performance of some of the key reformatory practices employed at each of these three reformatory schools.

The empirical examination in this thesis has demonstrated that each reformatory school did translate idealised versions of the rural into spatially informed reformatory practice but the levels of effectiveness achieved at each was varied. This is highlighted by the critical examination of the inner workings of the three reformatory schools and of daily life in each institution carried out in Chapters Three, Four and Five. In each of these chapters the

² John Clarke, ‘The Three Rs - Repression, Rescue and Rehabilitation: Ideologies of Control for Working Class Youth’ in John Muncie, Gordon Hughes and Eugene McLaughlin (Eds.), *Youth Justice Critical Readings*, (SAGE: London, 2002), p.127.

reformatory regimes of each school were considered through the lens of the potentially effective combining of the three triadic elements of Henri Lefebvre's spatial model: *spatial practices, representations of space* and *representational space*.³ The theoretical aspect of Lefebvre's triadic approach posits that the greatest transformative use of space occurs when the three triadic elements combine dynamically and effectively to create space. The thesis has considered the possibility, therefore, when examining the effectiveness of each institution that it is when the three aspects of human action identified by the spatial triad - spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space - most dynamically and productively combined that the most effective reformatory regime was realised.

Having considered in Chapter Three the management of the Philanthropic Society Farm School at Redhill through the lens of the potentially effective combining of the three triadic elements of Henri Lefebvre's model of space the institution demonstrated its effectiveness in all elements. The Redhill reformatory was, for the duration of the period of study, able to effectively manage the spatial practices of receiving large numbers of criminal youths into its custody, facilitating the move from their former urban environments to the purposefully isolated Surrey countryside, immersing boys into the spatially shaped practices of the reformatory regime of the farm school. The Philanthropic Society Farm School also effectually managed the implementation of representations of space such as the full timetable of spatial practices in the form of agricultural labour, religious and moral education, elementary secular education, and the implementation of the family system of moral training. In all of these aspects the reformatory school demonstrated a high level of effectiveness. Finally, the Redhill reformatory also managed the representational space of the institution by making significant symbolic use of the reformatory space and its objects in order to, for example, remind inmates of the consequences of social non-conformity and of the liberty the

³ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1991), p.33.

reformatory regime would ultimately bestow upon conforming inmates after rescuing them from criminality and offering them a respectable future life. The examination in Chapter Three also highlighted that the Philanthropic Society Farm School was able, as a result of its effective management throughout the period, to effectually deal with any potentially problematic less overtly spatial factors, such as occasional inmate resistance to its reformatory regime. In these respects, therefore, the Redhill reformatory school demonstrated its effectiveness and it demonstrated why it was regarded as an ‘exemplar of progressive ideas about juvenile reform’ and ‘one of the best organised and most successful British reformatories’.⁴ The effectiveness of the Redhill reformatory regime was also underlined in Chapter Six of the thesis which employed a variation finding approach to analyse and evaluate variably key aspects of the management regimes of the three institutions. Here too the Philanthropic Society Farm School, demonstrated its effectiveness and proved to be the most effective institution overall, realising acclaim for key aspects of its regime beyond that of most other English reformatories during the period.

The consideration of the management of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory through the lens of the potentially effective combining of the three triadic elements of space in Chapter Five demonstrated that this institution also managed, on the whole, to successfully facilitate and dynamically combine these elements to realise effective reformatory practice, hence this institution is discussed next. This reformatory school, like Redhill, was able to effectively manage the spatial practices of moving boys from urban environments to the (Yorkshire) countryside. It also effectively implemented representations of space such as the full timetable of spatial practices within the reformatory and the family system of moral training. The reformatory was also able to effectively manage the implemented representational space by making symbolic use of the reformatory space and its objects in

⁴ Teresa Ploszajska, ‘Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces: Gender, Class and Space in Victorian Reformatory Schools’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.20, No.4, (1994), p.414; p.419.

order to, for example, remind inmates of the importance of submitting themselves to the reforming regime and the future opportunities this would present to them. The examination of the management of this reformatory school also highlighted that whilst the institution faced some problematic less overtly spatial factors such as the retaining of many older boys in the reformatory, criticisms of the harshness and quantity of the punishments awarded, and the financial constraints under which the school operated, these were largely dealt with efficiently by the reformatory staff and were not judged to impede the overall effectiveness of the reformatory regime. The effectiveness of Market Weighton's reformatory regime was also underlined in the comparative evaluation carried out in Chapter Six of the thesis which highlighted the generally good level of effectiveness of key aspects of the regime realised at this institution.

Having also considered the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory through the lens of the potentially effective combining of the three triadic elements of space, the examination in this thesis has emphasised that a positive and creative combination of the key elements of spatial practice at this institution was not, for the majority of its existence, successfully implemented and managed and therefore the effectiveness of the spatially informed reformative regime was frequently impeded, hence this institution is discussed last. This was largely the result of two less overtly spatial factors which impacted upon the effective functioning of the reformative regime such as the inadequate management of the Whitwick reformatory for the majority of the period of study and the financial constraints under which it operated for the duration of its existence. Therefore, whilst the institution successfully managed the spatial practice of facilitating the reception of criminal boys into the reformatory, it failed to effectively implement representations of space such as, for example, the family system of moral training, which meant that the application of spatially informed reformatory practices was haphazard. Consequently, the recreation of the envisaged curative idealised form of a

rural environment within the Colony of Mount St. Bernard Abbey was incomplete. There is evidence within the reformatory regime of representational space such as an attempt to make symbolic use of the space and its objects. However, because major aspects of the implementation of representations of space, such as the family system, at this reformatory were so often dysfunctional the attempt at utilising representational space was disrupted and therefore its impact on the inmates was limited. In the case of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, therefore, the institution did not, for the majority of the period, realise effective reformatory practice. As the discussion in Chapter Four highlighted the institution came closer to achieving this under the more efficient leadership of Thomas Carroll, however, financial constraints still impinged upon the fully effective functioning of the regime. This institution, therefore, never fully or consistently created an effective reforming regime. This is also confirmed by the comparative evaluation of the effectiveness of the reformatory regime carried out in Chapter Six. The analysis in this chapter demonstrated that in regards to key elements of the reformatory regime this institution realised the lowest levels of effectiveness for the majority of the period.

The research question asks: did spatially informed practice in each of the rural reformatories studied deliver effective reformative regimes? In addressing this, it is fair to state that each achieved the creation of a total institution in rural contexts which isolated inmates from the outside world. This achievement reflected influential contemporary discourse which saw reform and rehabilitation as a process that could be most effectively realised within the structured confines of institutions which subjected those incarcerated to sustained and controlled reformatory regimes inspired by the ideal of the rural. However, beyond this initial level of effectiveness the performance of the regimes was, as the analysis above suggests, variable.

The Philanthropic Society Farm School did deliver an effective reformatory regime throughout the period of study. It did this both in terms of the dynamic and productive combining of the three triadic elements of spatial practice which led to an effective reformatory regime, and in terms of the areas of effective practice examined by the reformatory inspectorate. This evaluation is supported by the evidence of higher numbers of former inmates who went on to do well upon leaving this reformatory school. The effective management this institution experienced for the duration of the period of study meant that any potential problems were dealt with swiftly and efficiently and the good financial health of the institution aided the effective running of the school and its key reforming structures. The Redhill reformatory, therefore, delivered an effective reformatory regime throughout the period of study.

The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, too, on the whole, delivered an effective reformatory regime as its reformatory practices constituted a successful melding of the three triadic elements to effectively create a coherent reformatory whole. It did this too in terms of the key aspects of effectiveness examined by the inspectorate. Whilst this institution did face some problems and received some criticism of specific aspects of its regime, these were largely accepted and effectively acted upon by those in charge. These issues were never considered by the Inspector of Reformatories to have impeded on the overall effective functioning of the regime. This reformatory school did therefore deliver an effective reformatory regime.

Finally in the case of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory School it cannot be said that this institution delivered an effective reformatory regime. The managerial regime at this reformatory school, for the majority of the period, did not effect reformatory practice which creatively combined the kinds of practices identified by the three vitally productive elements of Henri Lefebvre's triadic model. Order at this institution was consequently frequently able

to breakdown and, in terms of the areas of effective practice examined by the reformatory inspectorate, the Whitwick institution achieved mixed results. Whilst the effectiveness of the reformatory was much improved during the period of Thomas Carroll's leadership (1864-75), on the whole, however, it cannot be said that this institution realised an effective reformatory regime for most of the period of study undertaken by this thesis. This assessment of the regime's effectiveness is supported by the evidence of the lower numbers of inmates who were reported to have gone on to do well upon their release from this reformatory school compared with the other two schools examined in this study. The poor quality of the management this institution experienced for the majority of its existence and the financial constraints it operated under for the duration of the period of study severely impeded its efforts to realise an effective reformatory regime.

The thesis has, therefore, demonstrated that, as Lefebvre's theory posited, it was when, within each institution, the three aspects of human action identified by the spatial triad - spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space - most dynamically and productively combined that the most effective reformatory regime was realised. The performances of the three reformatory regimes studied align with this supposition. The Philanthropic Society Farm School, which most successfully combined the triadic elements realised the most effective reformatory regime, and the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, which was least successful in constructively combining these elements realised the least effective reformatory regime. This has also been confirmed by the results highlighted in the comparative evaluation of aspects of reformatory practice in these institutions conducted in Chapter Six, which were consistent with the empirical findings in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

The thesis has demonstrated the importance of spatial factors in determining the effectiveness of these reformatory regimes. It has also identified that the effectiveness of the

regimes also depended significantly on the soundness of their financial base and the quality of staff employed to implement and manage spatially informed reformatory practices. Without these positive attributes reforming structures in place were liable to founder and seriously impede the effectiveness of reformatory regimes. The research addresses the question: did spatially informed practice in each of the rural reformatories studied deliver effective reformatory regimes? In doing so the thesis has arrived at the conclusion that except in the case of the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, these institutions did deliver effective reformatory regimes.

Finally, this thesis will reflect on the findings of its case study of the intellectual origins and reformatory practices implemented in three reformatory institutions in the mid-Victorian period in relation to the three historiographical paradigms associated with this area of historical enquiry considered in the opening introductory chapter. Each of these regimes were inspired by the progressive and humanitarian views developing in the nineteenth century and which were becoming influential in discussions debating the appropriate institutional form of treatment of miscreant youth identified by the orthodox historical perspective. Each institution sought not merely to punish its inmates but to reform and restore them to the proper condition of childhood through a more humanitarian treatment of juvenile offenders. In the course of these reformatory interventions each reformatory school, at times, lapsed into the repressive measures identified by the revisionist perspective as being characteristic of reformatory institutions. This is demonstrated through the use of excessively harsh punishment in order to enforce control over their inmates. In attempting to reform their inmates each of these institutions were informed and influenced in the spatial practices they sought to implement by the environmental discourse which was influential amongst the Victorian reformatory movement and which has been identified by the post-revisionist historical paradigm as important in shaping the treatment of those incarcerated in juvenile

institutions of this nature. Each reformatory studied in this thesis was inspired particularly in its reformative practices by the ideals of the salving power of the rural in treating juvenile delinquents and these ideas significantly influenced the structure and regime of these reformatory schools. Each of the three historical perspectives, therefore, offers worthwhile insights and has consequently been used to develop analysis and interpretation in this thesis. However, overall this discussion aligns most closely with the post-revisionist paradigm which regards spatial and environmental influences as central in determining the location, design and reformative regimes of these institutions. This spatial approach has facilitated an examination of the use and manipulation of space in these institutions through a multi-levelled analysis of the physical, social and ideological spaces of each reformatory school. It has also emphasised the role of human agency in creating past space which, as Richard White stated, 'is something human beings produce over time'.⁵ This approach has, therefore, facilitated an insightful exploration of the history of these institutions which has focussed on the agency of both the management and the inmates in creating and negotiating lived space.

⁵ Richard White, 'What is Spatial History?', *Stanford University Spatial History Lab*, (February 2010), p.2.

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