HEALTH, ENVIRONMENT AND THE INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF CHILDREN IN LATE VICTORIAN LONDON

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Abstract

Using the example of the London-based children's organisation Barnardo's, this thesis examines the influence of contemporary ideas regarding the relationship between environment, health and disease on the organisation and everyday institutional practices of the charity. While autobiographical accounts and historical investigations have written on the 'man himself' as well as the discursive and representational strategies used by Barnardo's to justify child removal, the importance of environmental discourses to the institution remain underexplored. The thesis addresses this lacuna through a detailed analysis of archival materials relating to Barnardo's (committee minutes, pamphlets, reports, Dr Barnardo's personal notebooks) as well as through a textual analysis of *Night & Day*, the main outlet for publicising the work of the charity and stimulating support for it.

The thesis covers the period from 1866, when Barnardo's was founded, to the death of Dr Barnardo in 1905. This is a period when the environmental idea was arguably at its strongest, with a host of social ills (from criminality and prostitution, to human health and vitality and later in the period racial degeneration) linked to the influence of the environment. Like many other social reformers and philanthropists, Dr Barnardo was a firm believer in environmental explanations for such social ills, as well as a committed evangelical Christian, and promoted the rapid removal of young people (not all were orphaned but the vast majority were destitute) from urban and familial environments believed to do harm to their physical, moral and spiritual health.

Where the first part of the thesis covers the importance of environment to the Barnardo's justification for his child removal practices, the remainder of it considers the response of the institution to environmental ideas. In addition to examining the influence of environment on

institutional design and on the everyday practices of the 'inmates', for example the promotion of light and air in the girl's home at Barkingside, emphasis is also placed on ideas of mobility and movement. Here the thesis explores the paradoxical relationship between the organisation's 'anti-institutional' projection and the institutional realities of constructing and policing 'out of home' care practices (trips to the country- and seaside, boarding-out, emigration).

This thesis contributes to extant accounts of Dr Barnardo's; however, its primary contribution lies in its nuanced examination of the role of environmental ideas on shaping institutional design and on its influence on the everyday practices of Barnardo's young inmates.

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Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1

Introduction

In the summer of 1881, 2,500 children who were pupils at Barnardo's ragged schools embarked on a trip to Theydon Bois in the Essex countryside. Already an established custom by this point in time, one that was designed to provide these children with a brief respite from the slums of London's East End, Dr Barnardo reported on the trip in the pages of the charity's main periodical, *Night & Day*:

> 'We went from Burdett Road Station on the South Eastern Line to Theydon Bois, where in a few minutes we were *safe* in a large field adjoining the forest, away from public houses and everything of that kind'. (*Night & Day*, 1881: 157. Emphasis added)

Safety was a key concern for Barnardo, here in the sense that the children had been safely removed, albeit temporarily, from the urban environments that were regarded as being so deleterious to their health, both physical and moral. The place, the mode of transport, indeed all aspects of this trip, which cost a total of 1s. 2d. per head, were carefully planned and designed to ensure there were limited opportunities for the young people to be tempted by secular distractions. For example, trains were selected over horse-drawn coaches as the latter were required to stop along the journey to 'bait' the horses and coachmen; potentially giving the older boys in Barnardo's care the opportunity to slip away unnoticed to the 'drink-shop'. As Barnardo reports, the careful organisation of the trip allowed for it to be a great success and

the children were welcomed home by a considerable crowd, reported to be made up of eight to nine thousand people, with the proceedings closed with a firework display:

> 'Not an incident occurred to mar the enjoyment of the day, and at half-past seven o' clock, having been well fed, pretty well tired, but thoroughly satisfied and happy, laden with ferns, grasses, wild flowers, branches – I had almost written bushes – the whole party re-formed and marched to the trains, reaching Limehouse again at about nine o'clock pm.' (*Night & Day*, 1881: 157)

Throughout the 1880s rural excursions arranged by charitable organisations such as Barnardo's became a widespread phenomenon. These trips were promoted on the basis of their improving the moral and physical health of the population through access to the therapeutic properties afforded by the 'natural' environment – whether in greenspaces within the city, the surrounding countryside, as in this case, or the seaside (Thorsheim, 2006). The account of the trip to Theydon Bois also provides a useful insight into how these excursions were valued and the wider philosophy of the children's charity Barnardo's. Imagined through the urban-rural dichotomy, the city stands for danger and temptation, illustrated through the public houses and other sites of immorality and sin which were understood to be absent within the sanitised setting of the countryside. The rural is associated with a carefree innocence; it is a space where the children could explore nature and at the same time enjoy healthful pursuits. It is also apparent from the account that institutions like Barnardo's did not leave such healthful development of the young people to chance and ensuring that they experienced the kind of day out that the organisation *intended* required a good degree of planning and policing; it was only once the young people were safely at a distance, separated from the city and its vice-ridden environment, that it was possible for a day such as this to be a success.

As the above discussion suggests, Barnardo's ability to promote the health and wellbeing of the children was based on the inter-related principles of removal, movement and mobility. *Removal* was, and indeed remains, an extremely controversial element of Barnardo's philosophy on child welfare. In the main, it is a question that has been treated as one that relates to Dr Barnardo's justification for the practice of immediately removing young people from their parents on the grounds of their neglect and in some cases abuse, inspired as it was by his evangelical Christian beliefs (Wagner, 1979; Murdoch, 2006). In the context of the account of Theydon Bois, removal also emerges in the act of extracting and protecting the young people from environments, and not only familial ones, that were regarded as being morally and physically damaging. Here, removal merges into the related concepts of *movement* and *mobility* which this thesis will argue were central to the practices employed and promoted by the charity; at least up to Dr Barnardo's death in 1905. More specifically, it will be argued that Barnardo's developed a highly dynamic institutional assemblage that 'scaled up' and 'scaled out' over the period covered by this study (Beckingham, 2013). Where the former refers to the substantial growth of the institution during this period, the latter refers to an organisation whose focus shifted from the city, to nation and empire and whose ameliorative programmes and institutional arrangements and practices were premised on an environmental logic that mirrored this scalar concern.

1.1 A VERY BAD YEAR: 1866

The tale of Dr Barnardo's arrival in London's East End is one which has been both well-rehearsed and documented (Hitchman, 1966; Wagner, 1979). In many ways, it begins with his 'rebirth' as an evangelical Christian following the so-called 'revival' movement that emerged in Britain and Ireland in the late 1850s and early 1860s (S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907). It

was his desire to be a medical missionary in China, in part born out of his evangelism, that initially drew him to East London and it was his experience living amidst the deprivation, poverty, as well as vice and immorality, found in the districts of this part of the capital that led to him abandoning this move and establishing his first 'Home', the East London Juvenile Mission, in Hope Place, Stepney. There is much more that could be stated about this early period in Barnardo's personal and institutional history. However, placing Barnardo's work more squarely in its wider historical and geographical context requires moving beyond this and paying attention to a range of events and processes which helped to shape the East End he encountered in the 1860s. Perhaps, the most important of these was the return of cholera to the capital in 1866, which was responsible for the deaths of over 14,000 people nationally and more than 5,500 in the capital. Although these figures reflect a considerable reduction of the mortality experienced during the 'savage' epidemic of 1853–4 (Pelling, 1978), where over 20,000 people succumbed nationally with more than 10,000 of these in London, it is important to note that mortality was much more heavily concentrated in the East End (Luckin, 1977). Indeed, Luckin's calculations have revealed that on no day between the 21st July and the 6th August did any fewer than one hundred inhabitants die from the disease.

It was not only the high rate of mortality from the cholera epidemic that shaped Barnardo's decision to remain in East London, though, as Wagner (1979) remarks, this was important; rather, it was the appalling environmental conditions in which people lived that were to have a profound influence upon him. As with the rest of London, the majority of the city's poor inhabitants in the districts of East London were living in unsanitary, overcrowded conditions. In part shaped by the city's primary position within an international capitalist industrial order (Stedman Jones, 1971; Williams, 1985), the overcrowding that London experienced during this period and throughout the rest of the century was associated with mass rural-to-urban and

overseas migration (especially from Ireland and Eastern Europe). Housing often failed to meet the demand of an ever-growing migrant population, resulting in the development of vast slum areas situated on the peripheral limits of the city (Lees, 1985). According to statistics collected by the Medical Officer of Health for Whitechapel in 1866, the average household contained some 9 people per room with 194 occupying each acre of space (Medical Officer of Health, Whitechapel, 1866). The appalling conditions that resulted were further exacerbated by an economic recession that was kick-started by the collapse of Overend, Gurney and Company, a London-based wholesale discount bank which was blamed for the subsequent sharp rise in national unemployment to 8 per cent and a decline in wages across the country (Flandreau and Ugolini, 2013). As Stedman Jones (1971) has argued, the second half of the 1860s marked a pivotal moment when chronic poverty became endemic.

The living arrangements and unsanitary conditions of these East London districts did, of course, have a devastating impact on mortality and morbidity, especially for the young and most vulnerable adults (see Luckin, 1977; Wohl, 1983). Prior to the emergence of germ theory or the establishing of the doctrine of specific aetiology, which associated disease with a specific causal agent, explanations for much of this mortality and morbidity emphasised the role played by the environment. The association between death, disease and environment, which was most commonly explained by miasma theory, the idea that diseases were caused by atmospheric substances generated by the putrefaction of organic matter and the human body (Halliday, 2001), are reflected in reports from the Medical Officer for Health for Whitechapel:

> 'Several cases of indecent occupation were also observed. This Court is a *cul de sac*, and the want of a free current of air is apparent from the fact, that the dense and offensive vapour from the malt-roasting premises in the New Road, which, at times,

pervades the neighbourhood, remains here for a considerable period before it is dispersed.' (*Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Whitechapel,* 1866: 7)

As this extract from the report for 1866 suggests, the threat of miasmas was believed to be heightened in the small, cramped and overcrowded dwellings of the poor, such as the *cul-de-sac* mentioned here (Hamlett, 2015; Murdoch, 2006). Existing alongside this environmental explanation for disease and death was a belief in the presence of moral miasmas, which were argued by some to transform children and young people, as they had their parents, into a new class of criminals and social deviants.

The living conditions in the slum districts of East London attracted the attention of numerous middle-class commentators both fascinated and appalled by a situation which was gradually worsening (Koven, 2004). The spectre of urban poverty had received heightened interest and recognition in the wake of sensationalist publications which aimed to deliver the middle classes an insight into the city slums. A decade earlier, Henry Mayhew's social research in *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851) had imagined the London poor through their trades and occupations categorising and classing different social groups with varying degrees of criticism, although often with an empathetic ear (Driver, 2001). These publications intended to prick the middle-class conscience and generated 'truths' about the urban poor and their means of earning a living. With the condition of the East End, in particular, attracting the public's attention, droves of curious middle-class observers, spectators and commentators would venture into these impoverished districts (Behlmer, 1998; Koven, 2004). But writings that imagined the living conditions of the urban poor who resided in these districts were becoming increasingly derogatory and critical; it is the associated mapping of the moral geography of the city that also provided a basis for social intervention (Driver, 1988, 2001; Gilbert, 2004; Ginn, 2006).

It was not only the sensationalist publications and press which were fuelling a burgeoning urban problem discourse. The association of the East End with poverty, immorality, crime and disease was in part driven by the rise of social science, statistics, mapping and other methods of calculating and 'knowing' the city which had become increasingly important in the process of governing a growing and seemingly chaotic population (Driver, 1988; Joyce, 2003). The period during the 1830s and 1840s witnessed the founding of statistical societies in cities such as Manchester and London which aimed ultimately to understand as well as provide information about this rapidly changing, alien society (Driver, 1988). In 1840, the Council of the London Statistical Society defined statistics to be 'the observations necessary to the social or moral sciences, to the sciences of *statist*, to whom the statesman or legislator must resort for the principles on which to legislate or govern' (1849: 2). Earlier in the century statistics had become closely aligned with the social or moral sciences which began analysing and identifying the critical problems rapidly becoming associated with the labouring classes. From the committing of crimes to drunkenness and delinquency, it was these negative characteristics that were seen as part of a wider syndrome of deviant societal behaviour associated above all with the increasingly problematic spaces within the urban environment: the slum, the rookery, the street and so on.

In a famous parliamentary speech in 1848, Lord Shaftesbury stated that he deplored the conditions of the naked, filthy, roaming, lawless and deserted children in and around the metropolis (Davin, 1996). These 'roaming' groups of children, who were highly visible as they left the slums in search of work in busy London streets, were labelled by Shaftesbury as 'street Arabs' indicating their savage and brutal disposition toward society. In this context, the street and other adult spaces within the city came to stand for 'danger and corruption,' as spaces that 'no child with a proper home would be freely allowed' to occupy (Davin, 1996: 162). These

spaces stood in contrast to an imagined middle-class home where domesticity and its associated values were believed to create the 'appropriate' setting for the care and development of children (Gordon and Nair, 2003; Hamlett, 2010; Murdoch, 2006). This is the context that framed Dr Barnardo's arrival in East London and it was as a response to the dangers that this environment posed to the young people he observed that Barnardo's the charity was established.

1.2 RESPONDING TO THE NEEDS OF THE POOR

In the first edition of *Night & Day*, Barnardo's main promotional publication, the organisation outlined the cause and effect of child poverty in the capital:

> 'But the steady increase of population, the vicissitudes of trade among the lower classes, the imperfections of our parochial system, the consequences of intemperance, criminality, improvidence, and the desertion of their offspring by real or reputed parents, with a combination of other causes too numerous to mention – causes it would be futile to hope are capable of being at once completely and radically removed – will always bring on the streets of our large cities numbers of children who cannot be reached by the provisions of the Reformatory and Industrial Acts. These children constitute a class by themselves, and need the intervention of *preventative* measures, if they are not to develop into profligates and criminals.' (*Night & Day*, 1877: 3)

This extract illustrates the organisation's rhetorical framing of the urban problem. Here, Barnardo's identifies a set of problems believed to trigger the widespread suffering of children, their nomadic and disturbing presence on the public space of the street before highlighting the solution through intervention and preventative measures to stop the cycle of criminality and

poverty for the next generation. Barnardo's continually problematized the different spaces poor children inhabited. Those children who had private homes and dwellings were presented as being vulnerable to violence and neglect from supposedly indolent, drunk or absent parents and relatives (Murdoch, 2006). Common lodging houses were framed as no place for a child due to moral miasmas, disease, pestilence and the presence of a criminal class who posed a threat to the welfare and future of the children. Slum districts and the public space of the street were also deemed unsuitable because of disease and immorality. Contemporary institutions such as the Union workhouse and other institutional spaces were attacked by the organisation where it was believed that the poor were simply warehoused and children grouped indiscriminately and in close proximity to a multitude of moral and physical threats (*Night & Day,* 1877).

In support of the influence of environment over heredity, the organisation followed three key steps in a programme designed to remove children from those environments considered to be fatal to their healthy development and ultimate transformation into productive young citizens. The first step outlined the process of rescue and admission, providing an environment that aimed to reverse the trend of 'pauperism'. The second step involved sorting through the admissions in order to provide the necessary programme of training and care depending upon their respective age, sex and according to any physical or mental impairment. Finally, the organisation selected places of employment for the children and young adults in the UK or the colonies (Annual Report, 1883–1884: 11). In order to achieve its aims, the institution need to both 'scale up' and 'scale out'.

For Barnardo's, the 1880s in particular was a decade of institutional construction and expansion (Wagner, 1977). By the close of the decade, a sizeable institutional network had been built

which catered for children of all ages and abilities. The Babies' Castle and Tinies' House, both opened in the 1880s, accommodated children under the age of 5 (*Night & Day*, 1887). Leopold House, opened in Burdett Road, Stepney, provided education and skills training to boys usually aged 10-13 who would stay for approximately 2 to 3 years. The Stepney Boys' Home admitted boys aged as young as 7 or 8 up until the age of 16 and provided education and training before the most successful 'cases' were selected for emigration whilst others were sent to work in apprenticeships in the UK (*Night & Day*, 1883; 1884: 1890). The Girls' Village Home in Barkingside, Essex, was the largest institution built by the organisation and housed and trained girls in a cottage system before sending them out to work as maids and servants in the UK and Canada (*Night & Day*, 1877, 1880, 1891). Boys and young men aged between 17 and 22 could gain admission into the Labour House for Destitute Youths or the Young Workmen's Hotel where they endured an accelerated programme of training which lasted around six months (Barnardo, 1889; *Night & Day,* 1880). Sturge House, located on Bow Road, East London, was the equivalent for older girls and provided a short course of domestic training in other Barnardo-run institutions such as the Babies' Castle or the Girls' Village Home (*Night & Day,* 1889). As the organisation continued to expand throughout the 1890s, Barnardo's reached a national scale via the construction of numerous Ever-Open Door shelters in UK towns and cities. Fourteen shelters were in existence across the UK by 1905 and admitted destitute children into the principal Homes as the charity's mission became increasingly tied to national and imperial interests.

Specialist institutions were also built by Barnardo's to cater for the sick and diseased. The Teighmore Home for Little Boys, located on the island of Jersey and opened in 1879, accommodated for young frail children suffering from tuberculosis. The Felixstowe convalescent home, opened in 1886, provided sanctuary for children recovering from sickness

and disease at a coastal location (*Night & Day,* 1888; Barnardo, 1889). The Infirmary, located at 19 Stepney Causeway opened in 1875, was replaced by the larger better-equipped Hospital for Sick Children in 1889 and provided care for the sick children of Barnardo's homes and performed surgical procedures (*Night & Day,* 1890). Barnardo's also cared for children with physical and mental impairments. Many of these children were integrated into the main homes, notably the Boys' Home and Girls' Village Home, with the belief that they would have a better experience if they were not segregated. Specialist homes were, however, built for those whose impairments were especially severe, with Sheppard House catering for boys and the Beehive for girls. Additional branches were opened in both Southport and Bradford throughout the 1890s (S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907).

In laying out the ideological vision for the work of the organisation in the opening pages of the first edition of *Night & Day*, Barnardo declared that '[t]hese homes must all be simple and natural in character and as far as possible removed from the "institution" type' (*Night & Day,* 1877: 5). Barnardo's institutional infrastructure was therefore born out of a critique of the inadequacies of the contemporary workhouse system particularly in relation to the treatment of children as well as the slum conditions of inner-city environments. The anti-institutional organisation and practices of Barnardo's were further enhanced from the 1890s where a system of boarding-out was adopted; this was intended to provide children with a 'homely' experience in a country village under the care of specially selected foster parents before their return to the principal homes in order to complete their formal programme of training in preparation for adult life (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895). Fundamentally, the central concept to all of the organisation's work was *mobility* and *movement*. Children were moved from an environment deemed unfit and unhealthy for their existence and transplanted into Homes or out to the country. Once admitted and depending on their age, children were successively

moved through the different branches governed by Barnardo's. The organisation also valued a change of environment in promoting health and wellbeing channelled through the various fresh air or day in the country funds and boarding-out strategies as well as the out-of-town location for many of the Homes.

1.3 PREVIOUS BARNARDO'S SCHOLARSHIP

Existing studies have fallen short of fully examining how wider debates centred on the environment as well as sanitation and medicine, health, wellbeing and childcare influenced both the promotion of Barnardo's work and its institutional design, practice and infrastructure. Although work by Wagner (1977) and Hitchman (1966) has traced some of the organisation's practices, the studies were an uncritical retelling of the charity's history and focused on the autobiographical accounts of the man himself. Studies by Koven (2004) and Murdoch (2006) have, on the other hand, delivered critical reinterpretations of Barnardo's history. Koven's study provides an examination of the representational strategies that surrounded child rescue in Victorian London, focusing particularly on the 1870s. Drawing upon on Barnardo's photographic collection, Koven argues portraits of the ragged child created by the organisation were framed in sexually suggestive ways in order to reveal both the vulnerability and dangerous promiscuity of children in this urban environment, which intended to shock wealthier classes into supporting child removal.

Murdoch (2006) studied Barnardo's 'child rescue' practices and the associated process of constructing of a parental failure discourse. Murdoch argued that Dr Barnardo was instrumental in a shift towards the vilification of pauper parents and relatives through the construction of a discourse that framed them as absent or neglectful. This, Murdoch argues, was part of a broader

25

shift led by child reformers to take children out of the care of the poor – represented as drunk, cruel and abusive – and into the supposedly capable hands of state or charity-run homes to produce improved citizens and enhance the wealth and prosperity of nation and empire. Murdoch's study also aims to restore agency to the parents of poor children by documenting examples of resistance where mothers, fathers and other family members attempted to visit and reclaim their children from the care of Barnardo's. One potential criticism of Murdoch and Koven's studies is that they portray one aspect of the Barnardo's story resulting in at times unbalanced reinterpretation of the organisation's practices.

Ash's (2016) very recent study undertakes a much broader analysis of the representational tactics of Barnardo's by focusing on how the charity promoted its work to potential supporters. Her core focus is on Dr Barnardo himself and the way that he cleverly and opportunistically appropriated discourse, narratives and metaphors to provoke emotional responses to the issues that his charity was seeking to address, which in turn worked to generate support, address criticism and raise funds for the charity. Ash offers close textual readings of the cultural discourses and forms of spectacle used by Barnardo's, but is more ultimately more concerned with the promotional and branding mechanisms of the organisation than with questions about environment and well-being that are the focus of this thesis.

Other recent studies have focused on Barnardo's emigration schemes. Lynch (2016) situated Barnardo's child emigration in its wider historical context in order to understand the moral culture from which it emerged and, in particular, the evangelical Christian principles driving the practice. This study forms a critical revaluation of these controversial schemes in an effort to understand how, despite their shortfalls and sometimes harmful impacts on children, they were moral projects based on good intentions which need to be historically contextualised. His

study draws attention to the forms of humanitarian sentiment that underpinned many philanthropic ventures aimed at improving the lives of children and calls for a rethinking of the ways that these schemes have been reflected upon from a condemnatory twenty-first century perspective. Boucher (2014) has also examined the rise and fall of Barnardo's emigration schemes, assessing their links to ideas of imperial expansion, vitality and citizenship and illustrating some of the impacts and consequences the schemes had for the children and families involved.

1.4 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

This thesis understands Barnardo's as part of an ameliorative wave of urban intervention strategies geared toward tackling and responding to the nineteenth-century urban problem. The fundraising work of Barnardo's interacted, mobilised and constructed a variety of contemporary problem discourses associated with children and the Victorian city, responding in ways that it suggested would improve health and well-being and provide skills and training that were essential to children's development as future citizens. The study is organised around the exploration of the following research questions:

1. How did Barnardo's construct the urban problem as it related to children and other young people in the mid-to-late Victorian period and how important were differing perceptions of the environment to this?

2. To what extent were ideas regarding removal, movement and mobility incorporated within Barnardo's institutional response to the urban problem and how did they shape young people's experiences of the institutional environment?

3. How important was 'scaling up' and 'scaling out' to Barnardo's expansion and how far do these concepts explain the charity's engagement with wider discourses on the inter-relationship between environment, health and wellbeing?

1.5 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The thesis is formed of eight closely-related chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2, discusses secondary literatures, situates the arguments made in the thesis in their broader historical context, and places the study's intended contributions within relevant academic debates. It focuses its discussion on scholarship dealing with the core themes of the study: the 'urban problem' and efforts to address it, Victorian children and childhood, and the nature of nineteenth-century institutions. Chapter 3, sets out the project's main sources and approaches, outlining the range and scope of materials used in this thesis and discussing some of their problems and limitations. The chapter also discusses some of the ethical issues raised by researching the history of child welfare at a time when there has been intense public interest and concern about how to ensure the well-being and safeguarding of contemporary children and vulnerable young people. It traces some of the impacts of these concerns on the practicalities of working with the Barnardo archive. Combined, the first three chapters thus help to frame the research presented in this thesis and provide a justification for the arguments made in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Four provides an exploration of the charity's promotional material. The analysis traces the multiple discourses, imagery and tropes Barnardo's constructed, interacted with and mobilised in its justification of the movement of children away from the site of the slum and

into environments that were governed and controlled by the charity. By demonstrating the diverse range of contemporary debates and narratives the charity worked to incorporate into their fundraising campaign it will reveal the opportunist element of Barnardo's work and its capacity as a charity to raise considerable funds in support of its work. The chapter will additionally argue that as the scalar reach of the charity was extended via the appropriation of an imaginative discourse that saw 'child rescue' as being linked to the future vitality of nation and empire.

Chapter 5 is an examination of how Barnardo's prevented and responded to death and disease in its Homes. By investigating different outbreaks of disease in the Homes and how the organisation dealt with these epidemics, the chapter argues that Barnardo's institutionalised medical practice via the establishment of a range of protocols and guidelines aimed at safeguarding the children's health. As well as exploring the protocols that were in place to suppress the impact of particular diseases and infections, the chapter argues that a medicalisation of the Homes took place over the course of the 1880s and 1890s and especially in those institutions which housed the youngest and most the vulnerable children. It also examines the key role played by medical personnel, especially senior female medical officers and the organisation's Chief Medical Office of Health, Dr Robert Milne, who used his experience of working in the charity to develop and test new models of medical practice in the management of infectious disease.

Chapter 6 investigates the day-to-day life Barnardo's institutional spaces and, more specifically, the extent to which the organisation can be argued to have responded to Victorian conceptions of the inter-relationship between environment, health and wellbeing. This is achieved by breaking down the different aspects of institutional life including the timetable and

routine, education, diet and nutrition, fitness and exercise, and skills and training. By exploring these different elements of the young people's quotidian existence, the chapter seeks to consider the ways in which the institution responded to widely circulating ideas about the developmental needs of young people. In particular, this chapter brings to the fore a set of institutional practices that were aimed at counteracting the ongoing effects of the children's past lives.

Chapter 7 examines the organisation's growing interest and use of out-of-town environments as venues for improving the lives of poor and vulnerable children and the centrality of movement and mobility to the institution's practices. It examines the 'scaling out' of the institution that took place during the period when Dr Barnardo was at its helm. After assessing the rationale behind the temporary removal of children from the city through 'fresh air' excursions to the countryside, the chapter takes a detailed look at how the practices of boarding-out and emigration offered children a radical change of environment that was meant to transform their lives. The discussion examines the complex institutional assemblage and apparatus that was required to maintain such a diffuse and geographically dispersed institutional assemblage.

Finally, Chapter 8 will draw some conclusions and highlight the key contributions the thesis has attempted to make. Indeed, this thesis aims to offer new insights into the significant role played by Barnardo's in mediating the impact of new and re-emerging ideas about the relationship between the environment and well-being upon the provision of welfare for poor and vulnerable children in late Victorian Britain.

Chapter 2

Childhood, 'the Urban Problem' and the Institutional Response:

A Literature Review

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide a discussion of the scholarly literature relevant to the themes of the thesis in order to develop understanding of the wider historical context and to situate the study in relation to academic debate. The focus necessarily moves beyond accounts of Barnardo's itself to consider a set of broader issues and themes relating to children, urban poverty and the role of institutions as providers of welfare. The review begins with an exploration of the so-called 'urban problem' associated with nineteenth-century cities and especially with London. It then considers analyses of the way that this problem was responded to through urban improvement initiatives that sought to produce 'improved' citizens by transforming the environments in which they lived. Analysis will consider how children figured as an integral part of the urban problem discourse which in turn justified their removal from these environments. Particular attention is paid to the scholarship emphasising the different representational strategies used by reformers, philanthropists, politicians and social commentators to frame the problem of child poverty and provide a rationale for their responses to it. Finally, the review will investigate the institutional response to the urban question. It will consider the nature of institutions and institutional power and examine the institutional forms and logics applied in the field of child welfare.

2.2 HEALTH, ENVIRONMENT AND THE 'URBAN PROBLEM'

The establishment of Barnardo's in the late 1860s can be interpreted as part of a broader wave of ameliorative interventions aimed at tackling the social problems that had emerged and become associated with the Victorian city. Lees (1985) has identified the different conceptions of the 'urban problem' that fundamentally shaped contemporary Victorian attitudes as well as responses to the urban environment. He argued that historically Western urban centres had been hailed as centres of progress and modernity, but over the course of the nineteenth century began to be criticised sharply. It is this criticism and the formation of the idea of the 'urban problem' – that cities were becoming a threat to society at large – that the opening section of the review will explore, tracing the historical development of this idea as revealed by other scholarship, as well as exploring the ways that it was being framed and represented by social commentators, politicians, philanthropists and reformers.

Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many towns and cities in Britain grew rapidly. By 1851 over half of the population lived in urban areas and the inhabitants of London stood at 2.3 million, rising to 6.2 million by the end of the century (Lees, 1985: 4; Stedman Jones, 1971). The growth of towns was fuelled by development of industrial capitalism and, especially in London, the expansion of trade, commerce and finance. Indeed, London was placed at the centre of international networks of trade via its maritime, financial and imperial infrastructures, and this commercial activity provided a key source of much of the city's wealth (Stedman Jones, 1971; Williams, 1985). As increased employment opportunities were met with a wave of rural-urban migration, the city was put under immense strain leading to overcrowding and the formation of slums. This process explains the origins of the so-called 'urban problem', but as urban historian Lees (1985) has argued, 'the problem' was as much a

'cultural construction' as it was an environmental and social reality. Lees has traced emergence of the idea of the urban problem which eventually came to dominate understanding of nineteenth-century cities in Britain, North America and beyond. He suggests the origins of the notion that modern urban life could be problematic lay in the eighteenth century. For example, Hogarth's depiction of *Gin Lane* (1751) represented the city as a space associated with chaos and societal disorder (Lees, 1985). However, while eighteenth-century London had often been presented as a symbol of progress and enlightenment, social mobility and liberty, by the beginning of the nineteenth-century its problems had become all too visible and could not be ignored. The problem of the city manifested itself through a varied set of anxieties expressed at different times over the course of the nineteenth century, some of which will now be examined.

Increased pollution from urban growth had sparked a preoccupation with the destructive impact of the urban environment and especially on the health of those who lived in cities. By the 1840s, the high profile public health reformer, Sir Edwin Chadwick had grown concerned about the dense smog produced by both industrial and domestic fires across London. He called for the widespread use of anthracite coal to lower levels of pollution but the use of the cheaper, more polluting coal still proceeded at a rapid rate. Historian Anthony Wohl (1983) estimated that some 18,000,000 tons were being burned annually in the capital alone. During the same period, Mosley (2003) states that factory chimneys emitting smoke were the obvious perpetrators in polluting the urban landscape and, more particularly, the air which town and city dwellers had to breathe. This problem was increasingly apparent in the expanding manufacturing centres of the North and the Midlands which had experienced massive industrial and population growth (Malchow, 1985). As Thorsheim (2006: 33) has stated, 'During the nineteenth-century, some

began to worry that entire cities were becoming dangerously deficient in fresh air. These concerns grew as Britain became increasingly urbanised'.

This accelerated urbanisation and industrialisation also ignited a concern for the physical destruction of the countryside which gave birth to the nineteenth-century conservation movement as well as to a heightened appreciation of the urban-rural dichotomy (Carter, 2004). This was founded on a nostalgic longing for the simpler pleasures of a rural life prior to industrialisation and growing fears about the destruction of England's unique but finite 'green and pleasant' land. An emerging discourse of 'environmentalism' formed largely through the values of the middle and upper classes, Carter (2004) and Reynolds (2002) argue, allowed for the formation of groups later in the century like the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (1893) and the National Trust (1894) as well as the rise of National Parks which collectively sought to counteract the apparent destruction of the idyllic English countryside. Malchow (1985), in particular, focuses attention on the powerful notion of the 'Pastoral Ideal' that was transformed by the Romantics into a dynamic, purifying force that became central to the sensibilities of nineteenth-century social reform. This dichotomy between town and country heightened Victorian awareness of the inadequacies of urban industrial life that subsequently created obstacles to constructive urban planning (Malchow, 1985). As Malchow concludes, 'for good or ill, idealisation of the countryside clearly played a large role in determining the way literate and socially concerned Britons viewed the central social transformation of their century with the growth of towns' (Malchow, 1985: 98).

Concern surrounding the apparent loss of the English rural idyll was part of a wider narrative that identified the expanding industrial regions such as the Midlands as a burgeoning problem in early-Victorian Britain (Ranlett, 1983). The 'black country' as it became widely known was

not only framed as a threat to the green pastures of England, but embodied anxieties based on the condition of the urban working classes (Platt, 2007). As Malchow (1985) illustrates, this fuelled the then emerging 'condition of England' debate. Malchow argues that figures such as John Ruskin, the revolutionary socialist William Morris and the civic reformers Octavia Hill and Walter Besant heralded a new anti-urbanism which sparked an urgency to respond to the problems of the growing city but also provided a whole mode of perception and language to nineteenth-century social thought. This helped construct a powerful, dichotomous relationship between the unrelenting urban sprawl and the green, rolling pastures of the English countryside which came to embody the simpler ideals of a pre-modern existence (Thompson, 1993).

The condition and behaviour of the inhabitants of these expanding urban centres was attracting fresh concern by the mid-century. According to Lees (1985), the nineteenth-century city became a site of intense observation and surveillance, reflecting a heightened urban consciousness. As noted in the introduction, the period during the 1830s and 1840s witnessed the founding of statistical societies in cities such as Manchester and London. Driver (1988) suggests of particular importance here, especially in the context of understanding mid-Victorian discourse on the city, is their close alignment with the social or moral sciences and the subsequent association of a whole array of socially deviant behaviours, from criminality, to drunkenness and delinquency, with problematic spaces found within urban environments. Here, the rise of social science, statistics, mapping and other methods of calculating and 'knowing' the city were increasingly important in the process of governing a growing, and seemingly chaotic, population (Joyce, 2003; Otter, 2004). As the work of Otter suggests, these technologies of calculability, formed a fundamental part of liberal governance in the city (Driver, 1988; Otter, 2004). Moreover, the associated mapping of the moral geography of the city essentially provided a basis for social intervention (Driver, 1988; Gilbert, 2004).

Meller (1976) claims that by the mid-nineteenth century, Victorian cities had become universally recognised as centres of modern social problems. Although initial concern lay with the 'black country' and industrial towns and cities of northern England, by the mid-century London had become the focal point of the debate. The 'congealed labyrinths of lanes and courts and alleyways' lay at the centre of the 'diseased' city and the new spectacle of the London slums became the primary sites of fear, fascination and disgust (Malchow, 1985; see also Wohl, 1977). The work of historians, as well as of historical geographers, has illustrated that the rise of social or moral sciences was accompanied by new environmental theories of disease and associated interventionist strategies (see Driver, 1988; Wohl, 1983). Developing in England from the 1820s onwards, the sanitary science movement, which was spearheaded by the work of Edwin Chadwick, was especially important in this regard. Informed by environmental explanations of disease, notably miasmatic theory, it was the accumulation of filth which was argued to pose the greatest threat to health rather than explanations that emphasised the importance of poverty (Hamlin, 1998). This concern with filth was itself closely aligned with a growing statistical record that highlighted increased population densities as a major problem in inner city areas of the capital (Szreter, 1997). It was believed that miasmas were at their most concentrated, and therefore at their most deadly, in the problematic spaces of the slum where air circulation was especially restricted (Driver, 1988).

It was not only physical health that was believed to be shaped by such miasmatic gases, the sanitary science movement also emphasised the theory of 'moral miasma' as a threat to the urban poor. Here, concern lay with the ways in which a decaying urban environment could be seen to 'demoralise' and 'corrupt' those inhabiting it potentially leading to criminal behaviour, social unrest and other forms of societal degeneration. This concern over the corrupting influence of the urban environment is perhaps best illustrated with contemporary anxiety with

the supposed mixing of miasmic clouds of disease with the dense London fog (Mosley, 2003). In the influential pamphlet *London Fogs* (1880), produced by meteorologist Francis Russell, it was claimed that the smoke of domestic chimneys, rather than of industry, defaced the city, blocked out sunlight and, worst of all, damaged the people's health. Indeed, Russell claimed that in the prolonged fogs of January and February of 1880 some 2,000 Londoners had literally been 'choked to death'. Wohl (1983) has also highlighted that by this point in the century increasingly morbid statistics related to the capital's quality of air were being published in the local and national press. For example, in 1886 newspapers reported widely on an extremely dense fog that covered the city and resulted in 11,213 deaths linked to bronchitis and another 480 from emphysema and asthma. However, it was not only deaths related to lung diseases that Londoners feared it was also the threat of 'the mob'; with a sharp increase in crime and social unrest reported in the capital's newspapers (Thorsheim, 2006).

Historians and historical geographers often agree that by the 1880s, the urban condition was giving rise to theories of racial degeneration (see Allen, 2008; Stedman Jones, 1971; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). Sir Francis Galton, the cousin of Charles Darwin, had coined the term eugenics in 1883 to describe a 'new science of improving stock'. Galton believed that the high fertility rate of the lowest social class, coupled with declining fertility among the middle class, would ultimately result in racial degeneration. In addition, physician James Cantlie argued that the capital's population was degenerating into a 'puny race unfit to maintain themselves' due to the foul air and artificial, morally corrupting living conditions of the modern city (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). By the end of the nineteenth century, it was a widely held notion that country-bred people were inherently strong and healthy and increasing urbanisation was leading to racial degeneration. The country-city dichotomy constructed earlier in the century appeared, then, to still have a powerful discursive influence on Victorian

37

social thought (Malchow, 1985; Thompson, 1993). Indeed, Cantlie proposed that without an infusion of 'country blood', cities would inevitably die out as 'pure-bred' Londoners could not exist beyond the third generation. Aalen (1989) states that these views appeared to be supported by statistics from military recruiting officers which pointed to a large proportion of urban-born men being physically unfit for service, bringing into question the strength of nation and its ability to compete on an imperial stage.

What is apparent from this discussion of the intersection between health, environment and the urban problem in analyses of Victorian social discourse, is that there emerged an imagined geography of the urban landscape, with the west of the city broadly symbolising the civility of the western world and the east characteristically perceived as the alien 'Other' which sparked feelings of both curiosity and fear (Cohen, 2005). As Driver has argued, strategies aimed at ameliorating the social problems of the modern city paid close attention to this problematic urban environment (Driver, 1988; see Joyce, 2003; Osborne and Rose, 1999); it is to accounts of the various forms this intervention took that this literature review now turns.

2.2.1 Urban improvement strategies

In Brighton at the 1875 annual meeting of the Health section of the Social Science Association, prominent public health reformer Benjamin Ward Richardson who was president to the association presented "Hygeia: A City of Health," This imagined a utopian city of perfect health with emphasis placed particularly on the preventative rather than curative public health program. As Cassedy (1962) claims, this was during a period of technological and health advancements which fuelled the confident, creative minds of health reformers to imagine and

sketch out their own utopian visions. Victorian urban improvement strategies will now be examined through the relevant literature.

Public health historians have traced urban improvement strategies in the form of the legislative regulation of air pollution but argued that it was slow to take hold during the Victorian era. Wohl (1983) noted that in 1843 the Select Committee on Smoke Prevention was the first preventative action against air pollution but argues it gave industry a gentle nudge rather than providing fixed national legislation. Thorshiem (2006) has stated that by the 1850s London did operate under two acts, the Smoke Nuisance Abatement (Metropolis) Act of 1853 and its amendment in 1856 which required manufacturers to burn or consume as far as possible all the smoke from their furnaces and enforcement of law lay in the hands of the metropolitan police. Wohl states that '[i]n London the low fines (£5 maximum for the first offence and £10 for the second) and the wording of Acts, which requested that factories consume their own smoke only 'as far as possible,' coupled with the difficulty of pinning pollution down to any one factory or workshop, resulted in only minor and painfully slow improvement'. (1983: 221). Even the 1875 Public Health Act's section on smoke emissions used cautiously worded phrases to dance around the issue, weakening the impact of law. Thorsheim (2006) has noted that this hesitancy was based on simple economics; smoke was considered profitable, a stark symbol of progress, production and modernity: 'Smoke was not only accepted as necessary by-product of industry: it was even glorified as an outward symbol of social progress' (Thorsheim, 2006: 216). Furthermore, it had become a symbol of wealth, modernity and progress, a matter of choice between smoke or economic stagnation and unemployment. Mosley (2003) and Ranlett (1981) have argued that smoke from domestic fires also experienced a lack of regulation throughout the nineteenth century despite protest, and continued to remain unregulated until the Clean Air Act of 1956. Mosley suggests that practically open fire places offered a cheap form of

ventilation but were also symbolically powerful; a cherished, comforting feature of the English home. The public health Benjamin Richardson also noted its cheerful appearance and charming, homely aesthetic, a symbolic, unshakeable appearance which Mosley believes protected it against any form of nineteenth-century regulation (Mosley, 2003).

The extensive urban reconstruction of the nineteenth century aimed to create a city which could operate in a productive, healthy and civilised manner. Political historian, Chris Otter (2004) traced Victorian urban technological intervention. Otter noted that the Metropolitan Board of Works founded in 1856 had its explicit aim for 'the better management of the metropolis in respect of the sewerage and drainage, and the paving, cleansing and improvement thereof' (Otter, 2004: 41). Art historian, Lynda Nead, suggests that from the mid-century onward there was a governmental impulse to rationalize and tame, to open passageways for the circulation of water and air providing opportunity to the Metropolitan Police to impose order on the streets (Nead, 2000). Based on analysis of Haussmann's Paris, the work of political historian Patrick Joyce has understood this process of reconstruction as part of a wider political drive to improve the urban condition in order to foster healthier, self-regulating, self-governing individuals. Tracing the shifting governing conscience of the Victorian era, Joyce states that primarily the 'sanitary city' became a diagram of government that saw a particular 'problematisation' of the city designed to make governance operable and witnessed this form of governance become inseparable from the continued activity of producing truths about the city, truths tied to novel practices of a distinctively spatial character. Driver (2001) has similarly explained how the problem city at this time was often medicalised, diagnosed as an ill, congested body that then justified intervention in the form of mass reconstruction in order to ameliorate and overall improve the urban landscape. However, as historians have noted, in the process of 'opening up' the city to allow the free movement of air, the key factor of removing problem slums often

displaced the effected population and allowed slum-like conditions to form elsewhere (Driver, 2001; Yelling, 1986). Therefore, this mode of liberal intervention in order to improve the city and its inhabitants, was far from seamless and caused widespread disruption (Otter, 2004). That said, the redesigning of the city to provide, clean, fresh air, as well as to clear out disease, was a driving factor in the implementation of parks and green open spaces, another urban improvement strategy which will be explored next.

From early in the Victorian period, parks and green open spaces were viewed as a primary method in restoring the damage done by the expansion of urban centres. Malchow (1985) highlighted that 'the nineteenth-century parks movement grew out of the "condition of England" debate of the 1830s and 1840s, when cholera, industrial ugliness, and Chartism created a widespread apprehension of a future dominated by unplanned urban growth' (Malchow, 1985: 98). The introduction of 'chunks' of healthy countryside were seen to not only beautify the urban landscape and reinstate the place of nature in the sprawling metropolis, these spaces would help sweep away disease and open up working class areas to light and public surveillance (Malchow, 1985). Parks were also framed as being suppliers of clean, pure air in the city. Often referred to as 'lungs for the city' or 'ventilators for the slum'. Ranlett, (1983) has further argued that during the early to mid-century they were seen to act as a preventative mechanism against fears generated by cholera epidemics and to effectively clear out the 'disease mist' or miasmas that were believed to loom over the city (see also Driver, 1988). Victoria Park for example, opened in 1845, sought to act as the giant lung for East London, providing fresh air and clearing out the disease that was perceived to be rife in the growing mass of the nearby rookeries (Burgan, 1996; Fein, 1962). These spaces were instrumental in resolving the anxieties produced by the rise of sanitary science and received much support from select committees in the 1830s and from Edwin Chadwick's Health of

Towns Committee in the following decade. In addition to the justification raised by public health reformers on the grounds of disease clearance and production of fresh air, moral reformers also stressed the importance of parks to the moral improvement and 'taming' of the working classes (Reeder, 2006).

The physical and moral reformation of the city through green open spaces was the central aim in the formation of emerging campaigning societies from the 1870s onwards. Started in the mid-1870s, the Kyrle Society and the work of one of its most prominent figures, Octavia Hill, aimed to improve both the physical and moral condition of the urban working classes (Thorsheim, 2011; Reeder, 2006). Reeder (2006) has noted that 'nature, like art, was thought to have a morally beneficial influence as well as recuperative powers' (Reeder, 2006: 43). In light of this, Hill believed that parks and playgrounds would be the drawing rooms of the urban poor, an imagery which assumed that grass and flowers would help to both humanise and make the poor more receptive but at the same time reserved and domesticated. This raised appreciation of nature, and the alternative outlet of the park for recreation, air and exercise, it was believed would divert the 'lower classes' away from vice and crime and away from the socially deviant spaces of the public house, instilling qualities of civic responsibility and domesticity (Ranlett, 1983; see Joyce, 2003). Another prominent society of the period, the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association (MPGA), a hybrid organisation formed by Lord Reginald Brabazon was founded to provide 'breathing and resting places for the old and playgrounds for the young in the midst of densely populated localities' (MPGA, 1887. Cited in Thorsheim, 2011). The group believed that contact with nature was essential in the process of improving the health of the working classes and, in order to fulfil this belief, the group also arranged trips for city dwellers to locations outside London (Thorsheim, 2011). Similar trips to the sea and countryside were organised by Barnardo's, and will be explored in Chapter 7.

Brabazon, a social imperialist, and one time president to the Barnardo organisation, argued that racial degeneration would hinder the nation in times of war and wider imperial competition and firmly believed that the remedy for these state affairs was to minimise the unhealthy conditions of modern urban life by calling for better housing, breathing spaces such as parks and playgrounds, school meals, and compulsory training of children in gymnastics and calisthenics (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). Thorsheim (2011) argues that the group believed that a combination of improvements with physical training would transform the city into a breeding ground for a sturdier and fitter race of Englishmen responding to urban anxieties particularly centred on moral and physical degeneration. The MPGA framed children as the torchbearers of nation and empire, a point of discussion covered later in the chapter (see Beckingham, 2013; Swain and Hillel, 2010).

2.2.2 Theorising the 'urban problem' and the 'way out'

Historical geographers and political historians have utilised the subsequent reaction to such intervention as a means to unpack an understanding of the broader governance of cities and their populations. Within the contexts of the mid-Victorian city, Driver (1988) explores the founding and mobilisation of social science and its investigative work which ultimately aimed for 'improvement', particularly in reference to the urban environment: as he notes, '[o]ne of the most striking features of Victorian social science was its gospel of moral improvement' (1988: 284). Driver argues that through social science, the Victorians created new ways of identifying urban problems, such as miasmic disease theories which supposedly had physical and moral consequences for urban inhabitants, as a means of justifying intervention strategies which would tackle and hopefully ameliorate the social problems of the modern city through reshaping the health, behaviour and conduct of individuals (Driver, 1988).

The work of Osborne and Rose (1999) employed the concept of 'diagramming' in order to capture the different ways in which government has been mobilised and subsequently territorialised in an urban form. By adopting the Foucauldian concepts of the city as a space of government, authority and the 'conduct of conduct', Osborne and Rose argue that it is possible to understand the myriad ways in which various authorities have sought to govern the city through a close examination of the means through which the city has been 'diagrammed' as a space of power, regulation, ethics and citizenship. The Victorian cities provide an illustration of this theory. Osborne and Rose highlight how the continuous activity of generating truths about the urban environment through the production of social statistics as well as the sensationalist imaginings of the impoverished slum areas, constituted the modern urban diagram which justified and concealed liberal governmental intervention and amelioration. For example, the language of illness and medicine and its spatial organisation became omni-purpose metaphors for problematising the urban population. The city, when represented as a 'living organism', suggests a vulnerable environment that was prone to illness which may spread and infect its entire population if not dealt with, which in turn led to a justifiable government response that could go largely unchallenged. Parks, ragged schools and nurseries would therefore act as 'social bridges' that would traverse the 'town swamps' acting to ameliorate the urban environment's physical and morally corrupting properties. Barnardo's institutions could, of course, be understood as one of these 'social bridges' with the aim to ameliorate the social problems of the city. The diagram of the nineteenth century 'risky' city would be therefore effectively framed in a way that would allow for governability and transformation.

Huxley (2006, 2007) develops this argument whilst working with the concept of liberal governmentality, stating that the governing of subjects as if they were free often neglects close

44

consideration of how space enters into the thought of government beyond the confines of the disciplinary institution. Through the presentation of three separate spatial rationalities of urban governance, Huxley suggests that the analysis in particular of the nineteenth-century Victorian city allows for an unpacking of the mentalities of rule and the rationalities that underpin programmes and practices of government, focusing on logics that attribute causal effects to space and environment which seek to manipulate these towards government ends (Huxley, 2007). Huxley implies how cities especially form spaces and environments for positive, productive spatial rationalities operating in different modes going beyond simply viewing these spaces and environments delineated or arranged for purposes of discipline or surveillance, visibility or management. Therefore, the spatial aspects of governmentality are not only viewed as tools for the domination of the subject but can also be viewed as shaping and producing governmental rationale. Through this progressive lens, parks as responses to the urban problem, for example can be viewed as sites of positive production and interaction contributing to the output of the 'organic' city which in turn influences the rationality behind governance (Huxley, 2006, 2007).

Joyce (2003) has also contributed to this debate highlighting that by the nineteenth century, the 'sanitary city' became a diagram of government that saw a particular 'problematisation' of the city designed to make governance operable. This form of governance become inseparable from the continued activity of producing truths about the city, truths tied to novel practices of a distinctively spatial character. The 'moral city', when viewed through the lens of sanitary and social sciences, framed the urban landscape as a site of flows and movements, disease and contagion that required intervention and particularly ventilation directed through parks and slum clearances. However, Joyce argues that by the end of the century, the rise of the 'social city' took place, and like the work of Huxley (2006) underlines how the city was now seen to

be positively producing a social field in the format of a social machine which would form new processes and outputs through the possibility of everyday interaction with the implementation of parks contributing to this transformation, improving the condition and behaviour of the population. Furthermore, although parks and the green open space movement will be examined in greater detail later in the review, Joyce (2003) has importantly argued that park construction and management through park policing and supervision can be regarded as one of the social technologies of 'liberal governmentality'. Joyce extends his argument to consider how the park, when analysed and carefully deconstructed, reveals a complex space of alternative as well as dominant forms of social power and an 'other space' which both challenges and complements the city (Joyce, 2003). Joyce's (2013) more recent work expands on some of these ideas unpacking the different guises, forms and manifestations that the British state has taken since 1800. In his quest to define what the state comprises – to identify, its role, function; essentially what it is – Joyce proposes that the state needs to be thought of as "a matter of embodied practice and in terms therefore of people's daily habituation to it, so that it has very often operated below the level of their conscious awareness." (Joyce, 2013: 341) Understood in this way, the state operates in an omnipresent and ubiquitous manner, entangled and intertwined in quotidian contexts rather than being 'out there' somewhere, or a detached entity which can be easily and effectively 'rolled back.' Park, garden and urban (re)design form part of this invisible arm of the state operating covertly, working to police and subtly control our everyday movement, acts and behaviour as a population. But as Joyce's work has also suggested, the contours and connectivity of the state are hard to define; it is difficult to identify the connections, systems and networks that exist within the state or interact with it. This will be an important consideration when investigating the philanthropic representational strategies and institutional practices of Barnardo's which also served to subtly yet effectively justify support

for its work in child rescue and was significantly positioned in relation to the workings of the state.

This opening section of the literature review has therefore highlighted some of the debates concerning the rise of the urban 'problem throughout the nineteenth century, from concerns over the destruction of the environment through industrial and urban sprawl, to the health and vitality of urban inhabitants. The nineteenth century witnessed an emerging awareness of the environment along with a desire to scrutinise and especially problematise aspects of the urban landscape in order to effect change. Furthermore, the final section of the chapter has explored the scholarly literature which has argued that the city and its problems became framed or 'diagrammed' in a way that would allow for the justification yet concealment of liberal governmental intervention and amelioration. However, the element of the 'urban problem' Barnardo's as a philanthropic organisation was responding to was the specific concern for the health and well-being of the city's children. Therefore, the next section of the review will investigate the literature which has addressed how children were increasingly placed at the centre of the city's and nation's anxieties about the future generation's health and vitality. This section will seek to position Barnardo's within this wider debate and demonstrate the specific concerns this philanthropic organisation was helping to construct and mobilise but in the process also seeking to combat and ameliorate.

2.3 CHILDHOOD

The literature so far has established that the city had become increasingly perceived as a major threat to the nation. However, as the following section of the review will now demonstrate, scholars have argued that children were placed at the centre of this debate with fears often

stemming from concerns for establishing a healthy reproduction of population, nation and the imperial cause. Before exploring the literature which has examined how and why these concerns over the urban threat to children became an issue of urgency throughout the nineteenth-century, it's necessary to firstly explore the literature which has identified childhood as a social construction which itself has a traceable and fluid history. This is important when considering the literature which follows that details how figures such as Barnardo were constructing and mobilising their own version of childhood to fulfil their own philanthropic desires, and how Barnardo's was part of a broader response to the emergence of a recognition for increased child welfare and protection.

2.3.1 The changing nature of childhood

As Valentine has stated, 'what it means to be a child varies over space and time' (Valentine, 1996: 581). Childhood as it is understood within the contexts of contemporary western society has its roots in the Victorian era but it has a longer, more complex history. Takanishi (1978) and Sommerville (1982) have traced the shifts in the perception of childhood from the harsh, disciplinary measures employed prior to the seventeenth century to mould the 'inherently evil' child into a decent and respectable subject to the eighteenth-century romanticised depictions of children as sentimental and untouched subjects who required careful guidance and support. Swain and Hillel (2010) speculate that growing concerns over industrialisation and urban growth, which came to define the early decades of the nineteenth-century, sparked a sense of nostalgia and longing for the apparent loss of the simpler ideals of eighteenth-century childhood. 'The pure and innocent child of the Romantics, a creature of nature and simplicity, stood as a beacon of hope in an increasingly disordered world' (Swain and Hillel, 2010: 4).

According to Swain and Hillel (2010), these 'lost' ideals acted as a strong discursive narrative to which all provision and welfare for children was measured, with the vitality of the nation's youth linked to the wider narrative of national efficiency. Shore (1999) has further suggested in reference to juvenile crime that 'immorality was supposedly the direct result of population growth' (Shore, 1999: 19) and an apparent rise in juvenile crime was justified via the belief that the urban poor were inherently corrupted from birth. Hendrick (1990) has also highlighted that the 'brutalisation' of working class children on a national scale through child labour and the urban condition, were believed to be contributing to moral and physical degeneration and inhibiting upon the progress of the nation. Nevertheless, during the period of heightened recognition towards the child as a potentially vital and productive future citizen, there was a growing awareness of children's rights taking shape. Valentine particularly emphasises this shift in legal protection through juvenile delinquency when the first distinctions between adults and children in the form of legislation was created throughout the 1880s and 1890s, particularly the Children's Charter of 1889 which introduced legal protection for children from various types of cruelty and enabled the state to intervene in family life. Valentine argues that this legislation played a pivotal role in society's shifting perception of childhood, identifying children as not necessarily responsible for their own actions, instead requiring care and protection (Valentine, 1996; Swain and Hillel, 2010).

Valentine (1996) illustrates that the only effective response to preventing the 'dangerous classes' from reproducing their malevolent characteristics was perceived to be education intended to instil discipline and respect for order in working-class children. 'Schools were to act as "moral hospitals" and provide corrective training' (May, 1973: 12). Schnell (1979) highlights how the institutional response was delivered in the long awaited form of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, and as summarised by Murphy (1971), the Act sought to

establish a national framework for compulsory education in England and Wales in order to effectively address and ultimately ameliorate the problem of a disengaged, unruly working class. Furthermore, reformatory schools and voluntary organisations were introduced to 'fill the gap' between those schooled and unschooled contributing to an extended method of remoralising 'delinquent' youths (Poloszajska, 1994). Steedman (1990) describes the changes especially between 1870 and 1930 as a profound transformation in the economic and sentimental value of the child, as the economic value of children went down as there was a shift away from the child as a labourer, towards a conceptualisation of the child as a dependant, accompanied by a parallel change in family life and by new representations of childhoods, changes that were predominantly occurring within the working-class context and directed by middle-class attitudes (Steedman, 1990). This literature which has traced the history of childhood and particularly its nineteenth-century constructions which led to increased child welfare and protection is crucial for locating the emergence and functioning of Barnardo's as it played a significant role in the re-imagining of childhood, but also in forming part of a widespread reaction to children as another strand of the broader urban problem. Now some of the ideas and discourses which were driving the perceptive shift of children and childhood will be explored through the relevant literature.

2.3.2 Spaces of Victorian Childhood

The "appropriate" setting for a child to grow up was a heavily contested and discussed matter during the nineteenth-century. This section will examine how normalities centred on what the "correct" environment was for the up-bringing of a child were spatially constructed particularly within mid-late Victorian London. It is of wider importance to the study that this spatial construction be explored in order to effectively locate how Barnardo's as a philanthropic

institution was potentially responding to these spatial constructions as well as helping to produce them.

Behlmer (1998) has argued over the nineteenth-century the distinction between public and private spaces became increasingly politically fuelled, used as a template for the policing of society. The comfort and safety of the middle-class private sphere was contrasted with the chaotic, disordered and 'dirty' spaces of the inner-city working-class dwellings were placed in direct contrast in order to portray the barbaric, almost savage nature of this supposed "underclass" often to justify either government or charitable intervention. Gordon and Nair (2003) in their study of gender roles and middle-class life emphasise the Victorian obsession with divisional representations as well as the production and maintenance of these "separate spheres." In a famous parliamentary speech delivered by Lord Shaftesbury in 1848, he deplored the conditions of the naked, filthy, roaming, lawless and deserted children in and around the metropolis whose numbers he put at 30,000 (Davin, 1996). Shaftesbury ultimately constructed a gulf between "us" and "them," a demonization of a group that were ultimately "out there" in contrast to the secure space of the domestic sphere where children ought to be. Shore (1999) argues that the formation of such stereotypes often led to the discriminatory nature of contemporary analysis over the causes of juvenile crime. These "roaming" groups of children who were highly visible as they left the slums in search of work in busy London streets, were labelled by Shaftesbury as "street Arabs" indicating their savage and brutal disposition toward society, but more importantly implying that they were nomadic, alone and isolated in a world without homes and families; a situation quite distant and unimaginable from the cosy and guarded domestic space of the middle class (Murdoch, 2006). Shore (1999) has commented further on London as a site which played a pivotal role in the construction of good and evil in the metropolis where the imagined city of vice was seen to act as a magnet to the criminal and

the corrupt where young souls were dragged into a vortex of crime which was contrastingly presented alongside the rise of the middle-class domestic haven.

Like the urban poor, the "street" children of London were often constructed as a separate race, described by philanthropist Ellen Barlee upon viewing children in a ragged school room as the "most motley of zoological specimens possible" (Murdoch, 2006: 26). Murdoch has argued that Dr Barnardo also viewed these children as a separate race as "racialised descriptions of poor children brought the colonial exotic home to the domestic context" (Murdoch, 2006: 26) and through such imperial tropes, Shaftesbury as well as others could effectively constitute street children as a "tribe" or a "wild and lawless" race of their own (McLaughlin, 2000). Murdoch extends her discussion to noting how these roaming street Arabs could also be associated with other supposedly nomadic groups like gypsies or migratory Irish people who literally crossed national boundaries but also figuratively seemed to belong to a separate community within the state, challenging established national and civic identities and causing social anxiety. However, as Davin (1996) argues, public spaces and busy streets in particular hosted an array of money-making opportunities for working-class children with many joining gangs for the sake of security and protection. "The street stood for danger and corruption and no child with a proper home would be freely allowed there" (Davin, 1996: 162). Billinge (1996) has conceptualised the Victorian street as a place neither here nor there, neither public nor private and subject to no specific regulation. This was perceived as a dangerous, chaotic space where behaviour was difficult to regulate and the private world of the urban poor would often be played out in this public theatre- like environment. "A passage between work and home, it [the street] followed the rules of neither" (Billinge, 1996: 450).

Therefore, for children in protected families, streets and homes lay in complete opposition. It was generally perceived that a child on the streets ran the risk of moral contamination especially when they had no domestic setting to counter its corrupting influence (Davin, 1996). The "mythologized" street child had a popular history laden with layers of representative material that had attempted to capture this allusive creature which embodied both fascination and fear. When social investigator Henry Mayhew met and wrote about the young watercress seller, Davin reports that he was shocked by her independence and the fact that she had appeared to have lost all her childish ways and indeed in thoughts and manner was a woman. She would reject sweets and toys and often didn't have time to play with other children, asserting her strong will to remain independent and responsible for doing housework. According to Davin, it was exactly the girl's strength and self-sufficiency which Mayhew assumed his readers would find shocking. Shore (1999) states that there was an apparent expectation of children to be childlike; vulnerable and needing safeguard as well as being distant from the corrupt and dangerous public world of the adult. Street children in opposition would swear, smoke, gamble, beg and steal, perceived as being truly corrupted by their daily environment. It was the children on the streets that risked pollution and sin, stimulated further by the widely accepted theories of moral miasma which were believed to hold the capacity to spread and infect the rest of the city's children (Shore, 1999). In this period when the middle class saw working class children as a moral and physical pestilence, they above all feared that these children without a childhood were a threat to those who had one (May, 1973; Schnell, 1979). According to Murdoch (2006) these concerns which centred around the "improper" behaviour of street children was further fuelled by charities such as Barnardo's who often voiced the threat that if contributions were not made in reducing the numbers of the city's deviant youth, then their children may run the risk of succumbing to a life of vice and crime. Such beliefs would therefore mobilise the need to protect and defend the future health and moral well-being of these children.

The gulf between the children of the street in contrast to the children of the home had been popularised by writers, politicians and philanthropists of the period, but the broad emergence of institutions seeking to ameliorate the problems within the deviant youth created a new spatial tactic of social control and ordering. The 1870 Education Act was a government intervention that set out to educate the working classes and help to curb child labour. By creating institutional interventional spaces such as schools, the bodies and minds of "deviant" and delinquent youths could be carefully moulded and trained to meet with the state's expectations of a "normal" childhood. Furthermore, schools could act as a spatial intervention which would keep these children away from the vice and corruption of the street, particularly within localities such as London's East End which were associated with producing street children (Digby and Searby, 1981; Driver, 1988). The government response to an apparent "condition" of childhood therefore sparked this new spatiality for the proper moulding of the child through the new compulsory schooling system. A reaction to both child labour and the presence of troublesome youths on the streets of cities, Digby and Searby (1981) have extended this debate to frame the school as an agency of social control over the working classes. "Elementary instruction as a means of socialising the working class can be seen as an obvious form of remedial activity" (Digby and Searby, 1981: 23). By the mid-Victorian period various societal disorders such as the rural "Swing" riots of 1830-1831 coupled with disruptions such as the Anti-poor law agitation of 1835-37 formed earlier educative moves in an attempt to place order and control over the "unruly" classes. The 1870 Education Act as Murphy (1971) suggests saw a wider uninformative system which served to both subdue and socialise the working classes. Davin (1996) traces the rise of school inspectors, employed to regularly enforce the power of the state at a local level in order to effectively socialise the working class. However, they extend their argument to state that it was educative spaces of the workhouse schools, industrial schools

and reform schools that most obviously display society's desire to impose social control on its reluctant members (Behlmer, 1998; Digby and Searby, 1981; Hamlett, 2015). In this case it would be relevant to suggest that "instruction rather than education had been the preferred objective in schooling the working classes" (Digby and Searby, 1981: 25) as these institutions attempted to instil discipline and a respect for order, forcing the working class to willingly serve the state by submitting to a monotonous life of labour.

Holman (1986) and Behlmer (1998) have traced the successive stint of government intervention channelled through legislation in the late-nineteenth century attempted to seize more control from the parents as child removal could be justified based on the child's rights to reasonable treatment and the parent's duty to provide proper care. These included the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act (1889), Poor Law Adoption (1889) and the Custody of Children Act (1891) (Davin, 1996). As Murdoch states, this was part of a wider narrative of the institutionalisation of childhood at the close of the century that began to view children as vulnerable victims who had been led astray via absent or abusive parents but which didn't appear acknowledge the broader social and economic failings of society (Murdoch, 2006).

Holman (1986) has argued that prevention has changed in both definition and application. Prevention of cruelty during late-Victorian Britain, Holman argues, was practiced through the complete removal of children from parents, relatives and environments deemed inappropriate to their healthy development. Rather than an attempt to maintain the family unit, children were hastily removed under the guise of 'rescue' and a 'fresh start' (Holman, 1986: 6). The different practices and justifications of the child-rescue discourse will now be examined in further detail.

2.3.3 Representing nineteenth-century childhood: child rescue discourse

Murdoch (2006) has argued that when Dickens created Oliver Twist, a portrait of the orphaned workhouse child, he produced an archetypal character that fitted the mould of a grief-stricken orphan – alone, without a past, and completely disconnected from his parents. She suggests that much of the late-Victorian welfare and reform literature portrayed children as isolated in a world without family and friends arriving at locations and institutions from unknown or transitory locations, commonly labelled as 'street Arabs,' 'nobody's children' or 'waifs and strays' (see Swain and Hillel, 2010 for similar arguments). Importantly, Murdoch highlights the strategic use of melodrama as a key element in the creation of the child rescue discourse: 'late-Victorian philanthropists increasingly relied on such melodramatic images because they attracted the attention of the giving public' (Murdoch, 2006). Her work emphasises how melodrama provided various narrative structures and stock characters that proved essential to the construction and reception of Victorian child welfare accounts. She argues it was effective because it was such a dominant theatrical form of the period, with plots typically involving a stark division between unambiguously good and evil forces. Melodrama, it is suggested, was particularly central to the fund-raising work of Barnardo's, serving as a tool to structure the details of child poverty in a manner that would resonate with the public and ultimately help shape child welfare policies (Murdoch, 2006; see also Ash 2016). As Swain and Hillel argue, 'whether children were constituted as victims or threats, abused innocents or artful villains in training, their condition demanded attention' (Swain and Hillel, 2010: 4).

However, as Swain (2009) and Murdoch (2006) have conveyed, the most effective way for figures such as Barnardo to prove children needed rescuing was to frame parents or guardians as either being absent or abusive. Many reformers attacked the domesticity of the poor and

characterised parents or guardians as villainous drunks who, if they had not already abandoned their children, would abuse them. It was these narratives of parental failure, rather other causal factors of child poverty and neglect, such as deprivation and economic insecurity that were emphasised. The dangers of an inappropriate domestic and familial environment were framed as being detrimental to the child's development. Thus, it was argued that children would be better off taken away from their parents and placed into institutional care (Murdoch, 2006). As Swain (2009: 208) neatly sums it up, 'parental failure, rather than poverty or social inequality was identified as the key enemy of childhood'.

Nonetheless, parental failure was simply one of many narratives that were either created or appropriated to justify child removal strategies. Driver (2001) demonstrates how ideas of imperial progress and territorial conquest shaped the way that London – the heart of empire – was represented. Philanthropic literature drew upon oppositional categories such as coloniser and colonised, metropole and colony, to map the dysfunctional margins of the imperial centre (Mckean, 2011). When London was viewed under this imperial lens, the impoverished East End ultimately became the savage jungle inhabited by its social underclass, cast as barbaric beings which sparked awe and fascination, twinned with anxiety and fear (see also McLaughlin, 2000). However, through these imperial tropes, reformers were able to find a coherent channel through which to translate these social problems in a way that would appeal to middle-class audiences.

As Jonathan Schneer (1994) stresses, the everyday lives of Londoners were infused with imperial presence. As mentioned earlier in the review, children did not escape this imperial framing, often being labelled as 'street Arabs.' Murdoch (2006) highlights that this presentation of poor children as domestic savages served to underline how they, like their colonial

counterparts, were in need of reclamation. If this task was not undertaken it was believed that they might morally 'infect' the pure and angelic children of the middle classes. Environment mattered in these discourses. The ordered, privatised spaces in which the middle classes lived were contrasted with the disorder of the slums which posed a threat to an idealised childhood and to the stability of the nation as a whole. Furthermore, Swain and Hillel have argued philanthropic literature offered no critique of the social conditions that produced such awful destitution but rather looked nostalgically to a rural England which they imagined as far more morally pure; a bucolic ideal which invoked a double longing for innocence and happiness and justified removal, particularly through the implementation of boarding-out schemes (Swain and Hillel, 2010). As Koven (2004) notes, the rescuers depicted themselves as brave adventurers delving into the depths of the savage East End, bringing with them, light, understanding and salvation, preventing the moral malaria from spreading and saving the nation from moral decay. Children were depicted as being the helpless victims of their surroundings. However, such narratives also emphasised that if the middle classes donated to the charitable cause it would be possible to improve and transform these youths and arrest the tide of wickedness and moral degeneration through the philanthropic purification of the community (Swain and Hillel, 2010). However, 'the child rescuers advocated the removal of the child to a new environment rather than an attempt to reform the environment' (Swain and Hillel, 2010: 74). The complete removal children into the care of voluntary organisations, with options of boarding-out and emigration, came to be favoured over urban improvement by voluntary organisations (Holman, 1986). As Swain and Hillel (2010) conclude, the child was to be moulded to meet the needs of the nation rather than the nation adapting to meet the needs of the child.

It has been stated that child reform writers of the period would form strong visual images with the intention of unsettling the reader (e.g. Ash, 2016), but the key element in the powerful

presentation of these images was a focus on the body which functioned in the literature as the site of both diagnosis and transformation. As Swain and Hillel (2010) have argued, biblical allusion played a vital role in the perception and construction of the body of the child. 'Evangelical Christians came quickly to realise that in order to save the souls of the poor they needed first to save their bodies' (Swain and Hillel, 2010: 212). Reform writers were essentially employing the physical appearance of these children to evoke shock and sympathy but with an underlying humanitarian message that these souls could still be transformed and saved with their support. Swain and Hillel (2010) underline that feelings of pity were often evoked by their apparent 'lack' of clothes and shoes which worked as a tool to trigger deeper connotations relating to the absence of parents, friends and support. These familiar images of tattered, ragged and dirty subjects attempted to reconstitute poor children as figures of pity rather than fear, looking beyond the exterior to an inner potential for change. In this light, the 'essential' goodness of such children was emphasised in stories in which these 'ugly, ragged, half-starved' children would perform acts of heroism giving their lives a heightened value and illustrating the potential for change (Swain and Hillel, 2010). 'Donors had to be persuaded that children were redeemable and capable of rising out of poverty' (Swain and Hillel, 2010: 46). Allusions towards baptism were also played upon where washing the dirt from their bodies allowed their black skins to become 'pure' and white – clearly also a racialized image – displaying their potential for change.

Koven (2004) has furthermore highlighted the sexual dangers children faced in poverty-stricken homes as they were photographed or written about in a way that exposed their semi-naked bodies conveying their vulnerability to sexual exploitation on the corrupt London streets. Koven argues that the theme of sexuality added further weight to Barnardo's appeal as the ripped clothes revealed bare flesh to act as an effective visual marker and a disturbingly erotic

sign. Such images 'linked transit from naked to clothed, implicit in raggedness, to the physical and spiritual movement between indecency and decency, damnation and salvation, lost and found, homeless and domesticated' (Koven, 2004: 120). Barnardo's noted strategy of photographing subjects both before and after (often on the same day) would see a partial removal of the child's clothes as well as ruffled hair before partaking in an apparent transformation into neat, respectable looking subjects, once again indicating their potential for change and a way out from their risky sexual exploits. The NSPCC also illustrated children in pictures where they would be sparsely clothed and supposedly innocent, framing the child as a vulnerable victim that required the donor's help, preventing them from falling into a life of sexual deviance and prostitution. As Swain and Hillel (2010) argue, the physical impact of framing the child's vulnerable body is conceptualised as one component of the wider body of the nation, where, if these children were strengthened and supported, they could contribute to national prosperity, but if ignored they could bring about the death of the nation.

Building on Swain and Hillel's study tying the body of the child to the needs of a nation, Beckingham's work (2013) explored the scalar challenges which faced child reformers after the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act of 1889, to understand how a new moral vision was constructed and applied in relation to ideas of scale as well as time and place. Protection work, Beckingham argues, used imaginative discourse often based on contemporary anxieties such as degeneration and national decline in order to expand intervention into the homes of the poor across the UK: 'Britain's future would be improved and so secured through an imaginative as well as a territorial expansion of protection work.' (Beckingham, 2013: 12). Beckingham's exploration of the scalar politics of child protection showed how reformers both imaginatively and practically expanded their work on different scales, from private dwellings, to national systems care and even across empire. Critically, the place of children and 'the rights of parents

and guardians in society were reworked in and through this expansion' (Beckingham, 2013: 2). In turn this achieved a new moral vision of child protection and a justification of removal across a nation and its empire.

Child rescue as a response to the 'urban problem' thus worked through a complex, overlapping and multifaceted set of discourses and Barnardo's engagement with this discursive terrain was equally complex. But in the final section of this literature review, attention will turn to the role of the 'institution' in providing the means by which respond to specific social needs and problems and by which to govern needy populations.

2.4 INSTITUTIONS

Institutions were something of an obsession for the Victorians. Over the course of the nineteenth century they took on many forms in attempt to train, govern and discipline a growing population. As Hamlett (2015) has noted:

> 'The expansion of the military, the relief of the poor, the punishment of criminals, the treatment of the mentally and physically ill, and the education of children all gave rise to an expansion in institution building on the part of the government and private and charitable bodies.' (Hamlett, 2015: 2)

Institutions were created with the urge to control and improve the condition of the population, in order to serve the broader interests of capital, industry and empire. New modes of governmentality and capitalist attitudes based around efficiency and effectiveness led to the widespread institutionalising of the idle, mad, or deviant pauper population (Scull, 1989). Philo

and Parr (2000) suggest that 'the institution' usually refers to those material built environments such as prisons, hospitals and asylums which seek to restrain, control, treat, 'design' and 'produce' particular and supposedly improved versions of human minds and bodies. However, as research has demonstrated, institutions of the nineteenth century were fluid, spatially disparate and highly contested 'technologies'. Indeed, Philo and Parr (2000) emphasise that institutions should be viewed less as prior, stable, fixed entities and more as made, dynamic and fluid achievements, an observation that is especially pertinent to the disparate and ever evolving institutional forms of Barnardo's.

The most significant and notorious Victorian institutions were those that were focused on the pauper classes and which often had a 'carceral' function, such as prisons, workhouses and reform colonies. It was believed that the pauper classes required the most guidance and attention through social and moral intervention while classes considered 'respectable' should be left alone (Hamlett, 2015). Many of these carceral institutions offered rather miserable conditions and were designed to act as a deterrent to those seeking state support as well as to mould behaviour through the disciplinary regimes. But the purpose of incarceration was not the only factor driving the creation of institutions. Various non-state institutions were set up often as the result of philanthropy, as was the case with Dr Barnardo's homes; suggesting a plethora of different institutional forms surfaced during the Victorian era, reflecting the complex and diverse needs of society. As Soares suggests "Many of these institutions were driven by humanitarian concerns to relieve suffering and illness for different vulnerable groups, whilst others were more custodial in nature—designed to segregate 'problematic' populations from the rest of society and to provide treatment, care and management that aimed to correct behaviour." (Soares, 2017: 1). This final section of the literature review explores how this diverse range of Victorian institutions has been investigated and the experience of institutional

life, revealing the development of a varied set of theoretical and methodological perspectives that help to situate the approach taken to the work of Barnardo's in the thesis.

2.4.1 The institutional response to the urban and other social problems

Much existing scholarship on nineteenth-century institutions has been influenced by the work of the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault. Foucault's publication, *Discipline and Punish* (1977) is an exploration of the modern penal system. It examines punishment within its wider social context, investigating how it was both influenced and affected by changing power relations. Crampton and Elden (2007) have noted that Foucault identifies the latter part of the eighteenth century as a time when politics shifted from the individual to that of populations now being traversed, commanded, and ruled by processes and biological laws, particularly in light of the rise of the human sciences. 'A population has a birth rate, rate of mortality; a population has an age curve, a generation pyramid, a life-expectancy, a state of health, a population can perish or, on the contrary grow' (Crampton and Elden, 2007: 6; Foucault, 1975).

Foucault (1977) explores the disciplining and training of bodies within the context of the institution through different modes of both spatial and temporal management. Achieved via strict timetabling, routine, punishment and surveillance as well as devices such as the military drill, Foucault understands how the body emerged as something that was perceived as both 'docile' and trainable through repetitive disciplinary practices (Foucault, 1977; Wood, 2007). The modern subject became malleable and thus improvable via the exercise of such power and the daily structures and techniques of the institution. The physical structure, spatial arrangements, practices and procedures contributed to the creation of the 'ideal' citizen; one

who could self-regulate, and self-govern but also be industrious and productive by instilling 'proper' work habits among those resisting monotony, routine and regularity of industrial labour (Scull, 1989).

But governing institutions across space brought with it challenges in achieving a uniform standard, an issue which will be explored in relation to Barnardo's in Chapter 7 of this thesis. Driver's (1993) work on the Poor Law of 1834 provides an example of some of these challenges. He argues that 'the goal of the reformers of the poor law was to police and protect the labour market, not replace it' (Driver, 1993: 23) and that it sought to eliminate the moral threat of pauperism by training the labouring classes in the ways of 'independent' labour with one of its most significant achievements being the creation of a new institution, the Union workhouse. Driver employs the 'uniformity' of the workhouse in much of his work to demonstrate the new 'infrastructural power' of the nineteenth-century Victorian state forming a central authority that was to stress its independence from 'local interest' and commanding its view over the whole country, enabling a much greater degree of uniformity and administrative practice (Driver, 1993). Philosopher John Austin (quoted in Driver 1993) stated that uniformity simplifies the administrative machine and enables central authority to watch and control its movement with comparative facility and effect. In Driver's case, this is materialised through the workhouse, an apparatus of information-gathering allowing for inspection and routinised administrative practices contributing to the efficiency of state-control. It is these Foucauldian modes of 'Surveillance' and the state's capacity to employ technological innovations to govern individual conduct that in turn led to moral regulation strategies such as the workhouse (Driver, 1993).

However, in practice the extension of administrative power through institutions is always an ongoing project and never a certainty. As Driver (1993: 9) notes 'there is always a gap between central policies and local realities' (Driver, 1993: 9). Ogborn (1995) makes a similar argument in relation to his study of 'separate confinement' within the nineteenth-century prison system. He suggests that a uniform penal system could never be realised due to the difficulties of governing across space and the because of the state's incapacity to fully impose a central order upon the criminal population of the country. While inspectors were employed as agents of the state to undertake surveillance of the system the complexity of governing across space undermined the quest for uniformity.

Philo (1987) employs Foucauldian perspectives to examine the psychiatric and asylum system of the nineteenth century and how the institutional geography of the 'mad-business' was perceived, debated and shaped by the specific understandings of mental illness that surfaced in the pages of a nineteenth-century publication called the *Asylum Journal,* predominantly written by psychiatric doctors of the period. He particularly highlights how the assumed professional knowledge within the pages of this medical journal dictated the way in which the society's idea of the 'norm' is placed in direct contrast to the deviant body of the 'madman.' Philo extends Foucault's work on the creation of the 'norm' through the human sciences, and in this case the assumed authority of the *Asylum Journal.* The language employed by the journal adopts its medical authority to construct understandings of the 'normal' implying the very existence of the 'abnormal' in the materialisation of the madman. By constructing the deviant subject against backdrop of the 'norm,' the *Asylum Journal*, and more widely, the medical sciences were able to produce knowledge that legitimated and provoked forms of intervention to deal with 'deviant' or 'abnormal' behaviour within society (Philo, 1987). It is interesting to note the parallels here to the kinds of discourses and constructed beliefs surrounding urban children that

Barnardo's was deploying in order to raise support and interest in the charity. Although Philo may be discussing the deviant bodies and behaviours in the context of the assumed official knowledge of medical sciences, Barnardo's too was helping to mobilise powerful images of poor children as 'deviant others' roaming the streets in need of intervention in the form of removal. The way that Barnardo constructed and responded to discourse will be a recurrent theme in this thesis and is a particular focus of Chapter 4.

The treatment of madness in asylums also took on a distinctive geography and material form. As Philo (1987: 403) argues, location and architecture were factors that mattered: 'the mentally-distressed mind could only be cured by freeing it from the city and the factory, and by then giving it the benefits of a more natural, tranquil and rural setting'. The ideal scenario for the nineteenth-century County Asylum was that it should provide access to fresh air via a spacious rural setting which could also cater for exercise and outdoor work. Rutherford (2008) argues that much thought and effort was also poured into the aesthetic, external and internal character of these asylum buildings: 'they had much in common with the great Victorian show houses of the aristocracy, which were surrounded by complex gardens and informal parks' (Rutherford, 2008: 19). Most architects used popular historic architectural styles such as Classical Greek Revival, and built grand and spacious interiors matching those of country houses, coupled with carefully landscaped the gardens with flower-borders and great lawns. As Rutherford and Bartlett (1998) suggest these were meant to be therapeutic landscapes designed to lift a patient's mood. It is this 'moral architecture', or what Foucault labels 'Spatial Functionalism,' that Rutherford argues is significant. The 'domestication of madness' evident in such institutional spaces reveals a less punitive disciplinary regime within the asylum than within more repressive and carceral institutional environments of prisons and workhouses (Rutherford, 2008).

Other studies of the Victorian asylum such as the work of Wright (1997), have explored the role of the family and relatives in the admission of patients, claiming it often made pragmatic economic sense for working-class households to admit a loved providing a degree of agency to both the patients and their families and arguing that admission was simply a survival strategy in the context of staving off poverty. Other studies have focused on reclaiming the experiences of those inside the institution's walls, bringing to the forefront inmate voice and agency – often through acts of resistance – from the context of the nineteenth-century asylum. Although noting the methodological challenges of doing this, Bartlett (1998) studied the admission records and case papers of a county asylum in an attempt to retrieve the attitudes and experiences of an inmate population he states was never passive, but rather made of 'flesh and blood' and which possessed a will of its own. The study used the Leicestershire and Rutland County Asylums case records which Bartlett claims were far from objectively written, often providing an uncritical, sanitised account of the conditions inside the asylum. By reading against the grain, Bartlett aimed to upset this overly positive celebratory rhetoric in inspector reports, utilising case papers to reveal examples of patient resistance. These included the act of escaping, refusing meals and expressing a desire to be back with friends and family.

But as Hamlett et al (2013: 7) claimed, "In the past ten years, the idea of resistance has moved to the forefront of the study of carceral institutions and has been the subject of increasingly careful and sophisticated definitions." Brown's (2003) research on prison disturbances in the nineteenth century explored the varying nature of disorder and rebellion analysing to what degree inmate action could be considered passive or active, as well as charting the influential emergence of inmate subcultures that were forming in these incarcerated communities. Green (2006) examined how violence, but also the acquisition of knowledge relating to legal rights

and methods allowed paupers in London's workhouses to campaign for change. Particularly within the context of the lunatic asylum however, inmate voice and agency is something "which has been notoriously difficult to access." (Hamlett and Hoskins, 2012: 94). Some studies have underlined the challenges of interpreting the intentions behind the actions of inmates and the difficulties that arise when trying to unpack whether their actions were a symptom or product of their illness, or rather, a rational expression of rebellion against the institutional regime (see Laing, 1960; Smith, 1999). Hide's (2011) study was able to positively identify some small yet undeniably rational acts of protest and resistance in analysing the inmates at Claybury and Bexley asylums during the late nineteenth century by providing evidence of simple, everyday acts like protests about the quality of food that was served at the institutions. Through the lens of material culture, Hamlett and Hoskins (2012) explore inmates' resistance specifically via their dress and appearance in the context of the nineteenth-century asylum. Their paper argues that despite inmates being made to wear identical uniforms and dress, there was room to personalise, individualise and essentially resist through their clothes and appearance. Although small, these adjustments align with what Goffman (1961) labelled an 'identity toolkit', providing evidence of inmates resisting their environments and asserting their own sense of self. Furthermore, the paper argues that items like spectacles and false teeth were vital to basic agency and independence while objects of a more personal, intimate nature such as jewellery, particularly wedding rings, provided a material link to a world beyond the asylum walls.

Studies have recently started to shift away from the idea of resistance in the traditional sense, instead focusing more broadly on agency and experience. For example, Hamlett and Preston's (2013) research on poor single men in London's Rowton Houses suggests that institutional life was much less about 'resistance' than how they made themselves comfortable or at home on their terms within these environments. On this point, and moving

beyond carceral, and even adult-based institutions, historians have started to think about institutional environments in relation to familial or household domesticity – different purposes and different groups required a separate set of institutional practices and procedures, layout and aesthetics (Hamlett et al, 2013). Academic studies have only recently started to understand how ideas of home and domesticity figured into modern British institutions (Hamlett, 2015). This has been particularly true in the studies that relate to Victorian child welfare institutions – the central concern for this study (Soares, 2017).

Victorian institutions were varied and while most sought to produce normative behaviour through order and discipline, not all were punitive or 'disciplinary' in the narrow sense of that word. Hamlett (2015) has noted that many institutional environments and associated practices were increasingly governed by shared middle and upper class ideals of gender and class, the family and domesticity (Hamlett, 2015). Historians and geographers have examined how this domestication of the institution was not solely confined to the asylum. Indeed, the ideals, social relations, material culture and everyday practices of domesticity transformed reformatory debates as well as institutional design and practice in a range of settings. Hamlett (2015: 5) suggests that this celebration of the home 'was driven by a growing Evangelical culture that placed a strong emphasis on domestic virtues, increasing middle-class affluence, and a surge in popular print culture' (2015: 5). Academics have recently started to trace the growth in the specialist provision of welfare for children during the nineteenth century, highlighting how these specialist institutional settings were influenced by a different set of debates and ideas that were distinctly separate from the contemporary treatment of adult inmate populations (Soares, 2017: 1).

This domestic influence and alternative welfare provision design specifically for younger inmates are evident in the work of Barnardo's. Indeed, many social commentators and philanthropists such as Dr Barnardo believed that the more punitive and austere institutional environment of the workhouse was failing to deal with the urban problem and lift the poor out of chronic poverty. He argued that the workhouse only contributed to the process of transforming young men into hardened criminals and young women into prostitutes (*Night & Day,* 1877). The organisation was receptive to alternative institutional models and designs prevalent during this era, such as the family system of care based on rearing smaller numbers of children in separate houses or cottages under the supervision of a 'mother,' usually located in a rural setting (Driver, 1990; Hamlett, 2015; Murdoch, 2006). Boarding-out was built on the similar principles and intended to foster 'natural,' familial social relations to morally educate and physically improve the child in an out-of-town environment (Driver, 1990; Hamlett, 2015). Here, Barnardo's approach seems almost anti-institutional.

However, the Barnardo model was not far from unique; nor was it particularly new. Driver (1990) has examined alternative institutional models for the treatment of criminal children and juvenile paupers. Using the example of the agricultural colony founded in Mettray, France in 1839, which was based on a 'family system' of moral training where inmates lived in separate houses in open, rural farmland rather than being concentrated in large buildings located in towns and cities, the paper traces how the Mettray model influenced critical debates about institutional within Britain between 1840 and 1880. A prison 'without' walls, each house contained 40 boys and a single supervisor with the intention of ensuring the maximum degree of surveillance with minimum disturbance. The location and design aimed to foster 'supposedly "natural" social relations in a largely rural context' (Driver, 1990: 273). Family groupings were meant to have a moralising effect and the manual labour was designed to strengthen character

and self-worth, rescuing the boys from 'the perils idleness' (Driver, 1990: 277). Driver goes on to highlight how the core principles and practices of Mettray influenced the work of British reformatory campaigners who argued that the treatment of criminal and non-criminal children under the current system was lacking any effective family discipline.

As Murdoch (2006) has noted, by the late 1850s, reformatory science was searching for alternatives to the workhouse so that children could be trained free from the influences and the 'taint' of pauperism. Children's homes based on this family model began to open across England by the 1860s. This included the Home for Little Boys opened in 1864, at Horton Kirby near Farningham which had 10 cottages, each accommodating 30 boys with a mother and father; the Princess Mary's Village Home established in 1870 by three 'devoted' ladies at Addlestone, Surrey, which was designed to receive 300 girls dispersed across 15 double cottages; and Dr Barnardo's *Village Home for Orphan, Neglected and Destitute Girls* opened in July, 1876. It aimed to accommodate 600 girls within 30 detached cottages, and included a mission hall, a steam laundry, a governor's house, an infirmary, and a gate lodge, with stabling and workshops, all located on a nine-acre site in Barkingside, Ilford. Each cottage cost £485 with a maintenance rate of £16 per child per annum (Murdoch, 2006; *Night & Day,* 1877: 5). By the late 1870s even the Local Government Board had begun to take notice of the use of the family model by voluntary organisations like Barnardo's and some Poor Law Unions did go on to apply this system of treatment for pauper children (Holman, 1986).

Murdoch (2006) has already explored how the Barnardo's approach to the treatment of destitute children was based on the family model of care, particularly for girls and young children. She argues this version of 'family' was formed and directed by upper-middle-class domestic ideals and implemented by philanthropists and Poor Law administrators in order to transform the

living environments of destitute children. As Driver (1990) has shown, the family system was favoured as it appeared to offer a less regimented and a more natural environment for training children but that it nevertheless embodied a ubiquitous but subtle form of surveillance. It provided moral discipline not just in relation to the virtues of labour but through instilling values and practices of obedience, honesty, punctuality and exercise (Driver, 1990). The family hierarchy, as Hamlett (2015) has argued, relating to gender and family roles were played out in the institutional context and reflected the broader ideals which were shaping the political landscape and class system (Hamlett, 2015). The model of the family and its domestic ideals, as Donzelot (1978) and Behlmer (1998) have stated, was another mode of governance, a tool for the policing of the class system. Murdoch (2006) expands on this point stating these institutions aimed to reproduce children as 'citizens'. But this did not mean a person with full political rights; rather, the 'citizen' was defined as an individual who accepted his or her role as a productive member of the social order, and who would pose no threat to state or social relations.

Barnardo's based a lot of its institutional arrangements particularly those which cared for girls and young children, on the family system of care. These cottage homes alongside other care spaces and practices such as boarding-out had come to be favoured by voluntary organisations as well as the state and local government (Driver, 1990). By the close of the century even the family model system had become discredited as boarding-out became the preferred option which was also cheaper and took children even further away from the conventional ties of the institution (Driver, 1990; Holman, 1986). Similarly the advent of child migration schemes (see Boucher, 2014; Lynch, 2016; Parker 2010 and Chapter 7) further loosened and spatially extended the scope of the Barnardo institution. To echo Philo and Parr (2000) it also made the institution more fluid.

In the context of children's homes, the work of Claudia Soares (2014; 2017) has investigated institutional design, practice, procedure, material culture as well as the experience of child residents. Some studies using examples of non-carceral institutions have embraced the Marxist analytical tradition in assuming that care and education for working-class children was simply intended to suppress and maintain order and class. But research by academics such as Soares argues that institutional intention and experience was more complex and nuanced than these studies have suggested. With a focus upon the Waifs and Strays Society (WSS), established in the London Borough of Lambeth in 1881, Soares' work attempts to demonstrate that the often overriding image of the totalising Victorian institution is only one side of a complex story, arguing that such institutions and philanthropic organisations were not only aware but enormously concerned with the responsibility of providing inmates with a sense of home, family and belonging. This is something Soares suggests has been underplayed or is entirely absent in the work of historians to date (Soares, 2014). According to Soares (2017), the WSS attempted to forge positive relationships and childhood experiences within its institutions by incorporating ideas of attachment, belonging and nurture into their approach. This was achieved in a number of ways; by working with existing biological parents and relatives, allowing visits and correspondence between the two parties, promoting the connectedness and attachment of the children to co-residents and institutional staff, the practice of pet-keeping, and a consideration for the significance of material culture and institutional design in promoting a sense of homeliness and belonging. In adopting the broad notion of relatedness, Soares argues that the "institution was committed to the ideal of the family model, which was positioned as a vital element of inmates' social and emotional development" (2017: 2). Therefore through examining domestic design, the establishment of routines, pet keeping, and creation of familial dependency and inmate interrelationship, Soares' research calls for a more positive assessment of the aims, intentions, actions and

sensitivities of children's institutions' (Soares, 2017: 6). This positive reading of the Victorian institution, particularly when channelled through the emerging phenomenon of children's homes which were rather indifferent in their approach and practices to institutions serving the adult poor (such as those incarcerated for crime or illness), is a factor that will be considered in the thesis's approach to how Barnardo's engaged with these wider sets of debates and to the extent to which these ideas were incorporated into their own institutional design and practice.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This literature review has sought to identify the relevant bodies of scholarly material for understanding Barnardo's within its broader historical context. More specifically, it has demonstrated that Barnardo's emerged as part of a broader ameliorative strategy responding to the problems associated with Victorian cities, but more precisely, the highly imagined, highly sensationalised landscape of London's East End. Philanthropic intervention sought to directly counteract the diseased environment of the city as well as to morally and physically improve the urban population. In this context children became a key target of philanthropists who believed institutional reformation could reset their moral compass and turn them into productive citizens. The literature discussed in this chapter frames the remainder of the study and indicates how research exploring the relationships between institutional practice, health and the environment can add to our understanding of child welfare in late Victorian Britain.

Chapter 3

Sources and Approaches

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on the history of Barnardo's from its foundation in 1866 to the death of Dr Barnardo in 1905. At a time when outdoor relief was scarce and state assistance for the poor (including children) was largely channelled through the workhouse, voluntary organisations like Barnardo's were an enticing alternative to a system built on deterrence and fear and offered new solutions in an attempt to ameliorate the urban problem (see, for example, Driver, 1993; Hamlet, 2015; Lynch, 2016). Barnardo's provided a different kind of support for poor children rooted in private initiative and philanthropy rather than in the administrative structures of the state, supported by public funding. In order to prove their worth, justify their ambitions and, above all, raise donations and financial support to fund an expansion of their work, it was necessary for charities like Barnardo's to produce promotional materials showcasing their activities. As has been the case in other important studies of the organisation (e.g. Ash, 2016; Koven, 2004; Murdoch, 2006; and Wagner, 1972), this thesis has drawn heavily upon that promotional material in the Barnardo Archive. However, alongside this outward-facing evidence of the charity's activities, Barnardo's also functioned as an institution, generating a large volume of everyday, administrative records produced by its systems of governance and care and the forms of regulation that it imposed upon on itself, or that were required by outside bodies. A range of materials thus exist to document an institution that expanded rapidly over the later nineteenth century, growing from a local, East End charity to become a national and,

eventually, imperial child welfare organisation. More precisely, this thesis is able to use a rich and varied archival record to investigate how contemporary debates about the relationships between environment, health and child welfare shaped the material spaces, practices and expansionary strategies of the organisation, as well as informing the ways that Barnardo's sought to represent and justify its work to others.

The majority of the source material used for this study is housed at Barnardo's own archives located at Plaistow, East London. When research for this thesis began in 2012 part of the collection was housed at Barnardo's headquarters at Barkingside, East London with the remainder of the collection kept by the University of Liverpool. In the Summer of 2014 the archives were amalgamated and moved to the Plaistow site. The research also draws upon the collections and resources of the Ragged School Museum as well as a range of Barnardo-related material, such as notes, letters and correspondence, stored in the collections at the Wellcome Library and the London Metropolitan Archives. Online archival sources have also been used to provide understanding of the wider context to Barnardo's work, including historical newspapers and periodicals, British Parliamentary Papers, and Medical Officer of Health reports.

This short chapter will outline the sources and material consulted for the research. It will primarily consider the Barnardo archive by outlining its range and scope and examining some of the advantages, challenges and limitations of the institutional record. It will then review the different approaches that previous scholars have taken when working with the Barnardo archive, before setting out the materials that were used to address the key aims and questions at the heart of this study. Reflecting on some of the difficulties and challenges faced in accessing the Barnardo archive, the chapter will end by reflecting briefly on some of the ethical

issues posed by working with records of children in institutional care at a time when instances of child neglect, abuse and institutional failure were rarely out of the news.

3.2 APPROACHING THE BARNARDO ARCHIVE

In recent years, historians and, especially, historical geographers have begun to reflect critically on the nature of on archives (e.g. Ogborn, 2003). Far more than repositories of records, archives have been identified as geographically significant sites of power, implicated in the politics of memory (Withers, 2002). Derrida (1995) famously argued that the archive is both a place and a reflection of social and institutional authority. In early modern Europe, archives emerged as part of the state's effort to control knowledge, with archivists assuming the role of civil servant (Withers, 2002). By the nineteenth century, as Hannam (2002: 113) has pointed out 'the formation of archives … heralded a new relationship between governments and history, whereby the former came to be the major guardian of knowledge about the past' (Hannam, 2002: 113).

However, it was not only governments that generated archival materials that are key to producing knowledge about the past. The increase in the number of non-state actors, including voluntary organisations like Barnardo's, also generated substantial archives of administrative and promotional practices. The Barnardo Archive is, to echo Derrida (1995), a place and reflection of *institutional* authority – a characteristic that will be returned to later in this chapter. Barnardo's has a substantial and well conserved institutional archive. It is also diverse and includes: promotional materials in the form of periodicals, magazines, pamphlets and fundraising literature, as well as a range of books and guides written about the organisation; Dr Barnardo's personal papers, some correspondence, his notes and a very extensive collection of

his sermons; detailed 'institutional' and administrative records, ranging from council committee minutes, admission registers, and instructions, procedures and policy documents, to correspondence with children, parents and carers, and some case notes; a large and unique photographic archive (comprising 55,000 images from the period covered by this study alone), with an image of virtually every child who came into the care of the institution. The majority of Barnardo-related material is held by the charity itself, although some of Dr Barnardo's correspondence is in the Wellcome Library (Barnardo's, daughter, Syrie, married into the Wellcome family), and various miscellaneous material can be found in the London Metropolitan Archive and in other archives in the UK and overseas.

Historical geographers have emphasised the way that all archives need to be understood as selective and partial in the material that they hold, and therefore advocate that researchers must be alert to their limitations and partiality (Maddrell, 2009). An important dimension to this is the inconsistency and temporal unevenness of many archival holdings, with a richness of material in some areas, or at certain times, and a paucity in others. In the case of Barnardo's, for example, there is an abundance of promotional material linked to the charity's efforts to secure support and raise funds. This includes complete runs of the charity's 'in house' periodicals such as *Night & Day* (published monthly) and *Ups and Downs*, along with annual reports showcasing the work of the organisation at twelve-monthly intervals. Promotional books and pamphlets written by Dr Barnardo himself, such as *Something Attempted! Something Done!* (1889) which provide detailed descriptions of the organisation's homes, branches and practices, have survived in a number of archives and libraries. In addition, the archive contains a good deal of Dr Barnardo's own working notes and personal correspondence such as that relating to the efforts he made to rally support for the charity by giving lectures and speeches up and down the country, as well as the text and notes for the hundreds of sermons that he

delivered at the children's homes and elsewhere. The administrative records of the institution are also extensive. Council committee minutes, which also include notes for the financial sub-committee, provide a record of every meeting since the council's formation in 1877. However, whilst there is a lot of this material, it is often frustratingly brief and offers little detail or insight into how decisions were made in the institution. The Barnardo photographic collection is unique and remarkable, and in some ways remains an untapped resource for researchers (though see Bressey, 2002; Koven, 2004: and Rose, 2001), but is also selective and partial in the insights that it provides. For instance, the majority of the images – especially in the late Victorian period – were taken in a studio and not within the potentially more revealing context of the homes and other venues of the charity. Consequently, there is minimal visual documentation of the out-of-home practices of the institution, such as examples of boarding-out, the Fresh Air Fund trips, and emigration. Images that did begin to capture the quotidian context of these out-of-home practices came after the period of interest for this thesis, no doubt due to advances in the capabilities of photographic technology. The visual evidence of the photo archive is therefore somewhat disappointing for a study concerned with understanding the different environments within which the institution sought to undertake its work.

As institutional archives go, Barnardo's nevertheless has a rich, substantial and long-running collection and is of national, if not international importance. However, it also has its gaps and limitations. It has been highlighted that archives are limited by their capacity to hold material, and the selective process of keeping material is always influenced by what is deemed important at a particular moment and by what the archivist believes should be retained (Manoff, 2004; Ogborn, 2003). The archive is therefore a fluid, ambiguous and partial repository of knowledge and memory. As Manoff (2004) has argued, the historical researcher must always consider the 'transparency' of the archive. Although the public face of Barnardo's is easy to examine

through the array of promotional literature, there is considerably less material that captures the everyday life and operations of Barnardo's homes and branches. In particular there is very little material relating to how individual children faired inside the homes. The admission registers provide some background on a child as he or she entered the organisation's care, but the notes are typically brief and descriptive. Details of Barnardo staff members, their roles and duties are also almost absent from institutional and administrative records. Although some insights are provided in the promotional literature about the homes and branches, and more information is available for senior members of staff such as Chief Medical Officer of Health to the homes, Dr Robert Milne, little was recorded about those who worked at the organisation on a daily basis and, when information was provided, it was brief and sporadic. Finally, despite the project's focus on health, there are also relatively few medical and sanitary records particularly in the earlier years, although by the late 1880s and 1890s some of this information surfaces in the Annual Reports.

Approaching the archive of an institution or organisation like Barnardo's presents its own set of unique challenges. As has already been indicated, archives can obscure information as much as they can reveal it and, as Madrell (2009) has argued, we need to know more about the context of their production before interpreting their collections. It is important to consider whose voice, interests and perspectives might be recovered from an institutional archive and whose might not. Before entering the archive an original aim of the study was to recover the child's voice and agency from within the space of the institution. Cunningham (2004) has noted that this has been a common objective of many historians of childhood aiming to reconstruct the lives, voices and experiences of children in the past. This 'bottom-up' approach intended to analyse and assess the impact institutional practices and procedures had upon their subjects providing a comprehensive analysis of different forms of institutional power and resistance within child

welfare settings like Barnardo's (Foucault, 1975; Hamlett and Hoskins, 2013; Porter, 1995; Wright, 1996). Such insights were to be gained from reading the institutional archive 'against the grain' focusing on the gaps, silences and resistances within the historical record that would have allowed an insight into how the individual children experienced everyday life under Barnardo's governance. However, partly for reasons of access discussed in the final part of this chapter, but also because of the real difficulties of reading any institutional archive 'against the grain' it ultimately proved impossible to recover much of children's agency from within the space of the institution.

Consequently, the decision was made to focus more on how the institution presented itself and how its archive might be used to understand the ways that it responded to wider debates about the relationships between health, environment and child poverty. This enabled a focus on the abundant promotional literature (such as pamphlets, periodicals, annual reports) as well as personal notes, council committee minutes and other administrative institutional records to provide an insight into how the various branches, homes and practices operated and how they were influenced by broader late-Victorian debates about childcare, health, wellbeing, disease, environment, nationhood and imperialism. Although some of the promotional material has been used to describe the expansion and development of Barnardo's, and to understand the practices that were at the core of its work, at other times it has been treated more critically to investigate the ways that the institution sought to represent its work in the context of wider contemporary discourses, often with the aim of increasing financial donations and support. With a source like the periodical *Night & Day* – Barnardo's promotional mouthpiece published on a monthly basis and largely penned by the director himself – it is important to situate accounts of the work of the charity within the broader contexts of its production. It can point towards the discourses and contemporary debates that Barnardo's were engaging with and can

provide a useful window onto the wider social, political and cultural context of late-Victorian Britain.

Indeed, the production of Barnardo's archives needs to be considered within the wider social and political contexts of the nineteenth century. As Ogborn (2003) has argued, the nineteenth century was a period of rising state concern surrounding social problems of poverty, crime, prostitution and health as the nation grappled with rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. Positioning Barnardo's as a part of the wider ameliorative strategy responding to, but also constructing and making sense of these social and economic changes, it is possible to begin to contextualise and understand more of the rationale behind the production of its institutional records and archive. Dr Barnardo was an unusually energetic character, writing extensively about the work of his charity and advocating and promoting it to a wide audience, by engaging very actively in discursively constructing and making sense of the economic and social changes that provided a context to the organisation's work. Because of his energy, close involvement in the running of the organisation, and prolific written output, it would be easy to regard Dr Barnardo as a very powerful influence over the organisation's work, although as Lynch (2016: 4) has recently suggested, it must be understood that the organisation's practices rose out of a complex nexus of factors, influences and networks of relationships rather than solely out of the driving vision of the leader (Lynch, 2016: 4). This wider context of people, ideas, debates and influences mattered and will have shaped the archive in ways that are not always immediately evident.

It is critical to note, therefore, that the nearly all of the material used in this thesis is produced from the perspective of the organisation (albeit an organisation which changed its perspectives quite frequently). This material tells us about how the institution saw itself, how it sought to

justify its plans and ambitions but can also usefully expose some of its concerns and anxieties. This enables critical examination of the aims, intentions, negotiations and challenges of a philanthropic organisation constructing, responding and attempting to resolve a particular kind of social problem.

3.3 PREVIOUS APPROACHES TO THE BARNARDO ARCHIVE

The richness and extent of the Barnardo's Archive has not gone unnoticed and, as discussed in Chapter 1, there has been a range of studies of different aspects of the work of the institution and of the life of its founder. These studies have approached the archival collection and used specific sources in numerous ways. A brief consideration of the approaches used in this work helps to signal the general potential of the archive as well as to highlight the relative neglect of attention paid to issues of health and environment within existing studies.

Biographical accounts of Dr Barnardo, which inevitably also have a good deal to say about the work of the charity, have tended to draw from the promotional materials in the archive, many of which were written by Barnardo or strongly influenced by his hand. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, these publications also draw upon his posthumously published memoirs (1907) or his *Something Attempted! Something Done!* account of the early history of the institution published in 1889. Wagner's (1977) biography, probably still the best of its kind, extends its archival reach beyond promotional materials, enriching the study with personal correspondence to provide the accounts of events such as Dr Barnardo's visit to the Canadian homes as well as to trace the more turbulent periods in the organisation's history such as the legal arbitration case of 1877, when Barnardo defended himself against the accusation that he abused children and circulated falsified images of them (see Koven, 2004: 75–139). Hitchman's (1962) study

focused on different aspects of the institution such as education, medicine and practices like boarding-out, retrieving much of this detail from *Night & Day,* amongst other periodicals and using the annual reports for additional information and statistics in particular. Collectively this material was often used uncritically in a celebratory retelling of the Barnardo story with a key focus on the Director himself. As Susan Ash (2016: 1) has observed, celebratory accounts of Barnardo's are one important strand of the *oeuvre*.

Recent academic studies have tended to take a more critical stance on the archival materials of the Barnardo institution. A key goal of much of the latest research has been to situate studies of Barnardo within a wider body of scholarship that has concentrated on bourgeois representations of poor children, interrogating the meanings and discursive strategies that were deployed in constituting children as objects of philanthropy and targets of moral and social reform. Both Murdoch (2006) and Koven's (2004) influential work has focused on the representational, or discursive strategies used by Barnardo's to justify practices of child removal. Murdoch, for example, focuses on the promotional literature of the institution and traces how Barnardo used melodrama as a way of framing practices of child 'rescue' and of marginalising the parents of the poor children who he took into his care. Koven (2004) focuses on the dramatic events of 1877 when an arbitration case was brought against Dr Barnardo following allegations that he kept a prostitute, falsified images of children, and was involved in the physical and sexual abuse of those in his care. While a key focus is on how the discourses of rescue and removal that provided the narrative arc of accounts of his work in textual sources like *Night & Da*y or the sensationalist newspaper the *Pall Mall Gazette* were embedded within the wider social and sexual politics of late nineteenth-century London, Koven (2004) has also taken a more critical look at Barnardo's visual representations of the reformation of 'ragged children'. His is one of a number of studies that has offered critical commentary on the staged

'before and after' photographic images that the organisation used as part of its fundraising efforts, in order to illustrate its capacity to turn ragged and neglected children into respectable and productive young citizens (see also McHoul 1991, Murdoch 2006). Much more recently Susan Ash (2016) has undertaken a sustained and extensive analysis of the literary modes and representational practices that underpinned Barnardo's promotional and marketing campaigns in the early years of the work of the charity. This study focuses on *Night & Day* and other promotional publications along with the spectacle and imagery of a variety of campaigns aimed at raising the profile of the organisation and eliciting an emotional and financial response from the public. Ash's book is arguably the most significant investigation of the cultural discourses of the organisation published to date and it shares some of the same concerns as this thesis.[1]

While the 'before and after' images have received much critical attention, they represent just a handful among the tens of thousands of photographs contained within the archive. Bressey (2002) has undertaken more extensive investigation of the photographic collections of Barnardo's – alongside investigation of the institution's admission records – to trace the black presence in Britain during the nineteenth century. Although her principal concern is to use the images of non-white children in the archive to challenge and problematize the 'whiteness' of Victorian British history, her work also raises questions about the nature of Barnardo's 'ever open door' admission practices and its seemingly progressive policy of not discriminating on the basis of religion, colour or creed.

There has also been considerable recent interest in the archival materials relating to Barnardo's emigration schemes. The archives of the institution contain extensive evidence of this

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[1] The book was published in 2016, in the fourth and final year of the preparation of this thesis, and was unknown to me until this point.

controversial practice that has become a focus of much contemporary debate, as well as historical investigation. Lynch (2016) bridges historical and contemporary debates in a book associated with the recent 'On Their Own: Britain's Child Migrants' exhibition at the V&A Museum of Childhood in London (17 October 2015 to 12 June 2016). It draws upon much of the organisation's promotional material, such as *Night & Day,* as well as *Ups & Downs* (a publication intended for those involved with the Canadian migration schemes), where strenuous efforts were made to justify emigration schemes and articulate their supposed benefits. Lynch's study aims to understand the moral and religious bases of emigration programmes such as that operated by Barnardo's and examines their legacy and impact through into the twentieth century. Boucher (2014) has a similar focus although her investigations are more centred on Barnardo's twentieth-century schemes and she is particularly interested in how migration programmes intersected with ideas of empire building and imperial citizenship, again by tracking these themes in promotional literature, periodicals, annual reports and via a number of oral histories.

This thesis utilises some of the archival materials that have featured in these studies, but in focusing on the relationships between environment, health and well-being it has a different emphasis and focus to recent scholarship. The next section introduces the sources that were drawn upon in this study.

3.4 USING THE BARNARDO ARCHIVE

As noted above, Barnardo's generated a large volume of promotional literature in the form of periodicals, magazines, pamphlets and annual reports, which showcased the work of the charity, often with the explicit aim of raising funds. It was *Night & Day,* the monthly periodical

published from 1877 that served as the key mouthpiece for the organisation. To the researcher it is a fruitful source that includes: news and updates; statistics and general information relating to the work of Barnardo's; investigatory accounts of slum-life; wider engagement with key historical events, texts and publications; full reports of annual meetings; and a large number of engravings and illustrations offering a visual sense of and identity for the organisation. It provides detailed insight into the development and evolution of the organisation. As Ash (2016: 1) has demonstrated, the pages of *Night & Day* offered a venue where Barnardo 'could package and promote evangelical philanthropy on behalf of children, the nation and the Empire'. The periodical can thus be read critically, using techniques of discourse analysis to understand how the institution framed its work in relation to wider historical debates and processes, especially in relation to the discussion of ideas of the environment and the urban problem. More prosaically, *Night & Day* also offers useful insights into the everyday life and environments of the organisation, frequently containing special reports or articles on particular homes and branches which can provide detailed understanding of design, layout, practices and routines.

The annual reports published each year and sent to supporters included financial details regarding donations, funds and expenditure; statistics relating to general numbers of children, admissions and medical and educational records. Used as a less sensationalist medium the annual reports were part of the charity's efforts to be transparent about its work and financial underpinning, and were intended to promote confidence and trust among its supporters. In this study the reports were useful for tracing the development and expansion of the organisation, albeit from its own perspective. As with *Night & Day* the reports can also be read more critically in order to uncover the complexities and discursive nuances of Barnardo's fundraising campaigns.

Administrative and institutional records also provided a valuable and rare insight into the daily operations of the homes and branches. The council committee minutes, for example, offered a perspective from within the institution, documenting news, updates and concerns at meetings that were held once every two months. These sources helped to provide further details on the kinds of debates and ideas the organisation were engaging with in their discussions to improve the environment and practices of the homes. However, these sources were limited by their often brief and descriptive content. References are often made to related, apparently fuller documents and reports, but it was usually not possible to trace these in the archive.

Other administrative documents used included sets of instructions and protocols intended for use by Barnardo staff. These sources enabled a rare glimpse into the running and management of the homes and provided material on how contemporary ideas around health, sanitation, childcare and the environment were infiltrating the everyday practice of Barnardo's. They also revealed much about systems of inspection and surveillance that lay at the heart of the successful running of the homes. For example, medical pamphlets that were sent to each cottage at the Girls' Village Home, yielded interesting insights into attempts to treat and suppress disease. Such documents and related protocols also reveal something of how the charity engaged with broader medical debates about health and disease.

A handful of medical journals published by the Chief Medical Officer to the Homes revealed more fully the medical practice and infrastructure of the organisation, especially when dealing with infectious disease. Archival materials from outside the organisation including Medical Officer of Health reports, were drawn upon to set the work of Barnardo's in the context of wider, state-centred initiatives to understand and address the environmental context to poverty and ill health. These and other sources external to Barnardo's were used to map out the wider

urban problem which the organisation was responding to, as well as to identify the medical-scientific discourses and practices which influenced practice in their homes and branches.

The other main category of evidence used in this thesis is the personal correspondence of Dr Barnardo. For example, his letters to senior members of staff shed light on the roles and duties they fulfilled at the homes, particularly the medically-trained women who occupied positions of authority and influence (see Chapter 5). Dr Barnardo's own personal notebook which included personal notes, ideas, themes and templates for the speeches he gave as part of his visit to the provinces to rally support for the charity, has also proved to be instructive. In particular this revealed the changing debates and discourses that Barnardo sought to engage with as he went around the country with his begging bowl.

Finally, illustrative material used in this thesis is mainly derived from promotional publications like *Night & Day*. Some images have been selected from the photograph archive, particularly the few which capture the everyday context and practices of the homes. However, as is discussed further below, access to the photographic archive was limited, preventing more extensive use of what appeared to be a promising source

3.5 ETHICS AND ARCHIVE ACCESS

Most historical theses do not carry an explicit discussion of research ethics, since they tend to deal with people who have long since died and where the events and circumstances that are the focus of investigation are beyond anyone's living memory. Although this is the case for the current thesis, a number of very significant ethical issues have arisen over the course of the project that have impacted on and altered the course of this research. The question of child

welfare and institutional responses to child neglect, along with systems for ensuring the safeguarding of children, have become a prominent focus of public debate and anxiety. Over the course of researching this thesis, media investigations exposed the widespread and systematic abuse of children – particularly abuse of a sexual nature – over the last 40 or so years by a range or perpetrators, but especially by certain high profile public figures, such as the late Jimmy Savile. This abuse took place in a range of institutional settings, from media organisations to schools, hospitals and children's homes, and it has been demonstrated that the systems designed to protect children from such harm were often inadequate or entirely lacking. The issue is subject to an ongoing police investigation, Operation Yewtree, which has resulted in a significant numbers of arrests indicating the scale of the issue, as well as its extent in terms of the wide range of contexts within which abuses happened. The issue is also now the subject of a major public enquiry.

Children's charities like Barnardo's have long been aware that their archives contain sensitive information and can document the trauma of family separation. For many former 'Barnardo children' who were taken into institutional care at a young age, the archive is where they can discover the names of parents and family members from whom they were separated, as well as finding information about the circumstances of that separation. Recognising the sensitive and potentially difficult nature of this material, the archive limits the access given to historical researchers via imposing closure periods on certain records, or simply preventing access to material that documents particularly sensitive or intimate situations. However, it is also known that the archives of children's organisations like Barnardo's contain evidence of the abuse of children, including sometimes by the organisation's own staff or those connected in some way with the charity. Indeed, as noted above, it was even alleged that Dr Barnardo himself had abused children – one element of an arbitration case heard in 1877 (Koven, 2004). This

allegation was unproven. In the context of contemporary allegations of abuse, children's charities need to comply with Police and legal investigations, ensure an appropriate level of transparency and scrutiny that is respectful of those impacted by alleged cases of abuse, and prevent misuse of archival collections by journalists or others who might exploit sensitive information. In 2012, when the scale of child abuse occurring in public institutions such as the BBC and NHS hospitals first became apparent, the entire Barnardo archive was closed as a security precaution and to enable appropriately sanctioned forms of investigation by the Police and others.

A further issue that has raised ethical questions about the use of the Barnardo archive relates to public concern over the nature and impact of child migration schemes. In 2010 the then Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, issued an apology on behalf of the British government for the abuse and trauma that many who were part of migration schemes experienced. His followed a similar apology by the Australian Prime Minister – Australia being the country to which many child migrants were sent in the later twentieth century. Often led by former child migrants, a number of campaigns have highlighted the frequently cruel practices of removal and relocation and the abuse and mistreatment that many involved in such schemes experienced, right through until the 1970s, and still very much within the living memory of those who are now grown up. Barnardo's has been at the forefront of child migration schemes since they began in the later nineteenth century as the 'On their Own: Britain's Child Migrants' exhibition at the V&A Museum of Childhood (mentioned above) has recently reminded a large public audience (see also Parker, 2010; Lynch, 2016 and Chapter 7 in this thesis). Given the continuing sensitivities surrounding this issue and because it forms one element of the public enquiry to be held to investigate child abuse, the element of the Barnardo archive dealing with child migration schemes is, at the time of writing (September 2016), closed.

Staff at the Barnardo archive have been enormously helpful and supportive of this research, but due to the issues described above, it was not possible to gain full access to the institution's archive until June 2014, almost two years into the thesis. The ability to use and locate materials relevant to the research themes and questions was also compromised by the amalgamation of the collections previously held across two sites (the Special Collections Department of the Library at the University of Liverpool and Barnardo's Headquarters at Barkingside) at a new location in Plaistow. This meant that little of the material had been catalogued or ordered into any sort of comprehensible system and instead lay in a large number of randomly stacked cardboard boxes kept in the archive storage rooms. The software for searching the photographic archive was also not working effectively, so that individual images often included random or absent search tags which made it very difficult to find photos relating to a specific theme, date or event. These factors meant that during the early phases of research much of the focus was on publically accessible materials held in other collections, notably the organisation's more outward-facing promotional literature. This included analysis of Barnardo's main periodical, *Night & Day*, a full run of which was available at the Ragged School Museum, the collaborative partner in this project. This focus has inevitably shaped some of the concerns of the thesis and especially its emphasis on the way that Barnardo's sought to represent itself through promotional discourse.

Logistical, as well as ethical issues therefore, had a significant impact on this research. However, the events and debates surrounding the large scale incidence of child abuse revealed by recent media and police investigations, pose wider moral questions relevant to the historical study of children's organisations, not least because current institutional failings are partly attributed to inappropriate and unethical practices followed in the past. This thesis deals with an implicitly sensitive topic: the treatment of young and vulnerable children of the Victorian

urban poor, a group often considered voiceless and silenced by history. Some of the practices used and promoted by Barnardo's in the late nineteenth century, such as the removal of children from their homes, parents and relatives, or the emigration of children to distant locations without appropriate mechanisms of support, would, by today's standards, be considered cruel. However, while not dismissing the trauma and harm that such practices may have resulted in, it is important not to project a condemnatory twenty-first century lens upon these philanthropic interventions and practices. Lynch's (2016) work on Barnardo's emigration schemes argues that it is necessary to emphasise and understand how such 'solutions' to the problem of child poverty emanated from the specific moral culture of late-Victorian Britain. This perspective, which stresses how Victorian institutional practices need to be situated within the context of contemporary ideas about what was right, good and appropriate, is also adopted in this study. Of course, this does not mean relinquishing a critical gaze on promotional material that sought to justify the removal of children from the supposedly corrupting influences of a dysfunctional family, or the unhealthy and morally degraded environment of the urban slum, to the new, redemptive environments of a children's charity. The issue is about recognising why such interventions seemed a credible and, indeed, ethical solution to a contemporary social problem. It is not necessary to agree with practices that sought to remove children from environments deemed inappropriate to their development in order to produce citizens and create a stronger nation and empire, in order to appreciate that those engaged in them believed they were doing something good. Lynch (2016: 5) has also raised the point that despite the sometimes cruel and abusive nature of emigration schemes in particular, all children had different experiences and it would be wrong to condemn the entire movement, a consideration which could be applied more generally to Barnardo's institutional practices. As Lynch sums up:

'If we adopt a critical gaze to the shadow-side of their work, we will learn less of value if we depict the child migration schemes simply as a distant wrong, committed by people less wise or good than ourselves. Doing that might burnish our sense of moral integrity, but provides little insight into our own moral ambiguities. We would do better to ask how we might be repeating their failings in different ways today' (Lynch, 2016: 6–7).

To write about the history – or historical geography – of late-nineteenth-century child welfare organisations is therefore to enter difficult ethical territory. If recent scholarship has tended more towards criticism than critique of the work of Thomas Barnardo (e.g. Koven 2004, Murdoch 2006), this study aims to make an assessment of the institution's work that acknowledges the integrity of his ambition and underlines the significant scale and impact of his work in trying to improve the lives of poor children.

Chapter 4

Barnardo's and the 'Urban Problem'

4.1 INTRODUCTION

> '[…] but after all has been done the churches are making the discovery that seething in the very centre of our great cities, concealed by the thinnest crust of civilization and decency, is a vast mass of moral corruption, of heart-breaking misery and absolute godlessness, and that *scarcely anything has been done* to take into this awful slough the only influences that can purify or remove it.' (Mearns, 1883: 4 Emphasis added)

The Reverend Andrew Mearns' gospel of moral reform, broadcast in his highly influential *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883), sought to highlight the appalling condition of London's 'residuum;' especially those residing in the notorious districts of London's East End (Boucher, 2014: 29). *The Bitter Cry* was as sensationalist as it was influential (Ginn, 2006), garnering a mixture of praise and criticism; not least of which came from the Barnardo's organisation. At their Annual Meeting of 1884, Lord Cairns, the then president of the charity, delivered a speech on the dangers of moral contamination breeding vice and crime amongst the lower classes, and took the time to commend Mearns' pamphlet for effectively pricking the conscience of the middle classes and raising public concern. However, as noted in the extract above, Mearns' claim that 'scarcely anything' had been done in these easterly districts was met with disapproval. Lord Cairns criticised Mearns for ignoring the extensive nature of charitable and philanthropic work already addressing these issues, specifically adding that Barnardo's

had been attempting to ameliorate the sorts of concerns raised in *The Bitter Cry* for over twenty years (*Night & Day*, 1884: 69*).*

Despite these criticisms, Barnardo's promotional work, which is the primary focus of this chapter, shared Mearns' goal of raising public awareness and also recognised that in order to enact change and justify intervention the spectre of poverty and its relation to the urban problem needed to be presented in such a way that support, and especially financial support, would follow (Ash, 2016). Barnardo's promotional campaign, which began in the late 1860s with regular letters to evangelical periodicals such as *The Revival* (renamed *The Christian* in 1870), often intended to shock supporters through alarmist representations of the urban poor and their degraded living environments along with reports on the worrying presence of vulnerable children and young people within them (see Behlmer, 1998; Holman, 1986; Murdoch, 2006). As Susan Ash has recently commented, Barnardo placed particular emphasis on the role of the degraded urban environment on the moral and physical health of young people and by the 1890s linked his child removal work to concerns with the influence of environment on heredity (2016: 16). This chapter focuses, then, on the importance of the environment to the discursive framing of the urban problem in Barnardo's promotional work; however, it adds a layer of spatial complexity to this framing.

As Beckingham has stated in relation to his work on the National Society for the Protection of Children (NSPCC), 'the practices and policies of protection work can be understood as products of scalar governmentalities' (2013: 2). Reformers such as Barnardo had to find a way to bridge the growing social and spatial divide that was emerging in Britain's urban population, one that placed the urban poor materially and discursively at the bottom of the nation's social strata. Indeed, as some scholars have noted, they were becoming a 'race apart' (Porter, 1991).

Here it is important to recognise that discourses of moral environmentalism shaped representations of the urban poor and pathologised the bodies of young people occupying the problematic spaces of the slum, the rookery, the courtyard or the lodging house (Driver, 1988). This was a problem that was not confined to the peculiarities of place. As will become apparent, the discourses of moral environmentalism that organisations such as Barnardo's laid before its readership also worked to establish a dystopian vision that sought to connect the localised problem of these neglected children to a more broadly societal future blighted by destitution, economic disruption, immorality, violence and so on. Put differently, what this chapter reveals is a scalar logic at play that connected anxieties over the moral and physical health of the young body to those associated with the social body of the nation and later the empire (Beckingham, 2013; Swain and Hillel, 2010).

This discursive framing of the urban problem by Barnardo's is especially apparent in the organisation's main periodical, *Night & Day: A Monthly Record of Christian Missions and Practical Philanthropy* (see also Ash, 2016). First published in 1877, *Night & Day* was to become the main outlet for Barnardo's communication with its adult readership and as such is of central importance to understanding the organisation's work (Dr Barnardo sought to reach a younger audience through *The Children's Treasury*, 1874–81). Outside of letters and short pieces written by Dr Barnardo in evangelical periodicals such as *The Revival/The Christian*, and later on *Ups and Downs* which was targeted at child emigrants in Canada, the other main vehicle for communicating with the public was the organisation's Annual Report. Before engaging in more detail with the discourse of *Night & Day*, the chapter draws on the annual reports to consider how Barnardo's established a public image of, and reputation for, its work. As importantly, it will demonstrate how this image was used to generate the support and funds

required to respond to a problem that was initially framed as concerning the East End of London but by the end of the century was articulated as a problem for nation and Empire.

4.2 GAINING FOLLOWERS, RAISING SUPPORT

> 'Deeply do I feel the honour, the inestimable privilege, of being permitted thus to be a fellow-labourer with God, to be used of Him in any measure in the salvation of the poor sinners is, to our mind, the highest of earthly privileges.' (Annual Report, 1867-1868: 1)

Taken from the charity's very first annual report, it is apparent from this extract that Dr Barnardo sought to reach out to a potential pool of supporters by positioning the work of the organisation within the context of evangelical Christian beliefs associated with hope and salvation (Bebbington, 2005; Koven, 2004; Noll, 2004). As Behlmer (1998) suggests, for evangelical Christians, including Dr Barnardo, salvation offered them the opportunity to constantly reaffirm their faith in the face of often considerable adversity. Barnardo's was not alone here as it is estimated that three-quarters of all voluntary organisations were evangelical in outlook during this period (Heasman, 1962). The significance of Barnardo's links with the evangelical movement are not only that this helped to shape the nature of the work that it carried out (Koven, 2004; Murdoch, 2006), but that the organisation was also able to tap into what emerged as a very rich vein of charitable giving. Within the first five years of Barnardo's arrival in London his mission would become one of the largest and fastest-growing in the district and within ten years, without the aid of a committee or treasurer, the organisation received total donations that amounted to some £34,900 (Annual Report, 1876–1877; Wagner, 1977: 38). With this in mind, this section examines how the charity's Annual Report was used as the

primary public outlet for fundraising and communicating with their supporters in its early years. It will argue that through the publishing of statistics, donation funds, events and advertising public visits, the organisation attempted to form an intimate link with their supporters and in so doing encourage regular donations to support its work.

The importance of creating intimacy with the Christian readership of the reports is apparent right from the outset. Following on from the quote that opens this section, Barnardo penned the following aim for the annual reports: 'to set forth an account of the Lord's guidings and dealings, as to enlist your most affectionate sympathies with me for the future, and your fellowship with me now, in raising a note for grateful praise in the past' (Annual Report, 1867–1868: 1). In a direct appeal to the reader, indicated here through the personal address, Barnardo used the annual reports to establish support, to promote ideas of 'mutual partnership' and 'fellowship' and, of course, to do so under the banner of Christian evangelism. From their early beginnings, Barnardo wanted this mission to be a shared experience, a two-way relationship between the charitable body and the supporter. As the following extracts highlight, the supporters were valued as more than simply financial donors; rather, they were portrayed as active agents in helping to direct and shape the organisation's work:

> 'These accounts have been ready for a long time, awaiting opportunity and leisure to preface them by a REPORT of the work itself; but such an opportunity or leisure never came, and we are now compelled to send them forth as they are for your inspection and approval.' (Annual Report, 1871–72: 1)

'About 100 persons are engaged in the various branches of the work, of whom 24 are paid, the remaining 76 are voluntary. Can *you* not help, dear Christian reader, in this blessed Work?' (Annual Report, 1871–72: 5)

This request for volunteers was proposed on the basis that it was not simply fulfilling an obligation to society but also fulfilling a Christian duty (Koven, 2004: 58, 100–101; Lynch, 2016: 4). A little further on, Barnardo made this sense of duty and its association with Christian beliefs, even more explicit by instructing readers to remember the following:

(1)   That the work is the Lord's, not ours.

(2)   That He cares for its well-being infinitely more than we do

(3)   That He sends forth no soldier to war at His own charges

(4)   That All- yea, ALL His promises are "Yea and Amen in Christ Jesus.

(Annual Report, 1871–72: 5)

Barnardo's would often appeal to supporters to pray for the work of the charity to ensure its ongoing success, but these early annual reports frequently made requests of a more tangible nature. The reports would include extensive detail on the practice of donating to the Homes. It was explained to the readership that gifts of even the smallest sum would be answered with a paper receipt; an important exchange for establishing a connection with their supporters. In addition, to protect the privacy of the donor, their name and address would remain concealed, although the organisation had a system of private acknowledgement whereby each published donation was numbered to match the receipt (see **Figure 4.1**). Although supporters were encouraged to donate to the organisation's 'General Purposes' fund, they were regularly requested to contribute to funds relating to more specific areas of the charity's work: these

included, the 'Free Dinner Table', the 'Relief of the Poor' and the 'Building fund' amongst many others. It might be argued that this targeting of relief at specific areas of work not only allowed patrons the opportunity to be selective in their giving but also helped to establish bonds of intimacy with the work of the charity. For example, by allowing individuals to donate to the development of a particular building (for example, new cottages at the Girls' Village Home) or to offer relief to the poor in times of particular stress (which, as Koven 2004 notes, was a practice that was of considerable concern to the Charitable Organisations Society).

LIST OF DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING 1871-2, FOR GENERAL PURPOSES OF MISSION,

And ACKNOWLEDGED PRIVATELY *to Donors at the time by letters containing* NUMBERED RECEIPTS.

1871.	Rec. No.	£ s. d.	1871.	Rec. No.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
April 1	5A	10 0 0	April 11	81A	1 0 0	
" 2	6	2 16 0	" 16	82	0 10 0	
" 5	8	20 0 0	" 16	83	1 0 0	
" 6	12	1 0 6	" 16	84	0 10 0	
" 6	13	0 8 0	" 16	85	0 2 6	
" 6	14	10 0 0	" 17	86	8 0 0	
" 6	15	1 0 0	" 17	87	2 0 0	
" 6	16	0 15 0	" 20	89	1 0 0	
" 7	18	0 10 0	" 24	90	1 0 0	
" 10	23	2 0 0	" 25	92	0 10 0	
" 10	26	0 5 0	" 25	95	1 0 0	
" 10	27	0 3 6	" 26	97	0 10 0	
" 10	28	25 0 0	" 27	98	2 1 4	
" 12	29	5 0 0	" 27	99	0 10 0	
" 12	31	0 1 6	" 30	102	0 10 0	
" 13	32	0 10 0	" 31	103	3 0 0	
" 18	35	7 0 0	June 2	105	1 0 0	
" 18	39	0 10 0	" 2	106	0 10 0	
" 18	40	0 10 0	" 3	109	5 0 0	
" 19	41	1 0 0	" 5	111	1 1 0	
" 19	42	0 10 0	" 6	112	5 0 0	
" 20	47	1 0 0	" 8	114	10 0 0	
" 25	48	1 0 3	" 9	115	2 0 0	
" 18	51	0 5 0	" 12	117	0 10 0	
" 27	52	5 0 0	" 13	119	0 10 0	
" 27	53	1 10 0	" 13	120	0 15 0	
" 27	54	3 0 0	" 15	122	1 0 0	
" 22	55	2 0 0	" 20	127	0 10 0	
May 1	57	20 0 0	" 20	128	0 5 0	
" 1	58	0 5 0	" 21	129	1 0 0	
" 1	59	0 5 0	" 22	132	0 10 0	
" 2	61	1 18 6	" 22	133	0 5 0	
" 2	62	0 5 0	" 22	135	0 1 0	
" 4	63	2 9 0	" 23	137	0 2 0	
" 8	64	2 0 0	" 27	138	1 1 0	
" 8	66	5 0 0	" 30	141	10 0 0	
April 30	67	1 0 0	" 30	142	2 0 0	
May 5	68	2 0 0	" 30	144	1 0 0	
" 2	71	0 5 0	July 5	162	2 0 0	
" 3	72	0 10 0	" 5	163	0 11 0	
" 4	73	0 2 6	" 5	164	0 10 0	
" 4	74	0 5 0	" 5	165	0 5 0	
" 5	75	0 5 0	" 5	167	5 0 0	
" 5	76	1 0 0	" 4	172	1 0 0	
" 5	77	1 0 0	" 6	174	0 10 0	
" 5	78	1 0 0	" 6	179	0 10 0	
" 10	79	1 0 0	" 7	182	5 0 0	
" 11	80	1 0 0	" 8	185	5 0 0	

Figure 4.1: List of donations for the 'general purposes' fund (Annual Report, 1871–1872: 9)

The above figure is only a single page from a table which spans ten pages presenting the annual donations for the general fund for the charity as a way of publicly acknowledging the sheer volume of financial gifts. This style of reporting, which was common practice in many such organisations in the nineteenth century, not only encouraged further donation but helped to reassure readers of the institutional capacity of Barnardo's at a time when questions were being raised about the misappropriation of public funds, including at Barnardo's (Wagner, 1977). Nonetheless, by the mid-1870s this practice of listing individual donations was discontinued no doubt due to the growing number of supporters and amount of space in the annual reports that the tables took up. In their place, the organisation adopted a more concise representational format which appeared to mirror accounting practices but which still allowed supporters to see exactly where the donated money was being spent (see **Figure 4.2**):

Figure 4.2: Summary of donations for 1874–5 in the revised format (Annual Report, 1874–75)

Outside of the monetary donations that Barnardo's attracted, their supporters were also encouraged to give even more tangible items such as clothing and books. This practice, which is clearly demonstrated in **Figure 4.3**, appears to mirror the work of other Christian missionaries operating in the East End. As Behlmer (1998) notes, for example, home visitors, including the Ladies National Association for the Diffusion of Sanitary Knowledge, or Ladies Sanitary Association for short, (LSA; established in London, 1857), had begun to provide guidance on all aspects of domestic sanitation and this included the material items necessary for the healthy development of a child. A pamphlet produced by the LSA entitled 'How to

manage a baby' (1862), claimed that a healthy infant by definition would be one who was supplied with a basic wardrobe that included '[a]t least four frocks, six shirts, two flannel petticoats, two pilches [diaper covers], and twelve napkins' (cited in Behlmer, 1998: 58). Clearly, such a wardrobe was well beyond the means of many of the working class and destitute women who were visited; however, the pamphlets distributed by the Ladies Sanitary Association were highly influential and the items identified were certainly very similar to those donated to Barnardo's. Indeed, the single page taken from a four-page table demonstrates the abundance of clothes and garments, ranging from socks, shirts, scarfs, jackets, mittens, caps, waistcoats, vests, petticoats etcetera.

GIFTS OF PROVISIONS, CLOTHING, BOOKS,
ETC., ETC.,
TOWARDS THE HOME OR GENERAL WORK.

1871.—Nov. 3rd. Mrs. S——, Uppingham, 10 shirts, 12 pots preserve, 15 lbs. beef dripping, hamper of hot-house grapes. 4th. M. R——, parcel of old clothing. 7th. Sir C. R——, Marlborough, 7 rabbits and 1 hare. 13th. J. B——, St. Leonards, hamper containing old boots and clothes. 18th. Mrs. F——, Dundee, 35 pairs of boys' socks. 20th. Miss D——, Dover, 12 shirts with texts sewn on wrists. Miss M. and F. M——, Monmouth, 12 waistcoats, 9 pairs cuffs, 36 scarfs, 1 shirt. Miss A. B——, Monmouth, 1 scarf, 1 pair mittens, for the little boy Hayes. Miss R——, 30 pairs of socks, 12 cravats. 21st. Miss Mary M——, Monimail House, 14 pairs of socks, 1 old shirt, 1 pair of old boots, 10 articles of left-off clothes. 22nd. Miss C——, Norwich, 1 jacket, 9 pairs stockings, 2 girls' dresses, several bodices, and oddments. J. G——, Dalkirk, 1 suit of left-off clothes, 1 coat and vest, 5 pairs trousers, 3 coats, 3 vests, 2 top coats, 6 pairs socks, 5 pairs boots and shoes, 3 pairs slippers, 1 2-lb. bottle of sweets. 25th. Mrs. S——, Highbury, 11 small shirts, 10 small jackets. Mrs. M——, Bayswater, 3 flannel petticoats, 1 flannel shirt, 5 pairs of socks.

Dec. 2nd. Miss M——, Bromley, 12 scarfs. 5th. Two Friends, per Messrs. W. B——, 4 tons of coals. 6th. Miss G——, Edinburgh, 16 chemises, 6 pairs socks, 1 pair knickerbockers, 2 flannel shirts, 1 child's petticoat, 1 cap, 8 shirts, &c. &c. Miss M——, Bromley, 7 shirts, 6 dozen handkerchiefs, 2 pairs mittens, 4 coats, 2 vests, 2 pairs trousers, 2 pairs knickerbockers, 1 scarf, 1 pair gloves. Miss S——, Kensington, 6 flannel petticoats, 3 chemises, 4 pairs mittens, 4 jackets, 1 dress, 1 flannel under-garment. 8th. A gentleman in India, per Messrs. Morgan and Scott, 5,000 gospel leaves for distribution. 9th. Miss S——, Edinburgh, 2 dozen pairs worsted socks, 4 coats, 3 pairs trousers, 1 vest. 13th. Miss M. M——, 250 copies "Step to Reading," unbound. A lady, per Messrs. Morgan and Scott, 2,000 copies "A New Year's Gift," for distribution. Miss M. F. M——, Newport, Monmouth, 7 waistcoats, 7 shirts, 7 pairs socks, 20 scotch caps, 12

Figure 4.3: Gifts of clothing and other items to the Homes (Annual Report, 1871—1872)

As noted, the suggestion here is that by publishing in detail the gifts and donations received by the organisation an attempt was made to promote a common bond with present and potential future supporters. This is perhaps more tangible in the practice of using the annual reports to encourage visitors to the Homes. For example, the reports alerted supporters to the visiting hours of the Boys Home in Stepney, which was open on weekdays after 2.30pm and to the

possibility of arranging a meeting with Dr Barnardo himself who was available from 3.30pm to 6.00pm or via special appointment arranged in writing. Of course, it is likely that these notifications were, at least in part, intended as a response to concerns with Barnardo's child removal practices and to appease the parents of children who wished to visit (see Murdoch, 2006). However, as Felix Driver (1990) and Seth Koven (2004) have argued, by the mid-nineteenth century the 'philanthropic tour' had become a social duty, especially for well-to-do reformers and 'respectable' members of society. Therefore, it might also be argued that by highlighting their open door policy, the organisation was attempting to further align itself with the sense of social responsibility and duty felt by its donating public; and, to a great extent this practice appeared to work. Over the course of the 1870s, as the organisation's finances grew, construction began on a host of major developments (see **Figure 4.4**): including the Boys' Home, Stepney (1870), the Edinburgh Castle Coffee Palace (1872), the Girls' Village Home, Barkingside (1876) and the Medical Mission, Shadwell (1878) (see also Annual Reports, 1871–72; 1876–77; Barnardo, 1889; *Night & Day*, 1879: 1–4).

Names of Homes and Branches.	Situation.	Date acquired.	Object.
Ragged Schools, . .	Hope Place, Limehouse, E.	Mar.1867,	For the education of the poor children of the district and mission-work.
Shoeblack Brigade, .	Branch of the Limehouse Shoeblack Brigade.	1868,	To educate and give employment to destitute lads.
Woodchopping Brigade,	Rhodeswell Wharf, E.	1868,	To give employment to destitute lads.
Boys' Home, . . .	18 Stepney Causeway, E.	Dec. 1870,	To provide a home for destitute lads.
City Messengers' Brigade,	Do., .	1870,	For the employment of destitute lads.
Salmon's Lane Ragged Schools.	Salmon's Lane, E., .	1870,	For the education of the children of the poor.
Tract and Pure Literature Depot.	2 North Street, Limehouse.	1871,	For the distribution of pure literature.
Edinburgh Castle Church,	Rhodeswell Road, Limehouse, E.	1872,	Mission Church.
Edinburgh Castle Coffee Palace.	Do., .	1872,	To provide good, wholesome, cheap food with attractive surroundings.
Home for Destitute Girls, given on lease by Mr. John Sands.	Mossford Lodge, Barkingside, Ilford.	1874,	To provide a home for destitute girls.
Open-All-Night Shelter,	10 Stepney Causeway, E.	1874,	For the first reception of destitute children at any hour of the night.
Receiving House, . .	Church House, Bow Road, E.	1874,	Receiving House for destitute girls.
Burdett Hall, . .	Burdett Road, E., .	1875,	For mission work.
Free Day and Sunday Schools.	Copperfield Road, E.	1875,	To educate and train the children of the poor.

Names of Homes and Branches.	Situation.	Date acquired.	Object.
'Union Jack' Shoeblack Brigade.	Mitre Court, Lime-house, E.	Affiliated 1875.	To provide employment for destitute lads.
Dublin Castle Coffee Palace and Mission Hall.	Mile End Road, E.,	1875,	Evangelical services and meet-ings and refreshment tem-perance house.
Edinburgh Castle Cab-men's Shelter.	Corner of Burdett and Bow Roads.	1876,	To provide a shelter for cab-men.
Girls' Village Home, .	Barkingside, Essex,	1876,	To provide small homes on the family principle for destitute girls.
Factory Girls' Club and Institute.	St. Thomas Street, E.	1876,	To provide healthy amuse-ment and spiritual help to factory girls.
Deaconess House, . .	Oliver Terrace, Bow Road. .	1877,	To train ladies to visit and minister to the poor and sick.
Infirmary, . . .	19 Stepney Cause-way, E.	1877,	For the treatment of sick children.
Convalescent Home. (The gift of a lady at Tunbridge Wells.)	Crowborough near Tunbridge Wells.	1877,	For sick children recovering from illness.
Medical Mission, . .	Ratcliffe Highway, E.	1878,	For the relief of the suffering and the giving of spiritual advice.
Home for Little Boys. (The gift of Mr. M'Neill.)	'Teighmore,' near Gorey, Jersey.	1879,	For destitute little boys, par-ticularly of delicate health.
Gloucester Place Mission Hall.	Salmon's Lane, E.,	1880,	For Gospel services, etc.
Young Workmen's Hotel and Institute.	212 Burdett Road, E.	1882,	To provide a lodging for young workmen.
Labour House, . .	626 Commercial Road.	1882,	To provide a home and work for young men with a view to emigration.
St. Ann's Gospel Hall, .	Edinburgh Castle, Limehouse, E.	1883,	In connection with the Edin-burgh Castle Church for overflow meetings, Sunday Schools, etc.
Distributing Home for Girls. (Loaned by Mr. and Mrs. George Cox.)	'Hazelbrae, Peter-boro', Ontario, Canada.	1883,	Resident Home and Distri-buting Centre for girl emigrants.

Figure 4.4: Major building developments up to 1880 (S. Barnardo & Marchant, 1907: 386–7)

108

As this brief foray into the detail of the reports suggests, there is a clear sense in which the organisation used them to position their work within the context of evangelical Christian beliefs. However, the reports did much more than this. In contrast to many other of his evangelical brethren, Dr Barnardo also used the annual reports to actively promote his work and to seek monetary and other material forms of support for it. News of the latest developments of the organisation's work became increasingly detailed by the mid-1870s and this was clearly aimed to keep supporters informed as well as to encourage the flow of gifts and donations. It might be argued, that the Annual Reports functioned to embed the organisation in the psyche of its largely evangelical readership. The extensive publication of financial gifts and provisions, the requests for voluntary assistance, as well as the promotion of public visits to the Homes or with Barnardo himself reveal an organisation which promoted 'mutual partnership' and 'fellowship' as well as a sense of openness, honesty and transparency. However, as the reputation of the organisation grew, Barnardo's introduced their own periodical magazine *Night & Day* and it is to the very different discourse of this communication outlet that the chapter now turns.

4.3 A TALE OF LOCALISED POVERTY AND DESTITUTION

As noted in the introduction, *Night & Day* was first published in 1877 and provided its readership with monthly news and updates relating to the organisation's work. The periodical also provided a new platform from which Barnardo's could preach the gospel of child removal and rescue as well as alert its audience to the need for other strategies of amelioration (see Driver, 1988; Holman, 1986). Although the organisation would go on to establish several outlets for their promotional work, including as previously mentioned *Ups and Downs*, it is *Night & Day* that remained the organisation's most significant and widely distributed form of

communication; even if it was not its most financially rewarding (see Wagner, 1977). Given this, the following section focuses explicitly on the discourse of *Night & Day*, here from the 1870s to the end of the 1880s, which was a period when Barnardo's was expanding its work across the capital city. More specifically, it is concerned with the ways in which Barnardo's recirculated widely held 'truths' about the East End which were employed to justify the charity's removal of children from destitute and working class homes.

4.3.1 Placing the urban problem

This close inter-relationship between the urban problem and child removal as the solution, was apparent right from the outset. As the following passage from the first edition of *Night & Day* identifies, there were numerous factors that Barnardo saw as contributing to destitution amongst children and young people in London.

> But the steady increase of population, the vicissitudes of trade among the lower classes, the imperfections of our parochial system, the consequences of intemperance, criminality, improvidence, and the desertion of their offspring by real or reputed parents, with a combination of other causes too numerous to mention – causes it would be futile to hope are capable of being at once completely and radically removed – will always bring on the streets of our large cities numbers of children who cannot be reached by the provisions of the Reformatory and Industrial Acts. These children constitute a class by themselves, and need the intervention of *preventative* measures, if they are not to develop into profligates and criminals. (*Night & Day*, 1877: 3)

110

In the emphasising overcrowding, the cyclical decline in the economy, as well as the immoral and unsanitary practices of the poor and the abandonment of children by their parents, Barnardo was, of course, merely repeating the discourse of many social reformers of the day (see Wohl, 1983). Importantly, *Night & Day* provided the vehicle for the organisation to do this.

Barnardo's was not the only voice that the readership would encounter in *Night & Day*, which regularly employed the accounts of others to reinforce its moral environmentalist discourse as well as its message of hope and salvation. Investigatory reports detailing the condition of the East End environment were frequently included in the early editions of the periodical, with Frederick Greenwood's investigation into the immoral practices taking place in London's workhouses a particularly significant example. As Koven (2004) has demonstrated, the investigatory reports that Greenwood ran in his fledgling newspaper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, were an almost instant hit with the public both at home and abroad and certainly contributed to the newspaper's success. And while Barnardo avoided the more salacious side of the investigation, which concerned itself with what were regarded as the immoral sexual practices of the men and boys in the workhouse dormitories (see Koven, 2004), extracts from them were used to reinforce an image of the East End as an environment within which disease and moral corruption would almost inevitably spread. As the following passage from one of the articles, published in *Night & Day* under the title 'London Rookeries' illustrates:

> Many of these alleys are long, gloomy, cavernous passages, four feet in width at most, covered over in great part, and winding about and splitting off into branches in the most perplexing manner. (*Night & Day*, 1878: 115)

This is an environment that was presented as chaotic and disordered, with 'half a dozen factories' some of 'monster establishment', furnishing the landscape. The residences of the poor are pictured with their monotonous 'dead walls', the monotony now and again broken up with 'iron-bound' doors likened to a prison:

> The walls are dilapidated and the windows are patched and shattered, while a network of strong beams is interposed horizontally to keep them from tumbling into one another. (*Night & Day*, 1878: 115)

The decaying surroundings and their precarious nature appeared to mirror the lives of their young inhabitants, with the children described as 'urchin', 'unwashed', 'unkempt' and 'almost unclothed' as they dodge the entrapment of authoritative figures in the form of the school board officer or policeman. These were environments that not only bred anti-social behaviour and crime, but fuelled the specific problem of juvenile delinquency. In the words of Barnardo's, this environment was imagined as a 'London criminal laboratory' (*Night & Day*, 1878: 115).

Accounts of the children in the public space of the street and slum were commonplace in the periodical. For example, 'A Street Arab's World', published in 1878, reported on the daily patterns of life for children and young people in London's slums. Similarly to the above, the story suggests life on the streets is organised around petty crime, gambling and drinking, where young life has been corrupted by 'evil association' and decaying, disordered, immoral surroundings (see Boucher, 2014; Koven, 2004, 89; Murdoch, 2006: 23). The space of the street determines the child's daily pattern of existence, and 'the fortune of the street regulates his flow and depression of spirits' (*Night & Day*, 1878: 75). Through constant contact with, and immersion in, these environments the child was believed to come to mirror and reflect its

moral geography of sin and vice helping to justify the remedy of immediate removal (Driver, 1988). The streets and other spaces of the slum that the children were reported to inhabit are further condemned due to the ill-effects of miasmas: a 'noxious atmosphere' was believed to endanger the lives of the young and their living quarters, reported to be 'a narrow room in a crowded court', were seen to further exacerbate these conditions (*Night & Day*, 1878: 75).

But the account also played off the public's fear of young street gangs. As Davin (1996) has argued the middle classes perceived the spread and influence of these street gangs as a threat to their own children who may succumb to their behaviours and take to the public space of the street (see also Billinge, 1996). Middle-class beliefs and values centred around the private space of the home only served to fuel this spatial divide. The adult space of the street stood for danger and disorder, while the home and domesticity offered a sanctum and stability (Behlmer, 1998, 21–24; Murdoch, 2006: 44–45; Shore, 1999). Part of a wider debate on the consequences of there being little or no distinction between public and private in the lives of the urban poor, critics stated that spaces such as lodging-houses, workhouses and even the cramped, overcrowded homes of the poor, meant people were dangerously exposed to environmental consequences and the harmful external influences of the urban industrial order such as sewers, drains and filth from the public street. Furthermore, these spaces also exposed children to immorality, vice and crime through contact with a criminal class and dangerous social 'types;' a seemingly chaotic and disordered adult world far removed from the imagined values of the safety and security of the domesticity of the middle-class home (see Behlmer, 1998, 21–24; Murdoch, 2006: 46–48).

Drawing on ideas from an emergent social science movement, and especially early sociological studies into class differentiation and social stratification, reports circulated in *Night & Day* also

sought to identify different groups amongst the urban poor. Perhaps acting as a technological tool for observing, governing and justifying intervening into urban life (see Driver, 1988; Joyce, 2003), it is probably more likely that this level of discussion was a device for demonstrating the organisation's blend of social scientific and sentimental approach to charitable work (Koven, 2004). For example, referring to speeches made by Dr Barnardo and Lord Cairns at Barnardo's Annual Meeting of 1881, the periodical points to the different 'types' of children admitted into the charity. Based on their observations of 3,300 children who had passed through Barnardo's doors between 1869 and 1881, the two men identified four main categories. The first and most prominent class of children were those understood to be utterly destitute, admitted from the streets and specifically lodging houses. The second were children of widows of the poorest class, 'bravely fighting a losing battle with honest poverty, or orphans for whom nothing remains but the workhouse, and, in the case of girls especially, we feel we are acting a right part in standing between them and the workhouse' (*Night & Day,* 1881: 89). Where the first two categories could be cast as 'deserving poor', whose relief could not be viewed as 'indiscriminate', the third class of children were those presented as being beyond the touch of the school board or other 'State Machinery' and on the brink of 'idle and dissolute lives'. When set alongside the fourth class, who made up the smallest number and were those who had fallen into criminality, there seems little justification for their receiving charitable support. Yet, focusing on these children presented Barnardo's with the opportunity to remind its evangelical readership that salvation was possible for all, albeit with the help of providential intervention (*Night & Day,* 1881: 88–89).

Outside of this fairly limited attempt to classify the children by type, and the opportunity it allowed for highlighting the possibility of salvation even under the most trying of circumstances, the narrative suggests that some spaces within the urban environment were

considered more dangerous and morally deviant that others. The common lodging house was considered one of those spaces and attracted much in the way of debate, concern and legislation. As early as the 1850s, with the introduction of the Common Lodging Houses Acts of 1851 and 1853, such spaces were brought under greater regulatory control with the Acts seeking to introduce a system of registration and sanitary inspection (Hamlett, 2015: 4); this legislation was reinforced with the 1875 Public Health Act (Murdoch, 2006). However, even after the introduction of a legislative framework, the lodging house represented a spatial manifestation of immorality, disease and deviance and was cast as no place for a child. As Murdoch (2006: 47) has argued, the lodging house 'became the typical representation of urban living conditions for poor children before their institutionalisation.' These spaces, she suggests, were framed as sexually deviant, populated by pimps and prostitutes, where 'inmates of all ages and of both sexes were crowded [together]' (*Night & Day*, 1977: 11). Barnardo's further imagined the chaotic, disordered world of the lodging house as a 'school of vice,' instilling children with the corruption of an adult world: 'boys and girls who, as pupils in a terrible school of vice, would go forth to prey on the world, and to become the street pests and street curses of this generation.' (*Night & Day*, 1877: 11)

These spaces were believed to catalyse social mixing, where children would be in the company of the criminal classes, prostitutes and other social types considered to be deviant; 'Evil association' was the term which came to encapsulate this fear for Barnardo:

I know not which are the worst 'overcrowding' is the horror of one. "Evil association" is the doom of the other. In some of these places it is not too much to say virtue outraged daily-decency is impossible and innocence droops its head, sickens and dies. From one

room I recently rescued 2 children – in it 8 persons, lived, slept. (Barnardo's Notebook, 1885: 122–123)

Barnardo's concern for the moral corruption of these spaces has been extensively discussed (see Hamlett, 2015; Koven, 2004; Murdoch, 2006), but is worth drawing attention to here in part because of the association that is also made to the health and hygiene of the residents of lodging houses. As *Night & Day* reported, '[l]ife has been known to become extinct in the heavily poisoned atmosphere of the lodging-house' (*Night & Day,* 1877: 11). From sanitary reformers to government investigators, novelists and writers of household manuals, there was a collective belief that when too many bodies were packed in to too small a space, the atmosphere would become impure and potentially lethal (Mosley, 2003: 4). A decade earlier a Medical Officer of Health for Lewisham in South East London wrote:

The decomposition of air by human beings in a close room soon deteriorates the atmosphere, and renders it unfit for oxidizing and purifying blood. (Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Lewisham, 1867: 4)

The environmental concern for a lack of air and deterioration of atmosphere in confined spaces was echoed in further debates and statistics. For example, another medical officer, this time in the Whitechapel district, surveyed 22 registered common lodging houses and found that out of the 158 rooms contained in them there were 890 beds and that over a third of the rooms were 'overcrowded' (Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Whitechapel, 1876: 10). These accounts of the interior spaces of the lodging house illustrate the vulnerability and susceptibility of children to a space collectively defined through representations of death, disease and immorality: '"Inmates" of all ages and sexes crowded together without order in rooms

"swarming with vermin, and made pestiferous with the accumulated filth of years' (*Night & Day*, 1877: 11; see **Figure 4.5**)

Figure 4.5: 'The kitchen of a common lodging-house,' engraving from *Night & Day* (1877: 115)

These accounts imagine the lodging house as a space that was diseased and decayed, covered with filth and vermin. However, a scene of chaos and disorder through social mixing and exposure is also imagined, where children are inappropriately exposed to an adult world. Closely echoing Dore's *London a Pilgrimage* (1872), the above engraving's portrayal of the young and the elderly show them to be emaciated, bound together in their weak and frail appearances (see Koven, 2004: 80–81). A young boy is depicted cosying up to a 'shady' character, while a noose hangs above the heads of the two boys at the centre-left of the image no doubt symbolising their impending premature deaths. It is probably no mistake that the

entire scene is set in the kitchen; a nod to the disordered unhygienic arrangements of these spaces. This imagined interior of the lodging house is emblematic of the urban nightmare where there appears to be no social distinction or social stability. Rather, the environment plays host to disease and disorder, far removed from the ordered, stable, hierarchical setting of the imagined middle-class home (Hamlett, 2015).

A world turned upside down and open to external influences, this representation aimed to arrest the attention of a concerned and shocked middle-class audience (Murdoch, 2006: 47). Murdoch has argued that the number of children present in these spaces was in reality a lot lower than depicted. However, due to the notoriety of the lodging house within public debate, Barnardo's appropriated it as a tool to promote intervention and child removal:

> What would have been saved the nation in robberies, taxes, and shame had the children
> of former years been rescued in the name of Christ, and then disciplined into orderly
> citizens and useful servants. (*Night & Day,* 1877: 11)

In the closing words of one account, the problem of lodging houses were beginning to be linked to a broader set of issues relating efficiency of the nation, justifying intervention through removal and the transformation of a potential criminal class into a productive class of 'useful and orderly' citizens.

Although there were some implicit links made to the broader contexts of the nation, these problem districts and the specific problem sites associated with them, such as the lodging house, were still part of debates framed at a scalar level that were confined largely to the

Capital. This is reflected in the geographical spread of the Barnardo organisation in the early

1880s, as illustrated in **Figure 4.6**:

COMPLETE LIST OF THE SEVERAL INSTITUTIONS
KNOWN AS
"DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES."

HOME FOR WORKING AND DESTITUTE LADS,
18, 20, 22, 24, & 26, Stepney Causeway, E.

TEMPORARY ORPHAN HOME,
10, Stepney Causeway, E.

VILLAGE HOME FOR ORPHAN, NEGLECTED, AND DESTITUTE GIRLS,
Barking Side, Ilford, Essex.

RECEIVING TOWN HOUSE FOR GIRLS,
Church House, Bow, E.

FACTORY GIRLS' CLUB AND INSTITUTE,
Hogarth Wharf, Limehouse, E.

ST. ANN'S GOSPEL HALL,
Edinboro' Road, Burdett Road, E.

OFFICE OF CITY MESSENGER BRIGADE,
18, Stepney Causeway, E.

FREE RAGGED DAY AND SUNDAY SCHOOLS.
Copperfield Road, Limehouse, E.

WOODCHOPPING BRIGADE,
Rhodeswell Wharf, Carr Street, Limehouse, E.

NEW BRANCH RAGGED SCHOOLS,
Salmon's Lane, Limehouse, E.

MISSION HALL AND COFFEE PALACE, "THE EDINBURGH CASTLE,"
St. Paul's Road, Limehouse, E.

UNION JACK SHOEBLACK BRIGADE.
Mitre Court, Three Colt Street, Limehouse, E.

BURDETT ROAD MISSION HALL,
Burdett Road, E.

"DUBLIN CASTLE" COFFEE PALACE,
Mile End Road, near Cambridge Heath Road, E.

INFIRMARY FOR SICK CHILDREN,
19, Stepney Causeway, E.

EVANGELICAL DEACONESSES' HOUSE,
1, Oliver's Terrace, Bow Road, E.

"EDINBURGH CASTLE" CABMEN'S SHELTER,
Burdett Road, E.

EAST-END MEDICAL MISSION INSTITUTE,
224, High Street, Shadwell, E.

COUNTRY HOME FOR LITTLE BOYS,
Teighmore, Gorey, Jersey.

All Communications should be addressed to the Honorary Director,
at the Office, 18 to 26, Stepney Causeway, London, E.

Figure 4.6: List of all Barnardo-run homes and branches in 1881 (Annual Report, 1880-1881)

Apart from two branches in the list, the Girls' Village Home and Teighmore Home for Little Boys, every other Barnardo operation at this time was situated in London's easterly districts. Although a year later Barnardo's would begin to officially, yet gingerly, emigrate children in small groups, the scale of their work was still to a large degree confined to (mainly East) London and the South-East, the latter being the chief geographical focus of 'boarding out schemes (see Chapter 7). The next section will explore the organisation as it spread across London in order to aid the adult poor, an element of their work which has received little attention from previous academic writing on Barnardo's (Koven, 2004; Murdoch, 2006; Wagner, 1977).

4.3.2 Expansion through London-based branches

Across London, the organisation established branches which also dealt with the adult poor in impoverished inner-city districts in the East End and eventually beyond. During the 1870s, two coffee houses were opened by the charity (see **Figure 4.7**). In 1872, Barnardo's bought the Edinburgh Castle, a former gin palace on Rhodeswell Road, Limehouse and transformed the building into a coffee house and mission church accommodating around 3,000 people (Annual Report, 1872–1873). On the 5th February 1876, the Dublin Castle at 39–41 Mile End Road was opened which served as both a coffee house for working men and a mission hall (*Night & Day*, 1877: 14). Referring to the opening of the Edinburgh Castle in 1872, the Annual Report reported to its readership that:

> '[…] the centre of demoralising influences has been taken and occupied by Christ. The giant strong drink has been dethroned from its seat there; and as a band of workers and

believers we continue to speak out plainly and forcibly concerning the havoc occasioned yearly through this awful social sin.' (Annual Report, 1871–1872: 4)

In total £110 was donated by supporters during 1871–1872 to complete the conversion of this building to prevent the facilitation of alcohol consumption and reverse this 'awful social sin' (Annual Report, 1871–1872). The coffee houses were promoted on the basis that they would support the wider cause of the temperance movement, provide an alternative healthier substitute to public houses and gin palaces and set a positive example in 'problem' districts (see Beckingham, 2010; 2012; Harrison, 1994): Strategically located they acted to:

> […] counter attractions to the public house […] intended to meet the natural desire working men feel for association, where conversation can be enjoyed and a friend without the disadvantages and dangers of the public house. (Annual Report, 1883–1884: 37)

These spaces were for predominately for a working male population, fundamentally those classified as 'deserving', a segment of the population 'from the humble ranks of life, who were not drunkards' but had 'ordinary, natural cravings' for society and socialising but had no alternative to the public house or the overcrowded confines of their own homes (*Night & Day,* 1877: 13).
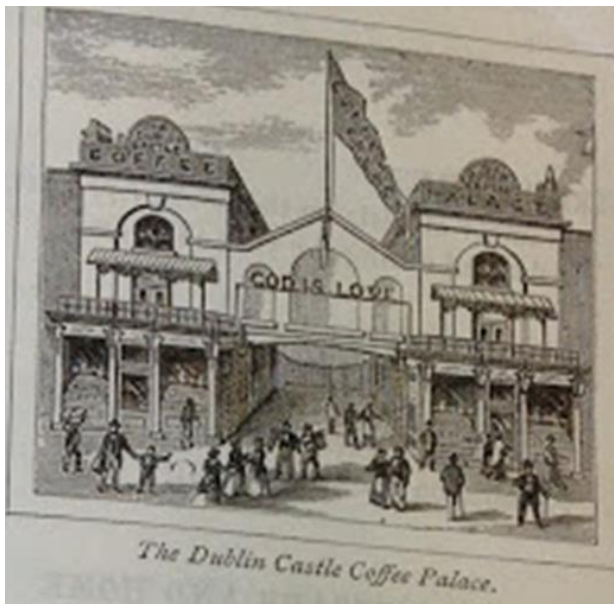
Figure 4.7: The Dublin and Edinburgh Castle Coffee Palaces (Annual Report, 1879-1880: 21; Annual Report, 1883-1884: 37)

The 'Coffee Palace system' referred to by Dr Barnardo in an article on the Dublin Castle detailed how the establishment offered a selection of 'harmless drinks' such as tea, cocoa and coffee as well as daily papers and other sources of 'rational information and recreation' all in a 'snug,' well-lit interior (*Night & Day*, 1877: 14; Annual Report, 1883–1884: 37). Details regarding the cost, profit and expenditure of the Dublin Castle were also published in the same article written by Barnardo and even the average amount of coffee sold per day (65 gallons) was listed, following a trend to be willingly transparent about their operations particularly when supporters had been instrumental in their funding. Barnardo revealed his expansive vision at the close of this article with intentions to take the palace model, costing around £2000, to other districts of the metropolis if enough support were to be generated. The coffee houses tapped into broader cultural movements of temperance but also into the concern for promoting rational recreation amongst the urban poor (Billinge, 1996). Support was gained by the readers to expand this ameliorative project across the capital on the basis of improving the physical and moral condition of the working male population. In accordance with projects to improve the condition of the urban population within their own localities, Barnardo's promoted another intervention; the medical mission.

Opened in 1879 on Ratcliff Highway, Shadwell, the Medical Mission Hall was primarily aimed at adults and acted as a preventative strategy to address the needs of the body and soul of poor East End adults through both medical attendance and religious instruction. Viewed as a longer term attempt to aid parents to sobriety and good health making them fit to raise a family, the location of the Medical Mission Hall in the centre of Shadwell sought to counter the ill-effects of its local surroundings providing doctor appointments, a medical dispensary, sermons and prayers as well as in-home support and after-care offered by female deaconesses: 'it need

hardly be said, that disease is terribly rife in a population where toil and privation, overcrowding, and bad sanitation are the rule and not the exception.'(Night & Day 1879: 63)

The detrimental impact of these environmental influences, characterised by a network of overcrowded, closely-packed houses and alleyways, produced a population weakened by disease. That in turn justified this intervention within the locality. The depravity of the area is also reported on – again here in an Annual Report – to showcase the courage of the deaconesses who resided and worked at the mission:

> But I will only add that while disturbances, fights, and drunken quarrels are not common even during the day, it is in the night time chiefly that these disgraceful scenes generally occur, and the inhabitants are constantly roused from their peaceful slumbers by fearful fights, accompanied by yells and oaths too horrible to be described. (Annual Report, 1880–1881: 25)

Framing the environment as a space which breeds immorality and violence supported the presence of the mission, which acted as a preventative measure to assist the local population with medical assistance and religious guidance:

> The Medical Mission, No. 224, High Street, at Shadwell, is within earshot of the once notorious and still disreputable Ratcliff Highway. The bulk of the population of the district is of the casual labourer and seafaring class—shifty, therefore, and exceedingly poor. None of the streets are over-sanitary, and some of the slums and courts and alleys were until quite lately veritable death-traps. Even now these are not conspicuous by their salubrity. Ruinous buildings and constant overcrowding carried their usual

concomitants—a high death-rate and a great liability to disease. Surely this district furnished the best of all fields for a Medical Mission! (Barnardo, 1889: 225).

Shadwell's proximity to the docks was believed to make it a vulnerable district characterised by the movements, flows and networks of many different people who passed through and converged in a nexus of activity manifesting itself through unemployment and disease. The population largely associated with this environment is believed to be made up of 'casual labourer' and the 'seafaring class' described as 'shifty' due to their status of being 'exceedingly poor'. It seems the description is indicating the group's potential for criminal activity. The 'high death rate', 'liability to disease' and the indication of immorality and sin through the social types described effectively argues the case for an ameliorative intervention that could address the physical, moral and spiritual symptoms of this district: 'surely this district furnished the best of all fields for a Medical Mission'. Both the coffee palaces and the medical mission were promoted on the basis that they were remedying local problems with locally-based interventions and by framing these areas as problem districts were able to justify their ameliorative strategies and gather the necessary support.

By the late 1880s, Barnardo's continued to expand its empire across the Capital by opening Barnardo-regulated lodging houses or 'Night Shelters' set up to accommodate young girls and prostitutes. The first two shelters were opened in the East End in the autumn of 1888 as a direct response to the Whitechapel murders and, more widely, as a reaction to the public debate concerning the presence of vulnerable social groups such as women and children in common lodging-houses (Barnardo, 1889; *Night & Day,* 1890). The two shelters were opened in the heart of the 'murder district' located on 47 Flower and Dean Street, Spitalfields, and the second on Dock Street, Leman Street, Whitechapel. Barnardo's publication, *Something Attempted!*

Something Done! (1889) expressed concern for the children who lived within the 'lodging-house district':

> A succession of street murders, under horrible circumstances, focused attention, not of London and England only, but of the civilised world, upon Whitechapel lanes and alleys. To this day the criminal has remained undiscovered. (Barnardo, 1889: 147)

The above passage refers to the modern phenomenon of the international media frenzy surrounding the murders (see Walkowitz, 1992: 191–192). Dr Barnardo framed the savage nature of the murders in stark contrast to a civilised society. The streets of Whitechapel were now globally recognised as a dangerous labyrinth of lanes and alleys which posed a threat to civilised progress (see Marriott, 2008). Barnardo continued by employing the metaphor of the metropolis as a diseased body which required diagnosis and effective treatment in the form of intervention:

> 'To apply the remedy, it is necessary first to diagnose the disease; and, in the present instance, the diagnosis evoked peculiar sympathy for the children condemned to live amongst such environments.' (Barnardo, 1889: 147)

Whitechapel is therefore understood as a morally diseased district but more worryingly, according to Barnardo, is the presence of children who reside in this environment. The language of illness and disease and its spatial organisation became metaphors for problematising the urban population during this period and has resonance with much political debate and within the literature of social commentators (Osborne and Rose, 1999). Reproduced on pages 147–149 of *Something Attempted! Something Done!* (1889) a letter from Barnardo to

the editor of *The Times*, which concerns a change in legislation regarding the presence of children in common lodging houses, begins by arguing that as a result of the 'Whitechapel Horrors' many voices have sprung up suggesting numerous different schemes to remedy the social conditions of the district. Barnardo proposed in the letter a scheme to counter this problem in the form of night shelters or lodging houses, closely regulated and only accommodating young women and children. In his rallying prose, he makes claims that the saddest feature of the common lodging houses in these districts is that many of their inmates are children, growing up in these 'abodes of poverty and of crime' (Barnardo, 1889: 147).

> We want to make it illegal for the keepers of licensed lodging-houses, to which adults resort, to admit young children upon any pretext whatever. (Barnardo, 1889: 148)

During the murder spree Barnardo visited the common lodging houses of Bethnal Green and Whitechapel. He reported that he felt the fear of the women for their own children, especially when visiting the 32 Flower and Dean Street lodging house where Elizabeth Stride, one of the Ripper's victims, had lived. Barnardo claims he had met her on this visit where he proposed his scheme of night shelters and legislation for keeping children out of common lodging houses. According to the report, most of the women were said to have agreed with the scheme. The letter continues by emphasising the degenerative effects of lodging houses on children:

> In all the wretched dens where such unhappy creatures live are to be found hundreds, if not thousands, of poor children who breathe from their very birth an atmosphere fatal to all goodness. They are so heavily handicapped at the start in the race of life that the future is to most of them absolutely hopeless. They are continually surrounded by

127

influences so vile that decency is outraged and virtue becomes impossible. (Barnardo, 1889: 148)

The children who dwell in these 'wretched dens' and breathe in an atmosphere that inhibits both moral and physical wellbeing, are presented as not being certain of a future unless they are completely removed from these environments. However, Barnardo closes the letter with a sense of optimism, creating a mood for action and change:

Surely the awful revelations consequent upon the recent tragedies should stir the whole community up to action and to the resolve to deliver the children of today, who will be the men and women of tomorrow, from so evil an environment. (Barnardo, 1889: 148)

The final passage is a call for change through intervention, regulation and the removal of children from these environments. It is debatable whether Barnardo did in fact speak with the victims of the Ripper Murders but regardless of the truth, it reveals the opportunistic manner in which the organisation would continue to operate. The letter was a fundraising ploy that fed off the anxiety generated by the murders in order to forward the charity's own agenda of intervention in the form of night shelters. More broadly it needs to be understood as part of the ongoing campaign to remove children from spaces considered immoral and dangerous, unsuited to safeguarding their improvement and well-being.

As Barnardo's extended its work across the Capital, the promotional literature effectively problematized local environments and social types in order to justify its expansion and intervention. However, by the close of the 1880s, their physical expansion was gaining ground beyond London. Child emigration was gaining acceptance, a system of boarding-out had been

established and 'Ever-Open door' shelters were opening across the nation. A response to broader questions of national and imperial survival, the organisation tapped into these scaled up discourses and discussion in order to justify this expansion and generate the support necessary to fund a philanthropic mission on this scale.

4.4 MEETING THE NEEDS OF A NATION

As early as 1878, there is evidence that Dr Barnardo was personally visiting the provinces to promote the work of the charity:

> The Director reported the result of his visit to Scotland and the North of England during which he held a number of meetings on behalf of the institutions and collected about £220. He reported that much interest had been excited in the institutions and a warm welcome received everywhere. (*Council Committee Minutes*, October 1878: 41)

Earlier in the same year Barnardo had travelled to Ireland and visited Dublin, Belfast, Armagh and Derry. He claimed that the objective of these trips was to raise the profile of his work while encouraging financial support through subscription (he also received £56 in voluntary donations during his tour of Ireland, *Council Committee Minutes,* March 1878: 23). Throughout the 1880s Dr Barnardo continued to embark on these and his personal notes offer some insight into how he viewed this work – almost as a missionary endeavour, rooted within his own Christian beliefs and part of a wider evangelical effort at awakening a social conscience:

> Thank God – a quickened public conscience today – a result of revived spiritual life in all the Churches – is asking how with an insistence which has no parallel in previous

times, not merely 'who is my neighbour?' but 'who is my poor neighbour?' The answer, I admit, is coming home to us in discoveries which first shock us and then rouse us to Holy action and resolve. (Dr Barnardo personal notebook, 1892: 142)

As Beckingham (2013) has argued in his work on Victorian and Edwardian child protection, philanthropists and reformers like Barnardo had to find ways to bridge social divides and appeal to the middle and upper classes by overcoming both the imaginative and physical distance between rich and poor. Dr Barnardo constructed a discourse which linked neglected children to an uncertain future for all; child poverty was not just a problem for the poor and its consequences reached well beyond the slums of East London (Beckingham, 2013). Interventions to 'rescue' and protect neglected children were thus justified in relation to the well-being of the broader social body. But, as Beckingham (2013, 140) emphasises, such discourses also framed territorial responses to child poverty, which involved the 'scaling up and scaling out' of different forms of protection and welfare, as activities were extended from town to town and from local to national and, eventually, to imperial scales. This final section of the chapter builds on Beckingham's argument about the scalar politics of child protection, exploring how Barnardo's drew creatively and opportunistically on popular debates and discursive tropes to generate support from potential donors, legitimate the removal of children from the problem environment of the city and justify its own territorial and scalar institutional expansion. It emphasises the 'moral geographies' that underpinned Barnardo's response to the 'urban problem' and the charity's continued expansion, especially in the 1880s and 1890s:
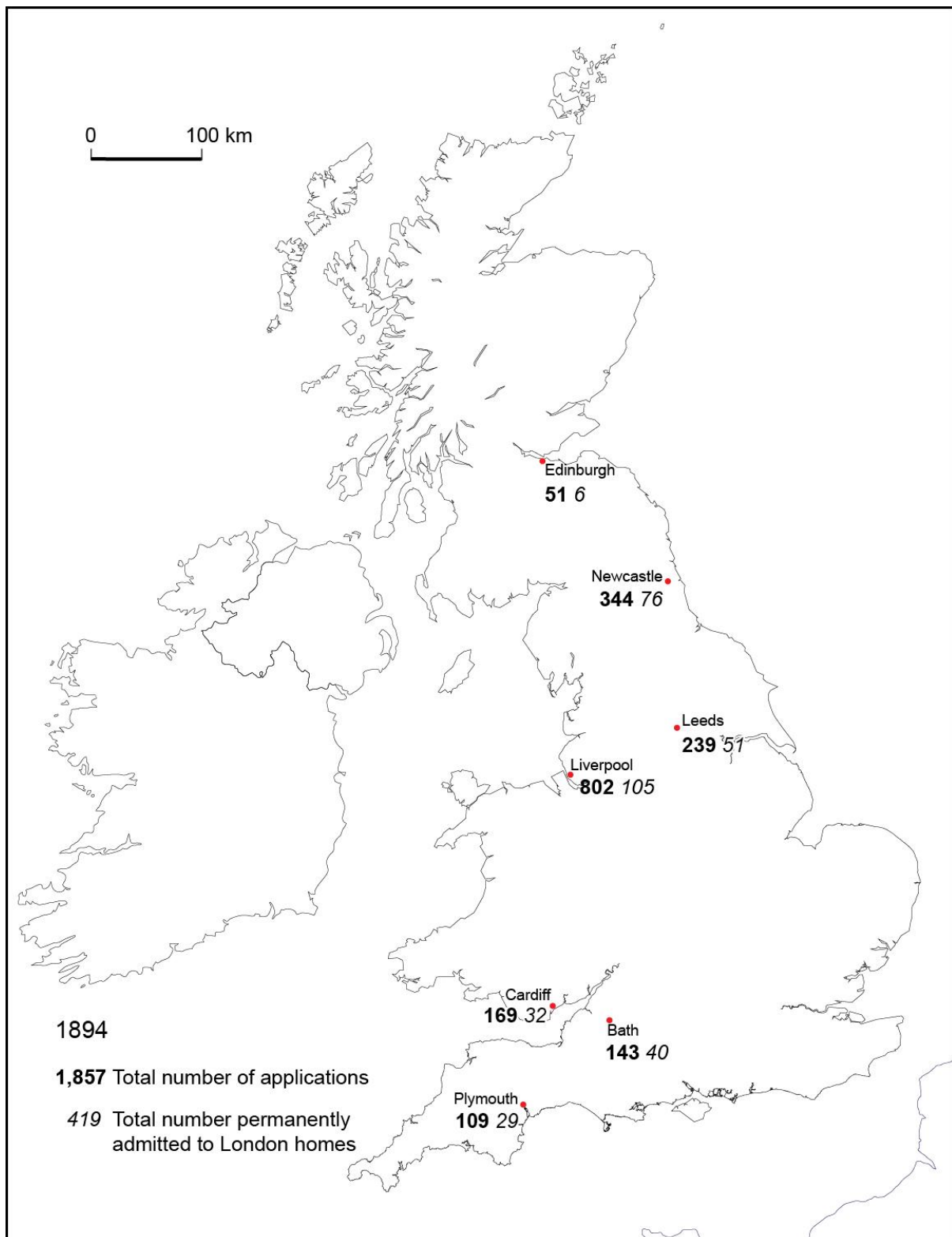
Figure 4.8: The Geographical Expansion of Barnardo's through their 'Ever-Open Door' Shelters, 1894 (Annual Report, 1894: 38)
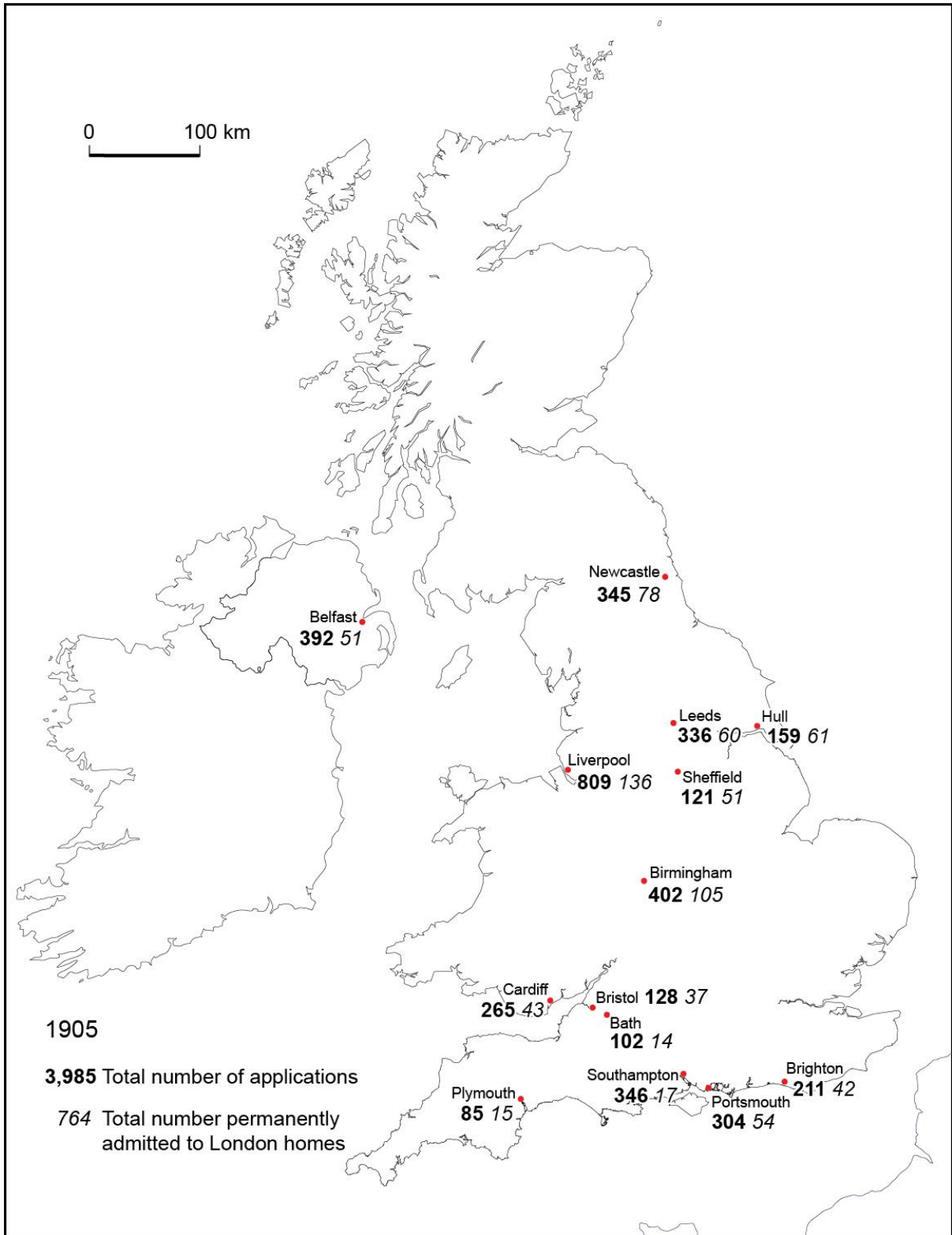
Figure 4.9: The Geographical Expansion of Barnardo's through their 'Ever-Open Door' Shelters, 1905 (Annual Report, 1905: 27)

By the dawn of the 1890s Barnardo's operations had indeed undergone a scalar transformation, sweeping up destitute children through admission to their expanding provincial as well as metropolitan Ever-Open Doors branches (see **Figure 4.8** & **4.9**); relocating children from urban to rural residential settings via an extensive boarding-out scheme; and emigrating young people to start new lives in the colonies on an almost industrial scale (see Chapter 7 for more detailed discussion of theses aspects of institutional expansion). In order to fund this scaling up and scaling out of the institution (see **Figure 4.8** & **4.9)**, Barnardo's had to generate an accompanying discourse that would stimulate charitable donations. Indeed, just as the institution itself was engaged in territorial expansion, so too was there are 'scaling up' of the discourse, so that the problem of child poverty came to be presented as an issue central to national vitality and imperial success. This is not to say that up until this point, the charity had not used a nation-building rhetoric in its promotional work, but by the 1880s, due to broader political, social and economic debates and concerns surrounding the future of Britain and its empire, this discourse was more explicitly drawn upon to justify its work. Consistent with this discourse, Barnardo's presented itself as an institution that aimed to produce well-rounded, mentally and physically sound citizens who would politically and socially conform, and who would be committed to their future occupations (see Aalen, 1989; Driver, 2001; Stedman-Jones, 1971; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). As the final section of this chapter will explore, this meant tapping into and partially constructing a debate which framed pauperism and child poverty as an issue that affected the entire stability and future of nation and empire (Stedman-Jones, 1971: Swain and Hillel, 2010).

A focus on one small but significant part of the charity's growing network of homes, training premises and educational institutions – the Labour House for Destitute Youths, located at 622-626 Commercial Road in Limehouse and opened in 1881 – can help to illuminate how

Barnardo's adopted this discourse. The home was located in an impoverished district of East London, close to the docks as illustrated by the ships masts in the background of an engraving of the House published in *Ups and Downs* in 1895 (see **Figure 4.9**).
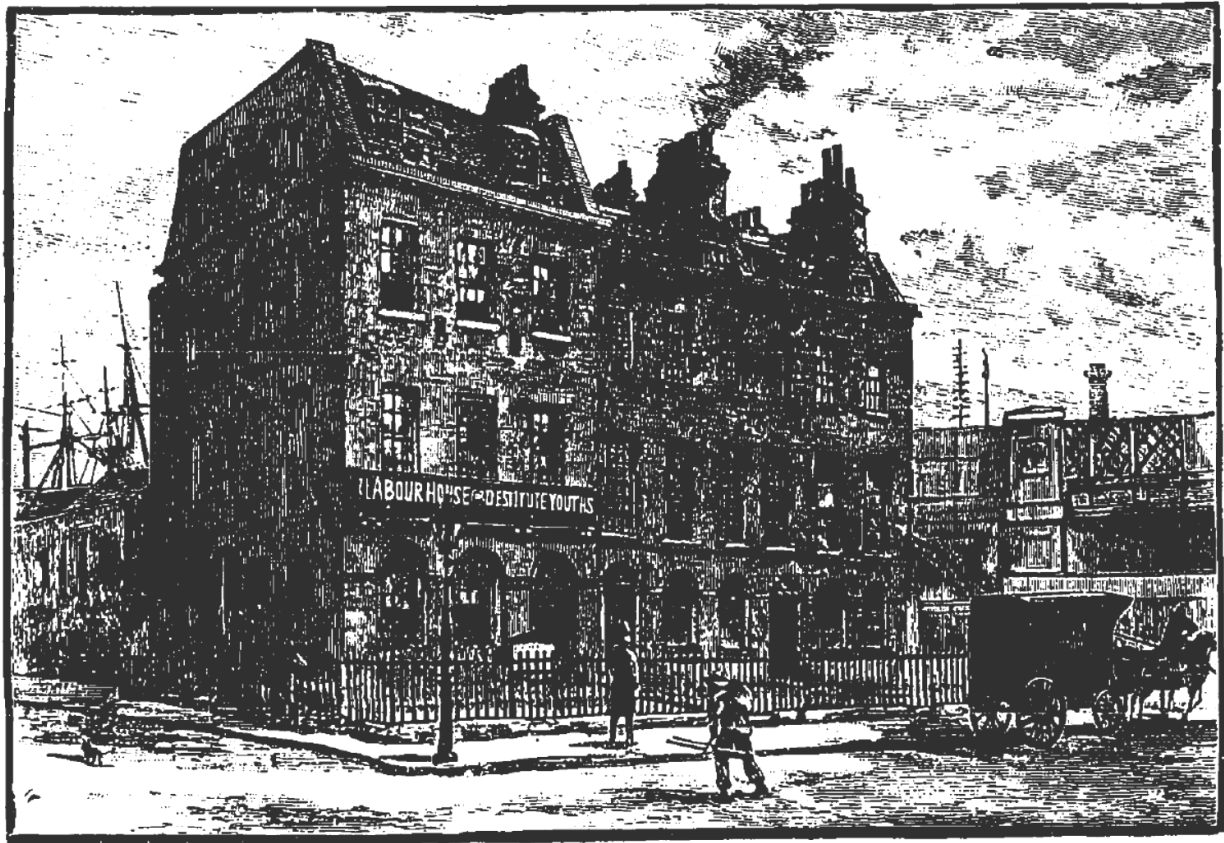
YOUTHS' LABOUR HOUSE, COMMERCIAL ROAD, LONDON, E.

Figure: 4.10: Youths' Labour House, Commercial Road, London, E. (*Ups and Downs*, 1895 vol. 1)

Accommodating up to 200 males aged between 17 and 20 (but sometimes as old as 22) the home was designed to 'test the character' of 'young lads' by providing them with a rigorous programme of work and training. After six to eight months residence at the home, those who had passed the test were sent forth to a new life in Canada. The home was specifically for 'youths', rather than younger children, and catered in particular for casual dock labourers, who

were considered to be on brink of 'idle and dissolute lives', or those who were 'practically vagrants, homeless and destitute' (Barnardo appearing before Poor Law Schools Committee, 1896: 353), offering them a final opportunity to transform themselves through the disciplines of labour and, ultimately, the promise of migration. Indeed, Barnardo emphasised the threat posed by inaction, suggesting that 'the lines of character in these young men, without home, friends, or work, are rapidly hardening into fixity' (Barnardo, 1889: 62).

As noted above, an evangelical belief in the potential for salvation of even the most destitute and morally deviant was a feature of Barnardo's Christian rhetoric, particularly in the early years of the charity's promotional work. The Youths' Labour House offered a route to 'Honesty, Industry, Sobriety, Godliness' (Barnardo, 1889: 62). But by the late 1880s this was not solely being presented as a means of achieving Christian salvation; it addressed wider political anxieties about the future of the nation. Barnardo (1889: 62) quoted the eighteenth-century French philosopher Mirabeau in suggesting 'states are made and unmade … by the citizens under 25, thus emphasising to readers the potential importance of the Youths' Labour House in securing the transformation of that generation of young men deemed to be critical to the future of the nation. Here we see at work a biopolitical rationale, aimed at improving the condition of wider social body and the vitality of the nation (cf Foucault, 1985). Indeed, Dr Barnardo pressed the urgency of this task, explaining that 'all effective moulding for life-work *must, in London, be done before 20 or 21*' (Barnardo, 1889: 62, his emphasis). The home is therefore presented as an institution that admits young men at a vulnerable or pivotal stage in their lives – the so-called 'drifter' class 'whose existence is a standing menace to civilisation' (Barnardo, 1889: 61) – and attempts to transform them into self-governing, well-rounded citizens.

These sorts of arguments were being deployed widely at this time. A key proponent of such ideas was the social imperialist Lord Reginald Brabazon, 12th Earl of Meath, who had close associations with Barnardo's. As president of the charity, he used his address at the 1888 Annual Meeting to argue for the importance of saving and nurturing the nation's children. In a somewhat stark deployment of this rhetoric he told his audience (and readers of *Night & Day*, where the address was later reprinted) that, 'if we do not bring up our children well, England is lost' (Brabazon quoted in *Night & Day*, 1888: 78). Firmly embedded in the discourse of national efficiency, Brabazon's comments tapped into the child rescue narrative, or what Murdoch (2006) has since labelled the 'parental failure discourse', which justified the removal of a child from its parents on the grounds of its protection. On this topic he was keen to compare Britain to other nations, by assessing the extent to which different states were willing to intervene to override parental claims in order to address problems of child poverty and neglect, that in turn threatened the stability and productivity of nation states. Drawing from the experience of his recent visit to the United States, he claimed that in New York greater attention was paid to the children 'thrown by their parents upon the street,' or who were simply neglected, abandoned or abused:

> Now I see in the State of New York that is not allowed. In 1884 an Act was passed by which, if a person chose to throw the expense of maintaining his or her child or children upon the State or the public, he or she was bound to give up all the rights of the parents, and the child then becomes a ward of the State, and cannot be taken back by the father or mother. (Brabazon quoted in *Night & Day*, 1888: 79).

Indeed, Brabazon, like Barnardo's, publicly campaigned for the legislative power to 'protect' children, often by removing them from the care of their parent(s) and placing them into

institutional settings (see Holman, 1986; Koven, 2004; Murdoch, 2006). He inevitably saw a key role for Barnardo's in this process and advocated the model and standard of care that the charity offered through its homes and institutions. He presented this removal and institutional reformation as critical to producing an industrious working class which could improve the nation's economic performance and enable the efficient reproduction of 'race' and empire. Indeed, his speech arguably marks an important shift in the rhetoric of the institution, emphasising a new collective moral vision where the removal and sustained separation of poor children from their former lives is promoted as fundamental to securing a prosperous future for nation and empire (Beckingham, 2013: 6-10; Murdoch, 2006).

As signalled above, territorial expansion of the institution went hand-in-hand with this vision. By the late 1880s and early 1890s, Barnardo had extended the charity's work to other UK cities and provincial towns through their Ever-Open Doors shelters designed to temporarily accommodate children who required immediate assistance, with the more destitute cases being admitted into the permanent care of the charity (see Ash 2016). In 1891 Barnardo's could boast of having shelters in Bath, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle, and Plymouth. Between 1891 and 1894, 1,814 children and young people had applied to the shelters with 419 gaining permanent admission to one of the organisation's principal London homes (Annual Report, 1894: 38).

The geographical expansion of the charity did however present some challenges, partly because it had been so London-centric. The scaling up of the discourse was not a straightforward task, when the urban problem to which the charity initially responded, was frequently seen as distinctly metropolitan. Dr Barnardo's personal notebook offers some interesting insights into how he drew upon both religious and secular moral ideals to address critics and pique interest

in his child welfare schemes as he travelled around the UK. 'But some may say, as some have said', wrote Barnardo while visiting Bournemouth in 1891, 'why do you come to <u>us</u> – London is rich enough to care for its own poor; why Bournemouth? When I hear such objections gravely urged I think of that time-old question asked by Him who is with us today – who then was neighbour to him who fell among thieves? (Dr Barnardo's Personal Notebook, 1891: 94, his underlining). In this instance Barnardo refers to the well-known parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:35), in order to cast provincial support of the metropolitan poor as an essential Christian duty (although Bournemouth was a town which contained an Ever-Open Door centre). The notes prepared for an address in Bath on the 22nd March, 1892 offered a more secular rationale for supporting his charity based upon developing and maintaining a civilised society:

> One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the widespread and increasing interest in the condition of the poor, and especially in the <u>children</u> of the poor. It was the saying of a <u>wise man</u> the surest test of the degree of civilisation which any nation or community has reached is its attitude towards the children … Thank God then that our thoughts are enlivened towards the <u>children</u> so long neglected; for only within the past 50 years has any adequate attempt been made to deal with them justly and wisely. (Dr Barnardo's Personal Notebook, 1892: 41, his underlining)

Again Barnardo presents the condition and welfare of children as a matter of national concern and reputation. This is a sentiment repeated in a speech made in Sunderland, at the other end of the country, in May 1895. Here, Barnardo dismisses provincial criticism by appealing to ideas of national collectivism and the common interest:

Consider myself happy in this magnificent meeting to plead the cause of the 'Children of the Streets.' It is evident the citizens of Sunderland do not share the feeling which has sometimes led people in our own great provincial centres to object to such gatherings and to such appeals. 'Cannot London support its own poor—why come to us for aid?' is sometimes asked. I have come prepared to reply conclusively to that objection if it were offered. But I like to strike a <u>higher</u> note <u>nationally</u>, all parts of this great empire one. (Barnardo, 1895: 119)

By the mid-1890s, the charity's reach had grown further. Out of the 2,628 children admitted to the homes, 1,675 (63%) came from outside of London and represented 47 different counties from across the UK (Annual Report, 1896: 16). Children boarded-out to rural foster homes amounted to 1,458 and spread across 130 centres and 678 were emigrated to Canada in 1896 alone (Annual Report, 1905: 29; see also Chapter 7).

To support this expansion Barnardo's rhetoric certainly tapped into broad debates about national efficiency, the vitality of the population, and the future of empire, by positioning children at the heart of such concerns. However, the promotional work of the charity also engaged with, and responded to, other, more specific, representations of the 'urban problem' – often themselves framed within wider discourses of national vitality – in order to maximise the public response to its own campaigns. As Susan Ash (2016) has recently demonstrated, Dr Barnardo was something of a creative promoter and showman, rather good at harnessing images and narratives to promote an emotional engagement, financial support and collective response to child poverty. His own discursive strategies took many forms, from appropriation and emulation of other narratives to their critique and dismissal, often in combination.

In 1890, fellow East End philanthropist and evangelical Christian William Booth, who founded the Salvation Army, published *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890). It caused a major stir by explicitly drawing parallels between the savagery of 'darkest Africa' and the immorality of the London slums and the urban poor (Driver, 2001: 170). The account imagined poverty on a new scale, one which brought into question the stability of the entire race, nation and empire (Stedman Jones, 1971). The book followed a trend in the writings of social imperialists and commentators from the 1880s (See Driver 2001: chapter 8), but Barnardo's response to the publication was generally mixed to negative. He published a somewhat dismissive review of the book in *Night & Day*:

> We confess that after a conscientious and careful examination of the book we are dissatisfied with its figures, unconvinced by its arguments, and more deeply persuaded than we know how to express that the hopes upon which the scheme is really built are utterly fallacious and misleading. (Barnardo, 1890: 212).

Along with what Barnardo claimed to be a fabrication of figures and an unfair, degrading portrayal of the poor, his main critique was that the book ignored the legacy of philanthropic interventionist work undertaken in the East End long before 1890, including, unsurprisingly, the activities of his own organisation. Similar to Mearns' earlier portrayal of this district, any existing ameliorative interventions had been purposely omitted so as to add to an exaggerated sense of the East End as desolate and without help, so that Booth's own schemes could be promoted as a route to moral and spiritual reformation, that would alleviate poverty and restore social order. In response to what Barnardo calls a 'dangerous omission of the facts', he attempts to fill the gaps himself and rewrites the philanthropic history of the East End, starting with the formation of 'The Marine Society,' established in 1756, before chronologically listing

influential charitable organisations active in the area all the way up until 1890 (*Night & Day,* 1890: 212). His own organisation is, of course, positioned as an influential body in this history of East End philanthropy.

Barnardo and Booth had several well-documented encounters (see Wagner, 1977: 57–58, 92) and would have no doubt have been familiar with one another's approach and rhetoric. Understanding the power of publication, Barnardo admitted that Booth's work had been useful in raising public awareness, and directing attention to the work of philanthropists, which is most likely why he would often employ 'Boothian' discourse in some of his own writing and speeches. He used Booth's rhetoric and tone as a device to frame the urban problem and to gain support and followers. In the years that followed the publication of Booth's book, there were frequent references to his work, most of which were far from subtle. In an account of the 'Annual Supper for Waif Children' held at the Edinburgh Castle on 7th January 1891, Barnardo describes the children coming in from the 'shadows of Darkest England' (*Night & Day,* 1891: 21). Barnardo also makes regular use of the Booth's idea of the, 'Submerged Tenth'. This referred to the supposed fraction of the population permanently living in poverty. For example, when promoting the case for the Night Shelters in Whitechapel Barnardo explains that:

> The admission here is free, and because these "sad clients" belong to the "submerged tenth," the price of 3d. or 4d. required at most common lodging houses is simply too expensive. (Barnardo, 1890: 202)

By employing these familiar and popular terms, Barnardo could tap into a rhetoric his readers were well acquainted with, pricking the middle-class conscience, and riding on the sense of shock and fear that many felt after reading *In Darkest England* (Driver, 2001). Ideas were also

adopted from Booth's writings on the categorisation of the urban poor. Again, the notes drafted for the speeches made by Barnardo in his fundraising tour of provincial towns and cities demonstrate this. For example, in his Bournemouth speech notes from 1891, he talks of the 'scheme proposed for dealing with the various subdivisions of that class in a comprehensible manner'. 'It must be remembered,' he continued 'that the abject poor are divided into two classes; 1st Respectable-Industrious, decent but unfortunate poor, and the 2nd Vicious-Drunken, Criminal & Degraded poor' (Dr Barnardo's Personal Notebook, 1891: 84). There is perhaps an echo here too of the work of William Booth's namesake, Charles Booth, who had categorised the poor in similar ways in his famous poverty maps. What is clear here is that Barnardo upheld the common distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor, even if his charity claimed to not discriminate by offering an 'ever open door' to poor children regardless of the perceived circumstances of their poverty.

However, the feature of Booth's writings which truly captured the imagination of its middle-class audience, was his racialisation of the urban poor, and the imagery which drew parallels between London and 'darkest Africa'. As well as a play on the title, Booth evoked much of the same imagery found in Henry Morton Stanley's, *In Darkest Africa,* an account of his expedition across the Africa, often referred to in this period as the 'Dark Continent' (See McLaughlin, 2000). After 1890, there are multiple instances in *Night & Day* of where Barnardo explicitly mimics Stanley and Booth's colonial imagery:

> The world not long ago held its breath while Stanley told the story of his Pygmies in Darkest Africa. I wonder will anyone be interested while I set forth the story of a pair of my Pygmies from Darkest England. (Dr Barnardo's Personal Notebook, 1891: 3)

An extract from Barnardo's personal notebook reveals further interaction with these colonial images, but evokes a deeper underlying concern in the form of racial degeneration:

> Face to face with beings of a new order – living almost in darkness – degraded but wonderful to relate – endowed with all potentialities and gifts that distinguish men from brutes … In our great cities dark jungles, as inimical to life as was that dark and awful forest described by Stanley. I have lived therein for 26 years and I too have found pigmies. Often degraded and in darkness but oh so capable of higher and better. (Dr Barnardo's Personal Notebook, 1896: 35)

Due to the obvious similarities with well-known passages from *Darkest England,* it seems these might have been playful, satirical borrowings. As Driver (2001: 175–79) has noted, for a few years after Booth's publication, the content, language and imagery prompted many ironic and satirical responses, often mocking the Salvation's Army's high form of sensationalism and overzealous, military-style street manoeuvres which came to represent a parody on the 'Christian way of salvation' (Driver, 2001: 177). Booth, an autocratic but often charismatic and emotional leader, was transformed into a caricature of a sensational showman; a figure of ridicule rather than respect – a position that Barnardo himself would not have been unfamiliar with (see Driver, 2001: 176). But despite this, the appropriation of such distinctive and instantly recognisable imagery would probably have made a significant impact on provincial audiences, who would have been well aware of Booth's book, but less cognisant of its critique and mocking pardoy by the Metropolitan intelligentsia. Thus, use of a discourse that adopted a racialized imperial language to describe processes of urban degeneration that threatened the stability and progress of the nation – and, at the same time proffered the empire as a 'way out'

of Darkest England – made absolute sense for an organisation seeking to 'scale up' and 'scale out' its operations.

The concept of racial degeneration was at the core of this debate which connected the 'urban problem' with the future vitality of nation and empire. The Social Darwinist belief that the urban poor were devolving in both their mental and physical state, or simply wasting away, was seen as a major hindrance to national efficiency (Aalen, 1989; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). By the 1890s, when this theory had gained widespread traction and support, articles within *Night & Day* regularly tapped into the fear generated by Social Darwinism to promote the charity's schemes. Children are increasingly presented in racialized ways, which included reference to their 'blackened' or 'darkened' complexions, as if they were being consumed by their surroundings, and 'regressing' to become like the 'savages' of an imagined African jungle in both their appearance and behaviour:

> "THEIR physical condition beggared description. Clad only in foetid rags, worn to skeletons, hollowed and shrivelled, they looked more like monkeys than human beings." (*Night & Day,* 1895: 5)

The reference to children resembling monkeys and hence that they may in fact be 'devolving' aligns with this Social Darwinist rhetoric. Although Barnardo had likened children to animals in other areas of his promotional literature prior to the 1890s, when describing them in this instance as 'monkeys', it appears to have a deeper implicit political and racial resonance due to these wider debates that were happening at this time. Drawing upon these debates to highlight the context of his charitable work was a rhetorical strategy to justify removal of children from the 'degenerative' environment of the city. Indeed, while keen to invoke the

spectre of racial degeneration, Barnardo's narratives are ultimately optimistic about the potential to reform and transform the children of the poor by lifting them from their urban surroundings and placing them in the restorative environments of children's homes, countryside foster homes and the empire:

"Often degraded and in darkness but oh so capable of higher and better" (Dr Barnardo's Personal Notebook, 1896: 35)

'Degraded' children would find salvation through removal and develop into sound citizens rather than hardened criminals fit for a productive life in Britain and its empire (Holman, 1986; Koven, 2004: Murdoch, 2006). As the organisation grew, so it reached out spatially from the city to the countryside and to new towns and urban centres and across seas to settler colonies. This territorial expansion aligned neatly with debates about racial degeneration and national vitality and imperial decline since Barnardo's could present itself as addressing these fundamental problems.

As in earlier decades, environment continued to figure prominently within the discourses that Barnardo's used to describe its work and appeal for support and funds. Indeed, an unremitting emphasis on the ameliorative potential of exposing children to the right kind of environment, is one reason why it would be wrong to argue that Barnardo believed wholesale in theories of racial degeneration. By the close of the century *fin de siècle* pessimism emphasised the power of heredity and thus the inability of the urban poor to improve their lives. The heredity versus environment debate, as it was often framed, featured prominently in the pages *Night & Day* and had divided public opinion. On this matter Barnardo was clear: 'are we really powerless',

he asked, 'as many have taught, in the face of heredity?" (*Night & Day,* 1902: 175). Later in the article Barnardo answered his own question:

> "Let me, accordingly, at once say that I am strongly of the opinion, from an observation of   thousands of instances, *that there is no inherent tendency in any boy or girl, no matter how descended, or how surrounded, which may not be eradicated, or at least subjugated, under favourable conditions.* In other words, in the fierce context between Heredity and Environment I firmly believe that, all other things being equal, Environment is the more potent force of the two. This is distinctly A MESSAGE OF HOPE FOR THE RACE." (*Night & Day,* 1902: 176)

Barnardo portrayed that the problem of child poverty as far from intractable; racial degeneration was not inevitable and the solution could be found in environmental intervention or child removal strategies which the charity promoted. Thus, by the first decade of the twentieth century, the charity's rhetoric dismissed theories of heredity and disputed Social Darwinist claims:

> "No-one is bound by an iron chain of evolution which will drag him, willy-nilly into the abyss." (*Night & Day,* 1902: 177)

Barnardo reiterated the significance of environment as a cornerstone of the institution's philosophy:

> 'rescue a child early enough, lift them out of their present surroundings, place them in a pure, favourable and healthy environment, let them grow up among Christian

influences, *keep them sufficiently long under all these favourable circumstances*-- their lives will yet run themselves clean and sweet, and the result will be men or women such as one who would hardly imagine possible, if one regarded only their antecedent history.' (*Night & Day*, 1902: 177)

Indeed, throughout the 1890s we can see Dr Barnardo making sense of this position as he prepared notes for his provincial lecture and campaign tour. A recurrent theme, for example, was the idea that children were essentially 'plastic' or mouldable subjects:

New environment more powerful to transform than heredity to taint. It is <u>easiest</u> to help the children. Difficult with adult poor plastic natures. (Dr Barnardo's Personal Notebook, 1892: 134, his underlining)

Plastic may be moulded, Power of environment stronger than heredity. (Dr Barnardo's Personal Notebook, 1896: 86)

This 'plastic' analogy helped to justify practices of child removal and hints at the way that children were regarded as somewhat easier to rescue from poverty and bad habits than their adult parents. It maintained that children had the capacity to become self-governing, self-regulating young citizens provided they were given the right setting to develop these capacities (cf. Joyce, 2003).

4.5 CONCLUSION

A pamphlet entitled *A National Debt* published in 1904, the year before Dr Barnardo's death, captures an organisation which was offering large-scale solutions to large-scale problems. It begins by boasting that the organisation had transformed the lives of 56,252 boys and girls, and during 1904, assisted around 8,000 who resided in their homes and branches. Emphasising the spatial expansion of the charity, it includes a list of all the counties in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland as well as the countries abroad, where the organisation had a presence or from where children in its care had originated.

> Now this great host of Orphan and Wastrel Boys and Girls have been removed from the debit to the credit side of the social ledger; they are contributing to the wealth of the Empire, whether in the Colonies or in the Mother Country! (*A National Debt,* 1904: 1)

Illustrative of another discursive shift, this time responding to the political-economic context of the early Edwardian years, the charity is promoted as an entity that can deliver a 'fiscal' rebalancing of the social ledger and contribute to the generation of wealth at home and abroad. The article was published at a time of national debate and anxiety about public finances, economic efficiency and the threat of imperial decline (especially in the context of competition from other European powers) all of which were brought to a head by the difficult Second Boer War (1899–1902). In a celebratory vein, the charity's work is presented as counteracting these prominent anxieties. Indeed, almost anticipating his death the following year, the pamphlet seeks to articulate the nation's debt to the efforts of Dr Thomas John Barnardo over a life-time's career. This included a royal endorsement from King Edward VII, who helpfully signalled the national impact of the charity's work:

These homes are, I believe, carrying out a work dear to all who wish well to their Country, inasmuch as they have reclaimed thousands of children from the slums, and are still continuing their benevolent labours. We have seen something today of the home-like surroundings, and the excellent training they receive. It must be our great wish that continually increasing success may attend the operations of this beneficent and National work. (*A National Debt,* 1904: 2)

Indeed, the pamphlet does not hold back in its praise for Barnardo, arguing that his contribution to improving the health and welfare of poor children surpassed anything that the state had achieved. A government minister is reported as wishing that a 'Department for the Poor Law Children of the Country' could have been established with Dr Barnardo in charge, while former Prime Minister Lord Salisbury observed that:

The sanitary conditions of all the children under Dr Barnardo's care is something marvellous in contrast with that of those under our local and our State system. (*A National Debt,* 1904: 2)

The pamphlet illustrates the scaling up of the organisation that has been the focus of this chapter. It highlights the rhetorical strategies of an institution that was never shy about promoting itself and which rarely missed the opportunity to engage with popular discourse and debate in order to persuade supporters and donors, or critics and competitors, of the value and significance of its work. Barnardo's claims to be tackling national social problems and contributing to the wealth and vitality of the empire were no doubt lent credibility by the endorsement of senior royals and politicians. Indeed, if, as intended, the pamphlet is meant to be read as a high watermark in the success of the organisation, Barnardo's ability over a period

of almost 40 years to turn a specific urban (metropolitan) problem into a matter of national concern and imperial importance reveals his gifts as an energetic campaigner and, as we would now call him, a 'master of spin' (see Ash 2016). Alongside this 'scaling up' of the discursive framing of the charity's work, the organisation itself – its homes, hospitals, training centres and schools; its systems of care and medical practice; its protocols, procedures and forms of regulation and surveillance; and the personnel that ran the charity – expanded spatially too, reaching across the UK and further afield to the empire (cf Beckingham 2013). The chapters that follow explore this institutional and spatial expansion of Barnardo's, demonstrating in further detail how the charity's understandings of the relationships between environment, poverty and children's health, well-being, and future development, shaped that process.

Chapter 5

Producing Healthy Children:
Managing Disease in the Homes

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The first major outbreak of disease occurred in the Homes in 1879 when scarlet fever, an infectious disease that mainly affects children, spread throughout the Girls' Village Home. The initial infection was reported on the 28th December 1879 and by the end of January 1880, 144 cases had been recorded. By the 17th February 1880, 159 total cases were reported out of the 440 residents on the estate. Despite the scale of the infection, not a single resident or worker at the Village Home died. A government inspector reported that this was the result of the home's sanitary arrangements and the procedures that were in place to respond to an emergency of this size and severity (Annual Report, 1880–1881). On 2nd June 1880, the Annual Meeting held at Exeter Hall reported on the outbreak of scarlet fever. Lord Cairns used his address to reply to apparent complaints and criticisms made about the conditions of the girls' home:

> 'It has been said that the sanitary arrangements to the homes were not efficient; it has been said that the food of the children was not what it ought to have been; and it has been said that sufficient care was not bestowed upon the children.' *(Night & Day,* 1880: 44).

In response, Cairns boasted about the hundred percent survival rate from the severe outbreak of scarlet fever, and to further silence the critics, read aloud a flattering extract from a report

written by Dr Richard Thorne, a Medical Officer of Health, who had inspected the Home after the epidemic had occurred:

> 'Considering the antecedents of the children, their general health has been remarkably good, and examination of the medical report-book shows that the home has been singularly free, not only from the ordinary infectious fevers, but also from those diseases which have been noted to occur in establishments where a large number of children are brought together, a result doubtless, to a great extent, due to the separate cottage accommodation afforded to the inmates.' (*Night & Day,* 1880: 45 taken from the inspector's report).

The cottage layout and separate accommodation for the residents was commended for its sanitary effectiveness, and placed in contrast to the overcrowding and cramped conditions of contemporary institutions such as the workhouse and Barrack School (*Night & Day,* 1878: 2–4). Thorne's report continued providing details of the Village Homes' estate's means of drainage which comprised a depositing-bank and filter-bed, with the effluent fluid from the latter passing into the Barkingside public sewer. The drains for the houses were constructed in a way that avoided any direct contact between the external drainage and the interior of the cottages. Thorne praised the constant clean and high water supply derived from an Artesian well sunk through the London clay and the chalk into the green sand. Disease-prevention was a major preoccupation of the charity and the layout, design and architecture of the Village Home were regarded as a key way that a healthy environment could be maintained. Relating specifically to the sanitary circumstances Thorne stated that:

'In their cottages and in their schools they appear to be free from conditions attendant either upon overcrowding or on filth accumulations which so often characterise places attacked with epidemic disease. They enjoy a regular and wholesome diet, and abundant and wholesome water-supply, their surroundings are typical of cleanliness, and their opportunities for healthy means of exercise and recreation are exceptionally favourable.' *(Night & Day,* 1880: 45, taken from the inspector's report)

Thorne thus commended the sanitary arrangements of the estate for the prevention of death, achieved through the absence of overcrowding and filth and the promotion of a health environment characterised by cleanliness and a good water supply and efficient drainage. Cairns concluded that this official report, written for a public department by a very "competent figure", "will silence once and forever the unfriendly criticisms which were made with regard to these homes." (*Night & Day*, 1880: 45). Dr Richard Thorne later to become Sir Richard Thorne, a notable hygienist. Thorne came to be the Chief Medical Officer for the UK in 1892 and was awarded the CB the same year (Sheard, 2006).

But Thorne was not the only prominent 'expert' voice to praise the environmental conditions of Barnardo homes. The address by Lord Brabazon at the same Annual Meeting of 1880 included his visit with Lady Brabazon to the Girls' Village Home at Ilford. Brabazon stated that he was delighted to see the cleanliness, the happiness depicted on the faces of the children and their health and the decent sanitary arrangements of the estate. The speech also emphasised how Brabazon believed the fast recovery of the institution from its recent outbreak was due to these sanitary arrangements and the careful architectural planning of the site (*Night & Day* 1880: 49). Lord Brabazon was an environmentalist and social imperialist and believed that

good health care was essential in the reproduction of young citizens and was vital to reversing degeneration and securing Britain's future prosperity (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011).

A visitor writing about her trip to the Girls' Village Home divulged additional information on the procedures that were put in place to respond to the scarlet fever outbreak. The village was divided into two halves with the infected in one and the non-infected in the other. The strict separation of the two groups meant that not one child died which, according to *Night and Day* (1881: 14) "speaks well for the healthiness of the place and for the care taken of the children." It also points to the way that those running the Home instituted a range of practices and procedures that were aimed at combatting disease. The layout, architecture and sanitary systems of the Village Home were important in producing a healthy environment, but the response and professional expertise of the staff to deal with an emergency like a scarlet fever outbreak were just as significant in ensuring the welfare of the Home's inhabitants. This chapter will focus on how Barnardo's sought to maintain and improve the health of the children who were under its care, examining how medical knowledge and practice was used and drawn upon to create healthy environments. Free of disease, the charity could then concentrate on the wider social and spiritual reformation of children that it sought to achieve.

The first section of the chapter traces some of the more serious disease outbreaks in the homes to understand how the organisation prepared for and reacted to these epidemics demonstrating that the authoritative rhetoric of the institution (rather than the rhetoric of the anti-institution) was employed as a way of publicly asserting their expertise and control, using this language in the promotional material to reassure the supporters, building a belief in their own responsive practices. It is argued that the outbreaks are framed in increasingly opportunistic ways to raise

money to finance changes and improvements, frequently in order to further 'medicalise' the homes.

The chapter will then examine the extensive medical infrastructure of the Barnardo Homes through a discussion of the key medical staff, many of whom were female, which the organisation employed. It will argue that this was part of a broader professionalization of medical women given senior roles and positions, but it will also argue that this part of a shift towards medicalising and providing round-the-clock care for the increasing numbers of young children being admitted into the homes, part of a broader shift to institutionalise these young inmates with the intention of creating model citizens removed from the perceived social ills of urban environments, parents and relatives (Hamlett, 2015; Yeo, 1996).

The chapter will finally focus on the work and various contributions of Dr Robert Milne who was Chief Medical Officer to the Dr Barnardo Homes for 39 years, exploring both the wider impact and framing of his medical practices which were devised during his time with the organisation (*Young Helpers League Magazine,* 1923: 43). It will argue that Milne's medical practice was influenced by broader debates around citizenship and national efficiency and framed as a reaction to imperial decline around the turn of the century (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011).

5.2 RESPONDING TO DISEASE OUTBREAKS IN HOMES

'Now, about the health of the children, I may mention this; I said only eleven had died out of 1,812. I think that shows a most excellent state of things with regard to the health of these institutions. That rate of mortality is very much below the ordinary rate even

in our healthiest districts, and there is this also to be taken into account—that very many of our children are under the age of five years, and you know that mortality is much greater in children of that age than in those who are older.' (*Night &* Day, 1884: 71).

The passage, lifted from Lord Cairns' opening address at the charity's annual meeting of 1884, was a bold display of the confidence and belief in the health of the homes. However, this speech was given during a period in the organisation's history when the institutions had yet to suffer a fatal epidemic. Although a few large-scale outbreaks had occurred, such as the 1879 scarlet fever epidemic at the Girls' Village Home, the design of the homes along with the way that staff responded to cases of disease had successfully avoided any fatalities. Cairns boasted about the low morality rate and celebrated an institutional environment that he claimed rivalled the 'healthiest districts' of London. He drew special attention to the care of the most vulnerable age group, the under-fives. It was claimed this group that was the most likely to succumb to illness and disease, and required constant care and attention, but that they had also enjoyed a healthy and safe upbringing within the homes. Indeed, by the mid-1880s there was an institutional focus on the very young with particular homes catering for this age group such as the Jersey Boys' Home, Tinies House and the Babies' Castle, as well as the boarding-out scheme crafted to specifically cater for the young and vulnerable (Hitchman, 1966; Wagner, 1977). During 1886–1887 reporting year, 122 children under the age of 6 were admitted and 429 children between the ages of 6 and 12 were admitted into the charity's care. Together they made up almost one third of total admissions for that year (Annual Report, 1886–1887: iv). Cairns speech was written during a period when national child mortality rates were increasingly seen as a barometer for the condition of the England and lowering these rates became a central aim in ensuring the future survival of nation and empire (Shore, 1999; Swain and Hillel, 2010). Barnardo's promoted itself an example of how a healthy, near disease-free environment could

be achieved in a well-governed, highly organised institutional setting. However, less than a year after this speech was made an outbreak of measles did in fact claim the first lives in the history of the organisation. Despite this, when outbreaks of disease did inevitably happen within the homes, their overall impact was curbed, especially in comparison to outbreaks that occurred in other 'welfare institutions, such as the union workhouses. A death rate of 16.4 per 1000 was reported in 1884 at the Mile End workhouse and infirmary (Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Hamlet of Mile End Town: Table VI) compared with death rate of 5.1 per 1000 in Barnardo's homes in 1886–1887 (Annual Report, 1886–1887: iv).

What were the protocols, practices and procedures the organisation had in place to prevent outbreaks of disease or to ensure the survival and healthy recovery of the infected children? Through an examination of a several cases where disease did take hold in Barnardo homes, the argument to this opening section will unfold in three parts. First, it will suggest that over the course of the 1880s and 1890s there was an increasingly organised and well-resourced institutionalised response to the outbreaks of disease in the homes spurred on by the increased intake of younger children, toddlers and babies. Second, it will argue that Barnardo's publicised these incidents using opportunistic rhetoric in order to justify preventative measures and fund the widespread medicalisation of the homes. Finally, it will state that despite the organisation's 'anti-institutional' ethos (noted in earlier chapters and discussed further below), during times of emergency its institutional capabilities were critical in enabling it to effectively respond to the needs of sick (or potentially sick) children.

The first significant case of disease to strike Barnardo's homes, as previously discussed, occurred at the Girls' Village Home in 1879. Scarlet fever swept through the home, in total infecting 159 girls over the course of a few months. However, the institutional practices and

procedures and overall medical infrastructure that were in place helped to prevent any fatalities despite the severity of the epidemic. As highlighted in Thorne's report, a combination of architectural qualities, the sanitary arrangements and the promotion and maintenance of a healthy lifestyle within the everyday contexts of the homes were noted as factors that contributed to the sick children's survival (*Night & Day* 1880: 45). Nonetheless, the actions taken by the staff such as separation and quarantining of the infected curbed the reach and impact of the outbreak (*Night & Day* 1881: 14). The council discussed the various actions undertaken that safeguarded the children and guaranteed their recovery:

'A statement was made as to the measures which had been taken for their treatment and convalescence and for the disinfection of all who were brought in contact with them, a special medical man being in residence whilst engaged temporarily in attendance upon the children. The Director reported that as yet no deaths had occurred and the Committee desired that these should be recorded in the minutes and expressed their deep gratitude to God for this fact.' (*Council Committee Minutes,* pp. 78–80 4:30pm Thursday 5th February 1880 at No. 75 Ethelburga House, Bishopsgate Street, E.L.)

Procedural measures taken included the treatment, removal, convalescence and quarantine or disinfection of those who fell ill and for members of staff or other children who came in to contact with the diseased, thus preventing any further infection and complications. Additionally, 'a special medical man,' most probably Dr Robert Milne who would later become Chief Medical Officer of Health to the homes (discussed later in chapter) was also brought in to oversee the recovery of the home. The thanks given to God for aiding the children's recovery is characteristic of Barnardo's faith (Bebbington, 2005; Noll, 2004). But alongside this divine intervention, it was well recognised that the close observance of a set of protocols and

procedures allowed for an effective and organised response to the outbreak. The success of the Barnardo response came to be known outside of the organisation through acknowledgement and commendation in a report by the Local Government Board the following year:

> 'The prevalence of scarlatina was the subject for inquiry at the Village Home for destitute girls at Barkingside … The disease was usually found to be spread by personal communication and numerous instances came to light of the recklessness of some classes of the population with regard to infection. The outbreak at the Village Home for destitute girls at Barkingside was remarkable as one of large dimensions with absolutely no mortality; for all the 159 children who were attacked (out of a total of 440 residents in the "Homes") made a satisfactory recovery.' (1881 [C.2982] Tenth annual report of the Local Government Board. 1880–81; p. 106)

A well-managed and organised response to the sick body came to characterise the organisation's approach to outbreaks of disease. When the village home again fell victim to a spell of whooping cough which infected a large proportion of the resident girls only a few years later in March 1882, a rigid set of protocols were followed. This included:

> 'the removal of a large number of the children to a house in town where they received special treatment and were under the care of a trained nurse. The cases were favourably progressing and had not increased within the past few days.' (*Council Committee Minutes,* pages 119–120 5pm Thursday 9th March 1882 at No. 75 Ethelburga House, Bishopsgate Street, E.L.)

Once again, the institutional protocol of separation, removal and quarantine were employed. Scarlet fever broke out at the Girls' Village Home in June 1884. Reporting on the outbreak, Dr Barnardo stated that twenty-eight girls had been infected. He publicly admitted that they "were very greatly embarrassed by the sudden advent of Scarlet fever in our Village Home", but continued by reassuring the readers that "every precaution that experience, common sense, and professional skill could suggest was employed" (*Night & Day* 1884: 89). Indeed, his account of the incident went into considerable detail to explain to readers how the outbreak was dealt with:

"the cottages were kept from the danger, and the moment a child appeared to be infected, she was removed from the particular cottage in which she lived, and the house disinfected and clothing etc." (*Night & Day* 1884: 89)

The capacity of the institution to respond swiftly and effectively was marked by its ability to closely supervise and survey its population as well as carry out preventative measures in the form of efficient removal and quarantining. In such instances, the achievements of the charity were celebrated; in the face of considerable public criticism of his work, Barnardo rarely missed an opportunity to tell a good story. A few weeks after the initial outbreak, *Night and Day* readers were told that a party of girls were ready for emigration to Canada. In order to avoid sending diseased children to the colonies – the focus of some of the criticism of Barnardo's migration schemes (see chapter 7; Wagner, 1977). Barnardo detailed how Leopold House on Burdett Road was emptied and the young boys sent to temporarily stay at Stepney Causeway. The female emigration party was then sent to reside in Leopold House two to three weeks before their departure to avoid any further spread of disease:

'Thus I felt happy in mind that I was sending children on board ship who had been sufficiently long removed from the possibilities of contagion to make it unlikely that any source of danger might remain among them' (*Night & Day* 1884: 89).

Although some of the girls infected were marked for Canada, which meant a reduction in the overall size of the emigration party, 121 girls still set sail aboard the *Peruvian*. Dr Barnardo noted that if it was not for the support of the 'most admirable, diligent, and unwearied service' (*Night & Day* 1884: 89), the Canadian scheme that year may have been cancelled or the numbers greatly reduced overall damaging the organisation's ability to emigrate children to the colonies in the future. It seems the organisation took steps which may be considered disruptive, temporarily emptying Leopold House to ensure a disease-free emigration party. Barnardo's executed these meticulous steps, although disruptive and laborious, to save the charity's emigration scheme from further criticism and controversy. This was an organisation that had decided its future was through the route of emigration, and the public image of its scheme had to be protected at all cost. The eventual success over the deal conceitedly detailed in the pages of *Night & Day*, 'God speed the good ship! God keep my little ones from all harm and ill, and bring them safely to their desired haven.' (*Night & Day* 1884: 90)

Cairns' address at the 1884 Annual Meeting (discussed earlier in the chapter) raised two vital points. The first was that children under the age of five required close care and attention, particularly when safeguarding them against disease and infection. The Second was that by the mid-1880s the organisation was taking in much larger numbers of younger children and forming the institutional capacity and infrastructure to deal with the increased intake of this 'vulnerable' group became a top priority. Only a few months prior to Cairns' address, the ability of the institution to deal with an outbreak of disease amongst the very young was tested.

161

In December 1883 scarlet fever broke out at the recently opened Babies' Castle. The council minutes reveal that the disease had been rife in the surrounding village of Hawkshurst in Kent. The home was still partly under construction during this time and it was reported that the disease had been carried by a workman into the Castle leading to the subsequent infection of seven young children. Despite the outbreak, fatalities were once again avoided through the preventative procedures that were in place. In addition, although seven children were struck by the disease, a small number compared to the previous outbreaks discussed, every length appears to have been taken to ensure a one hundred percent survival rate. In this case external medical staff were temporarily transferred to the home to deliver the level of care and assistance Barnardo's believed was required:

'Nurses had been engaged from Mildmay and also from Great Ormond Street and every needful care had been taken to prevent the spread of contagion and to care for the little patients.' (*Council Committee Minutes,* pages 166–169 5pm Wednesday 5th December 1883 at No. 75 Palmerston Buildings, Bishopsgate Street, E.L.)

This is evidence of an organisation taking increasingly institutionalised steps, stretching beyond their own capacity to ensure contagion did not spread and that those infected were provided with the sufficient care to aid their recovery. With the opening of Tinies' House and the completion of the extension of the Babies' Castle with an on-site infirmary in 1886, the expansionist years of mid-1880s marked a shift in approach when the organisation became committed to the large scale admission of young children and babies (Wagner, 1977).

Barnardo's one hundred percent survival rate from outbreaks of disease was brought to an end in early January when seven out of the thirty boys who contracted measles at the Teighmore

Home at Jersey died (*Council Committee Minutes*, pages 193–196 5pm Wednesday 11th February 1885 at No. 75 Palmerston Buildings, Bishopsgate Street, E.L.). The home, which opened in 1879, was considered to be a haven of health due to its Channel Island location and was considered to be a favourite of Dr Barnardo. The seemingly invincible nature of the home and, more widely, the organisation was tainted by this fatal outbreak of measels. The names of the boys who died were listed in full in the council committee minutes in the meeting of February 1885. They detail that, "a full Medical Report describing the nature of the outbreak with clinical notes upon each case and setting forth the provision made for isolation, disinfection and treatment were laid upon the table." (*Council Committee Minutes*, pages 193–196 5pm Wednesday 11th February 1885 at No. 75 Palmerston Buildings, Bishopsgate Street, E.L.).

The response to the outbreak comprised a formal investigation that listed the causes of the epidemic, subsequent fatalities and made clear that further action had to be taken to prevent infection and death. Dr Barnardo insisted that all that could be was done in terms of medical care and nursing skill to contain the contagion and prevent further fatalities. However, he acknowledged that "adequate treatment of such outbreaks is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, without the means of isolation and the special appliances which are furnished in a hospital" (Annual Report, 1884–1885: 26).

After stating his discontent at the infrastructural inadequacies of home when it came to dealing with this epidemic, a disgruntled Dr Barnardo further observed that there was no fever hospital on the island. This was a rallying call for change. A new cottage hospital named Tudor House was constructed by Barnardo's and made fully operational by 1886. It stood some distance from the home and contained 25 beds as well as rooms for nurses (Annual Report, 1885–1886:

42). This was intended to accommodate for the growing number of young residents attending the home and provide the necessary medical assistance in case of future outbreaks:

Figure 5.1: 'Our New Cottage Hospital in Jersey.' (Annual Report, 1885–1886: 41)

However, in 1887 the health of residents in the home was considered to be so good, that only a portion of the hospital was in use and one of the wings was converted for residential uses (*Annual Report* 1885–1886: 26; Barnardo, 1889):

> 'It is nevertheless, always most desirable that the Hospitals attached to the respective Homes should be well able to supply an 'epidemic margin' in the event of some contagious disorder breaking out among the boys.' (Barnardo, 1889: 58)

After the fatal outbreak of measles in January 1885, Barnardo's became committed to raising funds, and rallying support to improve the medical infrastructure at the home to safeguard the young boys extracted 'fresh from babyhood' and from their early years of 'mistreatment' (Annual Report, 1885–1886: 42). This was an attempt at creating a medicalised institution designed to tackle further outbreaks and supply an 'epidemic margin.' An additional response

new medical staff were appointed to key positions at Teighmore, an issue that will be discussed later in the chapter.

Providing medically robust and well-organised responses to epidemics was becoming a theme of the organisation as the 1880s progressed. Two years later in 1887, Dr Barnardo informed its supporters of the mass outbreak of measles that affected many of the homes. The announcement was made on the first page of the 1887 edition of *Night & Day* demonstrating how the organisation did not want to conceal or play down the severity of the outbreak, instead viewing it as an opportunity to generate support:

> 'I have already quite 200 little patients, and I fear the disease is still spreading. Many cases are of a very severe type, and others are complicated with lung affections, which increase our anxiety on their behalf. I need hardly say that everything that skilful care and nursing can do is being done for them, but I invite the sympathetic and prayerful remembrances of all readers of this Journal, that, if it be God's will, the disorder may be stayed, and that the lives of our dear young patients to be spared.' (*Night & Day* 1887: 1)

The announcement subtlety functioned as an appeal reaching out and inviting the supporters' prayers and sympathy, generating an emotional response that in turn might provoke financial contributions. This approach is indicative of an organisation that was maturing in its ability to communicate a disastrous event, sensitively transforming it into a vehicle for gaining support and additional funds. Dr Barnardo insisted that everything possible was being done to aid the sick:

'and my readers will easily understand what a great additional burden the care of such a number involves, and especially what a vast additional expense is incurred thereby. Trained nurses from four or five institutions are assisting our regular staff, and in two instances the Homes have had to be closed to the public, and completely given over to the use of the sick.' (*Night & Day* 1887: 1)

Again, trained nurses were temporarily employed to assist the Barnardo staff and it was detailed that two homes were closed to prevent further infection and to quarantine and treat the sick. The appeal also discusses the increased intake of disabled children with a multitude of disorders that required treatment. Alongside the measles epidemic this placed additional pressure on the organisation's infrastructure to tackle sporadic outbreaks of disease, increasing the 'burden' of care. Again Dr Barnardo appealed to his readers for the funds necessary to help aid the extra support required. Due to the severe nature of the outbreak Barnardo's made the decision to cancel the 1887 Annual Meeting. As a result, Dr Barnardo stressed that he wanted the readers to kindly react to this by considering the offerings which would generally come to their Treasury at each Annual Meeting but would 'this year be compromised.' (*Night & Day* 1887: 56). Nonetheless, later in the same edition of *Night & Day,* the opportunity was once again seized upon to use the outbreak as a vehicle for funding change. With direct reference to the measles epidemic, the article appealed to existing convalescent homes to give up spaces for their infected children free of charge. The appeal added that the children had been thoroughly disinfected and would be carefully clothed in fresh new garments with the hope of granting as many of them as possible a few weeks in the therapeutic surrounds of the seaside during a period of fine weather:

'A brief period of residence near the coast would mean to not a few of our delicate little people a new lease of health and strength.' (*Night & Day* 1887: 64).

However, the opportunity was also taken to secure funds to obtain a long-term lease for a site in Felixstowe. In 1886 the seaside villas had only been temporarily obtained on a short-term lease but within the year, the Felixstowe seaside convalescent home had been secured as a permanent Barnardo branch. The home served as a vital part of the recovery process for sick children, a factor covered in an earlier plea to fund the lease for the site:

'We have had great difficulty hitherto in treating our children who are in process of recovery from sickness, there being no intermediate stage for them between the Hospital and the actual routine of the Homes.' (Annual Report 1885–1886: 47)

Acquiring this branch was promoted as crucial to the welfare of the children: 'we can hardly look upon it as otherwise than *absolutely* essential' in raising 'the average health of the Institution generally' (Annual Report 1885–1886: 47). Two years later in 1889, the convalescent home was put to use when another outbreak of measles threatened the homes. *Night & Day* reported that two homes, the Babies' Castle and the Girls' Village Home had been struck by the epidemic. At the Castle, thirty patients had been counted at the on-site infirmary:

'But thanks to the healthful situation of the Castle, to the admirable nursing of our good Matron, to the unremitting and skilled attention of our resident physician (a medical woman), and above and over all, to the overruling providence of God, only three dear children succumbed, all the other patients being now off the sick list, and the disease has run its course.' (*Night & Day* 1889: 22).

Three children died as a result of the outbreak which had infected the young and vulnerable inmates at the Castle. At the Village Home, a reported forty-five girls were infected with measles. The large scale disruption of the home was noted, 'of course such a visitation has deranged the whole economy of the village' (*Night & Day* 1889: 22). Precautionary measures were taken by the home which included the isolation of a number of cottages, the closure of the school, and the hiring of extra nursing staff. Although the outbreak of measles was considered to be relatively mild, it was thought to have been exacerbated by the cold weather. Despite the disruption to the home, the organisation stressed that the precautionary measures were vital and they had to prioritise the safety of the girls. The more serious cases were convalesced at the new branch at Felixstowe. The charity's own improved medical infrastructure via separate branches for treatment and convalescence meant that the process of removal to a healthy destination had become an integral part of institutional recuperative protocol for infected children by the close of the decade. In addition in 1889 Her Majesty's Hospital at 13–19 Stepney Causeway was opened housing up to 70 patients at one time ('Palace of Pain' Pamphlet, 1892; *Night & Day*, 1890). Replacing the Old Infirmary at 19 Stepney Causeway (1875–1888) it flagged a wider move toward an increasingly sophisticated and medicalised organisation which had the capacity to cater for the varying health needs of Barnardo residents.

In the March of 1890, an outbreak of Russian Influenza at the Girls' Village Home prompted the organisation to reflect upon its low death-rate. Over a two year period between 1888 and 1890 with an inmate population averaging eight to nine hundred, there had only been a total of ten reported deaths:

'The remarkable health enjoyed by my dear children at Ilford is, indeed, one of the most satisfactory elements of the work there, and one in which the tender care and goodness of the Lord are very specially manifest. Diseased, emaciated and enfeebled as the children so often are when they come to me, it is astonishing to notice how speedily they gain tone and strength in the pure air and simple comforts which they find there' (*Night & Day,* 1890: 73).

Owing to factors relating to the environment – 'pure air', the surroundings, and 'simple comforts' – the children were able to attain good health improving their physical condition, strength and avoid the threat of disease (see Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). Small outbreaks of measles and whooping cough had reportedly occurred at the home during 1889. When these had arisen, cottages devoted to 'hospital purposes' had been used where the number of patients had rarely surpassed thirty. But the medical infrastructure was still considered to be inadequate and a children's hospital had been four years in the waiting. Barnardo's stated that the latest outbreak of Russian influenza had only supported the need to improve the medical facilities at the home after four hundred children, members of staff and even the Governor and several of their family members had fallen ill (*Night & Day,* 1890: 73). Every cottage had become a temporary hospital which severely disrupted the everyday functioning of the home. The epidemic had begun at the Stepney Boys' Home where almost two-hundred inmates had succumbed to the illness. During the busy Christmas season three-quarters of the staff had also suffered and so too did 'the whole institutional routine' due to the closure of schools and workshops (*Night & Day*, 1890: 74). Other London and South East branches had also been impacted; there were 58 cases at the Youth's Labour House, 140 at Leopold House, 13 at the Babies' Castle in Kent (*Night & Day*, 1890: 74). Out of all those infected, no deaths were directly linked to the epidemic. Although one boy did die, it was reported that his existing

condition had been worsened by the influenza. The protocol employed in response to this widespread epidemic was closure, treatment and convalescence for the youngest children affected. The near hundred-percent survival rate amongst the 611 children affected, along with the members of staff who recovered, is evidence of an organisation which had established an effective protocol to respond to an emergency of this magnitude and scale. But on the part of Barnardo's, they believed more could have been done to suppress the impact of the epidemics, prompting the construction of a children's hospital at the Village Home which had been most disrupted by the outbreak. One again the outbreak was used as an incentive to raise the final funds to complete the Village Home's onsite hospital which was completed at the close of the 1890 (Annual Report, 1891).

During the winter of 1891–92, influenza once again struck again across the homes. Although less severe than the outbreak of 1890, the Little Boys' Home on Jersey, which housed young and vulnerable inmates, bore the brunt of the epidemic. It was reported that the majority of the 120 young inmates had been affected, but again, no single death occurred and every child made a good recovery and suffered no 'evil after-effects.' (*Night & Day,* 1892: 27). Rather than commend the practices and protocol in place to deal with the epidemic at the home, in this case it was the environment that received the praise for preventing fatalities and providing convalescence: 'the island has been described as a whole as 'simply one large hospital.' (*Night & Day,* 1892: 27)

Alongside the acknowledgement of the Home's coastal location and rural surroundings, Barnardo's claimed that its success in dealing with the outbreak was further proof that the organisation's work was blessed by God. After a scourge of influenza which affected most of the young and vulnerable inmates at Teighmore, the fact that no deaths occurred and each child

made a full recovery is evidence that efforts to make the home a haven of health, with appropriate medical facilities and staff introduced after the fatal outbreak seven years prior, had been on the whole successful.

By the 1890s, Barnardo's was not only tackling outbreaks in its own homes, but using its medical infrastructure, resources and expertise to branch out into the local communities. Acting as a form of aid prior to the development of state-subsidised care or a free health service, Barnardo's appeared to be filling in for the role of the state employing its own medical capacity to deal with outbreaks of disease and preventing deaths outside of the realm of its own homes. Maidstone, situated 32 miles from London in the country of Kent, was hit by an outbreak of typhoid fever which lasted from 11th September 1897 through to 29th January 1898. At the time it was the largest the United Kingdom had experienced, and lessons in management and disease prevention were subsequently learned from this particularly outbreak (Rogers, 2013). The epidemic infected 1,847 people, of which 132 died amongst a population of 34,000 (Rogers, 2013). When compared to the average death rate from typhoid fever of 12 per 100,000 across London registration districts between 1891–1900 it reveals the severity of the outbreak (Woods and Woodward, 1981: 108). Nurses and various volunteers were sent from London and surrounding areas to help out in the epidemic. The newly elected Lord Mayor of London, Horatio Davies presented over 220 individuals with special medals for their vital support. Significantly, Barnardo's also did its bit to respond to the epidemic. At the height of the epidemic it was reported that the committee of Dr Barnardo's Homes travelled down to Kent to meet the mayor of Maidstone and offered to receive immediately and freely any orphan children who were made absolutely destitute through the epidemic. Space was freed up in the homes where it was possible and the organisation helped to absorb some of the impact of the epidemic (*Night & Day,* 1898). Barnardo's also donated some of its medical staff and resources

to help with those affected by the outbreak. This reveals the contributions made by philanthropic organisations in the Victorian period, paving the way for state response as well as helping to absorb the impact from these public health scares providing aid, assistance and shelter, particularly for those children severely affected by the epidemic (see Wohl, 1977; 1983).

Scholars have overlooked the fact that Barnardo's played a significant medical and healthcare role, responding to medical knowledge and discourse and arguably leading the way that institutions responded to disease outbreaks. This medicalisation of the homes and branches was underpinned by the employment of professional and medically trained staff which will now be examined.

5.3 BARNARDO'S MEDICAL STAFF

In order to deliver the protocol and procedures to deal with outbreaks of disease, as well as ensure the everyday maintenance of young and healthy residents, it was vital the organisation had an organised and committed staff body. As the charity evolved, Barnardo's increasingly appointed medical staff in key institutional positions. The next section will argue that this was part of a wider push to medicalise the homes of the young and that a female staff body was often the preferred choice; a marriage of medicine and maternalism in the care for the young and vulnerable (Behlmer, 1998; Hamlett, 2015). The medical care of children was gendered. The chapter will then turn to examine the contributions made by Dr Robert Milne, a long-serving chief medical health officer to the Barnardo homes. It must be noted that the discussion on staff is unfairly weighted towards the single, white middle class figure, Dr Milne. This however is a reflection of the archival material, reproducing the partial, patriarchal histories

and gender politics of institutions and archives through the minimal mention of female institutional staff in comparison to historical accounts of male figures of authority.

5.3.1 Female Medical Staff

The 1880s was decade of change and development for Barnardo's (Wagner, 1977). In particular, the fatal measles outbreak of 1885 appeared to alter the organisation's approach which shifted towards the creation of an increasingly medicalised, professional institutional environment. As discussed above, these changes and precautions sought to ensure fatalities from disease epidemics could be avoided in the future. Along with the addition of the Cottage Hospital at the Jersey Boys' Home, changes were also made to the management of the home. A year after the outbreak, Mr and Mrs Alliot Hopkins left Teighmore as Resident Master and Matron and were replaced by the Browns to govern the 'little known Branch' (*Night & Day,* 1886: 222). Writing a few years after the outbreak, Dr Barnardo underlined that there had been 'much trouble and distress due to an absence of adequate Hospital accommodation.' (Barnardo, 1889: 59)

However, Dr Barnardo also believed a change in staff and governance at the home was required to ensure the prevention of further fatalities. In this case, Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Brown were employed by Barnardo's and appointed as the resident superintendents. This was in keeping with Barnardo's family system of care where it was believed domestic virtues and middle-class values could be achieved through hierarchical family structures with husbands and wives filling the Governor and Superintendent roles at the homes. This model is also evident at the Girls' Village Home with Mr and Mrs Soltau (1876–1885) and Mr and Mrs Godfrey (1885–1905) fulfilling these roles (Cox, 1979; cf Hamlett, 2015: 5; also see Driver, 1990). However, the

marked distinction at Jersey Home was that Mrs. Brown was a qualified physician with invaluable experience in medicine, who:

> 'was trained in the U.S. as a 'medical woman', and after attaining a professional qualification was sent out as a missionary to China by the American Board. To her care and experience, and to her husband's watchful supervision, must be, under God, attributed the great immunity of Teighmore from disease, which we had been previously harassed.' (Barnardo, 1889: 59)

Written by Dr Barnardo himself, the above passage is a flattering acknowledgement of the Brown's contribution to the Home. The passage mainly focuses on Mrs Brown and her medical skill and attributes. Dr Barnardo views this 'medical woman' as perfectly suited to the role. Mrs Brown obtained the medical expertise to cater for these young and vulnerable boys and was suited to the maternal role of managing the home. Both points summed up in the phrase, 'her care and experience,' a combination of medical knowledge, care, nurture and domestic experience. During this period as both Yeo (1996) and Spain (2001) have argued, women were often viewed as key players in the delivery and application of good domestic sanitary practice. The role of the woman in the institution was gaining increasing power through instilling ideas of maternal care and virtuous domestic values, despite women's exclusion from other forms of public office holding and the vote during this era (Hamlett, 2015: 5–6). A professionalization and influence of the role of women in the institution was evident through the appointment and Mrs Brown. Although Mr Brown as well as God's role in protecting the health of the home was acknowledged, it was Mrs Brown who gained the majority of the credit: "Much of the immunity of the Jersey boys from disease must be, under God, attributed to the skill of the wife of our Resident Superintendent, Mrs. Brown, who is a fully qualified Lady Doctor." (Annual

Report, 1887–1888: 42). After 1885, the home endured an extended period of good health with further prevention of infectious diseases. The organisation believed this immunity was owed largely to Mrs Brown and her medical guidance and expertise as a fully qualified doctor.

Medical staff were employed across a variety of homes and branches. At the organisation's own Medical Mission located in Shadwell which opened in 1878, the staff body consisted of a nurse and four deaconesses under the management of one or two 'medical men.' The doctors would conduct sermons and provide medical check-ups and assistance to attend to the needs of the body and soul of the adult poor from the surrounding district, whilst the deaconesses would impart moral instruction and religious guidance as well as provide general medical assistance and home visits (Annual Report, 1883–1884; Barnardo, 1889; *Night & Day,* 1879; The Medical Mission will be further examined in further detail in the next section of the chapter). Barnardo's boarding-out scheme which involved sending children to live with rural working-class foster families established in 1886 was chiefly governed by medical women. Dr Jane Walker and Miss Jean F. Robertson L.R.C.P were trained physicians who were given full responsibility of the medical management and general supervision of the entire Barnardo boarding-out system (Annual Report, 1891; 1892; 1894; 1895; their influence will be detailed in Chapter 4). Throughout the 1890s and 1900s Dr Robert Mine, whose contribution to the homes will be explored in the next section of the chapter, was Chief Medical Officer to Ilford and the London homes and his male assistant was Dr Nunn, who resided at the H.M. Hospital at 13–19 Stepney Causeway opened in 1889 (*Night & Day,* 1890). These examples demonstrate a network of medical staff appointed to positions of authority across the breadth of the Barnardo homes and branches.

However, at the homes for young and vulnerable, it was female physicians who were considered to be best suited for managerial positions. The short-lived branch Tinies' House, the East-End home for babies and toddlers situated next to Bow Church which only existed from 1886–1889, employed only women. Girls as young as fourteen from Sturge House and the Village Home would complete a course of training or rather 'household instruction' at the branch, overseen by a staff comprised of nurses and the Head Matron who hailed from a medical background (*Night & Day,* 1886: 49–52). The branch was closed when the Babies' Castle was extended at the end of the 1880s. The Castle which initially opened in 1884 was a response to what Dr Barnardo labelled as, 'the baby question'. Again had a staff body which was all female. The Matron to the home, Mrs Burgess, had considerable experience of dealing with infants, and supported by what Dr Barnardo described as a committed and 'admirable' staff body (Barnardo, 1889). After a serious outbreak of measles at both the Ilford Girls' Home and the Babies' Castle in 1889, Barnardo's publicly thanked its resident physician in *Night & Day,* explaining that the suppression of the outbreak was down to the skill and management of Burgess and her staff (*Night & Day,* 1889: 22). The permanent post for a resident physician was created in 1888. Dr Barnardo regarded the appointment as a necessity as many of the children who came to the home were victims of life-long neglect and during their short lives had experienced cruelty and abuse. Therefore upon admission to the castle the children were reported to have exceedingly low levels of health (see Hitchman, 1966). A well-equipped medical team providing round-the-clock care for the young and vulnerable infants was formed:

tried.

The following table, covering only the last few months (from 1st September, the date of the Resident Physician's appointment, to 31st December, 1888), exhibits the diseases which have been under treatment during that time at Babies' Castle. It will be seen that rickets, ophthalmia, and roxola are responsible for the great majority of cases which have occurred among the

Mrs. Burgess—Our Matron.

babies. I hope in future reports to supply tables and clinical data of a more precise and exhaustive character.

Name of Disease.	No. of Cases.	Name of Disease.	No. of Cases.
Rickets	70	Stomatitis	2
Ophthalmia.	21	Herpes	2
Epidemic Roxola.	13	Lymphadenoma	1
Varicella	5	Rachitic Convulsions	1
Pneumonia.	4	Tonsilitis	1
Bronchitis	4	Eczema	1
Bronchial Catarrh	4	Indefinite Febrile Attack	1
Anæmia	4	Disease of elbow joint.	1
Laryngismus Stridulus	3	Inflammation middle ear	1
Atrophy	3	Prolapsus Ani	1
Congenital Syphilis	2	Ptosis.	1
Diarrhœa	2		

The actual movements among the inmates and their numbers are as follows :—

	Boys.	Girls.
Number of babies in residence at Babies' Castle 1st April, 1888	49	44
Admitted during the nine months	32	22

$$81 + 66 = 147$$

Figure 5.2: Mrs Burgess, Matron to the Babies Castle (pictured top right). Table showing diseases treated at the home (Barnardo, 1889: 123)

177

The table (see **Figure 5.2**) documents the variety of diseases treated at the home in the closing months of 1888 after the appointment of the resident physician. Rickets topped the list with 70 cases followed by 21 cases of Opthalmia. The table demonstrates the variety of ailments present in the inmate population over a short period of time at the home. Rickets was a common ailment to affect children during this period, caused by poor diet and lack of access to natural sunlight, often considered to be due to the impoverished slum conditions from where these children had been extracted. The location of the home with access to sunlight and the adjoining gardens as well as the constant care and attention offered by staff, particularly the regulation of diet (a factor which will be discussed later in the chapter) aimed to ameliorate the high number of cases. Opthalmia was a very real problem in many children's institutions and would often be endemic at certain schools and homes (Murdoch, 2006). The table includes further infectious diseases typical of this sort of institution such as bronchitis, varicella or chicken pox, epidemic roseola and diarrhoea. But the list also includes stigmatised conditions of congenital syphilis and herpes (Tomes, 1998: Worboys, 2000). Venereal disease in the contexts of young children and babies would have made for uncomfortable reading that would have reflected an even more uncomfortable reality. These controversial figures could have easily been omitted by the organisation and excluded from the table. However, it is likely that Barnardo's wanted lay bare the conditions of the infants that were admitted to reveal the gravity of the 'pauper taint' and the issues that the home and its staff were having to respond to (Driver, 1993: Holman, 1986).

The organisation's commitment to employing female staff and particularly, female physicians in key authoritative positions in the homes for the young and vulnerable continued through into the 1890s. Mrs Burgess left the position of Matron to the Castle in 1890. Miss Alice Terrell (Sister Alice) would replace her until 1897. A letter of recommendation dated 12th August 1897 and penned by Dr Barnardo about Miss Terrell on her departure from her post at the Babies'

Castle reveals the scope of her work during her seven-year stint and the extent to which she was valued as a matron:

> "I have great pleasure in stating that Miss Alice Terrell (Sister Alice), late Matron and Sister in charge of Babies' Castle, our home for infants, has filled that post for seven years with complete satisfaction to myself and the managers generally" (Dr Barnardo telegram dated 12th August 1897).

It continues, detailing that Miss Terrell not only had a medical background, but experience in dealing 'with very young children:'

> "Sister Alice is a trained Hospital Nurse. [She] Has had much experience with very young children and is one of the most successful managers of infants I have ever had in any of my Institutions" (Dr Barnardo telegram dated 12th August 1897).

According to Dr Barnardo Miss Terrell was ideally suited to fulfilling the role of Matron at the Castle, responding with the institutional requirements of medicine, sanitary management and childcare. She was portrayed as a figure who matched Barnardo's institutional vision but also went over and above her call of duty to create an environment that allowed infants to develop into well-rounded young children ready for the next phase on their institutional journey.

> "She completely reorganised our Babies' Castle; Established a splendid staff of nurses, a training school for younger nurses, and under her management the Institution flourished" (Dr Barnardo telegram dated 12th August 1897)

As highlighted here, Miss Terrell filled institutional posts with a staff of nurses, thoroughly medicalising the institution. Furthermore, the Home became a site for training nurses who could gain experience in the field and, when ready, move onto other positions in Barnardo's or elsewhere. This process allowed children to readily gain access to good medicine and healthcare in a well-equipped sanitary setting and at the same time train nurses who could potentially benefit Barnardo's homes in the future. Under Miss Terrell's management Dr Barnardo claimed that "mortality sank to the lowest rate, and the general health and happiness of the children was manifest to all … Under her rule a high spiritual tone was maintained among nurses and young women, and indeed among all the staff who were devotedly attached to her." (Dr Barnardo telegram dated 12th August 1897)

Miss Terrell created a medical infrastructure of staff and of training to instil progress, order and duty through her 'spiritual tone' as a Sister. The telegram closes by stating that Dr Barnardo hopes Miss Terrell can one day return to work with young children, something for which he suggests Terrell has a 'special genius'. Miss Terrell was replaced by Dr C. Long, another qualified 'medical woman' who became superintendent of the home in 1897 (Annual Report, 1897: 134). Miss Terrell's management of the Babies' Castle constituted a reflection of what Barnardo's aimed to achieve, acting as a model institutional environment caring for young and vulnerable infants. In addition, the marriage of Terrell's religious devoutness, her background as a medically trained nurse and her maternal awareness through her experience with young children meant Dr Barnardo and his organisation perceived Miss Terrell to be an ideal candidate suited to running the home. In terms of its practices, facilities and programme of training, the Babies' Castle had been both medicalised and professionalised through employing mainly female staff.

Throughout the 1890s, there was increase in protocol, sanitary management and a more formalised medical approach as the organisation evolved and matured. As demonstrated, this was particularly true of the homes that took care of the young and vulnerable. These institutions became fortresses against ill-health and disease as the organisation ensured they were medically equipped, well-staffed and carefully managed to guarantee the health of Barnardo's youngest residents. By the turn of the century the staff working in Barnardo's homes were bound by strict expectations to deliver the organisation's programme of care to the children. An instructive document from Dr Barnardo to the staff at the Girls' Village Home dated 15th November 1901 intended to prepare the home and its inmates for visitors. The promotion of good health practices and sanitary management of the homes were prioritised within the nine-page document which also detailed how the staff had to prepare for visitations and external inspections. Significantly, the opening page stressed the importance of illustrating the sanitary arrangements of the home and the measures taken to ensure the absence of disease and ill-health, especially in the face of potential public scrutiny which could damage the organisation's reputation:

> "In visiting the Branches it is important that the Lady Visitor should minutely inspect everything and report thereon. Naturally she would pay attention to the appearance of the household, the condition of the staff (i.e. their suitability for their work.), their general happiness, and the concord between each member of the staff and the appointed Head; also the appearance of the children in health, dress, cleanliness, a careful examination such as only a woman can give to underclothing, bed linen and bedding. A bed should be unexpectedly opened in each bedroom so as to see if the sheets are kept too long on the beds, if each bed has sufficient clothing and is in a clean and good sanitary condition, if there are marks of the presence of insects: the mattress should be

looked at; if the cover is worn or in holes or not in good condition, the state of affairs should be noted. The washing accommodation, the state of all receptacles, the lavatory accommodation, should be looked into." (Dr Barnardo 15th November, 1901)

Referring specifically to the preparation of the cottages for a female visitor, the instruction is both thorough and meticulous and reveals how closely involved Dr Barnardo was with the running of the homes in the years approaching his death. The inspector, who would have been a woman from an upper-class background, reveals how the provision domestic care, a sanitary environment and institutional shelter was, by-and-large a gendered professional sphere where women had become the voice of authority and had considerable influence and impact upon the function and makeup of the institution (Hamlett, 2015). First is a gendered vision of domestic stability: the staff must keep up a harmonious relationship with one another demonstrating how the home is managed with order and civility. However, the striking point here is the level of detail provided when discussing the children's health and appearance as well as the scrupulous cleanliness of their surroundings expected of female members of staff. This chimes with the gendered assumption about domesticity but also the contemporary belief that women could be professionally perceived as sanitarians who had the ability to maintain the everyday cleanliness and healthy upkeep of the home (Tomes 1998; Yeo, 1996). Measures were taken to ensure these visits and inspections by middle-upper class women were a success; revealing a growing respect for women the voice of authority in relation to institutional child care and domesticity beyond the threshold of the middle-class home (Hamlett, 2015). The assumed knowledge that women were seen to possess on underclothing, bed linen and bedding meant a high a standard of cleanliness was expected. By 1901, germ theory had become widely accepted generating fears about domestic fittings and furniture such as the bed and bedding (Neiswander, 2008; Tomes, 1998). As Neiswander (2008) argues, 'sanitary furniture' had become popular by the

turn of the century in both the domestic and institutional context. Dr Barnardo clearly perceived it important for staff at the home to monitor the presence of bedbugs and mites through a thorough inspection of the bed, bedding and mattress. If any signs of these bad conditions were recorded they had to be replaced immediately. It was imperative that good sanitary arrangements washing and toilets facilities were also made fit for use and inspection. Women where his guardians against dirt.

The document reveals a detailed, formalised institutional approach for maintaining a high order of health, well-being and comfort via the staff body. Particularly within the context of these public visitations and inspections, Dr Barnardo was keen to emphasise just how through his system of childcare was.

Even if some of the charity's publications emphasised the importance of 'medical men', medical women were in fact favoured in key positions of authority and responsibility particularly across the homes for the young and vulnerable. By the 1880s and 1890s these women were overseeing the use state-of-the-art equipment and resources and managed a programme of training delivered by nurses and medical staff. Key positions at Teighmore, Tinies' House, the Babies' Castle were occupied by female physicians and nurses with experience in childcare; a marriage of medicine and maternalism which Dr Barnardo believed was best suited for the care and nurture of young infants and part of wider professionalization of women as care-givers but also as physicians and sanitarians in senior roles (Behlmer, 1998; Hamlett, 2015; Yeo, 1996). This represented a key phase in the development of Barnardo's when staff, resources and facilities were increasingly focused on helping to accommodate young children who came into Barnardo's care. In 1896 alone the charity admitted 595 children aged 10 and under (Annual Report, 1896: 17). Within the broader political landscape when

state-sponsored projects and philanthropic campaigns by the late-1880s were increasingly framing parents, relatives and inner-city environments as the problem, this medicalisation enabled an increased intake of the young that could be seen as part of the wider 'total institutionalisation' of children of the urban poor across the nation (Beckingham, 2013; Behlmer, 1998; Murdoch, 2006; Swain and Hillel, 2010).

5.3.2 Dr Robert Milne and Barnardo's

The previous section has demonstrated how medical staff employed in the homes fulfilled a vision which was to medicalise and professionalise the institutions that increasingly specialised in early year child care. By building a staff body that was medically trained to govern and oversee the management of the homes, Barnardo's sought to create a professional medical environment for lowering disease and mortality rates. Barnardo's had many loyal, long serving members of staff, but Dr Robert Milne was one of the most committed and influential figures at the homes during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Dr Robert Milne (1849–1922) served as the Chief Medical Officer for 39 years spanning the years from 1880–1919, continuing long after the founder's death. This section of the chapter will explore his influence on the Barnardo institution through his medical and sanitary contributions.
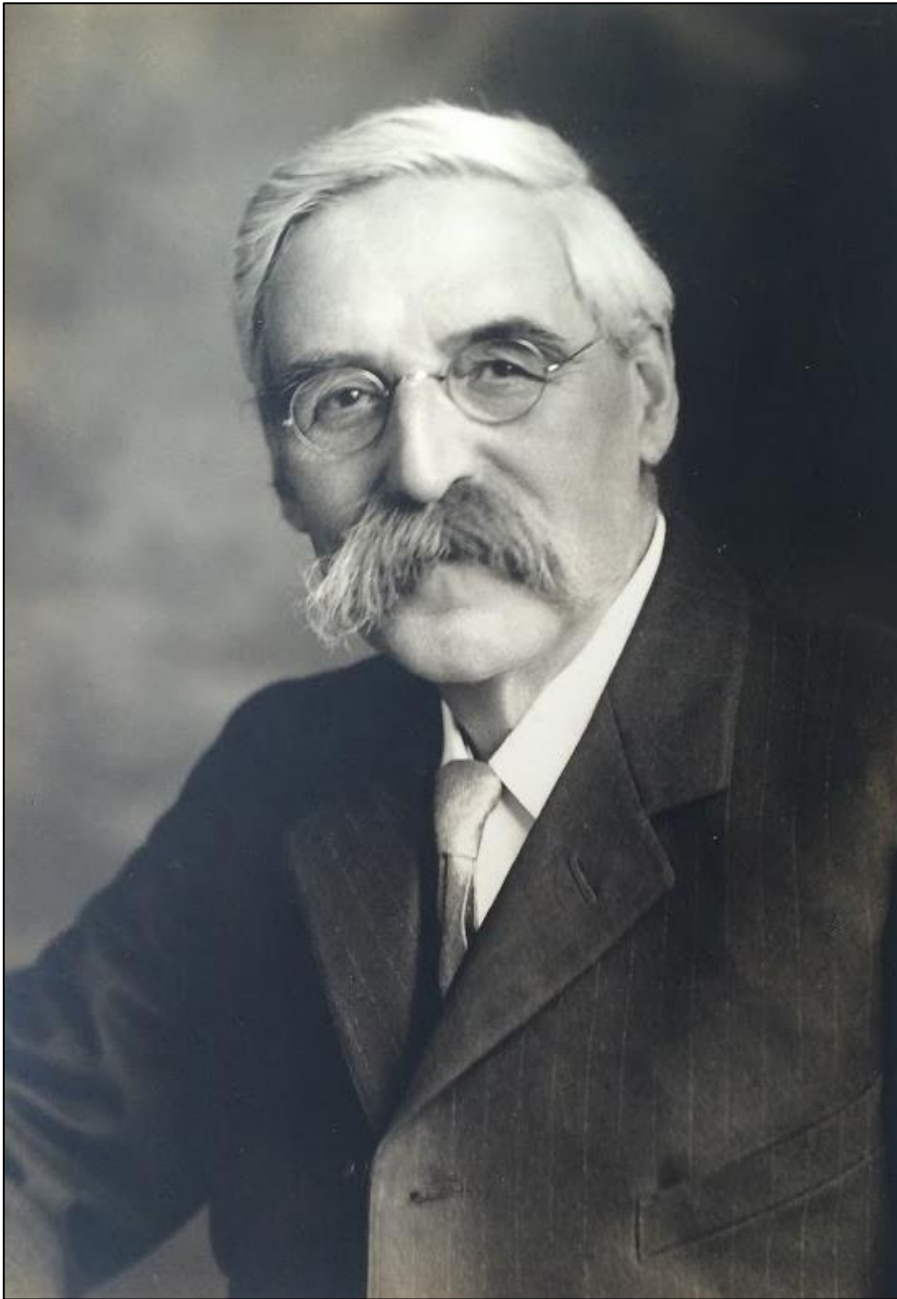
Figure 5.3: Portrait of Dr Robert Milne. (*Courtesy of Barnardo's Archive*)

Dr Robert Milne was the first of three generations of his family to medically assist the Barnardo's homes, spanning into the twentieth-century (*The Forum,* October 1970). Upon his death, an obituary in the *YHL Magazine* claimed:

'His knowledge of children from the medical point of view was probably unique. At a broad estimate some 50,000 children had passed under his hands for examination and treatment.' (*Young Helpers League Magazine,* 1923: 43*)*

Milne developed a strong relationship with Dr Barnardo and his organisation. The experience he acquired during his time working at the homes allowed him to develop new medical techniques which will be examined later in the chapter. Dr Robert Milne was born in Deeside Farm, Aberdeenshire in 1849 and received his medical education at Marischa College, Aberdeen where he graduated with a M.B. and C.M. in 1874 and M.D. in 1886 (*Young Helpers League Magazine* 1923: 43). Milne began his professional career as an assistant to Dr Burns Thompson in Edinburgh. However, like Dr Barnardo, Milne intended to travel overseas to China to partake in medical missionary work:

'It is an extremely interesting point that in their early years both Dr Milne and Dr Barnardo heard the call for China and had resolved to become medical missionaries there. It was the call of the child that deflected each of them from the foreign field"'(*Young Helpers League Magazine*, 1923: 43).

It was recorded in Milne's obituary in the *YHL Magazine* in 1923 that the pair first met in Peterhead, Aberdeenshire at Milne's brother-in-law's house who was minister of the Baptist church 'where Dr Barnardo had been pleading the claims of children.' The meeting was a result

of one of Dr Barnardo's numerous rallying campaigns across the UK: 'at that time our Founder toured the whole Kingdom in the interests of his waif and strays.' (*Young Helpers League Magazine* 1923: 43)

After the initial meeting, the pair kept in touch and in February 1880, an urgent invitation was sent to Dr Milne by Barnardo to come south to assist in dealing with the outbreak of Scarlet Fever at the Girls' Village Home discussed earlier in the chapter. This relationship demonstrates how Dr Barnardo utilised the medical networks and connections he had acquired during his provincial rallying tours to deliver on-hand medical expertise during times of crisis in the homes. After Milne had successfully offered his medical advice and guidance in dealing with the scarlet fever outbreak, Dr Barnardo offered him a permanent position with the organisation. The letter dated 6th March 1880, shortly after the end of the epidemic, was a formal invitation, or a 'terms of arrangement,' inviting Dr Milne to become a fellow employee in the medical department of the organisation's work. Outlining the terms of agreement, Dr Barnardo claimed that he could only offer a 'very small payment' – £250, in fact, for a part-time position. After acknowledging the low pay, an offering only slightly above a missionary allowance (*The Forum,* 1970), Dr Barnardo suggested Milne could undertake evening surgery which included midwifery in East London to supplement his wage:

'Evening practice among the respectable poor comprehends a dispensary at which they pay and a certain amount of *accoucheur* work. This I think would be all you could attempt. Moreover, you would have to take into consideration the fact that when the time came when I should require you to undertake <u>all </u>the work which at first would be shared by the present medical officer, Dr Prankerd, you would then only have £350 a

year but it would then be necessary that you should give me <u>all</u> your time.' (*TJB to Dr R. Milne Offer of Appointment MS signed*, March 6th 1880: 2).

Despite this initial low-paying, part-time contract, Dr Barnardo underlined the potential for Milne to eventually become the Chief Medical Officer to the homes replacing Dr Prankerd, a position Dr Milne would take on in 1888 until his retirement in 1919. The rather ungenerous terms and conditions laid out by Dr Barnardo demonstrate the clear sense of priorities that he had for the work of the charity and the philanthropic commitment that he demanded. The letter continued to state that if Dr Milne were to accept the role along with the accompanying terms and conditions, then Dr Barnardo would invite Mr and Mrs Milne and the rest of their family to East London. The letter continues, requesting the size of house, number of rooms to accommodate the family, and the maximum amount of rent they would see fit to pay in order to allow Barnardo to arrange three or four viewings of 'suitable' properties. Interestingly listed in the criteria for the proposed house is the importance of its location "at a convenient distance from the Home and yet in a good healthy locality" (*TJB to Dr R. Milne Offer of Appointment MS signed*, March 6th 1880: 2). The doctor's own health and well-being was being considered in relation to 'a good healthy locality' in which he and his family can reside. Dr Robert Milne accepted the position in June 1880 (*YHL Magazine* 1923: 43).

Milne and the Medical Mission

Throughout the 1880s Milne regularly occupied the medical post at the Shadwell Medical Mission. Combining religious instruction with medical assistance: 'the aim of such an energy is not only to heal the sick, but to set before the sufferers the truths of the Gospel.' (Barnardo, 1889: 224). Established in 1878, the mission was a preventative measure to heal sick and sinful

adults with the intention of assisting families. It was chiefly supervised by Dr Robert Milne throughout the 1880s (Annual Report 1880–1881; 1883–1884: 23; Barnardo, 1889). A few years prior to the conception of the Medical Mission, Dr Barnardo explained the schemes' influences. Dr Andrew Thompson's Mission in Edinburgh was believed to be a forerunner to Dr Saunders' mission on Endell Street in the notorious Seven Dials area of St Giles in Central London. These institutions, along with Dr Owle's Liverpool Mission would act as a template for Barnardo's own medical mission (Annual Report, 1874–1875: ci). Medical missions therefore sought to deliver two very definite results being the healing of the body and the salvation of the soul. The body would be cured by skilful medical treatment and the "soul made whole by the application of that only balm for the sin-sick and perishing, the Gospel of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." (*Night & Day* 1879: 1)

Two medical men were in charge at the Mission in Shadwell, assisted by a body of female staff that consisted of a nurse and four deaconesses (Annual Report, 1880–1881: 23; 1883–1884: 40). The job of the Chief Physician at the Medical Mission was described in *Night & Day* the year before Milne accepted the post, but the routine described would have remained largely unchanged during Milne's time at the mission. As the physician in charge, Milne's job along with Dr Prankerd, the second of the 'medical men' on site, was to conduct a brief service lasting around 15 minutes which included a sermon and hymns before he retired to his consulting room and the patients would enter one-by-one, in the order in which they arrived. Female nurses and deaconesses would talk to those waiting in the hall individually to discover their needs, number of family members and other relevant details, whilst continually taking the opportunity to spread the word of the Lord. However, these women also provided medical assistance and dispensed medicine:

"[…] the ladies, who shall be willing to wait upon the poor folk that seek their aid, to bind up their wounds, dispense needful medical and other stores, visit them at their own homes, and all the time seek quietly and earnestly to lead the thoughts of those afflicted by disease to Jesus" (Annual Report, 1880–1881: 23)

Lady Dispensers at work in the Medical Mission.

Figure 5.4: 'Lady Dispensers at work in the Medical Mission' (Annual Report, 1883–1884: 41)

As each person entered the consulting room after the sound of Dr Milne's bell, their ailments were medically prescribed for and the word of the Lord once more delivered along with a blessing to 'deepen the effect of the morning's address" (*Night & Day* 1879: 4). After this the patients would go to the dispensary window where their bottle or gallipot was filled with their

medication. If the patient became increasingly sick, or cases when they were unable to leave their homes, the doctor would organise visitations. Deaconesses would usually conduct these visits. Between March 1883 and March 1884, 2,000 separate home visits were conducted by deaconesses, as well as the nurse and physicians (Annual Report, 1883–1884: 41). Again, therefore, it was women who remained at the forefront of the provision of medical care beyond, as well as within, Barnardo's Institutions (Behlmer, 1998; Mangion, 2016). At the Shadwell mission in 1881, five deaconesses who hailed from evangelical bodies from Ireland, Scotland and England resided on-site in order 'to seek and to save the lost' (Annual Report, 1880–1881; 23). The bravery and courage of the deaconesses who lived at the Mission was noted and commended due to the reportedly dangerous, disorderly neighbourhood of Shadwell (Annual Report, 1880–1881; 23). Dr Milne's post at the Medical Mission would have exposed him to a variety of diseases and ailments providing experience in both medical healthcare and religious teachings. The Annual Report from 1880–1881 reveals on a single day up to 181 adults would have received individual attention, medical advice and religious instruction. During the entire year 11,000 patients were given advice and prescription medicine totalling £895 (Annual Report 1880–1881: 26), a high number of patients for any trained physician to medically examine and process. Writing in 1889, Dr Barnardo informed his supporters that Dr Milne had recently left his base at the Medical Mission in Shadwell and moved to the girls' village home where he would continue his role as Chief Medical Health Officer. Milne's influence and commitment to the evolution of the homes becomes increasingly traceable by the 1890s as the next section will explore.

Milne's Medical Diary: Recording Vital and Medical Statistics

As Dr Milne brought his growing medical experience and assistance to the homes, the organisation brandished a new outward projection of confidence relating to its medical infrastructure and sanitary arrangements. By the 1890s, for the first time, vital and medical statistical tables were drawn up in a detailed format and published in the annual reports. This is indicative of an organisation, with a Chief Medical Health Officer in charge that was willing to confidently share medical statistics in an apparent act of transparency to illustrate its rigorous institutional approach to maintaining the health of those in its care. For three consecutive years from 1896 to 1898, Dr Milne published vital and medical statistical tables in the annual reports that were drawn from his own medical diary. This level of medical transparency relating to all of the principal homes had not previously been provided by Barnardo's.

The following tables furnish a medical record of our four chief Homes for six years, being drawn up by Dr. Milne from 1891 to 1896:—

[TABLE BB.] DISEASES TREATED IN GIRLS' VILLAGE HOME, 1891 to 1896.

	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896
Nervous system :						
Chorea	—	—	—	—	—	—
Melancholia	2	3	3	2	1	—
Torticollis	1	—	—	—	2	1
Epilepsy	2	1	2	2	1	2
Hysteria	5	9	12	12	13	12
Neuralgia	3	1	1	—	2	4
Circulatory system	4	4	3	—	6	3
Respiratory :						
Bronchitis	44	36	48	30	24	20
Pneumonia	4	2	5	3	1	1
Pleurisy	3	1	2	6	1	1
Phthisis	11	12	14	16	17	24
Digestive :						
Stomatitis	—	—	—	—	—	5
Gastritis } Dyspepsia	47	42	53	48	40	49
Diarrhœa	3	9	5	6	3	8
Hepatitis	—	—	—	—	—	8
Skin :						
Pemphigus	4	3	2	5	7	8
Acne	7	5	8	14	12	14
Herpes	12	2	5	7	3	9
Eczema	36	40	36	50	30	37
Psoriasis	9	10	11	13	7	11
Urticaria	—	—	—	—	3	3
Erythema	—	—	—	—	4	2
Lichen	—	—	—	—	4	4
Acute Dermatitis	—	—	—	—	4	8
Fevers :						
Febricula	20	15	17	20	18	12
Erysipelas	7	—	—	—	6	6
Measles	—	48	—	—	—	9
Scarlet Fever	—	—	50	—	—	*15
Small-pox	—	—	1	—	—	—
Chicken-pox	—	9	5	6	—	2
Enteric Fever	—	—	2	5	—	—
Influenza	46	30	5	2	70	6
Eyes :						
Phlyct. Ophthalmia	3	1	1	2	2	4
Keratitis, including ulcers	10	12	10	5	8	16
Styes	4	2	3	4	6	4
Granular lids	2	2	3	4	3	7
Blepharitis	3	3	2	3	4	10
Catarrhal Ophthalmia	4	2	2	2	4	4
Iritis	1	—	—	—	2	—
Errors of Refraction	—	—	—	—	20	34

	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896
Nose :						
Post-nasal adenoids	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ozæna	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chest :						
Hæmoptysis	—	—	—	—	13	20
Abdomen :						
Peritonitis	—	—	—	—	3	7
Typhlitis	—	—	—	—	4	4
Tubercular disease of Bones, etc.	—	—	—	—	1	1
Teeth	18	12	10	8	14	24
Chilblains	100	108	70	96	120	115
Seborrhœa and Tinea	36	20	42	26	19	40
Sores	30	36	40	36	22	87
Sore Throats	20	10	7	9	18	22
Glands, enlarged and suppurating	38	38	30	60	34	41
Lymphadenoma	29	30	36	30	34	36
Otorrhœa	2	2	2	2	3	2
Parotitis	30	36	34	36	34	67
Boils (Abscesses)	2	5	3	—	3	2
Debility (Anæmia)	20	3	5	7	25	30
Accidents	18	19	9	14	20	21
Whooping Cough	18	7	14	18	25	26
Epistaxis	31	6	—	5	22	—
Syphilitic	4	4	5	9	7	6
Rupture	2	—	1	2	4	12
Synovitis	6	—	—	6	4	—
Lupus Vulgaris	—	—	—	—	1	1
Rheumatism	—	—	—	—	6	4
Acute Rheumatism	—	—	—	—	3	2
Periostitis	—	—	—	—	—	3
Incontinence	—	—	—	—	—	37
Insanity	—	—	—	—	—	1
Cramp	—	—	—	—	—	4
Pleurodynia	—	—	—	—	—	5
Paralysis	—	—	—	—	—	2
Pharyngitis	—	—	—	—	—	3
Laryngitis	—	—	—	—	—	2
Tumour	—	—	—	—	—	12
Total number of cases treated, of all sorts, in each year	753	670	624	642	775	1010

* In the foregoing table 15 scarlet fever cases are tabulated for 1896. The usual period for isolation in Metropolitan fever hospitals for this disease is from 8 to 12 weeks. The longest period of isolation for any of these 15 cases at Ilford has been three weeks, and for many of them only a fortnight.

Figure 5.5: Dr Milne's table of disease and ailments treated at the Girls' Village Home 1891–1896. (*Courtesy of Barnardo's archives*)

The following table exhibits statistics of disease similar to the foregoing for our *three* principal Boys' Homes, namely, at Stepney, the Youths' Labour House, and Leopold House, respectively:

[TABLE CC.] DISEASES TREATED AT THREE CHIEF BOYS' HOMES, 1891 TO 1896.

	STEPNEY.					YOUTHS' LABOUR HOUSE.					LEOPOLD HOUSE.				
	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896
Eyes:															
Phlect. Ophth.	2	3	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	3	—	—	—
Keratitis	10	8	4	5	3	7	5	1	1	1	8	4	1	—	—
Styes	5	—	3	2	5	—	1	5	1	3	4	6	5	—	2
Granular lids	10	4	3	4	8	—	1	2	1	3	2	30	12	4	3
Blepharitis	10	13	7	8	13	—	2	2	8	3	6	3	17	—	—
Catarrhal Ophth.	—	10	17	56	54	—	8	2	8	6	—	99	70	24	16
Iritis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Errors of Refraction	2	—	5	4	2	—	—	3	1	1	2	2	4	—	—
Nose:															
Post-nasal adenoids	4	2	4	12	18	—	—	1	—	—	10	12	2	3	4
Ozena	4	—	—	2	1	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—
Epistaxis	2	1	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	2
Hæmoptysis	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Abdomen:															
Peritonitis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Typhlitis	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—
Tubercular disease of Bones	3	4	3	4	3	1	1	1	—	—	12	2	3	1	1
Teeth	32	54	55	47	49	13	17	17	13	18	9	9	15	21	31
Chilblains (broken and un-broken)	3	2	1	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	12	37	50	49	70
Seborrhœa and Tinea	15	3	2	6	2	—	2	3	—	—	12	18	14	18	16
Sores	44	13	36	37	31	1	36	13	9	13	8	2	10	14	5
Sore Throats	13	29	45	36	17	4	29	45	17	18	10	10	20	23	31
Glands, enlarged and suppurating	8	8	7	8	6	—	3	1	—	—	4	10	7	3	8
Otorrhœa	8	10	14	11	20	2	6	2	7	14	4	7	4	6	20
Parotitis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Boils and Abscesses	42	36	37	31	25	10	22	14	5	16	17	17	14	19	21
Debility (Anæmia)	3	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	8	—	2
Accidents	56	58	78	47	62	20	27	30	20	41	12	11	14	30	23
Whooping Cough	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
Syphilitic	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—
Rickets	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rupture	3	6	5	3	3	—	3	4	3	3	1	4	4	3	4
Synovitis	—	3	2	4	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	4	4	1	—
Lupus Vulgaris	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rheumatism	14	11	5	9	5	1	7	7	4	13	—	11	4	3	3
Acute Rheumatism	3	2	3	1	1	—	3	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	3
Purpura	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—
Nervous System:															
Chorea	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Melancholia	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Torticollis	—	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Epilepsy	1	4	2	3	3	—	—	2	—	3	3	2	1	3	1
Hysteria	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Neuralgia	3	3	3	2	1	—	1	1	4	3	—	—	—	—	—
Circulatory system	2	5	4	2	2	1	1	1	3	4	1	1	1	1	2
Respiratory:															
Bronchitis	15	22	10	5	4	9	10	5	11	10	8	9	4	8	10
Pneumonia	4	2	2	—	1	1	—	2	2	2	1	2	—	3	7
Pleurisy	—	1	3	—	1	1	2	—	2	—	1	3	—	—	—
Phthisis	5	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	—	2	—	—	4	—	—
Digestive:															
Gastritis / Dyspepsia / Diarrhœa	35	31	16	11	18	9	10	7	6	10	4	14	15	10	27
	8	4	9	4	8	4	5	1	8	21	2	17	2	5	6
Skin:															
Pemphigus	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1
Rupia	4	1	2	3	—	—	2	—	2	—	1	—	1	—	—
Acne	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
Herpes	6	1	1	3	2	1	4	3	—	—	—	6	4	5	5
Eczema	7	4	5	2	1	—	2	—	—	4	12	14	8	11	11
Psoriasis	17	6	15	6	3	2	4	6	12	—	1	—	—	4	3
	1	1	1	3	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	408	376	417	392	386	co	219	183	157	221	174	375	336	276	339

Figure 5.6: Dr Milne's table of disease and ailments treated at the three principal boys' home; Stepney, Youth's Labour House, Leopold House 1891–1896. (*Courtesy of Barnardo's archives*)

[TABLE CC.]   DISEASES TREATED AT THREE CHIEF BOYS' HOMES, 1891 to 1896.—(Continued.)

	STEPNEY.					YOUTHS' LABOUR HOUSE.					LEOPOLD HOUSE.				
	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896
Carried forward	408	376	417	392	386	90	219	183	157	221	174	375	336	276	339
Skin—continued.															
Urticaria	1	1	1	2	1	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	2	2	—
Erythema	—	1	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	2	1	5
Lichen	—	2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5
Acute Dermatitis	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	3	2	—	—	1	1	1
Fevers :															
Febricula	28	32	15	18	12	4	8	4	2	6	17	15	13	36	32
Erysipelas	7	7	3	8	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	4	2	2	3
Measles	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	11	—
Scarlet Fever	6	14	—	4	1	—	2	—	—	—	10	5	9	42	31
Chicken-pox	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	5	2
Enteric Fever	3	10	3	—	1	2	2	1	—	—	8	1	3	—	—
Influenza	71	28	—	7	—	12	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Diphtheria	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	1	1	1
Malingerers	3	6	2	3	3	—	3	1	7	3	—	1	—	1	2
Morbus coxæ	2	3	6	3	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Angular Curvature	1	1	2	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1
Otalgia	13	12	8	12	4	—	4	2	3	2	—	—	4	1	1
Paronychia	2	7	6	6	4	—	—	—	3	—	—	4	1	—	—
Pharyngitis	—	4	2	—	6	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3
Laryngitis	1	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	8
Incontinence	12	5	5	6	6	—	2	3	2	1	30	20	24	18	3
Paralysis	1	4	4	4	6	—	—	—	—	—	3	4	5	4	10
Cephalalgy	11	5	6	12	6	—	2	4	4	3	—	4	5	2	20
Unclassified	13	24	20	20	16	—	1	8	11	10	6	12	10	13	20
Total	586	547	506	501	462	113	250	211	193	255	252	446	417	417	464

Figure 5.7: Dr Milne's table of disease and ailments treated at the three principal boys' home; Stepney, Youth's Labour House, Leopold House 1891–1896. (*Courtesy of Barnardo's archives*)

The tables statistically detailed five years of disease in the principal homes for boys and girls. Accompanying each table was a written update by Dr Barnardo on the latest year's medical developments and the health status of selected homes. It was reported that during 1896, for example, there had been no epidemics, but that 34 deaths occurred in the charity's homes which worked out at 4.73 deaths per 1,000 per annum, against a rate of 4.34 for the previous year. Dr Barnardo claimsed the good health of the children would be proven by the tables drawn up by Dr Milne (see **Figures 5.5, 5.6 & 5.7**). The footnote to **Figure 5.5** makes the detailed observation that at the Metropolitan fever hospital cases of scarlet fever required on average a period of isolation of 8–12 weeks compared to the cases at Ilford which required just three weeks or less. This comparison is being made to signify the good sanitary practice, surroundings and medical care available in the homes as opposed to those in specialist public hospitals. A similar presentation of medical statistics and results were published the following year in 1897. Tables of diseases were again listed repeating the same results from 1892 through to 1897 reaffirming the facts year on year. Again there is an entry by Dr Barnardo to supplement the tables of data:

"In the admission of boys and girls to the Homes no restriction is laid down as to physical health. The sick, the lame, the halt, the blind, the crippled the paralysed, the deformed, the incurable and even those in late stages of fatal illness are freely welcomed, provided they are destitute." (Annual Report, 1897: 133)

The level of destitution above all is what matters to admitting children. Barnardo's claimed that even the diseased, disabled and the dying would be accepted. This all-inclusive approach revealed an organisation who outwardly believed they had the capacity to medically attend to these children in need. Barnardo's also emphasised their willingness to admit and care for the

very young, the founder reminding readers that 'babies of even a few days old are to be found among my five thousand inmates.' (Annual Report, 1897: 133)

The image of the unhealthy, unsanitary diseased slums are painted in contrast to these healthy institutional settings:

> "the vast majority of our candidates come from amidst unsavoury, unwholesome surroundings; from overcrowded dwellings and unsanitary streets. One or two of the London Homes, too, are necessarily situated in districts which are by no means the most salubrious. Stepney Causeway, for instance, in its original form, was it must be confessed, little better than a slum!" (Annual Report, 1897: 133)

Despite the unhealthy locations of some of the homes, Dr Barnardo used the statistical evidence provided by the tables to underline the improved levels of health within his homes. He claimed 'the regular habits, the careful dietary, the systematic drill' are the quotidian factors which allowed for daily maintenance of a good healthy body. The report went on to showcase the medical infrastructure of the homes by listing the infirmaries and hospitals at the charity's various branches. The 'human resources' these homes were also acknowledged, including Dr Robert Mine and his assistant Dr Nunn who resided at the Village H. M. Hospital, Dr C. Long the 'medical woman' at superintendent of Babies' Castle, and Dr Jane Walker who periodically inspected all the boarded-out children. As Dr Barnardo insisted:

> "Most of our Local Branches, too, are under the supervision of medical men, who often give their services to the children. Of course, there is an adequate nursing staff attached to each hospital." (Annual Report, 1897: 134).

Listing the medical arrangements of the homes, the facilities, resources and of course the staff serves to showcase a medically-focused organisation willing and able to respond to a whole range of bodies as well as revitalise and maintain the good health of their children. The 1897 death rate of 4.29 per 1,000 was claimed by Dr Barnardo to be a rate that any medical officer would regard as low, even for the healthiest districts of Britain. Again a comparison was made to the Metropolitan fever hospital on the topic of scarlet fever. During 1897, 45 cases were treated at the home. However, the report claimed patients on average spent 15 days in the home's hospitals with no cases of the infection spreading. It was claimed that this was due to the close monitoring of those infected as well as the application of unction via the 'Milne method' of treatment, boastfully contrasted to statistics which show a usual 8–12 week isolation recovery period at the fever hospital (Annual Report, 1897: 134-135).

The same formulaic narrative of showcasing the medical capacity and achievements of the home is applied one final time in once again near identical format in 1898 (same template as **Figures 5.5, 5.6 & 5.7**). The only change in the accompanying text is the update which records 26 deaths, an average death rate of 4.09 per 1000 illustrating a slight decrease on the previous year. There is also an added note to report an outbreak of diphtheria which closed the Babies' castle for three weeks and also affected the boys at Leopold House (Annual Report, 1898: 135).

1898 was the final year these vital and medical statistics were written about and published in this extensive and detailed format in the annual reports although such statistics did continue to appear in summaries of the specific homes. The willingness and intent of the organisation to publish Dr Milne's medical records may have been sparked by wider social anxieties. The records certainly align with climaxing societal fears, fuelled by concerns surrounding racial

degeneration, the decline of empire and the fin de siècle (Aalen 1989; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). It is possible these tables published for the supporters of the charity, are responding to these anxieties centred on the physical health of Britain's population, particularly the condition of the next generation and the future of the nation and, in turn, the epire. By publishing Milne's records, Barnardo's is publicly declaring the ways this medically-equipped organisation was attempting to reverse these fears by improving the 'stock' of the population (a phrase he frequently used), removing children from their apparent diseased, degenerative surroundings and into the high standard of healthcare available in the homes. This would ensure their survival and transition into healthy citizens who could carry the torch for nation and empire (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). As other scholars have identified, this was part of a wider move during this late-Victorian period to provide a healthy institutional setting for the next generation of Britons (Murdoch, 2006; Swain and Hillel, 2010).

Healing Wounds: Producing Healthy Citizens

There is evidence to suggest Dr Milne was developing pioneering medical practices during his time at the homes. More importantly these stories of medical achievement were carefully promoted and retold to the supporters through the charity's associated magazines. One case reported on in *Ups & Downs*, the Canadian-based Barnardo's periodical in 1903, provided a detailed account of Dr Milne completing a skin graft operation on a young girl. The article, written by Milne himself, began by highlighting his commitment to the homes and his quarter-of-a-century experience at Barnardo's. Milne records 'some years earlier,' no precise date is given, a girl at Ilford was badly burned on her neck, chin, cheeks and forearms. After assessing her severe wounds, Milne stated that he did not believe recovery would be possible and the girl would at least be left 'a poor helpless object with disfigured face and useless hands.' (Dr Milne,

1903: 19). After deliberating what to do, Milne went to the Stepney Boys' Home where he told the story to some 400 boys, asking if it would be possible for them to each donate a piece of skin to graft upon girls injuries. Of the 400, 200 boys were said to have stepped forward. Even after explaining that the procedure would be painful, not a single boy reportedly stepped down.

Milne reports in detail that a piece of skin was taken from each of the boys' arms measuring two and half inches by one inch. Altogether 137 pieces were grafted onto the burned girl, and according to the story, every one of the pieces held. Milne, complementing his own successful medical intervention, wrote that the 'maiden' left the Village Home some years later with full use of both hands and without disfigurement to her face or neck. It is difficult to know how truthful or how successful Milne's skin graft operation was given that it was written for a philanthropic fundraising periodical. Herman (2002) states that by 1871, doctors were using skin grafts to treat burns. However, the recipient's immune system regularly rejected the donated skin. It would not be until the 1940s when Peter Medawar's breakthrough in skin transplants and immunological understanding helped to eventually forward this medical practice (Herman, 2002). But Milne's account not only served to promote his own innovative work by showcasing the apparent pioneering medical technologies taking place in home, he employed it as testament to the human emotion and moral courage he had encountered at Barnardo's:

'This was a noble act, a painful sacrifice, an heroic deed, worthy of being placed side by side with the soldiers who have won the Victoria Cross. Its parallel I do not know. It is, however, on a par with the kindly spirit, readiness to help and take care of the weak and crippled ones that I have always admired in the old Home.' (Dr Milne, 1903: 19).

This story embodies the 'altruistic spirit' of the homes, which the homes sought to cultivate. More widely it is perhaps indicative of the biblical ethos of Barnardo's, with its encouragement to 'Love thy Neighbour,' while also instilling a duty of responsibility, seen as a vital component in the making of good, honest citizens. In a Christmas message to Barnardo's Canadian migrants, Milne articulated a wider moral mission of the charity: 'work braces and strengthens and keeps from many a disease. Thrift carefully looks ahead, and is always ready for a rainy day.' (Dr Milne, 1903: 20)

In his obituary twenty years later, it was noted how Dr Milne came to truly represent the 'Barnardo tradition' maybe more than any other surviving co-worker (*Night & Day* 1923: 270–271). Like Miss Terrell, it seems that Milne shaped and influenced the development of the organisation and the manner in which the children were guided and instructed. An advocate of the charity's migration schemes (discussed in chapter 7); he finished his 1903 Christmas message to the Canadian migrants with an upbeat message capturing the institution's vision:

> "My heartiest congratulations go out to you all in the great land of your adoption, where I trust you will ever be loyal and true citizens. I sincerely desire your prosperity and success both in vigour of body and in robustness of mind." (Dr Milne, 1903: 20)

Speaking out directly to the Barnardo's Canadian migrants via this public medium does two important things. Firstly it preaches to the children themselves the values of patriotism, citizenship and productivity achieved through the development of sound bodies and minds. Their own personal health is connected to the broader health and vitality of the nation and empire (Swain and Hillel, 2010). On the other hand, this address is made public allowing supporters to view how the organisation functions and the kinds of nation-building ideals and

values it instils in its child migrants. The account provides a means to allude transparently to the ways in which Barnardo's was reacting to wider pressures associated with the fin de siècle and to rising imperial competitiveness, while also allowing it to respond to the negative press surrounding Canadian child migrants (Zeiniger-Bargielowska, 2011; Lynch, 2016; Murdoch, 2006). There was a public concern at the widely articulated view that Britain was only sending out its 'degenerates' and the 'criminal class' to the colonies (Wagner, 1977). Milne's address served to appease this public concern by flaunting the kinds of values the organisation stood for, illustrating that these children embodied a positive set of ideals instilled by Barnardo's which they would take forth into their imperial lives (Murdoch, 2006; Swain and Hillel, 2010).

The 'Milne Method'

Dr Milne's own methods for treating disease in the homes were beginning to surface in medical literature outside of the organisation by the beginning of the twentieth century. This final section will firstly examine some of the controversial methods Milne developed and proposed from his time working at the homes to combat infectious disease. More significantly the section will explore how these procedures were both framed and justified in the way of a 'Barnardo tradition' that was increasingly aligning itself with national and imperial interests (Beckingham, 2013; Swain and Hillel, 2010).

> "To prevent the spread of and to heal Infectious Disease was at all times the highest aim of the Medical Profession." (Dr Paul Elrich quoted in Dr Milne 1914: 2)

During his time working as the Chief Medical Health Officer to the Barnardo's homes, Dr Milne pioneered several methods to curb and manage the spread of infectious disease amongst

the children. The above quote introduced Milne's publication entitled *The Prevention of Infectious Diseases (Scarlet Fever and Measles July, 1914)*. Dr Elrich published work on the antigen-antibody reaction, an extension of germ theory, sourcing much of his research his work in the institutional context during the late-Victorian and Edwardian period (McManus and Mitchell, 2014: 3779). Milne's pamphlet, printed by 'Dr Barnardo's Homes, Stepney Causeway, London, E.' collects together various case studies of outbreaks of infectious diseases that occurred since his time with the organisation. From this bank of evidence Milne demonstrated the series of institutional measures he suggested be put in place in order to prevent disease in the homes. The pamphlet principally showcased the 'Milne Method' which aimed to effectively treat children infected with measles and scarlet fever via the means of an anti-isolation treatment. The text began by referring to outbreaks of measles and scarlet fever at the homes, especially those at the Girls' Village Home. Since the outbreaks of the 1880s, when so many were infected, Dr Milne claimed that as a consequences of the practices he introduced, the cases of infection in the homes had since dropped. Milne argued that the rapid spread of disease was caused by 'pen and pencil' infection:

'Throughout our country, twice daily, millions of pens, pencils and ink- erasers are distributed to the children in our schools. They are put in a common box away from light and air, locked in a cupboard, never washed or disinfected, but handed out indiscriminately on the next occasion. Moreover, like ourselves in our earlier days, the children as evidenced in any school, suck and chew them. Thus, the germs are carefully preserved for future action, for, from these, cultures have been made. Could the worst enemy of the children devise a surer way for the dissemination of scarlet fever, measles, diphtheria, tuberculosis, syphilis and it may be dental caries?' (Milne, 1914: 3)

Pen and pencils were considered by Milne to be the main vehicles that harboured the germs that carried and spread the disease. Only with the advent of germ theory could this identification at a bacterial level have been made (on this see, for example, Tomes, 1998; Worboys, 2006). This is conclusive evidence of how the discipline of bacteriology was disseminating and entering into institutional understandings of disease and different modes of preventative practice (Worboys, 2006). Dr Milne continued: "Every child in the Homes under my care has its own pen, pencil, etc., carefully marked and kept for its own use only. Interchange cannot take place." (Milne, 1914: 3)

Individually designated stationary was the intervention Dr Milne therefore introduced into all of the homes to decrease the chances of disease spreading. Due to such preventative measures which were employed across each of the homes, Dr Milne stated that the organisation did not require isolation hospitals or isolation beds in any of the homes. It was confidently asserted the number of infected would never reach high enough numbers to justify committing money and resources to isolation facilities. In contrast Milne argued that isolation hospitals which catered for half the population of residents in workhouse schools were necessary because the demand in these diseased and unhealthy spaces was much higher.

The aptly named 'Milne method' was specifically developed for treating scarlet fever and measles. This mode of treatment sought to minimise the spread of infection and decrease the risk of complications via secondary infections:

> "I believe that all the throat, nose, ear, gland, kidney, as well as other troubles arise, not from the pure scarlet fever germ, but from these secondary infections. So also with measles and the complications thereupon." (Milne, 1914: 4).

Under a subheading entitled, 'Management,' Milne relayed the two key factors in managing infectious diseases; the prevention of infection and the prevention of complications. The 'Milne Method,' it was claimed, embodied both of these factors.

THE " MILNE " METHOD
of dealing with outbreaks of Scarlet Fever and Measles.

——o——

This method, introduced by my father, the late Dr. Robert Milne, is carried out as follows :—

PREVENTION.

Every child exposed to the infection of either of the above named diseases should be sprinkled with Eucalyptus Oil three times a day ; in the morning—on rising—and at mid-day, ten drops of the oil should be sprinkled or placed (not sprayed) on the underclothing over the front of the chest, and similarly at bed-time on the night apparel in front of the chest. This must be continued in the case of Scarlet Fever infection for *ten* days from the last day on which the child might have been infected. In the case of Measles the sprinkling should continue for eighteen days from the last date of infection.

TREATMENT.

A. *Scarlet Fever.*

Any case where there is the slightest sore throat with any other suggestive symptom, should have the Treatment begun *AT ONCE*, without waiting even for confirmation by the Doctor.

The patient is gently rubbed all over his body from head to foot (including the scalp) with Eucalyptus Oil ; this must be repeated night and morning for the first four days, and then in the morning only, for six more days.

Also the throat must be " swabbed " or painted with Carbolic Oil every two hours for 24 hours, *or* every four hours for three or four days, according to the severity of the throat symptoms.

B. *Measles.*

In addition to the above details of treatment, the patient must have a " cage " (or surgical cradle), covered with fine gauze soaked in Eucalyptus oil, over his head. The gauze should be of fine mesh, but thin enough for the patient to see through the gauze. By means of the impregnated gauze over his head the patient is prevented from coughing infected mucus abroad in the room.

✥   ✥   ✥   ✥

N.B. The success of the method depends on its application early in the disease, the earlier the better, and still more on the thoroughness and care with which the method is carried out.

The Eucalyptus Oil must be of the finest quality, golden-yellow in colour, and aromatic (not irritant) in aroma.

The Carbolic Oil is a ten per cent. solution, in Olive oil.

JAMES A. MILNE, M.D., Lond., D.P.H.,
Joint Medical Officer,
Dr. Barnardo's Homes.

Thurlby House,
Woodford Bridge, Essex.

Figure 5.8: The "Milne" Method for treating Scarlet Fever and Measles (*Courtesy of Barnardo's Archive*)

Published by his son, Dr James Milne who would also go on to become the Chief Medical Health Officer to Barnardo's homes, the 'Milne Method' was step-by-step guide to treating outbreaks of disease (with a slight variance in application for between measles and scarlet fever). An A5-sized pamphlet like this shown above, would have been distributed to each of the homes. Hamlett (2015) has argued documents like this formed part of the institutional apparatus designed to deliver uniform practice across the different homes and centralise medical procedure in the event of outbreaks; they created a universal standard for medical practice. Using both carbolic oil and eucalyptus oil, the treatment was only deemed to be effective if the programme of application was meticulously followed. Both the condition of the patient and the timings had to be closely observed:

'It is no untried method I have laid before you, but the studied results of these many years of testing and proving. The deciphering of these facts, as well as the reading of the same, has been the careful elaboration of over thirty years.' (Milne, 1914: 20)

A tried and tested mode of treatment developed from his thirty years of duty at Barnardo's, Dr Robert Milne's 1914 pamphlet revealed additional information for application of the method. Milne advised that infected children must not sleep in the same bed whilst undergoing the treatment. The children could however 'safely sleep and occupy the same room with 450 cubic feet of space.' (Milne, 1914: 15). In this case, Milne takes into consideration the quality of air and rate of ventilation for treatment room. This exhibits how medical understandings during this epidemiological transitional period were still borrowing from the two schools of thought on sanitary sciences: miasma theory and bacteriology's germ theory (Allen, 2008; Thorsheim, 2006; Tomes, 1998). A marriage of both of these coexisting theories on the spread of disease, it demonstrates an awareness of wider debates around fresh air in interior surroundings,

particularly relating to treatment of the diseased (Mosley, 2003; Neiswander, 2008). Milne suggested that in the event of measles, the patients bed could be covered with a 'fleecy gauze curtain,' which would further help to prevent the dissemination of germ-loaded phlegm. The curtains could be sprayed or sprinkled 'from time to time with the oil and thus germs are destroyed' (Milne, 1914: 16). It is understood that this simple method was used for 30 years in the homes and:

> 'has completely prevented the spread of measles, while the curtain enables children to sleep in the same room with perfect safety. The temperature of the room should be kept over 60 degrees Fahr.' (Milne, 1914: 16)

Milne suggests that by observing the method as well as creating a suitable environment to aid the patient's recovery, infected children could be safely housed together preventing the disease from spreading any further. The application of the method and the consideration given to the air quality, temperature and sleeping arrangements reveals how Milne was borrowing from a mixture of medical schools of thought to devise what he believed to be an effective mode of treating scarlet fever and measles. As Mosley (2003) and Tomes (1998) have argued, germ theory and sanitary science theories surrounding miasmas, did not cancel each other out, but coexisted and even complemented both sets of theories and beliefs surrounding the spread of disease. Milne's method is evidence for the embodiment of a melding of different approaches to disease management and is more widely representative of a period of transition when theories of new and old coexisted and influenced institutional medical practice. He claimed that not only was his method effective for treating disease but also proposes that secondary infection would never occur, with complications being uncommon. This allowed children to be housed and treated together without the need for isolation.

The pamphlet includes an array of statistics and case studies from Milne's time at the homes to prove the efficacy of the method. A section entitled 'Figures in Support' particularly aimed to prove that cross-infection did not take place in the wards at the homes where he was treating other patients for scarlet fever. As well as statistics, Milne lists the different types of operations that were performed whilst infected subjects were present in the ward also. These included procedures that ranged from circumcision and skin grafting to the removal of a scapula. He suggested that cross-infection did not occur and patients with different ailments and medical requirements could be safely treated together. In one instance Milne draws evidence from a case of scarlet fever which happened on 9th February 1909 at the Stepney Boys' Home. Out of the 300 boys who resided at the home, 35 were infected by 9th April. The hospital ward at the H. M. Hospital where these cases of infection were treated contained 200 patients seeking other medical attention. Milne claims that cross-infection was completely absent.

Milne's pamphlet offers further insights into institutional practice. In response to outbreaks of diseases 'in more recent time' that had occurred at the Village Home, it was noted that the A5 sized instructive document (see **Figure 5.8**) was circulated to all the cottages so every cottage mother and nurse could follow directions for prevention, rather than isolating the infected. Reference is also made to treatment at Felixstowe Convalescent Home:

> "During the past few years, in our Seaside Home at Felixstowe, where we had a most experienced Matron, measles has appeared on three different occasions, among three different lots of children and months apart. The different parties numbered from thirty to fifty. The cases were treated at once. There was neither infection nor complication. The medical attendant said it was most wonderful." (Milne, 1914: 20).

The method came to be the primary mode of treatment for measles and scarlet fever. However, as the following extracts portray, the treatment gained a level of credibility in the medical world that went beyond Barnardo's homes:

JOURNAL EXTRACTS.

"Dr. Milne's paper ought to be carefully studied. It sounds the death-knell of the Isolation Hospital, and we heartily wish that, even on the grounds of economy, the Local Government Board would adopt Dr. Milne's suggestions."—*The Medical Times.*

"Other capable observers, following Dr. Milne's methods, testify to the efficacy of his suggestions ; nor has anyone ever cast any doubt as to the accuracy of his statements, nor refuted his conclusions. . . . Meantime, we would beg that the absence of scientific proof should not interfere with the greater proof in all instances, namely, experience ; and we would urge the practical application, even on an emperic basis, of Dr. Milne's pronouncements, and leave the proof of how disease spreads until such time as the laboratory authorities see fit to explain what experience has taught as to the 'home treatment of Scarlet Fever and Measles.'"—*The Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene.*

> "Laboratorie de Physiologie et de Microbologie,
>
> "Paris, le 8/12/15.

"Mon Cher *Confrere,*

"How happy am I at your triumph at the Paris Academy of Medicine. Your treatment of Scarlet Fever is perfect, and will become the only method adopted by every Dr.

> "Yours very sincerely,
>
> "FELIX DE BACKER."

Some Reports.

"This treatment appears very simple, and if a thorough trial demonstrates its utility there can be no doubt that the domicilary treatment of Scarlet Fever will be to the fore in the future."—*The Medical Times*, 20/12/13.

"In Leith Dr. Robertson estimates that he has saved the ratepayers one penny in the pound per annum over Scarlet Fever alone ; and what is true of Leith could, doubtless, be applied to other towns and boroughs."—*The Hospital*, 3/4/14.

"It certainly undermined all ordinary ideas when one saw a case of Scarlet Fever peeling profusely in a general surgical ward, playing without any restriction with its bedfellows. Municipal authorities would want to know more about the treatment before spending large sums on extending

Figure 5.9: Extracts from the medical world verifying the effectiveness of the 'Milne' Method**.**

(*Courtesy of Barnardo's archives*)

211

Isolation Hospitals. The cost of Isolation Hospitals has been calculated at three millions stirling, and most of them had come to the conclusion that the isolation treatment of Scarlet Fever has been a failure. He was strongly in favour of Dr. Milne's treatment."—Dr. NASH, Wimbledon, and Dr. McWALTER. Discussion B.M.J., 3/9/10.

"In this direction it can only do good if Dr. Milne's experiences are widely known and acted on."—*Lancet*, 21/8/15.

"The same method of treatment has been tried by many private practitioners, and, so far as I know, with uniformly satisfactory results. Certain experiences of my own lead me to believe that most cases could be so treated, and Hospital isolation thus become unnecessary. . . . Assuming that the results were satisfactory, our Scarlet Fever Wards, now apparently wasted, could be adopted with greater advantage."—Dr. THRESH, Annual Report, 1910.

"A revolutionary work by Dr. Milne. The writer's conclusions and contentions cannot be set aside by unbelief or prejudice, but must be submitted to unequivocal examination and experiment."—*British Journal of Inebriety*, April, 1910.

"If Scarlet Fever can easily be prevented from spreading, then a large number of beds in our Isolation Hospitals may be made available for other purposes."—*Lancet*, 13/3/10.

"We may say definitely that we can, from our own personal experiences, endorse every word Dr. Milne writes."—*The Medical Times*.

"One can hardly imagine such a method would be adopted without awakening vehement protests. . . . We can only register the facts, so extraordinary, but so troublesome by their multiplicity, which the English doctor guarantees."—A. GAUILLIEN HARDY, *Gazettes des Hospitaux*, 24/6/11.

"Many would, I believe, try the experiment if they could feel certain that they were not laying themselves open to an action for damages.

"The enormous pecuniary and other advantages which would accrue to the community if Dr. Milne's claims were substantiated, as I believe they could be, lead me to hope

Figure 5.10: Extracts from the medical world verifying the effectiveness of the 'Milne' Method. (*Courtesy of Barnardo's archives*)

212

that some means may be devised whereby the treatment can be tested under conditions which would render the results conclusive."—JOHN C. THRESH, Esq., M.D., D.Sc., in a note read by the Chairman of the Epidemiological Section, Royal Society of Medicine, during the discussion on Paper 26 II., 1909.

"Dr. Milne is certainly the first who attacked both by throat and skin."—DR. EWART, B.M.J.

"That he had seen some of Dr. Milne's work, and the time had now come when the Local Government Board ought to give permission to Medical Officers of Health and private practitioners to carry it out, or, there must be an Act passed by the House of Commons authorising them to do so."—DR. SEATON, when delivering his Chadwick Lectures, University of London.

"When I read a paper before 'The Childhood Society' a former President of the Local Government asked me during the discussion :—If I could explain how it was that we had so few epidemics among the children under my care in Dr. Barnardo's Homes, and how, when we did have cases they were so few in number, while in our (workhouse) schools we have so many epidemics, and these generally affect one-half or sometimes two-third of the children in residence?

"Advantages of this treatment :—

"(1) Prevention at the beginning of the attack, not waiting till convalescence when all the mischief has been done.

"(2) Children are not compelled to leave home and go to hospital.

"(3) Cases milder, throat infection less severe.

"(4) Duration of illness less.

"(5) Children's education not interfered with as there is no risk of infection being carried to school.

"(6) Infected children not to be kept in solitary confinement for a long period, six weeks or more, but mix with other children.

"(7) Mothers and children appreciate the treatment.

"(8) Satisfactory, Efficient, Economical."

DR. J. R. S. PARK, Report, 1911.

Figure 5.11: Extracts from the medical world verifying the effectiveness of the 'Milne' Method. (*Courtesy of Barnardo's archives*)

The long list of medical recommendations point to a nationwide application of the Milne method. The main advantage that threads through these recommendations is the cost-effectiveness of the method aligning more broadly with interests surrounding national efficiency. Nevertheless, not everyone in the medical world agreed that the Milne Method was an effective and safe mode of treatment. Franklin Parson's book *Isolation Hospitals* (1914) discussed the efficacy of the Milne Method in a section entitled "Substitutes for hospital isolation." Parson claimed this anti-isolation method was originally advocated by the late Mr Brendan Curgenven "and more recently revived in a modified form by Dr Robert Milne, medical officer to Dr Barnardo's Homes." (Parsons, 1914: 55). Dr Milne is quoted defending the usefulness and wider impact of the method:

> 'When this treatment is commenced early – and I emphasise the fact that early treatment is vital – secondary infection never occurs, and complications are unknown. With this treatment carefully carried out I have no hesitation in allowing children to occupy the same room or even sleep in the same bed. The mother is free to attend to both the patient and her duties, the father is free to go to work without the slightest risk, and the children are equally free to attend school.' (Parsons, 1914: 55)

Countering Milne's claims, Parsons refers to a series of case studies where the method had been unsuccessfully applied. The medical superintendents employed at the Plaistow Hospital used the method in every scarlet fever case during one year. One of these, Dr Biernacki, reported that cross-infections became more common, a number of probationers acquired scarlet fever in the course of their duties, doubtful cases contracted scarlet fever from genuine cases in the wards and at the convalescent home there was an increased prevalence of septic complications, particularly otitis amongst the scarlet fever patients. It was also claimed that the

number of returning cases rose above the average (Parsons, 1914). In response, Dr Milne believed that in this hospital setting, the medical attendant was unable to apply the treatment at the earliest period of disease, a factor Milne considered to be vital for the efficacy of the treatment.

Despite this, Parsons claimed that even if the treatment worked under the conditions of an institution such as Barnardo's home where the children were continually under observation and where initial symptoms of the fever such as a sore throat, vomiting and feverishness be detected:

'it cannot be effectually applied to scarlet fever in the general community where notification of a case is rarely, if ever, received on the first day and often not for several days after its commencement, by which time other persons have already contracted infection.' (Parsons, 1914: 56)

Parsons made further critical claims that the carrying out of the treatment with the prescribed frequency would be impracticable in most households without the aid of a trained nurse and even if local authorities were empowered and facilitated to engage and pay nurses for their employment on a scale sufficient enough to deal with a serious outbreak of scarlet fever, this would be a costly venture. Extended evidence against the method was included in an Annual Report by Dr Park Medical Officer Health for Duckinfield, near Manchester, in 1910. The reports gives an account of an 18-month trial of the eucalyptus treatment in that Borough, and underlines that Dr Park was in fact satisfied with results. Despite this reasonable success, various logistical hurdles of properly applying the treatment were experienced. Complications could not be prevented due to the impracticable nature of the treatment and the difficulty of

starting the treatment at the earliest possible show of symptoms, a measure which could only be achieved in an orphanage or children's home through the close monitoring and constant supervision of patients (Parsons, 1914).

The efficacy of the method was a topic of scrutiny and debate. However, when examining the historical contexts from which the Milne method arose, it is possible to begin to unpack the justification for employing the anti-isolation treatment at a national and even international scale. In listing the numerous advantages of the method, Milne underlines the cost-effectiveness of the treatment firstly in relation to the homes, and then to the wider economy. In the homes, Milne claims that the ability to treat infected cases together with 'normal' patients in the hospital wards would get rid of the need to unnecessarily construct isolation facilities (Milne, 1914). Furthermore if the 'provisos' relating to the course of treatment were carefully followed and monitored in an institutional setting, it was believed patients could make a rapid recovery, resulting in all-round benefit to the homes. But Milne extended his argument for application of the method beyond the homes and pointed out the advantages for the wider economy. The pamphlet notes: 'Cases in the hospital cost the ratepayer from £10 to £30 per patient; by this method and supplying all the necessaries [it would cost] from 2s. 6d. to 5s. per case.' (Milne, 1914: 5)

Justified and framed as helping the national economy and decreasing the financial burden on the taxpayer's wallet, the proposed method was believed to save money on hospital costs and medical facilities. However, Milne suggested the method could also boost the 'household economy' and a family's wider well-being:

'(a) The mother is free to attend both the patient and her duties.

(b) The father is free to go to work.

(c) The healthy children are free to go to school.

(d) Its absolute cleanliness; the volatile oil does not stain linen.' (Milne, 1914: 6)

Milne suggested the method allowed 'in-home' treatment which could speed up the recovery time of the infected and let the average family carry on as normal. This had positive implications for the productivity of the family unit with minimal disruption and an ability to continue as normal, even during times of an outbreak. Milne's treatment was marketed for creating a productive workforce for a productive nation. Anti-isolation treatment of scarlet fever and measles could save money, free up hospitals and cause minimal disruption to the working population, contributing to increased output and efficiency. During the period leading up to the outbreak of World War One, issues such as degeneration theory and increased imperial competition would have made Milne's method all the more appealing (Hamlin, 1992). Furthermore, after the war broke out, Milne writes elsewhere that by employing the method, beds and facilities at isolation hospitals could be spared for wounded soldiers (Milne, 1915). Hamlin (1992) argues that during early-mid Victorian era, there was "gratuitous rejection of a sophisticated understanding of the manifold determinants of health, in favour of a focus on a single, and hypothetical exciting cause" (Hamlin, 1992; 43). The new reductionist wave of public health and sanitary science was favoured due to its applicable nature. There is a direct parallel with the applicability and grounds for justification of the Milne method half a century later. Considering Milne's own justification for applying the method as well as the reasons provided by the medical community, the treatment neatly aligned with the contemporary requirements of a competing imperial nation and of a charity seeking to contain its costs. The framing and justification for the applicability of the treatment therefore surpassed its efficacy. Milne believed his treatment could aid the healthy future and vitality of a nation and empire by

217

breeding a new health race of citizens: 'By this means also shall we help to raise a strong and noble race of men and women for our grand old native land.' (Milne, 1914: 20). As he writes elsewhere:

> 'Measles is one of the most mischievous of diseases, not only because it causes annually a large number of deaths, but because it strikes at the foundations of national life; it attacks the young, kills many out of hand, and leaves many others an easy prey to those lymphatic disorders which open the way to tuberculosis, or to a condition of general debility, which means stunted growth. Scarlet Fever is only less deadly because it is not quite so limited to childhood and early life.' (Dr Milne *British Medical Journal* (Editorial), July 3rd, 1915.)

For Dr Milne infectious diseases such as measles were a concern for the progress of the nation as they hindered Britain's future by attacking its young. It was suggested disease could not only lead to death, but could also lead to 'general debility' stunting the growth of developing children. Milne's focus on the physical debility is symbolic and indicative of wider debates during the period. A focus on the body resonates with a discourse of physicality which symbolised a wider idealisation of the physicality of the body's growth and development (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). Bodies had to be ready to face the daily grind of the workplace but also the battlefields. Concerns had already plagued the British Army a decade earlier during the Boer War and now Britain was again at war requiring soldiers that had to be physically fit to fight in combat. Milne therefore believed it important to raise a generation of citizens physically fit for work but more pressingly for war (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). Improving the stock of the population, and avoiding degenerative, infectious diseases that 'strike at the foundations of national life' underlined the intended outcome of Milne's work.

However, Dr Milne could justifiably and effectively position his method as the nation's answer to these child-based diseases. It was a treatment that promoted on the ground that it could minimise disruption and ensure the fast and effective recovery of patients so they could return to their productive roles in society.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined Barnardo's response to the diseased body by an investigation into the development of institutional practices and protocols to deal with epidemics in the homes and the preventative measures taken by members of staff to curb the impact of disease and reduce fatalities. Barnardo's was an organisation that became increasingly medicalised, but also became increasingly calculating by taking the opportunity to publicly report each outbreak in order to generate sympathy and raise the funds necessary to make the changes considered to be vital for the future management of disease. The chapter has also shown that this was an organisation that became progressively preoccupied with safeguarding the health and well-being of the young and vulnerable. As more homes for the very young opened, Barnardo's spent money and resources converting these branches into fortresses against death and disease. On-site infirmaries, medical staff and resources, and sanitary arrangements epitomised the homes for the young ensuring these children the best chance of survival, providing the opportunity to pass through the sequential phases devised by the organisation to create the ideal end product: a productive citizen of nation and empire. Moral reformation and social transformation began with good physical health. This institutional shift was shaped by wider discourses of imperialism and a desire to secure Britain's future prosperity by ensuring the health of the next generation. Much of Dr Milne's work was tied to broader national interests which influenced how medical treatment was both carried out in the homes and beyond and

was justified in relation to the wider contexts of creating citizens fit for reproducing nation and empire. However, creating the well-rounded citizen was not solely restricted to preventing disease and securing physical health. It also encompassed the morality, spirituality and overall well-being of the children. This could be achieved through daily routines and practices which promoted a healthy body and soul in the contexts of the everyday institutional setting and this will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Inside the Homes:
Institution and the Everyday

6.1 INTRODUCTION

As discussed in the previous chapter, the institution's response to the scarlet fever outbreak of 1879 was commended by the government inspector because of the protocols put in place to minimise the impact of the disease and limit the spread of infection. The chapter also reveals, though to a much lesser extent, that like many of its contemporaries Barnardo's was equally concerned with establishing an environment that promoted the health and wellbeing of the children and young people in its care. Taken from *Night & Day*, the following extract from the inspector's report provides some further indication of the nature of this concern. As it states of the 'inmates':

> '[…] They enjoy a regular and wholesome dietary, and abundant and wholesome water-supply, their surroundings are typical of cleanliness, and their opportunities for healthy means of exercise and recreation are exceptionally favourable.' *(Night & Day,* 1880: 45)

The inspector was not alone in making this assessment, which refers not only to the sanitary conditions of the Homes but also to the 'healthy' environment they fostered. Sometime after, Lord Brabazon reinforced this view on the care provided by the charity; stating that one of its

defining features was that it 'cares for the bodies as well as for the minds' of the children (*Night & Day*, 1888: 78).

The focus of Brabazon's observation should come as little surprise, he was widely published on the question and, in particular, on what he regarded as the pressing need to promote the health of mind and body amongst the nation's urban-dwelling youth (Brabazon, 1881: 1886). More importantly, it suggests, as does the inspector's report, that the environment into which the children were placed was one that sought to replicate Victorian concerns with health and vitality, and not only disease. As Haley (1978) outlines, from the early part of the nineteenth-century questions of health were closely intertwined with those of physiology; perhaps best illustrated by the enduring success of Dr Thomas Southwood Smith's *Philosophy of health: Or, an exposition of the physiological and sanitary conditions conducive to longevity and happiness* (1835). A physician and prominent sanitary reformer, Southwood Smith's *Philosophy of Health* had reached its eleventh edition by the time of his death in 1861. It was clearly a widely read and influential text and, though its primary purpose was to promote the study of the 'nature of man [sic]' through a focus on the structure and function of mind and body, its significance here lies with the model of health that it helped to perpetuate into the latter decades of the nineteenth century. As Haley argues, this model emerged as a 'common means of conceptualizing psychological health as well as the health of the whole person, mind and body together' (1978: 19).

As this chapter will demonstrate, this model of health informed the everyday routines and institutional practices that structured the lives of the young people in Dr Barnardo's care. However, it is also apparent from the records that remain of their quotidian lives that it was not only Southwood Smith's physiological conception of health that was at play in the Homes.

Returning to Haley, running in parallel with this material understanding of health were religious discourses that promoted the importance of human spirituality to health as well as others that located health within a dynamic and relational conceptualisation of human-environment interactions. As an evangelical Christian, Barnardo did, of course, ensure that the Homes attended to what he regarded as the spiritual needs of his inmates; this is well documented (Wagner, 1979; Murdoch, 2006). Much less has been said, however, about the everyday routines and practices operating within the Homes and the ways in which they sought to ensure the young people in their care were in a state of *vitality* – that is, 'activity, growth, and responsiveness' – in order that they could respond to the demands of the differing environments they would inhabit, then and in their future lives (Haley, 1978: 20).

What follows is a detailed analysis of the everyday routines and institutional practices that were put into place to promote this broad understanding of health and vitality in the Homes. It is important to note here that Barnardo's employed different institutional models, embodying different everyday routines, according to assumptions associated with age, sex and physical and mental impairment. For able-bodied older boys and young men an environment based on a quasi-military routine in a 'barrack'-style setting was preferred, while for girls and young children (including young boys) it was the family model or 'cottage' system that was favoured (see Hamlett, 2015; Murdoch, 2006). The institutional practices for physically and mentally impaired children and young people varied; for example, those with physical impairments were generally embedded within the institutions existing structures and notably the Girls' Village Home or the Boys' Home at Stepney. However, as the following extract from the memoirs reveal, mentally impaired young people posed an altogether different challenge: 'there is a side to the Village less satisfactory. The Home receives every destitute child without regard to physical condition. But a number of mentally deficient [sic] children are admitted… [and they]

cannot go out into service and they accumulate year by year' (S. Barnardo and Marchant 1907: 129). The memoirs go on to highlight how the Girls' Village Home, in particular, became the hub for caring for these young people and goes on to argue that other forms of institutional care were wholly inappropriate. Some greater reflection is given in this chapter to young people with physical impairments, though the scope for exploring the response to the health and vitality of those with mental impairments is more limited.

6.2 ORGANISING THE HOMES: SEPARATING BOYS FROM GIRLS

The organisation of the Homes was to a large extent contingent upon the age, sex and physical and mental ability of the young people admitted into Barnardo's care. In particular, gendered assumptions underpinned their systematic separation into the different Homes. In general, boys aged from 8 to 17 were placed in the Stepney Home for Working and Destitute Lads (the Boys' Home), which was located at 18-26 Stepney Causeway in East London and opened in 1870. As suggested in Barnardo's memoirs, the Boys' Home was originally intended to serve three classes of male youth within the area: firstly, those who were 'good, steady, and respectable lads in work but needing a comfortable home'; secondly, those 'desiring and willing to work, but for whom no opening could at present be found'; and, thirdly, '[w]holly destitute lads, barefooted and ill-clad, whose poor wan faces and ill-nourished bodies betoken their previous histories… the waifs and strays of the East-End' (S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907: 91). It was the first, and at the time of its opening, the largest home under Barnardo's control and was effectively located for absorbing the male children of the pauper or drifter classes, the third of these aims, into the institution at a young age.

As noted in the introduction, the Boys' Home was based on the 'barrack school' model which was a form of institutional care that many contemporaries considered suited to boys but detrimental to the healthy development of girls. As Murdoch argues, critics of barrack schools portrayed the girls trained in them as 'hard, uncontrollable, violent, apathetic, sullen, and unnurturing' (2006: 58). So, far from the image of the healthy and productive adults that Barnardo's hoped to foster. Dr Barnardo was himself amongst the critics of the barrack school model, noting, for example, that such 'large institutions are fatal to good results' (*Night & Day*, 1877: 4). Yet, he was also a pragmatist and the boys were accommodated in a large building described by one visitor as containing three large bedrooms which each housed a total of 100 inmates (*Night & Day*, 1883). Another visitor's account of the Boys' Home revealed these three large bedrooms were each placed on a separate floor of the building – Cairns dormitory on the first floor, the Aberdeen dormitory on the second and the Kinnaird dormitory on the third floor (*Night & Day*, 1884). In reality, the Boys' Home was the result of Barnardo's gradually acquiring buildings on Stepney Causeway. The first two houses, numbers 18 and 20, formed the original home opened in 1870. Following this, numbers 22, 24 and 26 were acquired in 1875 and an additional eleven houses were purchased on the street behind Stepney Causeway, Bower Street, and these significantly increased the Boy's Home on their opening in 1888. The site at Stepney Causeway also included an infirmary which was built at number 19 in 1876, specialist workshops, with a Blacksmiths and Wheelwrights added to the Home in 1888, as well as a kitchen, bakery, schoolroom, communal bathing area, swimming pool and an outdoor area for physical exercise (S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907; see **Figure 6.1**).

Figure 6.1: Bakery at the Stepney Boys' Home, 1895 (*Courtesy of Barnardo's Image Library)*

While Barnardo argued the Boys' Home was a modified version of the barrack model, no such argument was made for the Labour House for Destitute Youths, which was a large, imposing building located at 622-626 Commercial Road, Limehouse and opened in 1881 (see **Figure 6.2**).

Figure 6.2: Labour House for Destitute Youths, 1900 (*Courtesy of Barnardo's Image Library*)

The Labour House accommodated around 200 young men aged between 17 and 20 years and its location placed it in very close proximity to London's docklands. A conscious decision to locate the institution in this area, the aim was to provide an environment that would test and assess the character of the young men and if they were 'approved' send them to Canada 'after six or eight months' residence' (Barnardo, 1889: 61; Parr, 1980). For Barnardo there was an urgent need to capture this class of 'young drifts' who he regarded as a potential 'menace to civilisation' but who might yet be moulded and shaped into productive citizens as they approach the precipice of adulthood (Barnardo, 1889: 61).

As the extract below suggests, the environment in the Labour House, as well as that in the Boys' Home, was also believed to foster the character, spirit and personality of the boys and young men; at least, from Barnardo's perspective (see Parr, 1980). What is also apparent from

this extract is the gendered nature of this assumption. Like many social reformers of his age, Barnardo believed that when amassed together young women might be prone to moral corruption (Koven, 2004; Murdoch, 2006).

> 'I do not know why it is, but when a number of females are amassed together, girls or women – it is the same in large factories – they seem to re-act upon each other in a degrading way, one cannot tell why; the standard gets lower. Now when you mass boys together this does not necessarily follow. It tends very often with boys to the cultivation of a *public spirit* and to the growth of an atmosphere which will absolutely put down anything of the kind, but it is not so with the amassing together of a large number of girls or women.' (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 349).

While the barrack-style model was regarded as an appropriate and even healthful environment for boys and young men it clearly was not seen as an acceptable environment into which young women should be immersed (Wagner 1979; Murdoch, 2006). For these reasons and more Barnardo's constructed *The Village Home for Orphan, Neglected and Destitute Girls* (the Girls' Village Home) which was located in the rural setting of Barkingside, Essex and opened by Lord and Lady Cairns on the 19th July, 1876; though as Wagner (1979: 82) notes, the opening ceremony didn't go quite to plan, with Lord Cairns arriving late in the day. Nonetheless, the Girls' Village Home was opened and the first fourteen cottages were ready for between 16 and 20 girls to occupy each of them; considered the optimum size by advocates of the family system in the 1870s (Driver, 1990: 287). From this point on, there were regular additions to the number of cottages at the home: 11 were added in 1878, 3 in 1879 and 1880, and a further 18 in 1887. By 1906, the number of cottages totalled 67 and occupied a 60-acre site, which also included a mission hall, a steam laundry, a governor's house, an infirmary, a gate lodge, with stabling

and workshops, as well as gardens, gymnasia and other facilities aimed at providing for all the girls' needs (S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907: 124-5; see **Figure 6.3**).

As Dr Barnardo noted shortly after the opening ceremony by Lord and Lady Cairns, there were two similar institutions established in Britain prior to 1876. The first of these, the *Home for Little Boys*, was opened in 1864, at Horton Kirby near Farningham established by Mr. Robert Culling Hanbury M.P, Mr A.O. Charles, and Mr W.H. Willans and was made up of ten cottages each accommodating 30 boys (*Night & Day,* 1877: 5). The second, *The Princess Mary's Village Home* was established in 1870 at Addlestone, Surrey by 'three devout ladies,' headed by 'Mrs Meredith's Mission' and was designed to receive 300 girls in 15 double cottages (*Night & Day,* 1877: 5). As Joy Parr argues, these Homes were influenced by the German *Rauhe Haus* model that saw orphaned children placed in family units and accommodated in cottages located within a village environment. Moreover, they emphasised a model of care that endowed middle-class and evangelical Christian notions of family and domesticity with 'great spiritual as well as moral and social importance' (1980: 36; see also Wagner 1979: 80). This was a point upon which Barnardo commented when giving evidence to a Canadian inquiry into the prison and reformatory system in Ontario. Responding to a question about the nature of the girls in the home and its setting, Barnardo replied:

> 'Our cottages have girls of all ages, from tiny baby to the great girl who is nearly qualified to go out into life on her own account. These are conducted upon the model of family life as nearly as is possible. We adopt no uniform. The children live in family groups close together; the idea being to substitute natural conditions of a cottage home in each of the houses. The daily life of the village is as far as possible home life. The cottages are fitted up with a mother's sitting room, a sitting and play room, dining room

for the family meals, scullery, pantry, bed rooms, and mother's room.' (Barnardo, Legislative Assembly, Toronto, 1891)

From the outset, then, the Girls' Village Home was intended to provide a very different environmental context to ones most of the girls had probably experienced previously and also one that was quite different to Barnardo's first experiment at accommodating rescued girls in homes separated from boys.

This experiment, which involved housing girls in a re-modelled coach house adjoining Mossford Lodge, which was Barnardo's first marital home with his wife Syrie, came to an end when Barnardo overheard a 'licentious conversation between his girls' (Wagner, 1979: 78). Perhaps, Barnardo should have been aware of the problems that he would face. As his memoirs attest, this first experiment, which was named the 'Home for Orphan and Destitute Girls', had grown from a small endeavour involving 12 girls to one that accommodated 54 by 1875. These were girls that were described by Barnardo as 'little English *nomads*, some of whom might truthfully be described as girl *savages*' (Barnardo, 1875. Cited in S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907: 118). Moreover, many of the girls were described as being 'criminals in embryo' and the 'offspring of degraded and vicious women'. Despite this wholly negative portrayal, Barnardo still appears to have been truly horrified by the conversation that he had overheard in his 'happy little Christian home' and insinuated that his mirroring of the barrack model was to blame:

'…in a moment I realised that there were the hidden forces of evil at work undoing all we hoped had been attained. Indeed I was made to feel as I listened with horror, that probably I had done harm, not good, and the by our system of aggregating these girls I

was but propagating and intensifying evil' (Barnardo, 1875. Cited in S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907: 120).

As noted, it was not only gendered ideas associated with the corrupting influence of the barrack-school system on girls, or perceptions of its relatively positive influence on older boys and young men, that shaped the institution's policies on placing the young people in its care. Barnardo's also sought to attend to the differing needs of very young children, those aged under 7 were eventually accommodated in 'Babies' Castle' in Hawkhurst, Kent, which was opened in 1884 and catered for up to 100 infants. Prior to this, babies and infants were looked after at the Girls' Village Home, with one baby allocated to each cottage (Cox, 1979) and by 1886 'Tinies House,' on Bow Road, East London, catered for children up to the age of five or six and held up to a maximum of 30 to 40 young inmates at any one time. In addition, children who were admitted to Barnardo's with infectious diseases were isolated before being moved into Homes that were specifically designed to meet their needs. For example, as previously discussed, the Home for Little Boys located at Gorey, Teighmore on the island of Jersey, accommodated children with tuberculosis as well as other children requiring convalescence as did a convalescent home established on the Suffolk coast, at Felixstowe in 1886. By the end of the century, homes for 'Incurables' (established in Bradford in 1898 and in Tonbridge Wells in 1903) were added to the institution as well as a home specifically designed for the care of children with hearing and speech impairments (the Home for Deaf and Dumb, established in Hackney, East London in 1902).

6.3 MANAGING THE DAY: TEMPORALITY AND ROUTINE

Depending upon the age, sex and physical or mental impairment of the 'inmates', the daily routines of those placed in the Homes were designed in accordance with gendered norms and assumptions about class and vocation which had begun to influence the British system of institutional care by the 1860s and 1870s (Driver, 1990; Murdoch, 2006). As Hamlett has suggested, 'ideas of gender and family roles underpinned the political system in this era, and shaped debate and legislation' (Hamlett, 2015: 5). For working-class boys in institutions such as Barnardos this often meant being subject to a quasi-military routine that had employment whether in agriculture, the skilled trades or the armed forces as the intended end goals. For girls, the situation was different. As Mort (1987) highlights, social reformers earlier in the century both eroticised and condemned working-class women; with 'factory women' in particular subject to claims about their perceived depravity and immoral behaviour (see also Koven, 2004). It was from these 'immoral' environments that Barnardo rescued many of the girls and, as noted above, the Girls' Village Home was a response to the failure of the barrack model to reform them. Moreover, as Murdoch (2006) suggests, the environment of, and routines operated within, the Homes often reflected those of an idealised middle-class domesticity. The emphasis was placed upon spatial segregation of girls from boys as well as from the highly problematised public spaces of the city and upon the close supervision of the girl's education, training and leisure.

This family model which shaped life in the Girls' Home, though was less in evidence in the Boy's Home, might in Foucauldian terms be regarded as a form of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977); an exemplary model of the 'communication of the gaze' where power operates in multi-directional ways to ensure an institutional will is imposed on the bodies of

the boys and girls (Hoffman, 2011: 30-31). The emphasis placed upon managing the daily routine of the young inmates, upon their diet and nutrition, education and training and upon the supervision of their play and leisure are certainly open to this form of analysis. While this may be so, the ideals of health and vitality were not far below the surface of the discourses that shaped this institutional practice and which the young people embodied in their performance of it. Therefore, in keeping with Foucault's later work on governmentality (see Foucault, 1991), it is appropriate to regard the environment that was fostered in the Homes as one which sought the promotion of self-care, self-governance and self-improvement as well as an industrious work ethic that was shaped by moral and religious guidance. The sections that follow deal with each element of daily life within the Homes, beginning with the gendered norms that shaped the routines that the young people were subject to.

6.3.1 Routine in the Homes

The daily routine at the Girls' Village Home was designed around co-dependent structures of care and surveillance based on the hierarchical ideals of an idealised family, with the girls taking on differing roles and responsibilities both in order to spread the burden of care and prepare them for their future roles in domestic service (Barnardo and Marchant, 1907). Based on the age of the girls, the morning routine would differ. For the older, usually teenage, girls the day would commence as early as 5:30am because of the higher number of duties and responsibilities they had to perform. The eldest girl in the cottage would firstly make the cottage 'mother' a cup of tea and take it to her room, before the rest of the older girls would make breakfast for the entire cottage. The 'nursery girl', who slept with the very young children, would help them to rise, wash and dress. Once dressed, the younger children would be lined up in order of size before they would knock on the door of the mother's room to wish her a

'good morning' (Cox, 1979). Though mirroring the kinds of routines that the young girls might have experienced in their previous lives – as Parr (1980) notes, the care of infant siblings was often entrusted to girls aged from 6 to 12 in many working-class homes – the role the girls played in caring for their cottage mother and greeting her in the morning is more reminiscent of middle-class ideals of domesticity. It is perhaps in this sense that Miss Stent, who Wagner notes was one of Dr Barnardo's most trusted co-workers, uses the term 'habit' when she is reported as stating, '[i]n such surroundings the prevailing tone begins to influence the new-comers almost immediately, and the *quiet formative moulding powers of habit* and association insensibly fits the little life into its proper niche' (cited in Wagner 1979: 82).

Outside of their morning ritual, the day-to-day routine for the girls involved a highly tailored assortment of activity, educational learning and training; covered in more detail in subsequent sections. Here again there is an apparent distinction between the kinds of routines the girls might have experienced previously and the one that they were acclimatised to at the Girls' Home. For the younger group of girls (usually under the age of 9), the remainder of the day would primarily involve a range of educational activities at the schoolhouse punctuated by time set aside for organised play and recreational pursuits (Cox, 1979). The older girls' routine was a little more oriented to productive labour, with their afternoons after school taken up with training in the 'feminine arts'; that is, sewing, mending, darning, dusting and so on. Perhaps to ensure that the girls did not partake in the kind of licentious conversation that Barnardo witnessed at his Mossford Lodge experiment, the girls in each cottage were given only a relatively short amount of time at the end of the day for their evening meal, 30 minutes, before they 'partake in a hearty hymn, then a psalm and lastly a simple prayer in which they can all follow' (*Night & Day* 1881: 14). Whatever their sex, the spiritual aspect of their development was always attended to by Barnardo's. Mirroring this concern with their spiritual welfare,

Barnardo was also keen to inculcate music into the lives of the girls (and as will become apparent, the boys as well). Indeed, in answer to three questions from the editor of *The Musical Herald* on his use of music in the Girls' Village Home, Barnardo responded:

> '*Firstly*, as a means of *culture*. It is to the undeveloped or half-developed higher natures of these little people of ours what bread is to their bodies. It opens the gates of intelligence, of ideality, of emotion. It not only floods their lives with colour and beauty, but we find it elevates their minds to a higher plane of thinking and feeling alike.' (Barnardo, n.d. Cited in S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907: 134).

Following on from this reflection on the value of music to education and intelligence, Barnardo highlighted its importance as a 'handmaid to religion' and as a source of pleasure to the children. Interestingly, when it came to consider the impact of music on drill and discipline Barnardo shifted from his general reference to its transformative powers to focus on its specific value for promoting self-conduct and self-restraint in the boys. As he commented, '[t]he wildest and most untamable of our inmates have become restrained and disciplined at its touch'. Going further, Barnardo recounts the influence of music on one unnamed boy in particular:

> 'One of the very roughest lads I ever had, a boy who was perpetually getting into hot water, and whose glory it was that he could fit (and often *lick*) his master, stands forth in my memory as a radiant example of the power of music. It was found that he had a good ear, and ultimately he was put into a band to play side-drum… It became the object of his life, firstly, to play the drum well, and then, secondly, to learn the cornet. This involved a self-restraint on his part to which he had hitherto been a stranger, and, of

course, a radical change of conduct. He became steady, orderly, painstaking.' (Barnardo, n.d. Cited in S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907: 135).

This transformation narrative, so typical of evangelical Christians such as Barnardo and other social reformers, highlights the value that the institution placed on the routine that it put into practice; here, relating to the role for music that Barnardo's found within it. Moreover, it illustrates the emphasis placed upon the promotion of good habits and the fostering of those features associated with good character: self-restraint, orderliness, attention to detail, 'steadiness' of emotions and so on.

Beyond this, the account also indicates that there were similarities in the everyday routines of the boys and girls albeit with an acknowledgement of differences in the impact the various activities would have on each. In addition to the shared experience of music, the boys were also required to attend to the many domestic tasks required for the good management of the Homes. As Wagner notes, 'all the household work was done by the boys, who were taught to cook and wait at table, to make their beds, to clean their shoes and to fulfil any other duties… required of them' (1979: 84). In particular, she refers to Barnardo's account of the ritualised process of cleaning the floors at Stepney: 'It is somewhat amusing to see twenty fellows with their shoes and stockings off, and their trousers turned up to the knees, all in a line scrubbing the floor' (Barnardo, 1883. Cited in Wagner, 1979: 84). Time was also set aside each week for leisure, recreation and exercise, with the well-known proverb 'all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy' being employed by one visitor to illustrate the importance the Boy's Home placed on making space for organised recreation in the boy's weekly if not daily routine (*Night & Day,* 1884: 140).

However, gendered assumptions constituted some of the key distinctions in the Boy's Home and helped to shape the organisation of the boys' day. For example, although Barnardo reported that all boys under the age of thirteen did not work and the entirety of their daily routine was dedicated to '[e]ducation, sleep and play', it is clear from the evidence given at the inquiry into the prison and reformatory system in Ontario, Canada that the Boy's Home was oriented as much to training and employment as it was to education:

> 'This industrial home is the hub of our universe. There our best results have been attained, our best efforts have been directed… There we teach ten or eleven trades. When a boy comes there to us over thirteen, defective in education, we place him in this institution as a half timer; half his day, either the morning or afternoon, is spent in the school room and the other half in acquiring a trade under a competent instructor. The trades we adopt are those of carpenters, joiners, brush makers, mattress makers, tinsmiths, tailors, shoemakers, and harness makers, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, bakers, engineers. The boys there acquire in well-appointed workshops the skilled use of their hands…' (Barnardo, 1891).

While education was an important element in the institutional lives of young boys, by the time they reached fourteen or if they were admitted directly into the Labour House it was, as Barnardo revealed, training for future employment that dominated their daily routines.

As this suggests, institutions for boys were not oriented around the domestic environment. Indeed, such institutional spaces were, at least in part, designed to help erase the emotional attachment that boys might hold for their home and to replace domesticity with a more regimented, even quasi-military, environment (Hamlett, 2015; see also Tosh, 1984; Joyce,

237

2003). Though evident in the routine and institutional practices of the Boy's Home, this quasi-military environment was most in evidence at the Labour House for Destitute Youth. For example, a typical day at the Labour House, published in Dr Barnardo's account of his work, *Something Attempted! Something Done!* (1889), reveals a highly regimented routine organised around work:

> 5:30am Rouse Dress
>
> 6am Turn to work
>
> 7am Breakfast
>
> 7:30am Prayers
>
> 8am Turn to work
>
> 1pm Dinner
>
> 1:30pm Military Drill
>
> 2pm Turn to work
>
> 6:30pm Leave Off
>
> 7pm Supper
>
> 7:30pm Classes
>
> 9:15pm evening prayer
>
> 10pm Lights out

Where the above routine occupied the inmates from Monday to Saturday, their Sundays involved attendance at the nearby Edinburgh Castle for religious services both morning and evening. Between the services, classes and bible readings were conducted by ladies from Deaconess House and during the evenings, bible classes, singing lessons and educational classes in writing, reading, and arithmetic were held.

This routine, at times reminiscent of an army barracks complete with the rousing call of a bugle and military drills, was aimed at instilling values of self-regulation and self-improvement, order and respect into the young men. Like the heavily regimented routine, the manual labour completed at the branch, which consisted of wood-chopping, wood-sawing, packing-box making, fire-wheel making and the manufacture of aerated and mineral waters, the latter at the Edinburgh Castle Aerated Water Factory, was designed to test the character of the inmates as much as it was to provide them with training. As Barnardo stated, 'the whole course of life at the Labour House' taught the young men to 'obey, to do their duty, to avoid all offences against decency and purity, to practice the homespun and sterling virtues, and to assort with an orderly and well-governed life' (Barnardo, 1889: 64). Comprised of a variety of activities and considerable hard work the daily routine acted as a fast-track for the creation of young men who, after 6 or 8 months, would join the regular emigration parties to Canada and work as indentured labourers, farm-hands and alike (see Parr, 1980).

6.3.2 Diet and nutrition

Where routine was established within the Homes to help the institution develop the character of the young people in their care and to instil in them good habits for the future, diet and nutrition were more directly linked to a concern for their health and vitality. Dr Barnardo was a relatively early advocate for free school meals and, as early as the late 1870s, Barnardo's was systemically providing meals to the pupils at their ragged schools which were opened in Hope Place in 1868 (moved to Copperfield Road in 1875) and in Salmon's Lane in 1875, both in East London (S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907; Annual Report 1877–1878). This was a move that was over two decades prior to the introduction of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906 (Woods and Woodward, 1984; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011), which was itself a

response to concerns over the physical deterioration of working-class men prompted by the large numbers of them who were denied entry into the army during the Boer War (1899–1902) recruitment campaign (Aalen, 1989).

With this in mind, the first part of this section will examine the development of the free meal programme by Barnardo's. It will pay particular attention to the 'Free Meal Table', a pioneering intervention that provided both breakfast and dinner to the pupils at Barnardo's ragged schools. By tracing the main contours of this intervention, the section highlights Barnardo's contribution to a wider Victorian discourse that promoted the transformative power of diet and hygienic regimen and which became a mainstay of the sanitary advice literature of the late-Victorian period (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011; see also Behlmer, 1998). However, within Barnardo's principal homes, meal times did not only function to promote the physical health and mental capacity of children; it also acted as a form of ritualistic institutional practice coded with a set of meanings and values that functioned to promote discipline within the young people as much as it did to feed and rejuvenate, contingent to both age and gender (Hamlett, 2015: 104).

Feeding the masses at Barnardo's 'Free Meal Table'

The 'Free Meal Table' was one of Barnardo's earliest mass interventions. As the institution's Annual Report for 1871–2 records, '[f]or 13s. 6d. a good hot dinner can be given to 100 little ragged boys, or for the same sum we can make a copper-full of soup for 100 persons'. As this suggests, the original aim of the free meal programme was to feed both the adult poor in the community through soup kitchens and to distribute food at the Hope Place Ragged School situated in Limehouse. The same annual report details the amount donated to each of these programmes, with £38 13s. 1d. raised to feed the young boys at Hope Place and a considerably

smaller figure of £3 10s. 6d. donated for the soup kitchen which was open on four different dates during the winter period. After relatively minor growth the following year, the 'Poor Children's Free Dinner Table and Soup Kitchen' fund experienced a significant rise in donations in 1873 leaping to £211 0s. 7d. This growth in financial support came in the midst of economic crisis that engulfed the country from 1866 and lasted until the mid-1870s (Stedman Jones, 1971). Moreover, it came at a time when philanthropic organisations such as Barnardo's were placed under considerable pressure by the Charitable Organisations Society (COS) which was attempting to curtail such indiscriminate relief work (Koven, 2004).

The monitoring of Barnardo's adult relief work by COS officials might be argued to have paid off. By 1877 the 'Poor Children's Free Dinner Table and Soup Kitchen' fund had been discontinued and replaced by the 'Poor Children's Free Dinner Table' and the 'Christmas Dinner Fund' (Annual Report, 1877–1878), the latter of which provided pupils at the ragged schools with a festive feast and replaced the former adult soup kitchens. Further, additions to the scheme came in 1879 when 'The Weekly Dinner Table' was introduced and targeted at children at the schools whose 'parents were in distress'. By the close of the 1870s the free meal branch had become a full-scale operation supporting 500 children over the 1879–1880 winter and providing more than 6,000 dinners to those considered the most deserving (Annual Report, 1879–1880). Throughout the 1880s, the charity campaigned with increasing energy to raise funds for 'Free Breakfast and Free Dinner Table' that fed pupils during the winter months at its ragged schools:

'In our Free Schools, for example, which are examined annually by the Privy Council for Education, and in which some 600 boys and girls receive gratuitous elementary and religious training, the teachers have been frequently appalled by the appearance of

emacition and feebleness, and by the signs of physical incapacity on the part of hundreds of boys and girls, children of the poorest working classes, who attend.' (*Night & Day*, 1887: 2)

Due to the degenerative physical condition of many of the children, Barnardo's believed it necessary to provide the meals the pupils were deprived of at home. The plea continues:

'Imagine hundreds of children coming to school morning by morning, without having broken their fast, or, at most having had only a slice of bread! Other children, who had a piece of bread in the morning, had no hope of dinner the same day! How could it be otherwise? In numbers of cases the father was out of work; everything that could be pledged had been pawned to tide over present difficulties, and they were almost starving.' (*Night & Day*, 1887: 2)

For a halfpenny per head the scheme provided these children with a 'hot, nourishing breakfast' and for each penny donated the meal fund was able to offer an 'excellent hot dinner'. As this plea suggests, Barnardo's responded to concerns over indiscriminate charitable relief by making a convincing case for supporting the children of the deserving poor (Stedman Jones, 1971; Koven, 2004). These children lived with parents who were not homeless but often out of work during the winter months and found themselves in poverty and unable to feed their children. Rather than taking a condemnatory stance against them, the campaign remained sensitive to the economic realities of their situation. Indeed, in 1886–87 the scheme provided some 29,011 hot halfpenny breakfasts and 14,179 hot penny dinners, a total of 43,190 meals in all, during a period when the economic downturn was especially deep-rooted and comprehensive (*Night & Day*, 1887: 2; Stedman Jones, 1971).

The issue of underfed pupils at ragged schools was, by the end of the 1880s, generating widespread concern. In 1889, the School Board for London: Committee on Underfed Children completed a survey of feeding programmes across charity schools in the capital. Statistics generated by the London School Board were reproduced in *Night & Day*, confirming that 13 per cent of London school children were insufficiently fed, that 7.3 per cent were unfit for school work due to hunger and that 21.3 per cent were partially incapacitated from hunger (*Night & Day*, 1889: 37). Barnardo's 'Free Meal Table' clearly aimed to tackle this problem, which it regarded as being significantly more concentrated in East London. It was suggested by the charity, for example, that a full 90 per cent of children who attended the Copperfield Road Ragged School hailed from families that lived from hand to mouth and "not unfrequently coming without breakfast, and with only the prospect of dry bread for dinner" (*Night & Day,* 1889: 37). In response, the meals provided through Barnardo's were described as consisting of 'breakfasts and dinners – the former an abundant supply of bread and hot cocoa, the dinners chiefly of lentil or pea soup and bread, varied occasionally by rice and prunes or haricot beans' (*Night & Day*, 1889: 38). According to Dr Barnardo, the scheme not only helped to improve attendance at the ragged schools but they also supported the efforts of the schoolmaster to teach the children sufficiently and effectively. As Barnardo records, his scheme produced children who were 'brighter in every respect' and he insisted that the 'free meals have borne direct fruit in the 'passes' at the Annual Examination' (Barnardo, 1889: 233).

By the close of the 1880s, the fund which provided these services was grouped under the heading 'General Relief of Poor, Free Meal, and Christmas Dinner Fund' and totalled £1,576 15s. 5d. in donations (Annual Report, 1889). This collective fund supported free meals at the ragged schools, it also served two lodging-houses at Flower and Dean Street and Dock Street

where 32,840 meals were provided in 1889. Beyond this it supported the distribution of 8,067 meals to wives and families of dock workers during the dock strikes, 28,599 meals at the Annual Supper for Waifs and Strays, the factory girls of the East End and to the adult and 'indignant poor' (Barnardo, 1889). In total over 113,000 meals were supplied during 1889 and while mainly targeted at young people it is clear that Barnardo continued to resist pressures placed upon him by the COS. Moreover, it might be argued that the Free Meal Table represents a commitment on behalf of the charity to help promote the health and vitality of those in direct need. It did so not only because of Barnardo's commitment as an evangelical Christian to help relieve the suffering of the poor but also because of the associated desire to transform the nation's waifs and strays into respectable and, no doubt, spiritually enlightened, future citizens. As noted, Dr Barnardo firmly believed that this could not be achieved if children arrived at school lacking the necessary sustenance to see them through the day.

Meal times in the Homes

As with Barnardo's work outside of its principal Homes, the provision of a healthy, nutritious diet was considered essential to the maintenance of the children's health and well-being within them. The Girls' Village Home in particular offered a wide and varied diet illustrated through a visitor's report. The report claims each cottage had an 'unlimited' stock of bread and butter as well as other spreads. This 'unlimited' stock was a result of the direct supply from the Boy's Home bakery, which was distributed to feed all the London-based homes and prompted Dr Barnardo to announce his pride at the self-sustaining nature of the organisation at the 1893 Annual Meeting (*Night & Day*, 1893: 72). Meat was offered up twice a week and bread supplemented most meals due to its abundance. The cottage mother had her own little loaf, a weekly allowance of butter and a daily meat dinner. A cupboard in the mother's sitting room

contained a small stock of delicacies, for occasionally treating the girls, and every couple of days a couple of eggs and vegetables would be delivered to the cottages (*Night & Day*, 1881).

Other important staples, such as milk, were used as a nutritional health supplement at the Girls' Home, particularly during the earlier years when each cottage housed at least one infant (Cox, 1979). After experiencing a shortage in the supply of milk in 1878, Barnardo sought the help of the institution's supporters, requesting that they send healthy animals to the Home. Some gifts included goats whose milk was particularly useful for children who had special dietary requirements. In addition, both fruit and vegetables were grown for the use of the Girls' Home in surrounding farmland (Cox, 1979). As a result of their ability to achieve a relatively sustainable level of food security, the Girls' Village Home was able to provide a level of nutrition at mealtimes that would meet with dietary standards called for later in debates later in the century (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). As previously noted, for each cottage the day began with breakfast served at 7am which consisted of porridge, half a round of bread and a glass of milk. Dinner was one course only but consisted of either soup, fish, boiled rice and treacle or suet puddings whilst the meat and fish dishes were accompanied with potatoes, greens, and a piece of bread. In the evenings for tea, girls were allowed margarine on their bread and dripping if any was left over. On Sundays, jam was provided and on other high days and holidays, girls were given cake. Fruit was given out as often as it was available from the trees which grew in the vicinity of the home (Cox, 1979).

Rewards in the form of cake and other types of sweet delicatessen were only allowed on special occasions; as this quote from Cox (1979: 47) suggests, 'Barnardo's belief that his home should be run along the lines of a natural home seems to have been reflected in the diet he provided for his girls, with a basic diet being supplemented by treats on special occasions. These

included birthdays, when a birthday cake was provided'. For scholars such as Hamlett, such institutional practice reveals a form of coercion with a ritualistic offering to mark an event and acknowledge good behaviour. As she comments in her analysis of late-Victorian girl's schools, 'girls were only grudgingly allowed cake from the home on the occasion of a birthday and sweets were kept under lock and key in the Winchester boarding houses, and doled out on Saturday afternoons' (Hamlett, 2015: 107). It might be argued that a similar form of control was in operation at the Girls' Village Home, with food-related rewards used to incite discipline as well as teach moderation (Hamlett, 2015).

The spatial and temporal organisation of meals also acted as a way of disciplining children and instilling in them good habits. As well as improving the health of the young inmates, meal times were coded with a differing set values, practices and meanings sensitive to both age and gender. In the Girls' Village Home this coded practice was central to domesticity and aimed to teach good manners, politeness and respect through the practice of set meals times where each cottage family would dine together. Learned practices such as conducting grace or laying the table would have been deemed as part of their preparation for a life in domestic service (Barnardo, 1889). The ritualistic nature of meal times followed a middle-class template of domesticity teaching table manners and more broadly values of civility, respect and order. Meal times were treated as another mode of training to make the actions and demeanour of girls palatable for their future middle-upper class employers.

The ritual of eating together at the same table, a defining element of middle-class domesticity (Gordon and Nair, 2003) was instilled in the Barnardo children at a very young age. Meal time presented another opportunity to observe and train the children, inculcating good table manners but more broadly values of respect, civility and discipline. As **Figure 6.3** and **Figure 6.4**

246

illustrate, meal times for the babies of Barnardo's 'Babies' Castle' meant sitting together at the dining table. **Figure 6.4** in particular, closely mimics a middle-class dinner table where each child was provided with their own chair, space and placemat. Barnardo's clearly wanted to promote the allusion of the anti-institution through these images where the performance of meal times has been carefully crafted to mimic the order and discipline of the idealised middle-class dinner table believed to be best suited to the development of young children. As Hamlett declares (2015: 104), 'it was one thing to mimic the decoration of the middle-class home, but quite another to recreate its living conditions'; Barnardo clearly appears to have attempted to do so (see also Murdoch, 2006).
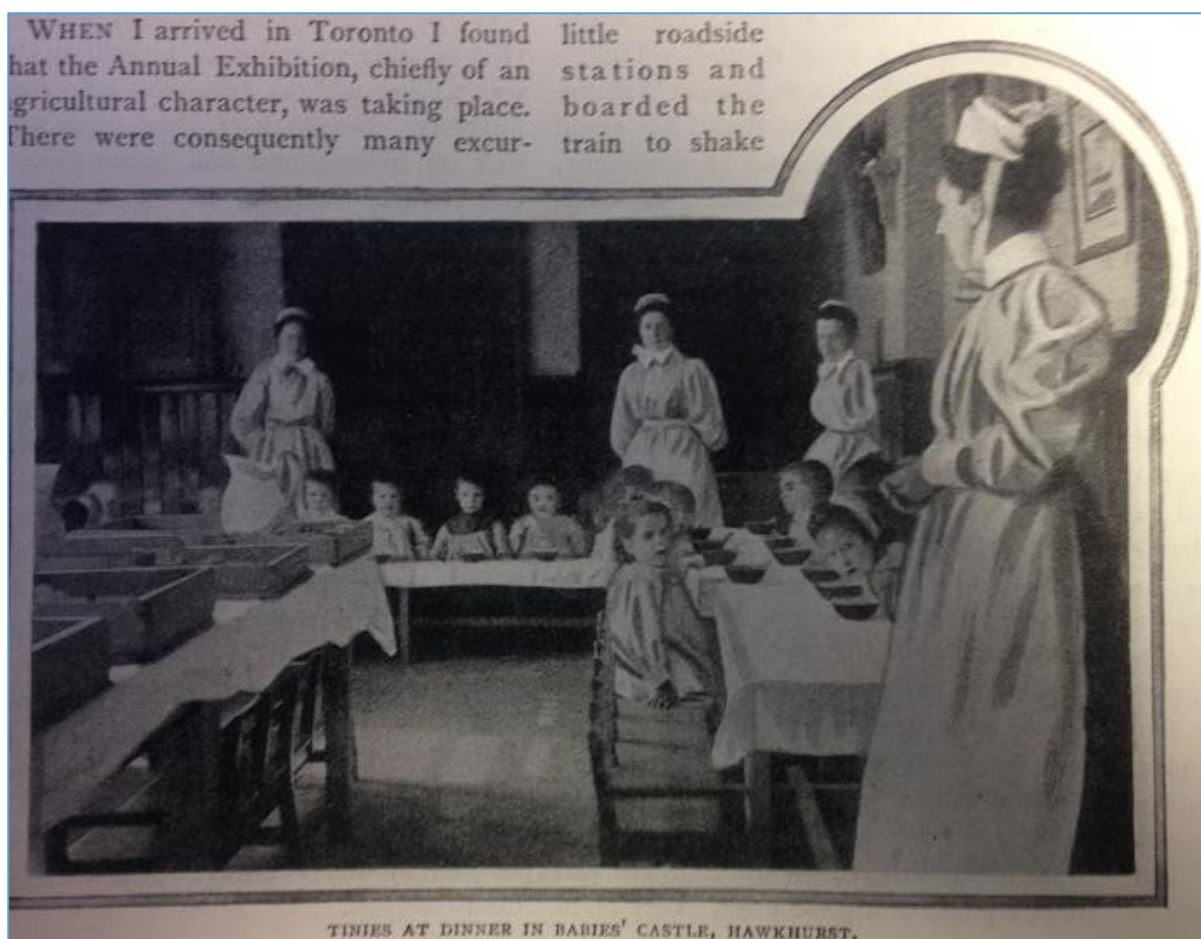
Figure 6.3: 'Tinies at dinner in Babies' Castle, Hawkhurst' (*Night & Day*, 1900: 52)

THE CRÈCHE, STEPNEY CAUSEWAY.

Figure 6.4: 'The crèche, Stepney Causeway' (Annual Report, 1903: 41)

At the Stepney Boys' Home, the task of cooking for the home was completed by the older boys under the direction of a master-cook. Meat was allowed five times per week and puddings were cooked in a large gas-oven. Soup and water was heated using the steam. Boys were given 'decent portions' and more was given to 'the wanting' according to the visitors report (*Night & Day*, 1883: 20). It seems the boys were fed until they were satisfied and considered to be 'full up', with the intention of producing physically fit and able subjects. The boys all ate together in the same room on long tables and benches mimicking a military or naval barrack.

Figure 6.5: Meal time at the Stepney Boys' Home, 1910 (*Courtesy of Barnardo's Image Library*)

Unlike the domesticity created through the mirroring of the middle-class dinner table at the village home, this alternatively aimed to instil values of camaraderie and companionship. A quasi-military team-building exercise that would produce the same attitude and spirit required for a life in the army or navy (Driver, 1990: 286).

6.3.3 'Mind, body and soul': Education and training in the Homes

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, in his speech as the acting president of Barnardo's in 1888, Lord Brabazon suggested that one of the most outstanding elements of the organisation's work was its ability to attend to the needs of the mind, body and the soul of the child (*Night & Day*, 1888: 78). Where the previous section emphasises the importance of diet and nutrition to this challenge, this one focuses on the education and training provided in the Homes and by other elements of the Barnardo's institution, notably its ragged schools. Throughout his voluminous writing on the work of the institution, Barnardo was quick to draw attention to the value he afforded to the education and training they provided. As has been reported elsewhere (Murdoch, 2006), particular emphasis was placed upon the transformative nature of these activities: 'As may be imagined', Barnardo reports in the Annual report for 1889, 'a very large number of my inmates enter the Homes in a state of the grossest ignorance; and even in those cases where some degree of knowledge has been imparted, the grounding has not been thorough' (Annual Report, 1889: 8).

Education: The incentive of inspection

Like many social reformers of the day, Barnardo considered classroom schooling to be an essential element of a young person's development (see Steedman, 1990; Valentine, 1996). Not only was education argued to instil discipline and respect for order and punctuality in working-class children, all of which were important elements of good character and healthy citizenship, it was also perceived as an effective response to preventing the 'dangerous classes' from reproducing their supposedly malevolent characteristics. However, rather than focusing in detail on these discursive constructions surrounding education, this section aims to explore

in detail how Barnardo's as an institution responded to the demands placed upon it, especially following the introduction of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. As summarised by Murphy (1971), this Act sought to establish a national framework for compulsory education in England and Wales. The Act also regulated the standards of charitable schools like Barnardo's through its inspection regime and through its allocation of financial resources, which came in the form of educational grants. As such, it will be argued that, although Barnardo's may have contributed to the remoralising 'delinquent' youths if, like May, we view schools were to act as 'moral hospitals' that 'provide corrective training' (1973: 12; see also Poloszajska, 1994), it also sought to use the financial rewards offered by government inspection as a means to establish an educational environment that was capable of producing the kinds of young people that it set out to do.

In order to achieve this aim, it is important to first understand the growth and development of education in Barnardo's. As recorded in his memoirs, education was always central to the organisation of Barnardo's work beginning with his opening of the Hope Place Ragged School in 1868 (S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907: 56; also Wagner, 1979). As this account reveals, Barnardo regarded the accommodation of existing schools as inadequate and believed that greater effort should be made to extend teaching 'throughout the whole week' (and not just on Sundays). Continuing further, the memoirs provide some indication of the kind of schooling that was provided at Hope Place. For example, they suggest that in addition to a Sunday school, there was a boys' evening-school on four nights a week, a reading room and a regular bible class on Wednesday evenings for the 'lads with a view to their conversion', and similar arrangements for the girls who had their own evening-school and sewing classes. From this relatively modest starting point, Barnardo's expanded their educational work considerably. Most notably, with the opening of the Copperfield Road Ragged School in 1875 as a *free school*

in conjunction with the Ragged School Union (on which see Mair, 2013; Ridge, 2002; Schupf, 1972).

Copperfield Road Ragged School replaced the school at Hope Place and had significantly more space and resources for teaching larger groups of children. At the school, children, who were usually aged from 5 to 10, were also provided with food and sent on trips to the country- and seaside during the summer months (*Night & Day*, 1889). Some children could even be granted full admission into the Homes if their situation was considered destitute enough. Although setup and governed by Barnardo's, the school was affiliated with the Ragged School Movement. Most importantly, here, Copperfield Road School was eligible to receive financial grants from the government which were linked to pupil attainment in public examinations. The significance of this is reflected in the growth of funds that the School received; for example, in 1875 the School was in receipt of £35 5s. 10d. with 45 out of 48 of its pupils passing the public examinations and by 1877 this figure had risen to £130 12s. 0d. following 123 passes out of 141 (Annual Report, 1884-1885: 41).

The value of being eligible for an educational grant illustrated by the growth in government support received by the Copperfield Road School, was not lost on Barnardo's who sought to ensure that all of their Homes providing education to young people were able to meet the necessary requirements for inspection. Logistically, however, the constant cycle of arrival and departure of young inmates made it difficult to acquire a full inspection in all of them, with many of the transient students considered ineligible. As a result, the Boys' Home at Stepney, which was the home that Barnardo regarded as the hub of his philanthropic empire (S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907), did not receive any form of external inspection in its early years, and it was not until 1884 that the Home was granted an inspection by the Council of Education. At

this point, only 64 of its inmates were eligible for examination and of these 52 passed the public examinations, in 1885 this figure increased to 83 eligible boys with 78 of these passing (Annual Report, 1884–1885). Where the Boys' Home was successful, the Home for Little Boys in Jersey fared less well; with Barnardo lamenting that a further rejection of the institution's request for an inspection at the Home was 'a direct discouragement to our educational efforts' (Annual Report, 1884–1885: 41). In contrast, the Girls' Village Home had been offered a full inspection by education officials almost as soon as it was established (see **Figure 6.6**). As the Annual Report for 1884–1885 claim, the financial support that came with inspection allowed the Home to increase the numbers of girls that it presented for examination because it allowed effective 'educational machinery' to be developed (Annual Report, 1884–1885).

1. BOYS' HOME SCHOOL, STEPNEY.

Year.	Presented for Examination.	Reading.	Passed in— Writing.	Arithmetic.	Amount of Grant. £ s. d.
1883	64	64	52	48	50 17 4
1884	83	78	65	60	84 11 4
1885	76	71	56	56	108 8 10
1886	41	36	33	29	94 0 8
1887	31	26	25	25	102 9 8

2. LITTLE BOYS' HOME, LEOPOLD HOUSE.

Year.	Presented for Examination.	Reading.	Writing.	Arithmetic.	Amount of Grant. £ s. d.
1885	46	45	43	32	82 1 11
1886	84	78	84	81	111 18 6
1887	93	92	87	85	129 15 1

3. GIRLS' VILLAGE HOME SCHOOL, ILFORD.

Year.	Presented for Examination.	Reading.	Writing.	Arithmetic.	Amount of Grant. £ s. d.
1877	116	112	113	112	101 18 0
1878	180	173	171	147	145 16 4
1879	249	238	211	218	183 3 0
1880	269	250	218	196	238 13 0
1881	342	302	252	243	305 16 0
1882	376	349	294	295	353 8 0
1883	331	323	294	231	361 15 0
1884	265	258	225	161	296 12 0
1885	228	223	180	130	277 17 0
1886	225	220	189	173	364 4 8
1887	302	290	242	269	326 2 6

4. FREE RAGGED DAY SCHOOLS, COPPERFIELD ROAD.

Year.	Presented for Examination.	Passed.	Amount of Grant. £ s. d.
1875	48	45	35 5 10
1876	54	50	44 2 0
1877	141	123	130 12 0
1878	230	195	152 13 0
1879	280	234	214 16 0
1880	362	306	278 15 0
1881	399	332	321 13 0
1882	403	355	322 19 4

Year.	Presented for Examination.	Passed.	Amount of Grant. £ s. d.
1883	416	356	297 7 6
1884	430	398	317 14 10
1885	450	373	342 11 0
1886	417	370	351 17 3
1887	455	402	358 7 7

Figure 6.6: Educational attainment and government grants for the Copperfield Road Ragged School, Leopold House Home for Little Boys, the Girls' Village Home and the Stepney Boys' Home (Annual Report 1887–1888: 31)

The table of statistics more broadly mirror how the intersection of both age and gender was central to the treatment and institutional experience of different sets of young people within the Homes. The younger children at Leopold House, a home for boys aged under thirteen opened in Burdett Road, East London in 1883, and the Copperfield Road School would have received a full educational experience. So too did the girls at the Girls' Village Home who remained in the institution for longer before being considered ready for emigration or a working life as a domestic servant, possibly due to the belief that girls required greater attention (and protection) in the form of education and instruction (Murdoch, 2006). Older boys, however, were fast-tracked for emigration, only spending a relatively short amount of time in the institution and, as suggested by the educational statistics, their performance at public examinations reflected this. The Annual Report in which the statistics were published also divulges details on the curriculum that was delivered in the Homes, given both a sense of its focus but also its breadth and even its capacity to respond to an individual child's interests and abilities:

> 'As a rule only the rudiments of a very plain English, or elementary education are aimed at in the Schools of the various Homes. The three R's are the chief subjects, with grammar, geography, and history. Considerable attention is played to music, both instrumental and vocal; and the influence of musical training is very marked in its effects upon even the dullest and most backward. A few exceptionally bright and clever boys and girls are aided to attain greater things; and some 40 of the boys at Stepney have also been pushed forward for examination in the Science and Art Classes. The following special subjects have been studied with this end in view:- Freehand drawing, and the Principles of Architecture, of Geometry, and of Physiology'. (Annual Report, 1889: 8)

The curriculum wasn't uniformly applied to the children. However, depending upon the abilities of the child, there was opportunity within the educational framework to pursue further examinations and academic achievement. These include a range of both technical and creative subjects for the high achieving pupils to pursue; art was regarded as one of these specialist subjects. As noted earlier in the chapter, music was held in particularly high regard by Barnardo and it too found an important space on the curriculum (see **Figure 6.7**). The focus on music and the arts, as well as on the so-called three R's, aligned Barnardo's educational provision with contemporary arguments which stated that they harnessed the power to moralise and enlighten the lower classes and particularly impact positively upon children (Reeder, 2006).

A SINGING LESSON IN A CLASS ROOM AT THE GIRLS' VILLAGE HOMES.
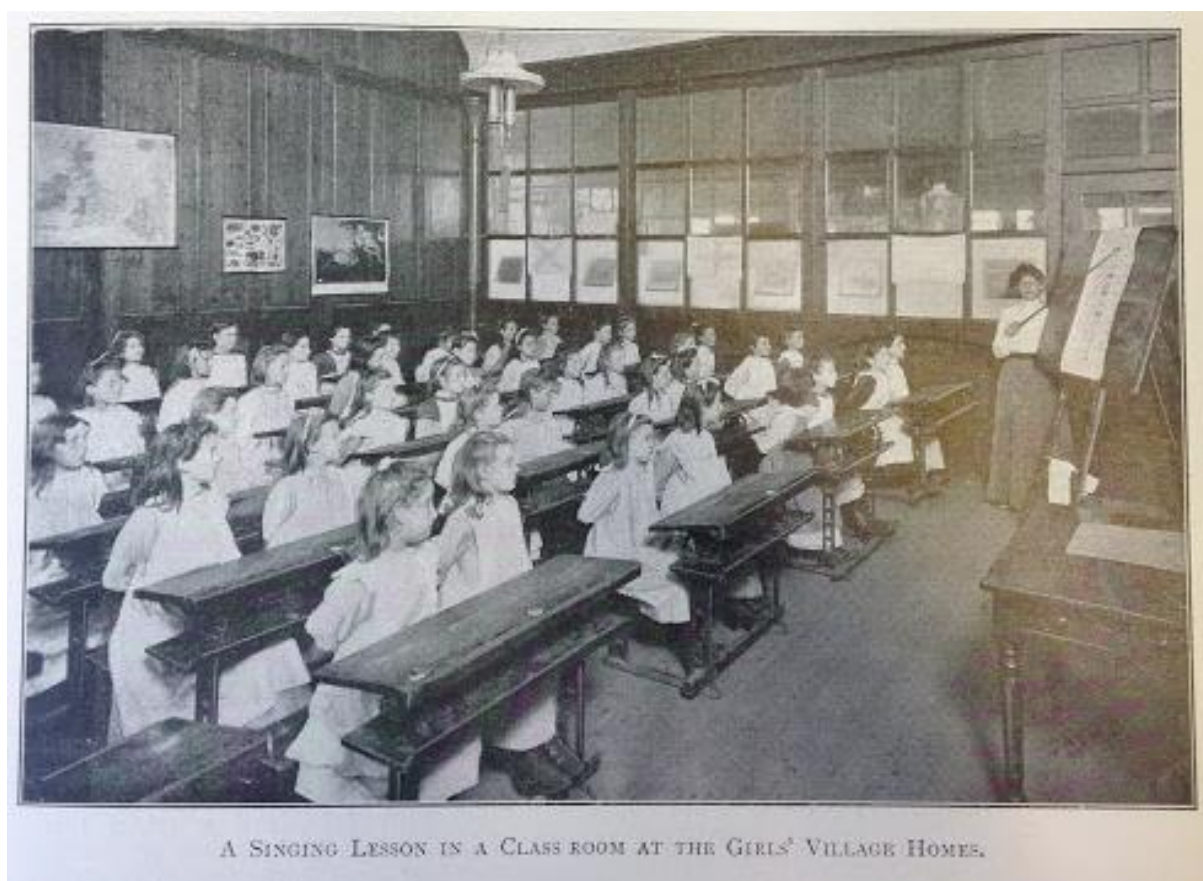
Figure 6.7: 'A singing lesson in a class room at the Girls' Village Home'. (Annual Report, 1903: 17)

Yet, as might be expected, Barnardo's did struggle to maintain educational performance across all the schools. This was despite the breadth of the curriculum provided and the institution's belief that the education at all the Homes, with 'well-arranged School buildings' and 'certified and thoroughly competent schoolmasters and schoolmistresses', operated according to the 'most approved modern methods' (Annual Report, 1890: 8). Indeed, as **Figure 6.6** suggests, although Copperfield Road School exhibited a considerable rise each year in both children presented for examination and passing, and the financial grants received, the situation at the Stepney Boys' and the Girls' Village Homes was a little more mixed. Interestingly, this was generally explained by the negative impact of Barnardo's emigration work, which by the 1880s was core to the institution's activities. In relation to the Boys' Home, the Report described the ever-changing transitional condition of the Home as follows:

'The reason, however, is not far to seek. Our Stepney population is continually shifting. Boys are being daily added, and they are likewise passing out from us into life again; so that it is impossible to maintain a high standard of regular attendance'. (Annual Report, 1887–1888: 31)

It is from education inspector's observations, which were published as snippet accounts in Barnardo's annual reports, that we get a little more of an insight into the educational environment that the institution provided and the many challenges that it faced. For example, in 1895, the inspector of the Stepney Boys' Homes is recorded as stating that while 'difficulties are numerous', with many of the boys examined not 'under instruction for six months' and with many of them 'presenting exceptional features', 'sound progress is made and excellent order is maintained' (Annual Report, 1898: 130). Subsequent comments reveal a similar pattern:

'The school is unique in the difficulties presented by an ever-varying attendance of pupils, whose previous training has generally been much neglected. Still, the hardworking Teachers successfully grapple with these difficulties, and a good sound progress is made. The discipline is excellent'

'Difficulties of the most trying character present themselves here and are met with gratifying success. Teaching is intelligent, painstaking and effective, discipline is excellent'

'The teachers are working well under circumstances of much discouragement, seeing that the boys stay but a short time before leaving for Canada'.

The extracts taken from the inspector's reports for the Boys' Home reveal all-round praise for the attainment and the standards of teaching amidst the turbulent and transitional nature of the school.

The extracts of inspector's reports, which also appear in the annual report for 1898, demonstrate a similar level of scrutiny was applied to the Girls' Village Home. Though limited, they provide a sense of the dynamic nature of the educational environment in which the girls were taught. Similarly to the boys, emphasis is placed not only on their educational performance but also on the girl's discipline. Here, lack of space and large class sizes were presented as an important element in the lack of discipline that was clearly observed prior to the inspection report for 1896:

'An improvement has been made in the points referred to last year; but effective instruction is impossible in the present building, and hence the School cannot be judged on its merits. In the new premises, however, the Mistress will be able to reduce the size of some of the classes and maintain firmer discipline.' (Annual Report, 1898: 132)

By 1897, the inspector's report reveals a much changed situation, with the extract highlighting how 'large and well-arranged premises' allowed for a 'good standard of discipline and instruction to be maintained'. It was not only the material features of the educational environment that were pulled out as important, the report for 1896 also pointed to the value of introducing 'drilling exercises' which it argued would 'help brighten the children'. The type of drill deemed appropriate for girls differed from that of boys but it was clearly viewed as being of equal significance given the range of apparatus available. However, the reports could also be quite damning, with several comments alluding to a standard of discipline that did not encourage the girls to speak: 'I hope to see still more sympathetic lines of discipline and freer methods of instruction followed in the current year, with the view of awakening confidence in answering and a brighter tone in the classes' (Annual Report, 1898: 132).

Manual Labour/Trades/Training

'But in the practical management of the homes the three R's constitute only a *fraction* of the meaning of the word Education'. (Annual Report, 1889: 9. Emphasis added)

Manual labour and practical skills and trades were highly valued by Barnardo (Wagner, 1979). Viewed as beneficial to both the worker and a wider society, it might be argued that manual work and training took precedence in the daily routines of the Boys' Home in particular:

> 'The training of the hands proceeds co-ordinately with the education of the head; for while I value much the result of school work, I prize even more the training imparted in the Trades Shops, in the Kitchen, and in the Laundry'. (Annual Report, 1889: 9)

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Lord Brabazon claimed that one of the strengths of the charity's work was their approach to the cultivation of mind, body and soul through a mix of mental and physical training, something Brabazon claims was absent from other contemporary institutions and a factor deemed necessary in creating a productive nation with an efficient manufacturing base that could compete at an international level (*Night & Day*, 1888). Instructing the inmates to 'make good use of their *hands and eyes* as well as their minds' aimed to produce 'independent and industrious' subjects (Annual Report, 1888–1889: 9). To a lesser extent than the classroom educational programmes in the Homes, the development of practical skills and trades were more rigidly gendered, as this extract suggests: 'All the boys over twelve years of age are instructed in useful handicrafts, and all the girls in the practical details of domestic service and household management' (Annual Report, 1889: 9).

With this in mind, this section seeks to trace the range of opportunities afforded to the young inmates according to their age, sex and, as will be developed, their level of physical or mental impairment. Even in its formative early years, Barnardo's found productive, manual pursuits for this category of its inmates. Beginning with the boys, it has already been mentioned that the Boys' Home at Stepney was equipped to train its inmates through manual labour and the

teaching of a wide-variety of trades (**Figures 6.8**). Particularly during the organisation's earlier years, the various trades taught at the Boys' Home was aimed to equip them with the necessary skills to enter into apprenticeships in the city (Annual Report, 1874–1875; *Night & Day*, 1884). A visitor's account of the Home in 1883 reveals that boot-makers, brush-makers and carpenters were just a sample of some of the workshops that were set up to train the boys (*Night & Day*, 1883). And a similar account the following year, which again details each of the trades available to the boys, suggests that in addition to apprenticeships the boys were being prepared for a trade in the army or navy (*Night & Day*, 1884).

Figure 6.8: 'Images of workshops at the Boys' Home, Stepney' (Annual Report, 1903: 25)

The Labour House for Destitute Youths at 622-626 Commercial Road, East London, opened in 1881, was defined as:

> 'A Voluntary Industrial Home, unique in its character, accommodating 200 destitute youths of from 17 to 20 years of age, testing their character, and, if they are approved, sending them forth to Canada after six or eight months' residence. The industries of the Labour House comprise wood-chopping, box-making, the manufacture of aerated waters, etc.' (Barnardo, 1889: 61)

Significantly the purpose and operation of the institution represented a broader change in the role and intention of the organisation. The Labour Home's primary aim was to *test* rather than to *train* the young men. The work largely involved repetitive, menial tasks such as wood-chopping and box-making, testing the young men's resolve, attitude and physicality rather than the craft-training that was a feature of the Stepney Boys' home. Additionally in 1889, Buckenhill Industrial Farm, at Buckenhill Manor near Bromyard in Worcestershire, was opened by Richard Phipps who was a local magistrate. The home was affiliated with Barnardo's initially accommodating up to 47 older boys with the sole intention of with training them up farm-work before their emigration to Canada (*Night & Day*, 1890; Wagner, 1979). Offering a programme of agricultural training, this is yet another example of an organisation that was in transition, devoting increasing effort and resources into child emigration as a rationale response to child welfare and the urban question.

Turning now to the girls under Barnardo's care, it will already be apparent from the account of the Girls' Village Home that they experienced a very different environment to the boys. In 1877, only very shortly after the Homes foundation, Dr Barnardo laid out his ideal vision for

the institutional care and development of girls. Along with a formal programme of domestic service training, Barnardo also noted the importance of learning how to efficiently reproduce the household through learned domestic tasks: how to lay and set a dinner table, how to scrub floors, how to dry them carefully, how to clean a stove or a pair of boots (Cox, 1979; *Night & Day*, 1877). According to this vision, household chores would instil the girls with an understanding of managing a household and, coupled with a formal programme of domestic service, would produce reliable and knowledgeable subjects equipped with the skills necessary for a career of service (see **Figure 6.9**). Moreover, Barnardo believed the opposite happened in the workhouse where girls were starved of the skills which could protect them from falling back into lives of disrepute (*Night & Day,* 1877).

Figure 6.9: 'In the ironing room of the laundry at The Girls' Village Home.' (Annual Report, 1903: 6)

A visitor's report of the Home published in *Night & Day* in 1881 reveals that after breakfast each girl in the cottage was assigned their appointed tasks to attend. All the housework was subsequently completed by the children (*Night & Day*, 1881: 13). This meant the girls also

contributed in helping the Girls' Village Home along lines of economic necessity, relieving pressure on available funds as well as helping them to develop skills necessary for household management and instilling values of self-governance, order and productivity. In addition to these household chores, girls also completed a formal course of domestic training which, as highlighted earlier in the chapter, usually took place in the afternoon (*Night & Day*, 1881). One place for this kind of service training was the laundry house. Opened in 1876 it was one of the first buildings constructed on the site. All washing for the Girls' Village Home and for the Boys' Home took place here (Cox, 1979). On average by 1905, 18,500 pieces of clothing were washed per week, a cost-effective solution to a monumental task (Annual Report, 1905: 20). Another workplace was the embroidery school. It was here that girls with physical or mental impairments were also taught a trade, and needlework was identified as the most appropriate one for those unable to do more physically taxing work (see **Figures 6.10-12**). Anything from chair caning to lace making, tablecloths and even handkerchiefs were embroidered as presents for visiting members of the royal family (*Night & Day*, 1890; Cox, 1979). The upholstery department was another industry based at the Girls' Village Home; mattresses from the Home, as well as other Barnardo institutions, were reflocked and cleaned, and cushions and curtains were also produced here. In addition to their training in needlework, girls with impairments worked in the clothing section, tailoring the clothes donated to the Home to fit the girls. This department also produced the clothes for parties of emigrating girls (*Night & Day,* 1890; Cox, 1979; Barnardo, 1889).

Figure 6.10: 'Some of our cripples at work: young dressmakers in the Girls' Village Home' (Annual Report, 1903: 16)
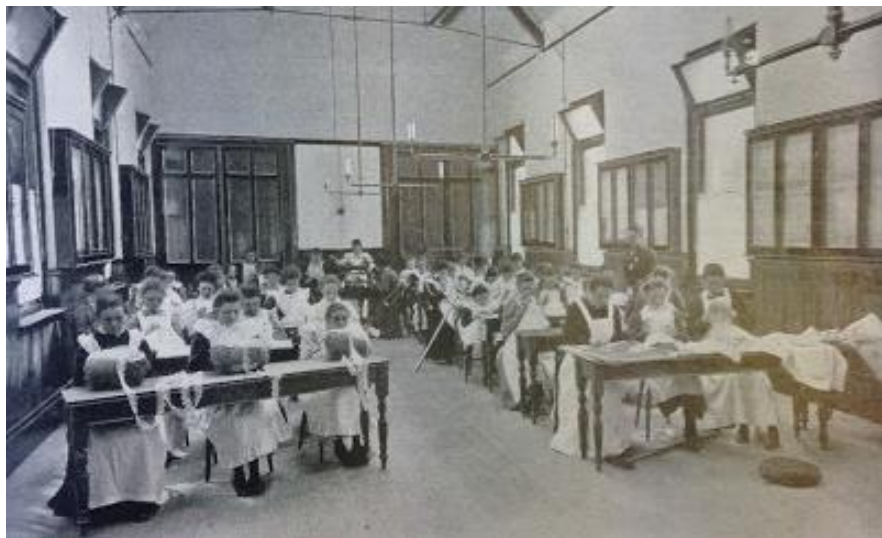
Figure 6.11: 'Pillow lace makers and embroiders (every girl here is physically or mentally deficient)' (Annual Report, 1903: 19)
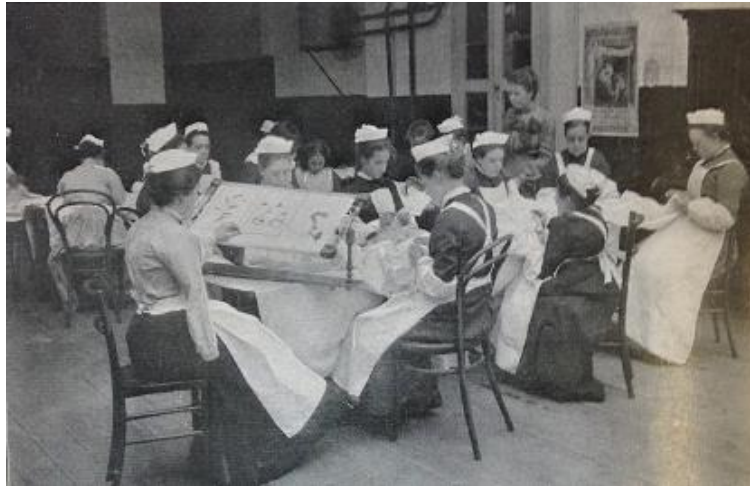
Figure 6.12: 'Some of our defective girls engaged in needlework' (Annual Report, 1905: 44)

The Girls' Village Home, therefore, represented an institution that was both self-sustaining and cost-effective to run and on that provided girls with the skill and training required for a career in domestic service. Though it is also clear from the account above that the Home functioned to support the organisation and serviced other branches of it, at times it also served to make a profit from the products that were manufactured through its selection of industries. There are further examples of this kind of co-dependent, symbiotic relationship happening within the organisation. Sturge House, located at 32 Bow Road, East London and opened in 1883, was a voluntary Home providing residence, domestic training and situations for up to forty girls, principally factory hands (*Night & Day,* 1884). Part of the process for formal domestic training involved a placement at one of the organisation's own branches that cared for the very young. An example of this is recorded in *Night & Day* in 1886 when Barnardo publicised a visit to Tinies' House, opened in 1884 and located close to Sturge House. The account remarks that on Barnardo's visit, he is initially confronted by a 'crude maiden of fourteen' (*Night & Day*, 1886: 50). Barnardo reports that the girl is recruited from Sturge House, the Bow-road branch for 'rough little servants', sent to complete a brief course of household instruction by a 'few weeks of nursery-drill' (*Night & Day*, 1886: 50). The girls in training had their own dormitory at

Tinies' House and hailed from both Sturge House and Ilford and as Barnardo suggests in his account an example of 'how a group of institutions can dovetail with mutual advantage' (*Night & Day*, 1886: 50). Babies' Castle also hosted training opportunities for girls from the Village Home, providing maternal experience in childcare (Barnardo, 1889: *Night & Day*, 1886). A visitors account to Babies' Castle in 1886 notes that they were welcomed by a maid that the visitor claimed to recognise as being from the Ilford girls' home who was now at the age of 16 completing her domestic education at the Babies' Castle (*Night & Day*, 1886: 168–171). This symbiotic process of providing childcare and at the same time delivering a course of training and experience for young girls is indicative of an organisation that placed careful consideration on the co-dependent internal structures of the various homes and branches under Barnardo's control.

6.3.4 Play, leisure and recreation

Play, recreation and exercise were also a regular aspect of the daily routine in the Homes and reflected the institution's belief that this was vital to the healthy development of the young people in its care. Learning through play was a particularly important aspect for the babies and young children in care at Barnardo's. For example, Dr Barnardo's account of his visit to Tinies' House in 1886 makes regular reference to the healthy physicality of the 33 babies in residence, referring, as he does, to their 'firm, healthy limbs'. When introduced to 'Little Janie' of six weeks, details are disclosed on her wasted limbs and old expression giving evidence of a brief life of neglect. Another small baby is described through his frail, destitute miserable condition:

'Poor Bobbie is indeed a woeful sight; not only are his limbs shrunk to skeleton proportions, but his face wears a look of restless misery, hardly credible in one so young, and the instant

his bottle is finished he begins to toss and wail in a fashion that suggests the remark, "He must be quite one person's work!"' (*Night & Day,* 1886: 50)

In this narrative account, the matron then assures Dr Barnardo that the boys' condition will soon dramatically improve. The catalyst for change and improvement is carried through the child's capacity and ability to play not only supporting a healthier physical condition but facilitating the child's mood and mental state. It is detailed in the account that the toddlers are all playing with an assortment of toys – bricks, letters, miniature tables – in a very 'engaged and tranquil manner' much to Dr Barnardo's amazement.

Play in the very young was understood by the organisation to instil order, morality, physicality and understanding into babies and toddlers, facilitating a construction of childhood through play and learning: 'they get a good walk every day, unless it is really wet; and in summer they are out in the garden all day' (*Night &* Day, 1886: 51). Walks were part of the institution's daily routine and during the summer months, outside playtime was also factored in. However, Barnardo described the outside space at Tinies' House as less of a garden and more of a 'back yard'. At the Babies' Castle, which would go on to replace Tinies' House by the close of the 1880s, the site was considered to be far more suited to raising babies and young children and included large grounds where the youngsters could roam and play. In Barnardo's overview of the Castle in 1889, both indoor and outdoor playtime made up the majority of the routine at the home (Barnardo, 1889; see **Figures 6.13-14**). As the figure suggests, the children were free to roam and play in the meadow that adjoined Babies' Castle which also illustrates young children sporadically grouped and preoccupied with one another. The image in itself is an idyllic portrayal of care-free childhood, with the young children enjoying the freedom and warmth of a meadow on a summer's day. It might be argued that the charity utilises the image to allude

to what the early years of childhood means to the organisation and how they aim make this a reality in the contexts of the everyday. Moreover, that this kind of representation of childhood stands in contrast to other contemporary institutions, notably the workhouse, or life in the slum environments from which these young children were rescued.

Figure 6.13: 'Some of my tiny mites at play in the meadow of Babies' Castle' (*Night & Day*, 1902: 3)

Figure 6.14: 'The boys' nursery at Hawkhurst – 'A Last Game Before Bedtime'' (Annual Report, 1903: 13)

Motivations of healthy rejuvenation and recuperation underpinned the principles of play, leisure and activity at the Home for Little Boys, Teighmore, Jersey. Opened in 1879 and considered a haven of health on the island of Jersey, the daily routine made use of its rural surroundings through a series of health-related activities that would aim to build up the physical health and well-being of young boys in a delicate condition or to simply aid them through a delicate phase in their development:

'The boys spend much of their time in the open air out of school hours. The result is that none of the Homes excel Teighmore in regard to health, which is all the more a subject for grateful record when it is remembered that the age of the boys range from 4 or 5 to 10 years – a period of life which carries many special liabilities to disease with it. Teighmore thus supplies the 'missing link' as to age between our Babies' Castle and Leopold House.' (Barnardo, 1889: 59)

271

Noted above, outside of classroom hours the children spent a lot of time outside to drink in the benefits of the environment such as the fresh air and sea breeze. Leisure activities also had a health-related focus:

> 'The sea-bathing and the country walks proved invaluable in neutralising the effects of early life among pestiferous slums or crowded lodging-houses; and though, of necessity, many of the boys sent to Teighmore were extremely delicate, the excellent sanitary and healthy surroundings of the house have triumphed, in every instance up till last year, over the drawback of enfeebled constitutions'. (Annual Report, 1884–1885: 25)

In this case the 'sea-bathing' and 'country walks' served to promote good health through a cleansing of the boy's past. Employing the familiar urban problem discourse through spaces such as the 'pestiferous slums' and 'crowded lodging-houses', these health-based activities and the Home's surroundings are offered up as the solution to a class of boys damaged by their former habitats. The activities aim to do more than simply promote the physical health of the boys, it seems they embody a power to both morally cleanse and spiritually elevate ridding the inmates of the negative effects of their past environments. Another report justifies how sea-bathing, rambles by the beach, and country walks each contributed to the:

> 'excellent physical condition of the young inmates, and have operated beneficially in neutralising the evil effects of their earlier life, spent in the crowded and pestiferous air of London lodging-house and other places from which they came'. (Annual Report 1883–1884: 19)

The home and its health-related activities are again placed in direct contrast with the problem setting of the imagined diseased crowded lodging-house with its poisonous 'pestiferous air' (Murdoch, 2006). It was believed these recreational activities would physically rejuvenate and morally cleanse the children of the ills of their former lives, with the Homes offering a routine constituted by leisurely activities that aimed to induce a healthy transformation in the young boys before they would move onto Leopold House or the Stepney Home for Boys.

The Girls' Village Home also included leisure activities implicitly aimed to cleanse the girls of their pasts through a process of 'moral elevation'. The rural location provided the girls with the opportunity to play and experience pleasure in a green and open environment, something Barnardo's deemed as integral to their sound development into young women. Leisure time for the girls followed a middle-class sensibility and a geniality that aimed to transform them into civilised, well-mannered subjects. An article from *Night & Day* entitled 'Holiday Time at Our Girls Village Home, Ilford' speaks on the site's environment and surroundings which provide the perfect setting for the girls to relax and play as their school holidays get underway:

> 'the meadows of Mossford Lodge form a good playground, and here we shall find various groups of girls scattered about. Some are busy at the swings under the shady elm trees; some are making love to the donkeys, and trying to get on friendly terms with them; some are pulling one another about in the small donkey-cart that carries the vegetables round to the cottages; some are playing at school' (*Night & Day*, 1881: 83)

The opening description of the Girls' Village Home as 'meadows' that 'form a good playground' alludes to the freedom and openness of this location and its accompanying environment. The variety of play and activity that is reported here – with groups of girls

273

scattered within the grounds and preoccupied with something different, from playing on swings to making friends with the animals – suggests the various ways in which healthy development is promoted within the grounds of the Girls' Home. This diverse array of leisure activities is confirmed later in the passage by observing that 'most drink tea on lawn, have dolls tea-parties and even read their books'. The account also highlights the Home's proximity to other green, open spaces such as Epping Forest or West Ham Park. Over the girls' summer holidays, these spaces are utilised for summer outings. A description of a typical day out to the park is provided:

> 'Six, eight or ten families come together for these picnic outings, and at 2pm, the farm cart is brought round, to receive all the "tea things" as little girls get a lift with the cart whilst others follow. At 7pm the cart goes back to the said gate of the Forest to load up to proceed home again. The West Ham park picnics involve a walk to Ilford of two and a half miles, a railway journey of 10 minutes to Forest Gate and a walk of 15 minutes to the parks gates. The same for the return journey but this is by no means too much for a large number of our girls, who are glad of the opportunity for so long a stretch.' (*Night & Day,* 1881: 83).

The account also highlights some of the 'typical' activities the girls' experience whilst on these outings:

> 'real good fun are these picnics, taking tea to the Forest, boiling the kettle for mother's tea, picking big nosegrays of flowers, walking off in all directions to get to the prettiest grasses, ferns, wild honey, and other hedge creepers to adorn the hats with.' (*Night & Day,* 1881: 83).

274

The description plays heavily on the girl's immersion in nature and interaction with the surrounding environment reporting picking flowers and carelessly walking 'off in all directions'. This account is both gendered and closely traces middle-class practices and sensibilities. The final line in particular where the girls are adorning their hats with 'hedge creepers', a gendered encounter with nature that witnessed the girls making the most of their natural surroundings and incorporating it into their appearance and dress; materialistically embodying nature. These outings to the local park would have not only been considered beneficial to the physicality of the children who could breathe the fresh air and 'be active', but there appears to be something beneficial at a deeper spiritual level:

> 'It is hardly possible to believe these sunburnt, bright, merry girls were not always so- that their lives began in sorrow, sin, shame, and hopelessness; yet it was with so many. Thank God they are rescued from all the past dark circumstances, and thus brought into sunny, joyous, pure surroundings, are growing up to forget what once was and what might have been.' (*Night & Day,* 1881: 83*)*

There is a clear contrast presented here, between the joy-filled, sunny afternoon and the girls' destitute pasts and such trips appear to be explained as providing important 'moments' in their healthy development; creating happy memories the girls can cherish and reflect upon in later life, ultimately helping to 'construct' for these girls a childhood. This indicates that such trips, alongside the Home's rural setting, act as a form of therapeutic landscape that perhaps allowed the girls the opportunity to forget, rebuild and to develop into morally-sound young women. There are other ways in which Barnardo's recreated a middle-class domesticity to support this process of healing and development; for example, by holding tea-parties (see **Figure 6.15**).

Here, the girls from one of the cottages are sat in a neat circle while the 'mother' serves tea, epitomising how leisure time at the Girls' Home was directed and based upon a set of idealised practices and imagery of how the middle-class family functioned in a recreational context.

QUEEN VICTORIA HOUSE.—AFTERNOON TEA ON THE LAWN.

Figure 6.15: 'Queen Victoria house – afternoon tea on the lawn'. (Annual Report, 1903: 10)

If a middle-class framing is what drove the rationality behind leisure time at the Girls' Village Home it was a different case at the Stepney Boys' Home. Leisure time at the Boys' Home mainly followed a masculine order of sports and exercise. A programme of activity and exercise was facilitated by the provision of a 'roomy' asphalt playground, the 'capital' swimming bath, and a gymnasium (*Night & Day,* 1884: 90). Exercise was of paramount importance in the production of young men and the Home was designed and extended with this in mind (*Night & Day*, 1883). Sports and games were a main feature of the daily life at the Home and after the instalment of the swimming pool this would help in providing an all-round physical development of the boys; specifically water skills would provide the essential training and experience required for a potential life at sea.

As Zweiniger-Bargielowska has argued, by the 1880s body management for males was regarded as a means of raising oneself as well as the entire race and this could be achieved through exercise, the gym and gymnastics (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). This emergence of physical discourse and body management is prevalent in the leisure time for the boys which was devoted to exercise and self-improvement. Use of the gymnasium and the swimming pool was a regular feature of the boy's daily institutional routine. Additionally the playground was used for military drills and wand-drills to keep both the boys physique and attitude in shape. The Edinburgh Castle and the Copperfield Road Working Lads institute also included gymnasiums 'for the purpose of occupying and healthily interesting the lads and young men of the vicinity'. (Barnardo, 1889: 216). These gymnasiums across the Homes were opened during the 1880s emanating from a period of increased focus on the cultivation of the male body, particularly in poor urban areas where 'physicality', 'stature' 'self-control,' 'temperance,' and 'personal cleanliness' was represented as moral virtue with the ultimate objective of raising the standard of the race as a whole (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). This was against a backdrop of competing conceptions of masculinity and a wider debate around the fitness of the British as a 'race', especially with the concerns surrounding the poor urban masses and the spread of social Darwinism and racial degeneration which came to define social commentary in the late-Victorian period. Sports were also integral to raising the fitness of the boys as well as teaching them teamwork and the spirit of camaraderie and companionship (Barnardo, 1889; Murdoch, 2006). It was, however, not only the physically-able boys who were catered for at the Boys' Home. By the 1890s as increasing numbers of physically impaired children were admitted into Barnardo's and the institution sought to ensure that these young people were also provided with outlets that promoted their physical health and development. This is perhaps best illustrated by the establishing of the 'Cripples Cricket Club' (see **Figure 6.16**).

Figure 6.16: 'Cripples Cricket Club, Stepney, 1900' (*Courtesy of Barnardo's Image Library*)

The team frequently displayed their skills at the Annual Meetings throughout the 1890s and early 1900s. During a period of anxiety relating to the condition of the urban male body, this may have been Barnardo's statement to suggest that all bodies, including those which were physically impaired, require nurturing through exercise and play (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011).

In 1884, the Annual Fete which occurred each year at the homes was held at the Stepney Boys' Home. This provided the opportunity for the public to have a closer look inside one of the organisation's principal homes. The day was organised around a variety of sporting events, games and activities which could show off the fitness, vitality and well-being of the energetic boys:

'The boys leaped, jumped, vaulted, climbed poles, and ran races amid admiring spectators. Of course we had sack race; race, too, in which the boys seemed to imitate frogs, but did not succeed very well. Wheelbarrow races were, however, the funniest of all, and my little visitors screamed with delight as one boy took up another and made a wheelbarrow of him; and when one or another tumbled, there was, of course, much merriment. Then we adjoined to the swimming bath, and really, my boys did well there. They dived and swam, and showed their powers of saving their own life and the lives of others, which made me feel exceedingly thankful for our excellent and commodious bath'. (*Night & Day*, 1884: 90)

As the passage reveals, the event was designed to show off the fitness and ability of the boys through a series of contests. As well as exhibiting strength and competitiveness it also demonstrated their skills in swimming and life-saving; skills they would have learnt at the Home. Such public events were regularly held by Barnardo's and, it might be argued, were employed as an effective means of exhibiting the vitality, strength and discipline of the young subjects that the Homes were producing.

Children in the Homes trained for months in order to prepare for the demanding routines that took at place the organisation's Annual Meeting's. In 1890, Barnardo's hosted the event for the first time at the Royal Albert Hall and the event was attended by 7,000 people compared to the years previous 2,700 capacity at the Exeter Hall on the Strand. There was a musical drill performed by the girls of Barkingside and a group of trained Stepney boys performed gymnastics to music demonstrating both their discipline and their physicality (*Night & Day*, 1890). Annual Meetings would follow similar programmes throughout the 1890s, with carefully crafted routines that would flaunt the skills, talents, fitness and discipline of the

children with the intention of silencing any critics and promoting the homes as a flagship for the creation of young, healthy, happy citizens.

At the Annual Meeting held on June 7th 1893, a key theme discussed were the wider concerns around degeneration amongst the urban poor. The address by Reverend Sinclair particularly discussed the negative impact degeneration and the creation of 'unruly types' could have upon the nation and its economy (*Night & Day*, 1893: 73). The familiar musical drills were performed and the Stepney boys' exhibited their skills in gymnastics to show off the promotion of their physical fitness and ability. In addition, the 'Cripples Cricket' team took to the stage at the event (*Night & Day,* 1893; 80). During this period of uncertainty when degeneration was explicitly included in the narrative of the evening's address, the organisation intended to reveal that it had the capacity to transform any child regardless of their abilities (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). By the close of the century the Annual Meetings had scaled down in size and the 34th Annual Meeting held on the charity's Founder's Day, July 7th was hosted at Stepney Causeway. The afternoon included a tour of the Stepney complex for visitors before the girls from Barkingside performed a maypole dance and competed in sack and wheelbarrow races. The rest of the afternoon was made up of the Stepney boys partaking in:

> "wand-drill, flag-races, dumb-bell exercises, skipping, and a large variety of 'races,' many of them highly amusing, and all of them lively and spirited." (*Night & Day,* 1900: 39)

Again, this combination of events helped to exhibit the range of pursuits that took place at the homes but more importantly revealing the 'lively and spirited' nature of the children through these activities. As well as exhibiting their strength, fitness, discipline and order, the event also

sought to demonstrate the fun and frivolities that the charity believes constitutes childhood through the races and games. The roster of events indicative of an organisations that wanted to make a bold statement to the public, stating that their institutional system was working, producing a happy, healthy version of childhood and a generation of well-ordered citizens.

6.4 CONCLUSION

By unpacking the different elements that contributed to the everyday organisational makeup, this chapter has exposed the embodied notions of Victorian health and vitality. Based on nineteenth-century ideas, the organisation of the institution was based upon producing subjects who were mentally and physically prepared for an industrious life (Haley, 1978). It is important to note here that Barnardo's employed different institutional models, embodying different everyday routines, contingent to contemporary assumptions associated with age, sex and physical and mental impairment. Little work has been done on the everyday routines and practices operating within the Homes and the ways in which they sought to ensure the young people in their care were in a state of *vitality* – that is, 'activity, growth, and responsiveness' – in order that they could respond to the demands of the differing environments they would inhabit, then and in their future lives (Haley, 1978: 20). But to ensure the children were receptive to these routines of training and education, activities were closely managed and controlled to inculcate children with respect, civility and order. By closely examining the quotidian contexts, routines and practices, Barnardo's can be read as a microcosm of broader ideas and debates during this period that relate to the health, training and wellbeing of children and young people.

Chapter 7

Mobility, Movement and Migration:
Building Nation, Expanding Empire

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In response to the publication of the pamphlet *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* by Andrew Mearns in 1883, Barnardo's set out its own three stage process for transformation of the young 'abject poor' into viable and productive citizens (Annual Report, 1883–84; 11). The first stage focused on the 'rescue' of children and their admission to the institution, providing an environment that aimed to reverse the trend of 'pauperism'. Barnardo's claimed that poverty could be alleviated:

> 'if the children of this generation are not *made paupers:* if they do not grow up under pauper surroundings; if they are trained in Homes, with a *home feeling* and *family life* cultivated about them.' (Annual Report, 1883–1884: 11).

Capturing children considered to be from the pauper class had become a nationwide operation during the charity's expansionist years of the mid–1880s. By 1887 the geography of admissions spanned the whole of Britain and there were also cases of children who were admitted to the charity's care from overseas (**Figure 7.1**).
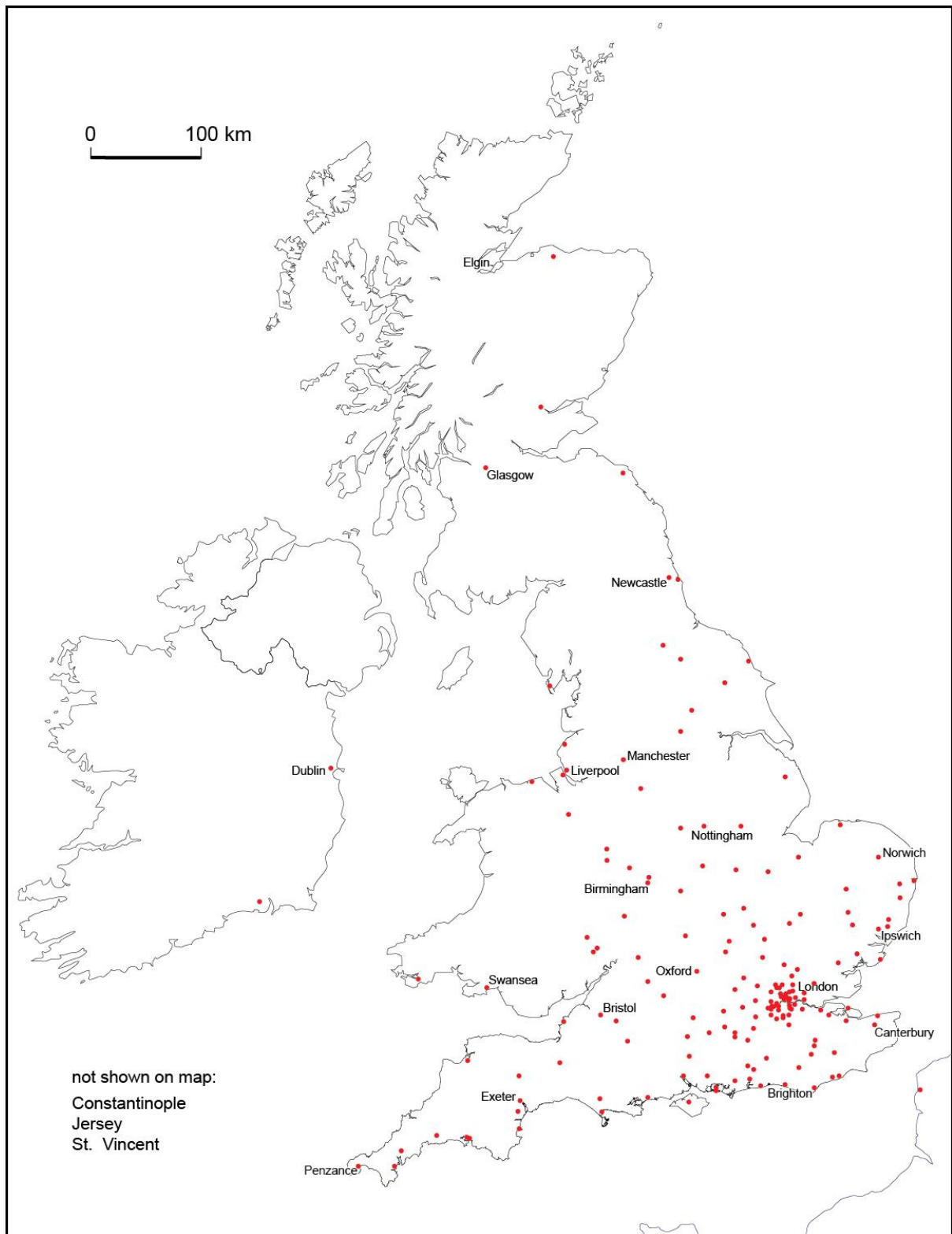
Figure 7.1: Map showing the locations of children admitted into the permanent care of the homes (Annual Report, 1886–1887: V)

Extending beyond its East London origins, Barnardo's forged a national campaign for child rescue particularly directed through the construction of provincial shelters and admission centres that offered an 'Ever Open Door' for the destitute and neglected. By the end of the century the scale of the charity's operations had expanded even further afield (see **Figures 4.8-4.9** in Chapter 4)

The second stage of the transformation process involved assessing those who were admitted and devising a programme of training and care that reflected their age, ability and gender. After spending time in the institution, the final stage was concerned with sending reformed young people back out into the world by finding them employment in the UK or the colonies. At this point the charity loosened but did not relinquish its institutional grip over the children's lives; it was ever keen to demonstrate that it kept in close contact with those who it placed out to ensure both their safeguarding and success. By following these steps Barnardo's believed it could 'stamp out pauperism' providing a reversal of fortune and a complete transformation of the children that entered its care (Annual Report, 1883-1884: 11).

An important element of the institutional practice of Barnardo's was movement; children were mobile within the institution and relocation, both temporary and permanent, was critical to the charity's reformatory strategies. This was in contrast to the children's previous lives where their immobility – their entrapment within the degenerate environment of the slums – was precisely the issue that philanthropic intervention sought to address (Stedman Jones, 1971). Mobility, which involved removal from the slums and then a journey through different parts of the institution, was therefore the solution; a route to a better future. Movement within the institution took children through a range of different environments that sought to produce different effects, but that were all geared to offer care, training and development that would

ultimately result in a transformation of the child's life. Movement could take the form of a transfer from one type of home to another; it could involve temporary relocation to the countryside or coast as part of a day trip or excursion; the boarding-out of children in other people's homes was usually a longer term move, while the relocation of a child to the colonies – especially, in the period dealt with by this thesis, Canada – was meant to be a permanent move, offering a new life in a new world. The decision to move children whilst in the care of Barnardo's was dependent on a range of factors – notably age, health and ability – but was a common experience for all as they progressed on their institutional journey from pauperism to self-supporting respectability.

This chapter focuses on this theme of mobility, examining how children moved through the institution and exploring the effects that a shift from one environment to another aimed to produce. In turn, this raises further questions about the nature of Barnardo's as an institution, and draws attention to the complex assemblage of spatial settings, professional practices and social relationships that provided the means by which it sought to transform the lives of poor children. Building on previous chapters, the discussion brings into focus how Barnardo's operated as an institution, emphasising the forms of regulation, surveillance and control that were required to maintain a spatially disparate and highly dynamic operation that nevertheless sought to offer humane, socially appropriate and emotionally responsive forms of care. It addresses the question of what kind of institutional apparatus was required to create a system of care that offered reassurance to those concerned about the well-being and safety of children, while simultaneously providing the 'home feeling and family life' that seemed at odds with the impersonal and functional nature of many contemporary welfare institutions. The chapter looks at how the concept of the institution was mobilised by Barnardo's and how it surfaced in different settings in a variety of forms (Philo and Parr, 2000). This was not only a question of

vision; it was also a practical issue as during the later 1870s and 1880s Barnardo's was struggling to balance its books (Wagner, 1979). Tighter financial controls forced the organisation to seek out new, cost-effective methods of caring for children.

The chapter is organised around the analysis of three contrasting forms of mobility within the work of the organisation, illustrating the varying scale and scope of Barnardo's efforts to cure 'pauperism' among young people. It examines the way that movement from one environment to another was seen as important in addressing the medical, social and moral needs of the child. It begins with an analysis of the role of short excursions from Barnardo's London homes to the countryside, emphasising the way that medically-informed understandings of the benefits of 'fresh air' supposedly offered an escape from the physically and morally corrupting environments of the city. It then turns to the practice of 'boarding-out' – a centrepiece strategy of the institution where children were sent to live with families that were usually socially and geographically far removed from their existing lives. Here it is argued that removal, which differed for boys and girls offered, was seen as particularly beneficial because it pointed towards a different future for the child, while offering the secure, domestic setting that Dr Barnardo considered to be so important to the process of reformation and transformation. But as this section also explores, this devolved system of care required careful regulation and surveillance to ensure the well-being of individual children and to aim for a degree of uniformity of practice. Finally, the chapter looks at the most dramatic, consequential and, indeed, controversial of all forms of movement of young people enabled by the organisation: the migration of children to the empire. It seeks to understand the reasons why the charity thought it appropriate to relocate children to start a new life overseas and again examines the way the charity tried to maintain its institutional reach in geographical remote and highly disparate settings.

7.2 IN SEARCH OF FRESH AIR: BARNARDO'S 'OUT-OF-TOWN' EXCURSIONS

Speaking in Manchester in the mid-1880s, the botanist Robert Holland underlined the significance of periodic excursions to the countryside to elevate mind and body, allowing individuals to feel revitalised and refreshed on their return back to work. Holland was not alone in his belief, with many trusting the countryside, fresh air and general greenery to have a moralising effect on the population, maintaining social control and order, and forming a workforce that was civilised, responsible and committed to reproducing the nation (Thorsheim, 2006). As Matless (1998) has argued, the landscape of the English countryside is layered with meaning, deeply entwined with history and memory which shape both its significance and purpose. Over the course of the Victorian period the English countryside's association with beauty, tranquillity, innocence and above all health came to be contrasted with the social disorder and disease that had defined the growth of the urban environment (Malchow, 1985). Understandings of the health and wellbeing of children were tied up with this dichotomous construction; nostalgic, romanticised conceptions of a simpler childhood in the pre-industrial, rural eighteenth century were contrasted with the problematized presence of degenerate children populating nineteenth-century inner cities (Valentine, 1996; Shore, 1999).

By the 1880s Barnardo's was well-accustomed to using green spaces – be it local parks, the countryside, or the grounds of their own homes – to promote the health and wellbeing of the children in their care. In addition, the organisation was making use of their expanding infrastructure of out-of-town branches such as the Felixstowe Convalescent Home which opened in 1886, for providing a longer term respite and a break from the city (Barnardo, 1889: 156–157; Annual Report, 1885–1886: 49). The previous chapter has examined how the environment of the Barnardo homes was important in shaping the everyday experiences of

those who lived there; the focus of this chapter is on trips away from a child's normal place of abode, particularly for those who did not live in one of the charity's residential homes.

As Stedman Jones (1971) notes, by the 1870s there as widespread recognition of the chronic poverty of London. As a consequence, the 1880s saw the countryside transformed into an environment politically laden with ameliorative potential (Matless, 1998). The Metropolitan Public Gardens Association (MPGA) along with its energetic chairman Lord Brabazon (who had direct links to Barnardo's, and was even the President of the charity in the late 1880's), firmly believed that contact with nature was essential to the process of improving the health of the working classes, and in order to fulfil this belief, the group often arranged trips for city dwellers to locations outside of the London (Thorsheim, 2011). The vision of the association encapsulated the notion that a stronger, sturdier and healthier British race could be developed, reversing the tide of racial degeneration, through morally and physically improving the working classes via an immersion in, and heightened appreciation of, the nation's country and seaside. Indeed, the provision of trips to the countryside for children of the urban working classes grew substantially over the 1880s, often facilitated by specialist charitable societies or subscription funds.

One of the earliest funds dedicated to rural excursions for London children, named the 'Children's fresh air mission', was located at St Peter's School's in Onslow Street in Clerkenwell Road, and established in 1882. The funded aimed 'to provide a holiday in the country for poor sickly London children' (S. Barnardo and Marchant, 1907: 368). It was the first of many specialist societies formed during this era to provide children with a break from their urban surroundings. However these trips were not simply about attending to the needs of the sick; they were generally open to all poor children on the basis that they would help to

promote their health and vitality. 'The Children's Fresh Air Mission (Off to the Country)', later renamed 'The Children's Country Holidays Fund' was established in 1884 by the energetic East End philanthropic couple Samuel and Henrietta Barnett. Its aim was to provide the 'most in need' children from the slums of the parishes of East London with a break in the fresh air at the seaside or in country. A similar organisation was the Pearson's Fresh Air Fund set up by Sir Arthur Pearson, a British newspaper magnate and publisher, a few years later in 1892. The charity paid for the children of the slums to enjoy a day's outing to the countryside, with donations that covered the rail fare and two substantial meals. Parties of around two hundred children, accompanied by supervising adults, would travel to the country together over the summer months. Originally starting out in London, by 1901 Pearson's Fresh Air Fund had extended its operations to twenty-four of the UK's largest towns and the charity had supported over 700,000 children to go on a trip to the countryside (Pearson's Fresh Air Fund Pamphlet, 1901).

Barnardo's own fresh air fund, or rather its 'A Day in the Country Fund', was launched in 1876, before these other organisations commenced their work. Initially, the fund was used to provide the young pupils that attended the Copperfield Road Ragged School in Stepney with a break from the East End. Dr Barnardo's fund was one of the first in the UK, starting at around the same time that the Rev Willard Parsons set up a similar initiative in New York (see the Fresh Air Fund website, 2016). In the Barnardo case, trips were part paid for by the organisation and the child's parents and included both day visits to the country as well as longer two week breaks to the charity's rural branches or to supporters' own residences.

This section of the chapter will explore the work of Barnardo's fresh fund and that of similar organisations, examining why the temporary relocation of children to the countryside or seaside

was seen as important to their care and moral reformation. Understanding how this practice was framed and the grounds on which public support for the funds was sought, the analysis will examine the broader political rationalities that were driving the fresh air movement. Although, at an immediate level, temporary moves to the countryside were simply an attempt to provide children with a break from the slums and their health and well-being, these trips were also increasingly viewed as a response to the urban question, and framed as an integral part of the process for creating the model citizen, ensuring the future vitality of race, nation and empire.

Some of the earliest traceable evidence for these excursions within Barnardo's can be found in the Summary of Donations for 1876–1877, the same year the Copperfield Road Ragged School was established. It is recorded that £24 8s 3d was donated specifically to a fund simply entitled 'Excursions' (Annual Report 1876–1877). Although this only made up 0.072% of the total of £34,900 11s 0d donated that year, the figure rose to £67 4s 7d out of a total a £35,754 10s 0d donated in 1879–1880. Despite this early spike, donations for the fund levelled off at under £30 per year throughout the 1880s and 1890s. There are also pleas for more specific initiatives such as that in 1890 to cover the cost of a fortnight's break for the pupils of Copperfield Road Ragged School (*Night & Day,* 1890: 111). Usually the costs of the trip or excursion were sourced from both the parents of the child and the fund. Shorter day trips – often involving hundreds of children – were provided alongside longer breaks:

> 'Although I do not make much reference to it in *Night & Day* yet it is our custom to take every year a number of children belonging to our FREE RAGGED SCHOOLS to the country for a day's pleasure.' (*Night & Day*, 1881: 157)

As the vignette in the introduction to this thesis describes, in the summer of 1881 one such day trip to Theydon Bois, just beyond London in Essex, was arranged for 2,500 ragged school pupils. The account in *Night & Day* details that the day trip cost 1s 2d per head, a figure that included a meal and the train fare:

> 'We went from Burdett Road Station on the South Eastern Line to Theydon Bois, where in a few minutes we were safe in a large field adjoining the forest, away from public houses and everything of that kind.' (*Night & Day,* 1881: 157)

The mode of transport was a factor that was carefully considered in the organisation of the trip. Trains were selected over horse-drawn coaches as the latter were forced to stop two or three times on the journey to 'bait' the horses and feed the coachmen which gave some of the older boys the opportunity to slip away unnoticed to the drink-shop or public house. It was only from past experiences of running the trip that the train was selected as a less disruptive form of transport. Once the children were effectively transported and separated from the social ills associated with the urban environment, the day was reported to be a success. After their time spent in the Essex countryside the large party was fed before they reconvened back at the station:

> 'Not an incident occurred to mar the enjoyment of the day, and at half-past seven o' clock, having been well fed, pretty well tired, but thoroughly satisfied and happy, laden with ferns, grasses, wild flowers, branches – I had almost written bushes – the whole party re-formed and marched to the trains, reaching Limehouse again at about nine o'clock pm' (*Night & Day,* 1881: 157).

On the party's return it was reported that eight or nine thousand people turned out to welcome the children back to the city and the day's proceedings were closed with a firework display. The sheer size and scale of the trip is evidence of the ambitious philanthropic intention to bring large numbers of children into contact with these out-of-town environments, even if only for a single day. The account of the trip closes with an appeal to supporters which directly plays upon the enjoyment they derive from their own leisurely outings: 'I shall be glad' wrote Dr Barnardo, 'if some of my readers who have enjoyed their own holiday feel disposed to contribute towards defraying the expenses of our children's outings' (*Night & Day,* 1881: 157). This was an appeal to those who could afford to be mobile to enable the mobility of those who could not.

Not all excursions were on the same scale as the Theydon Bois outing. In the 1883 edition of *Night & Day*, an unnamed friend of the charity is reported to have hired a few rooms in a small cottage at a 'pretty spot on the Sussex coast to take 6-8 youngsters from their squalid homes in Seven Dials … [which] … for three weeks allowed them to drink in new life and health by the seaside and amid the green fields' (*Night & Day*, 1883: 103). As one of London's most notorious and unhealthy slums, the mention of Seven Dials would have resonated with readers and the contrast with the health-giving qualities of the seaside and surrounding green space in a 'pretty spot' in Sussex could not have seemed greater (Andrews and Kearns, 2005; Walton, 1983; 2001). A 'suitable' poem was written to summarise the 'unique' nature of this opportunity for the children:

'Let us hope that your subscriptions will another season grow. So that other little children may breathe, too, the country air, and with eyes of eager wonder look upon its scenes so fair, till there be no waifs in London who have not in turn been sent to enjoy

three pleasant weeks of happy, healthful rare content!' (*Night & Day,* 1883: 103).

It stresses the significance of the practice of providing a healthy environment for the children that takes them away from the city. Despite the optimism of this statement and Barnardo's poetic flair, financial records reveal that the organisation struggled to increase donations, although it remained committed to supporting trips to the country from its own funds. Indeed, analysis of Barnardo's 'fresh air' initiatives reported in outlets like *Night & Day* reveals an overriding faith in the ability of the rural environment to transform the lives of children. It also highlights the increasing vilification of an urban environment that was deemed unfit for any child. The urban-rural dichotomy, a familiar dualism of the Victorian era, was regularly employed by Barnardo's to justify the need for the fund (Swain and Hillel, 2010). The city stood for danger and temptation, illustrated by the public houses, squalid homes and landscapes of disease, immorality and sin which were understood to be absent within the idealistic and sanitised setting of the countryside. The rural, on the other hand, embodied ameliorative qualities; an environment with an abundance of light, air and greenery where children could play and relax. In particular it was the conditions of summer months in the city which were used to justify temporary removal:

'Is it too soon to speak of my Country Holidays Fund, alias, Fresh Air Fund? Already the narrow East-London streets and alleys are sweltering in the summer sunshine, which only makes them more unlovely, while the glories of the country are wooing all who can to leave the smoky town behind them for a season. Please think of my children!' (*Night & Day,* 1890: 111)

In this instance, the problem-solution narrative is unequivocally framed in a single sentence.

The tightly packed confines of East London's streets and alleys became even more oppressive in the sweltering heat and 'smoky' atmosphere. This was no place for a child. This was a well-rehearsed narrative used by other contemporaries such as Octavia Hill in their condemnation of metropolitan spaces of ill health. Those who could escape the city would be met with the 'glories' and healthy freedoms of the country understood as an appropriate spatial setting for children, particularly during the summer months. The fund thus aimed to provide children with mobility to momentarily escape their surroundings for 'pleasure and happiness'. The plea for support in *Night & Day* pressed the point:

'Last year through our Copperfield Road Free School Union, I had the great pleasure of giving a fortnight's outing to 75 children from the very poorest districts of the East-End. I would be glad this year to double that number, if my friends would help me to do so. The boys and girls who were the favoured recipients of last year's boon have already begun to press their pennies upon the teachers to pay part of the needful amount (six shillings each will cover all expenses for a fortnight); but perhaps some good-hearted friend who reads these lines will clear the projected liability at a stroke. I think it wise to encourage the parents to pay a little towards the necessary expenses, but in many cases they cannot even do this. No boon could confer so cheaply so much pleasure and happiness upon the little people of the back streets as this, and I cordially commend it to my helpers near and far.' (*Night & Day,* 1890: 111)

Here too the issue is framed in terms of offering the immobile children of the city – 'the little people of the back streets' – with an opportunity to travel. The children themselves are depicted as being eager, even if their parents cannot always be persuaded to raise the funds to support them. As in other aspects of the organisation's work, Barnardo's was quite happy to act in *loco*

parentis, encouraging its donors to step in to provide the necessary support. In spite of the plea, the fund actually decreased from £29 14s. 9d. (enough to fund 98 children to have a two-week break at 6 shillings per head) in 1889 to £21 1s. 7d. (enough to fund 70 children to have a two-week break at 6 shillings per head) in 1890 (see Annual Report, 1889, 1890).

In 1892, Barnardo's began to promote its own Fresh Air fund in conjunction with other organisations preoccupied with the same practice of rural excursions for the slum child. The various Country Holiday funds advocated by Sir John Kirk, secretary of the Ragged School Union, and Sir Arthur Pearson's own Fresh Air Fund were not only acknowledged by Barnardo but commended for their good work. 'Such an excursion' he wrote of one such initiative 'not only aerates and freshens the life of a slum child, but elevates the heart and purifies the sympathies' (*Night & Day,* 1892: 43). Trips to the countryside refreshed both body and soul, providing an opportunity to physically rejuvenate, morally heighten and spiritually enrich the children.

It is difficult to learn from the archive what the children themselves thought about excursions to the countryside. A rare insight is perhaps provided in a letter from a daughter to her mother that was reproduced in the pages of *Night & Day*:

> 'MY DEAR MOTHER, This is from your little girl Lizzie down at Grinstead. I am getting on fine. There are 34 girls here, and I am the baby, and they are all very good to me. My cheeks are getting fatter, and if I get out in the sunshine I will be so brown that you won't know me. It is raining to-day. This is a very nice place. We get up at half-past seven, breakfast at 8.30, dinner 12.30, tea 5.30, and go to bed about 8. I have a bed to myself, and a dear little box to keep my clothes in. I hope you are quite well. I send

you two kisses, and other two for father, also for Tommie and Dick, and dear little Louise. I hope they are good to you when I am away. We have swings and grass to play on. I wish you were here to see our see-saw, but it would need a dozen Lizzie's (sic) to play at see-saw with you. There is a roundabout. Will you send your little girl a letter at once, so that she may know how you all are?—your loving little daughter—Lizzie.'

(*Night & Day* 1891: 125)

The wholly positive account of the trip given in the letter could mean that it was fabricated and written solely with the periodical's readership in mind. Regardless of its authenticity, the letter works to justify the organisation's support for fund, spelling out what was beneficial about the excursion. Lizzie physically benefits from the trip. The emphasis placed on her 'fattened cheeks' and skin browned by the sun would indicate the physical transformation that the rejuvenating qualities of the countryside could bring about. There is also a focus here on the importance of play and recreation, which involved providing children with the facilities and space to relax. Above all, the environment being described by Lizzie is one that offers the freedom to act and behave like 'children'; it confers upon her a childhood that was supposedly missing in her normal everyday life (Swain and Hillel, 2010).

However, there were limits to the freedoms that children were allowed. The daily routine of the child – waking, eating and sleeping times – are all detailed. Leisure and freedom came with a familiar institutional routine and structure. This chimes with broader ideas relating to the Victorian 'rational recreation' movement, where 'free time' is delivered via a strict regime of temporal order and management. Routines, activities and pursuits are carefully organised to promote the sound development of the child and mould a productive citizen (Billinge, 1991; Hoffman, 2011). Despite the children's distant rural escape, the 'institution' is never too far

296

away; their mobility is a privilege and is carefully controlled by others.

By the 1890s the activities of the 'Fresh Air Branch', as it was now referred to by Barnardo's, were well established and the rhetoric of improvement and revitalisation lay at the heart of the organisation's claims to their success. 'Out of town for a sight of God's country and a breath of fresh air', Barnardo wrote of trips to the countryside, 'It means not merely an unspeakable privilege to those mites, but to many of them health itself.' (*Night & Day*, 1895: 99). The fund breathed life and vitality into degenerated bodies by sending 'drooping little folks for a fortnight's change to the country or seaside during the summer' (*Annual Report* 1896; 119).

By focusing on the physical condition of these young and bodies, Barnardo's rhetoric played into broader concerns relating to urban degeneration theory and the future and vitality of the race. The adjective 'drooping' suggests parallels with plants and flowers requiring nourishment to grow but also echoes common images and rhetoric of physical degeneration where affected bodies are hunched, drooped and dilapidated (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). A 'fortnight's change' can effectively reenergise and revitalise these bodies, providing the physical nourishment necessary to breathe life back into these potential young citizens.

The evidence from these funds suggests the reformers intended the excursions to improve the physical, moral and spiritual health of the children. At a broader level it is possible to trace a political, or rather a biopolitical rationale, to the fresh air movement which sought to tackle anxiety around the urban question, and more broadly the condition of England debate (Stedman-Jones, 1971; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). Ensuring the health and superiority of Britain and its Empire rested on the vitality of the next generation; the countryside offered an

environment where the degenerate could be regenerated. The slums of the metropolis on the other hand, threatened to undermine the very nature of their humanity:

> 'The homes of these children are in the very meanest quarters of our great East End, where sunshine is only known as heat—a burning, scorching heat, which blisters their bare feet on the asphalt pavements, and draws up the nauseous, stifling smells of the gutters. The atmosphere is overpowering. Sleep is often impossible in the crowded rooms at night where the children lie huddled together like rats. We should be very glad to receive one or two timely donations to draft off forth with a large contingent of these young town dwellers for a fortnight's holiday.' (*Night & Day*, 1895: 99).

Emphasis is placed on the accumulated dirt and filth of the city, with the situation exaggerated by the 'scorching' heat, the overcrowded conditions, and overpowering 'atmosphere.' The significant phrase, 'huddled together like rats' evokes images of children behaving like vermin, with mannerisms and characteristics more closely relating to animals than humans. By noting the fact that this passage is written in the mid-1890s, it is difficult to ignore the social and political resonance of this rhetoric, which taps into discourses of racial degeneration and social Darwinism by imagining these children in a devolved, animalistic state (Allen, 2008; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). There was a general fear surrounding the idea of racial degeneration as it was believed that it could potentially spread to and infect all ranks of society, regardless of class and geography. Enabling the slum child to become temporarily mobile, leaving the city in search of fresh air, pointed to a solution to the problem of degeneration. But if the sweet smells of the country or the bracing air of the sea only offered temporary relief from the corrupting environment of the metropolis, such visits nevertheless underlined the transformative potential that moving poor children out of the city could lead to. Boarding-out

was a longer term strategy of removal, where children spent a period of time living away from the metropolis, often in the countryside. The boarding-out of children, the focus of the next section of the chapter, provided the charity with the opportunity for a more ambitious programme of physical, moral and social transformation and became a central feature of Barnardo's work.

7.3 AT HOME IN THE COUNTRY: BARNARDO'S BOARDING-OUT SCHEMES

'No one who knows anything of the conditions of rescuing and training poor children will fail to recognise the value, and *growing* value, of boarding-out for certain classes of the young.' (Annual Report, 1892: 18)

Appearing before the Poor Law Schools Committee in 1895 and echoing this earlier statement in his charity's 1892 Annual Report, Dr Barnardo was keen to underline the benefits of boarding-out children. 'The physical development of the children, as well as the enjoyment of health under all circumstances' were, he suggested, 'very much higher with the boarded-out children, than with any children I have in my institution.' (Dr Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1896: 346). The organisation had begun to send children to rural foster homes in 1887 to live as part of a local community with carefully selected foster parents (*Night & Day*, 1887). As Murdoch (2006) has explored, there was much debate about the most appropriate form of institutional care for poor children. Barrack-style homes, although commonly provided by Poor Law Unions and other children's charities, were a particular focus of criticism. Dr Barnardo dismissed the barrack system 'as so bad in results that it ought not to be used if any other method could be attempted', although his Stepney Causeway home and some of his other East End premises closely resembled such an arrangement (Dr Barnardo, Poor Law Schools

Committee, 1896: 346). In contrast, the charity regarded boarding-out as a model way of caring for destitute and orphaned children, where they could enjoy more of the 'ebb and flow of life' in a family setting (Dr Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1896: 347). Under this temporary form of relocation, children aged from 2 or 3 up until their early teens were sent to live elsewhere for varying periods of time. They were legally and contractually obliged to return to one of Barnardo's 'principal institutions' – typically one of its residential homes – to complete their training when they reached a certain age (often their early teens). This practice of boarding-out swiftly became the organisation's preferred method for looking after children; for many, it became an important and memorable element of their journey through the institution (Hitchman, 1966). Indeed, by 1895, 1,500–1,600 children were being boarded out annually, mainly across southern English counties, representing around two-fifths of those in Barnardo's care (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1896: 347).

Similar to the rural excursions, the practice of boarding-out was based upon an idealised construction of the countryside. In most instances foster care was offered away from large cities like London, and rural locations were certainly preferred. Such environments were believed to have the capacity to improve the physical and moral health of the child, by separating them from the social ills of the city and, importantly, the supposed negative influence of parents and relatives (see Murdoch, 2006). Boarding-out usually happened after a child had already spent time in Barnardo's care, living in one of its homes. It represented another phase in the removal of children from their original urban environment; through their institutional and spatial mobility, children were further detached from the corrupting and degenerate influences of the city.

There was also a more pragmatic reason for the development of the boarding-out system. As an organisation continuously under financial strain, boarding-out offered Barnardo's a cost-effective alternative to residential care and freed up spaces in their homes to allow for continued expansion. Nonetheless, boarding-out on this scale presented a plethora of institutional and logistical challenges. In the context of concerns about the potential for neglect, mistreatment and abuse, a programme of inspection, supervision and control was required to protect the welfare of the child and ensure the efficacy of the system. While children might be widely dispersed living in homes far from Barnardo's London headquarters, the institution was never far away; a roving inspection system was needed to provide the surveillance that was necessary for the safeguarding of the child. A decentralised care system built upon the mobility of the child also required an institution that could be mobile. This section of the chapter examines how Barnardo's approached boarding-out, examining the way that it balanced the tension between allowing a domestic-centred; 'un-institutional' form of childcare to flourish, while providing the necessary degree of regulation, management and control to achieve consistency in its objectives and to address the concerns and objections of critics.

7.3.1 Colonising the Countryside: establishment and expansion

Boarding-out as a form of child welfare had been a success in Scotland but was approached more cautiously in England and Wales due to the perceived risk that children might be neglected, abused or exploited (Hitchman, 1966; Wagner, 1977). However, throughout the 1870s the Central Poor law Board agreed to undertake a trial of a system of boarding-out. Despite initial scepticism, especially from Inspector Andrew Doyle (see Lynch, 2016: 35), during the 1880s Poor Law officials increasingly resorted to boarding-out, which was promoted on the grounds that it cost less than maintaining a child in a Poor Law school or workhouse and that it stimulated children who were thought to have been emotionally stunted by their past

experiences (Behlmer, 1998: 286). Objectors had claimed the boarded-out children were at risk of abuse, poor supervision, neglect or exploitation (they were sometimes treated as servants), but these concerns were largely tossed aside in favour of what came to be seen as a humane cost-effective method of childcare. By the close of the century half of the Poor Law Unions across England and Wales had adopted the practice; in 1908 some 8,659 pauper children were boarded-out through Poor Law Unions (Behlmer, 1998: 288; Holman, 1986: 4). Barnardo's was the first charitable organisation to formally establish a system of boarding-out in 1887. In that year 500 children were sent to 'respectable' Christian foster parents of the labouring classes in rural villages (*Night & Day,* 1888: 140). Barnardo's published institutional guidelines for managing boarding-out in *Night & Day*. The aim of publication was to silence critics and portray to the supporters of the charity that the health and welfare of the children was of paramount importance under a system that was carefully organised and meticulously supervised (cf. Holman, 1986: 4). Local boarding-out centres were set up to provide local regulation and scrutiny of practice, comprising:

- *First.* A local clergyman, who displays an interest in children, and who will be willing to take the position of Chief Superintendent of those placed in his parish, and to do the needful work with thoroughness in the manner hereinafter described.

- *Second.* A small committee of at least six ladies, who will undertake the whole burden of regular visitation of the children at the homes of their foster-parents.

- *Third.* Some twelve or twenty decent foster-parents of the humbler labouring class fulfilling the conditions presently to be stated.'

Night & Day, 1888: 140

The stated requirement for the foster-parents was that they hailed from the labouring class and maintained a devout Christian home (*Night & Day,* 1888: 140). The children had to be well distributed, with no more than two or three in the care of a foster parent couple, and with only 12–20 in each parish or district (*Night & Day,* 1888: 140). Village communities had to obtain the facilities to allow for schooling and medical support. Ultimately, it was the environment that mattered most: 'villages must be of a healthy nature … have no factories, and … [be] … at a distance of some miles from any railway station' *(Night & Day,* 1888: 140). Similar to the practice of rural excursions, this boarding-out system was based on an idyllic conception of the countryside, free from the polluting influence of factories and suitably disconnected from the city. Being too close to a railway station heightened the risk of children trying to escape from their new home and return to the city. While boarding-out was certainly an act of removal, once arrived in their new location, the point was to prevent children's further mobility, albeit temporarily; they needed to be cut off from the moral and physical hazards of urban life and give themselves over to a new life that would cleanse body and soul.

Indeed, the cleansing effects of rural life were and its potential to right the wrongs of an urban upbringing were strongly emphasised in Barnardo's rhetoric, even for those who were at an early age:

> 'Little ones are boarded out as young as possible so they grow up use to this environment and miss the evils of city vice and crime. Children grow up free and natural, learning to mix with other children, attending the school, going on errands to local shops and simply becoming part of a healthy community.' *(Night & Day,* 1903: 154)

303

As observed above, Barnardo's like many contemporary rescue societies viewed the countryside as the 'free and natural' habitat for the development of young children (Swain and Hillel, 2010). The charity's justification for relocating children to the countryside simply tapped into pre-existing ideas of the urban-rural dichotomy which framed much of the debate about the effects of urbanisation in mid to late nineteenth-century Britain. Indeed, Barnardo's understood boarding-out as means of counteracting the 'tide' of rural to urban migration which was believed to lie 'at the root of so many city evils' (*Night & Day,* 1893: 2). It also responded to addressing the 'urban problem' by alleviating – albeit in a very modest way – overcrowding in cities and providing an influx younger populations to rural communities, which was deemed to have a positive economic and social impact (Annual Report, 1892: 18).

Figure 7.2: 'Somebody's Bairns': Advertising for foster parents in Night *& Day* (1892: 19)

In terms of finance, boarding-out cost £13 or £14 less per year than it did to maintain a child in one of the principal Barnardo homes. It also freed up space within the homes which meant Barnardo's could take higher numbers of children into their care, allowing them to meet their claim that no destitute child was ever refused admission (Barnardo, 1889: 168–71). As will be discussed further below, it was believed that boarding-out also prepared children for emigration and a new life overseas, as it provided them with 'the inestimable benefit of gaining acquaintance with country ways, in the event of their afterwards being emigrated to Canada.' (*Night & Day,* 1893: 2). Boarding-out was therefore part of the child's mobility through the institution and regarded as a system of relocation that was a cheap and effective way to mould young children into trainable subjects who could, in turn, become productive (imperial) citizens.

Foster-parents too could benefit from the scheme earning, on average, 5s per week. The higher rate of 7s per week was paid to those who cared for a child under the age of three, while 6s per week was paid for children aged between three and four (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 349). Parents who fostered disabled children or those who had been born out of wedlock received a higher rate of pay. This financial incentive to foster children would have been a welcome supplement for a low-income rural household. But beyond the economic benefits of fostering Dr Barnardo was keen to emphasise that children would bring joy to households, especially to couples who were unable to have children of their own. Age was a governing factor in the boarding-out system. Children older than 10 were rarely boarded out and instead were admitted to one of the 'principal' homes. This was because younger children, who had more limited experience of life in the corrupting environment of the city slums, were believed to have a better chance of being positively shaped by life in the country (Annual Report, 1896). Barnardo's also insisted that boarding-out ended once children had reached their

early teenage years. As soon as the girls were aged 14 and boys the aged 13, it was contractually determined that they had to return to one of the principal homes to complete their training (Hitchman, 1966). On their return and after completing their respective training, the boys and girls would either be sent out to 'situations' in the UK or emigrated to the colonies, usually at this time, Canada. The organisation therefore regarded boarding-out as scheme that benefited all parties involved and that provided a stepping-stone to a new future for the child.

By 1892 the scheme proved so popular that Barnardo's had 118 boarding-out centres in operation with 2,085 children living in rural foster homes. A further 20 centres providing places for 609 children were added in 1892 alone (Annual Report, 1892; 17–18). The Annual Report for 1895 listed all of the boarding-out centres revealing the geography and scale of the system (see **Figure 7.3**).
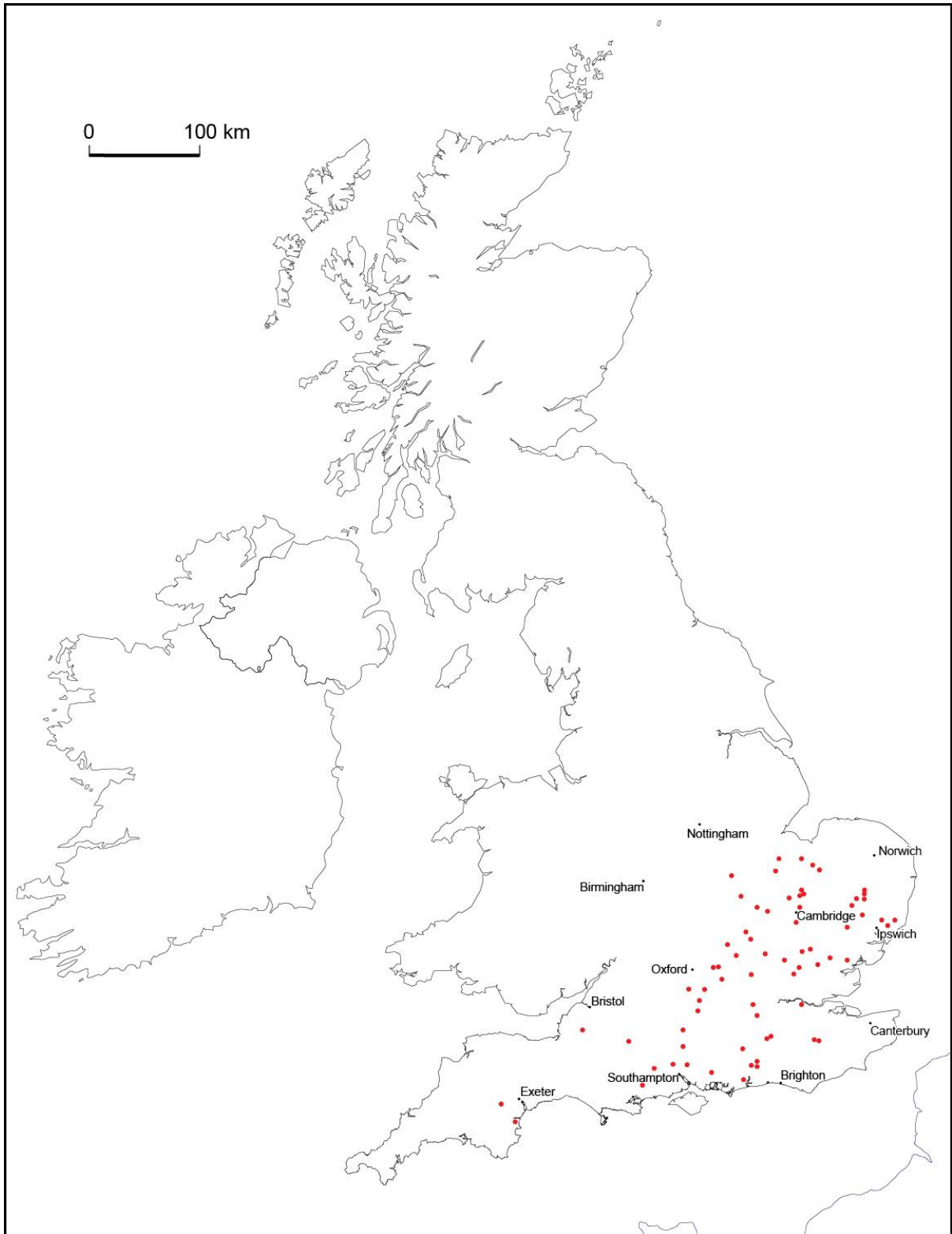
Figure 7.3: Map illustrating the distribution of boarding-out centres in 1895 (Annual Report, 1895: 69-70)

While financial pressures resulted in some scaling back of boarding-out centres in the mid-1890s (see Wagner 1977), the expansion of this mode of care required the institution to develop systems of regulation and supervision to oversee the system and ensure that children were being looked after in ways that were consistent with Barnardo's vision.

7.3.2 The Institution from Afar: Rules, Regulation and Supervision

At the Poor Law Schools Committee hearing in 1895, Dr Barnardo provided a detailed account of the *Rules for the Guidance of Boarding-Out Committees*. These guidelines were thorough, spanning thirteen separate points of instruction, and covered: the role of foster parents, the nature of the domestic environment, and surrounding locality, and appropriate forms of education and healthcare (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 348). Barnardo advised the committee that these guidelines had to be strictly observed. He reproduced the agreement that the foster parents had to read and sign before they could take a child into their care, which covered the 'lodging, maintenance, washing, schooling, clothing, and care' of the child (Dr Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 348). This was followed by nine separate terms of agreement which the foster parents were contractually obliged to follow. The terms encompassed everything from the basic care of the child through to the promise of providing comfort, food, warmth and shelter as well as teaching the values of respect, obedience, truthfulness, industry and personal cleanliness. Regular church attendance was deemed imperative as was instilling the habit of daily prayer. Additionally, foster parents were instructed to oversee the child's education and to ensure school attendance was taken seriously. Foster parents had to maintain a healthy line of communication with the local boarding-out centre, and be willing to present the child for inspection upon request. If the child were to get sick, it was instructed:

'to report it immediately to Dr Barnardo and to the lady or gentlemen in charge of the children in the centre; and if necessary, at once call in the assistance of a medical man' (Dr Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 348).

Finally, policing any remaining contact between the children and their biological parents was also taken seriously by Barnardo's, a factor which will be examined later on in the chapter. If these rules and regulations were followed, boarding-out was considered by Barnardo's to be a cost-effective solution suited to their vision of child rescue. Dr Jane Walker, a fully qualified 'medical woman', was appointed as the Chief Inspector of boarding-out system and often preached the benefits of the system. Her first report, which was published in *Something Attempted! Something Done!* (1889), emphasised that it made sound economic sense to board children out in the countryside where they could be reared in a homely, natural and healthy environment. It was therefore expected that children would experience an entirely new way of life during their time spent growing up in these communities through receiving an education at the local school, a safe and comfortable home life, appropriate religious and moral instruction and, when needed, good healthcare. To ensure these standards were met, a complex infrastructure and system to inspect and survey the lives of the children and the conditions within which they lived was required:

'Boarding-out still remains the best method of dealing with children in suitable cases. It must, however, be safe-guarded by effectual inspection, both local and from the headquarters.' (Annual Report, 1895: 68).

The institutional hierarchy of inspection which attempted to regulate the boarding-out system will now be examined. Routine inspections were commonplace, but it was not only the

domestic arrangements of boarding-out that concerned the institution. The provision of education and health care was also closely followed by the local committee and the institution at large.

7.3.3 Educational Attendance and Attainment

Local schools facilitated the education of the children. However, to ensure that the children were in regular attendance at the local school, Barnardo's kept an active correspondence with the local school board rather than to simply rely on the word of the foster parents (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895). The organisation's Annual Report demonstrated that the matter of school attendance was taken very seriously:

> 'It is greatly to the advantage of the children that the parents are compelled to send them to school regularly. If a child is to be irregular in its school attendance the Local Committee are informed of it, and the matter inquired into.' (Annual Report, 1895: 68)

Point five of the contractual terms of agreement signed by the foster parents specifically related to schooling. It stated that a child must remain in regular attendance at a public elementary school unless they were ill or prevented by another 'urgent cause' (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 348). When the organisation surveyed the possibilities of establishing a boarding-out centre, the local school was a key consideration. Dr Barnardo reported that the organisation would communicate with the clergyman or minister who would double up as a school 'manager' to check if places were available and if the boarded out children would be able to attend (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 349). Each year the Chief Inspector of the boarding-out system, Dr Jane Walker, reported on the general condition of the

children including an assessment of their educational attainment. This annual summary would report on their school attendance and on the child's general attitude toward their educational experience. In addition it would report on any students that were considered to have 'remarkable talent,' and those who had been removed due to illness or bad behaviour (Annual Reports, 1891; 1892; 1894; 1895). Additionally Dr Walker would report collectively on the results of the boarded-out student body in relation to the 'six school standards', devised by the amended Education Act through the revised code of regulations in 1872 (**Table 7.1**). Rather than children being separated according to their age, they were categorised and taught on the basis of their academic ability across the three areas of assessment; reading, arithmetic and writing (Schnell, 1979). Apart from the first year the boarded-out children attended school, pupils could change standard depending upon their progress and assessment of their ability. **Table 7.1** illustrates the kind of information that Dr Walker published in her annual reports on the boarded-out children.

Year	Infants	1	2	3	4	5	6	Totals
1891	144	184	169	192	34	8	1	732
1892	223	253	254	204	102	41	15	1,092
1893	166	233	296	273	151	71	7	1,197
1894	132	248	251	276	165	97	28	1,197
Totals	665	918	970	945	452	217	51	4,218

Table 7.1: Educational achievements and the six standards of the boarded-out children 1891–95 (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 349).

These educational records were another way that Barnardo's sought to assert institutional control over those in its care. Examination, attendance and attainment records formed part of

an administrative system that ascribed a particular form of subjectivity to the children, whose development could be tracked using statistics. By measuring both educational attainment and attendance and comparing rates with a larger aggregate of population – the reasons why these tables utilise the 'six school standards' – Barnardo's could use education as a means by which to assess the success of boarding-out as an institutional strategy. This was all part of institution's surveillance apparatus to assert control over its 'subjects' and track their development which in turn could be used to build up a profile of a child in preparation for their return to the principal homes and their final course of training (see Foucault, 1975; Hoffman, 2011: 32).

In addition by publishing such information Barnardo's could demonstrate to its supporters that it was in control of its young subjects, closely monitoring their progress in the hope of producing well-rounded and educated children who could be moulded into successful subjects for emigration.

7.3.4 The Medicalisation of Boarding-Out

Dr Barnardo claimed boarding-out to be the healthiest mode of care as the children would benefit from the rejuvenating environment of the countryside. It was for this reason, for example, that the organisation claimed some diseases prevalent in residential child welfare premises, such as ophthalmia, ring worm and itch, were practically absent among Barnardo children (Annual Report, 1895). These diseases could spread very easily in confined, densely populated spaces such as care homes; boarding-out however eliminated these determinants (Worboys, 2000). Despite, or perhaps because, of such claims, a medical infrastructure of inspection and surveillance remained integral to promoting the healthy development of

313

boarded-out children. When the boarding-out system was initially set up, inspections were solely carried out by the local committee assigned to each centre, but this was soon deemed to be inadequate:

'we found at a very early period, that, to trust alone to the local committee, was to tempt failure, so I appointed at a very early stage, a fully qualified medical woman' (Dr Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 348).

Here, continuing its approach of employing women with extensive medical knowledge and training to key positions within the organisation. As noted above, Barnardo's appointed Dr Jane Walker as chief inspector of boarding out in 1888, supported by an assistant, Dr Mary Gordon. Gordon was later to be replaced with Miss Jean F. Robertson. These inspectors would carry out 'surprise visits,' evaluating each child's foster home and situation as well performing a full medical examination of each child. Children were visited at least twice in a year, with as many as four visits per annum for some (Annual Report, 1892). The organisation produced yearly assessments of the health of the children who were boarded-out, noting any fatalities, outbreaks of disease, and any serious illnesses (Annual Report, 1892: 19). The 1894 Annual Report on boarded-out children provides a good example of the level of detail that was provided.

[TABLE G.] BOARDING-OUT CASES OF ILLNESS DURING 1894.

Illness	Cases	Illness	Cases
Abscess	2	Phthisis	3
Adenoids	5	Pneumonia	2
Anæmic	1	Prolapsus recti	1
Bad eyes	31	Rickets	7
,, foot	2	Ringworm	24
,, chilblains	17	Scarlet fever	3
,, colds	8	Scabies	5
,, teeth	16	Scurvy patches	1
,, habits	15	Spinal curvature	4
Broken tibia	4	Strumous ulceration of neck	1
Big tonsils	5	Stammer	3
High palate	1	Tumour in arm	1
Chorea	4	Talipes	2
Crippled and infantile paralysis	1	Tinea	10
Machine accident	1	Tibia and femora much bent	1
Eczema	7	Whooping cough	17
,, auris	1	Lameness	2
Epileptic fits	3	Deaf	10
Epistaxis	1	Diarrhœa	4
Heart disease	5	Diphtheria	1
Impetigo	5	Lost an eye	1
Influenza	5	Emaciation	2
Inflammation of lungs and pleurisy	1	Mentally deficient	8
Incontinence	23	Inguinal hernia	1
Otorrhœa	9	Injury to elbow-joint	1

Figure 7.4: Extract from a table in the Annual Report showing the diseases, illnesses and injuries that affected those children boarded-out in 1894 (Annual Report, 1894: 64)

The table demonstrates the diversity of ailments which were identified among boarded-out children, covering everything from infectious disease, to mental illness and injury. Ensuring the health and safety of children was a critical element in protocol that accompanied and guaranteed the efficacy of the system. The official guidelines for the local committees were unequivocal about what should be done in instances of ill health:

> 'Every case of illness, even if it should appear to be of a slight nature, should be reported to the managers. No hesitancy need be felt in obtaining medical advice should it be considered desirable, as the managers are prepared to defray the cost of medical attendance, and also of special medicine (such as cod-liver oil) which may be ordered.' (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 348).

The entry reveals the level of precaution the organisation was willing to take in order to safeguard the health and well-being of the children. It also reveals another important aspect of institutional response. In cases of illness and injury, the foster parents were not expected to pay for the necessary treatment; this was covered in full by the organisation (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 349). The terms of agreement declared that in the case of illness, it had to be immediately reported to the committee at the local boarding-out centre and if the child required it, the assistance of the local 'medical man' should be obtained as a matter of urgency (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 349). The health of the children was therefore a priority and publication of statistics was a key way that the organisation could demonstrate to its critics and the wider world that it had developed a safe and efficacious system for safeguarding the health and welfare of the child. Whilst the institution's rhetoric suggests a confidence in its practices, Dr Barnardo was an individual who responded to, rather than ignored, criticism and public debate, and the development of strict regulations and clear protocols around maintaining the health of boarded-out children was one area of activity where this responsiveness is evident.

7.3.5 Policing the System: Maintaining the Divide

As well as closely monitoring the health of the children, a system of inspections also ensured other elements of Barnardo's regulations and stipulated practices were being followed. It was the job of the local committee set up at each boarding-out centre to carry out this work of inspection. These committees which were usually formed of a local clergyman and at least six, local, 'respectable' ladies (*Night & Day,* 1888: 140). The guidelines specified that a correspondent or member of the local committee must on average visit the each foster home

once a week to check if the children were sufficiently cared for and to certify that the children were properly fed and clothed (Annual Report, 1896: 58). If the standards set were not being met the details had to reported and to managers for a full enquiry into the case (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 348). As the 1895 Annual Report explained, 'their hands [local committees] are necessarily helped by inspection from a distance, and especially where anything in the nature of criticism or disapproval is called for' (Annual Report, 1895: 68).

Indeed, as discussed earlier, relying simply on the work of the local committees did not appear to satisfy the Barnardo headquarters. Always on the move, the Chief Inspector and her assistants would carry out two to four visits to each foster per annum. Surveillance was key to how the system functioned. Thus, while boarding-out was heralded as a form of care that promised to offer children a freer and more 'natural', family-centred upbringing, distinct from the institutionalised routines and confining spaces of a 'barrack-style' children's homes, it nevertheless depended on a well-developed institutional infrastructure of inspection. During the early 1890s to accompany the growing popularity and expansion of the system, along with the employment of chief inspectors to officially represent the organisation, there is further evidence which reveals a drive to thoroughly institutionalise a seemingly anti-institutional method of care.

The systems of inspection, regulation and supervision were more than simply window dressing. The organisation's own reports document a notable rise in removals on the account of 'unsatisfactory homes' (**Table 7.2**). The medical women with responsibility for the boarding-out system made their expertise and authority felt and set standards of what was to be expected from foster care.

	On account of Unsatisfactory Homes	On account of Children's Bad Behaviour	In order to receive Special Medical Treatment
1891	3	9	2
1892	17	4	7
1893	13	10	5
1894	30	6	3
Total Removals	63	29	17

Table 7.2: Causes of Boarding-Out Removals, (Annual Report, 1894: 32)

However, there may have been a further impetus to the wide-scale drive to inspect the system. As Wagner (1979) has argued, Barnardo's valued boarding-out because it kept children at a distance from any remaining biological parents and relatives who were often viewed as a threat to the new lives of the children. As Holman (1986: 6) argues, this late nineteenth-century form of child 'recue' was defined through complete removal of children from their original family and then continuing separation from their former lives. Policing this process of complete separation became part of maintaining the efficacy of the system. The official guidelines for the local committees included two entries on the regulation of the children's former lives. The first stated:

'Correspondence between foster-parents and the relatives of boarding-out children is forbidden. *All* communications between the children and their friends must pass through the office first of all, and no child should be allowed to receive a letter or parcel

which does not bear the stamp of the institution. This rule should be firmly impressed upon each foster-parent.' (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 348).

The strict agreement laid out in this guideline reveals the length Barnardo's went to in ensuring the children were not affected by any aspects of their former lives. Any form of communication was inspected and approved by the institution in an attempt to severe the ties of the past. It was perceived that this strict enforcement was the only way to guarantee the welfare of the child and the success of the system. The second guideline on the topic further reinforced this process of separation. It stated that no person claiming to be a friend or relation to the child should be allowed to visit unless the persons produced written authority from the managers of the homes. In cases where permission for a visit was granted, the local correspondent and foster-parent had to be informed and the date of the visit arranged in advance. Evidently, this was a topic upon which both the organisation and Dr Barnardo maintained strong opinions. Speaking in front of the Poor Law Committee in 1895, Dr Barnardo declared he would be in favour of further legislation which would deny parents any contact with or access to boarded-out children. Indeed, Dr Barnardo believed that parental access posed a major threat to the success of the boarding-out system, because the role and authority of foster parents could easily be undermined (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 360). He argued that this problem limited further expansion of the boarding-out system, suggesting that he would empty half the Girls' Village Home immediately and place the girls 'out in rural healthy homes' if they were guaranteed to be safe from visits of parents and relatives. Here is an example of where it was believed parental access to children posed a problem for his organisation:

'I have had several cases in which the relatives have gone down drunk, kicked up a row, in one case blackened the eye of a foster mother of her children, and made such a

rumpus, that in great terror, the committee wished me to take the children away next day, and I had to remove them as soon as I could.' (Dr Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 360).

Accounts of drunken, violent interactions between parents and children do fit within the broader parental failure discourse that was deployed by Barnardo's (Murdoch, 2006). Anxieties surrounding parental contact also help to explain the high level of monitoring and inspection of foster homes.

As noted above, the institution also regulated the lives of the children by placing limits on the time they might spend being boarded out in foster care. This ensured that in their early teens they would return to one of the organisation's principal homes to complete their training. Many children were boarded-out from a young age and would have developed strong emotional attachments for their foster parents meaning that the move back to a residential home would have been a significant upheaval. The guidelines did note that if suitable employment opportunities for children could be obtained local to where they had been boarded out, the organisation would consider placing the child there (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895; 348). However, local opportunities were not allowed to undermine the ambitions of the institution, for if the line of work was not considered appropriate, it was insisted that child be brought back to be trained up for a more respectable trade. Dr Barnardo personally expressed his concern for this institutional practice which called for the separation between foster parent and child, but believed that some flexibility was necessary in keeping the best interests of the child in mind. After the children returned to the principal homes, communication between foster parents and the children was also carefully regulated. During holidays children could make visits to their former country homes but this was dependent on a record of good behaviour

and conduct (Barnardo, Poor Law Schools Committee, 1895: 357). Hitchman (1966) has argued that this institutional practice of separation was hard-hitting for many foster families. Once the children had reached their teens, the role or duty of the foster parents to raise the child was considered to be complete. Despite the attempt to bring up children in an environment free from the shackles of the institution, this process still appears to be institutionally driven, ultimately geared towards producing productive citizens more than developing long term emotional, family-style relationships.

As Holman (1986) and Heywood (1959) have argued, removal and separation were features of children's journeys through Barnardo's, where the 'neglectful home and the substitute home became exclusive of each other.' (Heywood, 1959: 65). Complete separation and the desire to see children start their lives anew was one motivation for sending children to a new life overseas. Maintaining contact over such long distances was difficult for children and their parents alike. The final section of this chapter examines Barnardo's controversial child migration programme.

7.4 THE GOLDEN BRIDGE? BARNARDO'S EMIGRATION SCHEMES

After returning from boarding-out to complete their formal course of training in one of the principal homes, many of the Barnardo children would be emigrated to Canada. Boarding-out had been promoted on the basis that it was a cost-effective strategy which would simultaneously prepare the children mentally and physically for a life in the colonies. Emigration followed the same institutional philosophy that underpinned the boarding-out scheme; a belief in the power of environment over heredity (Hitchman, 1966; *Night & Day,* 1893). Short excursions to the country or seaside, and the transplanting of urban children to

rural foster-homes, each promised to make a positive impact on a child's health, their character and, perhaps, their future life chances. Relocation to a totally new environment overseas, where there was land and fresh air aplenty, promised a 'fresh start' – the best chance of a brighter future (Holman, 1986: 6). If the environment posed a problem, it also presented the solution.

By around the time of Dr Barnardo's death, emigration had become one of the main aspects of the charity's work, reflected by the fact it emigrated more children than any other organisation during this period (Lynch, 2016; Wagner, 1977; 1982). As the system became more established the numbers of children emigrated to the colonies rose, with a total of 1,314 children sent there in 1905 alone (Annual Report, 1905: 30). Mobility on this scale however had to be sufficiently regulated and as emigration came to be viewed in a more positive light by the close of the century, the state as well as charitable organisations aimed to introduce increasingly formalised mechanisms to distribute and monitor the progress of child migrants. However, behind the establishment of Barnardo's system of emigration lay a controversial removal practice which has attracted criticism in both the past and the present (Lynch, 2016: 6).

After a brief exploration of the rise of the organisation's emigration schemes, this final section of the chapter will demonstrate how Barnardo's employed the rhetoric of the institution to reassure a sceptical public and create the impression that the organisation was always in control, despite the scale and distance of its operations in faraway overseas territories. Contemporaries were concerned that 'such dispersal … made effective supervision of placements far less likely and left children more vulnerable to undetected abuse and neglect' (Lynch, 2016: 35). Indeed, critics of child migration schemes claimed children would have been better off if kept in Poor Law institutions where they could be offered improved protection

and more consistent standards of care. Similar to rural excursions and boarding-out, the organisation had to create institutional systems and infrastructures to maintain control and ensure the well-being of the children in its care despite the problems posed by the scale and geographical reach of its operations (see Driver, 1994; Ogborn, 1995). However, where this could not be sufficiently achieved through regular inspection, especially when children were scattered over vast areas of Canada, Barnardo's instead worked to create an illusion of control to maintain continued public support and sustain a practice which had already attracted much criticism for its logistical shortfalls (Lynch, 2016: Wagner, 1982).

Child migration to the British colonies had been formally introduced as a solution to urban poverty in the 1860s. Maria Rye formed a scheme to populate the colonies in Australia, New Zealand and Canada with middle-class girls and domestic servants before later turning her attention to sending pauper children to the empire (Wagner, 1982). Further schemes were also established during this period. Annie MacPherson's emigration scheme entitled 'Home Children,' began operating in 1869 sending children from the UK to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The size and scale of the operation drew much attention; 500 children were trained in London homes and sent to Canada under the auspices of the MacPherson emigration fund (Wagner, 1982). But the schemes also attracted much criticism and condemnation. Rumours and claims of abuse, exploitation and profiteering plagued the various schemes which eventually led to state intervention through inspection and assessment. Andrew Doyle, a representative from the London Board of Governors was sent out to inspect Canadian children's homes in 1874 (Lynch, 2016: 36; Wagner, 1982). The resulting report only confirmed the fears that surrounded the schemes. Although Doyle believed the motivation behind the system was justified and benevolent, he argued its execution was often poor. Doyle claimed that the indiscriminate placing of children only worsened their prospects and

contributed to further criminal behaviour in Canada. Doyle also criticised the limited monitoring of the progress of the children after they had been 'placed' with a family or in employment. He argued that this left them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. In particular Doyle believed that one of the key aims of emigration – the desire to remove the 'pauper taint' – was rarely achieved and poor children were being left, unprotected, to fend for themselves (Wagner, 1979). In the case of Maria Rye's schemes, for example, Doyle claimed that there was virtually no checking up on children who had been sent for a new life in the empire. (Lynch, 2016; Wagner, 1982). Doyle's adverse report led to a temporary moratorium on funding child migration schemes by the local government board (Lynch, 2016: 39). Nonetheless, after the Canadian House of Commons formed a Select Committee to examine Doyle's accusations, a number of changes were made and despite the remaining controversy associated with child migration, the schemes restarted. The number of children crossing the Atlantic remained constant at around 500 each year across the remainder of the 1870s, but expanded significantly thereafter (Wagner, 1979).

Although Dr Barnardo was a supporter of child migration, the charity had initially been hesitant to get too involved. Barnardo's had sent children to Canada from its homes under the sponsorship of Macpherson's agency but by 1880 the organisation was still to set up its own official emigration fund. By the early 1880s however, concern about the overcrowded conditions of London's East End had dramatically intensified. Urban restructuring had displaced thousands of residents through street improvement schemes and clearances of large areas of land for the expansion of the railway (Stedman-Jones, 1971). As the population of the city was rising, so too were rent prices forcing many to live in overcrowded, unsanitary conditions (Wohl, 1977). As discussed early in this thesis, sensationalist writings only served to stoke the fire of social paranoia. Publications such as Andrew Mearns' 'The Bitter Cry of

Outcast London' (1883) prompted fresh anxieties about the nature of life in London's slums, and led to new and ambitious schemes to address the urban problem.

During the early 1880s, Barnardo's was experiencing its own problems. The ever-expanding Barnardo Empire had stretched the organisation's finances and although some of the debt had been reduced, it still remained a significant burden (Wagner, 1977). Self-imposed constraints on expenditure forced the organisation to search out new, cost-effective methods for caring for children. As was explored earlier, boarding-out was one such method; emigration promised to be another. As Wagner has noted:

> 'It cost less to equip, transport and place out a child in Canada than it did to maintain a child for a year in a home, and a child might need to be kept in the home for several years before finding employment.' (Wagner, 1977; 180).

Keeping children moving through the institution was an important way of keeping down costs, while good levels of 'through-put' freed up space for new entrants enabling Barnardo's to be able to live up to its public commitment of never turning any child away from its door (Lynch, 2016: 44). But the children needed to be moved on to somewhere. During the economic recession of the early 1880s which brought rising unemployment at a time of population growth, the charity felt itself under strain due to an increased rate of admission. Emigration – particularly to Canada – acted as a cost-effective means of moving children on from residential care.

By the early 1880s then, emigration was regarded as a credible solution to financial pressures but could also be presented as solution to Britain's social and economic problems at home and

its imperial ambitions abroad, despite the controversy surrounding the practice. Barnardo's claimed that emigration would provide a healthy new environment where children could develop into productive young citizens of empire:

> 'Children transplanted from the slums to Canada would flourish in the pure Canadian air, living simple, healthy lives as members of farmers' families, part of a God-fearing rural community where only inherent weakness in mind or body would stand between them and the promise of a new life.' (Wagner, 1977: 181).

Emigration was seen to resolve the burgeoning urban problem by relieving pressure on the overcrowded population and simultaneously generating employment and prosperity in the colonies. For Barnardo's the act of emigrating also provided a means by which to enable the almost complete severing of ties between children and their parents or families, which, as noted above, was regarded as key to their social and moral reformation. It was believed Canadian farmers had more than enough food for the children, work was seemingly abundant and the array of schools meant children could also acquire an education which would also silence some of the critics who believed there was an absence of classroom learning in colonial settings (Wagner, 1977).

Dr Barnardo had initially personally expressed the view that he did not wish the organisation to enter a field which was already well-populated with rescue societies that principally dealt in emigration (Wagner, 1977). However, the Liberal MP for Liverpool, Samuel Smith helped to persuade Dr Barnardo to follow the cause, and even made a donation to initiate the migration scheme. For the reasons described above, emigration was eventually seen as a good thing for the organisation and on 10th August 1882, 51 Barnardo boys left Liverpool for Canada under

the sponsorships of MacPherson's scheme (Council Committee Minutes, 1882: 130–131). However, two months later, on the 5th October 1882, Barnardo's sent out the first of its own emigration parties. Ten girls from the Village Home, who were suffering from consumption, were emigrated under escort to begin a new life as servants in the British Colony of Natal, South Africa (Council Committee Minutes, 1882: 132–134):

> 'The benefit of the change of air has had a most salutary effect upon them, and, having been put under good supervision, they are now doing extremely well.' (*Night & Day,* 1882: 73)

In this case, the colonies are promoted as a place of convalescence and physical rejuvenation. Once the girls had recovered they were given roles as servants. The article in *Night & Day* noted the success of the initiative and that there had been a call to send more girls to fill similar positions. It signalled the start of something that was to be very important for the charity: 'the broader cause of judicious emigration … [with] … (hopes of more of a Canadian direction)' (*Night & Day,* 1882: 73). The use of the word 'judicious' demonstrates that the organisation was sensitive to the public image and debate surrounding this already controversial practice. Between 1867 and 1883, a modest 691 Barnardo boys and 309 Barnardo girls who had been raised under the care of the charity had been shipped out to begin a new life in the colonies, but 1883 marked a new era of emigration under the control and regulation of the Barnardo organisation (Annual Report, 1900: 17).

If Barnardo's own emigration campaign was to be a success, the organisation had to convince a sceptical public that relocation really was needed and that children would be properly looked after and supported in transitioning to a new life overseas. As noted at the start of this chapter,

the publication of Andrew Mearns' 'A Bitter Cry of Outcast London', coincided with the commencement of the first in-house migration programme. In the 1883–84 Annual Report Barnardo discusses the pamphlet at length and unashamedly draws upon the ideas, language and discourse used by Mearns to outline the perils young people faced in growing up in the East End of London, and to position migration as one way of answering the 'bitter cry'. In further introducing this new initiative, Barnardo claimed that great care had been taken in selecting positions and employment for the children being sent to the colonies (Annual Report, 1883–1884: 11). He also underscored the organisation's eagerness to maintain contact with and support those sent to the colonies, a response to the criticism of emigration schemes made in the Doyle Report, particularly in relation to Maria Rye's schemes.

During the first year the scheme was established, Barnardo's shipped a total of 184 children to situations in the colonies (Annual Report, 1900: 17). An entirely new set of protocols, practices and systems of supervision had to be implemented in order to ensure the wellbeing of the emigrants and to reassure critics. These were based on the guidelines for boarding-out; Barnardo's insisted on the same approach for emigration, publicly promoting the guidelines as a tried and tested method of supporting children placed in situations outside of the institution. Under the title, 'Sound Emigration Principles' the organisation laid set out six core principles that were aimed at addressing contemporaries' concerns, both in the UK and in Canada:

1. That no child shall be sent out manifesting criminal or vicious taint.
2. That no child is to be sent out who is not at the time in excellent health and without tendency to disease.

3. That all such children (excepting of course, the very young ones who go out for adoption) must have passed through a period of the most careful training, not only in industrial pursuits, but also of a moral and religious character.

4. That as regards all children who come up to the standard of the three previous conditions, only the 'flower of the flock' are to be sent to Canada.

5. That upon reaching Canada all children are to come under the care of a properly qualified persons connected with our institution on the Canada side, by whom they are to be distributed carefully into well-selected homes; and communication will be upheld.

6. That if, spite of all these tests, precautions and safeguards, it should be found by experience that some particular child, after having been placed out in Canada, becomes definitely immoral or criminal, than every legitimate means is adopted to recover possession of that child, and to return him or her at the earliest opportunity to the old country

(*Night & Day,* 1886: 10–11)

These principles responded to the criticism of emigration schemes that had been a focus of public debate since the publication of Doyle's report a decade earlier. Not only did children have to be free from criminal convictions to have a chance to emigrate, they also had to possess good health, a moral and religious character, as well as having endured a full course of training in order to fully prepare them for an industrious life in the Canada. The use of the phrase 'flower of the flock' was a response to concerns in Canada that the UK was simply sending its criminal and diseased class of street children to the empire. It also acknowledged Doyle's complaint that emigration led to the unhealthy social mixing of well-trained, obedient children with those of the criminal pauper class who received little or no training before being sent out (Lynch,

2016: 36; Wagner, 1977). Another one of the guidelines tackled the process of distribution and home selection. This was an attempt at reassuring the supporter that this was closely regulated and supervised process carried out by 'properly qualified persons' who officially represented the organisation in Canada. Again, this element of the emigration schemes had drawn heavy criticism from Doyle's report stating the selection of placements was too often a rushed affair, leading to continual failures, too high expectations of what the tasks the children could compete and a culture of exploitation with slave-like conditions reported at some of the farmsteads (Lynch, 2016: 37). Barnardo's also attempted to show that communications were maintained with the children once they had settled in their respective situations. This had been one of Doyle's criticisms of Maria Rye's schemes where communication with, or further support of, children who had been placed out was claimed to be non-existent (Lynch, 2016: 38). The final of the six principles was intended to be used only in emergencies when worst case scenario of 'immoral' or 'criminal' activities was proven. It demonstrates how children were still considered to be the property of the Barnardo organisation and if they violated the rules they were to be completely removed from the situation and placed back in the UK.

In order to fulfil these principles the organisation had to construct the necessary institutional apparatus and infrastructure. Training, transportation, distribution and supervision all had to be considered to ensure the efficacy of the system and welfare of the children. In the UK new premises were acquired or others were repurposed to prepare children for crossing the Atlantic and the life that lay beyond, such as the Labour House for Destitute Youths, 622–26 Commercial Road (1881), and Bromyard Farm Home, Buckenhill, Bromyard, Worcestershire (1883). Throughout the 1880s both the Stepney Boys' Home and the Girls' Village Home were also equipped to facilitate the training required for a life in the colonies. In Canada, a series of homes were opened to welcome the new arrivals and to facilitate their transition to a new life,

such as Hazelbrae, in Peterborough, Ontario, which served as a distribution home for girls (1883), 214 Farley Avenue, Toronto, Ontario (a distribution home for boys, opened in 1883), and the Manitoba Training Farm (1888), (*Night & Day*, 1881; 1883; 1888; Annual Report, 1889; Barnardo, 1889). By the end of the 1880s, 4,274 children had been placed out in the colonies (Annual Report, 1889: 10).

However, maintaining an institutional infrastructure to emigrate a high number of children each year was costly. This prompted a number of fundraising campaigns where the success of the Barnardo emigration model was energetically promoted, particularly by emphasising the low rate of failure, claimed to be 'considerably under 2 per cent' in the 1889 Annual Report (p. 10). Supporters were reassured that children were carefully supervised and that those living in Canada were just as much under the wing of the trusty and industrious institution as those in Britain. An article from *Night & Day* (1895) entitled 'A Summer Swarm' used an appealing metaphor to articulate the rationale of the migration scheme:

'But every now and then we have a swarm from our central hive, when some two hundred emigrants wing their flight from the crowded hives, and settle down to fill up the less populous colonies, notably Canada.' (*Night & Day,* 1895: 99)

By likening the organisation to a beehive, Barnardo's is suggesting their emigration scheme was ordered, productive and efficient. The imagery therefore works to comfort the supporters by boasting of the capacity of the institution send out, distribute and settle large numbers of children in an orderly fashion mimicking the efficiency of a colony of bees. Three separate emigration parties were sent out during 1895. The article selects the second one of these parties for close analysis. This party which departed for Canada on the 27th June 1895 consisted of 196

boys whose average age was 13 years and 2 months and had endured an average stay of 15 months in the institution's homes prior to departure. It was declared that 41 per cent of the party had been rescued from a life on the streets where they had suffered 'the lowest condition of homelessness and destitution', and that 82 per cent of them were children who were either orphaned or had a widowed parent. Less than 1% came from a situation where both parents were still alive. These statistics underlined to the reader 'what a needy class of applicants our candidates are drawn' from (*Night & Day,* 1895: 99).

These statistics seek to underline the institution's capacity for transforming 'a needy class of applicants' into productive young citizens of a Greater Britain (a label often used to describe Great Britain and its settler colonies). What is also notable is the geographical origins of those selected to be part of this migration party. The boys were not only from London – they came from thirty-one English counties, Wales, Scotland and Ireland and, in the case of one individual, New York. This indicates the expansionist reach of the charity in mid-1890s and its desire to tackle the problem of child poverty on a national scale. Both the imaginative and physical scope of the charity's work was therefore justified at the scale of nation and empire; a national problem was being addressed via an imperial solution (Beckingham, 2013). The detailed description of the migration party and the careful use of accompanying statistics in the 1895 *Night & Day* article is illustrative of the way that the organisation sought to build support for and confidence in its emigration programmes. Barnardo's presented itself as a mature institution that approached child migration with great care and with the upmost attention to the welfare of those it was seeking to settle:

'This [98% success rate] is due, of course, in great part to the careful system of selection and training in the old country, supplemented by that close supervision in the new world

which continues to protect the youthful settler from the dangers of his or her inexperience.' (Annual Report, 1902: 17)

The report continues by detailing the 'surprise visits' that Barnardo staff made to every placement. The four branch homes located in Canada are also discussed and it is reaffirmed that these were used for the dual purpose of distributing and providing shelter and care for children in the case of an emergency. All of this happened under the watchful eye of the organisation's General Canadian Superintendent, Mr Alfred B. Owen. In these instances, the rhetoric of the institution is couched in statistics, records and regulation to provide reassurance and comfort to both supporters and critics of child migration.

By the end of 1896 8,732 emigrants had been sent by Barnardo to Canada and the 'failure' rate of less than 2 per cent had been sustained (Annual Report, 1896). The problems and anxieties of *fin de siècle* Britain which included the widespread acceptance of urban degeneration theory, economic recession and increased competition from European imperial powers, seemed to raise interest in emigration as cost effective solution to these concerns (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2011). Financial support for migration schemes rose according: in 1895 donations to the emigration fund totalled £9,383 14s, and more than doubled to £20,185 16s 3d in 1897 (Annual Report, 1895 1897). Donations peaked in 1897 but remained at a steady average of around £15,000 per year until Dr Barnardo's death in 1905. The chapter will close with an examination of what lay behind this support, examining how Barnardo's was framing and justifying the practice of emigration within the context of ideas of national vitality and imperial expansion.

By the mid-1890s there had been a widespread acceptance of scaremongering theories surrounding the effects of chronic urban poverty. The medical scientist James Cantlie proposed

that without an infusion of country blood, cities would inevitably die out as pure-bred Londoners could not exist beyond the third generation (Driver, 2001). Aalen (1989) states that these sombre views appeared to be supported by statistics from the recruiting officers of the Army and Navy showing that a large proportion of city men were physically unfit for service, bringing into question the strength of nation and its ability to compete on an imperial stage. It was believed that unless the cycle of slum-dwelling was broken, these conditions and concerns would only worsen with time. Increasing focus was also placed on children as it was understood that they represented the next generation of Britons and securing their health and vitality also meant securing the prosperity and superiority of nation and empire. Barnardo's overriding belief in the influence of environment over heredity in terms of a child's development coincided with these concerns. It provided a justification for the practice of child migration, which, of course, was founded on the belief that the removal of children from the slums to a new environment in the colonies not only offered the individual relief from poverty, but also promised to restore the vitality and productive potential to a generation of imperial Britons, while simultaneously easing the burden on UK cities. Barnardo's was not afraid to draw on these beliefs in promoting its work:

> 'Emigration has been one of our most successful agencies for the final solution of the problem of destitution, and it is destined to do still greater things as time goes on.' (Annual Report, 1902: 17)

By the early twentieth century emigration was considered the most effective route out of poverty and understood as essential to securing future wealth and prosperity. The economic benefits of migration were readily attested to:

'Now this great host of Orphan and Wastrel Boys and Girls has been removed from the debit to the credit side of the social ledger, they are contributing to the wealth of the Empire, whether in the Colonies or in the Mother Country!' (*A National Debt,* 25th November, 1904: 1)

The statement captures the boastful confidence of an organisation declaring that they had the answer which would secure the wealth of the empire by transforming those once considered a burden to future prosperity into the key proponents of a productive imperial power. An article entitled 'How to think imperially' was published the same year, instructing the supporters on the benefits of colonial expansion for both the child and the strength of nation and empire (*Night & Day,* 1904). As Wagner (1977) and Boucher (2014) have argued, this programme of philanthropic imperialism helped to dramatically drum up support cultivating an opinion that positively sided with emigration as the most effective solution to child poverty. The institution transformed its rhetoric to emphasise its empire-building role as is illustrated by a series of pull-out posters included in the Annual Reports that celebrated the success of the Canadian emigration scheme (**Figures 7.5** to **7.7**).
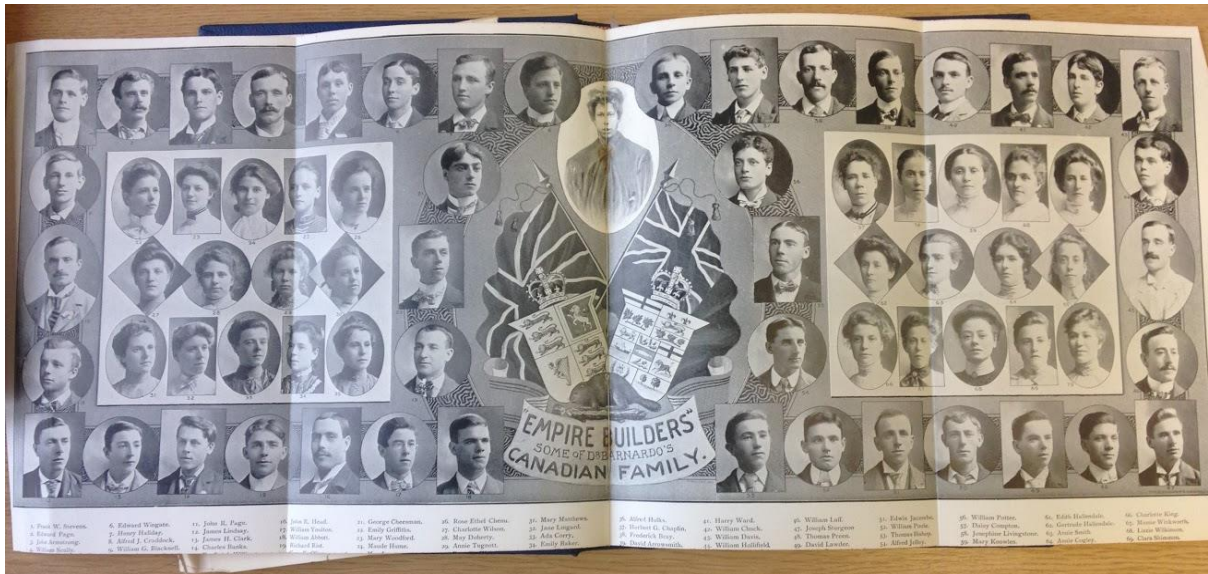
Figure 7.5: 'Empire Builders': Some of Dr Barnardo's Canadian Family (Annual Report, 1903)
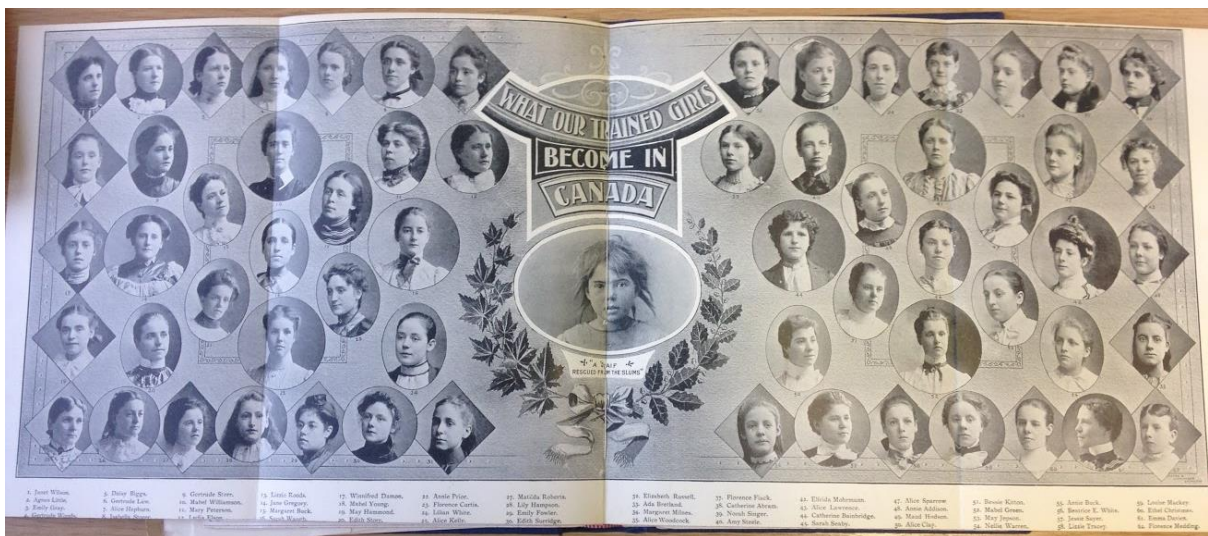

Figure 7.6 'What our Trained Girls Become in Canada' (Annual Report, 1903)

Figure 7.7: 'Dr Barnardo's Boys and Girls Over-Seas' (Annual Report, 1904)

These pull-out posters blend imperialist imagery with the family-based symbolism of the Barnardo's organisation. The arrangement of the photographs resembles a family album. In **Figure 7.7** Dr Barnardo is *pater familias*, the centrepiece of the family gallery, his portrait bordered with a Canadian maple leaf. These posters neatly symbolise the public projection of the emigration as a positive and transformative initiative scheme amidst continuing controversy and scandal. **Figures 7.5** and **7.6** have a different centre piece – the ragged child who arrived at Barnardo's from the slums of the city but whose removal to Canada had transformed them into a productive imperial citizen with a bright future. By the time of the Dr Barnardo's death in 1905, the organisation had sent 17,001 young emigrants out into the British colonies (Annual Report, 1905: 29). The twentieth century saw further rapid expansion of child migration schemes but also a profound questioning of the ethics of removal as the abuse and trauma of such schemes began to be revealed (see Lynch 2016, Soares 2016). Many late-nineteenth-century Barnardo children must have suffered similar abuse and trauma – indeed, there are several documented cases of this (see Parker 2010) – and many would not have prospered in the way that the organisation boasted to its supporters. However, Barnardo's child migration schemes again illustrate the central importance of environment and removal in its efforts to

improve the lives of poor children. It was by enabling a child's mobility so that he or she could relocate to another land that Barnardo's could cast itself not only as solving the specific problem of child poverty, but also as contributing to the revitalisation of the nation and the future prosperity of empire.

7.5 CONCLUSION: ENVIRONMENT, MOBILITY AND CHILD WELFARE

'If the children of the slums can be removed from their surroundings early enough, and can be kept sufficiently long under training, heredity counts for little, environment counts for everything.' (Barnardo and Marchant, 1907: 148).

Barnardo's confidence in the environment meant that removal and mobility became central practices of the institution. By keeping children on the move, the organisation could utilise a number of different, healthier, environments believed to harbour the transformative, moralising power to convert children of the pauper classes into productive young citizens. Out-of-town environments, whether the idealised, health-imparting environment of the British countryside or the abundant fresh air and wilderness of Mid-West Canada, with all its productive potential, were seen as providing children with a 'fresh start' completely separated from the corrupting influences of their former lives (Holman, 1986: 6). But in keeping children moving through such a disparate and highly dispersed set of welfare settings, an assemblage of infrastructures, rules and practices had to be constructed so that the system would work. Roving inspection systems and other networks of surveillance operated across large swathes of space to ensure that the same standards of care were reached (or, at least, aspired to) for children in out-of-home contexts as compared to those who resided in the principal homes (see Driver, 1993; Ogborn, 1995). Although Barnardo's may have prided itself in making boarding-out, whether

at home or in the empire, a central element of its work where children were free from the routines and constraints of residential homes – a practice which aligned with their anti-institutional philosophy – this chapter has shown the depth of institutional practice and rhetoric that underpinned this system. Dr Barnardo was well aware that his practice of removing children and sending them off to live elsewhere was one of the most controversial and most debated elements of the work of his charity (see Koven 2004, Murdoch 2006), but enabling the spatial mobility of poor children was calculated strategy, underpinned by a well-developed institutional regime, that ultimately sought to secure their social mobility too.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This study has sought to understand the work of Barnardo's children's charity as an ameliorative response to the nineteenth-century urban problem. Focusing particularly on the work of the charity's energetic founder and director, Dr Thomas Barnardo, it has demonstrated how the charity understood and presented its work, emphasising the way that the relationships between environment, health and children's wider well-being lay at the crux of what it did and what it hoped to achieve. It has shown how the organisation was receptive to wider discourses and debates about the nature of the urban problem, the appropriateness of different forms of child welfare, and broader concerns about the efficiency and vitality of nation and empire, in order that it could justify its plans and ambitions and generate support and funding for its work.

However, the thesis has not solely been concerned with the charity's self-presentation and the way that it represented and promoted its work. It has also provided new understanding of the way that the institution expanded and developed – how it 'scaled up' and 'scaled out' – again emphasising the critical importance of exposing children to the right kind of environment in order to effect 'improvement' at each stage in their institutional journey. This thesis has provided a critical assessment of how Barnardo's worked, highlighting the forms of knowledge, infrastructural arrangements and institutional practices that enabled it to respond to problems of ill health and the perceived moral failings of children in order to make their lives better. This concluding chapter first summarises the main findings of the study and then seeks to highlight their contribution to a number of areas of relevant scholarship.

8.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Where the first part of the thesis set up the urban 'problem' and covered the importance of environment to Barnardo's justification for his child removal practices, the remainder of it considered the response of the institution to environmental ideas.

Chapter 4 demonstrated how Barnardo's conceived of, interpreted and constructed the urban problem through its promotional work. Taking a spatio-temporal perspective, the chapter demonstrated how, over time, the framing of the problem of child poverty and neglect that the charity was trying to address moved from the local scale of the city to become an issue of national and imperial significance. The chapter revealed how Barnardo's employed a scalar logic which connected anxieties over the moral and physical health of the young body to those associated with the social body of the nation and later the empire (Beckingham, 2013; Swain and Hillel, 2010). This paralleled Barnardo's own territorial expansion as it moved beyond its local origins in East London to develop a national network of homes and a system of out-of-town foster care, which eventually reached across oceans and continents to become a charity with imperial scope. Detailed analysis of Annual Reports and *Night & Day* alongside other promotional material revealed how the organisation sought to opportunistically engage with popular discourse and debate in order persuade supporters and donors, or critics and competitors, of the value and significance of its work. In emphasising issues of space, environment and scale, the chapter contributes new perspectives to wider understandings of representational discourses concerning child neglect, rescue and removal (Ash, 2016; Beckingham, 2013; Koven, 2004; Murdoch, 2006).

Following the admission of children into the homes, Chapter 5 examined how the organisation worked to create an institutional environment that was free from disease – an essential first step

en route towards the wider moral reformation and social transformation of children. The chapter argues that this medical transformation mainly took place after Barnardo's started to care for very young children in the early 1880s who would have been most vulnerable when it came to contracting disease. It involved the development of medical infrastructure and practices that were intended to transform the institution's homes into fortresses against death and illness. This was achieved via the creation of protocols and procedures that could respond swiftly to outbreaks of disease. Also important here was the appointment of a medically-trained staff body, including various prominent female sanatarians who played significant roles in the institution, and who, along with senior male staff built expertise and understanding that kept the homes largely free of serious illness and fatalities. Barnardo's Chief Medical Officer of Health, Dr Milne's published work, which gained recognition outside of Barnardo's, demonstrates how the organisation was becoming a centre for medical expertise and understanding in relation to the treatment and prevention of infectious disease in institutional settings. The chapter also demonstrated how keeping children free of disease was critical to preserving the reputation of the charity. It supported the idea that Barnardo's role was to produce fit and healthy citizens ready for a productive future, at home or in the empire.

Chapter 6 examined the way that Barnardo's sought to maintain the wider health and vitality of the children in its care. It described and analysed the everyday life of the organisation's 'principal' homes, examining the routines, practices and forms of everyday training and education that were geared towards the social, moral and physical transformation of the children (Haley, 1978). It used this evidence to build understanding of what Barnardo's believed constituted a healthy way of life for a child. The programme of care that the organisation offered its children sought to comprehensively address the needs of the mind, body and soul. The discussion showed how institutional design and regimen were geared

towards creating the ideal citizen, based around contemporary ideas of health and vitality –

and, in this respect, the example of Barnardo's again points towards wider moral and medical

debates that were taking place in late Victorian Britain. Certain of the themes discussed in this

chapter such as education and training have received some attention from Barnardo historians

(e.g. Hitchman, 1966; Wagner, 1977), but other aspects of the design and functioning of the

homes have not, and earlier accounts have largely failed to set analyses of the everyday life of

the institution within the wider context of contemporary concerns about health, environment

and national vitality.

Chapter 7, the last of the empirical chapters, examined the development, governance and

promotion of the organisation's out-of-home care practices, and the centrality of the movement

and ongoing mobility of children within the institutional system. It explored the impetus and

justification for these movements between different institutional settings. This practice was

typically premised on the idea that making children geographically mobile would transform

their lives and provide new opportunities, essentially making them socially mobile too. This

contrasted with their previous geographical and social immobility defined through their

entrapment in 'degenerate' slum conditions (Lynch, 2016; Stedman Jones, 1971). The logic of

this approach was again founded on the assumed power of the environment to effect a child's

moral and physical transformation. Removal to a new environment was about securing health

and opportunity. The chapter examined the different temporal and spatial scales of mobility

and what each sought to achieve: trips or excursions that involved temporary relocation to the

countryside or coast to restore health and have children appreciate the therapeutic effects of

non-urban environments; the boarding-out of children in other people's homes as a longer term

attempt to (re)mould their character and effect sustained improvement; and the (supposedly)

permanent relocation of a child to the colonies in order to provide a new context and fresh

opportunities to build a new life, severed from the taints of urban poverty at the imperial core. Although all these out-of-home, devolved practices of care closely matched Barnardo's 'anti-institutional' philosophy and were promoted as such, the chapter argued that in order to police and govern these operations across large swathes of space, keeping children moving through such a disparate and highly dispersed set of welfare settings, an assemblage of infrastructures, rules and practices had to be constructed so that the system could be effective. The chapter therefore suggested this presented a paradoxical relationship between an allusion of the anti-institution and the realities of policing a system on this scale, additionally stating that institutional rhetoric was at times used to cover up the shortcomings in the governance of their emigration scheme. Linking with Beckingham's (2013) recent arguments about the 'scalar politics' of child welfare organisations, the theme of mobility emphasised in this chapter represents a new way of thinking about how Barnardo's sought to organise and conceptualise the care and transformation of those under its charge and could likely be applied to understanding the work of other nineteenth-century (child) welfare institutions operating within the widening spatial frame of a 'Greater Britain'.

Barnardo's certainly succeeded in its goal of providing adequate healthcare, skills and training opportunities, as well as moral and religious instruction, in environments considered healthy and appropriate for the rearing of children. The study has found that this was particularly the case for the youngest and most vulnerable children who, from the 1880s onwards, experienced high quality medical treatment, with round-the-clock care by a fully-qualified staff body, in healthy, out-of-town settings. The organisation also managed to effectively administer and regulate a pioneering system of boarding-out care for children. Indeed, while it is necessary to retain a critical perspective when assessing the welfare strategies of Victorian organisations like Barnardo's, the evidence presented in this thesis points to an organisation driven by a

humanitarian intention of providing children with healthy, positive environments to aid their physical, moral and spiritual transformation. As has been shown in this study, the organisation went to great lengths to provide a good quality of healthcare through the application of a sophisticated medical infrastructure to promote health and tackle disease. It also worked hard to foster positive childhood experiences and memories (such as via periodic rural excursions and trips to the seaside), and provide healthy, sociable environments to encourage constructive, familial relationships in the settings of the homes and through the system of boarding-out. Within the context of Victorian London the institutional care offered by Barnardo's would have seemed a welcome relief for children struggling with the poverty of slum life and likely far preferable to the miserable regime of the workhouse. For many young people Barnardo's promised a healthier and more hopeful future.

But the findings of the study have also uncovered the broader significance and impact of the work of Barnardo's. This was a charity that quickly and effectively established a strong supporter base and expanded at an impressive rate. In a decade or so after Dr Barnardo had arrived in London's East End, the small site at Hope Place, Stepney had been transformed into the largest charitable society for children and young people in the UK. Not only did Barnardo's rapidly increase its intake, but by the 1880s, the organisation had scaled out beyond the capital, establishing a national and eventually international reach that aided thousands of children in need. The various programmes conceived and carried out on such a large scale by Barnardo's, from specialist institutional care to boarding out and from the rural excursions to emigration programmes, along with the medical infrastructure and treatment that took place in the homes - some of which gained international recognition beyond the organisation through the work of Dr Milne - raised the bar in terms of what could be achieved in the voluntary sector as well as a setting an example for state-sanctioned schemes. The longevity of the Barnardo organisation

is telling of its characteristic ability as an organisation to evolve and adapt with the times. Barnardo's, along with similar philanthropic organisations operating during this era, helped to lay the foundations for a more progressive vision of society orientated towards state welfare, a vision which today is being increasingly eroded.

8.3 KEY CONTRIBUTIONS

The study has made contributions to three key bodies of literature. The first contribution is to institutional geographies and historical work on institutions:

> 'the aim is to arrive at a point where we end up seeing 'institutions' of all possible varieties less as prior, stable, fixed entities, and more as made, dynamic, fluid achievements.' (Philo and Parr, 2000: 514)

As highlighted earlier in the chapter, the study has attempted to understand Barnardo's promotion and institutional practice situated within its broader historical context. Studies of the institution have attempted to construct a perspective from 'within' in order to reflect how these spaces can reveal the wider political, economic and social landscape of this transformative era (see Driver, 1993: Foucault, 1977; Ogborn, 1995; Philo, 1997). The study has revealed through the evolving spatial manifestation of their institutional and promotional writings that Barnardo's work was fluid and dynamic as a result of being receptive and open to wider discussions around health, environment, and alternative institutional approaches to children's welfare. Indeed, wider debates on the alternatives to contemporary welfare institutions, especially for the treatment of children, directly inspired the construction of their largest branch, the Girls' Village Home based upon the family system of care. As the

346

organisation developed, it remained attuned to the evolving practices and ideas around institutional care. The thesis has argued that by unpacking the different elements which made up the everyday training and development of children, Barnardo's can be read as a microcosm of wider Victorian notions of health and vitality. Furthermore, as debate turned to favour and increasingly experiment with out-of-home practices, Barnardo's became the first voluntary organisation to establish a boarding-out scheme, also setting up their own emigration system which became increasingly established as a significant outlet for Barnardo's children. When the urban problem had become scaled up, Barnardo's responded by providing increasingly radical solutions that were increasingly scaled out. In spite of their anti-institutional philosophy it required an assemblage of institutional structures to ensure the efficacy of these out-of-home systems of care and after-care.

Finally, the manner in which the organisation publicly presented themselves revealed a knowledge of the power and influence of the (anti-)institutional rhetoric which has provided another insight into the management and articulation of the justification for their work. At times, the official, administrative side of the institution could be promoted to ensure the children were in capable hands i.e. when children were boarded-out, protocol, rule and regulations were published to provide comfort. However, in other instances the anti-institutional approach was played upon to demonstrate to supporters that children were not being 'institutionalised and brain-frozen' in overcrowded, cramped conditions associated with the workhouse system (*Night & Day,* 1877: 4). The study has therefore traced the shifting fluidity and dynamic nature of the Barnardo's organisation and how it embodied broader debates and ideas but also in the way they promoted and mobilised the projection of the (anti)-institution, fluidly alternating between the two guises to ensure their continued support was guaranteed.

The thesis has also made a critical contribution towards histories of childhood and more specifically on studies concerned with child recuses discourse and removal as a form of intervention. Where the work of Koven (2004) and Murdoch (2006) have engaged thematically with the charity's representational strategies i.e. sexuality and parental failure, this study has provided a more nuanced understanding of how the urban environment and its associated 'ills' were often constructed spatially, scaled up so as to justify the scaling out of Barnardo's operations. This has contributed to, but considerably expanded upon, Beckingham's (2013) work which explored the imaginative and physical expansion of protection particularly of the NSPCC during the Victorian and Edwardian era, stating that there was also a scalar logic to Barnardo's work which used discourses that tied the destitute child to survival of the nation to finance and justify their physical expansion.

Additionally, the thesis has built on the work of Murdoch and Koven's study to suggest that Barnardo's promotional material was receptive to broader ideas and discussions, frequently mobilising a variety of discourses and tropes at any one time. Dr Barnardo was particularly effective at showing an awareness of contemporary debates and ideas which could be incorporated into the promotional writing with the intention of capturing the imagination and support of the middle classes. Furthermore studies specifically on Barnardo's have often failed to acknowledge the work completed by the charity which provided assistance to the adult poor. Murdoch's study conveniently decided to leave this element out of her research findings; at times a black and white history of an organisation which her study argued was the key perpetrator of the parental failure discourse. Although adult assistance may have declined in promotion and funds by the 1890s, the thesis provided some insight into the organisation's history of helping the adult poor. Further research on Barnardo's and the adult poor could be

completed which would possibly reveal a more complex relationship of aid and assistance rather than a picture of outright neglect and dismissal.

The final key body of literature the thesis has contributed towards is the history of public health and especially the importance of environment to the promotion of health in Victorian institutions (see Neiswander, 2008; Thorsheim, 2006; 2011; Wohl, 1983; Zweiniger-Bargielawska, 2013). Through the example of Barnardo's the study has contributed to understanding a faith in the transformative power of out-of-town environments which were integral in practices framed as securing the healthy development of children. One under-researched aspect of Victorian philanthropy is the emergence of rural excursions for children. Although these were only temporary, short-term breaks, the thesis argues they were based on fundamental health-promoting ideas of light, air and contact with nature in producing a vital, functioning citizen, framed as an ameliorative response to specific issues around moral and physical degeneration, political unrest and national and imperial decline.

The research findings have also revealed the extensive value leant to environment and mobility in the creation of homes, especially for girls, the young and vulnerable, sickly and recovering children in out-of-town locations. Beyond the homes, boarding-out and emigration were promoted on the grounds of improving both moral and physical health as well as fresh air funds providing essential contact with nature collectively revealing an organisation that was based in practice almost solely on improving children's health and responding to broader debates on light, air etc. Good health, it seemed, could be achieved through movement and mobility to, from and through different environments.

However, response to diseases in the homes has received little attention in the context of Barnardo's as well as the wider history of healthcare in Victorian institutions for children. Significantly it has revealed that Barnardo's invested heavily into creating 'professional' medical infrastructures that could curb the impact of disease and fatalities, especially for the young and vulnerable providing a new angle on the total institutionalisation that sought to move children into state or voluntary care by the 1880s and 1890s (Holman, 1986; Murdoch, 2006). Furthermore, this extensive investment was showed to have paid off, lowering death and disease rates and creating pioneering treatments and practices that were applied beyond the homes, bolstering their reputation as a model for sound health-related, sanitary practice. Finally, evidence which suggests that medically-trained women were not only employed in the homes for the young and vulnerable, but were given senior posts and authoritative roles. A marriage of medicine and maternal care which Dr Barnardo believed was best suited for the care and nurture of young infants and part of the wider professionalization of women as care-givers but also as physicians and sanitarians in senior roles (Behlmer, 1998; Hamlett, 2015; Yeo, 1996). These findings have therefore contributed to the role of women in the professional contexts of Victorian institutions, healthcare and medicine (Hamlett, 2015).

'The moral cultures of these schemes shaped the ideas, feelings, relationships and practices of those involved in them as workers or children framed the ways in which they were presented to others outside the schemes, whether supporters or critics.' (Lynch, 2016: 4)

The study has aimed to locate anxieties about children's care in a wider historical and geographical context, framing Barnardo's practices as a reaction to nineteenth century pressures and concerns. It has traced the shifting ideas, practices and promotion of these

humanitarian schemes and the ability of the capacity of voluntary organisations to respond on a scale of nation and empire.

The study has offered a critical rebalancing of their various ameliorative strategies which were engaging with broader concerns around race, nation and empire. No matter how controversial they may appear from a twenty-first century perspective it is important to understand the moral cultures and societal contexts from which these practices emerged and that driving factors which were the impetus behind some of the more dubious actions of Barnardo's (Lynch, 2016). Thorough contextualisation is therefore required in order to get to the heart of these humanitarian attempts to relieve suffering but simultaneously to acknowledge and emphasise the need for critical reflection on this history and 'its implications for shaping new models of care and support to improve the lives of vulnerable children.' (Soares, 2016: 8).

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8.4 CONTRIBUTIONS BEYOND THE ACADEMY

As stated in the acknowledgements, this PhD was supported by an Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Collaborative Doctoral Award and involved a close partnership with the Ragged School Museum in East London – originally Dr Barnardo's Free Ragged School. Outside of the additional supervision provided by the Director of the museum, Erica Davies, the collaboration involved producing resources for use by the museum's staff, particularly its curators, learning officers and volunteers. These included: a timeline of the Barnardo's organisation and its work from its foundation in 1866 to the death of Dr Barnardo in 1905; an illustration index to facilitate the use of the Barnardo's periodical *Night & Day*,

case examples of Barnardo's children and information on lesser known institutions, such as the Ever-Open Doors premises and the night shelters for young and vulnerable women situated across London; and a table listing all of Barnardo's Homes and the many branches of the institution.

A more significant legacy for, and contribution to, the work of the museum stems from the new gallery displays and learning resources that were developed with a team of academics from across the Schools of Geography (Alastair Owens and Tim Brown) and English and Drama (Tessa Whitehouse and Peter Mitchell). This was supported by additional funding from Queen Mary University of London's Humanities and Social Sciences Collaboration Fund, AHRC Creativeworks London and The Culture Capital Exchange. The new gallery display '*Ragged Children, Mended Lives? Childhood, Poverty and Philanthropy in Late Victorian London*' was opened on launched on 20th October 2015 by Nick Ashley-Cooper, the 12th Earl of Shaftesbury, descendant of the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury who founded the Ragged School Union in 1844. The launch event was attended by 200 guests, including representatives from Barnardo's, and received media coverage through both television and radio. The exhibit prompts visitors to consider the complex legacy of the work of Dr Thomas Barnardo and similar contemporary philanthropists and social investigators in attempting to change the living conditions and opportunities of the urban poor. Specifically, the research conducted for the thesis helped to contribute to multiple panel displays, as well as activities and exercises included in the educational materials. The project and exhibition won a QMUL Public Engagement Award.

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