# English Conservatives and Schools for the Poor c.1780-1833: a study of the Sunday School, School of Industry and the Philanthropic Society's School for Vagrant and Criminal Children

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Contents

# List of Maps, Figures and Tables

## Maps



## Figures



## Tables

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## Abbreviations used

| | |
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| B.F.S.S. | British and Foreign Schools Society |
| D.N.B. | Dictionary of National Biography |
| G.L.R.O. | Greater London Record Office |
| Gu.L. | Guildhall Library |
| L.C.R.O. | Leicestershire County Record Office |
| L.J.R.O. | Lichfield Joint Record Office |
| Ln.C.R.O. | Lincolnshire County Record Office |
| M.L. | Minet Library |
| N.C.E.C. | National Christian Education Council |
| N.C.R.O. | Nottinghamshire County Record Office |
| R.C. | Royal Commission |
| S.B.C.P. | Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor |
| S.C.R.O. | Staffordshire County Record Office |
| S.P.C.K. | Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge |
| St.R.L. | Stockport Reference Library |
| Su.C.R.O. | Surrey County Record Office |
| Sw.R. | Southwark Room |

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

This thesis concentrates upon the social functions of education during a period when the process of establishing mass schooling in England began. Mass schooling involved the creation of a provided system of instruction for the children of the poor, separate from the direct influence of the family, workplace, church or peer group. There was, of course, nothing new about schooling for the poor, but between 1780 and 1833, a massive increase in provision took place, which aimed to instruct all children from the lower orders. The providers of this education were largely men and women who were members of the gentry, clergy and the middle classes such as bankers, merchants, industrialists, professionals and tradesmen, they believed in Protestant Christianity, the British Constitution and a society containing social distinctions based upon the ownership of private property. In creating their schools, they resorted to the methods of associated philanthropy, the pooling of finance and effort in voluntary organizations, so that a high return could be obtained from these "investments". This form of charitable endeavour had originated at the same time as the joint stock company, and had first been applied in the development of the charity school movement in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[1] In view of the fact that schooling emerged as one of the major aspects of social policy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is argued that the assumptions and practices which developed between 1780 and 1833, are of crucial importance for understanding the evolution of English education.

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1. B. Kirkman Gray, A History of English Philanthropy ... (1967 reprint of 1905 edition), 80-81, 105-106.
David E. Owen, English Philanthropy 1660-1960 (Oxford, 1965) 3, 11-16, 20-32.

The chapters of this thesis concentrate upon three kinds of schools, all of which achieved initial significance in the 1780s: Sunday schools, schools of industry and the Philanthropic Society's institutions for the education of vagrant and criminal children. The thesis examines the providers of education and their doctrines, the process and content of schooling inside the establishments which they created, and the reactions of parents and children to the kind of education ostensibly provided for their benefit. In analysing the process and content of education, the study investigates the patterns of organization, forms of authority, assumptions about learning, pedagogy, the curriculum, rewards and punishments, and social welfare, contained in and provided by the schools. The ways in which the "consumers" of schooling, parents and children, received the education provided, enables some assessment to be made of the impact of instruction upon those it was designed to affect. Attention in the thesis, is largely concentrated upon the operation of the three kinds of schools in London and the Midlands, although other areas in England provide some evidence to support the contentions which the work contains.

This chapter is in three parts. The first section considers some historiographical issues relevant to a study of education between 1780 and 1833. The second part attempts to explain the reasons why education was seen as socially significant by its promoters and the final section focusses upon the social ideas which provided the theoretical bases of the specific educational schemes examined in subsequent chapters.

## I

In the past, there has been little attempt by historians of education to examine the climate of opinion which led to the emergence of mass schooling, or the social messages which the institutions provided between 1780 and 1833 transmitted. With few exceptions, historians have neglected to analyse the clusters of beliefs and practices enshrined in

particular philanthropic organizations or schools created in this period. Existing work has largely concentrated upon two areas. Firstly, the politics of educational change have been studied, most ably by John Hurt; this has involved an examination of religious and secular pressure groups in the context of the evolution of a state system of education.[2] Secondly, the development of the educational ideas and practices of radicals have been analysed by Brian Simon, Harold Silver, and W.P. McCann.[3] Little attention however, has been paid to the mental world of essentially conservative educational philanthropists and to the kinds of schools which they created, independent of the state and the influence of radicals.

There are however some studies in this area. In a number of articles, but most particularly in his contribution to Schooling and Capitalism, Richard Johnson considers the role of the emerging bourgeoisie in promoting the "hegemony" of industrial capitalism in the early nineteenth century.[4] But he exaggerates the significance of industrialization for the development of education, and in any case his focus upon the monitorial schools reduces the significance of his work for the study conducted in this thesis. J.M. Goldstrom has considered the social content of schoolbooks in early and mid-nineteenth century monitorial schools,[5] but by focussing upon an aspect of the content of instruction,

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2. John Hurt, Education in Evolution (1972).

3. Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870 (1960), reprinted as The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870 (1974); Harold Silver, The Concept of Popular Education ... (1965), reprinted 1977; Harold Silver, English Education and the Radicals (1975); W.A.C. Stewart and W.P. McCann, The Educational Innovators (1967), part 1.

4. Richard Johnson, "Notes on the schooling of the English working class 1780-1850", in Rodger Dale, Geoff Esland and Madeleine MacDonald, Schooling and Capitalism (1976), 44-54; see also his "Educational policy and social control in early Victorian England", Past and Present, 49, 1970, 96-119, and "Educating the Educators: 'Experts' and the State 1833-9", in A.P. Donajgrodzki (ed.), Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain (1977)

5. J.M. Goldstrom, The Social Content of Education 1808-1870, A Study of the Working-class School Reader in England and Ireland (Shannon, 1972).

the curriculum, he has neglected the important role of pedagogy and discipline from which the curriculum cannot be effectively separated. Other writers have tried to grapple with the life of schools by studying particular institutions or localities in detail. For example Pamela and Harold Silver's study of a national school is a pioneer work of this kind, and some of the contributions to Phillip McCann's Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century, continue this theme.[6]

In a recent work, Thomas Walter Laqueur[7] has called into question many of the traditional assumptions concerning the Sunday school movement in particular, and by implication, popular education in general.[8] He has argued that Sunday schools should be seen essentially as expressions of "working-class culture" and not as creations of the upper or middle classes. However, as his work has particular significance for the five chapters on the Sunday school in this thesis, its significance and shortcomings are considered in that context.

Although aspects of the crucial period between 1780 and 1833 have been examined by these writers, little attempt has been made to explain the mental world of the promoters of education. Their perception of social order and social change, and their images of the adult and infant poor, have largely been ignored. Moreover the process and content of education has not been examined by most writers, and the reactions of parents and children have been totally neglected. A purpose of this thesis therefore, is to examine these neglected aspects.

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6. Pamela and Harold Silver, The Education of the Poor: The History of a National School, 1824-1974 (1974); Phillip McCann, "Popular education, socialization and social control: Spitalfields 1812-1824", Beryl Madoc-Jones, "Patterns of attendance and their social significance: Mitcham National School 1830-1839", Simon Frith, "Socialization and rational schooling: elementary education in Leeds before 1870", Donald K. Jones, "Socialization and social science: Manchester Model Secular School 1854-1861", in Phillip McCann (ed.), Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century (1977).

7. Thomas Walter Laqueur, Religion and Respectability Sunday Schools and Working-class Culture 1780-1850 (New Haven, 1976)

8. Silver, Popular Education, op.cit., Preface in reprint, xiii-xiv.

There are a number of reasons for the neglect of such themes. It is only recently that historians of education have attempted to link their subject with the history of ideas and social history. As Gillian Sutherland and David Reeder for instance have pointed out, historians of education have tended to divorce their concerns from the wider context of social change.[9] An advance on this aspect has been achieved by those who have linked education with the ideas and experiences of radicals and the labour movement, but their success has meant that the much more significant role of conservatives in creating a network of schooling has been covered with a blanket of neglect. In addition there has been an over-reliance upon easily obtainable printed sources. Documents which provide some evidence for what might have taken place in particular schools and particular classrooms have been neglected. Obviously the examination of manuscripts does not overcome many historical problems associated with the study of printed sources. Minute books for instance were compiled by those who provided education, and who were likely to be sympathetic to the aims of their institutions. They undoubtedly contain biases of which the student ought to be aware.

To a great extent those historians who have used concepts such as social control, socialization and hegemony have overcome this situation of neglect. By displaying an apparent congruence between the doctrines of educational promoters, the requirements of industrial capitalism and the social messages which schools appeared to transmit, they have wedded schooling to a clearly defined social context. In general they have confronted the real questions of power and authority in English education. However, for a number of reasons, their uses of these concepts have not been without problems.

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9. Gillian Sutherland, "The Study of the History of Education", History, LIX, 1969, 49-59; Harold Silver, Aspects of Neglect: The Strange Case of Victorian Popular Education, Oxford Review of Education, Volume 3, No. 1, 1977, 57-69; Harold Silver, Nothing but the present or nothing but the past, Inaugural lecture, 17th May 1977, Chelsea College, University of London; David Reeder, "Introduction", in David Reeder (ed.), Urban Education in the 19th Century (1977), 3-5.

For example, they have rarely defined their terms, or been aware of the different sociological theories which provide the theoretical bases of the concepts.[10] In addition, by assuming a functional relationship between industrial capitalism and mass schooling, historians have failed to perceive that the assumptions and practices of education were largely derived from more traditional socio-economic concerns. It is very easy to exaggerate the importance of industrialization and the factory system, because of the attention paid to it by economic and social historians. However, it is important to emphasize that during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the industrial revolution was limited to only a small area of England, mainly in South Lancashire, North Cheshire, South Yorkshire and the West Midlands. Furthermore, the factory system itself, was initially confined to little more than the cotton-manufacturing towns along the Cheshire-Lancashire border. In addition, recent articles by W. D. Rubinstein, have pointed to the relative unimportance of wealth produced by industrialists in the early nineteenth century when compared to the greater amount produced by bankers and merchants.[11] During this period moreover, the greatest amount of wealth in this country was owned by the landed gentry. If the social functions of education between 1780 and 1833 are to be examined, then it is necessary to redirect attention away from the concerns of industrialists towardsthe interests of other people in the upper and middle classes. In this context, therefore, it is interesting to note that the major educational theorists and practitioners of this period produced their writings and applied their ideas in areas remote from

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10. For a confusing introduction to a confusing concept see Brian Davies, Social Control and Education (1976). For critiques of the concept of social control see Silver, "Aspects of neglect ...", op. cit., 62-63; G. Stedman Jones, "Class expression versus social control? A critique of recent trends in the social history of leisure", History Workshop, 4, 1977, 162-170. One straightforward discussion of the concept; which takes account of criticism is A.P. Donajgrodzki "Introduction", in Donajgrodzki (ed.), op. cit., 9-25.

11. W. D. Rubinstein, "Wealth, Elites and the Class Structure of Modern Britain", Past and Present, 76, 1977, 99-126, and "The Victorian Middle Classes: Wealth, Occupation, and Geography", The Economic History Review, 2nd series, XXX, 4, 1977, 602-623.

the expanding industrial centres. For example, the founder of the Sunday school movement Robert Raikes, was a newspaper proprietor in Gloucester,[12] and the two most important philanthropic organisations for the proliferation of Sunday schools, the Sunday School Society and the Sunday School Union, originated in London.[13] Sarah Trimmer, an important publicist for Sunday schools and schools of industry was a brick manufacturer's wife in Brentford, Middlesex.[14] The major evangelical Sunday school promoter, and prolific writer of educational literature, Hannah More, was a metropolitan "blue stocking", before she retired to Somerset; it was there that she set up her schools and produced her tracts.[15] Joseph Lancaster, and his monitorial experiments operated in London.[16]

II

In order to achieve an understanding of the direction which mass schooling took between 1780 and 1833, it is necessary to focus upon individuals and institutions to determine the particular constellation of traditions, beliefs, messages and practices which gave them identity. However, before these elements are examined in subsequent chapters, it is necessary to do two things: firstly to explain why education was perceived as being socially important in the late eighteenth century, and secondly to make explicit the social theories which lay at the root of the specific educational schemes studied in the thesis. This section of the chapter explains why education was perceived to be an important area of concern in

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12. G. Kendall, Robert Raikes: a critical study (1939), 33.

13. See chapter 3.

14. Betsy Rodgers, Cloak of Charity: studies in Eighteenth Century Philanthropy (1949), 112-130; Doris M. Yarde, The Life and Works of Sarah Trimmer (Bedfont, Middlesex, 1971), 20.

15. M. G. Jones, Hannah More (Cambridge, 1952): P. Belham, "The Origins of elementary education in Somerset with particular reference to the work of Hannah More in the Mendips (M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1953).

16. Hurt, op. cit., 14.

the late eighteenth century. The period was one of considerable dislocation and promoters of education believed certain problems to be of special significance. Taken together they implied the creation of schools as means of social reconstruction. These perceived problems were three: the growth of population and the appearance of a child problem, the spread of libertarian doctrines, and the breakdown of contact between the social classes.

Educational expansion and population growth are related, in that the former seldom occurs without the latter. In the late eighteenth century, England experienced a population explosion, substantially caused by a rise in the birth rate (Figures 1 and 2), which had the effect of increasing the number of children. Automatically, a "child problem" was created, giving rise to the question of what was to be done with the increased size of the juvenile population? Raikes began his Sunday school experiments in 1780 after conversing with a Gloucester woman who was shocked to see the streets "filled with multitudes of these wretches" on the Sabbath.[17] In 1785, the poet William Cowper, writing to the Evangelical, John Newton, from Olney in Buckinghamshire, regretted that children "infect the streets every evening with curses and with songs".[18]

One of the earliest social investigators, the Rev. David Davies drew attention to the "child problem"[19] and pointed out the inadequacy of existing educational facilities for juveniles. Writing in The Case of the Labourers in Husbandry, first published in 1795, he declared that there were 600,000 children belonging to poor parents in England and Wales, of

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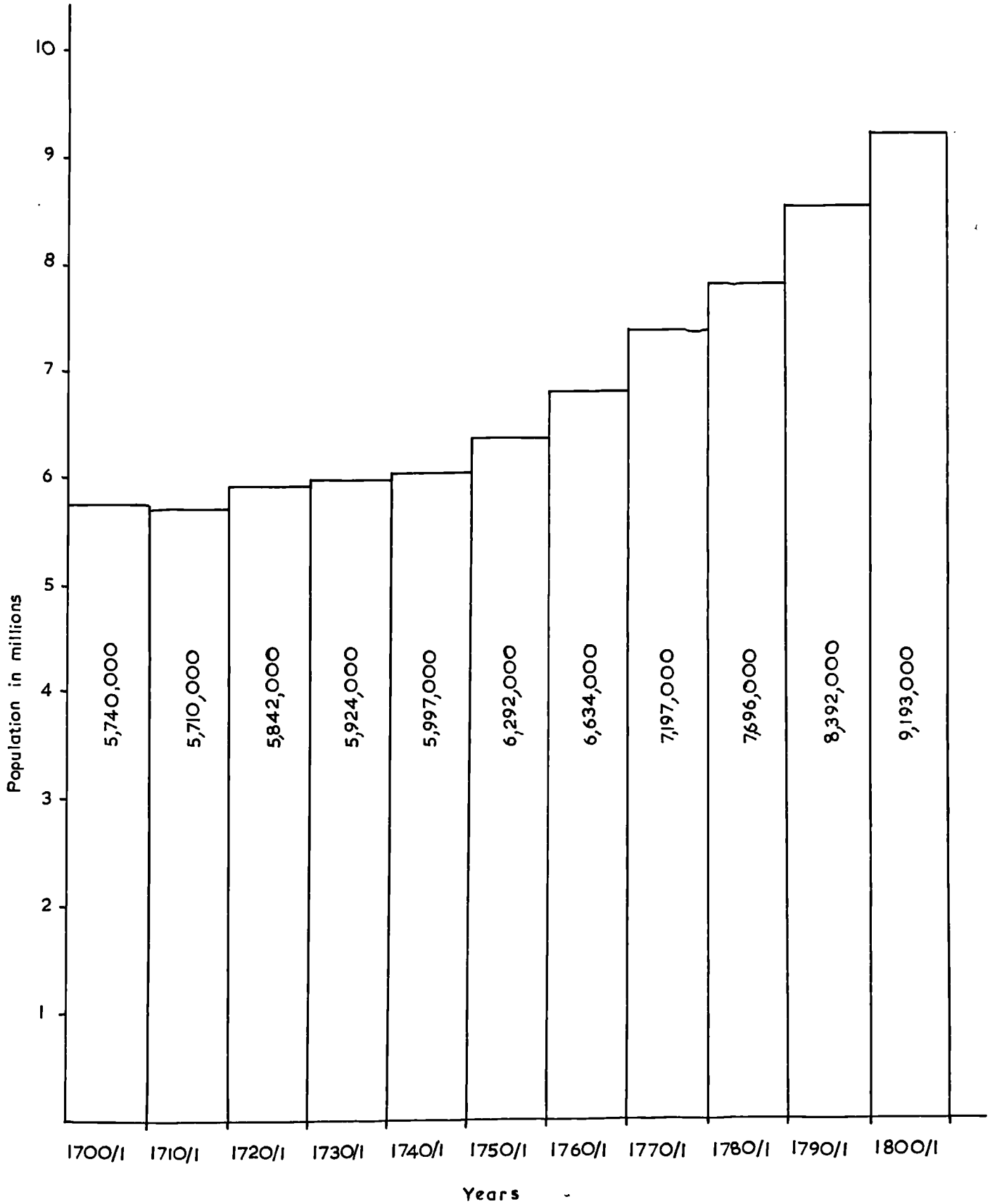
17. Gentleman's Magazine, liv, 1784, 410.

18. William Cowper to John Newton, 24th September 1785, in Thomas Wright (ed.), The correspondence of William Cowper (New York, 1968, reprint of 1904 edition) ii, 358-359.

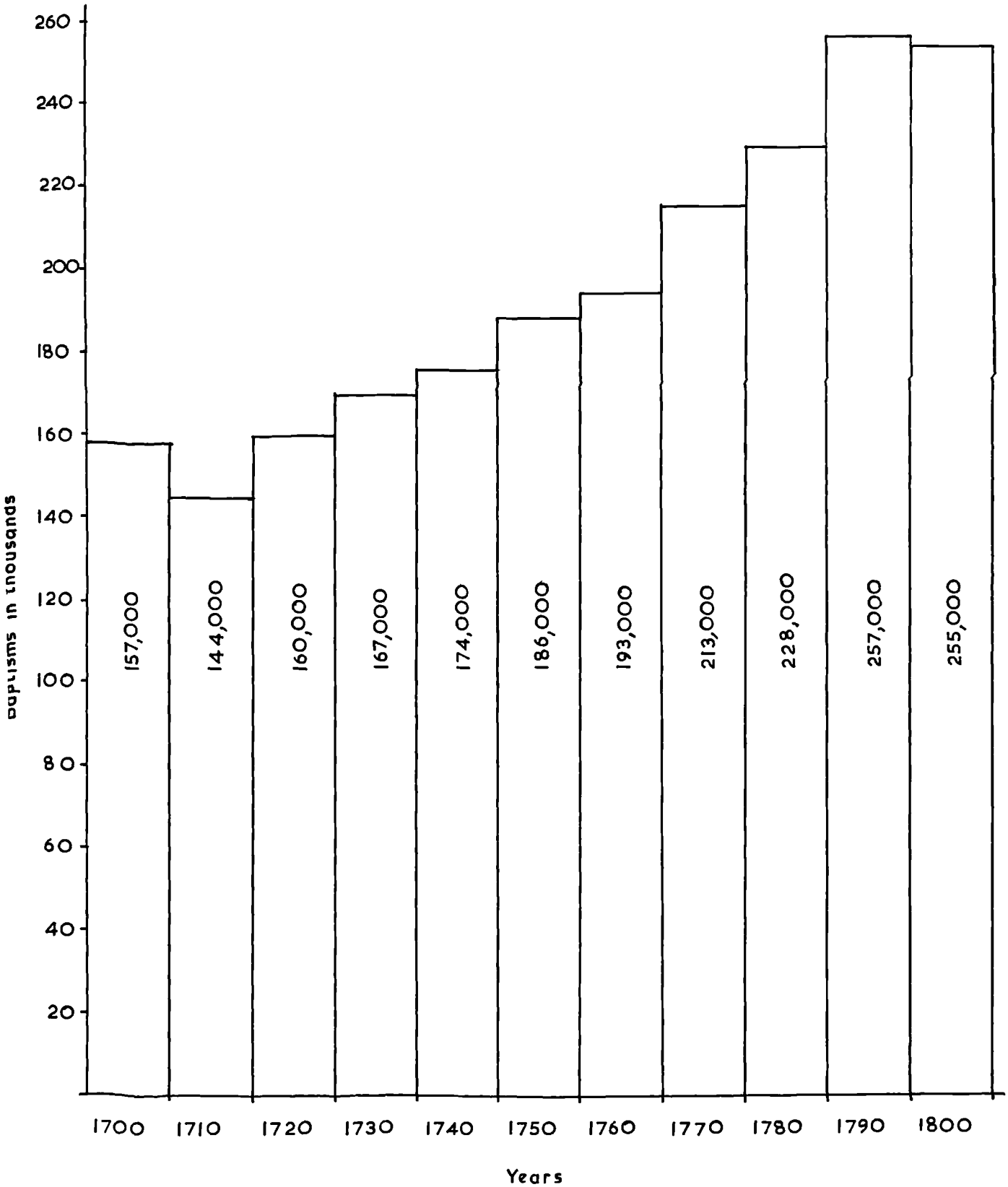
19. David Davies, The Case of the Labourers in Husbandry (1795), 59.

Fig.1. Population Growth in England and Wales 1700/1 – 1800/1.




Source: Average of figures given in B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962), 5.

Fig. 2. Baptisms in England and Wales 1700 – 1800.




Source : Mitchell and Deane, op.cit., 28–29.

whom 200,000 received some education in various institutions including charity schools. He estimated therefore, thattwo-thirds of the children of the poor "received not the smallest degree of schooling".[20]

Raikes, Cowper and Davies assumed that schooling was socially necessary for the offspring of the poor, but the "child problem" of which they were aware, did not necessarily imply that schools had to be provided to deal with large numbers of poorly disciplined children. In theory they could have been sent to work rather than sent to schools. The rise in the number of children helped to create a climate of opinion favourable to educational expansion, but it was not a sufficient explanation for this expansion. It is necessary therefore to probe more deeply into the assumptions of educationalists for further elucidation of the reasons why they chose education as a means of dealing with a problem.

One of these assumptions was the belief that libertarian doctrines were a source of social discontent and therefore a cause of anti-authoritarian behaviour. This, it was believed, ought to be remedied. By 1780 a series of events had rocked the stable world of the patrician classes. These included the American War of Independence, the Gordon Riots, and mass support for radical election candidates such as Wilkes. Furthermore, several publications added an intellectual basis to radical attitudes. Hume's and Gibbon's anti-religious writings disturbed the authority of Christian precepts and the works of the French Enlightenment affected the sanctity of political hierarchy. Many conservative Englishmen believed that the poor were absorbing dangerous libertarian principles. Writing in his Comprehensive View of Sunday Schools in 1786, Jonas Hanway, one of the founders of the Sunday School Society, condemned "false notions spread by party contests", the reporting of politics by newspapers, and

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20. ibid., 96

pernicious literature from abroad.[21] The problem of disorder, he affirmed, was especially acute because the lower orders were able increasingly to read and absorb the messages of pamphlets promoting noxious doctrines. The principle of liberty which he stated, led to the dissolution of social relations,

> has loosened the bands of parental authority. The power of the master and mistress has been violated. Example has not been awful; superiors have appeared less venerable ....[22]

After the French Revolution, the formation of corresponding societies, and the real or imagined existence of quasi-Jacobinical conspiracies, added urgency to the attack.[23] The volumes of Paine's Rights of Man, were singled out as an important source of subversion, especially as they proved to be immensely popular.[24] Hannah More saw her activity as the main producer of the Cheap Repository Tracts, as part of a campaign to counteract Paine's influence.[25] Other writers moreover, were sure of the cause of "impious and detestable opinions". The dutiful behaviour of children, towards their parents, had been undermined by atheism and republicanism, exports from across the channel.[26] For conservatives, this alarming progress of anti-authoritarian doctrines implied that the poor had to be taught to distinguish between what were deemed to be true and false ideas.

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21. Jonas Hanway, A Comprehensive View of Sunday Schools ... (1786), v-vii.

22. ibid., vii.

23. R. A. Soloway, "Reform or Ruin: English Moral Thought during the first French Republic", Review of Politics, XXV, 1963, 110-128.

24. On the popularity of the Rights of Man, see E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth, 1968), 121-125.

25. M. G. Jones, Hannah More, op. cit., 134-148. She was encouraged in her work by Bishop Beilby Porteus.

26. Anon, The importance of Sunday schools at the present crisis ... (Canterbury, 1800), 2-8.

In itself however, this state of affairs did not necessarily imply that new educational agencies had to be created to combat libertarian ideas. Traditionally, the churches through catechetical instruction, sermons or pastoral care had fulfilled this function. In addition, the gentry as a result of their position of leadership in local communities had performed an educative role. However, these networks of communication had broken down.

One of the assumptions of English conservatives was that social contact between the rich and the poor had been dissolved. In part this was an inevitable function of economic and social change, as close personal relations based upon prescription and the family economy gave way to contractual relations between employer and employee. However there was another contribution, which has been described by Harold Perkin as "the abdication on the part of the governors", whereby the patrician classes themselves either consciously or unwittingly dismantled a system of paternal protection for the lower orders in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[27]

Contemporaries were aware of this phenomenon as early as the 1780s, and criticized the members of their own class for neglecting the poor. Hanway attacked the gentry for ignoring their own villages.[28] By implication they contributed to the creation of naked class relations. Benevolence had been removed and was thus no longer able to humanize social distinctions. The problem of absentee noblemen was another alleged cause. Either they lacked any knowledge of the poor or had become preoccupied with fashion and thus lost any awareness that the lower orders existed. In particular, they had become obsessed with their own cultivation,

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27. Harold Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880 (1969) 183-195.

28. Hanway, op. cit., i.

which according to Mrs. Trimmer:

> has made great a distinction between the poor and their superiors. The higher and middling ranks are so refined, and the lower so vulgar, that their language is in many respects as unintelligible to each other as if they came from different regions of the world.[29]

If the wealthy still retained some contact with plebeian individuals, it was further claimed, they often transmitted vices rather than virtues, as their own morality left much to be desired. The lower orders allegedly, were "ready to imitate the behaviour of their betters", and they absorbed the immoral conduct presented by their exemplars in the upper classes. The conduct of the latter served "greatly to disseminate vice".[30]

Similarly, it was argued that the clergy had neglected their religious role, and contributed like the gentry to the dissolution of social relations. Writers in the Christian Observer[31] and Orthodox Churchman's Magazine,[32] noted a decline in catechetical instruction. From her centre of philanthropic activity at Cowslip Green in Somerset, Hannah More reported that there were thirteen adjoining parishes near her, without a resident incumbent or curate.[33] In some cases however this was not the only problem. It was alleged that many clergymen preoccupied themselves with sermonizing and avoided direct contact with their flocks.[34] Alternatively, their worldly behaviour, manifested in "idle visits" and "frivolous conversations" discredited Christianity itself.[35] According to Hannah More,

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29. Sarah Trimmer, The Oeconomy of Charity ... (1787), 9.

30. George Horne, Sunday schools recommended ... (Oxford, 1786), 6-7; Charles Moore, A sermon preached ... on the introduction of Sunday schools ... (Canterbury, 1785), 15, see also Rowland Hill, An Apology for Sunday schools ... (1801), 27.

31. The Christian Observer, 3, 33, September 1804, 541.

32. The Orthodox Churchman's Magazine, 1, March 1801, 29.

33. Hannah More to Mrs. Kennicott, 1789 in William Roberts (ed.), Memoirs of the life and correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More (1834), ii, 213.

34. John Bennett, The Advantages of Sunday schools ... (Manchester, 1785), 14.

35. Hill, op. cit., 22.

at Axbridge in Somerset the vicar was intoxicated six times a week, "and was very frequently prevented from preaching by black eyes caused by fighting."[36]

It is difficult to know how much truth there was in these criticisms of the gentry and clergy. What is clear, is that urbanization and population growth reduced the possibility of social contact between the classes and heightened the alienation of the Church and old dissent from the people. Those counties which experienced only a slow increase in population in the late eighteenth century, and avoided the trauma of rapid urbanization may have retained a conscientious clergy and gentry. Oxfordshire for instance, experienced only a 14.3 per cent population increase between 1750 and 1800, and there is little evidence to suggest that clergy were failing in their duty to catechize the inhabitants.[37] Nevertheless, in the late eighteenth century, a number of writers were sufficiently alarmed by the "abdication on the part of the governors", to call for a recreation of social contact. Schools were perceived as the best means of restoring virtuous relations between the rich and the poor. Thus the Essex curate and advocate of schools of industry, R. A. Ingram, asserted in 1800:

> There is no other kind of intercourse, by which more powerful ties of attachment are generated, or in which each class appears more perfectly in those characters, which particularly embellish their respective situations in life ....[38]

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36. Arthur Roberts (ed.), Mendip Annals ... Being the Journal of Martha More (1859, 2nd edition), quoted in Belham, op. cit., 131.

37. Diana McClatchey, Oxfordshire Clergy 1777-1809 ... (Oxford, 1960), 144-146. For the county's population see E.C.K. Gonner, "The Population of England in the Eighteenth Century", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 66, February 1913, 296. It appears that Derbyshire also possessed a clergy that conscientiously catechized it s flocks, if the replies of clerics to questions put by the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry at the time of his visitation in 1772 are to be believed, L.J.R.O., B/V/5 Visitation of Bishop North 1772. Derby Archdeaconry.

38. Robert Acklom Ingram, Parochial Beneficence inculcated in a sermon preached ... for the benefit of a School of Industry ... (Colchester, 1800), 15.

During the late eighteenth century then, schools were perceived as a means of social reconstruction. Three assumptions had led to this perception: that a child problem existed, that subversive doctrines posed a threat to social order, and that there had been a dissolution of contact between the classes. However, although these assumptions provide an understanding of the mental world of educational promoters, it is also necessary to focus in some depth upon the social theories which formed the intellectual background to educational activity.

III

The final section of this chapter identifies four social theories which appear to have been particularly significant in the development of the educational programmes studied in this thesis: patriarchalism, Christian utilitarianism as expressed in the work of William Paley, evangelicalism and political economy. Although they were very different, they all attempted to explain how rich and poor could be united in the same community to maintain a spirit of social harmony.

Patriarchalism was an explanation of social hierarchy and a justification of political obligation by affirming the divinely sanctioned status of paternal authority. John Locke demolished Filmer's theory on which patriarchalism had been based in his Two Treatises of Government in 1690, but it retained considerable significance throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. In the Anglican and non-conformist catechisms, this doctrine was presented to children of all social classes. Patriarchalism was revealed through a social and political interpretation of the fifth commandment: "Honour thy father and thy mother", and the duty of obedience towards one's parents was translated into loyalty towards monarch, magistrates, masters, mistresses and teachers. The family therefore became the recurrent political and social image. The "father" required obedience and in turn displayed his protection towards

his suitably deferential "child". This message was transmitted by catechetical instruction, which was an incumbent duty upon every Anglican priest and non-conformist pastor, according to the prayer book and canon law.[39]

Anglican social theory remained patriarchal into the nineteenth century, as illustrated by The Orthodox Churchman's Magazine of April 1801:

> That "order" is the first law of Heaven, is a truth which the casual observation must readily suggest.
>
> Government results from the necessary power of a father over his children - of the aged over the young: an authority commanding reverence and conciliating affection. A family then, is a little monarchy; a monarchy, or a Kingdom, is but one great family ....[40]

These social messages, as subsequent chapters reveal, found their way into the Sunday schools and schools of industry. Nevertheless patriarchalism was declining in significance, not least because new patterns of economic organization such as the factory clearly did not contain a form of social relations based upon paternal care. Other social theories modified or replaced patriarchalism as a significant explanation and justification of obligation.

One of the alternative social theories was the Christian utilitarianism associated with William Paley. An academic, clergyman and writer, his Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, first published in 1785, became an essential part of the Cambridge undergraduate curriculum from 1786, and affected the thought of many influential lay and clerical figures in the nineteenth century.[41] In several of his works, Paley addressed himself to the problem of the poor, and underlined the importance of their education for reproducing social relations. Paley's thought derived from natural theology, the spiritual core of Enlightenment thought

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39. Gordon J. Schochet, "Patriarchalism, Politics and Mass Attitude in Stuart England", The Historical Journal, xii, 3, 1969, 413-441.

40. The Orthodox Churchman's Magazine, vol. 1, April 1801, 94-95.

41. D. L. LeMahieu, The Mind of William Paley, (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1976), 153-180.

in Britain. Natural theology depended upon the observation of the world in order to demonstrate God's existence and to discover his attributes.[42] Similarly, it was possible to evolve a standard of moral behaviour in the same way, by demonstrating the utility of social distinctions, the British Constitution and private property. They could be shown to be natural, or in other words, the result of the will of God.

According to Paley, the ownership of property was God's intention, and it was natural for it to be "irregularly distributed". Automatically therefore, distinctions arose between rich and poor, and these differences of wealth were necessary for answering the various demands of civil life.[43] The existence of a class of labouring poor, for instance, was essential for the operation of society:

> they who seek their subsistence by constant manual labour, must still form the mass of the community; otherwise the necessary labour of life could not be carried on; the work would not be done, which the wants of mankind in a state of civilisation, and still more in a state of refinement require to be done.[44]

It was necessary however, to appreciate that the poor were a potential threat to social order. They were the ultimate fount of political power in any civil community; "even in the most popular form of government", Paley said, "<u>the physical strength resides in the governed</u>."[45] If rulers were to maintain social hierarchy, they had to respect their subjects. Moreover, they had to be treated with deference and managed with "delicacy and circumspection".[46] In addition, it was important for people to learn to obey government. Paley identified three ways in which this could be achieved: through prejudice, by which he

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42. ibid., 56-57, 116-117, 139-140; M. L. Clark, <u>Paley, Evidences for the Man</u> (1974), 89-90; William Paley, <u>Natural Theology</u>, in Edmund Paley (ed.), <u>The Works of William Paley, D.D.</u> (1825 new edition) vol. 4, 361-362, and <u>Principles of Moral and Political Philosopy</u> ibid., vol. 5, 45-48, 339-340.

43. Paley, <u>Natural Theology</u>, op. cit., 354-355.

44. <u>ibid</u>., 362.

45. Paley, <u>Principles</u>, op. cit., 325-326; author's italics.

46. <u>ibid</u>., 329.

meant habit, reason, and self-interest.[47] He seemed to believe that the first way, prejudice, was more important than the others; mankind, he claimed, "acts more from habit than reflection".[48] If each man had to think about what he was doing, the chances were that he would make the wrong decision and "reason himself into an error".[49]

His discussion of the poor has two implications for education. If the poor had to be managed with "delicacy and circumspection", then education could not simply be a means of inculcating the poor with the doctrines of educationalists. Secondly, however, if it was important for the poor to learn to obey government through habit, then schooling should concentrate upon the development of habits. Paley wrote little about popular education,[50] but he did believe that a person who received no instruction was useless and "at the same time mischievous to the community".[51] Moreover, he condemned the failure of the adult labouring poor to "inure their children ... to labour and restraint".[52]

Subsequent chapters in the thesis reveal that schools did not simply act as vehicles for their promoters wishes; parental and child demands affected the style and content of much instruction. However, habit-forming activities formed an important part of education, especially in schools of industry and the institutions of the Philanthropic Society. Even if Paley's influence upon these schemes was not direct, he clearly expressed some of the basic assumptions of educationalists.

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47. ibid., 326-329.

48. ibid., 30.

49. idem.

50. An exception is a work on Sunday schools, William Paley, Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle on Sunday Schools, in Edmund Paley, op. cit., vol. 3.

51. Paley, Principles, op. cit., 229.

52. idem.

Evangelicalism provided another significant social doctrine. It affected both Anglicanism and dissent, and provided a massive spiritual and moral impetus for educational programmes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. John Wesley and William Wilberforce were probably the two most significant individuals in evangelicalism; as Wilberforce's ideas are systematized in his Practical Christianity of 1797, this discussion of the phenomenon focusses upon his thought. Whereas the starting point of Paley's social thought was reason, for Wilberforce the starting point was man's spiritual state: man was inhately corrupt. "Vice ... is natural and easy to him ... he is tainted with sin, not slightly and superficially, but radically and to the very core."[53] Not only was man evil by nature, but contemporary society further encouraged the manifestation of depravity. Trade and prosperity created the social conditions for the eradication of true religion and the formation of vice.

> Every where we may actually trace the effects of increasing wealth and luxury, in banishing one by one the habits, and new-modelling the phraseology, of stricter times; and in diffusing throughout the middle ranks those relaxed morals and dissipated manners, which were formerly confined to the higher classes of society .... God is forgotten .... The portion of the week set apart to the service of Religion we give up, without reluctance, to vanity and dissipation.[54]

In order to redeem his soul, man had to rouse himself, jettison sin, and affirm a commitment to true Christianity.[55]

According to Wilberforce "the temporal well-being of political communities" required an adherence to Christianity.[56] A genuine commitment to religion on the part of society's members would automatically induce social harmony.[57] Moreover Evangelical social theory emphasized the

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53. William Wilberforce, A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians ... (1797), 26-27.

54. ibid., 376-377.

55. ibid., 50-51.

56. ibid., 364.

57. ibid., 393.

importance of familial images, and in this respect it therefore resembled patriarchalism. Those who had achieved a right relationship with God, Wilberforce claimed, would see all men "as members of the same family".[58] Instead of being dominated by "bad passions" and "debauched by worldly principles", each would diligently discharge "the duties of his own station without breaking in upon the rights of others".[59] Social cohesion would automatically result from this situation:

> all would be active and harmonious in the goodly frame of human society. There would be no jarrings, no discord. The whole machine of civil life would work without obstruction or disorder, and the course of its movements would be like the harmony of the spheres.[60]

In this state of affairs, he continued, social contacts would be restored, and the lower orders would perceive the value of an inequitable distribution of wealth.[61] The rich would learn to be beneficent, and the powerful would exert their influence with moderation.[62] True Christianity dampened the fires of discontent:

> she renders the inequalities of the social state less galling to the lower orders, whom also she instructs, in their turn, to be diligent, humble, patient: reminding them that their more lowly path has been allotted to them by the hand of God; that it is their part faithfully to discharge its duties and contentedly to bear its inconveniences.[63]

Education for an evangelical was primarily a spiritual process. Once an individual had renounced sin and committed himself to Christianity, he had achieved the fundamental purpose of human existence. This spiritual content formed an essential part of much Sunday school instruction. But as Wilberforce indicated, religion had a definite social function, to preserve social harmony and to demonstrate to the poor the value of social distinctions. These elements also found their way into Sunday school education.

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58. idem.

59. ibid., 394.

60. idem.

61. ibid., 405.

62. ibid., 404-405.

63. ibid., 405.

Unlike evangelicalism, political economy stressed the importance of self-interest as a force in promoting social well-being. Adam Smith the most important representative of political economy, suggested that human beings were propelled by six motives: self-love, sympathy, the desire to be free, a sense of property, a habit of labour, and the propensity to trade one thing for another.[64] This optimistic psychology led Smith to affirm that men were the best judges of their own affairs and that they ought to follow their own interests.[65] However, this pursuit would not lead to the law of the jungle. Instead each individual was "led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention",[66] this was the creation of wealth.

In The Wealth of Nations, published in 1776, Smith drew attention to the social distinctions resulting from the creation of wealth. Man's economic history led to the development of a society where distinctions were inevitable and necessary for the pursuit of social well-being.[67] Smith saw labour as being central to the wealth-creating process. Specialisation improved the workers' dexterity and saved time that might have been wasted moving from one task to another.[68] Unfortunately, this specialisation, the division of labour, had a corrupting effect upon the mental world of the labouring poor, for by confining their work "to a few very simple operations",[69] it gave them little necessity to exercise

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64. Eric Roll, A History of Economic Thought (1973, 4th edition), 146.

65. idem.

66. Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations, edited by R. H. Campbell, A. S. Skinner and W. B. Todd (Oxford, 1976), 1, 456.

67. Roll, op. cit., 153

68. Smith, op. cit., 1, 13-24.

69. ibid., 2, 781.

their understanding. Each man,

> becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him, not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any rational conversation, but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender sentiments, and consequently of forming any just judgment concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the great and extensive interests of his country he is altogether incapable of judging ....[70]

Smith suggested that education ought to be provided by society to overcome the debilitating effects of the division of labour.[71] Although the core of instruction was to be rational, it was to have the effect of creating an orderly population.

> The more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders. An instructed and intelligent people besides, are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one. They feel themselves, each individually more respectable, and more likely to obtain the respect of their lawful superiors, and they are therefore more disposed to those superiors. They are more disposed to examine, and more capable of seeing through, the interested complaints of faction and sedition, and they are, upon that account, less apt to be united into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of government. In free countries, where the safety of government depends very much upon the favourable judgment which the people may form of its conduct, it must surely be of the highest importance that they should not be disposed to judge rashly or capriciously concerning it.[72]

By stressing the importance of teaching the poor to think, Smith assumed that they would be disposed to reason in a way which would lead them to support their superiors, for by examining subversive doctrines, he believed, the poor would detect their fallacy. Undoubtedly this was excessively optimistic; Smith was not alive at the time when the French Revolution broke like a thunderstorm upon the European scene, when many well-educated people advocated and practised the subversive doctrines he had earlier condemned. Smith did not develop a specific curriculum which could be applied in schools for the poor, although he welcomed Sunday schools

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70. ibid., 2, 782.

71. ibid., 2, 784.

72. ibid., 2, 788.

when they appeared.[73] However, his emphasis upon the debilitating effects of the division of labour found expression in the writings of R. A. Ingram when he sought to justify the school of industry. In addition his conception of the social importance of rational instruction was taken up by the Philanthropic Society.

These four social theories, patriarchalism, Christian utilitarianism, evangelicalism and political economy were the fundamental doctrines behind the educational programmes which are discussed in this thesis.

It is argued that schools provided a largely protective environment in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They were designed as agencies of social reconstruction to overcome the supposedly debilitating effects of social change or a corrupting environment. In this way the morals of the rising generation could be safeguarded, and their role in the community as industrious and orderly individuals could be promoted.

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73. John Rae, Life of Adam Smith (1895), 407.

# Chapter 2

## Sunday Schools: the Ideology of Promotion

Sunday schools emerged in the atmosphere of moral panic which affected the mental world of the upper and middle classes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the 1830s these institutions had been established as the most important form of schooling for the labouring poor. Rudimentary literacy, and religious and social knowledge, combined to educate children in the skills and precepts required by their promoters. It is claimed in this and four subsequent chapters, that in theory and in practice, Sunday schools operated largely as a form of patriarchal reconstruction. They were created, managed and staffed to a great extent by Christians in the upper and middle classes who perceived that England was undergoing a process of rapid and dangerous social change. Sunday schools provided them with a means of remodelling attitudes and behaviour to recreate a society where mutual harmony prevailed. Initially, this chapter takes issue with two interpretations of Sunday school education. The first one presents these institutions as operating to promote work-discipline during the creation of an industrial capitalist order in England. The second interpretation claims that they were largely creations and expressions of a working-class culture of religion and respectability. Finally, the chapter presents the fundamental doctrines of the Sunday school promoters.

### I

Several historians have argued that Sunday schools launched an attack upon the traditional attitudes and attributes of the poor during the establishment of a new industrial capitalist order in the late

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[1] E.P. Thompson in a subtle and scholarly analysis has viewed Sunday schools, especially those created by Wesleyan Methodists, as responsible for the indoctrination of working people in the values of punctuality, obedience and industry.[2] In order to test this hypothesis two things have to be done. Firstly, it has to be shown that Sunday schools were promoted by the industrial bourgeoisie, or created on their behalf. Secondly, the contention that these schools were responsible for emphasizing a form of education which would instruct a labour force in the disciplines required of factory work has to be demonstrated. The burden of Thompson's interpretation is largely contained in his analysis of the ways in which these messages were internalized by the children of working men and women, and this aspect is discussed in a subsequent chapter in the thesis, on the content of Sunday school instruction. The main emphasis in this chapter is therefore on the first matter.

The discussion needs to be focussed upon two areas: the mental world of the Sunday school promoters and their behaviour in particular localities. The doctrines of these people are presented in detail in the second part of the chapter, but here it is important to discover the extent to which they consciously promoted an industrial capitalist ideology. Historical research on the attitudes of the upper and middle classes is not completely helpful, but in his two important articles, W.D. Rubinstein has argued that the wealth of the English ruling classes,

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1. M.G. Jones, The Charity School Movement. A study of eighteenth century Puritanism in action (1964), 142-144; Reinhardt Bendix, Work and Authority in Industry ... (1956), 67-73; Sidney Pollard, The Genesis of Modern Management ... (Harmondsworth, 1968), 227. M.W. Flinn, "Social Theory and the Industrial Revolution", in Tom Burns and S.B. Saul, Social Theory and Economic Change, (1967), 14-18; E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism", in M.W. Flinn and T.C. Smout (eds.), Essays in Social History (Oxford, 1974), 59-60.

2. E.P. Thompson, Making of the English Working Class, (op.cit.), 412.

when not derived from landed property, was obtained, mainly, from banking and commercial interests during the early decades of the nineteenth century, and not from industrial undertakings.[3] This has implications for their ideology. If they derived their wealth from non-industrial enterprises, then it is unlikely that the ruling classes were concerned in their philanthropic or educational enterprises, to develop doctrines which served to promote industrial interests. However much work remains to be done on their attitudes and opinions.

The focus of any discussion about the extent to which Sunday schools served the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie has to concentrate upon the relevant localities. The areas which were important to this class were of course, the industrial North and Midlands, where the factory system was beginning to emerge in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Industrial towns experienced the establishment of Sunday schools, shortly after Raikes advertised his experiments in Gloucester after 1783.[4] By 1784 Sunday schools had been created in Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, Oldham, Rochdale, Stockport, Warrington and Wigan. The following year, Bolton, Sheffield, Stoke and Wakefield received their first institutions and in 1786, Blackburn and Bradford

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3. See Chapter 1 ref. 11.

4. A letter from Raikes dated 25th November 1793 appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. liv, 1784, 410.

were added to their number.[5] As yet there are few studies of Sunday school education in these areas, but those that do exist do not universally point to a close connection between manufacturing ideologies and Sunday schools. In other words, it appears as if a consciousness on the part of the industrial bourgeoisie that these institutions could serve their economic interests, was to a considerable extent absent.

A number of local cases are examined below. In Oldham, local manufacturers were prominent in the establishment of Sunday schools. C.E. Ward in a dissertation upon the subject, amasses a considerable amount of evidence to support a contention that these institutions operated as part of a network of social control by factory owners.[6] But Ward says little about the content of education inside these schools or the pattern of relationships within them. Religous education formed an important part of instruction and the problem it poses, is how it should be interpreted as a social phenomenon. It need not necessarily be

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5. Leeds: Gentleman's Magazine, vol. liv, 1784, 377; Liverpool: Richard Brooke, Liverpool as it was during the last quarter of the 18th Century 1775-1800 (Liverpool 1853), 379-380; Manchester: A.P. Wadsworth, "The First Manchester Sunday Schools" in Flinn and Smout, op. cit., 100; Nottingham: S.D. Chapman, "The Evangelical Revival and Education in Nottingham", Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire, vol. 66, 1962, 36; Oldham: C.E. Ward, "Education as Social Control: Sunday Schools in Oldham c. 1780-1850", (University of Lancaster M.A. Thesis, 1975), 14; Rochdale: William Robertson, Rochdale Past and Present. A History and Guide (Rochdale, 1875), 177; Stockport: W.I. Wild, The History of the Stockport Sunday School ... (1891), 3; Warrington: William Beaumont, Walks about Warrington ... (Warrington, 1887), 151; Wigan: Charles Deane Little, Our Old Sunday School ... 150 years of Wigan Methodism, (Wigan, 1933), 13-14; Bolton: Charles Deane Little, The History and romance of our Mother Sunday School. 150 Years of of Bolton Methodism (Bolton, 1935?), 13-15; Sheffield: John Salt, "Early Sheffield Sunday Schools and their Educational Importance", Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, vol. IX, 1965, 179-180; Stoke: A.G. Matthews, The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire (n.d.), 195-196; Wakefield: J.W. Walker, Wakefield its History and People (Wakefield, 1939), ii, 383; Blackburn: William Alexander Abram, A History of Blackburn, Town and Parish (Blackburn, 1877), 370; Bradford: William Scruton, Pen and Pencil Pictures of Old Bradford (Bradford, 1889), 103.

6. C.E. Ward, op. cit.

explained in terms of an attempt to construct a docile work-force for local factories. The schools in Oldham moreover, were also linked to friendly societies and relief agencies, aspects of social welfare congruent with a patriarchal or paternal ideology.[7] It is worth pointing out that Oldham's Sunday schools did not appear to attempt to enforce attendance. If they presented a series of messages which supported the economic interests of factory owners, it is surprising that they were not rejected by the parents of the children who attended.

In Leek, despite the pre-eminence of Methodist silk manufacturers in the formation of a local Sunday School, indoctrination in a capitalist ethic appears to have been subordinated to more conservative aims. Its objectives were "to prevent a general decay of morals",[8] and one of its reports quoted with approbation the efforts of Anglicans like Sarah Trimmer and Hannah More in Sunday school promotion.[9] As subsequent discussion reveals, these ladies were concerned to restructure social behaviour in a conservative framework, not to build a series of institutions to benefit the interests of manufacturers.

In Manchester and Salford, as A.P. Wadsworth's article points out, schools in these centres of the Lancashire cotton industry were created by local officials and "gentlemen" after 1784.[10] In 1797 the Manchester and Salford Sunday School Committee ordered numbers of Hannah More's tracts,[11] with their idealisation of the hard-working, content and deferential agricultural worker, and the benevolent all-protecting squire and vicar. These images presented an ideal of how to behave in a traditional community

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7. ibid., 30.

8. Staffordshire County Record Office (S.C.R.O.), D 1114/1, West Street Methodist Sunday School Book, Leek, 1799-1922, Report of 1804.

9. idem.

10. Wadsworth, op. cit., 105; A.V. Parsons, History of education in the Salford district, 1780-1870 (University of Manchester M. Ed. Thesis, 1965), 19.

11. ibid., 27.

not in an expanding industrial town. In 1799, the same committee presented its conservative aims:

> The principal use of the institution of Sunday Schools is to habituate the children to a pious and orderly observation of the Sabbath day and the duties to which it points; whatever advantage may be derived from learning to read, it is a benefit of far higher importance and more essential concern, to impress on young minds a devout sense of duty towards God and their neighbour ....[12]

The organization and control of these schools altered with the break up of the interdenominational committee in 1800,[13] but this did not seem to result in any change in their ideological complexion; the interests of factory owners were not expressed through these institutions. Although several Manchester cotton manufacturers subscribed to Sunday schools, evidence brought before the Select Committee on Children Employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom in 1816 revealed that they showed little interest in their management. Most of this evidence is admittedly anecdotal, but it is clear from statistics compiled in 1816, that Manchester Sunday schools did not cater primarily for children employed in factories: of 11,063 children present in schools on one Sunday, less than one third, 3,317, were labouring in spinning mills.[14] Some witnesses emphasized that a lower proportion of factory children attended these schools than children in other categories from the lower orders, a verdict which was supported by Sunday school teachers themselves.[15] It was possible that at this time, only a quarter of children below the age of eighteen employed in Manchester factories were being educated in Sunday schools.[16]

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12. idem.

13. idem.

14. Report of the Select Committee on the Children Employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom ... with Minutes of evidence, 1816 (397) 111, 98, 97. These statistics should be treated with care, one manufacturer, Sir Robert Peel encouraged the attendance of his factory children at Sunday school, where they went on alternate weeks, p.142. The proportion of Sunday scholars who were factory children may therefore be higher than one week's figures suggest.

15. ibid., 151, 152, 155, 296, 326.

16. Proportion calculated from an estimate provided by Nathaniel Gould, ibid., 324-325.

If Manchester industrialists desired to inculcate work-discipline, clearly they were not using Sunday schools to do so.

These themes are further examined in a subsequent chapter devoted to the Stockport Sunday School, but it is clear that there was no clear correlation between the interests of manufacturers and the promotion of Sunday schools in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The second interpretation of the Sunday school presents the institution as largely an expression of a working-class culture of religion and respectability. In his study, the only major analysis to date, Thomas Walter Laqueur has attempted to study the Sunday school in its national setting.[17] He has pointed out how the institution contributed to the expansion of literacy and leisure, but his major thesis concerns its social role. Explicitly rejecting an interpretation which views the Sunday school as an agency of social control,[18] he sees it as the creation of the working class. Laqueur's discussion of working-class Sunday school culture contains the following elements. Firstly, he asserts that Sunday schools were supported by the working class because they provided a way of fulfilling their "real and perceived needs."[19] Secondly, he claims that most of the working men and women who acted as Sunday school teachers, acted to fulfil these needs. They believed that the day of leisure, the Sabbath, should be spent in improving activities, and the values which they supposedly provided formed part of a culture of self-help, self-improvement and respectability.[20]

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17. Laqueur, op. cit. Before his work, there were only two relatively substantial studies of the Sunday school: D.M. Griffith, Nationality in the Sunday school movement: a comparative study of the Sunday school in England and in Wales (Bangor, 1925), and J.K. Meir, "The development of the Sunday school movement in England from 1780-1860 in relation to the State provision of education" (University of Edinburgh PhD. thesis, 1954). Important local studies include Wadsworth, op. cit., Chapman, op. cit., and C.E. Ward, op. cit.

18. Laqueur, op. cit., 147, 187-188.

19. ibid., 189.

20. ibid., 93.

Thirdly, he argues that the early Sunday school which was dominated by the middle class and repressive in its functions, had virtually disappeared by the beginning of the nineteenth century. By this time, Sunday schools had emerged as part of a "uniquely working class cultural constellation". They allegedly ceased to concentrate upon social and political values and instead they started to emphasize moral and ethical ones. The fundamental divisions which featured in early nineteenth century society, he continues, were not economic ones between workers and the bourgeoisie, but between the idle and the non idle, the rough and the respectable, and the religious and irreligious. These were distinctions, Laqueur asserts, which cut across class divisions.[21] Within this interpretation then, there appear to be a number of basic assumptions. Firstly, that Sunday schools emerged from the working class, especially after the end of the eighteenth century. Secondly, that the Sunday school produced a vigorous culture of self help, self improvement and respectability. Thirdly, that the working class saw its real needs in pursuit of these virtues, and not in the pursuit of conflict with other classes. Fourthly, that Sunday school teaching expressed moral values and not explicit social and political ones.

It is not intended in this chapter to discuss in detail the theoretical problems associated with the notion of working-class culture, but there are least two difficulties associated with Laqueur's interpretation. First, if his contention is accepted that the qualities of self help and self improvement were promoted by the working class through Sunday schools, the problem to determine which section of the working class espoused these values remains. Did these qualities form the culture of a "labour aristocracy" of independent artisans, or were they diffused throughout all sections of the labouring poor? Laqueur's analysis does not

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21. ibid., 239.

confront this problem. Secondly, there is the question whether these qualities were in fact creations of the working class, or alternatively, values absorbed by working people from outside their own culture. There is in fact, nothing to distinguish these qualities from those promoted by evangelicals in higher social classes. Laqueur does not describe the genesis of these values in any community, or outline ways in which they were translated to men or women in the first place.

Laqueur's interpretation of the Sunday school is complex and merits a great deal of attention. Aspects of his thesis, such as his contention that Sunday schools were not interested in the political opinions of students and teachers, that teachers were members of the working-class and acted as agents of working-class culture, and that the content of education and the services associated with the schools were expressions of this culture are examined in subsequent chapters. However, there is one aspect of his argument which requires discussion here, because it has bearing upon the nature of Sunday school promotion.

Laqueur questions a traditional interpretation which stresses the role of evangelical militants from the middle class in the process of Sunday school creation. He identifies a distinct tradition of working-class Sunday school promotion from before the 1780s:

> Working men and women in hundreds of communities throughout England were at least as important in building this educational patchwork as were the Hannah Mores, Sarah Trimmers or Robert Raikes on whom exclusive credit is normally bestowed. In fact, as these sorts of people dropped out of Sunday school work, the schools became more and more agencies of community self-help and self-improvement.[22]

It is not clear how important Laqueur sees this tradition to be. He claims that because local sources "reveal so large a number of hitherto forgotten names", this "suggests that the Sunday school from its earliest days was

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22. ibid., 21.

to a large extent a product of the working-class community".[23] However, he fails to identify the working men and women in "hundreds of communities" who allegedly created Sunday schools on their own initiative. His presentation of some of these people portrays merely thirty-eight cases.[24]

Appendix 1 at the end of the thesis provides an examination of these individuals. Five of these examples are not discussed because it has not been possible to trace the sources which Laqueur cites (Numbers 10, 15, 27, 29, 34). One of the cases, moreover is not provided with any source (Number 14), and one other is not contained in the work which Laqueur indicates in the footnote (Number 30). Of the remaining thirty-one examples of Sunday school creation, five were definitely not established by working men (Numbers 5, 6, 7, 31, 33), there are doubts about the working-class credentials of five others (Number 8, 17, 26, 32, 36), and one had nothing to do with Sunday school promotion (Number 9). In two further cases, the sources are not explicit enough to regard the establishments as Sunday schools, which contained religious instruction as a central element of the curriculum, rather than simply private schools teaching elementary literacy on the Sabbath (Number 1, 2). In five instances the people involved did not found Sunday schools themselves; they were simply teachers or helpers within their institutions (Numbers 22, 23, 28, 37, 38), and in one other case, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that a Sunday school was even established (Number 16). In seven other examples, schools appear to have been created by working men or women, but the institutions were rapidly absorbed by a church or chapel, or patronized by people from a higher social class. There are therefore doubts concerning the extent to which they can be characterized as working class institutions (Numbers 3, 12, 13, 18, 21, 24, 35). In one

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23. ibid., 29.

24. ibid., Table 22, Appendix 1, 252-254.

further instance, the school dwindled away until it was revived by the wife of the local Vicar (Number 11). Four other cases might be examples of Sunday school foundations by working people (Numbers 4, 19, 20, 25), but the sources which Laqueur cites are not really detailed enough to permit the institutions to be characterized as instances of working class creations. However, one of these examples, the case of Thomas Cranfield (Number 19), is examined in the following chapter.

It appears from an analysis of Laqueur's table of working-class Sunday school founders, that this tradition is much weaker than he claims. This thesis, however does not argue that working-class Sunday schools did not exist, but the burden of proof remains with those who wish to point to such a tradition. It may be that Primitive Methodist Congregations provided the kinds of people Laqueur wishes to pin point as working class founders of Sunday schools.[25] Laqueur's failure to prove the existence of a strong tradition of working-class promotion during the early history of the Sunday school means that attention has to be refocussed upon the upper and middle classes and the documents and publications which they left behind. These sources are problematic. Letters, tracts and sermons were often public documents, designed to arouse the spirit and practice of emulation in Sunday school promotion. They do not necessarily provide an accurate guide to the assumptions of promoters themselves. Biographical material, another important source, has to be carefully interpreted; the writers of biographies approached their task from a standpoint which was rarely critical of the subject of their study. Local records concerning Sunday schools are sparse for the period 1780-1833, and although they provide evidence relating to the day-to-day management of institutions, it is more difficult to use them to interpret patterns of authority,

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25. Research into Worcestershire education which reveals this denominational difference, is currently being conducted by Jackie Grayson in the Department of Social and Economic History at Birmingham University.

teachers' attitudes, classroom instruction and the reactions of parents and children. The remainder of this chapter however, attempts to present a general picture of the underlying assumptions of Sunday school promoters, as a prelude to more detailed analyses of aspects of Sunday school education in subsequent chapters.

II

This section of the chapter portrays the image of social harmony possessed by Sunday school promoters. It also presents the important role they attached to Sabbath observance and the reformation of the poor as a means of creating this harmony. The establishment of Sunday schools during the 1780s and thereafter, was a response to a crisis in the minds of the upper and middle classes. Those who created these institutions were not confined to any single element within the English higher classes, although promotion and publicity depended to a considerable extent upon evangelical militants in both Anglicanism and dissent. Generally, they were united by one thing, a fear that society was breaking down; in particular that harmony and cohesion between the different social orders was no longer being promoted. Sunday schools were defined as a means of social reconstruction in this context. Their main emphasis was upon the recreation of the values of family life, notions of duty and habits of order and industry. Moreover it is possible to detect the over-riding importance in the Sunday school curriculum of the catechism in its Anglican or non-conformist versions, an overtly patriarchal document. Additionally, Sunday school tracts produced in great numbers by Sarah Trimmer and Hannah More, in narrative form extolled the virtues of a peaceful rural existence where the squire and cleric promoted the well-being of a deferential and content labouring population. There was also a vigorous attack in the Sunday school upon vices such as greed, idleness, ambition, lying, impiety, obscenity, promiscuity and waste, which threatened the

moral and economic content of family life, and the social relations in the workshop, on the farm or in civil society which were supposedly based upon the family in patriarchal thought. Despite the proliferation of the Sunday school in a time of rapid industrialization, urbanization and ideological conflict, it served to promote conservative values in English society.

By the late eighteenth century, this image of social harmony was breaking down. Social change was interpreted by Sunday school promoters as harmful to the patriarchal nature of the body politic. It was represented as a want of harmony between the social classes, a state of affairs which had to be rectified by a return to a mutual recognition of the values of deference and benevolence among the different orders in the community. Sarah Trimmer, the midwife of the Sunday school, and one of the major suppliers of tracts for children educated in these institutions, writing in her text of educational philanthropy, The Oeconomy of Charity of 1787, weighed society in her balance and found it deficient.

> It is obvious to common sense that a want of concord amongst the various orders of people must be prejudicial to the nation at large; for in appointing different ranks among mankind, our all-wise and beneficent CREATOR undoubtedly intended the good of the whole. "He regardeth not the rich any more than the poor; they are all the work of his hand:" and, that a proper agreement might be kept up among them, he has made their welfare and happiness to depend in a great measure on their mutual interchange of good offices .... It is evident that unanimity does not at present subsist in this country, and the consequences are dreadful to society: it is therefore incumbent on all members to use every means in their power towards a restoration of this harmony, without which there cannot be either safety or tranquility ....[26]

This image of social harmony was closely associated with religion. In particular Sabbath observance was considered to be an essential means of maintaining the edifice of Christian civilization and the social relations based upon it. According to Hannah More in Thoughts on the Manners of the Great, the Sabbath was the most important day in the Christian week.

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26. Sarah Trimmer, Oeconomy of Charity, (1787), op. cit., 3-4.

> It has been the opinion of many wise and good men, that Christianity will stand or fall, as this day is neglected or observed. Sunday seems to be a kind of Christian Palladium; and the city of God will never be totally taken by the enemy till the observance of that day be quite lost. Every sincere soldier of the great captain of our salvation, must therefore, exert himself in its defence, as ever he would preserve the divine Fort of Revelation against the confederated attacks of the world and the Devil.[27]

Sunday observance had important social consequences. Firstly, it protected the poor from the full encroachment of labour upon their lives. Secondly, it preserved poor children from a corrupt urban environment. Thirdly, it encouraged the poor to be content and respectable. However, Sabbath breaking had deleterious consequences both for society and the individual. These themes are examined below.

Firstly, Sunday observance, it was argued, prevented industrial capitalism, work discipline and in fact, labour of all kinds, from making a total impact upon the lives of working men and women. According to the Methodist, Valentine Ward, arguing against the teaching of writing in Methodist Sunday schools, the strict observance of the Sabbath,

> is the grand bulwark of poverty against the encroachment of Capital. The labouring classes sell their time. The rich are the buyers; at least they are the chief buyers: for it is obvious that more than half of the working hours of those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, is consumed in the manufacture of articles that cannot be deemed either necessaries or comforts. Six days of the week are disposed of already: if the seventh were in the market, it would find its purchasers too.[28]

Ward's sentiments were not explicitly represented in the writings of many other Sunday school supporters, but this attack on aspects of capitalist development is congruent with Christian patriarchalism.

The second aspect of Sabbath observance concerned its role in protecting the infant poor from the dangerous influence of society. By spending the day in moral and spiritual improvement, children were preserved from ideas and activities which led supposedly, to their

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27. Hannah More, Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society (1788, 2nd edition), 54-56.

28. Valentine Ward, Observations on Sunday Schools ... (Leeds, 1827, 2nd edition), 25-26.

ultimate corruption. Anthony Highmore, a supporter of the Sunday School Society, in his study of charity in the metropolis, saw Sunday schools as rescue agencies, defending children from vice on the most important day in the Christian week.

> Sunday schools have an advantage which schools for the other days of the week cannot boast, - that of correcting and breaking off the idle habits engendered by a long day without employment. This holy day is not always well spent, and children do not require its recreation; it is of more importance to them to learn the practical comforts of devotion and of meeting their fellow Christians at their public worship, than to pass that sacred day in the pastimes of thoughtless pleasure! Their improvement of mind, and their outward deportment and behaviour, will be more effectively secured. But another benefit, which is paramount to all those, will be obvious to every reflecting mind, - they are preserved from the danger of seeing any of those publications which have been industriously circulated to retard and poison the progress of religious truth. "It is not by any means improbable, that our preservation, as a nation, from all the horrid consequences of disloyalty, and sedition, and infidelity, may be ascribed to the general inculcation of the truths of the holy Scriptures."[29]

For another writer, Sabbath observance enabled "plants of virtue" to be "ingrafted in those young minds, where else, through deplorable neglect the noxious weeds of vice would inevitably grow and over-run them".[30]

Thirdly, Sunday observance encouraged a mental attitude which developed habits of respectability for the poor. The Rev. Daniel Wilson who conducted a Sunday school in connection with an Anglican chapel in the capital, asserted that regular attendance at church and school was essential on that day.

> The children are thus impressed with the evil of violating that sacred day, which being early implanted, commonly grows up to an habitual reverence for the Lord's day; a disposition of mind which in a great measure, so far as my observation goes, lies at the foundation of all moral and religious habits. I never knew any poor family happy, contented or virtuous, that did not observe it.[31]

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29. Anthony Highmore, Philanthropia Metropolitana: a view of the charitable institutions established in or near London, chiefly during the last twelve years (1822), 267.

30. Philip Parsons, Six letters to a friend on the establishment of Sunday schools (1786), 21-22.

31. Report from the Select Committee on the Education of the lower orders in the Metropolis: with the minutes of evidence taken before the Committee, 1816 (495) 3rd report, 280.

However, breaking the Sabbath led to a dissolution of moral and social life. It meant that the individual who succumbed to this vice became overwhelmed by the sins which society provided in great abundance; the world for many Sunday school promoters, was a corrupting environment. The evangelical minister, Rowland Hill, an agent of Sunday school development in South London, writing of the urban squalor of Southwark, announced:

> The neglect of the Sabbath, and all public ordinaries from the highest to the lowest, is now the subject of general complaint. The little decency of manners which existed about fifty years ago, is nearly annihilated; and the few who attempt to stem the torrent are sure to be branded with odium and contempt. And where a holy reverence for God is removed from the mind, all laws, human and divine, are at once disregarded: man becomes nothing better than a barbarian - a monster. Every vile passion assumes its full force; and his whole conduct will be tumultuous and abominable. Examine the state of our own nation, where mere heathenish morality has superseded the preaching of the gospel.[32]

In particular Sabbath breaking encouraged idleness, which had deleterious effects upon family life and also led inexorably to the committing of crimes. John Doughtrey, a visitor at a Sunday school in Spitalfields, emphasized the first concern, that non-observance encouraged indolence which affected the ability of the family to survive.

> The time ... which ought to be spent in attendance upon divine worship, is not devoted by the idle and profligate, as some may suppose to an innocent walk out in the suburbs of the town, but more frequently in lounging in their filth, and drinking either at home or in the public houses; this we know, from repeated and frequent visits, is the real state of the case, with regard to a large proportion of the poor that neglect the Sabbath. If they do leave town, it is generally to join some disorderly assemblage called together about dogs or birds, a fight or a race; these things, as may be supposed often end in quarrelling and drunkenness; and instead of being refreshed and rested by the proper use of the merciful institution of the Sabbath, their health and comfort suffer; they rise on the Monday morning languid in their bodies, or, if not too insensible, with remorse in their minds; they are often unable, and always indisposed for labour after a Sunday so spent; and this I apprehend to be the reason why, among persons of this description, Monday is also a day of idleness and dissipation. We find among those poor people who are in the regular habit of frequenting public

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32. Rowland Hill, An Apology for Sunday Schools (1801), 27.

> worship, and properly observing the Sabbath day, they do not, as the others do, make Monday a day of idleness, and a lost day to their families.[33]

The second concern, a stress upon the connections between Sabbath breaking and crime was emphasized by several Sunday school promoters. Robert Raikes reported from Gloucester, that those criminals he had seen as a prison visitor, had ascribed their downfall to the profanation of the Sabbath, which led inevitably to the frequenting of public houses and the committing of criminal acts. There was a clear path, it was alleged, stretching from the neglect of church attendance to the gallows. The misuse of Sunday, Raikes wrote, "appears by the declaration of every criminal to be their first steps in the course of wickedness".[34] This concern was a recurring theme in the Sunday school literature. According to Valentine Ward:

> Those who live in large towns, have ample opportunity of knowing how awfully the Sabbath is neglected and profaned by the labouring classes. Whole streets are to be found where the men are to be seen loitering about in indolence, and the women busily engaged in domestic affairs. Sabbath breaking is peculiarly one of the vices of the poor, and it is the parent of many others. Scarcely a felon is carried from the bar of justice to the hulks or the gallows, but confesses that his career of iniquity commenced with this crime. Everything should be done to raise in the estimation of the poor, the sanctity of the Sabbath, and to bind its obligations more closely to the conscience.[35]

Sunday observance and an alarm at the extent to which the Sabbath was being broken were clearly central concerns of Sunday school promoters. Any permanent change in the habits of the poor depended upon their reformation. In fact, it was argued, that through the correct management of the Sabbath, the children of the poor could be raised above the dangers to which they were subjected by the vices of their elders.

Many Sunday school promoters believed that the adult poor could not

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33. Select Committee on the Education of the lower orders, op. cit., 1816 (495) 3rd report, 209.

34. Gloucester Journal, 11 April 1785, quoted in G. Kendall, Robert Raikes: a critical study (1939), 67.

35. Valentine Ward, op. cit., 21.

be reformed. Legal measures had proved to be ineffective in eradicating vice. In recent years, it was stated, police bills, poor bills and prison bills had been passed by Parliament. Furthermore the Royal Proclamation against Vice and Sabbatarian legislation, revealed the determination of the monarch and evangelical militants to stamp out corruption. But these efforts did not reach the roots of evil which lay in the character of the lower orders. Adults unfortunately were unable to respond because they were in an advanced state of moral decay.[36] Before he commenced his Sunday school experiments, Raikes had visited local gaols in Gloucester and attempted to reform criminals, but he failed, finding that they soon returned to prison if they were released. He perceived that the only possible solution to crime was to prevent criminals being made.[37]

Children could be reformed by education before they followed the same descent into vice and crime as their elders. The Leek Sunday School Report in 1804 asserted:

> The infantile mind, not yet poisoned by false principles, nor rendered obdurate by long habit, will imbibe the friendly precepts of religion. The ductile youth will bend to any form. The seed will take deep root by repeated instruction, will be nourished by constant discipline, and grow strong by good habit, until a glorious harvest repays the toil. TRAIN UP A CHILD IN THE WAY HE SHOULD GO, AND WHEN HE IS OLD HE WILL NOT DEPART FROM IT.[38]

Reformation implied removing children, from their parents and their environment. At best Sunday schools were only a partial solution to this problem. Nevertheless, they had the advantage that they did not interfere with any day-time employment of children during the week. In theory

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36. Joseph Berington, An essay on the depravity of the nation, with a view to the promotion of Sunday schools ... (Birmingham, 1788), 19-21. See also Thomas Bernard, Of the education of the poor; being the first part of a digest of the Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor ... (1809), 47.

37. J. Henry Harris, Robert Raikes. The man and work ... (Bristol, 1899), 101; S.C.R.O., D1114/1, West Street Methodist Sunday School Book, op. cit., Report of 1804.

38. idem.

therefore they were able to cater for all children, and pose as comprehensive institutions of mass schooling. They were never designed of course for all children, nor necessarily for all children of the lower orders, at least during the schools' first years of existence.

Sunday schools concentrated upon the "rough" rather than the "respectable" poor. Raikes' first Sunday schools in Gloucester were for children "of the very lowest kind that could be found".[39] In Birmingham, institutions established in 1785 were for those "whose parents are so poor that they cannot, or else so wicked that they will not, send them to schools in the weekdays".[40] Methodist Sunday school promoters in Bristol described their scholars in the following way:

> The children who had been gathered under the fostering wing of instruction, were not only rough in their manners, but ragged and dirty in their persons, their hair for want of cutting was grown very long, and like eagles feathers, presented a very shaggy figure.[41]

It has been contended in this chapter that Sunday school promoters presented a doctrine of patriarchal reconstruction through their institutions. They perceived that society was in an advanced state of social, moral and spiritual decay and advocated the use of Sunday schools to provide a means of inducing social harmony, virtue and religious commitment. The existing interpretations of historians are not adequate explanations for Sunday school promotion. The burden of proof is upon those who assert that Sunday schools were a means of encouraging work-discipline during the formation of a new industrial capitalist order, or alternatively, that they were creations of the working class as a vehicle for a culture of religion

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39. Harris, op. cit., 22-23. This was a description provided by the granddaughter of Raikes' first teacher.

40. Anon., "Arguments and reasons for the establishment of Sunday schools ... at Birmingham", p. 29, in William Jesse, The importance of education ... (Kidderminster, 1785). A copy is in Leicester University School of Education Library.

41. John S. Broad, A History of the Origin and Progress of the Sunday-Schools in the City of Bristol, and its Vicinity, under the Patronage of the Bristol Methodist Sunday-School Society (Bristol, 1816), 16.

and respectability. The mass of evidence suggests otherwise. Local research may enable these contentions to be supported, but generally Sunday schools were conservative in their emphasis. Two subsequent chapters present the nature of Sunday school doctrines in London and Stockport. Other chapters reveal the ways in which, management and teachers on the one hand and the content of education on the other hand expressed the beliefs of Sunday school promoters.

# Chapter 3

## Sunday Schools: Philanthropic organizations and individual enterprises in London

This chapter examines the doctrines and methods of Sunday school promotion in the capital, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It therefore raises a number of issues connected with the relationship of education to the social problems associated with urbanization in this period. It concentrates upon two broad areas: firstly, the work of two philanthropic organizations, the Sunday School Society, and the Sunday School Union, which encouraged educational provision throughout the country from their London bases, and secondly, the efforts of local metropolitan schools initiated by Anglicans, evangelicals in Southwark, and the Methodist Sunday School Society. In this chapter it is argued that these educational efforts were largely evangelical and patriarchal in emphasis, and formed part of a national campaign to combat irreligion and a decay in social harmony. In opposition to Laqueur, the chapter affirms that Sunday schools were not expressions of local "working-class" communities. Instead they formed part of a movement which provided schools for the poor. Sunday school promoters were members of the upper and middle classes who possessed a sensitivity towards the poor's supposed lack of moral, religious and social qualities. They were supported, moreover, by several members of the respectable class of artisans and tradesmen, amongst whom Thomas Cranfield, an individual studied in this chapter, was a representative. These people imported Sunday schools into local communities, often in the face of opposition or indifference.

Aspects of Sunday school promotion in London provided a means of expanding education in the provinces. The two metropolitan philanthropic organizations were an obvious source of publicity; the reports of the Sunday School Society for instance contained letters and announcements outlining the nature of activity in various localities.[1] Moreover local

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1. Plan of a Society Establish in London ... For the Support and Encouragement of Sunday-Schools ... 1788, 61-78; 1789, 71-79; 1797, 71-73; 1812, 45-82.

promoters were connected with nationally-important philanthropists through letter writing,[2] and important journals such as The Gentleman's Magazine, the Arminian Magazine, the Baptist Magazine and the Christian Observer, all of which devoted considerable space to Sunday schools.[3] Many of the significant journals for Sunday school use, The Youth's Magazine being the most important, emerged from the capital. In addition, several Parliamentary investigations focussed upon metropolitan educational provision.[4] Sunday school promotion enabled London-based concerns or the images of a London-based culture to be transmitted throughout the country.

Before individual enterprises are examined, it is important to provide a survey of the social and economic context within which Sunday school provision in the metropolis operated. George Rude has pointed out that during the eighteenth century London was "a vast consumer's market, a considerable manufacturing city, the largest centre of international trade and shipping in the country, and was already well on the way to

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2. William Fox of the Sunday School Society corresponded with Robert Raikes, Joseph Ivimey, Memoirs of William Fox ... founder of the Sunday-School ... (1831), 26-27, 32; Hannah More from the Mendips and Joseph Butterworth of the Sunday School Union corresponded with Joseph Mayer of the Stockport Sunday School, Sk.R.L., Stockport Sunday School Letters, 1795-1810, B/S/5/2; 1811-1820, B/S/5/3.

3. Gentleman's Magazine, liv, 1784, 377, 410-412; lvi, 379, 380, 381;; lvii, 1787, 72-73, 74, 82, 127-128; lviii, 1788, 109-110, 654; lix, 1789, 204, 423-424; Arminian Magazine, viii, January 1785, 41-43; xi, September 1788, 489-490; Methodist Magazine, xxv, August 1802, 389-390, September 1802, 430-433; xxvii, November 1804, 493-495; Baptist Magazine, viii, January 1816, 43; xiii, May 1821, 208; xxi, October 1821, 433-435; Christian Observer, 1, March 1802, 179-184; 1, November 1802, 746-747; 8, 1809, 89-90; 14, June 1814, 395.

4. Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis ... 1816, op. cit., Report from the Committee on the State of the Police of the Metropolis: with Minutes of Evidence ... 1816 (510) v; Second Report from the Committee on the State of the Police of the Metropolis with Minutes of Evidence 1817 (484); Report of the Select Committee on Conviction and the Police of the Metropolis 1828.

supplanting Amsterdam as the leader of the world's insurance and money market.[5] With a population which rose from 575,000 to 900,000 between 1700 and 1800, London was easily the largest urban area in the country and it absorbed vast amounts of food and other basic means of subsistence such as coal.[6] The city also possessed a complex network of manufacturers, boat-building along the Thames, breweries, and tanneries for instance in Southwark.[7] High quality consumer durables were also made: London was famous for watchmaking, jewellery work and furniture manufacture.[8] Service trades such as shopkeeping, shoemaking and tailoring naturally proliferated.[9] London's significance as a port was associated with expanding commercial and financial enterprises. The East India Company was a long established company, Lloyds and other insurance companies were eighteenth century foundations. Private banks proliferated from thirty-five to forty in the 1760s in and around Lombard Street, to seventy-seven in 1808.[10]

Within this economic context London possessed a class system. At the top of the hierarchy of wealth and power were the aristocracy. London possessed numerous residences for the nobility because of its obvious significance as the centre for the court and politics. Although most of their wealth came from land, the aristocracy increasingly participated in the financial speculations and trading enterprises of the mercantile and financial bourgeoisie with whom they inter-married.[11] The political interests of the bourgeoisie were closely linked with the maintenance of the Hanoverian Monarchy. This expanding class which obtained its wealth from trade and banking, therefore posed no threat to the dominance of the

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5. George Rudé, Hanoverian London 1718-1808 (1971), 20.

6. E. A. Wrigley, "A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650-1750", Past and Present, number 37, 1967, 44; Rude, op. cit., 20-21.

7. ibid., 25-26, O.H.K. Spate, "The Growth of London A.D.1660-1800", in H. C. Darby (ed.), An Historical Geography of England before A.D.1800 (Cambridge, 1936), 535.

8. Rude, op. cit., 26.

9. idem.

10. ibid., 31-34.

11. ibid., 38-40.

aristocracy with whom they were closely connected.[12]

The "lower orders" contained a number of very different kinds of people: master craftsmen, shopkeepers and skilled journeymen, who managed to maintain a better style of life than the unskilled labourer, or paupers and beggars who formed the base of the social pyramid.[13] Existence for the lower orders in general, but especially for these latter categories was often harsh. Overcrowding in the poor districts of London (the rich were increasingly deserting the centre of the metropolis), was common.[14] The death rate in the capital moreover, was high, but this was compensated for, by a continual flow of immigrants from the rest of mainland Britain, Ireland and overseas.[15] In addition, although wages undoubtedly increased in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there were periods when poverty and starvation were real threats: in the 1790s for instance when the price of bread rose more rapidly than wages.[16]

It was the aristocracy and the mercantile and financial elite especially, who provided much of the impetus behind Sunday school promotion. There appear to have been a number of influences behind their educational activity. One was the Evangelical Revival. In London this affected both Church and dissent; Methodism was also a noticeable force.[17] Wesley's and Whitfield's presence had been felt in the metropolis, providing a direct impetus behind the efforts of the Methodist Sunday School Society, and indirectly through the Rev. William Romaine upon Thomas Cranfield,

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12. ibid., 52.

13. ibid., 83-84; M. Dorothy George, London Life in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1905), 209-211.

14. ibid., 85-87.

15. ibid., 109-112; Wrigley, op. cit., 46.

16. ibid., 209-213; Rude, op. cit., 90.

17. ibid., 106-108.

as this chapter reveals.[18] Rowland Hill's Surrey Chapel which cannot be easily categorized as part of a particular denominational enterprise was a centre for evangelical Sunday school activity in Southwark.[19] Anglican evangelicalism affected the commercial elite of the capital, and some members of the Clapham Sect operated within the Sunday School Society. Several evangelical dissenters such as William Fox and Jonas Hanway also worked in the same organization. Other prosperous dissenters helped to form the Sunday School Union.[20]

The second influence behind Sunday school provision was a concern with social discipline. As their writings reveal, many educationalists believed that the poor were not as orderly, deferential, religious or moral as they ought to be. It was probably true that London was less likely to possess individuals who behaved in this way, as it was larger than elsewhere and therefore its inhabitants were likely to lead different lives.[21] Family life was not as significant as in the countryside because relatives were unlikely to live near at hand.[22] This was especially the case because of the large numbers of immigrants in the capital, many of whom were young and single.[23] Lodgers were more common than elsewhere, and there were also large numbers of apprentices.[24] The practice of out-door-apprenticeship moreover, had increased the independence of youth as they were less subject to the discipline of their master than if they lived in his home.[25] In addition day-to-day contacts were increasingly casual. Rational rather than traditional patterns of social and economic behaviour were more common in city life than in the

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18. For these enterprises see below. Wesley and Whitfield's influence is briefly discussed in Rude, op. cit., 108.

19. idem. D.N.B. Rowland Hill.

20. See below.

21. Wrigley, op. cit., 50.

22. idem.

23. ibid., 47.

24. ibid., 50.

25. George, op. cit., 238, 276-277.

countryside, as contract replaced custom as a form of relationship. As E. A. Wrigley has pointed out, this kind of social situation encouraged the tendency of "'aping' of one's betters", which often attracted a critical response from writers who deplored this apparent breakdown in the practice of behaving according to the nature of one's social situation.[26] Furthermore, writers like Patrick Colquhoun, deplored the "indiscipline" apparent in the drinking and leisure habits of the poor; fairs in particular were subject to adverse comment.[27] Large numbers of people in the lower orders were pursuing habits which many in the higher classes found objectionable.

The rest of the chapter examines the philanthropic organizations and localised Sunday school enterprizes in the metropolis. Initially the doctrines and methods of the Sunday School Society and the Sunday School Union are presented, followed by an analysis of Anglican efforts, the work of Thomas Cranfield and the Southwark Sunday School Society and finally the Methodist Sunday School Society.

I

The first national philanthropic organization devoted to the spread of Sunday schools was the Sunday School Society. It assisted few schools in London, but because it was dominated by evangelicals and businessmen in the capital, it provided a vehicle for the proliferation of the religious and patriarchal culture of this group. The Society developed as a result of the inspiration which William Fox, its prime mover, had received from Raikes. However Fox's own experience helped to mould the enterprise which he created. He was a native of Gloucestershire, a self-made Baptist businessman and country gentleman. He began his career scaring birds on a farm, and at the age of ten, according to his biographer resolved to "get into some profitable business".[28] Apprenticed in Oxford

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26. Wrigley, op. cit., 51.

27. Rudé, op. cit., 92-93.

28. Ivimey, op. cit., 8-9.

he later became a successful merchant and achieved a life-long ambition to become Lord of the Manor of Clapton, in Gloucestershire.[29] As a merchant travelling about the country, he had become alarmed by the "deplorable ignorance of the lower classes", and often found places "where the poor were in utter destitution of the Bible ...."[30] His initial educational activity was confined to his estate at Clapton in 1784,[31] but in 1785, he announced a proposal for associated philanthropic activity to promote the education of the poor at the London Baptist Monthly Meeting in May of that year.[32]

Although his concern at the meeting appeared to be for the establishment of day schools, he focussed upon three points which formed the basis of the Sunday School Society's activities. Firstly, that although the poor were destitute of the material comforts of this life, they need not be "altogether unacquainted with that which is to come ...." Secondly, that although the clergy had neglected their duties as educators of the young, lay initiatives were important; the poor were "looking up to us and asking; not for the supply of their material wants, but <u>for the means of instruction only</u>." Thirdly, that the education deemed to be necessary should not be designed to raise the poor "above their common level, for in that case how would our manufactories be carried on - our fields cultivated - our houses erected - and our tables furnished."[33] Later in 1785, Fox came to hear of Raikes' institutions and corresponded with him concerning the feasibility of Sunday schools.[34] In August, he took the initiative with the merchant, Jonas Hanway, already a major philanthropist in his own right, in founding the Sunday School Society.[35]

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29. <u>ibid</u>., 9-10.
30. <u>ibid</u>., 15.
31. <u>ibid</u>., 16.
32. <u>ibid</u>., 16-21.
33. <u>ibid</u>., 18-20.
34. <u>ibid</u>., 25.
35. <u>ibid</u>., 27-29.

Fox's circular letter of that year, which was designed to publicise the Society, revealed a number of emphases: the close alliance between religious and social objectives for instance, and the disgust of the self-made man towards the inability of other people to support themselves by their own efforts. The Society's doctrine expressed a traditional concern for the promotion of social order and harmony, and cannot be interpreted as an expression of a particular bourgeois culture, despite Fox's background. Despite his origins and status in fact, Fox had clearly risen up the social ladder in a society which had not hampered his mobility. He therefore had no reason to develop a social theory different from the patriarchalism of many aristocrats. The objectives of the Society according to Fox were:

> To prevent vice - to encourage industry and virtue - to dispel the darkness of ignorance - to diffuse the light of knowledge - to bring men cheerfully to submit to their stations - to obey the laws of God and their country - to make that useful part of the community, the country poor, happy, to lead them in the pleasant paths of religion here, and to endeavour to prepare them for a glorious eternity, are the objects proposed by the promoters of this Institution.[36]

The committee of the society in 1787 included Fox, William Wilberforce, William Morton Pitt, M.P., the cousin of the future Prime Minister, several other Members of Parliament including Henry Thornton as Treasurer and Samuel Thornton, bankers like Samuel Hoare and Sir James Sanderson, and the Earl of Salisbury as President.[37]

According to the President, the Society was to influence the establishment of Sunday schools in manufacturing towns and villages rather than in the metropolis.[38] As Tables 1 and 2 reveal, it did so by giving away books and assisting in paying the salaries of Sunday school teachers. Its income was

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36. ibid., 30.

37. Plan of a Society Established in London for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools ... 1787, 7-8.

38. ibid., 6.

Table 1. Activities of the Sunday School Society 1786-1811.[39]

| Year | Schools established or assisted | Scholars educated | Books given away | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Spelling Books | Testaments | Bibles |
| 1786 | 201 | 10,232 | 10,186 | 3,334 | 560 |
| 1787 | 387 | 24,700 | 29,698 | 8,512 | 1,661 |
| 1788 | 610 | 41,295 | 46,639 | 13,144 | 3,261 |
| 1796 | 1,086 | 69,222 | 102,510 | 26,321 | 5,749 |
| 1811 | 13,730 | 303,981 | 329,695 | 70,537 | 8,001 |

Table 2. Amount of money supplied by the Sunday School Society for teachers' salaries 1786-1811.[40]

| Year | Amount of money | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | s. | d. |
| 1786 | 82 | 7 | 6 |
| 1787 | 178 | 18 | 6 |
| 1788 | 276 | 11 | 6 |
| 1796 | 225 | 5 | 6 |
| 1810 | 3 | 18 | 0 |
| 1811 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

never particularly large, and the Society depended upon subscriptions for much of its finances (Tables 3 and 4). In fact the Society could never have paid the entire cost of operation for all the schools which were assisted. The major successes by the Society were in villages rather

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39. ibid., 41; Plan of a Society ... 1788, op. cit., 160; Plan of a Society ... 1789, op. cit., 61; Plan of a Society ... 1797, op. cit., 69; Plan of a Society ... 1812, op. cit., 44.

40. Plan of a Society ... 1787, op. cit., 43; Plan of a Society ... 1788, op. cit., 51; Plan of a Society ... 1789, op. cit., 49; Plan of a Society ... 1797, op. cit., 53; Plan of a Society ... 1812, op. cit., 37, 38.

Table 3. Income of the Sunday School Society 1786-1811.[41]

| Year | Total Income | | | Income from subscriptions | | | Income from subscription as a percentage of total income |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. | % |
| 1786 | 2,073 | 13 | 7½ | 1,489 | 9 | 6 | 71.83 |
| 1787 | 1,314 | 19 | 0 | 718 | 1 | 0 | 54.60 |
| 1788 | 1,481 | 12 | 0 | 705 | 1 | 3 | 47.59 |
| 1810 | 1,067 | 8 | 1¼ | 385 | 0 | 0 | 36.07 |
| 1811 | 810 | 0 | 10 | 381 | 4 | 6 | 47.06 |

Table 4. Income derived from collections raised at sermons preached for the benefit of the Sunday School Society 1787-1806.[42]

| Year | Total collection | | | Number of sermons | Average collection per sermon | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
| 1787 | 239 | 9 | 2 | 4 | 59 | 17 | 3½ |
| 1788 | 174 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 29 | 0 | 2 |
| 1789 | 57 | 19 | 2 | 2 | 28 | 19 | 7 |
| 1791 | 104 | 15 | 6 | 2 | 52 | 7 | 9 |
| 1793 | 50 | 13 | 6 | 1 | 50 | 13 | 6 |
| 1797 | 19 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 19 | 7 | 8 |
| 1798 | 40 | 16 | 2 | 1 | 40 | 16 | 2 |
| 1799 | 63 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 63 | 10 | 0 |
| 1800 | 101 | 18 | 6 | 2 | 50 | 19 | 3 |
| 1801 | 13 | 14 | 8 | 1 | 13 | 14 | 8 |
| 1802 | 149 | 0 | 8½ | 4 | 37 | 5 | 2⅛ |
| 1804 | 87 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 43 | 11 | 8 |
| 1805 | 40 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| 1806 | 145 | 6 | 9 | 3 | 48 | 8 | 11 |

41. Plan of a Society ... 1787, op. cit., 42; Plan of a Society ... 1788, op. cit., 51; Plan of a Society ... 1789, op. cit., 48; Plan of a Society ... 1812, op. cit., 37, 38.

42. Plan of a Society ... 1812, op. cit., 35-36.

than towns,[43] partly because urban centres possessed larger resources for philanthropic provision than country areas. Geographically, its significance appears to have been in three areas: those counties immediately to the north of London (Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire and Leicestershire), the South West (Gloucestershire, Dorset, Somerset and Devon), and Lancashire and Yorkshire (Maps 1, 2 and 3, and Tables 5, 6 and 7).

It is difficult to explain the reasons for these geographical strengths. Northamptonshire and Leicestershire established Sunday schools early on in the history of the movement.[44] In the West both Raikes and Fox had the homes and Raikes' own paper the Gloucester Journal served counties adjacent to Gloucestershire.[45] Hannah More's activity in Somerset may also have been an influence.[46] Lancashire and Yorkshire were heavily populated counties, so it is not surprising that a large number of Sunday schools were established there. In addition, they were ideal counties for fulfilling one of the aims of the Society, to assist schools in manufacturing areas.

During the early years of its existence, the Sunday School Society took little interest in the provision of schools in London. It was claimed in fact, that institutions already existed in the metropolis for the education of the poor.[47] However, in his Treatise upon the Police of

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43. See for example a list of schools supported in Plan of a Society ... 1812, op. cit., 42-43.

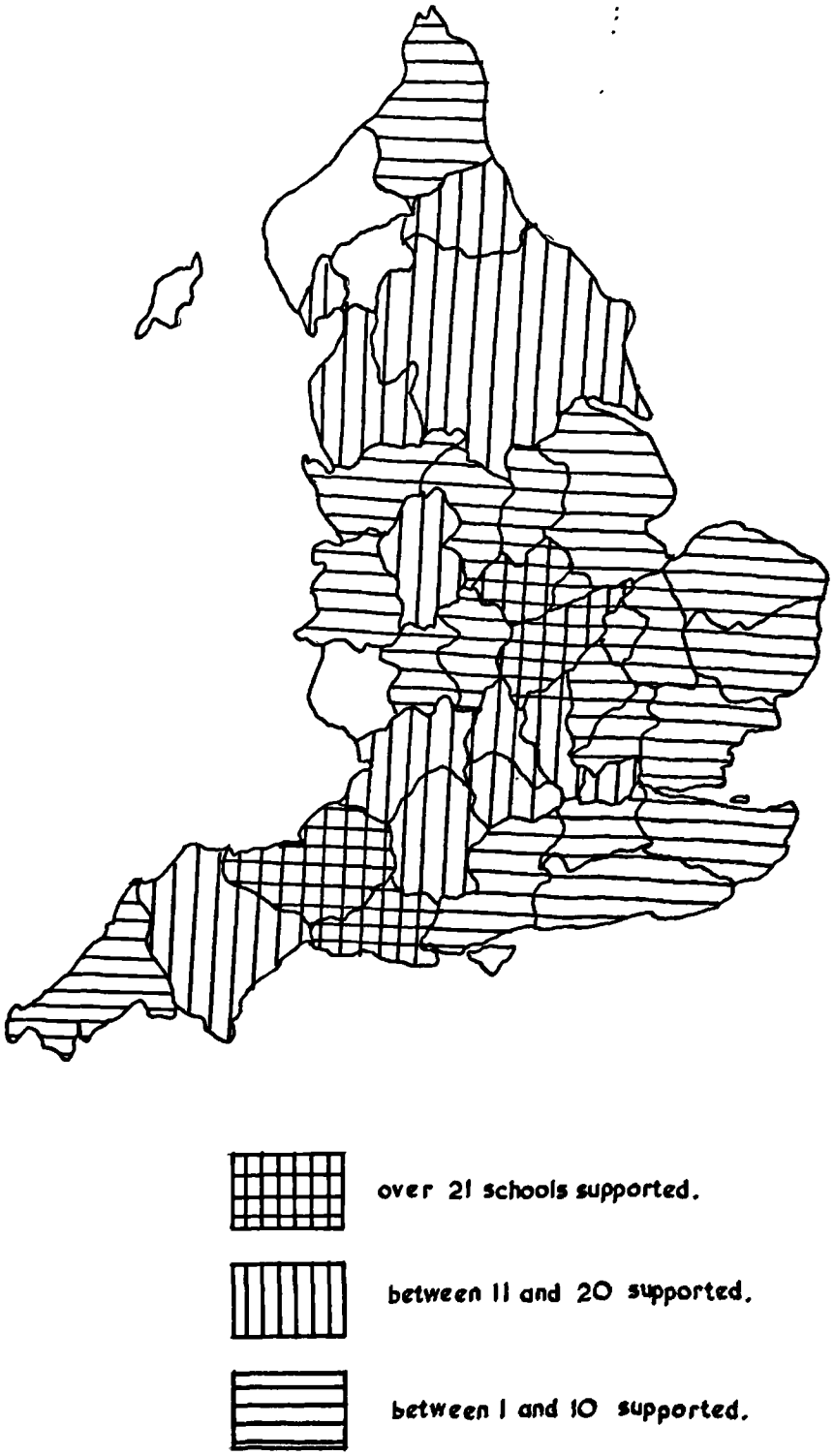
44. W. J. Bain, A Study of a Rock ... A paper on the early history of Sunday schools, especially in Northamptonshire (Northampton, 1825, 2nd edition), 9, 11, in Tracts relating to Northamptonshire. A copy is in Leicester University School of Education Library. Anon., The Centenary Book of the Great Meeting Sunday Schools (Leicester, 1883), 2. A copy is held by Leicestershire County Record Office.

45. Roland Austin, "Gloucester Journal, 1772-1922", Notes and Queries, ser. 12, X, 1922, 261-264, 283-285.

46. Belham, op. cit.

47. Plan of a Society ... 1787, op. cit., 6.

Map I. Number of Sunday Schools in English counties supported by the Sunday School Society 1785-1788.



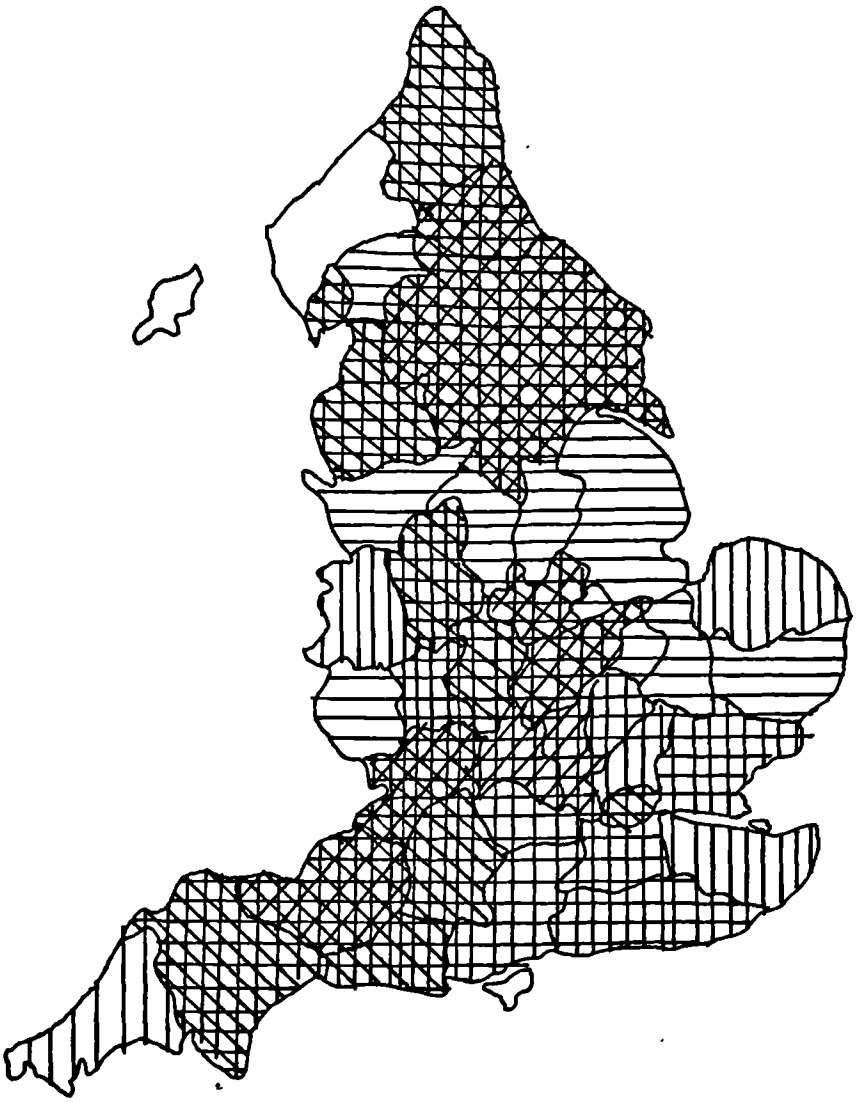

Source: Plan of a Society...(1788), op. cit., 53-59.

Table 5. Number of Sunday Schools in English counties supported by the Sunday School Society 1785-1788.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Northamptonshire | 39 | Bedfordshire | 7 |
| Dorset | 30 | Kent | 7 |
| Somerset | 23 | Hertfordshire | 6 |
| Leicestershire | 21 | Sussex | 6 |
| Gloucestershire | 20 | Essex | 5 |
| Buckinghamshire | 19 | Northumberland | 5 |
| Yorkshire | 19 | Shropshire | 5 |
| Middlesex | 18 | Surrey | 5 |
| Berkshire | 17 | Worcestershire | 5 |
| Devonshire | 16 | Cambridgeshire | 4 |
| Wiltshire | 14 | Cornwall | 4 |
| Durham | 13 | Lincolnshire | 3 |
| Lancashire | 13 | Cheshire | 2 |
| Oxfordshire | 12 | Derbyshire | 2 |
| Staffordshire | 11 | Huntingdonshire | 2 |
| Hampshire | 10 | Norfolk | 2 |
| Suffolk | 10 | Nottinghamshire | 2 |
| Warwickshire | 8 | Rutland | 1 |

For source see Map 1

Map 2. Number of Sunday Schools in English counties supported by the Sunday School Society 1785-1797.



over 41 supported.

between 31 and 40 supported.

between 21 and 30 supported.

between 11 and 20 supported.

between 1 and 10 supported.

Source: Plan of a Society...(1797), op.cit., 54-69.

Table 6. Number of Sunday Schools in English counties supported by the Sunday School Society 1785-1797.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Northamptonshire | 77 | Suffolk | 25 |
| Somerset | 70 | Sussex | 25 |
| Yorkshire | 69 | Bedfordshire | 25 |
| Durham | 64 | Hampshire | 22 |
| Oxfordshire | 55 | Worcestershire | 22 |
| Leicestershire | 54 | Kent | 18 |
| Gloucestershire | 42 | Cornwall | 15 |
| Buckinghamshire | 41 | Norfolk | 15 |
| Devonshire | 40 | Shropshire | 14 |
| Dorset | 40 | Hertfordshire | 12 |
| Lancashire | 37 | Derbyshire | 9 |
| Middlesex | 36 | Cambridgeshire | 8 |
| Northumberland | 34 | Lincolnshire | 8 |
| Warwickshire | 34 | Cheshire | 6 |
| Wiltshire | 33 | Nottinghamshire | 6 |
| Staffordshire | 31 | Huntingdonshire | 4 |
| Essex | 29 | Rutland | 4 |
| Surrey | 27 | Herefordshire | 1 |
| Berkshire | 26 | Westmoreland | 1 |

For source see Map 2

Map 3. Number of Sunday Schools in English counties supported by the Sunday School Society 1785-1812.

over 101 supported.

between 71 and 100 supported.

between 51 and 70 supported.

between 21 and 50 supported.

between 1 and 20 supported.

Source: Plan of a Society...(1812), op.cit., 39-40.

Table 7. Number of Sunday Schools in English counties supported by the Sunday School Society 1785-1812.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yorkshire | 180 | Cornwall | 61 |
| Somerset | 141 | Hertfordshire | 60 |
| Northamptonshire | 136 | Worcestershire | 59 |
| Kent | 132 | Sussex | 58 |
| Gloucestershire | 119 | Suffolk | 56 |
| Essex | 118 | Shropshire | 52 |
| Wiltshire | 113 | Derbyshire | 44 |
| Middlesex | 106 | Northumberland | 42 |
| Buckinghamshire | 99 | Cambridgeshire | 38 |
| Leicestershire | 96 | Norfolk | 32 |
| Lancashire | 94 | Nottinghamshire | 28 |
| Oxfordshire | 91 | Herefordshire | 21 |
| Warwickshire | 90 | Cheshire | 20 |
| Dorset | 83 | Lincolnshire | 17 |
| Staffordshire | 81 | Isle of Man | 17 |
| Devonshire | 77 | Huntingdonshire | 14 |
| Hampshire | 76 | Rutland | 10 |
| Surrey | 72 | Isle of Wight | 5 |
| Durham | 70 | Westmoreland | 4 |
| Berkshire | 64 | Cumberland | 2 |
| Bedfordshire | 61 | Isle of Sheppey | 1 |
| | | Isle of Thanet | 1 |

(On board the "Raisonable", Sheerness 1)

For source see Map 3

the Metropolis, published in 1796, Patrick Colquhoun pointed out that though London contained over four thousand "seminaries of education" this educational provision had failed to improve the morals of the poor.[48] It may well have been this perception which led the Society to increase its aid to those counties which contained parts of the metropolis inside their boundaries. In 1788, Kent was nineteenth on the list of the number of schools assisted by the Sunday School Society, but in 1812 it was fourth. Similarly, Surrey was twenty-third in 1788, and eighteenth in 1812. Essex rose from twenty-third in the table to sixth, while Middlesex retained its position as eighth (Tables 5 and 7).

The Sunday School Society disclaimed any attempt to control individual schools, although it supplied lists of rules outlining how a school should be founded and maintained.[49] Its reports reproduced large numbers of letters from local promoters, indicating how successful Sunday schools were proving to be,[50] and it is important to note that the Society possessed considerable significance in enabling local clergy, gentry or professional men to gain assistance in their attempts to create schools. It also provided a vehicle for the evangelical and patriarchal concerns of members of London's elite.

These concerns were reflected in the Society's publications. In a letter published on the Society's behalf in 1785, Henry Thornton wanted to enlist "ministers of religion" in a "holy warfare" which he identified in the following way:

> a reformation of manners amongst the lower orders of the people is the aim of this institution; by endeavouring to rescue them ... from the evil tendencies of idle and dissipated habits and examples ....[51]

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48. Patrick Colquhoun, A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis ... (1796 2nd edition), 406.

49. Plan of a Society ... 1787, op. cit., 14-15.

50. See footnote 1 above.

51. Ivimey, op. cit., 44.

Similar concerns were expressed in a pamphlet providing advice for teachers. Teachers were called upon.

> To check and reform vicious habits and all tendencies towards them, in the rising generation.
> To inculcate upon them a becoming regard for the word and worship of Almighty God.
> To require their keeping the Sabbath day.
> To warn them of the evil of sin in general, and of youthful sins in particular, such as pride, pilfering, idleness, swearing, lying, disobedience to parents etc.
> To set before them the excellency and importance of justice, diligence, humility and a conscientious regard to truth in all they say, and a respectful subjection to those whom the providence of God has set over them.
> Finally, to explain, in a manner suited to their understanding all the truths and duties recommended in the Holy Scriptures: and promote a believing and obedient regard to them for their happiness, both here and hereafter.[52]

The Sunday School Society saw its spiritual and secular objectives to be interlinked. By teaching religion Sunday schools would assist in maintaining social order and reducing crime. As Henry Thornton claimed:

> In this point of view, then, this institution may be considered a political as well as a religious one, claiming the attention even of those who, if not particularly zealous in the cause of Christianity, cannot be insensible to the advantages that would accrue to society from the preservation of good order, and the security of persons and property.[53]

II

The Sunday School Union, established in 1803[54] was probably a more significant organization than the Sunday School Society. As Laqueur indicates, a large number of schools were affiliated to the Union; by 1832 for instance, there were over 6,000.[55] Additionally, it published and distributed large numbers of textbooks.[56] In its public statements,

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52. ibid., 46-47.

53. ibid., 49.

54. William H. Watson, The History of the Sunday School Union (1853), 12. Other histories of the Union include, William H. Groser, A Hundred Years' Work for the Children ... (1903), and J. Kenneth Meir, Labour of Love ... (1971).

55. Laqueur, op. cit., Table 3, 38.

56. ibid., Appendix 1, Table 24, 256-257.

the Sunday School Union was not as explicit in its secular aims as the Sunday School Society. Nevertheless, the leaders of the Union saw their work as part of a conservative response to social disorder. The Union was formed by dissenters at one of London's centres of evangelicalism and Sunday School enterprise, Rowland Hill's Surrey Chapel.[57] Its objects were six:

(i) to stimulate and encourage each other in the education and religious instruction of the ignorant;
(ii) by mutual communication to improve the methods of tuition;
(iii) to extend old schools and ascertain those situations in London and its vicinity where Sunday schools are most wanted and to endeavour to establish them;
(iv) to print books etc., suited for Sunday schools at a cheap rate;
(v) to correspond with ministers and others in the United Kingdom and abroad relative to Sunday schools;
(vi) to promote the formation of County and Auxiliary Sunday School Unions.[58]

Unlike the Sunday School Society, the Union saw the metropolis as a vital centre for its activity. Although, like the Society, it eschewed control over local schools, the Union created subsidiary Unions auxiliary to itself, to carry out Sunday school promotion in the capital. They were the Auxiliary Sunday School Union in the East End, the West London Auxiliary Sunday School Union, the Central and North London Auxiliary Sunday School Union, and the Southwark Sunday School Union.[59] By 1816 in fact, the Sunday School Union was associated with the education of 35,000 out of London's 40,000 Sunday scholars.[60] This total however,

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57. Watson, op. cit., 12.

58. National Christian Education Council (N.C.E.C.), Sunday School Union, Minutes, volume 2, May 1814 - May 1817, 30 March 1815, 70-71.

59. Watson, op. cit., 28; N.C.E.C. Sunday School Union, Minutes, volume 1, July 1810 - April 1814, 23 February 1814, 128; Minutes, volume 2, 1814-1817, op. cit., 5 January 1815, 47.

60. Reports from the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis 1816 (427), 1st report with Minutes of evidence, 76.

was not a particularly high figure; London's population was roughly 1,139,000 in 1811 and 1,379,000 in 1821,[61] 40,000 scholars in 1816 represented only 3.5 per cent. of the population for 1811 and 2.9 per cent. for 1821.

Laqueur claims that the committee of the Sunday School Union was socially far removed from that of the Sunday School Society.[62] However, this is not borne out by the facts. The latter body as preceeding discussion indicates, was organized by members of the bourgeoisie, and several men sat on the committees of both enterprises. Two members of the Union's committee in 1810, W. B. Gurney and W. F. Lloyd were on the committee of the Society in 1812.[63] Gurney was a professional shorthand writer of importance, recording the proceedings of famous trials and later the debates of the House of Lords. Lloyd was the son of a cloth manufacturer and became a businessman in his own right.[64] Joseph Butterworth who became a member of the Union's committee in 1817, and later Treasurer and President, was also on the Society's committee in 1812. He was a wealthy evangelical bookseller and a future Member of Parliament for Dover and Coventry.[65] Two other individuals C. Taylor and a Mr. Furford sat on both committees.[66] William Marriot, the son of an evangelical philanthropist was also one of the Union's founders.[67]

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61. R. Price Williams, "On the Increase of Population in England and Wales", Journal of the Statistical Society, XLIII, September 1880. 486.

62. Laqueur, op. cit., 36.

63. Cf. N.C.E.C. Sunday School Union, Minutes, 1810-1814, op. cit., 18 July 1810, 2 and Plan of a Society ... 1812, op. cit., 13.

64. D.N.B., W. B. Gurney; Watson, op. cit., 17.

65. ibid., 33, 36, D.N.B., Joseph Butterworth.

66. See footnote 63 above.

67. Watson, op. cit., 11; Laqueur, op. cit., 37.

Henry Althans, the secretary of the East London Auxiliary Sunday School Union was a corn factor.[68] An indication of the wealth of individual committee members is illustrated by an event in 1805, when it was proposed to establish The Youth's Magazine in connection with the Union, as a journal for Sunday school use. The editors of the journal put up £4,000 of their own money to launch it, as the newly-formed Union had insufficient funds of its own to embark on such a potentially risky business.[69]

Although the major figures in the Sunday School Union appear to have been relatively prosperous, teachers in individual schools may well have been of a lower social status. However, the leaders appear to have preferred instructors from the "respectable" classes. The word was probably synonymous with middleclass. In 1816, W. F. Lloyd claimed that many of the teachers in the Union's metropolitan schools "are persons in respectable situations of life",[70] and in 1834 he asserted:

> We much prefer having respectable young people for teachers, and where a sufficient number of such people can be obtained, we never think of applying for monitors, thinking the others far preferable.[71]

The last point implied that probably many of the teachers were in a low social class, but there is no evidence to suggest that any of the schools of the Union in London were expressions of a "working-class culture" developed by "working-class" teachers. Sunday school teachers probably resembled Thomas Cranfield in their attitudes, if they came from the lower orders. Moreover, in 1834 there was no indication that any school in London which was connected with the Union was teaching writing on the Sabbath.[72] Therefore, it can not be said that the Union was responding to working-class demands for secular education on that day.

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68. Report from the Select Committee on Education in England and Wales, with Minutes of Evidence 1834 (572) ix, 107.

69. Watson, op. cit., 13.

70. Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis 1816 (427), op. cit., 77.

71. Select Committee on Popular Education in England and Wales 1834 (572) ix, op. cit., 94.

72. ibid., 109.

Doctrinally, the Union was evangelical in religion and patriarchal in politics. Jabez Bunting, the Wesleyan Methodist leader[73] read an important and well-publicized sermon before the teachers of the Union in London stressing the social significance of their task.

> You instruct them in the Being, and Perfectness of God; their own immortality and accountableness, as subjects of a moral government; their fall in Eden; their consequent guilt, depravity and danger; the redemption that is Christ ... their several duties to their Creator and Redeemer; and their various relative and social obligations to their fellow-creatures .... It is scarcely possible, that children educated for a sufficient period, in a well-conducted Sunday school, should not contract strong and forcible habits of order, regularity, and submission to superiors; of reverence for the Lord's Day; of respect for the public institutions of Religion, and attachment to the means of grace .... For what are NATIONS but associations of families, and of the individuals who compose them? Whatever therefore improves men's personal characters, and increases domestic order and virtue, is likely to yield the most substantial advantages to society at large.[74]

This mixture of the evangelical emphasis upon man's corrupt nature, the importance of social order and the significance of the family as a metaphor for society, was identical to the concerns expressed by many other Sunday school promoters.

This emphasis is paralleled by important members of the Union themselves. In 1816, W. F. Lloyd indicated his role as a benevolent distributor of advice.

> I very frequently visit the parents of the Sunday-school children at their own habitations; they are very grateful for the instruction their children receive, and for the visits of the teachers, from which they often likewise derive many benefits.[75]

In 1834, more explicitly, he explained how the work of Sunday school teachers in keeping watch over their children outside as well as inside school, had important social effects:

> it tends to cement different classes of society together; and I have known of cases where that appears really to have been the bond which has preserved society together, namely the connexion between the

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73. D.N.B., Jabez Bunting.

74. Jabez Bunting, A Great Work described and recommended in a sermon preached ... before the Members of the Sunday School Union (1805) 8, 9-10, 18-19.

75. Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis 1816 (427), op. cit., 78.

> teacher and the children and also the parents; it is a connexion of love, and reciprocal kindness and good offices; it tends to unite society, and to unite the higher and the lower classes of society together.[76]

He claimed that this was the "national tendency" and the "real effect" of Sunday schools.[77] In this activity then, the theory and practice of patriarchalism were united. Henry Althans, appearing before the same Select Committee on Education stressed the same objectives. The Sunday school teacher, he said, "should consider the class as his flock, and look after them during the week."[78] These statements from the 1830s could have come from the pens of Sarah Trimmer or Hannah More some forty or fifty years previously.

III

The next three sections of the chapter focus upon the efforts of Anglicans, Thomas Cranfield and his associates, and the Methodist Sunday School Society in London.

The Anglican Church had little success in promoting Sunday schools in the capital. Probably the extensive network of charity schools which existed in the metropolis, were seen as adequate substitutes for any other kind of educational enterprise in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, before the advent of the monitorial school. It was clear however that charity schools were grossly inadequate in the context of London's growing population, which expanded at the rate of 20 per cent. each decade in the early nineteenth century.[79]

Anglican Sunday school activity was limited. In Spitalfields and Bethnal Green, two of the poorest parishes in the capital, with a total

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76. Select Committee on Popular Education in England and Wales 1834 (572) ix, op. cit., 100.

77. idem.

78. ibid., 110.

79. Price Williams, op. cit., 486.

population of 59,000 in 1811, there was only one Church of England Sunday school. It possessed 170 scholars, whereas there were seventeen institutions associated with Methodists and non-conformists, catering for 3,766 children.[80] The National Society moreover, founded in 1811, was largely indifferent to Sunday schools. Questioned before the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis in 1816, the Society's secretary, the Rev. T. T. Walmsly, was asked if he had any experience of Sunday schools. "No", he replied, "I have not; I think most of the London schools are day-schools".[81] In fact only two Sunday schools, out of a total of at least twenty-seven schools, appear to have been associated with the National Society in London by this date. These were St. Dunstan's West Sunday School and Bishopsgate Daily and Sunday Schools with a total of 380 children.[82] As if to add further evidence that the Anglicans lacked success in promoting metropolitan Sunday schools, in 1834 the Bishop of London claimed that it was difficult to carry on the Sunday school system in London.[83] Henry Althans, the Secretary of the East London Auxiliary Sunday School Union, and an inspector for the British and Foreign Schools Society, undoubtedly possessed a degree of bias against the National Society, but his observation in 1834 supports the case portrayed in earlier contentions. He argued that there were very few Sunday schools in London which were connected with the Church of England. Most had been swallowed up by the national schools. Those national schools which he had visited did not provide a Sunday school education even when they claimed to do so. The teachers, clergymen or managers connected with

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80. Phillip McCann, "Popular education socialization and social control: Spitalfields 1812-1824", in McCann, op. cit., 2, 10.

81. Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis 1816 (427), 1st report, op. cit., 32.

82. ibid., 29.

83. Select Committee on Education in England and Wales 1834 (572) ix, op. cit., 195.

these institutions, at best heard the children say their catechism, or simply assembled them prior to their being taken to church.[84]

Nevertheless some Anglican Sunday schools were active. One was at St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, where the Rev. Daniel Wilson was the clergyman.[85] It contained eightyfour boys and the same number of girls, and possessed a teacher-pupil ratio of about 1 : 7.[86] Most of the teachers were from the professional and commercial middle classes. According to Wilson,

> They are persons who regularly occupy seats in the chapel, and live in the neighbourhood; the wives and sons and daughters of persons engaged in trade, or in the profession of the law, most of them very respectable people.[87]

The school concentrated upon religious instruction and neglected teaching in reading, because it was claimed the children who entered the school, already possessed this skill.[88] This was a possible indication that the class intake of the school was higher than that in many other establishments.

Religious instruction in the school was associated with secular objectives. Questioned before the Select Committee on the Education of the Poor of the Metropolis in 1816, whether combining religion with reading ever made the poor discontented, Wilson claimed:

> Unquestionably not. The direct tendency of the two, when united, is to produce those principles that lead to submission, contentment, humility, and in fact to all those dispositions and duties to which they are chiefly about to be called in the stations where Providence has placed them. We let nothing form any part of the knowledge we communicate, which tends to foster pride or self-elevation. We confine ourselves to those essential principles of Christianity and those duties resulting from them, which may best fit them for the stations in society, and may most directly lead to practical results. The very first thing we teach the female children especially is to correct the love of dress, and to lead them to aim at that respect

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84. ibid., 111.

85. McCann, op. cit., 1; Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis 1816 (495), 3rd Report ..., 277.

86. Ratio calculated from numbers of children and teachers given in ibid., 278.

87. ibid., 279.

88. ibid., 278.

> every person acquires who behaves well in their station; and to avoid on the one hand the contempt to which they will expose themselves, by aspiring to that which they will never attain, and which only draws upon the displeasure of others and the anger of God.[89]

Not only was the school attempting to preserve the poor in their social station, it aimed to promote a patriarchal system by emphasizing the benevolence of the higher classes towards the parents of the poor children inside the institution.

> The twofold object of the visitors is, to relieve their necessities, when they find them to be of good character, and to give them such advice as will benefit their children and families. Sometimes we have had the opportunity of benefitting a whole family of children, by directing their attention to schools, and pointing out the facilities for obtaining admission.[90]

Such visiting Wilson claimed, was beneficial to society,

> because it unites the different orders of society together; it leads the poor to consider the commendation and support of their superiors as dependent upon their good conduct; it enables their superiors both to know their actual character and wants, and to administer that particular kind of relief which their circumstances render most desirable.[91]

This emphasis was similar to the concerns of the Sunday School Union. Like many other educational enterprises,this establishment was overtly conservative in its social aspirations, attempting to induce social cohesion and harmony by recreating social contact.

## IV

Outside of the Church of England, evangelical dissenters were active in Sunday school promotion. The efforts of Thomas Cranfield and the Southwark Sunday School Society were especially significant. An examination of the career of Thomas Cranfield helps to explain the extent to which one working man, a tailor, was responsible for creating institutions which can be identified as expressions of working-class culture. It is argued here that Cranfield's activities in London were defined in opposition to the

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89. ibid., 282.

90. idem.

91. idem.

way of life of the urban poor, and served to transmit, probably unsuccessfully, the evangelical and conservative culture generated initially in other social classes. Cranfield was a prolific promoter of Sunday schools in the 1790s and early decades of the nineteenth century, but his activities, and those of the Southwark Sunday School Society which he helped to create, were not expressed as a result of contact with a religious and respectable working-class culture, which may or may not have existed in the communities where he operated. Instead, they were the result of his conversion during the evangelical revival in the metropolis. His commitment to spirituality, his attack upon manifestations of depravity in the capital, and his opposition to working-class radicalism reveal him as a person who rejected his own past and the political aspirations of many of those whose social and economic background resembled his own.

This section of the chapter studies Cranfield's personal history, his role as a Sunday school promoter, and the activity of the Southwark Sunday School Society, which was formed to co-ordinate educational work in South London.

Cranfield's personality was transformed by religion. He was born a member of the labouring poor, the son of a journeyman baker who was "totally unlettered and ignorant of the great truths of Christianity".[92] Sent to school, he was continually absent and indisciplined; he also acted as a gang leader.[93] He described his youth in the following way:

> I was so brutish as to hate instruction, and shun all opportunities of receiving it. I can date very early acts of lying, filthy talking, and foolish jesting. I used to curse and swear, break the Sabbath, steal money out of my mother's pocket before she was up ....[94]

On one occasion he even set fire to his father's house.[95] Cranfield was scarcely able to read when he left school, and was apprenticed to a tailor,

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92. Richard Cranfield, Memoir of Thomas Cranfield by his son (1840), 1.

93. ibid., 3.

94. idem.

95. ibid., 4.

but he absconded from his master, and like many a dissolute youth, eventually joined the army.[96] It was then that remorse began to overtake him. He became converted by the Rev. William Romaine in the 1780s, an early follower of Wesley and Whitfield, and one of the few evangelical preachers in the metropolis.[97] Through contact with Romaine's religious teaching, Cranfield became convinced of the "awful state of his alienation from God, and the necessity of regeneration".[98] He took up his trade of tailoring, and afterwards "always carried a respectable outward appearance.[99] Cranfield held prayer meetings in his house and began to preach in the open air.[100] His business increased in prosperity, and in 1791 he opened two Sunday schools north of the Thames.[101] He began to slip from grace, however. In the early 1790s Cranfield joined the London Corresponding Society, producing a pamphlet and giving lectures on its behalf.[102] It is possible therefore, to describe him for a brief period as a radical, but this flirtation did not last. He quickly recognised his own sinfulness and vowed amendment, resolving to reject all earthly values, and to concentrate upon his own spiritual well-being, the welfare of his family and hard work.[103] The preacher of Cranfield's funeral sermon explained the tailor's reaction to this brief connection with radicalism.

> Those who have heard him speak in public, will remember with what humiliation he always spoke of this period of his life, and with what energy he warned all Christian, and especially young men, not to adopt a similar course.[104]

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96. ibid., 5-8.

97. ibid., 37; D.N.B., William Romaine.

98 Cranfield, op. cit., 37

99. ibid., 54.

100. ibid., 40, 45-46.

101. ibid., 72, 74.

102. ibid., 77.

103. ibid., 78-80.

104. Rev. James Sherman, The Privilege of sanctified poverty; a sermon occasioned by the death of Thomas Cranfield (1839), 24, bound with Rowland Hill, First and last sermons ... (1833), in the Southwark Room Newington District Library, Walworth Road, London S.E.17 1RS.

He began to campaign against the intellectual sources of political radicalism, the infidel publications of Paine and Voltaire, by producing and distributing tracts with religious messages designed to destroy the influence of these harbingers of revolution.[105] In addition, Cranfield proceeded to establish Sunday schools in South London.[106]

In his Sunday school promotion, Cranfield tried to spiritualize and civilize the poor. In spite of - or perhaps because of - his own earlier profligacy, he was disgusted by the way of life of those to whom he ministered. In other words, he perceived the poor as essentially corrupt. At Rotherhithe where he created a school he "was struck with the awful scenes of depravity which everywhere presented themselves".[107] In fact, Cranfield became a social explorer as well as a missionary, investigating the dens of the metropolis as a prelude to the implantation of a Sunday school. In Kent Street, Southwark, according to his son:

> He ... took an early opportunity of reconnoitering this strong hold of the enemy, and found it inhabited by the lowest of the low, and the vilest of the vile. Gipsies, harlots, thieves and suchlike characters were to be met with in almost every house .... men, women, children, asses, pigs and dogs, were often found living together in the same room; while swearing, blaspheming, and the most obscene conversation, saluted the ear at almost every door. To use his own words, "It was the very place of dragons." The children appeared in a most deplorable condition, few of them being more than half clad; their matted hair and dirty appearance inducing the supposition that they had scarcely been washed or combed from their birth.[108]

As the preceeding quotation indicates, Cranfield was not insensitive to the material deprivation of children inhabiting Southwark, but he saw their deprivation in essentially moral terms. Few would certainly have dissented from this perception, even the political radicals who were also the objects of Cranfield's criticism. A large part of Southwark hardly provided any kind of satisfactory environment for the upbringing of children. It was one of the areas of London where new arrivals settled,[109] probably

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105. Cranfield, op. cit., 89.

106. ibid., 88, 90, 93, 109, 111, 116, 131, 132.

107. ibid., 88.

108. ibid., 93.

109. George, op. cit., 69.

attracted by the possibility of work in the docks or in the breweries and tanneries which provided industry in the area. Overcrowding therefore, was especially a problem. During the eighteenth century areas such as the Mint, one of London's conspicuous urban slums, had been the resort of coiners, thieves and the like, which the fashionable and the forces of the law avoided. Seasonal unemployment, and the presence of open sewers contributed to the material squalor of this part of Southwark. It probably deserved its epithet as one of the capital's most notorious rookeries.[110] Nevertheless the focus of Cranfield's attempt to overcome the problems of Southwark was not social and economic change but spiritual commitment.[111]

However, not only did Cranfield recognize the importance of religion in the work of transforming the labouring poor, he also hoped to improve their economic capacity to survive. In this way he attempted to improve the self-respect of the poor. Through his own initiative, welfare schemes were provided in connection with the schools. He established friendly societies to afford relief to working men and women when they were sick. Food and clothing were also provided in times of distress.[112] Each Sunday his wife gave a meal to some of the scholars educated by her husband, and she also helped girls who had been taught in the schools to obtain work as domestic servants.[113] Cranfield's social activity differed in no way from that of"middle-class evangelicals" such as Sarah Trimmer.

Despite his efforts, it appears that the schools Cranfield created failed to reconstruct the religious, moral and social life of the poor they were intended to assist. When Cranfield and his colleagues began their activity for instance, the local inhabitants regarded the enterprise with contempt.

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110. Ida Darlington, St. Georges Fields ... The Survey of London XXV, (1955), 24; George, op. cit., 85, 115; Rude, op. cit., 7, 86; Francis Sheppard, London 1808-1870: The Infernal Wen (1971), 6.

111. Cranfield, op. cit., 258-259.

112. ibid., 125, 95.

113. ibid., 127.

> Every species of insult was heaped upon them: they were pelted with filth of all description, and dirty water was frequently thrown out of the windows upon their heads.[114]

Furthermore, according to his son Cranfield had his faults as a teacher and administrator. Although he was concerned to ensure punctuality and regular attendance by the teachers, there was a "lack of order in his arrangements and frequent changes of plans."[115] Possibly, it was because of his relative failure to implant the schools successfully into local communities, that he asked Rowland Hill in 1799, to link his schools with Surrey Chapel.[116] Teachers and financial resources were likely to be available in greater abundance in this important evangelical institution.

Even the resources of the Southwark Sunday School Society which was formed in conjunction with Surrey Chapel,[117] proved insufficient in establishing a new culture in South London. This was despite the fact that the evangelical message of the schools' promoters and teachers were vigorously stressed, and allied to a concerted attempt to use religious instruction for conservative purposes.

The doctrines of the Society are best discerned from addresses and the annual reports which give an account of speeches made at annual meetings of managers and teachers. One speaker at the Eighteenth Meeting in 1817, provided an interpretation of human nature which closely resembled Wilberforce's evangelical image of humanity:

> ... there is in human nature, a propensity to follow evil, and a disinclination to attempt to resemble those whose principles and conduct it is our duty, and should be our pleasure to make our own ....
>
> The mind is not unproductive, but it naturally germinates noxious weeds - it produces fruit, but it is wild fruit: and a state of ignorance is of all other, the most congenial soil for ripening the germs of human depravity.[118]

Although the schools of the Society were concerned with the spiritual transformation of the urban poor, they also possessed social objectives.

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114. ibid., 94.

115. ibid., 257.

116. ibid., 112; D.N.B., Rowland Hill.

117. ibid., 112.

118. Southwark Room (Sw.R.), page 268 SOU, Southwark Sunday School Society Annual Report 1817, 15, 18.

In 1819 a speaker at an annual meeting spoke of the role of the Sunday school in civilizing the labouring classes.

> The diffusion of knowledge, and especially of religious knowledge, has raised the character of many of the poor into respectability, without infringing on the orders of society. In proportion as knowledge spreads in a neighbourhood, decency, cleanliness, good order, and respectability are exemplified.[119]

One important aspect of religious knowledge was that it instructed the poor in obedience. A speaker in 1817 argued that children should be taught to read and reverence the Bible because,

> It teaches men to be subject to the higher power while it teaches them how to live, and how to die. When we see men of malignant disposition, and of great talent, endeavouring to overthrow the state, we are bound, and as patriots ought to be forward, to spread that book, which teaches them to revere kings.
>
> These are the sacred principles of that book, which it is the object of this Society to teach in the Sunday schools, and when the spirit of religion shall become well known, we shall not then live in fear of Murder, Treason, Robbery, or such things.[120]

This social teaching was based upon an image of social order which portrayed the class system as a natural expression of Divine Will. This message closely resembled that of Anglican writers like Sarah Trimmer. According to the Treasurer of the Southwark Sunday School Society, John Lloyd:

> In the creation and the government of the world, it has pleased God to divide all things two by two, - the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the learned and unlearned, the bond and the free.[121]

It was not surprising therefore that teachers and managers reserved their strongest criticism for radicalism, whether it was manifested in infidelity, political unrest or economic agitation. Southwark in fact, had long been a centre of radicalism. At the time of Wilkes for instance, it was the scene of extensive political riots.[122] A meeting in 1819 drew

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119. ibid., Annual Report 1819, 7.

120. ibid., Annual Report 1817, 11.

121. ibid., Annual Report 1817, 13.

122. Rude, op. cit.

attention to attacks on the Bible,[123] and in 1832 an address of the Society, in a possible reference to reform agitation, attacked infidelity, and political disturbances. 1832 was a year,

> which has been signalised by an awful increase of public and private calamity, - the vials of divine wrath seem ready to be poured forth in our midst, - the fear of God appears to be departing from us, and irreligion, impiety, and every evil work to assume its place.
>
> The duty is to "train up" the young and rising generation "in the way in which they should go." ... These children, be it remembered, are destined, in the course of Providence, to be the Fathers and Mothers of a forthcoming generation, the renovators or destroyers of all that is excellent in our commonwealth, or spiritual in our religious services. In our Sunday schools the fear of God is inculcated as not only the first principle of all true religion but the very foundation upon which rests the well-being and well-doing of mankind; let this principle be neglected - not to say, destroyed - and what is the result? - infidelity as concerning the Faith - anarchy and confusion as connected with politics - bankruptcy and ruin as connected with trade.[124]

However such enthusiasm does not appear to have been particularly effective, at least during the 1820s when the number of children who attended the schools of the Society declined from around three thousand to just over two thousand (Table 8). This state of affairs was partially due to a shortage of teachers,[125] but this reflected the Society's inability to recruit a sufficient number of people from outside the schools or from among former scholars to perform the tasks which it set itself. Furthermore in 1824, Thomas Cranfield conducted a detailed social survey of the Mint District of Southwark, where a school of his had been established a quarter of a century earlier. He found that only 7.22 per cent. of children between the ages of five and sixteen attended a Sunday school of any description. Cranfield's comments on each street or group of streets, moreover, illustrated the extent to which he was shocked

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123. Sw.R., Southwark Sunday School Society, op. cit., Annual Report 1819, 12.

124. ibid., Address, 1832.

125. ibid., Addresses, 1827, 1829, 1830.

Table 8. Number of children at the schools of the Southwark Sunday School Society 1817-34.[126]

| School | When opened | 1817 | 1819 | 1821 | 1822 | 1826 | 1827 | 1829 | 1830 | 1831 | 1832 | 1833 | 1834 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Surrey Chapel | 1799 | 400 | 352 | 404 | 318 | 320 | 284 | 315 | 355 | 345 | 345 | 315 | 380 |
| Kent Street | 1799 | 500 | 475 | 503 | 344 | 367 | 407 | 410 | 430 | 455 | 500 | 470 | 465 |
| Mint | 1799 | 400 | 246 | 288 | 232 | 162 | 154 | 225 | 215 | 260 | 205 | 180 | 260 |
| Borough | 1799 | 350 | 250 | 205 | 163 | 188 | 215 | 205 | 190 | 180 | 190 | 200 | 200 |
| Prospect Place | 1808 | 330 | 270 | 287 | 231 | 172 | 147 | 140 | 130 | 115 | 110 | 100 | 110 |
| Castle Yard | 1802 | 450 | 425 | 460 | 385 | 169 | 171 | 155 | 155 | 175 | 185 | 185 | 160 |
| Dock Head | 1809 | 250 | 297 | 266 | 219 | 153 | 144 | 190 | 175 | 300 | 440 | 420 | 410 |
| Friar Street | 1815 | 200 | 260 | 293 | 224 | 210 | 173 | 150 | 120 | 130 | 125 | 130 | 120 |
| Duke Street | 1816 | 120 | 180 | 217 | 177 | 97 | 114 | 85 | 80 | 65 | 70 | 70 | 55 |
| Sweeps | 1816 | 25 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pedlars Acre | 1816 | 80 | 118 | 96 | 86 | | | | | | | | |
| County Terrace | 1816 | 100 | 86 | 92 | 71 | 75 | 88 | 65 | 65 | 55 | 60 | 70 | 125 |
| Fragment 1 | | | 140 | 172 | 147 | | | | | | | | |
| Fragment 2 | | | 160 | 205 | 168 | | | | | | | | |
| Bond Street | | | | | | 110 | 83 | 90 | 70 | 85 | 110 | 115 | 125 |
| Marsh Gate | | | | | | | 138 | 130 | 105 | 110 | 90 | 105 | 80 |
| New Cut | | | | | | | | | 70 | 70 | 90 | 100 | 110 |
| TOTAL | | 3,205 | 3,259 | 3,488 | 2,765 | 2,023 | 2,118 | 2,160 | 2,160 | 2,345 | 2,520 | 2,460 | 2,600 |

126. ibid., Annual Reports, 1817; 1819, 6; 1821, 4; 1826, 8; Addresses, 1822; 1827; 1829; 1830; 1831; 1832; 1833; 1834.

by the immoral state of the people he had investigated (Appendix 2). An address in 1829 repeated this emphasis.

> Crowds of children assemble in different parts of Southwark, every Sabbath Day, for the worst of purposes, and even in this immediate vicinity, there are still many very destitute children of both sexes, chiefly Irish, who much need and would thankfully receive instruction.[127]

The Society had failed to grapple successfully with the "problem" of the urban poor.

V

The activity of the Methodist Sunday School Society resembled that of the Southwark Sunday School Society. It was formed in 1798 to promote the establishment of institutions in the poorer districts of the capital,[128] and between 1798 and 1806 ten schools were created (Table 9). The nucleus of the Society was

Table 9. Schools created by the Methodist Sunday School Society in London 1798-1806.[129]

| | Date of Foundation |
|---|---|
| Schools | 1798 |
| Golden Lane | 1798 |
| Hoxton Town (Friar's Mount) | 1798 |
| Litchfield Street, Seven Dials | 1799 (Given up before 1806) |
| Bedfordbury (Drury Lane) | 1799 |
| Raven Row, Spitalfields | 1803 |
| High Street, Lambeth | 1804 |
| Snows Fields, Southwark | 1805 |
| Slaters Court, Rosemary Lane | 1805 |
| Saffron Hill | 1805 |
| Poplar | 1805 |

Number of scholars 1806 = 3,504

the first school to be established, at Golden Lane, in the parish of

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127. ibid., Address 1829.

128. S. Grosvenor, History of the City Road Chapel Sunday, day and infant schools, from the establishment in Golden Lane in 1798 ... (1856), 4-5. For a brief description of the Society see Methodist Magazine, XXV, August 1802, 389-390.

129. Grosvenor, op. cit., 7.

St. Lukes, just to the north of London's commercial centre in the City. This Sunday school was in the middle of one of London's allegedly most depraved areas. One of the first teachers claimed:

> were a circle to be drawn around it, with a radius of half a mile, it would embrace such a series of courts, alleys, and inferior places of human abode, as can scarcely be equalled in any other part of the metropolis. The superfices of this large area is in fact chiefly occupied by small dwellings, pent up in narrow outlets, and which like an almost interminable net-work, cross and intersect every part; and it may be affirmed, that whether the number or the quality of the population be considered, no part, either of the city or suburbs, presented a finer field for moral training and Gospel effort.[130]

The people who created this school were chiefly "gentlemen" who attended the Methodist City-road Chapel,[131] and the early teachers in the Methodist Sunday School Society were also from the upper or middle social classes. They were the "younger branches of numerous respectable families."[132] The Society possessed a President, Treasurer, Secretary and sixty guardians from whom a smaller committee was chosen.[133] The first committee included William Marriot a founder of the Sunday School Union, and in 1808 Joseph Butterworth, also a major figure in the Union, became Treasurer of one of the Society's branches.[134] For a few years, the Society was assisted at least tacitly, by the Church of England, which reflected the ambiguous position occupied by Methodism between Church and dissent. In 1802, 1803 and 1804 sermons were preached on behalf of the Society at St. Mary-le-Strand.[135] However the Methodist Sunday School Society apparently had difficulty in raising the requisite cash for its enterprises. In 1809 it appealed to the British and Foreign Bible Society for allowances to buy Bibles and Testaments.[136] In addition in 1810 it was

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130. ibid., 6.

131. idem.

132. ibid., 9.

133. ibid., 7.

134. ibid., 8. In 1808 Methodists in London were divided into two circuits. The schools at Drury Lane and Lambeth were separated from the others and placed in the West Circuit. Butterworth was Treasurer of the western schools, ibid., 20.

135. ibid., 14-15.

136. Greater London Record Office (G.L.R.O.), Methodist London East Circuit N/M/14/1, Minutes of the Committee of the Methodist Sunday School Society 1809-1829, 3 July 1809.

proposed at a committee meeting that members should "be at liberty to write to any rich individuals, they may have influence with, to obtain subscriptions for this Institution."[137]

The schools associated with the Society emphasized the emotional content of evangelical religion and were overtly conservative in their social aims. Prayer meetings were held to induce a conversion experience in the minds of scholars.[138] Moreover, the historian of one of the schools claimed that Sunday schools "stand confessed before the world as amongst the most powerful agents in the cause of religion and social order."[139] Butterworth announced before the Select Committee on the Education of Children in the Metropolis in 1816:

> The political benefit of Sunday schools to society is incalculable; for not only the principles of loyalty and obedience to the laws are instilled into the minds of the children, but they are fitted to serve the state in various ways, by being taught to serve themselves in an industrious and honest course of life. The attachment of children to Sunday schools, and their improvement in them, is very considerable.[140]

Evidently, one of the means of obtaining this improvement, was by protecting children from potentially corrupting influences. At Golden Lane they were cautioned "against the vices of Bartholomew Fair, so called".[141]

In 1828 the Methodist Sunday School Society was dissolved, because it was claimed, the schools would be better served by being connected with their respective chapels.[142] However, this may have been a recognition of the Society's decline. In 1823 only five schools were associated with it, and the number of scholars had also declined. (Table 10)

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137. ibid., 2 July 1810; see also 5th November 1810.

138. Grosvenor, op. cit., 10.

139. ibid., 3.

140. Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis ... op. cit., 1816 (495) 3rd report in the minutes of evidence, 295.

141. G.L.R.O., N/M/17/4, Golden Lane Sunday School, Account of Proceedings 1814-1818, 4 September 1814, 3 September 1815.

142. Grosvenor, op. cit., 51.

Table 10. Number of children in the schools of the Methodist Sunday School Society 1810-1823.[143]

| Year | Number of schools | Number of children |
|---|---|---|
| 1810 | 7 | 2,825 |
| 1811 | 7 | 2,894 |
| 1812 | 7 | 2,873 |
| 1813 | 8 | 3,020 |
| 1814 | 8 | 3,283 |
| 1815 | 8 | 3,253 |
| 1816 | 8 | 3,234 |
| 1817 | 7 | 3,276 |
| 1818 | 9 | 3,347 |
| 1819 | 8 | 3,079 |
| 1820 | 5 | 1,821 |
| 1821 | 5 | 1,940 |
| 1822 | 5 | 1,917 |
| 1823 | 5 | 1,984 |

## VI

Sunday school enterprise in the metropolis was conservative in theory and practice. The two major philanthropic organizations, the Sunday School Society and the Sunday School Union were promoted and established by social traditionalists who dominated the political and economic life of the capital. They tried to cement rich and poor together, in a society dedicated to the pursuit of social harmony. Organizations which were more limited in their geographical impact, and particular schools and individuals, possessed similar aims to these larger bodies. Anglican enterprises, not surprisingly, were interested in maintaining the social hierarchy with which the Church of England was closely linked. Thomas Cranfield, the

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143. G.L.R.O., Methodist London East Circuit, N/M/14/2, Minutes of the General Meetings of the Methodist Sunday School Society 1810-1824, 31 December 1810, and for the same day and month 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1820, 1821, 1822. The figures for 1819 and 1823 are for 30 June and 29 June respectively.

"working class" evangelical promoter, also revealed his political and social assumptions through his opposition to radicalism, when he tried to raise the religious and moral standards of the poor. One organization with which he was closely associated, the Southwark Sunday School Society, was explicitly dedicated to maintaining distinctions between rich and poor. In addition, representatives of the Methodist Sunday School Society perceived their role as intervening to destroy corrupt working class behaviour; their institutions were designed to spiritualize the poor and to promote loyalty and obedience to the state. In London, then, Sunday schools were largely created by the upper and middle classes, not only to promote religious commitment and observance, but also to propogate their vision of social order. Alternatively, some schools were established by people beneath them in the class system, who nevertheless possessed identical social perceptions. This interpretation of the metropolitan Sunday school, which this chapter has tried to support, indicates that it is inappropriate to argue that Sunday schools in London between c.1780 and 1833, were expressions of a working class culture, Instead they tried to impose a new culture upon the poor from above.

# Chapter 4

## The Stockport Sunday School: doctrines and perceptions

This chapter examines the perceptions and doctrines of the promoters of a Sunday school in one urban area, Stockport. The Stockport Sunday School developed as a major cultural institution in this expanding cotton-manufacturing town, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; by the mid-nineteenth century in fact, it had become the largest Sunday School in the world.[1] It is argued here that the perceptions and doctrines of the School's promoters expressed two fundamental aims: firstly, a desire to rescue urban children from the dangerous influences of their social and working environment, and the threats posed by political, economic and religious infidelity, and secondly, a determination to reconstruct the moral and social life of the rising generation through religious education and by promoting an understanding of the need for deference, hard work and family life. The School's social function, therefore, was both protective and reformist, and resembled the social engineering advocated by evangelical and patriarchally-minded Sunday school promoters elsewhere. This argument will be developed by focussing upon the following aspects of the School's existence: firstly, the socio-economic context of its operation, secondly the social location of its promoters and managers, thirdly the perceptions and reactions of these people towards various problems of the town - the poor, the family, the effects of the factory system and working class radicalism, and finally their images and attitudes towards the children and adolescents who were the objects of the School's instruction.

Before these aspects are examined however, it is necessary to consider the ways in which the Stockport Sunday School has been interpreted by Laqueur. He has noted that there is some evidence which provides a

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1. Laqueur, op. cit., 64.

basis for characterizing the School as an expression of capitalist social control, but he has asserted that the history of the School as a whole does not exhibit "this facet of social manipulation".[2] In order to support his case, he has focussed on the small number of expulsions from the School in 1797, 1818 and 1819, which he claimed took place in periods when Sunday schools were under considerable attack for assisting the spread of radicalism.[3] Supposedly, the managers of the School responded to this pressure by expelling pupils or teachers who were affected by this apparently subversive doctrine. Laqueur has summed up his argument about the Stockport Sunday School in the following way:

> by and large politics were not central to the life of the School. Except during the years 1818-20 the managers were content to leave the worldly convictions of students and teachers outside their sphere of interest. In a town which was at the center of radical politics for most of the first half of the century the working classes seemed oblivious to the politics of those who financed the schools. So far as the middle-class board of managers was concerned, they were content to let sleeping dogs lie and to get on with the recreational, religious and educational work of the Sunday School.[4]

This chapter, as has been indicated, argues otherwise. It is certainly true, as Laqueur has suggested, that the Stockport Sunday School cannot be viewed purely as an agency of social control. Its wide curriculum which contained writing and arithmetic as well as reading, and its evangelical religion cannot be seen purely as expressions of bourgeois hegemony. However, the "middle-class board of managers" was obsessed with social and political problems. Laqueur has missed this fact, because he fails to examine the mental world of the School's promoters in depth. It is necessary, of course, to note that this is not the only aspect of the School's existence which requires examination, for an analysis of the content of its curriculum, and teacher-pupil relationships may not reveal any ideological dependence upon the messages expressed by the

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2. ibid., 196-197.

3. ibid., 193, 197-199, 200.

4. ibid., 200.

managers. However, the mental world of the promoters is an aspect which needs study before any judgement can be made about what managers did or did not do. The rest of this chapter examines the various themes which are indicated in the first paragraph.

Initially an attempt is made to focus upon the socio-economic context of the School's existence. Such an analysis is necessary to understand the focal points of the doctrines and perceptions of the promoters. It is always difficult to relate ideas and images to material conditions, but as the chapter indicates, the promoters were concerned with the kind of town Stockport was, and what it could be, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This section briefly examines the industrial development of the town, the differential experience of rich and poor, and the expression of working-class radicalism, as major features of Stockport's socio-economic existence.[5]

Stockport was one of the earliest centres of the factory system and experienced a considerable growth in population as manufacturing expanded. A silk industry grew up there in the eighteenth century, but it was rapidly supplanted by cotton. In 1795 there were twenty-three cotton factories, and in 1822 there were forty-seven in the town. The latter were worked by sixty-two steam engines and water wheels and the largest mill was owned by Peter Marsland, one of the committee members of the Stockport Sunday School.[6]

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5. The most detailed history of Stockport is Phyllis M. Giles, Economic and social development of Stockport 1815-1836 (University of Manchester M.A. thesis, 1950) 3 volumes. This work should be supplemented by Henry Heginbotham, Stockport Ancient and Modern (1892) 2 volumes. I. J. Steele, A survey of the education of the working class in Stockport during the nineteenth century (University of Sheffield M.A. thesis, 1967), contains much relevant material on the social and economic context of the Stockport Sunday School.

6. Giles, op. cit., volume 1, 45-46; Steele, op. cit., 6; William Astle, History of Stockport (Stockport, 1971), reprint of 1922 edition), 18-19. For Marsland's membership of the committee see Stockport Reference Library (St. R.L.) SK 52, Stockport Sunday School Reports 1806-1825, Annual Report 1815, 15.

Stockport's physical environment was dominated by the factory: according to one observer:

> The town stretches along the south bank of the river in the form of a large ampitheatre; and the manufactories, rising in tiers above each other, when lighted with the brilliant gaseous vapours of modern discovery, presents in the evenings of the winter months a towering illumination of imposing grandeur, of which it is difficult to convey an adequate idea.[7]

As the number of factories grew, population increased as people moved to the town to obtain work. In the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, Stockport experienced an expansion of population in the region of twenty percent. each decade. (Table 11)

Table 11. The growth of population in Sockport 1801-1841.[8]

| Year | Total population | Rate of increase % |
|---|---|---|
| 1801 | 14,830 | - |
| 1811 | 17,554 | 18.31 |
| 1821 | 21,726 | 23.83 |
| 1831 | 25,469 | 17.23 |
| 1841 | 50,154 | 96.92 |

The expansion of industry and the growth of population enabled manufacturing and trading interests to experience prosperity. Many of the principal subscribers of the Stockport Sunday School belonged to these classes, and a glance at their subscriptions towards the institution's finance in 1806, reveals that a substantial number were able to afford annual donations of twenty to fifty pounds.[9] Peter Marsland, undoubtedly one of the wealthiest, owned a mansion in the adjacent country, "standing alone in the midst of a beautiful garden, with its greenhouses and pleasant walks on the banks of the river Mersey, which flowed along as a clear and

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7. Astle, op. cit., 16.

8. Price Williams, op. cit., 486.

9. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1806, 27-29.

limpid stream."[10] Luddites, experiencing the results of a trade depression, and protesting against the use of the power looms, showed little respect for his dwelling, when they smashed its windows in 1812.[11]

In fact, for the lower classes, an expanding industry did not guarantee prosperity. Although wages may have been higher than in labouring occupations in the countryside or non-industrial towns, the erosion of traditional spinning and weaving skills, and the alienating effect of factory work affected their quality of life. Moreover, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was an accumulation of trade depressions, in 1788-89, 1797-98, 1799, 1804-5, 1807-8, 1810-11, 1815-17, 1818, 1821, 1822-23, 1825, 1829 and 1830.[12] Poverty was widespread in these years because of unemployment, wage reductions and the exhorbitant price of provisions.[13] Not surprisingly, the poor rates were also very high, rarely falling below ten shillings in the pound during the second decade of the nineteenth century (Table 12). It is possible to appreciate

Table 12. Poor rates in Stockport 1810-1819.[14]

| Year | Shillings in the pound |
|---|---|
| 1810 | 8 |
| 1811 | 6 |
| 1812 | 12 |
| 1813 | 14 |
| 1814 | 10 |
| 1815 | 9 |
| 1816 | 12 |
| 1817 | 12 |
| 1818 | 10 |
| 1819 | 10 |

the experiences of the lower classes during these years of depression, through the words of Stockport people themselves collected by a local

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10. Heginbotham, op. cit., volume 1, 74.

11. idem.

12. ibid., volume 1, 73, 75-77, 93-98; Steele, op. cit., 11, 12, 21, 33.

13. Giles, op. cit., volume 1, 124-125; Heginbotham, op. cit., volume 1, 76-77, 82, 84, 94-96; Steele, op. cit., 34-36.

14. Heginbotham, op. cit., volume 1, 77.

historian in the late nineteenth century:

> One says, "Times were very bad and provisions very scarce and dear. Flour, very soft and inferior, was sold at six shillings and sixpence per dozen, at which price it continued for some time almost without change. The bread generally eaten was nearly black and mixed with barley and rye ...." Another says, "In those times bread was very dear; I have been for several weeks together without tasting wheat bread. Oatmeal and barley-bread nearly black were the principal articles of food ...." Another says, "Those were bad times. My father was an operative spinner, a good workman, and very careful, but even with us, we could only get wheaten bread as a luxury. My parents bought a whiteloaf once a month, and it was divided amongst us with the greatest care, like sweatmeats among children. Tea, coffee, and sugar we never tasted, our food was oat-cake, and oatmeal-porridge with milk and water, and only very occasionally a little treacle."[15]

Undoubtedly, the experience of poverty induced discontent. The Stockport Sunday School operated in a town at the centre of working-class radicalism, and the members of the School's committee, as a subsequent section of the chapter reveals, strongly focussed upon this problem.[16] When the Combination Act of 1799 made trade unions illegal, workers still petitioned for wage increases, and strikes took place in 1808 when an unsuccessful attempt was made to form a General Union.[17] Stockport also featured in the Luddite disturbances of 1812. The conflict generated during this year was so severe, that the authorities arrested one hundred people, and fourteen were condemned to death.[18] But combining "delicacy and circumspection" with the selective use of terror, only two were executed; the rest were transported or gaoled.[19] There was further discontent in 1815. The collapse of the cotton trade was one reason, together with an influx of unemployed ex-servicemen who were demobilised because of the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars, and additionally an increase in the price

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15. ibid., 76-77.

16. Giles, op. cit., volume 1, 124-234, volume 2, 336-425.

17. Steele, op. cit., 34; Heginbotham, op. cit., volume 1, 82.

18. Giles, op. cit., volume 1, 124; Heginbotham, op. cit., 75.

19. idem.

of corn because of the Corn Laws.[20] Manufacturers were sufficiently concerned with the last problem to protest to the government about the inflationary effect of the Corn Laws.[21] In 1816 an attempt by workers to form a combination, was punished with sentences of hard labour by the Local Magistrate, the Rev. C. Prescott, a promoter of Anglican Sunday schools in the town.[22] In 1817 the Blanketeers were strongly supported in Stockport. Many meetings were held, and some were suppressed by the military and special constables.[23] In the same year a radical Sunday School was created in the town.[24] Further strikes broke out in 1818, amongst spinners and weavers.[25] One of the manufacturers affected, Thomas Garside, imported weavers from Burton to work for him.[26] His factory was besieged by rioters who were dispersed by the Yeomanry.[27] The Stockport Political Union was formed in the same year, to campaign for political reform.[28] "Orator" Hunt spoke in the town at the beginning of 1819, and was then escorted to Manchester by a crowd of people carrying banners with the slogans "Rights of Man", "No Corn Laws", and "Hunt and Liberty", emblazoned upon them.[29] Several mass meetings were held in Stockport during the year to demand political changes. On at least one occasion, the requests of the magistrates to disperse were disregarded.[30] A large number of Stockport

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20. ibid., 75-77.

21. ibid., 75.

22. Steele, op. cit., 35. For Prescott see Giles, op. cit., volume 1, 83.

23. Heginbotham, op. cit., volume 1, 77-82.

24. Giles, op. cit., volume 1, 182-184, volume 2, 514.

25. Heginbotham, op. cit., volume 1, 82-83.

26. ibid., 82.

27. ibid., 82-83.

28. Donald Read, Peterloo, The Massacre and its Background (Manchester, 1973), reprint of 1958 edition, 47-48.

29. Heginbotham, op. cit., volume 1, 84.

30. ibid., 184-188.

people - one estimate gives five thousand men - met at St. Peter's Fields, Manchester to hear Hunt speak on the 16th August, 1819.[31] This incident culminated in the Peterloo Massacre. Radicalism appeared to be quiescent in the early 1820s but in 1826 political meetings were held again and suppressed.[32] In 1828 a strike took place, and in the following year, the Riot Act was read in the town.[33] The experiences of these years, added to similar incidents in the 1830s, led to considerable bitterness between masters and men.[34] This divided society, experiencing the beginnings of class consciousness was the context within which the Stockport Sunday School operated.

It is necessary to focus more closely upon the promoters and managers of the Stockport Sunday School, by examining the second aspect of the chapter: their social location. These men were closely linked with the origin of Wesleyan Methodism in the town, and in addition, they were almost all traders and manufacturers. The School began in association with the Hillgate Meeting House, which was the oldest Methodist chapel in Stockport.[35] The lay promoters of this School were linked with six other Sunday schools between 1784 and 1793 in an interdenominational committee of "gentlemen" which maintained the schools.[36] The Hillgate Meeting Home School was the most successful of the six. Largely through

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31. ibid., 89-90.

32. ibid., 93-95.

33. ibid., 95.

34. ibid., 96.

35. Astle, op. cit., 20.

36. W. I. Wild, The History of the Stockport Sunday School ... (1891), 3-4.

the influence of Joseph Mayer,[37] it separated from the parental committee and grew rapidly in numbers.[38] A new school was soon required, and in 1806 a custom-built institution was constructed which was known as the Stockport Sunday School.[39] The spiritual message of Wesleyan Methodism stressed the natural depravity of man and the need for repentance and religious commitment to overcome human sinfulness. Its adherents were likely to be very critical of those who failed to live up to the exacting standards of the creed. The social message of the belief was strongly conservative, supporting the maintenance of social order, obedience to established authority and the law, and the acceptance of social distinctions based upon wealth. Those who adhered to the doctrine were hostile to those who threatened to disturb or overturn existing society.

The promoters and managers of the school were overwhelmingly manufacturers and traders in the town. Laqueur has claimed that the School was managed entirely by industrialists.[40] It is true to say that a number of major figures such as Matthew and Joseph Mayer were factory owners, but an analysis of the occupations of members of the committee, using commercial directories, does not bear out Laqueur's contention. (Table 13) Only a third of committee members for 1815-16 and 1821-22 can be described as industrialists, therefore it is much more accurate to characterize the School as the creation of traders and factory owners. It is reasonable to expect that these men would be interested in using the School to protect their economic self-interest, but there are a number of ways in which this can be pursued. It is not so reasonable to expect that

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37. Mayer was the son of a cotton manufacturer. He became the first General Inspector of the Stockport Sunday School 1806-1815, and was later the Treasurer, Steele, op. cit., 166-169; Heginbotham, op. cit., volume 2, 397; St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25 op. cit., Annual Report 1821, 13.

38. Steele, op. cit., 23.

39. Wild, op. cit., xxxi.

40. Laqueur, op. cit., 196.

Table 13. Occupations of the committee of the Stockport Sunday School, 1815-16 and 1821-22.[41]

| Occupations | 1815-16 | 1821-22 |
|---|---|---|
| Cotton spinners and manufacturers | 5 | 5 (6)[b] |
| Cotton manufacturers and linen and woollen drapers | 1 | 1 |
| Linen and woollen drapers | 5 | 4 (5)[c] |
| Hosiers | 1 | 1 |
| Hat manufacturers/hatters | 2 | 2 |
| Nursery and seedsmen | 1 | 1 |
| Dealers in food[a] | 3 | 4 |
| Timber dealers | 2 | 1 |
| Solicitors | | 1 |
| Esquires/gentlemen/sons of gentlemen | | 3 (2)[b] |
| Tobacconists | | 1 |
| Insurance agents | | 1 |
| Unknown | 6 | 7 (6)[c] |
| TOTAL | 26 | 32 |

a includes cheesemongers, corn and flour dealers, bakers and grocers.

b according to the 1816-17 directory, Peter Marsland Esq. is given no occupation for these years, however in the directory for 1821-22 he is described as a manufacturer.

c there is no reference to Samuel Dodge in the directory for 1821-22, but in the directory for 1816-17, he is described as a linen and woollen draper.

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41. A list of committee members for 1815-1816 and 1821-1822 are in St.R.L. SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Reports 1815, 15, and 1821, 13. The proportion was calculated by checking the names of committee members against lists in The Commercial Directory for 1816-17, containing the Names, Trades and Situations of the Merchants, Manufacturers, Tradesmen, etc. in Ashton, Barnsley and Birmingham ... (Manchester, 1816), 321-328, and Pigot and Dean's New Directory of Manchester, Salford etc., for 1821-22 (Manchester, n.d.), 323-332. Both volumes are in Stockport Reference Library.

the institution was designed necessarily, to promote the punctuality and work-discipline of a labour force employed in the factories of the School's managers, as the economic interests of most of the committee were not in the manufacturing business. The promoters, as this chapter reveals, were critical of the moral effects of the factory system and tended to stress generalised virtues such as hard work and deference, and the incorrect nature of radical ideas, rather than emphasize the specific mental attitudes required by factory operatives.

These two elements, Wesleyan Methodism and self-interest affected the world picture of the School's promoters. It is necessary to examine the doctrines and perceptions of these men by focussing upon their reactions towards a number of problems which they identified; the urban poor, the working class family, the effects of the factory system and the dangers of working class radicalism. These aspects, the third major theme of the chapter, occupy most of the subsequent discussion.

According to the promoters of the Stockport Sunday School, the urban poor were lacking in religion and morality. This perception derived from their religious commitment and self-interest. The alleged depravity of the lower orders threatened economic prosperity and the religious, political and social order, and moreover required the intervention of a new agency, the Sunday school to create a pattern of cohesion and spiritual harmony in the town. In 1795 the report of the Hillgate Meeting House School appealed to local tradesmen to support an enterprise which would prevent "Vicious Habits", such as idleness, profligacy and dishonesty, by "instilling into the minds of Youth, the principle of Industry, Religion and Justice."[42] A report of 1796 asserted, that although the poor suffered from their poverty, the evils resulting from their depravity were greater

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42. St.R.L., B/S/2/18, Stockport Sunday School Annual Reports of the Methodist Sunday School 1794-1804, Annual Report 1795, 2.

than those arising from their economic situation.[43] In 1802 a report welcomed the return of peace between Britain and France, but regretted that it had not been accompanied by an improvement in the morality of the poor.[44] In fact, the moral and social environment was so corrupted, that the town threatened to become a microcosm of Hell:

> drunkenness and intemperance, idleness and disorder, revelry and wantonness are carried to their greatest excess. If these things do not provoke the incensed majesty of Heaven to inflict national or provincial judgments again upon us, they will certainly bring individual punishment, by producing poverty, disease, family distress, and untimely death. But what can be done to prevent these dreadful evils? The preacher may declaim against the wickedness of the age, and the gross vices that prevail but, alas! the old sinner is rendered callous by repetition, his sensibility is blunted by long and habitual wickedness; his mind sunk by gross and sensual indulgences, into an unfeeling apathy; his conscience hardened by frequent enormities; to reclaim him, so lost to every religious feeling, is HUMANLY SPEAKING IMPOSSIBLE. Hence we see him go as in his vicious courses the destroyer of himself, an incumbrance to his friends, nuisance to his neighbours, and a pest to society, until the King of terrors arrests him in his career, at an untimely age.[45]

The remarkable thing about this extract is the sense of horror which it vividly expresses, a sense which reappears again and again in Sunday school literature throughout the country. It marks off the morality - or rather the lack of it - of the labouring poor in Stockport, from the standards of the Wesleyan promoters of the School. It was possible for a committed Christian to explain this depravity in terms of the effect of the Devil, or of man's innate corruption. However the reports of the Stockport Sunday School revealed a belief that the poor were not evil simply because they were evil, they were depraved, at least partly because of the impact of their environment upon their characters.

One of the elements in the social environment which the promoters singled out for attack was the working-class family, and it was argued that parents were at fault as agents of cultural transmission. In fact

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43. St.R.L., B/S/2/18, Reports 1794-1804, op. cit., Annual Report 1796, 1.

44. St.R.L., B/S/2/18, Reports 1794-1804, op. cit., Annual Report 1802, 1.

45. ibid., 1-2.

two aspects of parental inadequacy were developed as parts of this argument: parental indifference and parental profligacy. A report of 1809 explained how the neglect of mothers and fathers affected the morality of their children:

> let any one walk the streets of this town, or go into the lanes and fields adjoining, and he will still be pained with the sight of numbers of poor, ragged, destitute, untaught children, spending their sabbaths in idleness and mischief. These ought to be at school, but they are unconscious of the advantages they might gain by coming, and their parents are too indifferent to their welfare to send them. The subscribers would be doing their neighbours, or their work-people an essential service to interfere in their behalf, and to use their influence to bring these neglected children under instruction.[46]

Parents then, encouraged the "idleness and mischief", of their offspring, because they were not interested in their welfare. In addition considerable attention was directed towards the profligacy of parents, their counter-productive effect upon their children, which prevented Sunday schools from having the moral effects they might otherwise have achieved. Joseph Mayer was sufficiently concerned about this problem to write to the major English evangelical Sunday school promoter, Hannah More.[47] In reply, Mrs. More showed sympathy with his difficulties, but proferred no advice:

> I enter perfectly well into all the difficulties you meet with in the vices, ingratitude, and neglect of the Parents. Such undertakings indeed would be comparatively easy if one had no concern with any but the children. But I am sure you find as I do that the profligacy of the Parents in contracting all the endeavours that are made to serve and save their offspring, is the heaviest part of one's trial.[48]

The promoters of the Stockport Sunday School not only indicated the ways in which parents were indifferent, or counter-productive influences, they attempted to provide some explanation for the failure of the working-class family. A report of 1797 drew attention to the lack of education

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46. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1809, 1.

47. Two letters from Hannah More, written in reply to correspondence from Joseph Mayer are held by St.R.L., B/S/52, Stockport Sunday School Letters 1795-1810.

48. ibid., Hannah More to Joseph Mayer, 15 July 1795.

of the father and mother. This implied the existence of a vicious circle of profligacy and neglect, whereby parental ignorance and corruption led automatically to the ignorance and corruption of their children. In part it was claimed, that the economic life of the town was to blame, the high wages which a factory worker could obtain, encouraged him to satisfy his immediate desires, rather than look after the welfare of his family.

> In general the labouring mechanic can obtain such wages as would if properly laid out, be a comfortable maintenance for himself and family .... The husband, having never been taught to relish the pleasures of domestic and social life, or those which flow from the rational and religious improvement of the mind, flies to the most sottish indulgences of sensual appetite, as the only real enjoyments in his esteem. Thus, instead of laying out his earnings in making his family comfortable, or reserving a part of them against the day of sickness or adversity, he is found sacrificing them in those brutish gratifications, which ruin the health both of body and mind.[49]

In the same way the wife and mother had not been "instructed in the duties of her station", and had not been "habituated to cultivate such dispositions as would diffuse happiness in her family". This stress on the importance of family life is a recurring theme in educational literature of the time; it was an expression of the patriarchal ideology of promoters of schools, and was developed most fully by R. A. Ingram in his justification of the school of industry.[50]

A further element in the social environment which concerned the promoters of the Stockport Sunday School was the impact of the factory system upon the morals of the labouring poor. It is not surprising that this was the case, as Table 14 reveals, a majority of those educated in the School worked in factories during the week. It is too facile however, to see this concern as related to a determination by the promoters to use their School to instruct children in the habits of punctuality and work discipline. Nevertheless, there is some evidence which appears to

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49. St.R.L., B/S/2/18, Reports 1794-1804, Annual Report 1797, 1.

50. See Chapter 7.

Table 14. Trades and occupations of those instructed in the Stockport Sunday School and its Branch Schools in 1833.[51]

| Years of Age | Stockport Sunday School | | | | | | | | Branch Schools | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | | | Girls | | | | Boys | | | | Girls | | | |
| | A | B | C | D | A | B | C | D | A | B | C | D | A | B | C | D |
| 5 | 29 | 4 | 1 | | 10 | 32 | | 4 | 6 | 26 | | 19 | 21 | 20 | | 17 |
| 6 | 57 | 18 | 4 | | 9 | 52 | 1 | 10 | 11 | 33 | | 17 | 23 | 19 | | 11 |
| 7 | 56 | 29 | 16 | 1 | 11 | 34 | 20 | 19 | 14 | 34 | | 15 | 22 | 16 | | 12 |
| 8 | 56 | 19 | 31 | 3 | 8 | 34 | 48 | 44 | 13 | 29 | 2 | 14 | 19 | 18 | | 16 |
| 9 | 37 | 19 | 74 | 4 | 21 | 36 | 59 | 40 | 11 | 12 | 32 | 9 | 21 | 10 | 15 | 22 |
| 10 | 28 | 16 | 113 | 20 | 8 | 32 | 114 | 36 | 16 | 12 | 32 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 37 | 14 |
| 11 | 7 | 13 | 125 | 17 | 6 | 17 | 74 | 29 | 1 | 6 | 33 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 24 | 19 |
| 12 | 8 | 4 | 99 | 19 | 6 | 8 | 124 | 23 | 3 | 7 | 33 | 11 | 2 | 1 | 25 | 8 |
| 13 | 8 | 6 | 112 | 24 | 1 | 5 | 104 | 28 | 3 | 9 | 23 | 11 | 1 | 1 | 18 | 9 |
| 14 | 6 | 2 | 106 | 39 | 5 | 1 | 106 | 33 | 1 | 1 | 30 | 19 | | | 15 | 11 |
| 15 | 7 | 1 | 85 | 28 | 1 | 4 | 125 | 28 | | | 17 | 14 | | | 18 | 21 |
| 16 | | | 65 | 43 | | 1 | 96 | 20 | | | 9 | 13 | | | 19 | 11 |
| 17 | | | 59 | 33 | 1 | | 89 | 25 | | | 4 | 5 | | | 12 | 9 |
| 18 | | | 40 | 20 | 1 | | 93 | 15 | | | 1 | 3 | | | 16 | 9 |
| 19 | | | 25 | 17 | | | 71 | 7 | | | 2 | 6 | | | 8 | 5 |
| 20 | | | 19 | 8 | | | 38 | 4 | | | | | | | 7 | 1 |
| 21 | | | 11 | 5 | | | 34 | 2 | | | | | | | 6 | 1 |
| 22 | | | 4 | 4 | | | 21 | | | | 1 | 2 | | | 4 | 2 |
| 23 | | | 4 | 2 | | | 6 | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | |
| 24 | | | | 2 | | | 4 | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| 25 | | | | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | |
| 26 | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 29 | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| | 299 | 132 | 994 | 294 | 88 | 256 | 1,227 | 370 | 79 | 168 | 219 | 174 | 118 | 88 | 228 | 199 |

A those in no employment: at home

B those in no employment: at day school

C employed in factories

D employed in other trades and occupations

51. Supplementary Reports from Commissioners appointed to collect information in the Manufacturing districts, relative to the Employment of Children in Factories ... with Minutes of Evidence and Reports of District Commissioners 1834 (167) XX, Returns relating to the Stockport Sunday School, 158-159.

indicate the existence of such a conception on the part of the promoters. One of the witnesses, a cotton dresser, before a Commission of 1831-2, investigating the labour of children in factories stressed this fact. Sunday schools, he asserted:

> have been made subservient to the disposition and will of the manufacturers, in reconciling the children to this excessive labour .... in Stockport particularly, the patrons, and particularly the trustees, of the schools are manufacturers; and though I am sorry to say it, yet it is true, almost all the lectures given are about their going from the mills to their homes, and their going from their homes to the mills ....[52]

However it is difficult to find such a conception in the writings of the promoters. The bulk of the evidence, indicates that where promoters were interested in the factory system, they were concerned largely with the moral behaviour of their pupils inside the mills. They were not so concerned to teach the specific occupational virtues required by industrial capitalists; this was the task of the master inside his own factory. The testimony of Joseph Mayer before the Child Employment Commission of 1816 seems to bear out this point. He was asked: "Have you observed that children brought up in a Sunday school are more regular in their attendance at the factories than others?", and instead of replying in the affirmative he asserted: "Their attendance at the factories is regulated by their master, they must attend like clockwork."[53]

In fact the overt references to factories in the reports of the School, emphasized the need to improve the personal and social morality of those working inside them. A report of 1819 announced:

> What good can be expected to accrue to our people, from a few hours tuition on the Sabbath, if the beginning of the week is to usher them into accustomed scenes of the gravest wickedness? We are perfectly aware, that this is the case in many factories, where the masters are indifferent to the best interests, and careless of the moral conduct, of their work-people ...[54]

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52. Report from the Select Committee to whom the Bill to regulate the Labour of Children in mills and factories of the United Kingdom was referred 1831-2 (706) XV, 281.

53. Report of the Select Committee on the State of Children employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom ... with Minutes of evidence .... 1816 (397) iii, 54.

54. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1819, 11.

Moreover, the managers of the School asserted that the morals of factory children could be more easily attended to inside factories than in any other kind of workplace. A report of 1807 affirmed: "perhaps no business affords a more favourable opportunity for the maintaining of order, regularity, and good conduct, since none gives greater authority, and more constant inspection to the master ...."[55] In the following year a report proffer ed some specific advice which would enable manufacturers to support the teaching of the Sunday School. It advocated the appointment of moral overseers who would discourage any manifestation of immoral conduct; they would "check every degree of impropriety, either in conversation or behaviour among those who work under their direction". In this way factories could become "Schools of Virtue instead of Nurseries of Vice" and "call into exercise those lessons of cleanliness, industry, fidelity and sobriety which are here inculcated on the Sabbath."[56] In addition masters, were asked to

> discourage all those occasions which bring the youth in their employ in company with dissipated characters, to spend their money for purposes which lead to intoxication and ultimately to disgrace and beggary.[57]

In 1814 manufacturers were advised not to employ any young people unless they availed themselves of a Sunday school education.[58] Moreover, evidence from the Child Employment Commission of 1833 indicated that factory masters were dismissing girls for immoral conduct;[59] in other words they were not simply concerned with the ability of their workforce to perform a day's work adequately.

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55. St.R.L., SK 52,Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1807, 6.

56. St.R.L., SK 52,Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1808, 11.

57. ibid., 11-12.

58. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1814, 5.

59. First Report of the Commissioners appointed to collect information in the Manufacturing districts relative to the Employment of Children in Factories ... with Minutes of Evidence and Reports of District Commissioners 1833 (450) XX. Examinations taken by Mr. Cowell, D.I. Stockport, 86.

The men who created and managed the School were obsessed with the dangers of working-class radicalism. Laqueur restricts his definition of the phenomenon to purely political programmes and activities, but the School was concerned with radicalism in all its aspects, whether it was manifested in religious infidelity, trade unionism or political protest. It was not surprising that the committee was strongly concerned with radicalism: at least one committee member, Peter Marsland in 1812, at the time of the Luddite disturbances, suffered damage to his property.[60] Nevertheless, the reactions of the managers were not simply expressions of their economic self-interest. The men who promoted and controlled the School were members of the manufacturing and trading elite of the town, but it is a mistake, as Laqueur argues, to characterize the School as being under the management of industrialists.[61] No more than a third of committee members were factory owners.[62] Furthermore, their mental world was strongly formed by an evangelical revival in Stockport which was largely Wesleyan in inspiration.[63] The religious teaching which the School promoted exhibited a strong belief in sin and an emphasis upon the need for a complete change in character to overcome human depravity. This concept of sinfulness, not only included a critique of religious infidelity, but also contained an attack upon trade union organization and political agitation. Nevertheless, the managers of the Stockport Sunday School were highly critical of members of their own class, manufacturers who did little to prevent manifestations of personal immorality on their factory premises. If this characterization of the mental world of the managers is correct, then the School was reacting to more than criticism from reactionaries, when it directed its attention against radicalism. This response reflected the local context of the institution's operation and

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60. Heginbotham, op. cit., volume 1, 74, volume 2, 345.

61. Laqueur, op. cit., 196.

62. See Table 13.

63. Steele, op. cit., 17, 18-19, 166-168.

the assumptions of the School's promoters. These themes are developed below.

The reports of the School revealed a consistent campaign by the members of the committee against all manifestations of discontent. In 1802 a report warned its readers:

> The infidel, proudly presumptuous, hides himself from the mild rays of truth, under the plausible garb of philosophy, falsely so called: he imposes his dogmas upon his youthful adherents, under the fascinating name of reason, however subversive of good order, and destructive to religion; while his unwary follower, ignorant of the consequence, and blinded by sophistry, allows himself in the gratification of every sensual pleasure, until immerged in a routine of dissipation, and whirled in a vortex of licentiousness, he glories in his shame. What hopes of reclaiming him? Sooner will the Ethiop change his skin, or the leopard his spots.[64]

Infidelity then, it was alleged, was dangerous to the maintenance of political stability and religion, and it also led to moral corruption. Another report, in 1809, showed the concern of the managers of the School with economic radicalism, the formation of trade unions, although the writer indicated that their existence was partially due to the inadequacy of masters:

> Where the servant is treated with indifference or contempt, the master is watched with the eye of suspicion and jealousy. Hence the combinations which so much inconvenience the master, and frequently plunge the families of the workmen into irretrievable distress.[65]

In 1812, a report indicated that the promoters were strongly critical of Luddism and concerned that it should not affect the school children. It noted with pleasure that during the recent disturbances 'the conduct of those under our tuition was upright and well-approved'.[66] During the early 1820s, the promoters of the School were not so concerned with the political nature of the local population as they had been earlier. Probably, this reflected a low level of radical activity in the town in

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64. St.R.L., B/S/2/18, Reports 1794-1804, op. cit., Annual Report 1802, 2.

65. St.R.L. SK52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1809, 10.

66. St.R.L. SK52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1812, 7-8.

the period immediately following Peterloo. However, in the late 1820s the managers launched attacks on trade unionism, infidelity and political radicalism. A report of 1829 referring to industrial unrest in the previous year, ridiculed combinations. If carried into effect, it asserted, the ideas of trade unionists

> would have subverted the foundations of society by rendering the master the passive instrument in the hands of their servants, and eventually by banishing trade and commerce from the country, have plunged it into the most fearful and irretrievable state of misery and distress.[67]

More virulently in 1831, the promoters protested against the "melancholy and disgusting spectacle of artisans", who question and reject the truths of revealed religion.[68] In 1833, a report explicitly linked the Sunday School with opposition to political radicalism. Infidelity it claimed, was preparing the way for 'treason and rebellion' by undermining the truths of religion which required people 'to fear God and honour the King, and to meddle not with those who are given to change'. In distinct opposition to the intellectual mentor of working-class radicalism, it affirmed:

> The exploded blasphemies of Thomas Paine, and others of his School, have been republished in a cheap and portable shape, and every effort tried to assimilate the poorer classes in this country to the fickle and irreligious population of a neighbouring nation. Nor, amidst the bustle and excitement of those stirring times have the committee of the Stockport Sunday School been inactive or indifferent spectators .... We have been labouring to impart that degree of learning and information which the increased civilization of the age renders indispensable to the lowest members of society, and endeavouring, at the same time, most anxiously to inculcate that sound religious belief and those moral habits resulting from it, without which the highest human learning is but a comparatively worthless, if not a dangerous acquisition.[69]

In addition, contrary to Laqueur's argument, the working classes do

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67. St.R.L.SK 52, Stockport Sunday School Reports 1826-47, Annual Report 1829, 8.

68. St.R.L.,SK 52, Reports 1826-47, op. cit., Annual Report, 1831, 11.

69. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1826-47, op. cit., Annual Report, 1833, 4-5.

not seem to have been oblivious to the anti-radical doctrines of the School's promoters. Between 1811 and 1821 the population of Stockport rose by nearly 24 per cent,[70] but during the same period there was a decline in the number who attended the School. In fact enrolment fell for every year between 1813 and 1819 except for 1818: a total reduction of 726 pupils for the period or 24.4 per cent. (calculated from figures in Table 15). It is not unreasonable to suggest that one explanation for

Table 15. The Stockport Sunday School: statistics of growth.[71]

(a) The Hillgate Meeting House School.

| Year | Attendance | Year | Attendance |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1793 | 534 | 1799 | 1,802 |
| 1794 | 695 | 1800 | 1,905 |
| 1795 | 938 | 1801 | 2,077 |
| 1796 | 1,358 | 1802 | 2,227 |
| 1797 | 1,496 | 1803 | 2,488 |
| 1798 | 1,630 | 1804 | 2,529 |

(b) The Stockport Sunday School

| Year | Attendance | Year | Attendance |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1806 | 2,570 | 1821 | 2,755 |
| 1807 | 2,558 | 1822 | 2,575 |
| 1808 | 2,544 | 1823 | 2,548 |
| 1809 | 2,639 | 1824 | 2,698 |
| 1810 | 2,502 | 1826 | 2,689 |
| 1811 | 2,443 | 1827 | 2,816 |
| 1812 | 2,766 | 1828 | 3,357 |
| 1813 | 2,979 | 1829 | 3,206 |
| 1814 | 2,729 | 1830 | 3,167 |
| 1815 | 2,647 | 1831 | 3,346 |
| 1816 | 2,600 | 1832 | 3,753 |
| 1817 | 2,528 | 1833 | 4,013 |
| 1818 | 2,567 | 1834 | 4,011 |
| 1819 | 2,253 | 1835 | 3,874 |
| 1820 | 2,413 | | |

70. Percentage from figures in Price Williams, op. cit., 486.

71. Assessed from the Annual Reports in St.R.L., B/S/2/18, op. cit.; SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit.; SK 52, Reports 1826-47, op. cit.

this decline was an unwillingness on the part of many parents to send their children to a school where the promoters attacked their political interests. Notably, during this period, a radical Sunday school was formed in the town, providing an alternative means of education to the Stockport Sunday School.[72]

Furthermore, as incidents in 1818 and 1819 revealed, the managers of the School were strongly concerned with subversion inside the institution. The reactions of the managers during these incidents do not appear as if they were motivated by the pressure of those who were critical of Sunday schools for supposedly encouraging radicalism. Instead, they reflect a concern with a local threat, in the form of the tremendous support for radical politics in Stockport during these years. In 1818, twenty-eight boys, two girls and three female teachers were discharged. In describing this event, the managers of the School noted that "discontent" had rarely attacked "any under their immediate inspection". However, the previous year had exhibited "a slight example to the contrary", which indicated that Sunday schools were more necessary than ever if "peace, happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, are to remain amongst us". They claimed that the "school of infidelity", engendered during the French Revolution, or the "hydra-headed monster" had "sought to poison the minds of the young". Clearly, the managers envisaged the threat to be political subversion. They felt that the School was being undermined by alternative radical institutions, a direct reference to the radical Sunday school in the town, which infringed upon "our particular territory as Instructors of Youth" and "carried their unholy warfare into our very camp".[73] A report describes the incident in some detail, explaining how boys in the School's

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72. Giles, op. cit., volume 1, 182-184. In 1818 the Stockport Sunday School was attacked for supporting tyranny and oppression, ibid., volume 1, 209.

73. St. R.L., SK52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1819, 6-8.

highest class refused to attend divine worship when ordered to do so. Their activity was also accompanied by other acts of insubordination. In an "impressive assembly" held before the scholars and teachers the miscreants were admonished "on the atrocious ingratitude of their offence" and dismissed. The ceremony was clearly designed to impress upon other potential radicals in the audience, the seriousness with which the promoters viewed radicalism:

> The proceedings of this meeting could not fail to be productive of good effects to the youthful audience. Your committee beheld with satisfaction, their most serious and fixt attention; they saw the silent offering of tears to the misguided conduct of their associates who were thus disgraced; and they have since observed, that from these feelings has resulted a visible reformation in the minds of many.[74]

A similar concern was apparently manifested in the expulsion of a teacher, William Griffiths in 1819 who was dismissed for his "unruly and disobedient spirit". He was sacked for insubordination because he had objected to the ejection of a boy wearing radical colours. Griffiths claimed however, in a letter to Joseph Mayer, that "the real cause of my dismissal is that I am suspected of entertaining heretical opinions both in politics and Religion", and asserted in his defence that he never allowed his teaching to be "tinctured" with his "political or Religious creed".[75]

The discussion of the political nature of the Stockport Sunday School indicates that the managers were concerned with the supposed dangers of radicalism. Moreover, they were ready to expel pupils and teachers from the School if they were affected by subversive doctrines. Furthermore, it appears that many of the working-class inhabitants of Stockport were prepared to withdraw their children from an institution which attacked the

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74. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1819, 8-9. A further indication of the concern which the School's authorities viewed the incident is provided in St.R.L., B/S/4/33, Joseph Mayer's notebooks. Each of the volumes for 1816-1819, 1820-1824 and 1824-1829, contain a discussion of the incident.

75. St.R.L., B/S/5/3, Stockport Sunday School Letters 1811-1820, William Griffith to Josephy Mayer, 22 December 1819. See also Mayer's reply, ibid., 16 January 1820.

theory and practice of working-class radicalism.

Although the promoters of the Stockport Sunday School were clearly obsessed with all manifestations of working-class unrest it is probably a mistake to argue that they used the institution as a vehicle for the imposition of capitalist social control in this expanding factory town. It is clear that radicalism threatened the interests of the manufacturers and traders who dominated the School, but their attack on the phenomenon has to be linked with the other doctrines which formed their mental world. Not only were these managers promoting their economic self-interest through the Stockport Sunday School, but they were also concerned to rescue children from the corrupting or potentially corrupting world of their urban, family or working environment. This policy was not simply an expression of bourgeois cultural imperialism. In particular, it was closely related to a more traditional concern, a desire to demonstrate the paternal reality of a society which was divided by wealth and power. In addition, it also demonstrated a sensitivity to the social and moral plight of children in an expanding, and alien urban environment. The promoters wanted to rescue the child, as well as to instruct him in virtues which would protect their own property.

This ambiguous ideology, protectionist on the one hand and self-interested on the other was present in the promoter's images of the moral state of the children and adolescents who formed the objects of their care. The promoters perceived the children as existing in a hostile environment, facing the danger of corruption from several sources, ranging from their own families to outside agitators. As Table14 reveals the School focussed mainly on those children between the ages of nine and eighteen, years when moral and ideological temptation was most acute, because of the development of adolescence and the onset of reasoning. In Stockport the manifestations of depravity were more pronounced because children were confined in a factory for six days in the week, therefore, on Sunday their only day of

leisure, they were seen spending their time in "dissipation".[76] Those who avoided the net of Sunday school education it was alleged occupied the day

> in the fields and lanes, lurking about under the hedges or in secret haunts, in their filth and dirt, spending the sacred hours in gambling or other sports, and thus are preparing for the worst of crimes.[77]

In contrast to the potentially corrupt child who failed to receive instruction, the promoters of the Stockport Sunday School projected an image of the kind of behaviour they required their wards to adopt. In direct contrast to their perception of children who misspent the Sabbath, the promoters affirmed in 1806:

> The scholars are required to come clean, to attend regularly at the hours appointed, and to pay a strict attention to the rules and orders of their Teachers .... Children, for neglect of attendance, or disobedience, or being convicted of immorality, are admonished, disgraced, punished or excluded .... [78]

In conclusion then, the essence of education in the Stockport Sunday School was its transforming power; Sunday school education, it was hoped, would induce a reversal of previously ingrained habits. A report of 1795 announced:

> We believe, it will be found, that the children who have been, or are in this school, instead of singing profane or obscene songs, are heard to sing Psalms or Hymns at their work: instead of blaspheming the name of the God who made them, they speak with reverence of the Almighty: instead of speaking falsehoods, they have learnt to speak the truth: instead of wishing to run off from their work to any idle sports, they are generally found diligent and attentive to their various employments.[79]

The basis of this social education was religion. A report of 1814 affirmed that it was desirable to teach "the lower classes those habits of sobriety and industry which shall make them useful members of society ...."

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76. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1809, 9.

77. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1822, 9.

78. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1806, 20-21.

79. St.R.L., B/S/2/18, Reports 1794-1804, op. cit., Annual Report 1795, 2.

but, it was also affirmed that learning ought to be "the handmaid to Religion", and Christianity has "the true source of all sound morality, of all public and private virtue".[80]

Yet this transforming power was not to be sought by the inculcation of habits or doctrines. So convinced were the promoters of the School that their ideas were rational, they believed that the poor only had to be taught to think to enable them to distinguish between right and wrong. In this respect the promoters of the Sunday School were advocating the same kind of education of the reason, that Adam Smith had emphasized in The Wealth of Nations.[81] They asserted that in a free society like Britain, education was necessary because "it is only amongst a population who can properly estimate its privileges that subordination and order can be securely maintained".[82] Christianity, they believed, fulfilled this requirement, although there was an element of contradiction in their argument. On the one hand, they asserted, that the most important knowledge was contained in the precepts of Christianity which taught men "their duty to God and their neighbour",[83] surely a process which involved the learning of habits. On the other hand however, they indicated that this process of comprehension was rational for Christianity taught men

> to understand the mild tenor of those laws by which they are governed, they will discern in them a train of justice and equity not to be excelled; - becoming acquainted with those sacred oracles, which teach them to render "fear to whom fear, and honor to whom honor is due"; they will regard with the highest reverence that admirable mechanism, which links together the various classes of society, and start with abhorrence from the idea, that would in the slightest degree disorganise its beauty or disturb its regularity.[84]

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80. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1814, 4; Annual Report 1806, 11.

81. See Chapter 1.

82. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1817, 5. See also SK 52, Reports 1826-47, op. cit., Annual Report 1828, 5.

83. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1817, 5.

84. idem.

As the preceeding quotation implies the managers of the School possessed an image of society which was traditional; social harmony was society's real and necessary nature, whilst conflict destroyed its cohesion. In fact like the patriarchally-minded promoters of other Sunday schools and the School of industry, they saw the recreation of family life as being of fundamental importance. Sunday schools, they claimed, had a particularly important role to play in the education of girls, because of the woman's role in eradicating the vicious habits of her husband, and in imbuing her children with morality during the early years of their lives. In this respect, the schooling of girls was deemed to be more significant than that of boys:

> A woman's information is influential on the present comfort and future state of the family. If her house be well ordered, the husband forsakes the ale-house, and where there would have been want, there is plenty. The cottager is rich whose wife is cleanly and economical, and able to conduct the affairs of her little family with judgement. It is the mother who instructs the children - to her they look for all they want; and, in general, as she is, so are they. In the first seven years of life a great bias is given to the character; and in this period the mother's influence is everything. To correct those low and degrading practices which have prevailed in the manufacturing districts, and to raise the female character to its proper tone and influence in the lower ranks of society, the instructions of the Sunday School are peculiarly well adapted.[85]

The Stockport Sunday School although closely linked with the expansion of industrial capitalism in the north, was fundamentally traditional in its aims and objectives, it is therefore misleading to characterize it as an expression of middle-class consciousness. Instead it resembled very closely the patriarchal and evangelical Sunday schools promoted in London and elsewhere.

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85. St.R.L., SK52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1811, 6.

# Chapter 5

## Sunday Schools: Management and Teachers

This chapter examines the dynamics of management in the Sunday school, and also focusses upon the nature and role of the Sunday school teacher. It argues initially, that decision making was often diffuse in the institution, being shared between managers and teachers. Secondly, it claims that teachers acted as paternal agents, transmitting a spiritual, moral and social message of benevolence to the scholars. This image of the teacher as a mentor or father figure was congruent with the patriarchal social theory which characterized the objectives of Sunday school education. Nevertheless, it is claimed here, that teachers did not always live up to the ideals against which instructors were judged. This consideration casts doubt upon the effectiveness of Sunday schools as instruments of cultural change in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The first part of the chapter examines decision making in the Sunday school. In the second part the focus is directly upon the Sunday school teacher.

When Sunday schools proliferated in England between 1783 and 1810, their advocates argued for the control of these institutions by Anglican or non-conformist clergy, members of the gentry or principal supporters. Management, therefore, was to be vested in the spiritual, political and economic elite, a leitmotiv which recurs in numerous tracts, guides, sermons, pamphlets and regulations which were issued during these years.[1]

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1. Hanway, op. cit., 19; Robert Lucas, Three Sermons on the subject of Sunday Schools (1787), 24-25; Samuel Horsley, "Charge of the Bishop of Rochester to the Clergy of the Diocese" (1800), in Samuel Horsley, The Charges of Samuel Horsley (Dundee, 1813), 157; Andrew Burnaby, Two Charges delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Leicester (1787), 10; George Horne, Sunday Schools Recommended (Oxford, 1786), 15, 27; Charles Moore, A Sermon preached ... on the introduction of Sunday Schools (Canterbury, 1785), 17, 52-53; Beilby Portens, A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester concerning Sunday Schools (1786), 27; Philip Parsons, Six Letters to a Friend on the establishment of Sunday Schools (1786), 27; Select Committee on the State of the Children in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom, op. cit., 1816 (397) iii, 296; The New Bath Guide (Bath, 1796), 37; Wild, op. cit., 8; J. Henry Harris, Robert Raikes. The Man and His Work, op. cit., 86.

Two cases, from an urban and a rural environment illustrate this emphasis. In Birmingham Sunday schools were established in 1784, and managed by committee members chosen from among the subscribers. They were responsible for recommending children to the institutions according to the size of their subscriptions. Regulating the hours of attendance, controlling the curriculum by providing "proper books for the use of scholars", and giving rewards to those who were "diligent and orderly" were aspects of their task. Their control over the day-to-day running of the schools was extensive, for every Sunday the establishments were to be visited by two subscribers. Nothing was to be taught in the schools "but what is suited immediately to the design of the sabbath-day and to the preserving of youth from idleness, ignorance and immorality"; undoubtedly the committee were to interpret what was suitable. Notably, the subscribers did not consider granting any power of management to teachers, who acted in fact as servants of the committee, being paid a salary fixed by the managers.[2] Similar emphases were present in the establishment of a Sunday school in Enford, Wiltshire in 1800. In fact this institution was held up as a model for Anglican Sunday school promotion in The Orthodox Churchman's Magazine. In this case management was to be "wholly superintended" by the local cleric, who was responsible for controlling the curriculum and regulating the business of the school. One rule asserted: "That no Book whatever shall be put into their (the children's) hands, but such as shall have been first approved by the officiating Clergyman of the Parish." He was to be assisted however, by the "principal Inhabitants" who were also subscribers; they were to visit the schools, "noticing" the conduct of the children, bestowing rewards and encouraging the objects of the institution.

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2. "Arguments and reasons for the establishment of Sunday Schools ..." in Jesse, op. cit.

Once again there was no place for teacher control over the school.[3]

One problem associated with this emphasis upon a hierarchical chain of command was that it was theoretical. If the day-to-day running of Sunday schools is examined, it is possible to argue that management was more complex, involving both teachers and committee members. During the early nineteenth century, in urban non-conformist Sunday schools in particular, teachers were able to exert considerable influence. However, because of the paucity of manuscript sources for Anglican and rural schools during this period, it has not been possible to claim that this was the case for these institutions. In the Leek Methodist Sunday School, teachers' meetings were held every month to regulate the internal concerns of the school, and to discharge teachers who were guilty of "immorality, neglect of duty, or improper conduct ..."[4] In Stafford from at least 1820, the Wesleyan Sunday School included all teachers as members of the committee.[5] The teachers at the Bond Street Congregational Church Sunday School, Leicester, met monthly "to inspect the state of the school and make such regulations as may seem necessary."[6] In London a similar pattern emerged. From 1807 at Surrey Chapel, teachers' meetings were held to conduct the internal management of the Sunday school. Moreover every teacher in the school was permitted to adopt any pedagogy which he preferred in religious instruction.[7] The Methodist Sunday School Society in the capital, allowed

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3. Orthodox Churchman's Magazine, v, July 1803, 26-28.

4. S.C.R.O., D/1114/1, Leek Sunday School Book 1799-1922, op. cit., Annual Report 1805.

5. S.C.R.O., D/1174/3/3/1, Stafford Wesleyan Sunday School, Teachers' Meeting and Sunday School Committee Minutes 1820-1847, Rules.

6. Leicestershire County Record Office (L.C.R.O.), 15 DG 4/43, Bond Street Congregational Church Sunday School, Leicester, Minutes of Teachers' Meetings 1804-1838, Rules for the Teachers.

7. Minet Library, Lambeth (M.L.L.), iv/61/4/1, Surrey Chapel Records, Surrey Chapel Sunday School Memoir Book-1827-49, 20 August 1827, 8 July 1833.

teachers to have a voice in the management of their schools after 1813.[8] In addition, teachers at the John Street Wesleyan Sunday School in Southwark were responsible for the work of the institution.[9] It is difficult to provide a clear explanation for this change - if change there was - towards increased teacher control, because evidence is so sparse for local establishments during this period. Possibly it reflected a change in the status of teachers, as they ceased to be paid for their work around 1800, and became volunteers instead; moral commitment replaced monetary incentives and therefore managers had to encourage the former by increasing teacher identity with their schools. Secondly the establishment of the Sunday School Union was probably a contributory factor. It was managed by teachers and did more than any other philanthropic organization to publicize and support Sunday schools during the early nineteenth century.

Naturally, this trend towards teacher control did not go unchallenged. Most significantly, an attempt was made by the Wesleyan Conference in the late 1820s to alter the structure of Sunday school management in order to reduce the influence of teachers. It was concerned that many instructors were allegedly breaking the Sabbath by teaching writing on that day. The conference advocated that each school's committee should contain a quarter of its members as teachers, but other managers were to be preachers, Sunday school officers and subscribers.[10] The various issues raised by this question have been discussed in detail by Laqueur.[11]

It is difficult to enter into the nature of the relationship between teachers and managers. An examination of the manuscript sources suggests

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8. Grosvenor, op. cit., 26.

9. Henry T. Creasy and James H. Creasy, A Church institution of child saviourship. The Centenary volume of the John Street Wesleyan Sunday School ... 1812-1912 (1914), 26. The volume is in the Southwark Room.

10. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, L, October 1827, 693-695.

11. Laqueur, op. cit., 124-146.

that conflict was rare between the various parties, but difficulties occasionally occurred. By examining three different cases, it is possible to obtain some insight into the relationship. Each one involved conflict between the teachers on the one hand and the committee on the other. The cases suggest that there was no fundamental difference of interest between the two, but the conflicts reflected a breakdown in communication, or a lack of sensitivity by the managers towards the feelings of the teachers. They indicated that teachers believed that they were entitled to a role in Sunday school management, and the fact that similar cases were rare suggests that most managers also thought in this way.

The first case involved a Methodist Sunday School in Stockport, the precursor of the Stockport Sunday School. It revealed teacher resistance to the authoritarian way in which managers sometimes behaved. In 1797 a number of teachers submitted a resolution to the committee and visitors of the school; they protested

> against those Rules that appear to us subversive of equity and good order. And likewise the undue Authority the Committee and Visitors have exerted on various occasions, not only in the school, but in the expulsion of Teachers. Such conduct and Rules have a direct tendency to cut the very sinews of its usefulness, and have long been the cause of many just complaints.[12]

The teachers proposed that the committee should be chosen by a majority of teachers and visitors and that a select committee should inspect the conduct of any teacher, visitor or committee member accused of neglect of duty. When it considered the proposals the committee rejected these measures, but the following year, it restructured the management of the school, appointing a General Inspector who emerged as the most powerful figure in the future Stockport Sunday School.[13] His functions were described in the following way:

> To connect together as much as possible the various branches of this Institution, a General Inspector is appointed, whose office extends

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12. St.R.L., B/S/6/1/2, Stockport Sunday School Committee Minute Books 1796-1800, 13 April 1797.

13. St.R.L., B/S/6/1/2, op. cit., 23 April 1797, 30 December 1798.

> to every department of school. He is to preside at the teachers' meetings, to assemble with the visitors at their weekly board, and is a member of the committee in which he is considered as the teachers' representative. He admits the new scholars, and keeps an account of the quarterly reports of the promotions and discharges from the respective classes. He receives new teachers upon the list, proposes them at the teachers' meetings, and appoints them to stations suitable to their abilities ... and he supplies the vacancies of the absent teachers. He is elected annually by the committee, visitors and teachers collectively.[14]

These powers enabled the General Inspector to exercise considerable authority; in fact between 1806 and 1855 the Stockport Sunday School possessed only two, Joseph Mayer and John Turner. Mayer in fact had been appointed to the post at the Methodist Sunday School in 1798.[15] There was no further challenge to the committee by a group of teachers during this period.

Two other cases were not challenges to Sunday School committees' authority, but they implied a criticism of insensitive styles of management. The first one involved the Kent Road Sunday School, Southwark, in 1819, when teachers' petitioned against the Lancasterian system which the committee had introduced. The teachers, bowing to the "superior talents" of the committee, did not question the latter's right to take such a decision. They claimed however, that in operation the system had produced no results and had violated the scriptural injunction of sabbath observation by involving instruction in writing on that day. They threatened to go to other schools if their wishes were not granted.[16] It is not clear from the minutes how this issue was resolved. The final case concerned the Surrey Chapel Sunday School. The teachers asserted that the General Committee had passed a resolution concerning the supposed bad conduct of scholars without consulting the superintendent. It was

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14. Wild, op. cit., 22.

15. Heginbotham, op. cit., volume 1, 397; St.R.L., B/S/6/1/2, op. cit., 30 December 1798.

16. Sw.R., 4/63, Kent Road Sunday School Minute Book, 1819-20, 7 November 1819, 76-78.

claimed that the teachers had not been treated "with the consideration and courtesy to which they conceived they were entitled."[17] This incident was an attempt to draw attention to the committee, the fact that teachers were at least partly responsible for decision making in the Sunday school.

The remainder of the chapter will examine the nature and role of Sunday school teachers. In fact, it presents three arguments concerning these men and women. First; it suggests that teachers were not predominantly working class until the 1830s. Second; it asserts that their social role was to act as agents of transformation, attempting to create a commitment to a patriarchal form of society amongst the children of the labouring poor. Third; it claims that although there is evidence of strong commitment on the part of teachers to the ethos of the Sunday school, many instructors failed to live up to the moral standards set by the institution.

Only one historian, Laqueur, has examined the Sunday school teacher in depth, but his analysis is inadequate. This chapter takes issue with his interpretation, which portrays teachers as agents of a working class culture. He has claimed, first, that teachers came predominantly from the working class. After 1810 he asserts, some 60 per cent. of all teachers had once been students themselves.[18] Second; he has argued that the similarity between the social background of students and teachers

> made it easier to develop a Sunday school subculture, an admixture of Smilesian self-help and self-improvement .... Sunday school teaching became an important vehicle for the expression of working-class religion.[19]

This section of the chapter will initially examine the social background of teachers, and then it will focus upon their role.

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17. M.L.L., IV/61/4/1, op. cit., 12 October 1830.

18. Laqueur, op. cit., 189.

19. ibid., 93.

Although Laqueur points out that 60 per cent. of teachers after 1810 had once been students, he gives no source to support this claim. However, he discusses some particular cases in his presentation of the social composition of the Sunday school. The examples which he cites refer to the 1830s and 1840s;[20] they indicate that during these years, Sunday school teachers were predominantly former scholars and therefore originally from poor backgrounds. However two points need to be considered. First; the fact that teachers were predominantly former scholars does not necessarily mean that they held working-class occupations during the week: extensive Sunday school education, undoubtedly contributed to social mobility. Second; the evidence for the social background of teachers before the 1830s gives no ground for supposing that Sunday school teachers were either former scholars or members of the working class. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to obtain a clear picture of the social background of teachers. The printed and manuscript records of the schools rarely named teachers, and where they were named, their occupations or addresses were not presented: it is therefore almost impossible to trace them in other sources. The evidence that is available in fact, does not enable a historian to claim that a majority of teachers were former scholars before the 1830s. Joseph Mayer of the Stockport Sunday School explained before the Child Employment Committee in 1816, that the teachers at his school were

> generally from the middle or superior walks of life, the younger part of superior families who from that very circumstance are much better enabled to teach; and from their communication with the children of the poor give them a tone of character certainly superior to anything that can be acquired by a day school.[21]

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20. ibid., 91-93.

21. Select Committee on the State of Children in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom 1816 (397) iii, op. cit., 30 April 1816, 53.

Less than twenty years later in 1833 the commissioners investigating the employment of factory children, reported that all the teachers of the Stockport Sunday School belonged to the operative class.[22] A similar picture emerges from Manchester. Benjamin Braidley, an inspector of an Anglican Sunday school, pointed out that his establishment began to appoint former scholars as teachers before 1811.[23] When Braidley appeared before the Select Committee on Education in 1834, he pointed out that the vast majority of superintendents and teachers at his school had been former scholars.[24] Although it is difficult to find additional cases which exhibit this change, other establishments tended to possess teachers with similar social backgrounds.[25]

A discussion of the social background of teachers however, does not enable any certain assessment to be made concerning the kind of values which they promoted. There is no clear correlation between an individual's background and the kind of culture which he possessed. Regrettably, it is even more difficult to gain an entry into the mental world of Sunday school teachers than it is to discover their background. The minutes of teachers' meetings were largely concerned with the minutiae of management and evidence for assessing their opinions and the attitudes they sought to promote, is hard to accumulate. There is however little reason for suggesting that working-class Sunday school teachers promoted anything that can be identified as a culture which emerged from the working-class. If they promoted a set of values, it was a collection of spiritual,

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22. First Report of the Commissioners appointed to collect information ... relative to the Employment of Children, 1833 (450) xx, op. cit., Examinations taken by Mr. Cowell, D I Stockport, 83.

23. Benjamin Braidley, Sunday School Memorials, (Manchester, 1831), ix-x.

24. Report from the Select Committee on the Education of the Poorer Classes, with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Indices 1834 (572) ix, 174-175.

25. Report from the Select Committee to whom the Bill to regulate the labour of children ... was referred 1831-2 (706) xv, 416.

moral and social messages associated with conservative evangelicalism.

Sunday school teachers were meant to have a mission. Numerous writers of tracts and articles argued that those who instructed the infant poor, had to transform the culture of the lower orders. According to Robert Hall, a non-conformist preacher, they were to,

> impress on these children a deep conviction of their radical corruption, and of the necessity of the agency of the spirit to render the knowledge they acquire, practical and experimental.[26]

A writer in The Baptist Magazine of 1832 extended an invitation to all young Christians to become Sunday school teachers:

> to reclaim the vicious - to draw the wandering from the paths of destruction - to be the means of teaching them the fear of the Lord, that they may walk uprightly and honestly in their stations in life, and to become a blessing instead of a pest of society.[27]

The Anglican curate of Warrington, the Rev. Johnson Grant, provided a prayer for teachers which also stressed their transformative role:

> make us, their teachers, sensible of the great charge which is committed to our trust, and to rejoice in this opportunity of training them up in the way they should go .... May we teach them, ABOVE ALL THINGS, their own helplessness and wants; their need of a redeemer .... May we instruct them ... to do all their duties in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call them.[28]

At the beginning of his popular guide for Sunday school teachers, the Rev. J. A. James, a Congregationalist minister, tried to persuade them that they had embarked upon a historic enterprise. He drew their attention to the kind of society they had been instrumental in transforming and were continuing to remake:

> To the greater part of those who are employed in diffusing the benefits of this admirable system, it is almost impossible to form an adequate idea of the extreme ignorance of the poor, before its introduction. Except where a happy few of their children were gathered beneath the wings of some charitable institution, the great

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26. Robert Hall, The Advantages of Knowledge to the lower classes: A sermon preached at Hervey Lane, Leicester for the benefit of a Sunday School (1810), 22.

27. Baptist Magazine, xxiv, March 1832, 96.

28. Johnson Grant, A Manual of Religious knowledge for the use of Sunday schools (Warrington, 1804), 2nd edition, 35.

> mass of their offspring grew up in the most deplorable ignorance. Myriads of children of both sexes were continually rising into life, to whom the letters of the alphabet were a set of mystic symbols, and every page of inspired or uninspired writ, an insoluble enigma. This was the least part of their calamity. Ignorance is the prolific mother of crimes and of misery. It is during a state of mental night, that the worst vices of the human character steal from their coverts in the heart, to prey upon the peace and comforts of society. To the children of the poor, the sabbath seemed to suspend the toils of the body, only to afford them greater leisure for effecting the ruin of their souls, they claimed the sacred hours as their own, and diligently employed them to aid their growth in wickedness. In the vicinity of every large town, multitudes were to be seen practising every boyish sport; while others spread over the face of the country, to commit their depredations on orchards and gardens. In many places the farmer was debarred from public worship to guard his property, or else employed his servants in the same task. Persons going to the house of God, not only had their minds disturbed, but their peace interrupted, by numerous bands of these unhappy youth; of whom the more desperate sometimes associated for the purpose of molesting those whom conscience led to worship in the meeting-house, rather than the Church. Thus every generation of the poor was growing up successively without any general effort to instruct their ignorance, to check their violence, to repress their vices, or to form their manners.[29]

This obsession with the sins of the poor was defined in the context of a conservative image of society. Teachers were to be the agents of patriarchal reconstruction, linking the classes together in bonds of mutual harmony, and strengthening family life by reconciling husbands and wives, parents and children. Again James is worth quoting at length:

> All the particular duties that arise out of the reciprocal ties of society are inculcated, while the general principles of benevolence and submission, which like two mighty columns support the whole fabric of our social interests, are deeply founded in the human bosom. Although the general aspect of society in its lower classes appear as yet unchanged, and the uniting force of its morality at present, seems to throw to a great distance the harvest of your zeal, still let it be a stimulus to your exertions to be assured that you are pouring the principle of fertility through a thousand channels, and that already you see here and there a vernal flower lifting its head amidst barreness and storms, the welcome harbinger of a happier season. Already innumerable masters bless your labors for faithful servants, - wives pour out their gratitude for industrious and affectionate husbands, - and children, as they gather round the knees of a kind and tender father, well clad, well fed, well taught, turn to you with the thankful smiles of their bliss, as their benefactors, who made their parents what they are. Society through all its ranks, gratefully acknowledges the obligations conferred by your labors, and earnestly solicits their continuance. The King from his throne,

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29. John Angell James, The Sunday School Teachers' Guide (Birmingham, 1816), 2nd edition, 3.

> and the senate in full convention, have paid the tribute of admiration to the utility of your exertions. You are admitted to be some of the best friends of the community, and the most efficient philanthropists of the poor.[30]

A similar emphasis was present in the work of Thomas Chalmers, the Scottish Presbyterian divine, philosopher and political economist. He was also a supporter of the Stockport Sunday School, visiting the institution and corresponding with its leading figure, Joseph Mayer.[31] In The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns, produced in 1821, he illustrated his determination to raise the moral level of the working classes through education. He stressed the need to link the social classes together and to encourage the poor to be satisfied with their station in life.[32] In a specific work on Sunday schools, published in 1824, Chalmers argued for educational promotion in order to

> reclaim the whole of our present generation, to a kindliness for the upperclasses that is now unfelt ... by the ministration of such a moral influence among the young, as would serve to exalt humble life.[33]

Sunday school teachers from a working class background, Chalmers believed, were ideal agents of moral transformation. Former Sunday scholars were:

> convertible into the teachers of a future generation. There will be indefinite additions made to our religious agency. Instead of having to assail, as now, the general bulk of the population, by a Christian influence from without, the mass itself will be penetrated and through the means of residing and most effective teachers, there will be kept up a busy process of internal circulation. The man who can calmly set himself down to the work of a district school, and there be satisfied to live and to labour without a name, may germinate a moral influence that will at length, overspread the whole city of his habitation.[34]

Chalmers believed that existing Sunday school education was an importation of values from outside of the communities of the labouring poor. He also

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30. ibid., 17.

31. St.R.L., B/S/5/4, Stockport Sunday School Letters 1821-1825.

32. Trygve R. Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (1976), 37-38.

33. Thomas Chalmers, On the Advantages of Local Sabbath Schools (Glasgow, 1824), 85.

34. ibid., 52.

implied that this approach was not successful. Working-class Sunday school teachers, he hoped, would have absorbed the evangelical and conservative culture imbued by their instruction. They were likely to be more effective means of spiritual, social and moral transformation, he believed, than teachers from higher social classes.

Although these images of the Sunday school teacher contained an attack on the character and culture of the labouring poor, it is a mistake to assume that teachers were supposed to launch a pre-emptive strike against the depravity of the lower orders. Altering the behaviour of the poor was to be achieved through the formation of close personal relationships between instructor and pupil. The paternal image of the surrogate, benevolent parent recurred in descriptions of the teachers' role. A speaker at a quarterly meeting of the Sunday School Union in 1812 affirmed that they

> should be truly converted characters possessed of some ability, competent to address the young in a manner suited to their capacities: they should be patient and not easily provoked to anger and willing to reward their children when they deserved it. They should visit their children especially when indisposed and should interest themselves in the welfare of their parents: they should be frequent at the throne of grace and very attentive to their own souls, praying that their lives, conduct and conversation may manifest an example worthy of imitation by their pupils.[35]

A familial metaphor was used to describe the role of teachers in the Stockport Sunday School:

> With an almost parental affection for their little charge, they engage in every plan, which promotes their welfare with cheerfulness. If one of their fellow-teachers or scholars is suffering beneath the pressure of disease, they hasten to smooth the couch of afflication, and seek by their prayers and advice, to dispel every doubt, and to alleviate every sorrow. By such offices as these a sympathy is established between them, which often continues through life.[36]

The anonymous writer of Hints for Sunday Schools in 1810 offered a similar

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35. N.C.E.C., Sunday School Union, Minutes of the Committee 1810-1814, op. cit., General Quarterly Meeting, 15 April 1812, 60.

36. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1813, 10.

account of their function. By paying attention to their pupils' conduct during the week, and by providing relief during sickness or distress, they cemented through "affectionate attentions" the commitment of children to the institution.[37] A teacher writing in The Sunday School Repository of 1814 described his own task and that of his colleagues, by using a related image: he affirmed, "Our labours are calculated to produce and promote a spirit of benevolence."[38] Thomas Babbington an evangelical Sunday school promoter in Leicestershire, stressed the importance of emotional ties between teachers and scholars:

> the affection ... of the children for those who teach them, if they are well taught, is a very important instrument to secure their good behaviour in future life; it greatly softens their minds, and is a strong barrier against conduct which they know will be highly displeasing in their former teachers ...."[39]

As the foregoing descriptions implied, teachers were chosen for their personal qualities rather than their academic skills. A speaker at a quarterly meeting of the Sunday School Union affirmed that they "should possess piety, zeal, talents and an inclination to attend constantly. They should be experimentally acquainted with divine things."[40] The Rev. Joseph Wigram, a Bishop of Rochester and secretary to the National Society, argued that the director of a Sunday school should pay more attention to the "religious character" of teachers than to their intellectual ability:

> a young person of an humble, pious mind, with moderate abilities; will make a far more useful Teacher, than one possessed of the greatest talents, and yet deficient in that Christian piety and

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37. Hints for conducting Sunday Schools (Dublin, 1810), 14-15.

38. Sunday School Repository or Teachers' Magazine, I, viii, October 1814, 452.

39. Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis, op. cit., 1816 (469), 2nd report with Minutes of Evidence, 147.

40. N.C.E.C., Sunday School Union, Minutes of the Committee 1810-1814, op. cit., General Quarterly Meeting, 15 April 1812, 56.

humility which would lead him to seek the counsel and advice of persons more experienced than himself.[41]

The Methodist Valentine Ward asserted that the most important qualities for a teacher were the "Fear and love of God".[42] In his history of Bristol Methodist Sunday schools, J. S. Broad suggested that teachers should possess "personal piety as an indispensable qualification for discharging their respective stations with propriety and advantage to their tender charge.[43] The Congregationalist the Rev. J. A. James provided one of the most detailed statements of the personal qualities required in Sunday school teachers. They were to be religiously committed, with "a dignified sedateness of manners", have a knowledge of human conduct and an ability to communicate with children as well as a well-governed temper.[44] In addition, teachers were to be aware of the importance of social distinctions, so that they could instil the appropriate social habits into children. Addressing teachers, James announced:

> You should be intimately acquainted with all the general proprieties of human conduct which arise out of the distinctions of society, and be deeply impressed with their importance.
>
> You should not only clearly understand what is religiously and morally right, but also have a keen perception of those distinctions between right and wrong, which have been established by the authorised laws of human intercourse. You should be acquainted with the obligations of inferiors to superiors: and of persons in dependant stations of life, to those who are their supporters or employers. You should be alive to all the little niceties of behaviour demanded by courtesy, and be able to expose to the children the impropriety of any instance of rudeness, incivility, or ingratitude. Christianity, instead of sinking the distinctions of society, has elevated and guarded them; and indeed has employed its most sublime and interesting motives to enforce the minutest offices of social life. The children of the poor, especially in large manufacturing towns, are often exceedingly destitute of that respectful deportment towards their superiors, which the order of society necessarily requires. This defect, it is yourduty, as much as possible to supply. A civil, submissive, respectful habit, is not to be considered as merely constituting the polish of general character, but in some measure

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41. Joseph Cotton Wigram, Practical Hints on the formation and management of Sunday schools (1833), 65.

42. Ward, op. cit., 33.

43. Broad, op. cit., 53.

44. James, op. cit., 65-73.

> preparing for religious impression. A rude uncivil, intractable youth, is the last in the school in whose heart holy emotions are likely to be produced. He who feels little respect for human authority, is yet far distant from bowing with humility before that which is divine.[45]

Religion was inextricably linked to the maintenance of the social order, and each teacher's role was to contain both spiritual and social elements. Teachers were to act as surrogate parents, creating emotional ties similar to those contained in the family. Promoters of Sunday schools argued essentially, that teachers should be agents of patriarchal reconstruction inducing social harmony, sanctifying inequalities of wealth and power, and spiritualising family life through religion.

Evidence concerning the values and behaviour of teachers themselves, as opposed to those that they were supposed to absorb, is hard to accumulate. Some information suggests that many teachers resembled the ideal images which their mentors provided. The report of the Southwark Sunday School Society in 1821, announced that former scholars made high quality teachers because they had absorbed the culture which their schools promoted. It indicated that about one third of existing teachers were former scholars and could therefore base its contention upon the Society's own experience. It affirmed that those

> who have themselves been educated in a Sunday school, have besides the ordinary inducement of a desire to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of the children committed to their care, a strong feeling constantly present to their minds of personal benefit derived from a course of instruction similar to that which they are imparting to others, and this generally makes most useful teachers.[46]

Furthermore, those working-class teachers at the Stockport Sunday School who were questioned by the Commissioners investigating the employment of factory children in 1833, possessed a strong commitment to their school. They supported the school managers' stance against the reduction of the hours of factory labour, even though they were mill operatives themselves,

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45. ibid., 75.

46. Sw.R., p.268 SOU, Southwark Sunday School Society Reports ... op. cit., Report 1821, 8-9.

on the grounds that a reduction in the time spent at work would increase the workers' susceptibility to vice during their leisure. Additionally, the teachers believed that the school had been influential in improving the morality of Stockport people.[47] Furthermore, letters survive to show how strongly teachers identified with the instruction which the Sunday school provided. One teacher, about to leave his job at the Friar Lane Baptist Sunday School in Leicester, explained how much he had been committed to his role, and stated how without the influence of the school he "should never have known the way of salvation".[48] Similarly a number of letters by Methodist Sunday School teachers in Bristol revealed the same concern.[49] The Monthly Instructor, a manuscript magazine of the Worship Street Sunday School in London provided an example of how a teacher became committed to the values of his school. Beginning his work at the age of eighteen he found himself at first out of his element, but associating with more experienced teachers he took more interest in his employment, attended more punctually and became a successful and committed teacher.[50]

Nevertheless, not all Sunday school teachers were as deeply indentified with their role. Many teachers were young and inexperienced, and it appears from the minutes of at least one Sunday school that resignations were frequent.[51] Although it has not been possible to quantify the extent of

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47. First Report of the Commissioners appointed to collect information ... relative to the Employment of Children, 1833 (450) XX, op. cit., Examinations taken by Mr. Cowell, D.I. Stockport, 83-86.

48. L.C.R.O., 15966/35, Friar Lane Baptist Chapel Leicester, Minutes of Sunday school Teachers' Meetings 1815-1828, Letter copied into book after meeting of 19 May 1826.

49. Broad, op. cit., 86-87, 130-134.

50. Guildhall Library (Gu.L.), 7, 513A, Worship Street (Shoreditch) Sunday School. The Monthly Instructor, vi, July 1828, 162-163.

51. G.L.R.O., N/M/17/5, Golden Lane Sunday School/Radnor Street from 1819, Minutes of Local Committee 1817-1829. See also G.L., 7513A, op. cit., The Monthly Instructor, v, March 1827, 60. Only one teacher from the original staff was left nine years after the School's commencement.

commitment, it is clear that substantial numbers of teachers failed to live up to the standards which the Sunday school set. Two aspects of this failure are examined in the chapter. Firstly, lack of punctuality or regularity in attendance, and secondly, inadequate morality.

Punctuality and regularity in attendance were key attributes of the ideal Sunday school teacher. If teachers failed to arrive at their classes on time, or did not come to their classes at all, then the urgency associated with their transformative role undoubtedly lost some of its impact. Several schools in fact produced rules which emphasized the necessity for teachers to be at their work on time.[52] Printed and manuscript sources suggest, however, that many teachers failed to internalize the values of punctuality and regularity. J. A. James announced:

> there is scarcely an evil, under which the whole system more severely suffers, than a want of punctuality in the teachers. It is an evil which eats into the very core of the institution. Precisely in the degree to which it exists, the order of the school must be interrupted, the solemnity of instruction disturbed, and the whole machine be impeded. Nor will the mischief stop here. The children perceiving that it is useless to be there before their teachers, and imitating their irregularity, will sink into the same habits of inattention and neglect.[53]

Others drew attention to the deleterious effects which teachers who failed to arrive at their classes could have upon their scholars. A speaker at a quarterly meeting of the Sunday School Union asserted:

> How grievous, is it to see children waiting for their teachers' appearance. Irregular teachers have not properly considered the importance of their work, and their own responsibility, their example if imitated would render their Sunday school a scene of complete disorder and confusion.[54]

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52. See for example, L.C.R.O., N/C/215/22, Market Harborough Congregational Church Sunday School, Rules of the Harborough Sunday School 1809.

53. James, op. cit., 106-107. See also G.L.R.O., N/M/17/5, op. cit., 18 November 1817, 3 February 1818; St.R.L., B/S/6/1/3, Stockport Sunday School Committee Minute Book, 1800-1801, 14 June 1801, 72.

54. N.C.E.C., Sunday School Union, Minutes of the Committee 1810-1814, op. cit., General Quarterly Meeting, 15 April 1812, 58.

A writer in the magazine of the Worship Street Sunday School also indicated that this was a serious problem in his school:

> The evils caused by irregular attendance on the part of teachers are considerable. The influence of their example on the children is pernicious, and their absence affords to the disorderly an opportunity of becoming exceedingly troublesome. It therefore behoves all who have undertaken, or who may undertake this office to be as regular (and I may add, as early) in their attendance as their circumstances allow them to be.[55]

Table 16 provides some evidence upon the attendance of teachers at one London Methodist school in 1821. Only in one month, February, were 75 percent. of teachers in attendance. Attendance was particularly low in the months of August, September and October. On the afternoon of 26 August only sixteen out of forty-four teachers were present, three weeks later nineteen out of forty-two arrived, and on the afternoon of 14 and 28 October, eighteen and ten teachers out of forty-three attended.[56]

Table 16: Average monthly attendance rates of teachers at the Radnor Street Sunday School in 1821.[57]

| | per cent. |
|---|---|
| January | 74.2 |
| February | 75.0 |
| March | 74.7 |
| April | 68.9 |
| May | 68.8 |
| June | 71.7 |
| July | 66.5 |
| August | 59.1 |
| September | 60.7 |
| October | 56.4 |
| November | 62.7 |
| December | 64.6 |

Probably they were more strongly attracted by the pleasant weather of summer and early autumn, than the prospect of teaching children.

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55. Gu.L., 7, 513A, op. cit., The Monthly Instructor, v, February 1827, 46-47; see also viii October 1830, 240.

56. G.L.R.O., N/M/17/34, Radnor Street Sunday School, Log Book 1821-1825.

57. idem.

The extent of this problem caused many schools to devise drastic measures to overcome it. Several institutions provided a system of fines for recalcitrant teachers, at Stafford Wesleyan Sunday School, Friar Lane Baptist Sunday School, and Bond Street Congregational Sunday School, Leicester, Market Harborough Sunday School and Southwark Chapel for instance. The regularity with which minutes record the problem of lateness or poor attendance indicates that these measures were not wholly successful. One institution, the Golden Lane Sunday School in London, a Methodist establishment, possibly adopted a more practical approach. It proposed to tighten up the procedure for appointing teachers and reduce their work load.[58]

Poor attendance and lack of punctuality among teachers were not the only problems which the Sunday school had to face. Many teachers failed to live up to the moral requirements of the institution. A speaker at one of the Sunday School Union's quarterly meetings noted that "many evils result from employing imprudent and impious boys" as Sunday school teachers. Many children he argued, imitated the example of these inadequate teachers. He also claimed that others rushed heedlessly into teaching without considering the nature of their duty, they soon tired and neglected their classes.[59] Manuscript records refer to the dismissal or resignation of teachers for "bad conduct", as at Bond Street Congregational Sunday School in Leicester,[60] or because they "liked sinning better than teaching", as at Binbrook Wesleyan Sunday School in Lincolnshire.[61] The precise nature of the misdemeanours in these two cases, however, was not mentioned. Two other examples provide more explicit accounts. At Stafford Wesleyan Sunday School, a meeting of the committee and teachers announced in 1822:

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58. S.C.R.O., D 1174/3/3/1, op. cit., Rule Book contained in Minute Book; L.C.R.O., 15966/35, op. cit., 30 October 1816; L.C.R.O., 15 D 64/43, op. cit., 7 February 1810; L.C.R.O., N/C/215/22, op. cit.; J.E., The Story of a hundred years (Southwark Chapel Sunday School) ... (1905), 9. This latter volume is in the Southwark Room. G.L.R.O., N/M/17/2, Golden Lane Sunday School, Account of Proceedings 1801-1804, 25 April 1802.

59. N.C.E.C., Sunday School Union, Minutes of the Committee 1810-1814, op. cit., General Quarterly Meeting, 15 April 1812, 56-57.

60. L.C.R.O., 15 D/64/43, op. cit., 29 October 1817.

61. Lincolnshire Country Record Office, Ln.C.R.O., Market Rasen Methodist circuit, Box marked Binbrook Ludford etc., Binbrook Wesleyan Sunday School Minutes 1819-25. No date is given for this incident.

> This meeting having heard with extreme sorrow, that some of the Teachers and Monitors have so far forgotten their duty, as to frequent the Races and Theatre; thereby setting a most pernicious example to the Children under their care; and thus undermining those religious impressions which they are anxious should ever rest upon the minds of both Teachers and Scholars; and being desirous of preventing the recurrence of such evils, do hereby Resolve - That no person shall in future be continued either as Teachers or Monitors who shall attend either the Races or Theatre.[62]

The following year, four teachers and monitors contravened the regulation and had to suffer the consequences.[63] In 1816 a teacher at the Friar Lane Baptist Sunday School in Leicester was dismissed for habitual drunkenness. In explaining the decision, one of his former colleagues wrote to him in the following terms:

> You may readily conceive the pain I felt in having it sounded in my ears, "One of your teachers was led home drunk yesterday." What! a Teacher in a Sunday School led home drunk! O what a disgraceful report! What an inconsistency! What a dishonour to our School, that such an one (sic) should be found belonging to it. - Yes, Charles, it is so much, so as not to be endured and the Teachers wish you to understand that you no longer bear the character of a Teacher at the Friar Lane Sunday school .... for what effect could your advice be expected to have upon the minds of the Children when they saw you act so unworthy the character not only as a Teacher, but even of the character you sustain of a rational Being: it must fill them with disgust. And who can say what influence it might have on their minds when grown to manhood. Who can tell but they might reason thus with themselves, "There can be no great harm in being Drunk, for my Teacher used to get Drunk. Again what opinion think you, would be formed of our School were such characters retained as Teachers; a very bad one doubtless: and the Institution would suffer thereby.[64]

Undoubtedly, the writer was exaggerating the effect of the teacher's own behaviour upon the future behaviour of his pupils, but this incident and the previous one indicated a significant concern on the part of these Sunday schools. In the same way as a lack of punctuality and irregular attendance was attacked because of its effects upon the scholars, so were aspects of a teacher's personal life subject to criticism. Allegedly, immoral activities, such as going to the races or theatre or getting drunk

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62. S.C.R.O., D/1174/3/3/1, op. cit., 24 September 1822.

63. ibid., 11 October 1823.

64. L.C.R.O., 15966/35, op. cit., 8 September 1816.

could lead to dismissal if the managers of the school and fellow teachers felt that the children might be corrupted.

It is not suggested that a majority of teachers failed to absorb the moral requirements which the Sunday school established, but a significant number certainly did not live up to its highest standards. Even if it is accepted, as Laqueur claims, that Sunday schools promoted a working-class culture and that working-class teachers were agents responsible for transmitting this culture of religion and respectability, then many of them were not committed to their task. However, the burden of this thesis has been that teachers were responsible for promoting a patriarchal culture which was generated outside communities of the labouring poor. Although many actively supported the values associated with this culture, several failed to promote them effectively because they were irregular in their attendance. Other teachers were probably counter-productive influences, if their personal life contradicted the ideal of the Sunday school teacher.

# Chapter 6

## The Sunday School: Content of Education

This chapter focusses upon the content of Sunday school education. Firstly, it examines the learning assumptions which formed the basis of pedagogy, curriculum and discipline in the Sunday school. Secondly, it studies the ways in which managers and teachers developed a framework of social order in their institutions. Thirdly, the chapter analyses the pedagogy of the Sunday school, and fourthly, the curricula which the institution provided are presented. Fifthly, it examines the systems of rewards and punishments which the Sunday school developed, and sixthly, it studies the forms of social welfare which were associated with the establishment of these schools. Seventhly, the roles which parents were expected to perform, and the ways in which they were expected to be affected by the institution are analysed. Finally, some indication is given concerning the success and failure of the Sunday school. It is argued throughout the chapter that the Sunday school attempted to transform the working-class child by providing a social and religious education. Messages were generally presented in a framework of paternal or benevolent relationships, and children were encouraged to accept the necessity of a society which was divided in terms of wealth and power, but which maintained its existence through the mutual performance of duties and obligations. The education which the Sunday school provided, however, was not designed to make the children obedient and docile factory workers, neither were its curricula or patterns of social welfare, expressions of a working-class culture of religion and respectability. Instead, the Sunday school attempted to project an image of a patriarchal society based upon stability, harmony and benevolence, where religious experience provided the psychological means of transformation for the infant poor. By understanding his own depravity and sinfulness, the imperfectly educated child was expected to alter his own life, reject the culture of his environment and perceive the nature of social and spiritual reality.

I

This section of the chapter examines the learning assumptions which formed the basis of Sunday school education. It studies some justifications of Sunday school education initially, followed by an analysis of three basic assumptions concerning the manner in which learning could be best accomplished. Sunday school promoters had no difficulty in justifying a programme of education for the children of the labouring poor. They advocated a form of instruction which was meant to be social and religious in emphasis and limited in content, so that the poor would reach adulthood accepting their subordinate position in life. For example in 1807, the annual report of the Methodist Sunday school in Leek, quoted with approval from Beilby Porteus, the Bishop of London; he claimed that knowledge was responsible for creating a spiritually-minded, moral, and submissive population:

> It has, I know, been sometimes asserted, that ignorance is the mother of devotion. It is no such thing. It is the mother of superstition, of bigotry, of fanaticism, of disaffection, of cruelty, and of rebellion. These are its legitimate children. It has never produced any other; and never will to the end of the world. And we may lay this down as an incontestible truth, that a well informed and intelligent people, more particularly a people well acquainted with the sacred writings, will always be more orderly, more decent, more humane, more virtuous, more religious, more obedient to their superiors, than a people totally devoid of all instruction and all education.[1]

Arguments like this one, provided an answer to the small number of conservatives, in for example the Anti-Jacobin Magazine, who attacked schooling for the masses as socially subversive.[2] In fact, Sunday schools established such a pre-eminent position in the minds of the upper and middle classes, that reactionary criticism did little to restrict the growth of these institutions. After all, their respectability had been

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1. S.C.R.O., D 1114/1, op. cit., Annual Report 1807.

2. Anti-Jacobin Review, iii, 1799, 180, 320-322.

demonstrated by their patronage by the royal family.[3]

Nevertheless, it was clear that Sunday schools were to promote a form of instruction which would not make the children of the poor as knowledgeable as those of the rich. Education for the lower orders was to be strictly limited. Adopting a mixture of genetic and environmental assumptions, the Annual Report of the Stockport Sunday School for 1806, affirmed:

> Providence never designed the bulk of mankind for profound scholars. The degree of information that contributes most essentially to the general happiness of society is nigh at hand, and of easy attainment. It will be readily allowed, that profound erudition is essential to the judicious civilian, the literary professor and the complete Divine; but the objects of our Institution being the laboring classes of society, the education necessary to enable them to fill up their stations with credit to themselves, and advantage to the community, is much more limited. All that we have in view is to qualify young persons of both sexes, for various useful and practical arts, and to prompt them to exercise their understanding, in the search of truth; nor are these objects of small importance.[4]

The content of Sunday school education then, was firmly placed in the context of a socially divided society.

As well as these general considerations, there were three specific assumptions concerning the ways in which learning could be best accomplished. Firstly, there was the belief that childhood provided the most fruitful time for instruction and that boys and girls should in some circumstances be segregated to encourage sexually appropriate learning. Secondly, it was considered that humanity was essentially sinful and corrupt, and religious experience provided the only means of coping with this state of affairs. Thirdly, it was assumed that children derived their attitudes and behaviour from those around them, and it was therefore important for

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3. Queen Charlotte patronised Mrs. Trimmer's, The Oeconomy of Charity, Sarah Trimmer, Oeconomy, op. cit., iii-vii. She also conferred her approval upon Raikes, Gentleman's Magazine, lviii, 1788, 654. In 1820, the Duke of Sussex and the Prince of Saxe-Coburg were patrons, and the Duchess of Kent was a patroness of the Stockport Sunday School, St.R.L., SK 52, op. cit., Annual Report 1820, 20.

4. ibid., Report 1806, 3-4.

Sunday schools to pay particular attention to the environment within which education in its widest sense was experienced.

The first assumption, concerning the educational significance of childhood was presented by the Vicar of Bloughton-Blean in Kent, Charles Moore, in a Sunday school sermon of 1785:

> Infancy and childhood are the proper seasons of instilling principles of all kinds, and therefore ought more especially to be filled up with such as are good and virtuous. The soul is at that age most receptive and pliable, and in consequence most fit for instruction. There exist then no impediments, no prejudices to hinder the access of divine truths, there are few lusts or prepossessions to stand in the way and to dispute their passage into the mind. Children are for the most part like moist and soft clay in the hands of the potter, apt and easy to be moulded into any shape at the will of the workman; but if neglected when of this due temperament, they soon become hardened and lose all their ductility.[5]

According to the dissenting minister, the Rev. William Turner, Sunday schools were able to operate on those "whose minds are soft and tender, capable of receiving the best impressions, and forming the most regular habits."[6] A report of the Stockport Sunday School asserted that those "impressions are the strongest which are made in infancy and youth".[7] This conviction of the educational significance of childhood was derived from Biblical precedents. The Rev. William Peters noted that Solomon had advised that children should be instructed as soon as possible, "in all those precepts, civil and religious which they ought to practice through the whole course of their future lives".[8]

Onefurther aspect of the importance of childhood education was stressed by several writers, although by no means were their proposals

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5. Charles Moore, A sermon preached in the Church of St. Nicholas, Rochester ... on the introduction of Sunday Schools ... (Canterbury, 1785), 24.

6. William Turner, Sunday schools recommended ... (Newcastle, 1786), 14.

7. St.R.L., SK 52, op. cit., Report 1806, 5.

8. William Peters, An Exhortation to that Greatest of Charities, rescuing the Infant Poor from Sin ... (1800), 6-7.

taken up by all Sunday schools. The most obvious classification of children, was that between boys and girls, and some promoters argued that they should be instructed separately, so that they could learn more easily, the qualities requisite to their own sex. "Manliness", as the appropriate state of mind for boys, and "modesty" for girls were emphasized.[9] These were cultural requirements which undoubtedly reflected the contemporary sexual division of labour where men were expected to play their part as breadwinners and head of their families, whilst women were called u on to perform their role as housewives and mothers. One writer, the Rev. J. Grant in 1804, outlined how education for boys and girls should be applied in Sunday schools:

> GIRLS should be placed under mistresses of religious principles and gentle manners; who may civilize their pupils by their example, and engage them to a love of goodness, by the lenience of correction, or rather by the persuasion of kindness. Where there are several teachers however, it is desirable that one of them should possess a sterner temper, by whom the bold may be repressed, the stubborn bent, and the high-spirited, subdued.[10]

However:

> BOYS, being naturally less submissive, less capable of being influenced by mild treatment, and less susceptible of religious impression, require a greater degree of strictness, intimidation, and correction ....[11]

If the sexes were completely segregated, Grant prophesied:

> they will be strangers to every other sentiment than that of emulation with their own sex, and desire to please their superiors. The passions will be dormant, until reason and principle shall have gained ascendancy to control them; and in the meantime, all the pious and respectful affections of the mind will be called forth and invigorated.[12]

This aspect of Sunday school education should not be overstressed, the school of industry rather than the Sunday school was more concerned with

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9. On these matters see Thomas Hartwell Horne, Hints for the formation and establishment of Sunday schools ... (1807), 11; Wigram, op. cit., 12; "Arguments and reasons for the establishment of Sunday schools ...", in Jesse, op. cit.; Hints for the institution of Sunday-Schools and Parish Clubs ... (York, 1789), vii.

10. Grant, op. cit., 10.

11. idem.

12. ibid., 11.

constructing an appropriate curriculum for boys and girls. It is worth noting however, that Grant's writings implied that Sunday schools should attempt to prolong childhood, to keep the passions dormant, so that an effective period of learning could be extended inside the institution.

The second assumption was based upon an image of corrupt humanity. Again scriptural justification supported this contention. In A Practical View of Christianity, Wilberforce had asserted that mankind was naturally depraved.[13] It was necessary for man to have recourse to the Bible, commit his life to Christ, and base his new existence upon the moral injunctions which the scriptures emphasized, if he was to overcome worldly suffering and an ultimate descent into Hell. The most significant Sunday school periodical, The Youth's Magazine, in 1819, drew attention to these themes:

> As you are to get your bread by working at some kind of business, you must be industrious and active, and not give way to lounging idle habits. And be just and fair in all you do and say; let no one persuade you to practise any of the tricks and deceits to which many boys and girls accustom themselves, and thus impose upon their parents and teachers, masters and mistresses; and always remember that a day of reckoning will come, when you must enter into an account with Jesus Christ, the Judge of all the world, for all you have said and done and then it will be painfully manifested that all the deceitful, and all the liars will have their portion in the lake that will ever burn with fire and brimstone. And remember, the Bible says to you, whatsoever ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so to them. Love truth, and firmly adhere to it, and God will not forsake you. Study your own disposition, guard especially against stubbornness, perverseness, obstinacy, negligence, ill-nature, and sullen-ness; and be patient gentle and kind; and be thankful for instruction, and for being brought to know when you have done wrong, that you may reform. Call yourselves to account every night before you go to sleep, that you may trace out your errors of the past-day, and beg of God to forgive you, and keep you from those sins for the future.[14]

Presented in this form, these images seem to be abstract, but Sunday school promoters possessed a clear idea of the sins which needed replacement. Their attack upon the labouring poor was partially influenced by their class prejudices as well as their scriptural presuppositions.

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13. See Chapter 1.

14. Youth's Magazine, new series, iv, July 1819, 232.

Sunday school instruction was predicated upon an attack on aspects of popular culture. Swearing was alleged to be a particularly wicked vice, even though it was probably commonly used and also devoid of any particularly evil connotations in the minds of those who uttered oaths and curses:

> Prophane Swearing is the language of Hell, and is so wanton an insult to the Majesty of Heaven, that it is almost wonderful human laws have not been more severe against it.[15]

Generalised attacks upon "drunkenness" and "idleness" also formed a common feature of Sunday school interpretations of sin. No distinction was made between excessive drinking at times of celebration and continual drunkenness, or the traditional observation of "Saint Monday" and a constant failure or unwillingness to work. Instead, all of these differences were linked together to form collections of absolute vices:

> Temperance keeps men cool and in comfortable health; but he who is given to drunkenness is generally in want; is in a filthy condition; and subject to disease .... The industrious peasant or mechanic who works with his hands and worships God with a willing and contented mind, is doubtlessly a valuable member of society; but he who is idle, is (like the drunkard) generally in a filthy and wretched condition.[16]

Furthermore, children were to avoid being drawn into sin by their future associates, when they entered the world of adolescence or adulthood:

> Above all, beware of improper companions. It is the connexions which you may form that will ruin you. Young persons when they go out into the world, quit their homes comparatively innocent and well-disposed; but falling into the hands of the vicious and vile, they are speedily undone both in body and soul. Health and principles soon become sacrifices to the contamination of this widely destructive pestilence. Never forget that young or old people, how agreeable soever their tempers and manners may be, cannot be safe companions for you, if they have not good principles. Be cautious, therefore, if in the conversation and conduct of any of your acquaintance, you observe such expressions and such actions as tend to pollute your mind, and to diminish your hatred of sin, or to lead you to disregard the good principles in which you have been brought up; renounce such companions immediately and for ever; you will never be safe while you are within the reach of their filthy and poisonous language.[17]

The third major assumption about learning, perceived children as tabula rasa,

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15. Abraham Crocker, Instructions to children of Sunday schools ... (Frome, 1796), 16.

16. ibid., 23-24.

17. Youth's Magazine, new series, iv, August 1819, 267-268.

whose moral behaviour was influenced by their social environment. This learning theory was potentially in contradiction with the doctrine of original sin which appeared to form the dominant image of humanity in evangelical Sunday schools at least. The Annual Report of the Methodist Sunday School in Leek for 1804, asserted:

> Infancy is led altogether by imitation. It hath neither words nor actions, but infused by others: if it hath good or ill language, it is but borrowed; and the shame or thanks is due to those that lent it them.
>
> In vain do we look for good from those children whose education we have neglected. In vain do we grieve for those miscarriages which our care might have prevented.[18]

It is possible to detect a more optimistic approach to education in this quotation. If children were formed by their environment, then educationalists could reconstruct their behaviour and attitudes by creating an appropriate set of social relations. However this view did not appear to be common in the Sunday school literature of the early nineteenth century; Biblical rather than environmental assumptions seem to have been dominant.

Whatever theory of learning individual promoters or schools adopted, Sunday schools were designed in general to create a new race of children, possessing moral attributes which distinguished them from other members of the labouring poor. An address delivered to pupils at a dissenting Sunday school pinpointed this emphasis:

> we do hope that the pains which are taken to teach you the Holy Scriptures will make you very different from other children; it will be expected that you should be different; you will be watched to see if you are so; you will be more severely censured than others if you are not. This difference will be seen at home; in your being more dutiful to your parents, and kind and loving to your brothers and sisters. At school also it will be seen; you will honour and respect them who instruct you, and never try to deceive them by evasion or falsehood, but strive to learn the fastest and do the most work. That you are superior to other children must appear in the streets also, by your modest, quiet and orderly behaviour.[19]

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18. S.C.R.O., D/1114/1, op. cit., Annual Report 1804.

19. John Townsend, Hints on Sunday Schools ... (1801), 35.

II

But before this process of transformation could be accomplished, Sunday schools faced the problem of establishing a framework of order in the classroom. They were providing formal education for children who had generally received no experience of a school. The problems which this situation raised were largely perceived in terms of civilizing a dangerous and depraved labouring population. A writer in The Youth's Magazine of 1817, expressed a general appreciation of the difficulties facing managers and teachers:

> As the children of the Sunday school are taken at random, without selection from the lower ranks, and the most ignorant classes of society; we cannot be surprised if there should abound among them tempers uncultivated, and manners extremely offensive. Even the best dispositions will run wild if not trained and pruned; but when morose, deceitful, and tyrannical tempers, are either let loose to their own turbulence, or checked by the counter turbulence of their parents, which has nothing like skill to guide it, or justice to convince the child who suffers by it; there can be no wonder if the disposition, though checked indeed, is not eradicated, but rather, by its very confinement is forced into some shape more crooked, and becomes to society more unsightly, and more troublesome.[20]

This theoretical statement in the most important Sunday school journal, expressed a central concern of their promoters, the supposed existence of a vicious circle of profligacy, rotating perpetually from parent to child. It is a statement which indicated the horror of Sunday school activists, when confronting the children of the labouring poor, whose morals and behaviour contrasted vividly with their own.

This concern for the establishment of order as a prerequisite of effective instruction was reflected in the work of actual teachers. In London, Thomas Cranfield believed that he was dealing with children devoid of any moral standards. When he opened a school in Kent Street, Southwark, his teachers were pelted with rotten eggs and stones, and their purses, handkerchiefs and coats were stolen by the "juvenile thieves" who attended

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20. Youth's Magazine, new series, ii, May 1817, 165.

the Institution.[21] On being taken to Chapel, the "rude and uncultivated" children had never seen the inside of a place of worship before; after the end of the service, they gave "three cheers for the Minister".[22] In Bristol, teachers of the Methodist Sunday School Society found similar problems in the Lewin's Mead district of the city; they also perceived them in similar ways:

> That neighbourhood is well known to swarm with wicked boys, who "fear not God, nor regard man". Many of these hardened lads were admitted, and the trouble they occasioned the Superintendents and Teachers, was unspeakable. Such was the insolence and depravity of many of the scholars, that we had truly rough work every Sabbath. Our Minute-book amply details the arduous exercises we went through. Week after week each Superintendent had to complain in the following or similar terms: "I find it hard work to have to do with some of the boys, they are so rude and unmanageable. Near the close of the school four of the big boys behaved so abominably outrageous that I was obliged to dismiss them."[23]

A number of methods were in fact adopted to overcome this apparent problem. In theory, physical violence was a possible means, but it was extremely rare in Sunday school education, being used reluctantly or condemned outright by promoters, managers, and teachers (this is discussed in detail, in the context of discipline, below). Other means were more acceptable. Firstly, there was the attempt to organize the school in such a way, that there would be no opportunity for disruption. Secondly, there was the formation of small classes, where potential troublemakers could be distributed throughout the school. Thirdly, there was the proposal to accommodate education to the supposed "needs" of the child.

The first method appears to have been most common. There are several descriptions of minutely detailed daily routines, which provided a means by which managers and teachers could pre-empt potential disruptive behaviour on the part of unruly scholars. The system adopted by the

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21. G. Holden Pike, Pity for the perishing: the power of the Bible in London (1884), 217-218. A copy is in the Southwark Room.

22. Cranfield, op. cit., 93.

23. Broad, op. cit., 127-128.

institutions of the Methodist Sunday School Society in Bristol operated in this way:

> The strictest attention is paid to the discipline established in them, and due regard had to the Rules and Regulations of the Society. The care of the respective schools devolves on the Superintendents.
>
> Precisely at the hour when the school opens, a Merit-Ticket is given to each child then present. The Superintendent on ringing a small bell obtains silence. The eyes and attentions of the scholars are fixed on him. On the motion of the hand, they all rise, standing upright, and in even ranks; boys with their hands behind them. After singing, the Superintendent makes a motion with his hands, when they kneel down, and are required to put their hands together on the forms, and to close their eyes.
>
> On prayer being finished, the Superintendent after pausing a minute, gives the word Rise, which they are expected to do with seriousness, and with as little noise as possible. Teachers are required to examine the faces, and hands of the scholars, to give out the books, and to hear the Scripture lessons. The Superintendent is to see that Teachers and Scholars are all in perfect order; he has to mark the attendance of Teachers, pointing out the best method of teaching, etc. As occasion requires, he gives certificates of good Attendance, exchanges certificates etc. Which is generally done on the first Sabbath in the month. About five minutes before the time of closing, the Teachers are desired to tie up the books in due order. When an address is delivered to the children on any religious subject, as much time is taken before this as is intended to be employed therein; as also to publish or give notice of any thing which concerns the whole school. Similar order is observed as to rising, kneeling, etc. as at the commencement. The girls withdraw first, in order, each one courtesying as she passeth her Teacher. The Teachers give the boys their hats, they rise at the lifting up of the Superintendent's hand, and on moving it sideways to face about, then to withdraw in order, each one making a bow as he passeth his respective Teacher.[24]

Other schools adopted similar devices to maintain order.[25]

Although designed originally for day schooling, the monitorial system was introduced into Sunday schools to provide a detailed ordered routine. The Sunday School Repository for 1816, provided a lengthy description of how it could work. It justified the utility of the monitorial system by analogy with law making in the state:

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24. ibid., 155-156.

25. Horne, op. cit., 23; Hanway, op. cit., 143-145; St.C.R.O., D/1114/1, op. cit., Rules for the Sunday School in Leek; L.C.R.O. N/C/215/22 op. cit.

> as it is by means of the wise laws which are enacted that civil society is governed, and the effect of human corruption counteracted; why might not laws also be found which shall effectually regulate our Sunday Schools?[26]

Even though it was subject to some criticism, the monitorial system did spread in Sunday schools throughout the country, during the first decades of the nineteenth century.[27]

It has been asserted by some historians and sociologists, that the regulated regimen which Sunday schools provided, assisted in the creation of a docile, punctual workforce during the establishment of an industrial society in England.[28] Undoubtedly, the disciplined behaviour required in a Sunday school was similar to that demanded in a factory operative, but this statement has to be qualified. Firstly, as previous chapters reveal the Sunday school was not simply a factory training establishment. In fact, this chapter indicates that Sunday school promoters were concerned that lessons should be varied, interesting and also involve the child in the instruction which was being presented to him. Most menial work, either outside or inside factories was not notable for these qualities. Secondly, as Laqueur points out, there is nothing particularly capitalist in the Sunday school's concern to establish a framework of order and discipline.[29] Both the medieval monastery and the army operated in this way.

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26. Sunday School Repository, No. xiii, volume II, January 1816, 195. The system is described in operation, 195-203.

27. For the introduction of the system see Watson, Sunday School Union, op. cit., 16; N.C.E.C., Sunday School Union, Minutes 1810-1814, op. cit., General Meeting 18 July 1810, 4, Minutes 1814-1817, Quarterly Meeting 18 October 1815, 121; Ln.C.R.O., Dixon 22/8/3, Notebook with draft rules, roster of visitors and notes on the usefulness of Sunday Schools, Caistor, c.1811-1816; Bain, op. cit., vii; L.C.R.O., 15966/36, Friar Lane Baptist Chapel, Leicester, Minutes of Sunday School Teachers' Meetings 1828-1834, 26 December 1831; L.C.R.O., 15D 64/43, op. cit., 4 July 1819; J. Howard, Historical sketch of the origin and work of the York incorporated (Church of England) Sunday School Committee ... (York, 1896), 2nd edition, 56. For criticisms of the monitorial system see Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis, op. cit., 1816 (427), 1st Report with Minutes of Evidence, 85; James, op. cit., 137.

28. See chapter 2, footnotes 1 and 2.

29. Laqueur, op. cit., 216-218.

In fact, the determination of Sunday school promoters to establish a system of order was a response to a perceived problem, an attempt to subdue an allegedly unruly collection of working class children. Order provided an environment within which instruction could take place, it was not a substitute for learning.

The second method of obtaining order appears to have been less common. One Baptist Sunday School in the Shoreditch area of London, found that very small classes, where the ages and abilities were distributed amongst all the teachers was an effective means of creating order: "the labour of teaching was equalized, and the bigger boys not being collected together, were less likely to be troublesome." But given the shortage of teachers in many schools, this kind of educational arrangement was undoubtedly rare.[30]

A third method, which was adopted by Sunday school promoters, involved applying a form of child psychology in their attempt to create a framework of order. One writer in The Christian Observer explained this approach:

> Children who are unaccustomed to apply their minds, require to be constantly exerted: when this is not done, their attention languishes. In order to produce this stimulus, I divide them into classes of four, and appoint the best boy captain of the class. When the classes begin to learn their lessons, I distribute them round the room, with their faces to the wall keeping each class as far assunder as possible.[31]

Children from the lower orders, the writer implied, were accustomed to manual labour and constant activity, therefore they could not be expected to concentrate upon subjects which demanded the long-term application of mental effort. Continual variation in the form and content of education, he argued, was therefore necessary in order to meet these children's supposed "needs". It has not been possible to find any documentary evidence to suggest how far this method was applied in actual cases, but if it was implemented, its emphasis upon varied activity rather than routine application, was unlikely to train children to be docile manual workers.

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30. Gu.L., 7,513A, op. cit., The Monthly Instructor, v, March 1827, 61-62.

31. Christian Observer, viii, 1809, 90.

III

In the previous chapter, the ideals which Sunday school teachers were to aspire to, are presented. In reality teaching practice may not have lived up to the image of a benevolent figure of authority, but pedagogical styles were designed to promote close personal relationships between teacher and taught. Teaching methods projected patriarchal images of social behaviour, although promoters and teachers were conscious of the need for a variety of techniques in Sunday school instruction. Firstly, it was important to induce feelings of affection and respect between pupils and their mentors. Secondly, in evangelical institutions, emotional management formed a feature of pedagogy. Thirdly, the development of mental faculties, by promoting rational understanding, was a significant feature of instruction.

Firstly, the creation of an atmosphere of affection and respect was an important aspect of pedagogy. There were strong practical reasons for this approach. According to the Rev. J. Grant, if teachers showed that they were interested in and aware of the lives of their scholars, then the latter would be encouraged to continue in school, and receive the benefits of instruction:

> The teachers ought to be possessed of zeal without enthusiasm, and humanity without indiscriminate good nature or softness. It ought to be part of their duty to discover the characters, the habits, the companions of their scholars, during the week days; and to communicate an accurate account of these particulars, to the superior inspectors. In this manner, the children of the poor, controlled on the one hand, and allured to virtue on the other, will continue in these schools from attachment to them, and from the pride of being esteemed by their betters, during the whole of the precarious season of youth ...[32]

But there were more substantial reasons. Jonas Hanway asserted that if the teacher could induce a feeling of affection towards their scholars, the infant poor would be civilized. If he found the means of "winning their hearts", then:

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32. Grant, op. cit., 24-25. See also Hanway, op. cit., 7.

> he will gradually introduce them to a knowledge of that state of civilization, in which instruction is usually attended to. He will induce them to practise a civil treatment towards each other, and prevent that ferocity which generally marks the conduct of the vulgar.[33]

An affectionate relationship, made instruction more easy. The significance of affection as a style of pedagogy was twofold. Firstly, it supposedly created an environment of mutual love which encouraged children to remain at school. Secondly, it was hoped that it would result in the percolation of civilized values into the working class. If relations inside the Sunday school were conducted in terms of affection and respect, then it was hoped that these values would spread into the daily lives of the children.

Secondly, especially in evangelical establishments, emotional management formed a particular feature of instruction. The dissenting minister, Robert Hall, called on teachers

> to impress on their children a deep conviction of their radical corruption, and of the necessity of the agony of the spirit to render the knowledge they acquire, practical and experimental. Be not satisfied with making them read a lesson or repeat a prayer. Be every thing tender and solemn in religion, by a due admixture of the awful considerations drawn from the prospect of death and judgment, with others of a more pleasing nature; aim to fit serious impressions on their hearts.[34]

The central aspect of emotional management in the Sunday school was the conversion experience. Many hymns were designed to induce a consciousness of sin, as a prelude to a commitment to the saving grace of Christ. One hymn contained in the records of the Leek Sunday School expressed this sentiment:

> Open now the doors of heaven,
> Open now thy mercies' store;
> Let a door of utt'rance given,
> Bring glad tidings to the poor.
> Let a crucify'd Redeemer,
> Groaning, praying, bath'd in blood,
> Be proclaimed to every sinner,
> Till they all are brought to God.[35]

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33. idem.

34. Hall, op. cit., 22.

35. St.C.R.O., D/1114/1, op. cit., A selection of hymns to be sung at the opening of the Methodist Chapel in Leek ... 1811, 6.

Thomas Cranfield, the fervent evangelical Sunday school promoter in Southwark, was able to induce an emotional reaction on the part of his hearers:

> in his addresses to the children, the energy of his spirit and of his utterance was such as is seldom exceeded in Sabbath-schools. He would give such scope to his feelings, as to stamp loudly with his foot; and would often be so overcome, that it was with difficulty he could proceed. Frequently, both teachers and children were excited to tears, by his pathetic representations of the love of the Saviour, and his readiness to receive sinners. He spoke with authority as a messenger from God.[36]

Mass prayer could also develop similar emotions. One of the first pupils at the Methodist Sunday School in Bolton recalled:

> It was no uncommon thing for about forty of these young people while the person appointed was speaking to them or praying with them to be all dissolved in tears, and the same was the case with a similar meeting of the girls.[37]

Prayer meetings held on weekdays served to cement the emotions induced on the Sabbath. An "affecting scene took place", during one prayer meeting at the Golden Lane Sunday School:

> One was pleading with the Lord to bless them, and to bless tham now. Another of them was confessing what a wicked child she had been, how disobedient to her parents, and that he heart was so hard. A third, that she had been a Sabbath-breaker, had provoked God by telling lies; and was weeping aloud, in the bitterness of her soul; in short, there was nothing to be heard but prayer, and sorrow, and penitential confession.[38]

One important aspect of the Sunday school literature which assisted in the process of conversion was the portrayal of deathbed scenes. In general they revealed the piety, resignation and purity of a Sunday school child when confronted with a fatal illness. The journals produced for Sunday school use were replete with examples, and reports of various institutions also contained stories of scholars who had died well.[39]

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36. Cranfield, op. cit., 258-259.

37. Charles Deane Little, The History and Romance of our Mother Sunday School. 150 Years of Bolton Methodism (Bolton, 1935), 24.

38. Grosvenor, op. cit., 10. See also Cranfield, op. cit., 137-141.

39. Sw.R., P 268 Sou, op. cit., Report 1817, 29-30, Report 1819, 13-15, Report 1821, 14-19, Report 1826, 13-17; Sw.R., The First Annual Report of the Committee of the Southwark Auxiliary Sunday School Union (1815), 19; Youth's Magazine, i, February 1806, 207-208, v, November 1810 396, vi, May 1833, 168.

The Youth's Magazine in 1807 for example provided A short account of Martha Hutchinson who died October 14, 1806, aged 14. Suffering a fatal illness for two years she became resigned to her death and several teachers who sat with her during the closing stages of her sickness were "much gratified by having many encouraging testimonies respecting the state of her soul". The report related in detail several statements she made concerning her desire to die and go to heaven,[40] and the advice she provided to those around her. Undoubtedly tales like these were designed to induce a Christian commitment in the minds of their juvenile readers.

It is extremely difficult to assess the significance of the emotional management which formed a part of Sunday school pedagogy. E. P. Thompson has seen in Wesleyan emotionalism the translation of energies which were dangerous to social order, into religious experiences.[41] By implication, these experiences assisted in maintaining the subordination of the poor during a period of potential and actual disturbance. Laqueur is less sure of his interpretation; possibly, he argues, Sunday schools induced feelings of guilt and emotional confusion, so that they could then step in to relieve them. Alternatively, he affirms more positively that the fundamentalist religion of the Sunday school provided an undoubted appeal to those whose daily lives were "disorderly, unpredictable and hard".[42] He argues therefore, by implication, that the emotional environment of the Sunday school was a means of improving the quality of life for the labouring poor, an interpretation which is almost completely opposite to Thompsons. It is certainly wrong to suggest that the intense emotional experiences which characterized some Sunday schools were necessarily features of all of these institutions. Available evidence does not permit such an interpretation. It is more appropriate to focus upon the

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40. Youth's Magazine, ii, February 1807, 64-66.

41. Thompson, Making of the English Working Class, op. cit., 402-411, 416.

42. Laqueur, op. cit., 169.

significance of these experiences in evangelical institutions, and to view them in terms of the structure of Sunday school education. Self-examination and the conversion experience, was a prelude to spiritual rebirth and the adoption of supposedly civilized values. It therefore destroyed the old life of the child who underwent the experience. His depravity and corruption were overcome, and his mind was opened up to new values. This in turn facilitated the work of the Sunday schoolteacher in promoting more mundane, but socially significant instruction. Furthermore, if the teacher had induced the emotional state which the scholars experienced, then his authority was strengthened. He acted as the representative of Christ on earth, and his role as an agent of transformation was sanctified in the eyes of the children. He had become the surrogate parent. The emotional management, or manipulation, which featured as an aspect of Sunday school pedagogy, should not be interpreted in isolation, but instead should be viewed as a stage in the attempt of the Sunday school to reconstruct the mental world of the working class child.

Thirdly, teachers had to develop the rational faculties of children if the latter were to learn and understand the precepts which were presented to them. As well as inducing an atmosphere of affection, and managing the emotions of their scholars, teachers had to encourage the understanding of their pupils. Several writers on Sunday school education stressed that children should appreciate the meaning of what they read or learnt. One of them, the Rev. Charles Daubeny announced that Sunday schools should instruct the children so that they understood what was preached to them in church:

> Children must ... be brought to understand in a Degree at least the Principles of the Religion they profess, as the necessary foundation upon which a future structure is to be built.[43]

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43. Charles Daubeny, Twelve Lectures on the Church catechism designed to promote the object of the Sunday Schools (Bath, 1788) iv.

Another writer stressed that teachers should "labour to cultivate the understanding, more than to load the memory".[44] Teachers were to be aware that they were educating children and should adapt their instruction to the minds of their pupils. One of Mrs. Trimmer's correspondents, praising a book of hers, affirmed that it would greatly assist Sunday school education:

> your lessons ... are excellent for the occasion, for certainly short lessons, and the truths which they inculcate, made sensible by examples and comparisons, and adapted to the capacity and condition of those who are to be instructed, must undoubtedly be the best, for long dry lectures only puzzle and tire the understanding of little children, which is weak.[45]

An Anglican Sunday school promoter, Thomas Babbington, believed that scholars too often failed to understand what they read in Sunday schools:

> Those who have not had experience in schools for the poor, would scarcely conceive in how great a degree young children read without understanding, or making any effort to understand, what they read.[46]

In his school, Babbington announced:

> Great care has been taken to accommodate such questions and little addresses as much as possible to their state of intellect, and knowledge and feeling, and to give them that complexion which might be agreeable and interesting to their minds. When once, by the pursuit of this system, the child is brought to understand in a small degree what he reads, and to take some interest in it, the progress is astonishingly great.[47]

Developing the understanding in Sunday school education, appeared to involve two things. Firstly, ensuring that the children were questioned on the material which they had supposedly learnt, so that they appreciated the messages which the schools promoted. Secondly, to encourage learning by making the process of instruction interesting to the children.

Many educationalists developed their own means of questioning children

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44. Hints on the establishment and regulation of Sunday schools (1828), 16.

45. Mrs. Denward to Mrs. Trimmer in Sarah Trimmer, Some Account of the Life and ritings of Mrs. Trimmer ... (1816), i, 157.

46. Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis, op. cit., 1816 (469) 2nd Report with Minutes of Evidence, 146.

47. idem.

in their Sunday schools. Benjamin Braidley, the visitor at an Anglican Manchester Sunday school explained how he questioned the scholars, when giving evidence before the Select Committee on Education in 1834:

> Speaking of the catechism you may either explain the meaning of the answer which a child gives, or you may take for granted that the child knows the meaning, and apply that meaning to its own particular state and circumstances; or you may ask it a question, whether it does know the meaning, or whether it knows the consequences to itself of such and such an important sentence; all these are so many words of improving the lesson; some time ago, I asked a question of the children publicly in the room, after the catechism was over; it was that question, "What is thy duty towards God?" the answer was given, but when the answer came to that part of the reply which says, "to give Him thanks". I stopped him, and again said, publicly, "To give whom thanks?" the answer was, "God"; then I asked, "What have you to thank God for?" after a short pause, one child said, "for food"; the observation I made was "anything else?" after another pause, "for raiment"; "Anything else?" "for Bibles", "Well, but suppose you could not read those Bibles, what else have you to thank God for?" "for Sunday schools".[48]

The encouragement of interest was also an important aspect of developing the understanding in Sunday schools. Thomas Babbington pointed out how he attempted to involve children in their lessons. He affirmed that this had very definite social consequences.

> My experience has shown me, that an endeavour to open the minds of the children, and to make them enter into what they read, that is, enter both into its sense and its object, secures their attention, and produces a willingness to continue much longer at the school as scholars, than was the case before this was done to the same extent as at present. It is unnecessary to say how much this method of exciting an interest, and so obtaining good attention from the children, coincides with the great and leading object of their education, namely, to inform and regulate the mind and impress the heart. I think I can say from my experience, that where the sort of explanation of which I have been speaking is practised, with due attention to the state of information, intellect, and feeling, in the children, that it will tend to produce a great effect on their manners and habits; they will contract deference and respect for those who instruct them, and a desire of information; and on leaving the school their gratitude will be very apparent, for years, towards those who have taken such pains with them, and their characters will appear to have undergone a very important change.[49]

One of the ways in which this was done was by introducing songs into Sunday schools. Mrs. Trimmer announced in her commentary on Isaac Watts'

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48. Select Committee on the Education of the Poor Classes, op. cit., 1834 (572) ix, 182.

49. Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis, op. cit., 1816 (469) 2nd Report with Minutes of Evidence, 146.

Divine and Moral Songs, that they were calculated both to delight and instruct children,[50] a sentiment which was expressed by other writers. The Rev. Daniel Turner in a letter to William Fox of the Sunday School Society noted that they made learning "pleasing and delightful",[51] whereas the Rev. J. Grant saw them as excellent antidotes to "obscene ballads".[52]

It was clear therefore that Sunday school promoters, managers and teachers were conscious of the social significance of their teaching methods. Accordingly, they believed that affectionate social relationships cemented pupils' ties to their schools, emotional management induced the state of spiritual reckoning which enabled the transformative process to begin, and the development of understanding, particularly where this involved the interests of the children, improved the pupils' feelings of respect towards their benefactors.

## IV

The nature of the Sunday school curriculum is a significant aspect of Sunday school education. Traditionally, historians have pointed out that these institutions concentrated upon inculcating habits of deference and subordination, but Laqueur has questioned this interpretation. He has drawn attention to the instruction in elementary literacy which Sunday schools provided, and has pointed out that the time spent in direct propaganda was small. Furthermore, he claims that their emphasis upon values such as industry and punctuality can not be equated with an attempt by the bourgeoisie to promote a specifically capitalist ideology in the Sunday school.[53] By drawing attention to the complexity of the Sunday

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50. Sarah Trimmer, A Comment on Dr. Watts' Divine Songs for Children ... (1789), iii-iv.

51. Rev. Daniel Turner to William Fox, 24 December 1785, in Ivimey, op. cit., 59.

52. Grant, op. cit., iv.

53. Laqueur, op. cit., 113-123, 203, 217-218.

school curriculum, Laqueur has demonstrated that the schools were not crudely manipulative, but he neglects the conservative framework in which the most important aspect of instruction, religion, was cast. Religious teaching formed the central aspect of the curriculum, and generally, religious instruction proclaimed conservative social messages. As previous chapters reveal, religious teaching in the Sunday school was inextricably intertwined with an attempted defence of the status quo. Rowland Hill, for instance in his defence of the teachers of the Southwark Sunday School Society, announced rather unwittingly:

> we can ... challenge our most embittered adversaries to produce one single instance of one single school, in which one single hint of a political nature has ever been dropt; excepting as the teachers communicate from the scriptures all due obedience to the powers that are.[54]

This section of the chapter concentrates upon the ways in which religious and social messages were combined in the Sunday school curriculum. It is not claimed however that this is the only way in which the curriculum of the institution can be studied, it neglects for example the important contribution of the Sunday school to the development of literacy. In fact, this part of the chapter focusses upon two aspects. Firstly, it analyses how Sunday schools portrayed authority. Secondly, it explains the ways in which these institutions encouraged the formation of appropriate habits in the children of the labouring poor.

It was recognised by educationalists that religion contributed to the maintenance of social and political authority. Sunday school instruction was defined in the powerful language of religion, and it was recognized that Christianity possessed considerable secular importance. Religious education was recommended for poor children, by Jonas Hanway, because the "better Christians they are, the better subjects they will make".[55] The social relationships of authority and subordination in Sunday schools are

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54. Hill, op. cit., 35.

55. Hanway, op. cit., xii.

best understood by introducing the notion of guardianship, which implied obligation on the part of a figure of authority, as well as the exercise of power. Guardianship was not presented in a crudely manipulative way, but it enabled the restricted social knowledge which tracts and instructive tales provided, to be accepted more readily by a child, than might have been the case if he was told simply to obey the dictates of those who possessed wealth and power.

Religion displayed and sustained an image of guardianship, through its portrayal of God. Warnings of damnation, lists of precepts, sermons and scriptural rote learning, might have contributed to the understanding of guardianship in many Sunday schools, but religious and social messages were to be presented more carefully. "For", wrote Bishop Samuel Horsley of St. David's in 1793:

> it was not by scraps of morality, with the aid of the simple doctrine of a future retribution, but by unfolding the whole mystery of godliness to the common people, that the first preachers of the Gospel produced so wonderful a change in the manners of the whole world.[56]

The concern of educationalists to develop an appropriate pedagogy for Sunday school instruction assisted in this process undoubtedly, but the religious and social messages which were presented in the curriculum were also important. God was portrayed as the guardian pre-eminent. He was omnipotent, all-wise and all-seeing, infinite and unchangeable, protector of the meek, rewarder of the virtuous and destroyer of the sinful.[57] The hymns of Isaac Watts, a dissenter, but a popular writer for both Anglicans and non-conformists presented God in such a way. Children were thus provided with a reference point from which they could assess the nature of authority in general. Every individual was assessed in the light of God's standards and Isaac Watts defined some of these qualities in one of his Divine Songs:

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56. Samuel Horsley to Sarah Trimmer, 28 January 1793, in Trimmer, Life and Writings, op. cit., ii, 39.

57. Sarah Trimmer, The Sunday School Catechist (1788), Lectures iv-x.

I

Almighty God, thy piercing eye
  Strikes thro' the shades of night,
And our most secret actions lie
  All open to thy sight.

II

There's not a sin that we commit,
  Nor wicked word we say,
But in thy dreadful book 'tis writ,
  Against the judgement day.

III

And must the crimes that I have done
  Be read and publish'd there?
Be all expos'd before the sun,
  While men and angels hear?

IV

Lord at thy foot asham'd I lie,
  Upward I dare not look;
Pardon my sins before I die,
  And blot them from thy book.[58]

God was a personal guardian, not an abstract repository of moral codes and religious truths, but an active agent in an individual's life. His role was revealed to children by displaying his apparent significance in the temporal world. Sarah Trimmer, in The Teacher's Assistant, stated that God could see the actions of the labourer who stole his master's tools, or the servant who pilfered tea and sugar from her mistress's kitchen. They would be punished by God in the same way as thieves were punished by legal authority on earth. As a guardian, though, God also provided spiritual succour to those who accepted him, "God has promised", wrote Mrs. Trimmer in her instructive tale, The Servant's Friend, "to hear all his faithful servants, who call upon him the day of trouble ...."[59]

Religion also sustained the image of guardianship through catechetical instruction. Traditionally, the catechism in its Anglican or non-conformist format had provided the means of religious instruction,[60] and Sunday

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58. Isaac Watts, Song ix, "The All-seeing God", in Isaac Watts, Divine Songs attempted in easy language for the use of children, collected in Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), Religious Tracts dispensed by the S.P.C.K., (1823-1826), i, Tract 23, 16-17.

59. Sarah Trimmer, The Teacher's Assistant, quoted in Kendall, op. cit., 139; Sarah Trimmer, The Servant's Friend in S.P.C.K., Tracts, op. cit., x, Tract 8, 34.

60. See Chapter 1.

schools often continued this practice. The catechism was a central document of spiritual, moral and social identity, as one writer claimed "it comprehends within a small compass the most compleat system of Faith and morality that is perhaps any where to be met with".[61] A number of catechisms in fact, were produced specifically for Sunday school use.[62] The catechism as this thesis indicates in an earlier chapter, was amongst other things, a patriarchal document. As a major creator of social and political consciousness, its bias was in a conservative direction. One lecture in Dauben/'s lectures on the Church catechism interpreted the Fifth Commandment, "Honour Thy Father and Thy Mother", to offer support to the maintenance of the status quo, and the need for the poor to defer to their social and political superiors:

> But besides your natural Parents, your Father and Mother; you are to remember that there are others who are called by this title of Parents, whom you are required to honour .... The King is moreover to be considered as your civil Father; i.e. he is your Father, as you are a member of civil society; as such you are required to honour him. "Honour the King," says 1 St. Peter, 2.17 and in consequence all those who are in authority under him; for you are ordered in Scripture to "submit yourselves to every ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by him". 1 Peter 2.13, 14. All resistance therefore to lawful authority is a breach of the Commandment of God; it is neither more nor less than rebellion against God. And they that resist in such cases, we .... Every master of a family is likewise in some sense as a Father; he is therefore called the Father of a family; as such he is entitled to honour from those who are considered to be under his government and direction. It is required of Servants therefore that they "count their Masters worthy of all honour". 1 Timothy 6.1 that they may strive to please them in all things.[63]

Abraham Crocker in a series of instructions for children emphasized the same qualities:

> You may perceive that God hath appointed various orders and degrees of men, in this world; each of whom he expects will fill his proper station in a becoming manner.[64]

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61. Daubeny, op. cit., v.

62. For example, Questions and Answers, or a Catechism for the Mendip Sunday Schools (Nottingham, 1811), 10th edition. A copy is held in Nottinghamshire County Record Office, DDE8/27. In addition see Trimmer, Sunday School Catechist, op. cit.; Grant op. cit.

63. Daubeny, op. cit., 123-124.

64. Crocker, op. cit., 10.

In The Sunday School Catechist, Sarah Trimmer lectured to her pupils:

> It is part of your duty ... to behave in a respectful manner to your parents, governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters; all these should be considered as your betters or superiors because GOD has placed them in a higher station of life than yourselves, and put it in their power to do as many kindnesses which will render your low condition more comfortable.[65]

Her lectures in this manual justified the rule of the monarch and officers of the crown, like J.Ps., mayors and parish officers, in terms of the benefits they provided to the community through the punishment of offenders.[66] An activity, which she claimed, was to the benefit of the poor as well as the rich. Many of her tales and those of the equally prolific and popular Hannah More, served to justify the authority of the squire or curate in terms of their guardianship, their willingness to assist in dispensing practical guidance, or material gifts.[67]

Children were not only presented with messages which they were expected to absorb, they had to reveal their acceptance of benevolent authority. It was necessary for them to express gratitude towards their guardians. According to Peter Waldo in his Admontions for Sunday Schools:

> Next to the pleasure of a good conscience and being in favour with God, is that of being in favour with worthy and good men .... Another pleasure ... is that of making a proper return to us, who have taken pains to bring you into good ways.[68]

It was not only by expressing thanks that deference was upheld in Sunday schools. Children were encouraged to exercise a form of guardianship themselves, becoming active agents in dispensing care and humanity. "Children cannot be trained too early in life", wrote one of

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65. Trimmer, Sunday School Catechist, op. cit., 47.

66. ibid., 136-140.

67. Sarah Trimmer, The Two Farmers, The Servant's Friend, and other instructive tales, in S.P.C.K., Tracts, op. cit., x; Hannah More, The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain, The Sunday School, and The History of Hester Wilmot, being the sequel to the Sunday School, in Hannah More, The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain and other tales (New York, 1858). A copy is in Leicester University School of Education Library.

68. Peter Waldo, Admontions for Children in Sunday Schools, in S.P.C.K. Tracts, x, Tract 6, 55.

Mrs. Trimmer's correspondents:

> to acts of mercy and benevolence; and to allure them to search the wretched out, we should make them like little almoners, a tear silently gliding down the cheeks of a young person at the sight of misery gives a most beautiful lustre to the whole frame than the most brilliant diamond, for it discloses the beauty of the mind.[69]

But it was an obvious practical impossibility for the poor to dispense monetary benefits to the poor. Nevertheless there was one aspect of the Sunday school curriculum which was significant in this respect. One of the ways in which the considerable genre of animal stories can be interpreted, is to see tham as providing a means by which children could experience the feelings of benevolence which supposedly characterized the approach of the rich towards the poor. Mrs. Trimmer, in one of her most important instructive tales for Sunday school use, The Two Farmers, attempted to excite sentiments of tenderness and justice towards animals. Brute creation was anthropomorphized as a means of revealing important moral truths. The hero of this tract, a farmer, instructed his servants and labourers to behave in the following way:

> do not set yourselves up above dumb creatures, as if men alone were the workmanship of GOD; but pray use them kindly. Consider they have flesh and blood and bones, made out of the dust of the earth, as well as we; and there is no doubt but that they can feel pain ... I look upon my horses and oxen and sheep, nay on the dogs and cats, as my servants; and as such, shall given them their due and protect them if I see tham ill-treated .... creatures ... cannot complain to their master as you men and boys can do; and therefore may suffer a deal of misery out of my sight ....[70]

The second major aspect of the Sunday school curriculum which is analysed in this chapter, concerns the attempt by managers and teachers to develop appropriate habits in the children of the labouring poor. These habits were viewed in terms of the performance of duties. The psychological force of teaching children their duties, however, did not only derive from the religious authority which provided the source of acceptable social

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69. Mrs. Denward to Mrs. Trimmer, 24 August 1786, in Trimmer, Life and Writings, op. cit., ii, 160.

70. Trimmer, The Two Farmers, op. cit., 131-134.

behaviour. Instead, children were instructed to see that their interest and their duty were inseparable. By evoking in the child, the belief that his duties - the actions he was morally bound to do - and his interests - those activities which were for his advantage - were the same, the adoption of appropriate habits was supposedly made more agreeable to the scholars. This relationship between duty and interest was expressed with considerable frequency in the Sunday school literature, and achieved the status of a myth. It was presented with disarming candour by Peter Waldo in his Admontions.

> While we are working with our heads for your good you are without excuse if you do not work diligently with your hands for your own; - while our time is employed in instructing you, it is your business and duty to profit by our instruction. You are young and healthy and able to work; and your station in life is such as requires you so to do for your bread and support. It is your duty also to work for your parents, and occasionally for your other friends and benefactors. And believe me, it is as much your interest and your happiness, as it is your duty to be always well employed.[71]

Children were not expected to equate duty with interest automatically. They had to be taught those things which allegedly constituted them real happiness. Teachers had to begin by "unlearning the children much of what they have been taught", because being from the lowest order of people, they have not been taught to "associate happiness with virtue".[72] In part, this could be achieved by presenting relevant duties and relating them to the material benefits which followed when they were performed. In a short tract entitled Maxims for the Poor, presented in a format suitable for pasting on the walls of a Sunday school classroom or cottage, children could be told how their well-being and duty were promoted at the same time:

The
Interest of the Poor
and their duty
are the same;

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71. Waldo, op. cit., 38.

72. Thomas Stevenson, The difficulties and encouragements attending the communication of religious instruction to the children of the poor (Nottingham, 1814), 20, quoted in Laqueur, op. cit., 6. It has not been possible to trace this publication.

For
Cleanliness gives comfort,
Sobriety brings Health,
Industry yields Plenty,
Honesty makes Friends,
Religion procures peace of mind
consolation under Affliction
The Prospect of God's Blessing
through Christ, in this life,
and the Assurance of endless Happiness and Glory
in the life to come.[73]

This alliance between duty and interest found expression in different kinds of Sunday school literature. Abraham Crocker in his Instructions to Children of Sunday Schools, told the poor to be content in their station:

> Be industrious in your callings; guard against irrational amusements and diversions; forbear all inordinate desires for the goods or possessions of others; and place an absolute confidence in the providence of God, and you will possess that happy contentment which every one is seeking after.[74]

Joseph Mayer as a teacher in the Stockport Sunday School also produced short lectures which reveal the same approach. Two of them produced in 1796, concern cleanliness and politeness. Firstly:

> Cleanliness not only renders us agreeable to Others, but easy to ourselves, as it is an excellent preservative of Health, and several vices destructive to the Body and Mind, are inconsistent with the Habit of it. It likewise bears great Analogy with Purity of Mind, and naturally inspires refined sentiments and passions.[75]

Secondly:

> The Almighty has appointed various Orders among his rational creatures; particular respect is due to each. But there is a certain something which perhaps may be properly called real genuine Politeness, that ought to be cultivated by every one of us. This is quite different from that set formality and Affectation which never fails to disgust. The real genuine Politeness or civility arises from a proper Knowledge of ourselves, and of the duties we owe to each other.
>
> The Possession of it is kind, affectionate, humble, modest and yet confident, familiar and yet respectful, civil and obeying, and yet becomingly firm.
>
> It is a never failing recommendation especially to a young Person.
>
> It naturally prejudices a person in our favour, even at first sight and renders Friendship more desireable.[76]

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73. Maxims for the Poor, in S.P.C.K., Tracts, op. cit., v, Tract 2.
74. Crocker, op. cit., 29.
75. St.R.L., B/T/3/20/5, Joseph Mayer, Papers on moral and religious subjects prepared for the second class, 1 May 1796.
76. ibid., 4 December 1796.

These presentations of the happiness that resulted from the performance of duties were coupled with threats of suffering if duties were not performed. In these ways children were taught to accept strictures on keeping the Sabbath, to reject the pursuit of wealth, and to adopt economic self-reliance as an aim, so that they would not be financial burdens upon the parish.[77]

The social teaching which the Sunday school curriculum contained, encompassed a range of social behaviour. Religious instruction expressed a particular view of authority, guardianship, which stemmed from a portrayal of God. Worldly authority was presented in terms of a patriarchal social image. Society was made up of different ranks, but each individual possessed duties and obligations towards other human beings. Furthermore, duties were presented in terms of the benefits that would come to the person who carried out his obligations. Sunday schools then were not crudely manipulative, but through a subtle presentation of social messages, they attempted to effect a transformation in the morals and behaviour of the labouring poor.

V

Rewards and punishments formed an important feature of Sunday school instruction. They were designed to stimulate the children's adherence to those values which the schools promoted. Rewards were generally provided for moral qualifications such as good behaviour, diligence and regular attendance; those for intellectual achievement were less common, as it was not the function of Sunday schools to raise a class of intelligent

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77. Trimmer, Instructions for Apprentices in The Two Apprentices in S.P.C.K., Tracts, op. cit., x, Tract 12, 11; Waldo, op. cit., 26; Trimmer, Servant's Friend, op. cit., 107.

individuals from amongst the labouring poor.[78] Many different kinds of prizes were provided, including bibles, religious literature or tickets which could be used to "purchase" books.[79] Clothing was sometimes provided;[80] one Lincolnshire school for instance, distributed coats, stockings, bonnets, handkerchiefs and neckcloths, as well as related items such as buttons and combs.[81] Monetary rewards were generally frowned upon. It was found in three Quaker Sunday Schools in Northampton, that they tended "to place temptation in the way of the children who frequently purchased sweets before they reached their homes."[82] Furthermore, there were some objections to the provision of any rewards at all, because it was believed that their possession excited feelings of envy in the scholars. The Rev. Johnson Grant affirmed that rewards should be distributed for the encouragement of piety and morality alone:

> It is a death blow to every advantage which may be expected from these institutions, when rewards are distributed in caprice; when children are taken notice of for their beauty, their apparent neatness, their lively answers, their correct manners, or their brilliant talents; for any thing, in a word, but their good behaviour. Good looks are often coupled with vicious dispositions; apparent cleanliness may cover real impurity; and neatness may be the pride of the parents rather than the virtue of the child. Smooth talk and plausible manners are not often symptoms of simplicity among the poor; and to encourage quickness of apprehension is sometimes to draw forward the impudence which it is our duty, in a religious point of view, to discountenance and to check.[83]

He maintained that Sunday schools were not in existence to reward abilities, instead "morals are the end".[84]

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78. Grant, op. cit., 27; Bernard, Of the education of the poor, op. cit., 124-125; Howard, York Sunday School Committee, op. cit., 25; W. Walters, The History of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Sunday School Union (1869), 149; Bain, op. cit., 149; Broad, op. cit., 68; Hill, op. cit., 42.

79. Hints for Conducting Sunday Schools ... (Dublin, 1810), 17-18; Howard, op. cit., 25; Grant, op. cit., 9.

80. Hints for Conducting Sunday Schools ..., op. cit., 17-18; Hints for the Institution of Sunday Schools and Parish Clubs ...., op. cit., vii.

81. Ln.C.R.O., Morton by Bourne par 21/1, Minutes re Morton by Bourne Sunday School 1810-50, see references for 1813, 1827, 1828.

82. Bain, op. cit., 13.

83. Grant, op. cit., 22-23.

84. ibid., 23.

Punishments were inextricably linked to rewards in encouraging those values which Sunday schools intended to implement. Whether punishment was justified in particular cases caused much soul searching among teachers and managers. One view was that children behaved badly for a number of reasons, and that therefore, they had to be treated in differing ways:

> That which would counteract these evils in one child, would not in another. Some are inattentive from levity, others from a bad inclination of the mind, these must be treated differently.[85]

Another view was that much indiscipline was caused by the neglect of teachers, their perceived preference for particular children, or the absence of teachers from their classrooms.[86] Nevertheless, despite these qualifications bad behaviour was recognized by the Sunday school and was subject to a wide range of punishments.

The infliction of physical pain was a possible means of discipline, but writers on Sunday school affairs were reluctant to countenance corporal punishment. According to Wigram: "Where Punishments are extreme, they are calculated to produce a slavish dread which is depressing to the intellectual and moral powers."[87] Bishop Porteus, asserted that corporal punishment rendered the Sabbath odious to the young.[88] Although Raikes encouraged the infliction of physical pain upon recalcitrant boys during the start of his Sunday school activities,[89] many teachers even in "rough" institutions tried to avoid it. One of the Methodist Sunday schools in Bristol proposed that each teacher should be allowed to possess a cane, "not for the purpose of correcting the scholar, but simply to let a boy know he was noticed by his Teacher". But they were objected to because "they will have a very unpleasant appearance in a Sunday school", and

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85. N.C.E.C., Sunday School Union, Minutes 1814-1817, op. cit., Quarterly General Meeting, 19 April 1815, 81.

86. ibid., 82-84.

87. Wigram, op. cit., 56.

88. Porteus, op. cit., 9.

89. Harris, Robert Raikes, op. cit., 38.

because "it is not easy to resist the temptation to strike with them if they are in hand, and the scholar behaves unruly ...."[90]

A variety of alternative measures appear to have been more common. The inducement of feelings of shame in recalcitrant pupils was considered to be an effective punishment. One writer affirmed:

> The sense of shame is the sensitive plant in our constitution, and ought to be reared with the utmost delicacy; when it is much weakened the individual is of a truth in the road to ruin ....[91]

The Rev. J. Grant proposed that misbehaved children should be made to stand beneath a penance-board, with their name and offence written upon it. The Kent Road Sunday School in Southwark adopted this policy; the bad child had to stand upon a form bearing a label describing the offence which he committed.[92]

Other punishments included the deprivation of rewards, advice, reproof, expulsion[93] and prayer. One speaker at a general meeting of the Sunday School Union, described one case of a boy who had been subjected to a variety of punishments and was about to be expelled when the superintendent who was speaking to the boy, "felt his heart so overpowered" that he cried out "let us pray for this poor boy". They all arose and he prayed

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90. Broad, op. cit., 49.

91. Daniel Turner, Hints on religious education; being two sermons in favour of Sunday schools (1794), 33; See also N.C.E.C., Sunday School Union, Minutes 1814-1817, op. cit., Quarterly General Meeting, 19 April 1815, 82; Hints for the Institution of Sunday Schools and Parish Clubs ...., op. cit., 12; Wild, op. cit., 22; Ivimey, op. cit., 46.

92. Grant, op. cit., 28; Sw.R., 4/63, Southwark Kent Road, Sunday School Minute Book 1820-23, 16 February 1820.

93. N.C.E.C., Sunday School Union, Minutes, 1814-1817, op. cit., General General Quarterly Meeting, 19 April 1815, 82, 84, Quarterly Meeting, 19 July 1815, 112; Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis, op. cit., 1816 (469), 2nd report with Minutes of Evidence, 147; L.C.R.O., N/C/18/2, Bardon Park Congregational Church Sunday School, Rules to be observed by the Teachers and Children; Grant, op. cit., 28; Ivimey, op. cit., 46; Wild, op. cit., 22; Thomas Henry Horne, A Plan for the formation and establishment of Sunday schools ... (1806), 23.

for him. The boy was apparently affected by this "solemn exercise", and he eventually became a monitor in the school.[94]

There was in fact, no consensus amongst Sunday school teachers concerning the kinds of punishments which were deemed to be most appropriate. In the Kent Road Sunday School in Southwark, teachers at one meeting could not agree on their attitude towards the subject. One teacher felt that because of the "audacious carriage of some of the boys", corporal punishment was appropriate; "indeed without such he thought little good government could be obtained." Others believed in using every method of punishment except "outward chastisement". The chairman for instance believed that it was possible to govern a class containing bad boys without the use of a cane.[95] Teachers at a later meeting at the same school regretted that a number of teachers were "under the painful necessity of flogging more properly caning severely",[96] and on a subsequent date a meeting advocated the flogging of pupils who insisted on remaining in the school after they had been finally expelled.[97] In general it was clear that managers and teachers regretted the need to use corporal punishment. Their advocacy of, and concentration upon more humane measures reflected their desire to create an atmosphere of paternal affection inside th ir institutions.

## VI

Welfare activities were important features of the Sunday school. Laqueur has identified these aspects of the Sunday school as part of the institution's contribution to the development of community self-help in

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94. N.C.E.C., Sunday School Union, Minutes 1814-1817, 85.

95. Sw.R., 4/63, Kent Road Sunday School Minute Book 1820-1823, 16 February 1820.

96. ibid., 9 April 1820.

97. ibid., 7 August 1820.

the working classes.[98] However, in a period when welfare schemes were not provided by working men and women themselves, this appears to be a misplaced interpretation. Although the promoters and managers of Sunday schools were partly motivated by humanitarian sentiments when they provided benefits for their pupils, their provision was due in part, to a desire to inform children and their parents, that the upper and middle classes were benevolent and therefore deserved the support of their social inferiors. The distribution of clothing for instance was clearly regarded as a form of charity. In addition, the formation of savings banks and clothing clubs in connection with particular schools, was designed to promote the economy and frugality of the poor, so that the number of paupers or potential vagrants would be lessened. Humanitarian motivations were therefore closely associated with social objectives in the provision of benefits.

There were however, possible exceptions to this calculating mentality. During times of severe hardship, clothing and food was provided without being associated with any ulterior motive. For instance, during the winter of 1798-1799 in London, Thomas Cranfield tried to supply clothing for those children who attended his schools.[99] Furthermore, during the years 1800 and 1801, when there was a great shortage of necessities, the committee of the Methodist Sunday School in Golden Lane:

> seeing the distress in which the families of most, if not all, of their scholars were plunged, at once took steps to relieve it.

Subscriptions were raised to purchase bread, which was then sold at below the current market price.[100]

Generally, however, welfare was provided in a spirit of paternalism.

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98. Laqueur, op. cit., 172-175.

99. Cranfield, op. cit., 95.

100. Grosvenor, op. cit., 115-116.

This approach of course, was congruent with the conservative message which the Sunday schools served to promote. The Rev. Robert Lucas, writing in 1787, idealised this relationship in the context of village society:

> Every village is a little community within itself .... Every denomination of Inhabitants is bound, both by interest and Duty, to look to the welfare of the whole, and especially to secure the labouring class from distress and want.[101]

The practice of this form of philanthropy can be detected in the work of Mrs. Trimmer. The Vicar of Ealing entrusted the "management of the parish gifts" to her. By distributing them,

> she obtained considerable influence over many of the people who received them, and in the dispensing of them always had regard to the spiritual as well as temporal interests of the poor. Such as were constant in their attendance upon public worship, and regular in their moral conduct, were sure to be distinguished, and on the contrary, the dissolute and profane were slighted and passed by.[102]

When a Sunday school teacher visited the homes of sick children he was to strive to be on good terms with the parents, so that, by obtaining their co-operation he may increase his power of promoting the benefit of the children.[103]

A related motivation, which reflects current concern with the supposed threat of pauperism, was the attempt to promote welfare schemes to lessen the number of vagrant poor by promoting habits of frugality. In the Worship Street Sunday School in Shoreditch, a savings bank was established during 1824.

> Its object was to induce the children by the offer of a premium or money deposited, to lay by for useful purposes the half-pence their parents had given them to spend. It was conceived that not only would the money be diverted to useful purposes; but that habits of prudence and economy, highly important in after life, might be generated or strengthened.[104]

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101. Robert Lucas, Three Sermons on the subject of Sunday schools ... (1787), 115-116.

102. Trimmer, Life and Writings ..., op. cit., ii, 350.

103. Wigram, op. cit., 71.

104. Gu.L., 7,513A, op. cit., The Monthly Instructor, vi, February 1828, 44-45.

Similar motivations lay behind the creation of a clothing club in connection with Forton Sunday School in Staffordshire, which was to "encourage among cottagers a habit of putting by small savings out of each week's wages".[105] A similar institution in Leicester was also provided.[106] Clothing was commonly distributed as a form of charity, to encourage the decent appearance of the poor. This activity was designed not only to improve the visual appearance of children in the eyes of their social superiors or elders, but to promote their self-respect as well. It was closely related, then, to attempts to develop the scholars' capacity for prudence and economy. Jonas Hanway pinpointed the reasoning behind the charitable donation of attire:

> Being clad in clean and wholesome garments, they will entertain and esteem for themselves, which they cannot enjoy, while they continue in a ragged and filthy condition.[107]

One child who attended a Sunday school connected with an association of nonconformist churches in Leicester, revealed how her Sunday school uniform raised her feelings of self-respect:

> I never were dressed anything like as pretty as I were in those days ... I used to think when I were dressed o' Sundays as I looked like a queen.[108]

Welfare benefits also served to improve the attendance of children at Sunday schools. Teachers who visited sick scholars assisted, it was argued, in cementing the adherence of parents and their offspring to their Sunday school, and made the latter more willing to attend.[109] In Harborne, a Penny Club was set up in connection with the Sunday school to help in

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105. St.C.R.O., D.1788 P.48. B.8, Forton Sunday School Clothing Club n.d.

106. L.C.R.O., 1 D66 III/8, Charles Street Baptist Sunday School, Leicester, Minute Book 1831-1844, Rule 6, n.p.

107. Hanway, op. cit., 34-35.

108. Centenary Book of the Great Meeting Sunday Schools, op. cit., 6.

109. Horne, Hints for the formation ... of Sunday Schools ..., op. cit., 26.

clothing the pupils. It was found that this increased the application for admissions to the institution.[110] A similar effect occured when a sick society was created in association with the St. Clement's and St. Luke's Sunday School in Manchester.[111]

The provision of charity, therefore, was not simply an expression of humanitarian motivations on the part of managers or teachers. Benevolence was closely linked with the social objectives which Sunday schools promoted.

VII

Parents were not neglected by the Sunday schools. In a system of education which was patriarchal in emphasis, this was certain to be the case. Firstly, they were expected to assist in promoting the education of their children. They could perform this task in two ways; initially, by ensuring that children adhered to the rules which the schools produced and also they were to assist in providing a home environment which helped to educate their children in ways which the Sunday schools deemed advisable. Secondly, parents themselves were subject to a form of socialisation by these institutions.

Parents, then, were required to make sure that their children obeyed the rules which were promoted by Sunday schools. For instance, mothers and fathers were expected to send their offspring to schools, punctually, washed and with their hair combed.[112] In addition some institutions insisted that parents ensured that their children returned home immediately after school finished.[113]

More importantly, parents were expected to provide an appropriate

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110. Christian Observer, 1, 1802, 747.

111. Select Committee on the State of the Children ... in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom, op. cit., 1816 (397) iii, 378.

112. William Turner, op. cit., 48; Horne, Hints for the formation ... of Sunday Schools ..., op. cit., 31.

113. William Turner, op. cit., 49.

family environment for their children. This involved an intrusion of educational demands into the home. According to the Rev. Robert Lucas, in a sermon preached on behalf of a school in Northamptonshire in 1786:

> Parents are, by no means, to imagine, that all care, respecting the education and conduct of their Children, is, by this institution, taken out of their hands, and they need give themselves no further trouble on that score. You ought to assure yourselves, that the important obligation you are under, of attending to the conduct and improvement of your Offspring, remains still upon you in its full force, and can never be shaken off by you. It will ever be your duty, by precept, and by example, to co-operate with this School, in its godly and benevolent Intention; since it is no other, than to promote the temporal and eternal welfare of your Children.[114]

Writers possessed a clear image of what this correct environment should be. They were concerned that parents should exercise authority over their children, that they should require their obedience, that they should guide their morals, and also that they should set their offspring good examples of how to behave. In acting as figures of authority, parents were instructed to subdue the self will of the child. According to Daubeny an Old Testament example provided a standard:

> From the Conduct of Abraham you see that Children are to be commanded. The unruliness of Nature must necessarily be brought under subjection. For this reason God has invested Parents with an absolute Authority over their Children, that on all occasions they may be a Terror to evil works. Those Parents therefore who let loose those Reins which by the wise Disposer of all Things have been placed in their Hands for the Government of their Houshold (sic), are commonly scourged with the Rod of their own making; their Children, generally speaking, becoming Plagues and Curses to them, instead of being Blessings.[115]

Daubeny was probably unusual in expressing the parent-child relationship in terms of such severity. Lucas provided a statement of the need for parents to maintain the subordination of their children, but he described this relationship in a different language:

> It is incumbent ... on parents, to preserve in their Children a proper sense of their dependent station, and a due regard to their experience and advice, till habitual rectitude of conduct have rendered their care and authority over them unnecessary.[116]

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114. Lucas, op. cit., 30.

115. Daubeny, op. cit., 11.

116. Lucas, op. cit., 38.

Parents moreover, were to guide the morals of their offspring. The Rev. Johnson Grant insisted that when they brought a child to be admitted to a Sunday school, parents

> must sign, in a book prepared for that purpose, a solemn promise of acquiescence in the discipline of the school; and of seconding the instruction about to be imparted, by watching over the morals of the child, preserving him from depraved companions, hindering him from rambling especially in the night, hearing him read lessons and repeat the catechism whenever he shall be able, being careful that his prayers shall be regularly said; and training him up in principles of attachment to the established church.[117]

In addition, parents were expected to set the right examples to their children; precepts were not enough. They were to encourage children to become "pious, just, sober, diligent in their callings, blessings to their future families and good Christians in all things", by behaving in these ways themselves.[118] Nothing, it was said, was more contagious than corruption, so parents had to ensure that they avoided depraved behaviour.[119] The Bath Sunday School provided a detailed list of "Orders" which were to be given to parents to ensure that they set correct examples to their parents:

> That they be cautious not to swear, or use any kind of improper or indecent language before their children, but teach them to reverence the Name of GOD .... That they be more especially careful never to give them an example of drunkenness, lest they teach them a sin that leads to every other, and brings so many so untimely, and often shameful deaths.[120]

Parents however were not only to provide assistance to the education which Sunday schools provided, they were to be recipients of education themselves. Parents were to receive through their children, the religious

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117. Grant, op. cit., 11.

118. Lucas, op. cit., 95. See also Hints on the establishment ... of Sunday Schools ..., op. cit., 4; Daniel Turner, op. cit., 24; St.C.R.O., D1114/1, op. cit., Leaflet entitled "To Parents", n.d.

119. Address to Parents, earnestly recommending them to promote the happiness of their children ... (Uxbridge, 1787), 18.

120. William Brook, Plans of the Sunday Schools and School of Industry, established in the City of Bath ... (Bath, 1789), 67, 68.

and moral messages which the Sunday schools presented. According to Bishop Porteus:

> The decent and orderly behaviour of the children has been found in some instances ... to have extended itself to the parents; and it will be worth while to improve this advantage as much as possible. The poor are in general too apt to corrupt their children by their example. If we can make the children reform their parents, it will be a blessed reverse.[121]

But perhaps most significantly, Sunday school children could act as agents of conversion. One of the recurring items in Sunday school literature, concerns the way in which children who had been converted in a school, acted to promote a similar change in their parents or grandparents.[122] An event reported in the journal of the Worship Street Sunday School in Shoreditch provides an example. One scholar, five or six years of age visited her dying grandfather:

> Child. I think you are very ill grandfather.
> Grandfather. Yes my dear I am very ill.
> Child. Where do you expect to go when you die?
> Grandfather. To Heaven, I hope.
> Child. I hope you will; but if you do, you must leave off swearing and saying bad words; if you don't you will go to a bad place; and then be tormented with wicked and miserable creatures; but if you go to heaven, you will be happy with God and Christ forever. But you must pray and keep on praying and if you awake in the night you must pray. Grandfather do you ever pray?

The reporter of this event noted that this question "touched the old man's heart"; he asserted "I have reason to believe that a lasting impression was made upon the mind."[123]

Parents then, were not only to act as agents of transformation, they were to be transformed themselves. Their alteration through the efforts of young children, in theory at least, implied a changed relationship inside the working-class family. Not only were they restricted in their role as

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121. Porteus, op. cit., 18.

122. For example, Sunday School Repository, No. XIV, April 1816, volume II, 266; Methodist Magazine, 36, June 1813, 442; Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 54, March 1831, 170; Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis, op. cit., 1816 (495), 3rd Report with Minutes of Evidence, 283.

123. Gu.L., 7,513A, op. cit., The Monthly Instructor, viii, 13.

agents of cultural transmission by Sunday school teachers, their authority over their children was not complete. There was therefore a contradiction in the Sunday School's approach to parent-child relations. In one respect parents were to ensure that the wills of their offspring were subject to their discipline, but in another respect, children were expected to alter the moral and spiritual content of their parents' lives.

## VIII

It is difficult to assess the extent of the success or failure of the English Sunday school during the first fifty years of its existence. In fact, an adequate analysis requires a larger study than this thesis provides. There are, however, several methodological difficulties associated with any attempt to approach this problem. Firstly, there is a paucity of recollections by those who experienced the education which the Sunday school provided in this period, whether they were by teachers, parents or children. Secondly, many recollections by scholars were filtered through the prism of propaganda, and any light which may have pointed out the inadequacy of their schemes might have been excluded. Thirdly, assessments of the effect of the Sunday school are largely the reports of the upper or middle class promoters of the institution, and therefore provide only a limited view. Nevertheless, it is possible to provide some evidence concerning the success or failure of the Sunday school. It appears, from this information, that the impact of this institution was ambiguous and to a considerable extent, negative. There are two broad ways in which this part of the chapter approaches this topic. Firstly, it examines the effect of the Sunday school upon the children who received the education it purported to promote. Secondly, it analyses the impact of Sunday school establishment and instruction upon parents.

The first section studies the following topics. Initially, it examines the effect of the Sunday school upon the general moral qualities of the poor. Secondly, it looks at the impact of the institution upon religious commitment, upon crime and upon political attitudes. Thirdly, it studies the possible negative effects of the Sunday school: its failure to develop moral attributes and the possibility that it assisted the spread of radicalism. Fourthly, it points out that given an environment where there were stronger influences at work upon the behaviour and attitudes of children, Sunday schools could not be expected to make much impact upon the poor.

Many educationalists stressed the allegedly beneficial effects of Sunday schools upon the lower orders. Deriving his knowledge from experience, John Young, a headmaster at a Sunday school in Manchester and Salford, in 1816, pointed out the ways in which education had improved the general morality of the urban poor.

> Since the great exertions adopted through the Manchester and Salford districts, of Sunday Schools for the last ten years, the children have, from the cleanliness requisite in attending these nurseries of piety, become more healthy than formerly; the regulations and moral duties inculcated being, cleanliness, steady and sober habits, regular attendance, and virtue. In testimony of the above I can speak with confidence, from having been a teacher among them upwards of twenty-nine years, nineteen of which I taught in the centre of the town.[124]

Young may have been trying to impress the Select Committee on the State of the Children in Manufactories before which he was testifying, about the efficacy of Sunday school education, but at least his assessment is based upon personal experience. Other reports are less convincing. Confusing effect with expectation, they appear to be designed to encourage increased financial support for individual institutions, rather than an analysis of the impact of particular schools. According to a report of the Stockport Sunday School in 1824:

> There was a time when the bulk of the labouring population had no decided character. Education has imparted a higher tone of probity and

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124. Select Committee on the State of the Children in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom, op. cit., 1816 (397) iii, 372.

> honesty which every man who has been taught to value his character, guards with a laudable jealousy. Intemperance and debauchery among the younger part of society have given place to habits of sobriety and economy; places of vulgar merriment and scenes of low riot are not generally resorted to by the educated part of our population; the peaceful felicities of domestic life have been increased and improved by the superior influence of the female character; and the husband has been led to seek for his happiness in the circle of his own fireside. To these features of amendment among the educated part of society, we may add, that a feeling of independence pervades our poorer population to "provide things honest in the sight of all men but especially for those of their own households." With these redeeming traits of amendment before us, we hope shortly to see "the springs of poverty entirely dried up, and the poor scorning the artificial provisions of an unwise and meddling benevolence, enriching themselves by the superior resources of their own industry."[125]

Nevertheless, although much that passed for assessment was close to propaganda, there were individual reports by recipients who welcomed the effect of Sunday school education. In an issue of the Methodist Magazine it was announced that one poor woman had welcomed the role of the Sunday school in altering the morality of her children. She was thankful when

> she looked intoother poor families and observed what trouble many of them had with their children, and when she heard them cursing and swearing in the streets, never hearing a bad word from any of hers, she thought she could not say enough as to the benefits her children and her family had derived from the school.[126]

It is possible to take the examination of the effects of Sunday school education further by focussing upon the specific tasks which Sunday schools were expected to fulfil. There is considerable evidence to suggest that these institutions often led to the psychological transformation of many children through religion. A report of the Stockport Sunday School for 1814 quoted from a letter which had been received from a former scholar:

> I have had a desire to write to you some time back, because I was once a scholar in your Sabbath Day School; but through keeping bad company, and having a bad heart, I became a prey to both. Through Grace, the Lord has condescended to call me out of worse than Egyptian darkness, into his marvellous light. The purport of my writing to you, worthy Sir, is to shew my Gratitude for past, but I am sorry to say unmerited favours and privileges I enjoyed while in your school .... I do pray the Lord Jesus whom I love, because he first loved me to enable you, with the other worthy gentlemen to "cast your bread upon the waters," for the promise is, "it shall be seen after many days."[127]

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125. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1824, 12.

126. Methodist Magazine, 41, August 1818, 618.

127. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1814, 6.

It was claimed moreover that Sunday schools contributed to a reduction in crime. In a letter of 1792, Robert Raikes, some twelve years after he had commenced his Sunday school experiments, reported that in Gloucestershire no miscreant was to appear at the bar of the next Assizes, a record for the county. Ten years previously, he asserted, fifty to one hundred used to be tried. He pointed out that his Sunday school endeavours commenced then and implied that they were responsible for a lessening in criminality.[128] Raikes may have been confusing a correlation with a causal relationship, but it is possible to point to more precise evidence which suggests that delinquents were induced by their instruction to abandon a life of vice. A writer in the journal of the Worship Street Sunday School in Shoreditch reported that he had received the following confession from a scholar of seventeen:

> On the Sunday night previous to my first entering the school, I robbed Mr. ----- 's garden. On the next day, as I went to my work, I saw handbills on the walls in different places, offering a reward of five pounds for the discovery of the offender, to be paid on his conviction. I thought they would not imagine any one could be so impudent and daring as to repeat the crime after this publicity: so, presuming upon their not keeping watch I robbed the garden again the next night. I tremble at the recollection of my hardened conduct, and hope I shall ever be duly thankful to my Heavenly Father for stopping me in my career of wickedness, by bringing me in his providential arrangements to attend your Sunday School ....[129]

Furthermore, it was claimed that Sunday schools contributed to the development of attitudes of political obedience in the labouring population. A report of the Stockport Sunday School for 1812, claimed that the children of this establishment had been unaffected by the Luddite disturbances which the town had experienced; in fact their conduct "was upright and well-approved."[130] However the teaching of political acquiescence occasionally fell upon deaf ears. In the early 1830s, George Jacob Holyoake, a future working class radical, was a pupil at the Carr's Lane Sunday School

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128. Harris, Robert Raikes, op. cit., 127.

129. Gu.L., 7,513A, op. cit., vi, September 1828, 210-211.

130. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1812, 7-8.

in Birmingham. The pastor, the Rev. John Angell James, delivered an address "in which he counselled young men to be content in their station and with the lot which Providence had assigned them".[131] At the time Holyoake believed James, but his later experiences changed his political opinions.

When examining the moral, religious and social effects of the Sunday school, it is important to bear in mind that the institution was probably more important in preventing children from committing vice on the sabbath, than it was in effecting a permanent transformation in behaviour. While they were contained inside a Sunday school, children could not be raiding orchards or disturbing the peace and quiet of streets. One supporter from Luton pointed out in a letter to the Sunday School Society that before the establishment of such a school the children had amused themselves "in all manner of diversion, in so much that the inhabitants have observed that Sunday never came to Luton". However, following the setting up of a school, a "decent attention to that day is now manifest, and an order prevails above our expectation".[132]

As well as evidence which points out the supposedly positive effects of Sunday school education, there is some information which suggests that Sunday schools had little effect upon the morals of those instructed. Questioned before the Select Committee on the State of the Children in Manufactories in 1816, a cotton spinner remarked that he supposed that children had greater proficiency in reading because of Sunday schools, but that he did not "perceive much difference in their general behaviour."[133] Furthermore, an investigation of Gloucester in the early 1860s, found that Raikes' influence upon the town through his Sunday schools was all but

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131. George Jacob Holyoake, Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life (1893), 33.

132. Plan of a Society ... For the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools ... (1812), op. cit., 49, see also a similar report for Kettering, 48-49.

133. Select Committee on the State of the Children in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom, op. cit., 1816 (397) iii, 229.

extinct. Most of the respectable inhabitants lacked interest in them.[134]

Other writers believed that Sunday schools had an effect, but their impact was negative. Some believed that they encouraged discontent and subversion. While noting that Sunday schools in some respects had produced good results, a machine maker from Manchester pointed out that the love of reading which these institutions induced had encouraged many to "turn out politicians instead of spinners and weavers". Education he believed encouraged men to probe the causes of their discomforts and enabled them to communicate their beliefs.[135] Benjamin Braidley, an Anglican visitor at a Sunday school before the Select Committee on Education in 1834, produced a similar testimony. He was asked whether education encouraged people to read moral and religious books, or "violent publications of a political nature". He replied:

> I have no doubt there are instances of both kinds. And it is this consideration which would make me urge upon the Committee the necessity of basing all instructions upon moral and religious principles; so as if possible to guide the mind to a right use of the knowledge which is thus communicated. In Manchester we not only see the good effects of education in some, but the evil effects of it in others. There are great numbers of those violent publications, circulated amongst us, such as "The Poor Man's Guardian", "The Republican", "The Cosmopolite" and some others ....[136]

Sunday schools moreover had only a minimal impact upon children whose environment and existing behaviour contrasted strongly with the messages which the institutions were attempting to instil. A report of the Stockport Sunday School in 1822 pointed out that substantial numbers were failing to obtain instruction in the town. Many youths spent the Sabbath in fields and lanes "lurking about under the hedges or in secret haunts, in their filth and dirt, spending the sacred hours in gambling or other sports ..." If any of them had received education, the report affirmed,

134. Harris, Robert Raikes, op.cit., 5-8, 11-12.

135. First Report of the Commissioners appointed to collect information ... relative to the Employment of Children ...., op. cit., 1833 (450) xx, Examinations taken by Mr. Cowell, Manchester, 50.

136. Select Committee on the Education of the Poor Classes, op. cit., 1834 (572) ix, 184.

"they will be found such as have been turned out of the schools for their disorderly behaviour."[137] The Secretary to the East London Auxiliary Sunday School Union, Henry Althans, reported in similar vein before the Select Committee on Education among the Lower Orders in the Metropolis in 1816. He implied that in an environment where criminality provided the traditional and the only means of obtaining a living, the Sunday school could have little effect.

> I undertook to raise a Sunday school in that deplorable part of London called St. Catherine's, there being a great number of children in that neighbourhood who are totally uninstructed. About eighteen months ago a school was formed there, which now contains nearly 200 children; and many of these children who are now in the school, when first they came were unable to read, but now they are able to read well in the Bible. Finding that neighbourhood to be one in which there was a great deal of iniquity practised, I endeavoured, through the means of children whom we employed as monitors, to ascertain the ways in which children were led into such iniquitous practices; and by this means I found out that there are four Jews, who live in St. Catherine's-lane generally, but they have other places of abode, and these four Jews have got a gang of 21 boys, whom they are bringing up as reputed thieves. One or two of these boys, and perhaps more of them, have been in our Sunday schools. One, upon being talked to upon the subject, seemed very much affected. He said he did not know what to do about it; he wished to leave that mode of life, and he sometimes never went near his companions for a week or two together; but they would decoy him out to go and play with them, and by that means they got him along with them again, and he could not resist the temptation held out to him. Through this boy I learnt that this gang of boys emulate each other to do the most daring actions. One of them said, "I got a gold watch out of a gentleman's pocket, in the Borough, and you never did such a thing as that yet." By this emulation they go on from one thing to another, until they perpetrate the most wicked deeds, and until they come to the gallows at last. And we have also likewise children attending our Sunday Schools, who are either the servants or children of prostitutes living in the neighbourhood; and it appears that they have children bred to the same mode of life, who would be very glad to leave it, if any other means were presented by which they might earn their livelihood.[138]

The second part of this analysis of the effects of Sunday school education focusses upon its impact upon parents. Mothers and fathers were generally the most important agents of education, even if the Sunday

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137. St.R.L., SK 52, Reports 1806-25, op. cit., Annual Report 1822, 9.

138. Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis ..., op. cit., 1816 (427), 1st Report with Minutes of Evidence, 55.

schools did attempt to replace them partially with teachers. If these institutions managed successfully to affect parents, then the Sunday schools effect upon children was likely to be magnified. Unfortunately, there is little first-hand information which comes from the parents themselves. The nature of their responses can be detected mainly through the attitudes of their more articulate social superiors. In 1816, W. F. Lloyd of the Sunday School Union reported.

> I very frequently visit the parents of the Sunday-school children at their own habitations; they are very grateful for the instruction their children receive, and for the visits of the teachers, from which they often likewise derive many benefits.[139]

Other commentators pointed out that schooling contributed to the respectability of parents. William Nettlefold, secretary to the Hoxton Academy of Sunday School affirmed:

> Previous to the children attending the school, one might understand, from the acknowledgement of the parents, that they (the parents) would occupy the Sabbath at work; washing, for instance, on the part of the mother, and the occupation of the father continued likewise; but from the books which the children have carried home from the school, and the information that they have given their parents from the instruction and exhortations they have heard, have been, in a number of cases that I could mention, induced to regard the Sabbath themselves by attending a place of worship.[140]

However there is some evidence which indicates that some parents received the Sunday school unwillingly. Sarah Trimmer in a letter of 1793 asserted that she "had much vexation" from the bad behaviour of parents. In the last five months she claimed, five of them removed their girls from school. One of them treated her "with the greatest insolence imaginable", and she was hurt by the ingratitude shown towards her.[141] In fact some

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139. ibid., 78.

140. ibid., 1816 (469), 2nd Report with Minutes of Evidence, 155.

141. Trimmer, Life and Writings ..., op. cit., ii, 7-8. See also Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis ..., op. cit., 1816 (469), 2nd Report with Minutes of Evidence, 152-153; Ln.C.R.O., Dixon 22/8/3, Note book with draft rules ... on the usefulness of Sunday Schools, Caistor, c.1811-16, op. cit., n.p.; William Brook, Sunday Schools and School of Industry ... in ... Bath ..., op. cit., 23.

commentators proposed that schools should adopt measures to overcome parental suspicion or hostility towards these institutions, including the threat of withdrawal of charitable benefits from those parents who refused to send their children to Sunday schools.[142]

In fact it seems as if parents sent their children to Sunday school for instrumental reasons; an education which involved instruction in reading and writing enabled their offspring to obtain a better job than was the case if they remained illiterate. George Haigh, secretary to the Sunday School Union in Leeds reported in 1833 that the dissenters and Wesleyan Methodists did not teach writing on Sundays, but the New Connexion and Protestant Methodist did so. He affirmed that this was one of the reasons why the schools of these denominations were flourishing: "I have frequently known children leave one school where writing was not taught to go to another where it was ..."[143]

If England possessed a respectable and deferential working class in the late nineteenth century, then Sunday schools probably helped in creating it. However, although Sunday schools may have educated, at some time, most of the children of the labouring poor by the 1830s, it is very difficult to show a direct connection between the attitudes which these institutions promoted and the behaviour of the men and women who had attended them during their infancy. In the first place some rejected the instruction which they received. Furthermore, Sunday schools provided education on only one day in the week, and the teaching which scholars received was often intermittent and short in duration. Most substantially though, the mental world of the infant poor was created not only by their limited formal education, but also, and more predominantly, by their family life, social environment and work experience.

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142. Samuel Glasse, The Piety, Wisdom, and Policy of promoting Sunday-schools ... (1788), 26-27.

143. First Report of the Commissioners appointed to collect information ... relative to the employment of Children ..., op. cit., 1833 (450) xx, Evidence taken by Mr. Drinkwater, N.E. District, Leeds, 115., See also Select Committee to whom the Bill to regulate the Labour of Children ... in the United Kingdom was referred 1831-2 (706) xv, 130.

# Chapter 7

## Schools of Industry: context, doctrines and perceptions

Historians have neglected the school of industry. Lacking the novelty of the Sunday school and the pedagogical drama of the monitorial school, it has become one of the neglected institutions in the history of education. Only one fairly extensive discussion of schools of industry exists, provided by M. G. Jones in her study of charity schools. She portrayed them as early attempts to promote industrial training, but she argued, as they did not achieve an original aim, to cover the cost of day-time schooling, they failed to last.[1] Other historians have offered little more than general statements concerning the role of these institutions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Harold Silver described them as attempts to fulfil an industrial purpose in a "handicraft, non-industrial situation", where there was no important "social organism" dependent upon them for a supply of labour.[2] More recently, he has seen the school of industry simply as a late development of the charity school, which was absorbed into the monitorial school system in the nineteenth century.[3] Alternatively, Richard Johnson has placed the institution in the context of the growth of mass schooling. They were associated, he has asserted, with "a period of educational reaction" in the 1790s when the Sunday School Movement fragmented and "the educational impulses associated with gentry paternalism ... took on a strongly coercive hue. "The school of industry, he claimed, was the "typical educational form" of these years, and emerged as a kind of workhouse for children, inculcating the duties they were expected to perform on each weekday. During the creation of a new industrial capitalist order, he implied, it was largely irrelevant:

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1. M. G. Jones, Charity School Movement ..., op. cit., 155.

2. Silver, Popular Education ..., op. cit., 31.

3. John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England (1973, reprinted 1976), 239.

the school of industry "remained a relative rarity, as training for particular occupations was most often applied to girls (as housewives but especially as domestic servants) and to children who were orphaned, vagrant, "empauperized" or deemed potentially criminal."[4] Whatever merits these interpretations possess, they have suffered because no attempt has been made to analyse the school of industry in depth.

It is true that schools of industry were not widely established. Moreover they were backward looking in an age which was experiencing the genesis of the industrial revolution. But they were non-the-less significant in reinforcing traditional values in a time of rapid change, particularly when they are seen as part of a programme of conservative educational philanthropy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Bearing in mind these considerations, two important questions require answers. Firstly, why were schools of industry perceived as significant in the minds of several members of the upper classes in England? Pitt, Whitbread and Brougham introduced bills in Parliament to encourage their establishment,[5] and some of the most important philanthropists of the period advocated their creation or participated in setting them up themselves. Sarah Trimmer and Hannah More, for instance created them respectively in Brentford and the Mendips.[6] In addition, the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, a major organization in the early nineteenth century, reported at length on their existence in many districts in an attempt to promote their establishment.[7] Secondly, what role were

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4. Johnson "Schooling of the English Working class ...", op. cit., 45, 47.

5. W. H. G. Armytage, Four Hundred Years of English Education (Cambridge, 1965), 76.

6. Trimmer, Oeconomy ..., (1787), op. cit., 69-80; Belham, op. cit.

7. Bernard, op. cit., 123-139, 179-224, 230-239.

schools of industry designed to play in the particular communities where they were established? These educational institutions were expected to create new patterns of behaviour amongst the labouring poor, and it is necessary to consider the nature of their impact in the many towns and villages where they operated.

In an attempt to provide answers to these questions, this chapter and the one that follows, focus upon the context, doctrines and perceptions of the school of industry, and the process and content of education within the institution. This chapter in fact, examines the school with reference to its historical development, the background of its promoters, and the ideological justifications provided to support its existence. Additionally, the kinds of children admitted to the institution, and the images of childhood projected by its promoters are portrayed. Although there were a number of different influences behind the advocacy of schools of industry, some of which are not examined here, it is argued that like the Sunday school they were largely manifestations of patriarchal social reconstruction in the later years of the eighteenth century and early decades of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, as well as containing a traditional ideology, which gave direction to the school of industry's purpose, elements of political economy were used to justify the education which the institution provided. In this respect the school of industry differed from the Sunday school. The former was concerned directly with training in habits of work, whereas instruction in the latter involved the provision of moral injunctions to govern social, moral and spiritual life. However, in their fullest form, schools of industry were more than agencies for training children in handicrafts and domestic economy. The education which they provided involved a concerted attempt to reconstruct the lives of the labouring poor. According to Robert Acklom Ingram, curate of Boxted in Essex, Cambridge senior wrangler in 1784, and a political economist,[8] whose

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8. D.N.B.

writings reveal him as an important but neglected educational theorist, schools of industry were to act as all-embracing agencies of cultural initiation. They were to be

> regulated for the purpose of training up the children of the poor in the knowledge and practice of everything, which it is of most importance that they should learn.[9]

Referring specifically to the education of girls, he envisaged schools of industry as engineering social, economic and moral change amongst the poor; they were institutions, he asserted, which did more than simply teach girls how to spin.[10]

> The process of education ought to be a proper pattern or model, of the business of life. Their employment and duty in life will probably be to discharge the several offices at first of menial servants, and afterwards of wives and mothers, with the fear of God before their eyes; as well as to assist in the maintenance of a family by some species of profitable industry. Let their education, therefore, be calculated to impress them with a sense of religious obligation, as well as to prepare them for the various employments of the station they are expected to occupy, as far as is practicable in a school.[11]

In this sense, schools of industry were defined in opposition to aspects of life in the lower classes. Before this theme is examined at length, it is necessary to look at the evolution of the school of industry, the first topic which this chapter portrays in detail.

## I

This section studies two traditions which served to influence the direction schools of industry took in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. These were the principle that occupational labour should be linked to other forms of instruction, and the belief that this form of education should be used to recreate a new pattern of life for the labouring poor. In addition this section examines the ways in which

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9. Robert Acklom Ingram, An Essay on the Importance of Schools of Industry and religious instruction ... (1800), 2-3.

10. ibid., 37.

11. idem.

these traditions came to fruition in the first important school of industry in England, Catharine Cappe's institution in York.

There was nothing new about linking occupational labour and schooling, John Locke, in his Report to the Board of Trade in 1697, proposed the establishment of schools for children who required parish relief. They would learn trades and also pay by their labour for their upkeep.[12] The S.P.C.K. also advocated uniting manual work with instruction in religious knowledge, reading, writing and arithmetic.[13] A few charity schools in Northamptonshire fulfilled this aim, the one at Irthlingborough becoming a model for emulation elsewhere.[14] Working schools in the adjacent counties of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire were probably institutions of this kind.[15] The two most important investigators of the late eighteenth century, Davies and Eden were concerned about an apparent increase in the numbers of the indigent poor, and its consequence, rising poor rates. They drew attention to a need for the training of pauper children to prevent their becoming as destitute as their parents.[16] Both Pitt and Whitbread's unsuccessful bills for the establishment of education based on the poor rates were motivated by these considerations,[17] and it is possible to detect a connection between this concern and the establishment of schools linking work and other forms of instruction, by the overseers

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12. An Account of the Origin, Proceedings, and Intentions of the Society for the Promotion of Industry in the southern district of ... Lindsey, in the county of Lincoln ... (Louth, 1789), 3rd edition, 67; Eden, op. cit., volume 1, 246-7.

13. P.H. Sandall, A Survey of Elementary Schools and School books in England at the close of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries (London University, M.A. Thesis, 1929), 67.

14. Marilyn Wood, The Common Mind: A study of the "charity school movement" in Northamptonshire (Leicester University, M.A.(Ed.) dissertation, 1976), 36.

15. A Digest of Parochial Returns made to the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Education of the Poor: Session 1818, 1819 (224) ix, pt.1, 2-11, 35-67.

16. Davies, op. cit., 28-29, 43, 89-94; Eden, op. cit., volume 1, 393, 422-430.

17. Eden, op. cit., volume 3, Appendix No. xi, cccviii-cccxxii, Appendix No. xxi, cccciv-ccccvii; Lawson and Silver, op. cit., 249.

of the poor and J.Ps. in, for example, Birmingham[18] and the Lindsey district of Lincolnshire.[19]

But there was another tradition which was significant, although its practical impact was delayed by a century. In 1696, the Quaker John Bellers envisaged a scheme of education in a more extensive context. His proposal was designed to recreate the whole life of the poor rather than to focus merely upon the reduction of poor relief. He directed attention to the crimes, miseries, idleness and lewdness of the poor and called upon the government to do something about these[20] moral failings:

> how worthy is it to provide a good Education and Employ for the Poor, the breeding Poor Children with Industry and Temperance, will make the next Age as Happy in their Service, as this Age is unhappy in their Parents Vices, for which Reason their Children had need of better Tutors; considering how many for want of it come to be Miserable and Vagabonds, and Continue so for many Generations, from Father to Son?[21]

His proposal for a "Colledge of all sorts of useful Trades" was to contain all ages,[22] but children were clearly a focus of interest inside this institution.

> Old People are like Earthen Vessels, not so easily to be new moulded, yet Children are more like Clay out of the Pit, and easie to take any Form they are put into.[23]

He proposed an education that aimed towards a recreation of the character of the poor. Learning was useful, "yet a Vertuous, Industrious Education tends more to Happiness here and hereafter".[24] Seeing others work, children would imitate them and labour would become part of their behaviour:

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18. Bernard, op. cit., 208-216.

19. Account ... Society for the Promotion of Industry ... in ... Lindsey ..., op. cit., 5.

20. John Bellers, Proposals for raising a Colledge of Industry of all useful Trades and Husbandry, with Profit for the Rich, a plentiful Living for the Poor, and a good Education for Youth ... (1696), republished edition of 1714, announcements provided after title page, n.p.

21. ibid., 3.

22. ibid., 5.

23. ibid., 4.

24. ibid., 17.

"as much Diversion to the Children as Play, which would the more inure them to Business when grown up."[25] In addition relationships within the "Colledge" were to be based upon a form of mutual aid.

> The Poor thus in a Colledge, will be a community something like the Example of Primitive Christianity, that lived in common .... In short, As it may be an Epitome of the Trade in it; so it may afford all the conveniences and comforts a man can want, and a Christian use.[26]

The important aspect of this proposal for the future was its all-embracing character. It is also possible to note in passing that the co-operative element in Bellers' proposal became part of the Owenite doctrine of co-operation in the early nineteenth century. Owen's Association of the Intelligent and well disposed of the Industrious classes, in 1831 included schools of industry among its institutions.[27] This radical aspect of the school of industry tradition is, however, beyond the concern of this chapter.

During the 1780s the school of industry developed from an emphasis on a limited aim of connecting work and instruction to a full programme of social reconstruction. These traditions were fused in the emergence of what appears to be England's first major school of industry, Catharine Cappe's spinning school in York. Mrs. Cappe was born in 1744, her father was an Anglican cleric and her mother a granddaughter of a baronet.[28] Before her marriage to a clergyman she had assisted Cornelius Lindsey at Catterick in Yorkshire in his Sunday school activity, which antedated Raikes' more significant enterprise. There she "gained by degrees" considerable influence over the poor. After her marriage she settled in York.[29] Her early proposals for educating the poor in that city were motivated by humanitarian considerations. They were defined in opposition

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25. ibid., 12.

26. ibid., 14, 20.

27. Silver, Popular Education ..., op. cit., 180.

28. Mary Cappe (ed.), Memoirs of the life of the late Mrs. Catharine Cappe ... (York, 1826), 3rd edition, 5-13.

29. ibid., 100-101.

to the corrupting effects of factory labour upon female workers.

> Towards the close of the year 1782, Mrs. Gray and myself, painfully impressed by the behaviour of a set of Children employed in a Hemp Manufactory in our neighbourhood, feeling deeply for their ignorance, and for the innumerable evils to which, particularly the Girls employed in it, were exposed, determined to try if something could not be done to mend their condition.[30]

It is difficult to say whether Mrs. Cappe's sensitivity had been influenced by Adam Smith's discussion of the degrading effects of the division of labour upon factory employees. Nevertheless this theme which she expressed was a key element in the more sophisticated ideology of the school of industry, which was to be developed later on by R. A. Ingram.

At first Mrs. Cappe and her associate proposed to teach the children "to read, knit and sew in an evening, after they had finished their work in the Manufactory".[31] But during the course of 1783 after having made "every effort in our power for the benefit of the girls", they found that charity was insufficient.[32] The girls who continued drawing wages from the factory, evidently failed to regard their formal education with sufficient value. As a remedy, the ladies proposed that the schooling provided be extended, but the girls would receive wages for work inside the school and withdraw completely from the corrupting influence of the manufactory. It was

> vain to hope for any effectual reformation, while they continued under the influences to which their situation there exposed them; and feeling a more peculiar interest for those individual children, in whose behalf we had thus exerted ourselves, we determined to try if we could not rescue them from their perilous situation, by endeavouring so to augment our little subscription, as to establish a school for the spinning of worsted, and thus enable ourselves to make the parents of these children an offer of allowing them wages equal to what they then earned, and of placing them under our own protection.[33]

The ladies intended to establish a spinning school so that girls in York

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30. Catharine Cappe, An Account of Two Charity Schools for the Education of Girls ... (York, 1800), 1.

31. idem.

32. ibid., 2.

33. idem.

could learn habits of industry, and thus obtain work as domestic servants. This, it was claimed, would prevent girls from acquiring "habits extremely ruinous to themselves, and hurtful to the whole community."[34]

However, the creation of the school revealed problems which forced it to take a new direction. In general, the relationships that were created by bringing together the providers of education and the recipients, each with their very different beliefs, attitudes and behaviour meant that the school had to alter its practice or collapse. On the one hand there was the Anglican and genteel culture of the promoters stressing the virtues of self-discipline and regulation. On the other hand there were the spontaneous and irregular habits of the labouring poor, manifested by the pupils of the school. Naturally problems were experienced when these two cultures collided in the institution. One difficulty faced by the promoters was the irregular attendance of the children.

> Unaccustomed at home to habits of order and regularity, it is extremely difficult to make either themselves or their parents comprehend the necessity of acquiring such habits.[35]

Secondly, there was the question of discipline, or "the difficulty of devising effectual punishments, and of putting them in execution." This problem was magnified because of the apparent approach to discipline in the working-class family.

> Among the lower classes, a child is beaten by the parents for every little offence, and sometimes if the parents happen to be in a bad humour or any thing goes wrong, for no offence at all; corporal punishment ... would want much of its effect from this very circumstance.[36]

Nevertheless, the ladies of York resolved these problems to their satisfaction and the school prospered.[37] The school then, ceased to be a merely protective or training establishment.

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34. ibid., 3.

35. ibid., 4.

36. idem.

37. ibid., 13.

The success which the school achieved enabled Mrs. Cappe to claim that schools of industry should be adopted widely,[38] especially as a means of social reconstruction. She explicitly claimed that they should supplement the work of Sunday schools. The latter, she noted, although important in a "reformation of manners" were not sufficient in areas where children were idle during the week; they were "by no means adequate to the whole of the evil" which they were "intended to prevent or cure".[39] Her school offered a distinct attempt at social reconstruction.

> The leading object of the institution is to excite a spirit of virtuous industry among the children of the poor, for if idleness and want of principle are the great sources of their poverty and wretchedness such efforts as are directed to preclude or correct these evils, are the kindest and best services that can be done them.[40]

Elsewhere in England schools of industry, were encouraged. In The Oeconomy of Charity of 1801, Sarah Trimmer called for their establishment for poor girls in every parish.[41] She created a school of industry herself in Brentford.[42] Writing in 1792 Clara Reeve argued that a nationwide network of these institutions were more appropriate than Sunday schools for educating the poor.[43]

> It is Schools of Industry that are wanted, to reform the manners of the common people; where they are taught their duties every day, and all the day long. That these are practicable I can bring sufficient proofs.[44]

In the same year Thomas Simons affirmed their importance in the metropolis. Alarmed by what he perceived as the insubordination and laziness of the London poor he called for a system of education designed to teach more than religious duties, which he claimed, had been the role of the charity

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38. ibid., 15.

39. ibid., 99-100.

40. ibid., 99.

41. Sarah Trimmer, The Oeconomy of Charity .... (1801 edition), 193-196.

42. ibid., 307.

43. Clara Reeve, Plans of Education ... (1792), 99, 103.

44. ibid., 99.

school. By training children in habits of industry the poor would become "fully acquainted with the obligations requisite in society".[45] He wanted an extensive reformation of the lower orders. Social harmony would be achieved by combining Christian morality and "practical habits of industry".[46]

> A willing obedience and a reform will never take place among them until they are taught what the duty of subjection means. When by these helps they are more civilized, then more cheerfully will they labour; they will be induced to consider it as likely to afford to them the securest shelter and the most eligible support, they will regard it as a protector more equal to the removing them from indigence, they will seldomer listen to the betraying deceitful voice of indolence, and very many will, by their example, infuse the like principles among their descendants. A few years will render this class, far from being the most headstrong and injurious, much more governable and just; they will by complying with the duties of their respective situations, as servants, be much more beneficial; and having been instructed in what way to make themselves acceptable to heaven, they will consider their duty and happiness to be one and the same thing; they will be effectually kept back and dread precipitating themselves into every loose pleasure or amusement.[47]

II

Schools of industry lacked the blanket coverage of the Sunday schools, but in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they were established in many parts of England. It is not possible to detect a pattern in their creation. Schools of industry were established in or near London, for example in Brentford, the City, King Street, Golden Square, Lewisham and St. Mary-le-Bone,[48] in provincial centres and county towns such as Bath, Carlisle, Cheltenham, Exeter, Ipswich, Nottingham, Reading and York, and in ports such as Dover, King's Lynn, Liverpool, Plymouth,

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45. Thomas Simons, A letter to every housekeeper in London, on behalf of parochial industry schools for every child who has no other opportunity of receiving any instruction in the several duties of life (1792), 2nd edition, 1-6. A copy is in the Guildhall Library.

46. ibid., 9.

47. ibid., 13-14.

48. See footnote 42; City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Account ... (1820); Rules, orders and regulations, to be duly observed and kept in the Parish School of Industry, in King Street, Golden Square (1793); Bernard, op. cit., 132; A brief statement of the St. Mary-le-Bone Day-School of Industry ... (1799).

Southampton and Sunderland.[49] They were also set up in industrial urban centres like Birmingham, Bolton, Leeds, Wakefield and Wigan,[50] and in rural areas in Hertfordshire, the Mendips, Norfolk and Rutland.[51] It appears from available sources that all of these schools were created by groups of upper or middle class people: in London by clergymen, merchants and bankers, elsewhere by overseers of the poor, J.Ps., professional men or "ladies" as well as the clergy. Although schools of industry were set up in the expanding towns of the Midlands, South Lancashire and South Yorkshire, it has not been possible to find evidence of institutions which were created by industrialists. This disinterest by industrialists probably reflected two things: firstly the failure of the manufacturing middle classes at this time, to conceive that education might promote their interests, and secondly the fact that schools of industry were defined in opposition to the allegedly corrupting effects of the factory upon the manners and morals of the poor. Industrialists were unlikely to regard favourably any institution which implied a criticism of their own

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49. Plans of the Sunday schools and School of Industry established in the City of Bath ... (Bath, 1789), 25; The History and Antiquities of Carlisle (Carlisle, 1838), 298-299; Bernard, op. cit., 217; Exeter Itinerary, and General Directory ... (Exeter, 1831), 129; An Account of the Gifts and Legacies ... in the town of Ipswich ... (Ipswich, 1819), 194; James Orange, History and Antiquities of Nottingham (1840), volume 1, 947; John Man, The History and Antiquities, Ancient and Modern of ... Reading ... (Reading, 1816), 212-213; Catharine Cappe, op. cit., 1; Short Historical Sketch of Dover ... (Dover, 1823), 5th edition, 231: William Richards, The History of Lynn ... (Lynn, 1812), volume II, 1144; Edward Baines, History, directory, and gazeteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster, (Liverpool, 1824-25), volume 1, 177; The Picture of Plymouth ... (Plymouth, 1812), 58; Rev. J. Silvester Davies, A History of Southampton (Southampton, 1884), 325; George Garbutt, A Historical and Descriptive View of Sunderland (Sunderland, 1819), 367-368.

50. Bernard, op. cit., 208; Franklin Baker, The Rise and Progress of Nonconformity in Bolton ... (1854), 71; Edward Baines, History, directory, and gazeteer, of the County of York (Leeds, 1822), volume 1, 28; J. W. Walker, Wakefield, its History and People (Wakefield, 1939), volume II, 378; Baines, Lancaster ..., op. cit., volume II, 609.

51. Instructions for Cutting out Apparel for the Poor; Principally intended for the Assistance of Patronesses of Sunday Schools, and other Charitable Institutions ... (1789); Belham, op. cit., 269; Bernard, op. cit., 201; ibid., 179-181 and Eden, op. cit., volume II, 604.

property even though it was hardly a threat to their interests. In fact schools of industry were designed as a means of instructing children, especially girls, in the virtues requisite for recreating the habits of labour congruent with the development of a respectable family life for the labouring poor. One of the key images in the school of industry was the family, in terms of its importance as an agency of moral and religious teaching, and as a unit of production through domestic manufacture.

Contrary to the situation in the Sunday school movement, no specific educational organizations promoted the school of industry on a nationwide scale. The only body which approached this category was the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, formed in 1796 by three people. They were Sir Thomas Bernard, son of the former English governor of Massachusetts and a full-time philanthropist, the Bishop of Durham, Shute Barrington, who as Bishop of Salisbury had been an early supporter of Sunday schools, and William Wilberforce.[52] This Society was dedicated to the investigation and publication of a large number of charitable schemes designed to improve the living standards of the poor, and to encourage virtues such as thrift and industry.[53] Its educational reports revealed an interest in schools of industry as a means of recreating the characters of children in the lower orders.[54] In his preface to the education reports of the S.B.C.P., Bernard viewed schools as being in the front rank of charities; they contributed to "educate and improve the rising generation, and to fit them for their station in life, and for useful employment".[55] By instructing them "in the great and important duties of Christianity", they formed "their minds at an early period, to strict and

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52. Trimmer, Oeconomy ... (1801), op. cit., 252; Rev. James Baker, The Life of Sir Thomas Bernard ... (1819), 14-27.

53. ibid., 16-19.

54. See footnote 7.

55. Bernard, op. cit., 64.

principled habits of integrity and prudence."[56] Its committee provided an impressive selection from the upper and middle classes. Clerics included the Rev. Dr. Glasse, chaplain to the King and supporter of Sunday schools, and the evangelical Thomas Gisborne. Numerous aristocrats contributed to the Society's organization, including Lord Dynevor, a former Tory M.P. and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Marquis of Bute, Lord Lieutenant of Glamorgan, the Earl of Egremont, Lord Lieutenant of Sussex, and Earl Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty, Home Secretary and Colonel of the Northamptonshire Yeomanry. Others on the committee were J.J. Angerstein, merchant, philanthropist, M.P., and founder of Lloyds insurance company, Sir Thomas Baring Bart, son of a director of the East India Company, Patrick Colquhoun, merchant, magistrate and political economist, Charles Grant, magistrate, Evangelical, a merchant in the East India Company, and the man who introduced Sunday schools to Scotland, and Henry Hoare, the banker and founder of the Church Missionary Society. Committee members also included Matthew Martin, who was Secretary of the S.B.C.P. and an investigator of metropolitan mendicity, Sir Robert Peel, manufacturer, M.P., paternalist employer and early supporter of factory legislation, William Morton Pitt, M.P., cousin of the Prime Minister, and supporter of Sunday schools, Gregory Rose, Vice-President of the Board of Trade and advocate of vaccination, and two evangelical M.Ps., James Stephen, and Nicholas Vansittart.[57]

III

It is now appropriate to focus precisely on the justifications and aims of the school of industry. The promoters of this institution were

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56. idem.

57. For these individuals see D.N.B.; Vicary Gibbs (ed.), et al., The Complete Peerage (1910-59), 12 volumes; A. Valentine, The British Establishment 1760-1784 ... (Norman, Oklahoma, 1970), 2 volumes; I. C. Bradley, "The politics of godliness ...", op. cit., 276-287.

alarmed that social and economic change was disturbing the ties of deference and obligation essential to the maintenance of social cohesion. Their image of social order was hierarchical: divisions in society were ordained by God and were necessary for stability, and it was important to promote harmony by teaching children their social duties. Industry or hard work was one of the key elements in the maintenance of harmony, for by training children in habits of labour and economic self-reliance they would be insulated from idleness, the most corrupting vice of all. The promoters of schools of industry seized upon two aspects of contemporary life which threatened to lead to the disintegration of the social order.

Firstly, there had been an abdication on the part of the governors. The upper classes no longer provided the moral influence necessary for maintaining a virtuous labouring population. According to R. A. Ingram:

> the several ties of connection by which it is expedient that the different orders of the community, especially those in the immediate vicinity of each other, should be united in the bonds of social harmony, are now much fewer and weaker than formerly; and that all, improving intercourse between the higher and lower classes is almost entirely suspended.[58]

Dependence was defined as being a necessary constituent of social harmony. It was grounded upon a "reciprocity of obligations" or upon a "well-grounded expectation of favours". Beneficence bestowed by the rich, displayed the qualities of praise and consolation, to reward the virtues of the recipient or to comfort him in his sufferings. This relationship, it was claimed was "highly improving to the mind, and very conducive to social harmony."[59] Beneficence thus provided an emotional bond between donor and recipient, which could be contrasted with the mechanical contrivance of poor relief. In this latter case benefits were given and received according to the law, and not as a result of the personal interest of the rich in the welfare of the poor.

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58. Ingram, Importance of Schools of Industry ..., op. cit., 30.

59. ibid., 30-31.

Secondly, it was claimed that family life faced collapse because of the decline in domestic work by women. The family, it was assumed, was the nodal political, social, economic and moral institution, a microcosm of society and the training ground for adult life. If it suffered decay then social cohesion was also adversely affected. Sarah Trimmer showed an awareness of this trend and expressed personal sympathy towards the poor, facing an apparent disintegration in their family life. It was easy, she asserted, for ladies in her class to be shocked when they observed a poor woman "sitting in rags, surrounded by a set of dirty children" and thus simple for them to condemn her for "sloth and untidiness".[60] However, Mrs. Trimmer pointed out, the woman had perhaps not learned to labour for her self-support. Imagining the reply of such a poor woman in response to personal criticism, Mrs. Trimmer wrote:

> I am ashamed to appear before you ladies in this condition, but indeed I have not the means of cleanliness - I have not so much as a mop or pail to clean my apartments - we have no change of apparel .... my husband labours hard in summer, but what he earns then is exhausted before winter is half over - he has been out of work for many weeks .... I also go to hay making, weeding, etc., when I possibly can, but have never been taught to do any in-doors work - nay, I cannot even mend the rags I have, for I have had no learning bestowed upon me.[61]

Mrs. Trimmer's humanitarian sentiments were overtaken by a more sophisticated analysis of the decline in domestic economy by R. A. Ingram. Adopting some of the analyses of Adam Smith concerning the effects of the division of labour upon the mental world of factory workers, he focussed upon the alleged collapse of working-class family life. In the past Ingram wrote, each family had made the products necessary for its subsistence. While men cultivated the soil, women manufactured wool and linen, where each stage of production was completed at home.[62] But he affirmed:

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60. Trimmer, Oeconomy ... (1787), op. cit., 62.

61. ibid., 62-63.

62. Ingram, Importance of Schools of Industry ... op. cit., 3-4.

> The progress, however, of the division of labour and the prosperity of our commerce, have affected a very considerable alteration in the arrangement of the business of common life.[63]

Women and children had ceased to manufacture an entire product, he explained, and had been employed in the "performance only of a single operation".[64] They received wages little by little, which they spent as they received them, consuming luxuries rather than purchasing items such as clothing.[65] As a result, he asserted "a fatal blow has been levied at domestic economy, and /at/ every virtue that follows in train".[66] Alternatively, improvements in machinery, or employment in factories had caused women and children to forget "all recollection of the various branches of the manufactures", which were previously carried on at home.[67] They had no opportunity of learning them nor did they possess the appropriate implements for the performance of their trades.[68] Moreover, by working only at one single process in the making of a product their mental faculties had been affected. Requiring manual dexterity rather than mental agility "their minds seem destitute of a proper degree of tone and vigour",[69] and when they were deprived of this one employment, they appeared

> neither to have activity, nor resolution sufficient to attempt any other, and quietly acquiesce in the expectation, that they shall be relieved by the operation of the poor's laws, whenever they are reduced to absolute distress.[70]

This "helplessness and torpidity of mind"[71] affected the moral content of family life. Economy in cooking and effective household management

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63. ibid., 4.

64. idem.

65. ibid., 4-5.

66. ibid., 4.

67. ibid., 5.

68. idem.

69. ibid., 6.

70. idem.

71. idem.

disappeared and the husband began to prefer the comfort of an alehouse to an inhospitable home.[72] The man spent his wages on drink and provided little money for his family.[73] Matrimony came to be regarded "as an odious restraint, and a family dreaded as an oppressive incumbrance".[74] Those areas such as factory towns where employment was plentiful, provided a further blow to domestic life. The members of a family employed in "crowded and unhealthy rooms" amidst a "promiscuous assemblage" imbibed the "contagion of bad example" where "the most profligate character too generally corrupts all the rest."[75]

In order to restore the social harmony which appeared for many commentators to be lacking, it was necessary for the upper classes to reactivate their contacts with the lower classes. Personal charity was a dynamic element in this process but it had to be managed with care:

> to ensure success, it is necessary, not only, that our charitable distributions are duly accommodated in their application to the circumstances of the persons whose benefit is designed, but that their minds also are properly disposed to make that good use, which is kindly intended of the proffered bounty .... Every beneficent action should be rendered ... a motive and encouragement to good conduct, and the means of calling into existence some amiable and improving affection of the mind. The hand, therefore, must be rendered visible through which the proffered bounty is diffused, that the poor may be united by ties of gratitude and affection to their beneficent superiors, and be rendered anxiously desirous of meriting the regard and esteem of those, whose approbation and favour will be proportioned to their general propriety of deportment.[76]

It was essential for the upper classes, Ingram argued, to exercise "an habitual intercourse with our inferiors", the only effective means, he

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72. idem.

73. ibid., 6-7.

74. ibid., 7.

75. ibid., 7-8. Mrs. Trimmer also commented upon the pernicious social, moral and physical effects of factory employment, Trimmer, Oeconomy ... (1801), op. cit., 199-200.

76. Robert Acklom Ingram, Parochial Beneficence inculcated in a sermon preached in the parish Church of Boxted ... Essex ... for the Benefit of a School of Industry, lately established in that Parish ... (Colchester, 1800), 8-9.

claimed, of obtaining knowledge of their character and condition.[77] This, he hoped, would provide "a controlling or improving influence over their manners and deportments."[78] One "species of congress"[79] between rich and poor - education - was potentially more effective than any other.

> There is no other kind of intercourse, by which more powerful ties of attachment are generated, or in which each class appears more perfectly in those characters, which particularly embellish their respective situations in life.[80]

In particular, Ingram asserted in another work,

> it should be the object of our endeavour to secure the affections of the rising generation of the poor; and to train them up in the habits of respect and esteem for the higher classes. We must in the school-room, commence an habitual communication with our inferiors, which, at the same time that it is conciliatory, will be found not less improving to ourselves, than it is to them.[81]

However personal contact was insufficient. The poor had to be taught to work. In fact, Ingram conceived that labour played an essential role in creating an individual's identity.

> Perhaps, on an attentive examination, it will be found, that the general character of the lower classes depends much more on the nature of their accustomed employment, than is commonly suspected.[82]

This conception implied an emphasis upon habit-forming activities to encourage the appropriate character traits in the labouring poor. Referring to the education of girls he asserted:

> regular attendance at school, and steady application to some kind of intellectual or manual employment, not only produce orderly and sedate habits, but generate a degree of activity and energy of character ...[83]

Through concentrating upon work, the child was prevented from engaging in distracting activities, "by being kept still and quiet ... and debarred from all conversation, except what relates to the present employments".[84] Her mind could then receive the virtues which this activity encouraged: "the mind is molified, it is taught subordination, its passions are cooled,

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77. ibid., 9.
78. idem.
79. idem.
80. ibid., 15.
81. Ingram, Importance of Schools of Industry ... op. cit., 31-32.
82. ibid., 15.
83. ibid., 30.
84. idem.

and its wanton and disorderly propensities subdued."[85]

Several institutions provided variations upon this theme. For example, a description of the St. Mary-le-Bone School of Industry declared:

> The education that the children receive here, is such only to fit them for the subordinate situation they may most probably be called upon to fill; and in order to destroy the seeds of idleness, and give the children habits of industry, mechanical employments suited to their age, are provided for them. The girls are occupied in knitting and needlework; the boys in shoe-closing, shoe-making and pin pointing.[86]

Furthermore, in the schools provided by the Society for the Promotion of Industry in Lindsey, children from the ages of five or six were "kept steadily to the pursuit of business - taught that, even so early in life, they are <u>able to maintain themselves</u> - made to take a pride in nothing but what they obtain by merit ..."[87]

In the <u>Importance of Schools of Industry</u>, Ingram identified a further reason why the children of the poor had to learn to work at an early age. In the future, he believed, a skilled labour force of productive domestic workers would be needed to meet economic competition from advancing commercial powers, especially the United States.[88] Voicing a fear of foreign competition, he observed prophetically in 1800:

> This event we ought to have in expectation, and be prepared to meet it; particularly by instructing more and more hands to manufacture such articles, as enter into common use at home, and which we now frequently purchase from abroad.[89]

Ingram was not arguing for the development of a factory system to meet these needs; he had criticised the corrupting effects of such employment.

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85. <u>idem</u>.

86. <u>A brief statement of the Saint Mary-le-Bone Day-School of Industry ...</u>, <u>op. cit</u>., 4.

87. <u>Account ... Society for the Promotion of Industry ... in ... Lindsey ...</u>, <u>op. cit</u>., 74-75.

88. Ingram, <u>Importance of Schools of Industry ...</u>, <u>op. cit</u>., 11-12.

89. <u>ibid</u>., 18.

Instead he was claiming that an extension of domestic production would be necessary. Despite its traditional elements, this concern expressed a new emphasis. Social cohesion was the current central aim of the school of industry, but in future the institution could be used to fulfil the demands of a manufacturing state, threatened by commercial competition.

IV

It is possible to examine the school of industry's approach to the child in two ways: by studying the images of the child as perceived by the promoters of the school, and secondly, by analysing the kinds of children admitted into this institution.

The school of industry was defined as a new agency of education in the communities of the labouring poor, and therefore its justification implied a criticism of existing cultural patterns. This consideration coloured the images of the school's promoters. In fact their perceptions of childhood are best understood by examining their notion of how the plebeian family operated. Two images in fact were projected: parental neglect and parental corruption. Writing in 1800, Ingram implied that parents had failed to regulate their children's behaviour. Prior to the establishment of a school in Boxted, Essex, children had been "wandering on the confines of a wild and extensive heath, trained up in habits most unfavourable to decency of appearance, and to orderly and decorous manners."[90] A similar implication can be drawn from Mrs. Trimmer's statement: "It is a disgrace to any Parish, to see the children of the Poor, who are old enough to do any kind of work, running about the street ..."[91] In York, Mrs. Cappe was more explicit. She found that parents

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90. Ingram, Parochial Beneficence ..., op. cit., 20.

91. Trimmer, Oeconomy ... (1801), op. cit., 197.

were unable to conceive of the importance of developing "habits of order and regularity" in their children.[92] The promoters of a school in Chester offered a more precise sketch of the effects of parental neglect; girls in that city were

> extremely destitute of useful employment; and that of those from nine to thirteen years of age, in one parish, three fourths could sew at all, and not one of them so well as to make a single article of dress. They were equally ignorant of knitting and spinning; and so unskilful in the common occupations of life, as to be disqualified for domestic servants; and for most other offices in society, and to have very few means of earning an honest livelihood.[93]

These perceptions indicated neglect on the part of parents, but they did not necessarily imply that parents were at fault for their children's bad habits. However, alternative images of the family provided a different picture. Ingram claimed that "too many of the lower classes" were "stupidly insensible of the best interests of their children", and did not send them to school.[94] He asserted that some degree of compulsion was necessary to force them to have their offspring "acquire early habits of industry":

> it is absolutely necessary for the complete success of a school of industry, that besides giving encouragement to those poor that send their children regularly to the school, parish officers should positively deny relief to poor persons, on account of their families, if they refuse to send their children ....[95]

This policy was followed at schools of industry at Oakham and Boxted in Essex. In both cases overseers and magistrates co-operated to encourage attendance.[96] But few institutions showed such a callous disregard of parental wishes. Where schools of industry were provided for children whose parents were on relief however, then their home background was deemed to be corrupting by definition. They had to be separated almost entirely

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92. Catharine Cappe, Two Charity Schools ..., op. cit., 4.

93. Bernard, op. cit., 233-234.

94. Ingram, Parochial Beneficence ..., op. cit., x.

95. ibid., x-xi.

96. idem.

from parental contact. Rules 24, 26 and 28 of the school established in King Street, Golden Square in London, announced:

> That the Parents, Relations, or Friends of the Children be only permitted to see them on Sundays between Dinner and Church-time ...
>
> That the Parents, Relations, and Friends of the Children be absolutely forbid to come after, or speak to the Children either in Church or Chapel, or in the streets, when they are going to or returning from thence.
>
> That none of the Children be permitted to go out on any Pretence whatever, except to Church or Chapel, or upon a Representation being made to the acting overseer, that their Parents or near Relations are in a dying state ....[97]

These two images of parental neglect and corruption, led to a notion of parental inadequacy. Although it was possible for parents under certain circumstances to assist in the furtherance of the aims of schools of industry (chapter 8), these educational institutions were justified, as agencies designed to create patterns of behaviour for the children of the labouring poor which were different from those of their parents. The school of industry also projected particular images of how boys and girls should behave.

The social roles performed by boys and girls differed considerably in eighteenth and nineteenth century society, reflecting their various positions in the division of labour. Men were primarily concerned with providing the means of subsistence for the family, while women concentrated upon the upbringing of children. Schools of industry were one of the few educational institutions designed mainly, but not exclusively for girls. Schooling, Ingram claimed was not as necessary for boys.

> Boys are commonly trained up from an early period of life to the proper business of their stations. And the very necessity of being constantly engaged in some kind of employment is a species of discipline, beyond what poor girls in general, experience. Boys therefore, have not the same need of the discipline of a school of industry .... There is an abundance of employment for men .... What, therefore, is chiefly wanted with regard to boys, is to find

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97. Rules ... to be duly observed ... in the Parish School of Industry, in King Street, Golden Square, op. cit., 10-11.

> them employment ... while they are yet children .... The best school of industry ... for them would be a potatoe ground, or a garden for the production of cheap and bulky vegetables, such as are most valuable in a poor family.[98]

Some schools of industry appeared to follow this doctrine. William Allen's scheme for an institution at Potton was designed to educate boys in the arts of husbandry.[99]

Employment was not naturally available to girls, asserted Ingram, the instruction of girls in the lower orders was therefore "incomparably more urgent".[100] In fact:

> Too generally are they trained up in no habits of profitable industry, in no kind of domestic economy and good arrangement, and almost in barbarous ignorance of moral and religious obligation. And, in consequence, the number of steady and industrious workmen appears to exceed that of women, who are equally careful and diligent in their sphere.[101]

This was in part due to the failings of the mother:

> a poor woman, if she can obtain sufficient from her husband's industry, and parish allowance, to keep a great girl or two, at a loose end, to be running backwards and forwards to a shop ... for a halfpenny worth of snuff, or an ounce of tea, while she herself reposes in ease, in the midst of a few smoking embers, will often prefer retaining them at home in habits as destructive of good morals, as is compatible with common decency, to sending them to a school, where they may acquire early habits of industry ...[102]

The education of girls required the encouragement of self-respect and training in household management. It was hoped that this would lead to the recreation of family life and the re-establishment of social harmony.

> To secure them effectually from immorality and error, we must teach them to respect their own characters, by first, indeed respecting them ourselves, and conferring on them an essential value. If early marriages are of the highest importance to the interests of a community, in a moral view, as well as on every other important consideration, it must be our endeavour to render them more desirable in the marriage state for their ability to assist in the maintenance and education of a family and to add to the mass of domestic comforts by economy and cleanliness.[103]

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98. Ingram, Importance of Schools of Industry ..., op. cit., 23-24.

99. Montagu Burgoyne, Address to the Governors and Directors of Public Charity Schools ... (1829), 15-16.

100. Ingram, Importance of Schools of Industry ..., op. cit., 25.

101. ibid., 25.

102. Ingram, Parochial Beneficence ..., op. cit., x.

103. Ingram, Importance of Schools of Industry ..., op. cit., 25.

The qualities of economy and cleanliness contributed to the maintenance of a respectable family life. The encouragement of these virtues was not simply the impressing of middle-class values upon a labouring population. It was motivated by a more traditional concern: that the family was experiencing disintegration, and measures therefore had to be taken to restore its moral self-sufficiency. Ingram argued that industrialization, and by implication, bourgeois values, had encouraged the destruction of the kinds of social values in which he believed. Women who had absorbed these virtues through the school of industry, were he claimed, more likely to secure the morals of their husbands and children. Domestic comfort strengthened "the union between the members of the same family."[104] It also prevented the replacement of obligation and dependence by more dangerous contractual relationships.

> An extensive intercourse and communication with the world at large, or amongst persons on a footing of equality, and mutual independence, is too generally injurious in its consequence upon the character: whereas the society of those, between whom there subsist the most intimate bonds of connection, the greatest reciprocity of duties and obligation, and a chain of subordination, is, on the other hand in the highest degree improving.[105]

The moral content of family life then, affected social relationships, and women were to play a significant role in its reconstruction. Economically, women may have been dependent upon men, but morally they carried greater responsibilities.

Finally, it is possible to examine the kinds of children who were admitted to schools of industry. Although many catered for girls only, these institutions did instruct children of both sexes. There were some variations in the social backgrounds of children admitted by schools of industry. The House of Industry in Shrewsbury, for instance, and the school of industry in King Street, Golden Square, London, were designed

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104. ibid., 27.

105. idem.

for children on the lowest rung of the social ladder. Their inmates required parochial relief to survive.[106] Manuscript records which specify the types of children admitted to individual schools of industry are rare for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, although the records of the school of industry established at St. James's Duke Place in 1806, later to be known as the City of London School of Industry and Instruction are relatively complete. This institution incorporated children of both sexes, whose parents or guardians did not have it in their power "to send them to any other school".[107] The social and occupational levels of children admitted to this school are presented in Tables 17 and 18, which are compiled from the school's admission registers.

Table 17. Occupations of parents or guardians of girls admitted to the City of London School of Industry and Instruction 1807-1816.[108]

| Occupation | 1807 | 1808 | 1809 | 1810 | 1811 | 1812 | 1813 | 1814 | 1815 | 1816 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unskilled workers | 7 | | 5 | 3 | 3 | | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 27 |
| Artisans/skilled workers | 11 | | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 1 | 3 | | 6 | 26 |
| Journeymen artisans/ skilled workers | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| Dealers/traders | 3 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| Journeymen dealers/ traders | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 |
| Soldiers, mariners, seamen | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | 2 |
| Widows in employment | 6 | | 4 | | | | | | | | 10 |
| Widows | | | | | 2 | 2 | 2 | | 1 | 2 | 9 |
| Not stated | 1 | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | | 3 | 2 | 20 |
| | 28 | 1 | 15 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 11 | 8 | 6 | 11 | 102 |

106. I. Wood, Some Account of the Shrewsbury House of Industry, its establishment and regulations ... (Shrewsbury, 1795), 18-19; Rules ... to be observed ... in the Parish School of Industry, in King Street, Golden Square, op. cit., 4.

107. City of London School of Instruction and Industry, An Account of the City of London School of Instruction and Industry for the benefit of the Children of the indigent poor (1820 edition), 6.

108. Gu.L., 5,950, City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Admission book, volume 1, 1810-1813 (boys and girls); 5,951, City of London School of Instruction and Industry, General report book of admissions and discharges 1807-1821.

Table 18. Occupations of parents or guardians of boys admitted to the City of London School of Industry and Instruction 1808-1817.[109]

| | 1808 | 1809 | 1810 | 1811 | 1812 | 1813 | 1814 | 1815 | 1816 | 1817 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unskilled workers | 9 | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 21 |
| Artisans/skilled workers | 9 | 4 | | | | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 29 |
| Journeymen artisans/ skilled workers | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Beadle | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Dealers/traders | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Journeymen dealers/ traders | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Soldiers, mariners, seamen | 2 | | | | | 1 | | | | | 3 |
| Distillers servants | 3 | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Widows in employment | 2 | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Widows | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| Not stated | | | 1 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 24 |
| | 27 | 6 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 13 | 8 | 6 | 12 | 10 | 99 |

The two largest categories of occupations are "unskilled", and "artisans and skilled workers". Included in the first group are labourers, warehousemen, porters, carmen and wagoners. The latter contained tailors, shoemakers, nailors and the occasional weaver. "Widows in employment" includes many domestic servants, washerwomen and charwomen, although one schoolmistress is included in the category; "not stated" probably contains large numbers of unemployed. The high proportion of skilled workers and artisans does not necessarily imply that the school was catering for what might be called the "labour aristocracy". Most of these men were occupied in fairly lowly jobs, and were serving their local communities rather than the metropolitan upper and middle classes. There did not appear to be any shift in parental occupations over the ten year period, selected for boys and girls at the school. After 1818 the registers were rarely specific in

109. idem.

allocating the occupations of children's parents, so generalizations for a longer period of time are impossible to make. If this school was typical, and there is no reason to doubt that it did not resemble many other urban establishments, then the school of industry like the Sunday school catered for the labouring poor in general, unless it was specifically established to educate pauper children.

# Chapter 8

## The School of Industry: Process and Content of Education

Schools of industry were expected to establish social harmony by encouraging self-sufficiency and respectability in the working-class family. These attributes were to be achieved by promoting habits of industry and a range of moral precepts through instruction. In this way, it was hoped by the schools' promoters, children and their parents would learn to labour for their living, accept the dictates of traditional morality and obey their superiors. In addition, by connecting rich and poor together within the educational environment, schools of industry were designed to display to the lower classes that the social order was immutable. For benevolence, the oil which lubricated the contacts between rich and poor, could thus be displayed as social reality.

The process and content of education inside schools of industry, presented and invoked these practices, and this chapter examines this internal life. Initially, the chapter portrays the patterns of authority and ritual, including the role of the teacher, inside these institutions. Secondly, it studies the learning assumptions which they contained. Thirdly, it analyses the content of the curriculum, patterns of discipline and social welfare within the schools. Moreover, the ways in which schools of industry attempted to instruct the parents of the children who were admitted to these institutions are examined. Finally, the chapter offers an assessment of the success of the school of industry in its attempt to educate the labouring poor.

### I

Patterns of authority and ritual in schools of industry are here examined by focussing upon the ways in which these institutions were established, the types of control which they developed, the roles which

teachers were expected to perform, and the ceremonies which the schools developed. Theoretical works of the time offered advice on establishment. In her Plans of Education in 1792, Clara Reeve provided the following scheme for creating institutions as a means of reducing the poor's dependence upon relief. She called for a committee of enquiry to be set up in every parish, consisting of respectable people, with the "principal gentleman" as chairman, and the rector, or his curate as a member.[1] This body would try to provide answers to several questions. Firstly, it would attempt to discover the amount of money which was raised for parish relief and discern how it was used. Secondly, it would determine how best to separate children and the able poor from the old and sick. Finally, it would propose measures to enable the indigent young to work for a living.[2] Then schools would be established to provide employment in carding, weaving, spinning, hosiery, carpentry and joinery work, tailoring or shoemaking.[3] William Allen, in addition, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Schools Society, advocated the creation of agricultural schools of industry. Self-reliance in husbandry, he believed, would restore the economic independence of the poor which had been affected by enclosure, if these institutions were combined with allotments to enable them to practice their pursuits.[4] Allen called for a public-spirited individual to invest a large sum of money, four or five hundred pounds, which would provide a school for seventy-two boys and a similar number of girls.[5]

In fact the establishment of schools of industry did not follow any

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1. Reeve, op. cit., 103.

2. idem.

3. ibid., 104-105.

4. The Philanthropic Magazine or Repository for Hints and suggestions calculated to promote the comfort and happiness of man, new series 1829-30, 235.

5. idem.

pre-ordained plan laid out by educationalists. For example, an institution set up in Kendal in 1799 was precipitated by publicity accorded to these schools by the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor.[6] In addition, most schools appear to have been created because locally-influential elites were affected by their own perceptions of a need in their own areas. Mrs. Cappe for instance was alarmed at the moral danger to girls in York who were employed in a hemp manufactory.[7] In 1787 "Dr. Haygarth and some others" found that poor girls in Chester "were extremely destitute of useful employment".[8] The overseers and guardians of the poor in Birmingham established a school of industry in 1797 so that children could be separated from "those depraved and incorrigible persons who too frequently form the population of a parish workhouse".[9] By 1822 three schools of industry had been set up in Leeds to teach poor girls to read, write, knit and sew and be prepared for domestic service, because according to Edward Baines, so many young females were being brought up in factories and were too often unfitted for the duties of a servant.[10] The founders of the City of London School of Industry and Instruction in 1806 were motivated by the belief that education in the parish of St. James's was deficient for those children, whose parents or guardians were unable to send them to any other school.[11]

These examples indicate that schools of industry were firmly rooted in localities and were dependent upon the nature of elite-group philanthropy in particular areas. However it is possible to offer some generalizations about the pattern of authority in schools of industry. Exclusively they

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6. Bernard, op. cit., 125.

7. See Chapter 7; Cappe, Two Charity Schools ..., op. cit., 1.

8. Bernard, op. cit., 233.

9. ibid., 208.

10. Edward Baines, History, directory and gazeteer of the County of York (Leeds 1822-3), volume 1, 28.

11. City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Account ... (1820) op. cit., 6.

were promoted by the patrician classes, and as a result they were designed to cement "powerful ties of attachment" between the social classes. Philanthropists were to play an active part in these enterprises by encouraging the poor to discharge the duties of their station. They were:

> to impress their minds with a sense of religious obligation, and ... to teach them, as far as is practicable in a school, the several offices and employments, whether of menial servants, or of careful and discreet housewives; and to habituate them also, at least to one species of profitable industry, by which they may be assisted in gaining an honest livelihood, or administering to their necessary wants.[12]

Ingram complained that manners would not be improved if the poor had no opportunity of learning except through contact with the village schoolmistress;[13] an indication of a common assumption that teachers were of low ability and low social status, lacking the refinements and authority to inculcate respectable behaviour in poor children:

> to effect a perfect reformation in the manners of the lower classes, it seems absolutely necessary that their superiors should take the direction of the education of poor children into their own hands, and that parochial schools should, in general, be under the controul and inspection of some one or more persons of respectable character and condition, in the capacity of visitors.[14]

He believed that schools of industry should not be connected with poor law administration, but ought to be supported by voluntary contributions.[15] This would enable them to avoid the negligence into which parish business quickly degenerated.[16] Subscribers would possess a personal interest in the well-being of these institutions and concentrate on the inducement of moral and social attributes through personal contact, to civilize the poor. In several cases this process of education was adopted. In Bath the school of industry was inspected by four ladies and four gentlemen, and

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12. Ingram, Parochial Beneficence ..., op. cit., 17.

13. Ingram, Importance of Schools of Industry ..., op. cit., 33.

14. idem.

15. ibid., 38.

16. idem.

the clergy visited it weekly.[17] The female schools of industry in Kendal were under the direction of a committee of ladies,

> who regularly visit and superintend them, and have produced an apparent difference in the cleanliness of their (the poor's) apartments and in their personal appearance.[18]

The City of London School of Industry and Instruction was attended at least once a week by the minister who inspected the conduct of the children and instructed them as he felt it to be necessary.[19]

Those schools of industry associated with the administration of the poor law obtained their financial sustenance through the poor rates, and depended upon the co-operation of overseers and J.Ps. for their management. The Lindsey Society of Industry which created spinning schools for the children of the rural poor to encourage economic self-reliance, required parishes to subscribe one per cent. of the poor rates towards their upkeep.[20] Similar institutions in Birmingham and Shrewsbury probably operated in the same way. Both of these institutions, at least by implication, aimed to reduce the poor rates.[21] The spinning schools in Lindsey, which Ingram had implied were not schools of industry at all, as they lacked the all-embracing aims of his proposals,[22] lasted only a few years.[23] Similarly the schools in Birmingham, King Street, and

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17. The New Bath Guide (Bath, 1796), 37; Plans of the Sunday Schools and School of Industry, established in the City of Bath ... (Bath, 1789), 27.

18. Bernard, op. cit., 129.

19. Gu.L., 5940/1, City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Minute Book, volume 1, 1806-1816, 2.

20. Account ... Society for the Promotion of Industry ... in ... Lindsey ..., op. cit., 5.

21. Bernard, op. cit., 208-216; I. Wood, op. cit., 1.

22. Ingram, Importance of Schools of Industry ..., op. cit., 37.

23. idem.

Shrewsbury seemed no longer to be in existence in 1818.[24] It is possible that their association with the administration of the poor law as Ingram claimed, was not conducive to their success.

Philanthropists may have expressed and invoked authority through schools of industry, but teachers were also representatives of this process, albeit in most cases, in a humble capacity. Generally, they were treated as the servants of the people who promoted the schools, or servants of a system designed by individuals in a higher social class. In addition considerable care was taken that teachers were of "strict moral characters."[25] The importance of their role in inoculating children with religious precepts and the social requirements of subordination were emphasized by Thomas Simons:

> The masters and mistresses daily should instil into their young minds, the importance of doing every thing agreeable to the laws of God and man, and set forth, in the most alarming point of view, the fatal consequences of evil actions.[26]

More mundane and less alarmist concerns were expressed by William Allen when he advocated agricultural schools of industry:

> The master and mistress should be selected with the greatest care, for the success of the whole plan depends mainly on them; they should be religious, industrious persons, acquainted with the management of a dairy and the treatment of cattle, and instructed in the system of the British and Foreign Schools Society ....[27]

It is worth noting that Allen's teachers were to be pedagogical experts, unlike teachers at schools of industry elsewhere. As a result they were

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24. These schools are not mentioned in Digest of ... Returns made to the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Education of the Poor ... 1819 (224) ix, op. cit. However, early nineteenth century educational statistics are not noted for their reliability, therefore the fact that the returns do not mention these schools, is no guarantee that they were no longer in existence. On the general problem of educational returns see J. S. Hurt, "Professor West on early nineteenth-century education", The Economic History Review, 2nd series, xxiv, 1971, 624-32, reprinted in Michael Drake (ed.), Applied Historical Studies: An Introductory Reader (1973), 93-105.

25. Simons, op. cit., 27.

26. ibid., 27-28.

27. Philanthropic Magazine ... new series 1829-30, op. cit., 235.

to be free of daily interference by visitors in the curriculum. The latter would merely watch over the execution of the plan of education and report on its success.[28] The schoolmaster at the school of industry at King Street, Golden Square had to magnify his pedagogical role to include that of a clerk and beadle. He had to keep an admissions book, ensure that the children bathed, rose and went to bed on time, see that their clothes were mended, that they attended church and were constantly employed until six o'clock each evening. He had to report to the committee concerning their improvements in work and learning and make certain that the dutiful received rewards while the idle were admonished or punished.[29] This school certainly was not typical; it provided for children in receipt of relief and created a more complete environment for promoting changes in morals and behaviour than other schools of industry.[30]

Teachers at the City of London School of Industry and Instruction were required to perform roles which charity school teachers would probably have recognized. Again, the position of the teacher as a servant within a chain of command stretching from the committee to the children was emphasized. The schoolmaster, the school authorities claimed:

> is carefully to teach the boys reading, and both the boys and girls writing and arithmetic; to hear the boys everyday repeat the Church Catechism, and once a week the collect of the preceeding Sunday, and the text selected by the Minister; to minute the behaviour and absence of the boys in a book, and lay the same before the committee; to summon such children as do not regularly attend the school, and their parents and friends, to the meetings of the committee, to give an account thereof; to register the names and residences of all children admitted, and to summon the committee (by writing) at least three days before-hand, which summonses shall be written and delivered by the boys.[31]

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28. ibid., 236.

29. Rules ... to be observed ... in The Parish School of Industry, in King Street, Golden Square ..., op. cit., 16.

30. ibid., 1-5.

31. Gu.L., 5940/2, City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Minute Book, volume 2, 1816-1824, General Committee Meeting, 31 October 1817, 69.

The schoolmistress in the same school, was to teach the girls, reading and plain needlework, to hear the girls repeat the catechism and texts, and to operate a similar range of duties performed by the schoolmaster.[32] As was the case in many schools of industry, instruction in employment was separated from the teaching of reading, writing, arithmetic and religion. The City of London School of Industry and Instruction, engaged a shoemaker and a tailor to initiate the boys into their crafts.[33] Again they were to be conscious of their subordination to another body; according to their agreement with the committee, the workmen were:

> to take the utmost pains in instructing the children; to produce the work which shall be done from time to time before the committee, and report what progress is made by the children in their respective employments.[34]

The significance of the teacher within the relationships of authority was likely to be diminished if one possessing the necessary requirements of character was not found. However very little information, even in manuscript sources, survives concerning the teacher's role, his relationship with committees or children, or his effectiveness as a master. During the creation of her spinning school in York, Catharine Cappe experienced difficulty in obtaining a mistress of sufficient calibre for the institution:

> the orderly conduct of the children, their industry and improvement of every kind will greatly depend, on the good sense, the firmness, the self-command, the forbearance, and the kind dispositions of her who fills this important place. But these are qualities not usually met with in persons who are willing to accept of such an employment.[35]

Mrs. Cappe eventually obtained a woman who came originally from a social class above that from which schoolteachers were normally drawn.

> This person really possessed the requisite good qualities, understood spinning and the various branches of manufacture connected with it,

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32. ibid., 70.

33. idem.

34. idem.

35. Catharine Cappe, Two Charity Schools ..., op. cit., 6.

> could make out the accounts of the Manufactures, was strictly honest, and had a decency of manner and behaviour, the result perhaps of having filled a better station, which enabled her to preserve a proper authority without having recourse to severity.[36]

Few teachers in schools of industry were likely to be as effective as this woman. Many masters and mistresses, locked between the demands of their superiors, and the pressures of children and their parents who had their own conceptions of the role schools ought to perform, were likely to act in an insensitive way towards their charges and reduce any impact they may have otherwise had. The letter of one mother who withdrew her son from the City of London School of Industry and Instruction, demonstrated in her own inarticulate way her dislike of the authoritarian attitude of the teacher. Writing to the committee, she explained:

> Gentelmen i hope you will excuse me for not
> Atending the commitee this evening for i have
> Got 8 Chilldren and a sick baby and cannot
> Leave them my son Richard has a place
> At A Doctors in the square by the church
> And that was the reason he could not atend
> As regular as i could wish when the Master
> Sent for him to come to school his father
> Sent word that he would atend the Commitee
> And that same day at 1 Oclock William
> Lawson and another Boy was ordered to drag
> Him by force up into the work room and
> Keep him confined as a aprecenci (apprentice?) and used very
> Ill by blows he recived and when his school
> Cloths was returnd Mr Uckel took his
> Shirt off his Bach that did not belong to
> The school and sent him naked without
> A Shirt on his Back home the (He) never gave
> The boy aney encouragement for last winter
> When his mother used to take him some
> Warm Diner the Master would not suffer
> Him to eat it he brought it home at 4 Oclock
> I am very sorry for such confusion
> From your Humle Servt Elizabeth Groome.[37]

Forms of ritual which accompanied education inside schools of industry in several localities encouraged the formation of patterns of deference

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36. ibid., 6-7.

37. Gu.L., 5,961, City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Miscellaneous papers, chiefly minutes and correspondence c.1820-c.1845, "letter for the Gentelmen at the City of London School Commitee", n.d.

and obligation, between the recipients and donors of instruction. In Lindsey the schools collected under the auspices of the Lindsey Society of Industry provided a ceremony where the most successful jersey spinners of the district were accorded the title of King and Queen.[38] In an atmosphere of celebration, the forms of religion and the dispensing of benevolence were combined. A procession, church service, sermon and distribution of rewards for achievement helped to encourage the values of hard work which the Society sought to create.[39] In London, schools of industry were integrated with the annual service of the charity school children in St. Paul's. It combined an attempt to raise money with a magnificent display of the successful recipients of charitable education, as they marched through the streets of the metropolis and sat obediently in serried ranks inside the cathedral. However the ceremony was significant in other ways; to both subscriber and child it helped to confirm their respective social status. To the dispenser of money, it provided a display to convince him that his investment in the morals of the rising generation had been well-made. To the child, it revealed that he was a member of a social hierarchy united by religion, which demanded his obedience, deference and gratitude towards his superiors.[40] From 1817, children from the City of London School of Industry and Instruction attended the service. The rules for the ceremony, which revealed these social messages, announced:

> In going to and from the Cathedral, the Children must walk decently and regularly, and not bring any thing to eat during their being there: nor make the least noise in going into, or coming out of the Cathedral.
>
> The Children who attend the Anniversary Meeting must be instructed that it is a Meeting of the greatest solemnity; and, upon their being seated in the Cathedral, they are to pay a proper adoration to the Supreme Being for the mercies bestowed upon them. They are all to be seated before half past Eleven o'clock, and

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38. Account ... Society for the Promotion of Industry ... in ... Lindsey ..., op. cit., 29.

39. ibid., 30.

40. For a description of this ceremony see L. W. Cowie, "Holy Thursday", History Today, 1977, 516-519.

continue so until the signal is given by the singing master for the 100th Psalm to be sung by the Children. They must continue standing until the end of the Psalms for the day: sit down during the first lesson: stand up while the Te Deum is sung by the Gentlemen of the Choir: sit down during the second lesson; and stand up the rest of the Service until the Sermon: sit down during the Sermon, (unless any particular sentence should be made by the Preacher respecting Charity Schools) then to stand up if a signal is given for that purpose; and to stand up after the sermon, until they depart.

They must sit upright at the Cathedral: and when standing to stand close back to their seats, and to pay particular attention to the Singing Master during the performance, as also to the Clergyman during the rest of the Service; and not to turn about or look at any other person whatsoever; nor to pay attention to any noise, or accident, if any such thing should happen in the Cathedral.

EVERY Boy must Bow, and Girl must Courtsey, at the name of JESUS CHRIST, and at the word GLORY.

When the Service is ended every Boy must Bow, and every Girl must courtsey to the Congregation, upon the signal being given by the Singing Master for that purpose; and then they are to stand quite still, until orders are given by the Singing Master to depart.[41]

II

Schools of industry lacked a sophisticated theory of the curriculum. Although R. A. Ingram for instance had applied himself to an acute analysis of the causes of wretchedness in the lower classes, he did not address in detail the type of education children were to receive. He restricted himself to saying that these schools should regulate the poor by instructing them in the "knowledge and practice" of their everyday life and that education should take account of the different needs of boys and girls.[42] This included moral and religious knowledge, social attitudes and duties, and working skills which would recreate a self-sufficient domestic economy for the plebeian family. As their name implied schools of industry were dedicated to the inculcation of habits of work, and this was the aspect of their curriculum which set them apart from alternative educational institutions. The leitmotiv in discussion about schools of

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41. Gu.L., 5,958/1, City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Letter book, volume 1, 1813-1823, Letter dated 2 June 1817 pasted at end of book.

42. See chapter 7.

industry became "work", "employment" or "labour", presented in opposition to a range of vices which were encouraged by "idleness", the most corrupting one of all. Hands and brains which were unoccupied it was assumed, soon turned to profligate or criminal activities. Thomas Simons in 1792 advocating a system of schools of industry for every parish in the metropolis, asserted that employment was the most important aspect of the curriculum in schools for the poor:

> If the present charity-schools are defective, it is among those where no employment is given, find them work, however trifling, and much good will arise to the public therefrom. Indeed ... I would rather omit the having them taught to read, than to omit giving them full employment; for idleness, even among the superior classes, leads to much mischief; but it is far more destructive amongst the inferior ranks, whose only means of subsistence is from their labours, and if not very early habituated to work, they will contract other habits, which must inevitably lead them to plunder, and use every unjustifiable means for obtaining their daily necessary food.[43]

This emphasis upon habit-forming activities to overcome an apparently natural tendency to vice illustrated the schools of industry's dependence upon traditional precepts of learning.

However, schools of industry also taught religion and general moral attitudes. Biblical instruction was not a universal feature of education inside these establishments. Many schools of industry for instance at Bath[44] and Hertingfordbury in Hertfordshire[45] were linked with Sunday schools, which provided the requisite religious knowledge. Moreover schools of industry do not appear to have been evangelical in their orientation and their religious instruction in most cases can probably be interpreted as a continuation of the Protestant, especially Anglican charity school tradition. There were however, variations. Whereas the school of industry at Bamburgh Castle provided instruction in the

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43. Simons, op. cit., 26.

44. Plans of the Sunday Schools and School of Industry ... in ... Bath ..., op. cit., 27-28.

45. Instructions for Cutting out Apparel for the Poor ..., op. cit., iii-v.

catechism,[46] William Allen's school at Lindfield in Sussex, provided teaching in the Scriptures along non-denominational lines.[47] This was influenced by Allen's important position as Secretary of the British and Foreign Schools Society.

Education in social duties also formed part of the instruction which schools of industry provided. The first advantage of the spinning school in Lindsey was declared to be, "a tendency to revive that proper submission, and decent subordination, which the profligate licentiousness of the times has almost annihilated."[48] Undoubtedly, this concern reflected the contemporary belief amongst the late-eighteenth century upper and middle classes, that the poor were ceasing to pay a due respect to their superiors.

As well as instruction in work, religious knowledge and social duties, schools of industry also taught a range of other skills. Reading, writing and arithmetic commonly featured in the curriculum, and in one case, geography was taught (Tables 19 and 20). Reading was important, because this aspect of literacy was necessary for understanding the Bible, an essential component of Protestantism. The reasons for providing writing and arithmetic are more difficult to explain, especially as these subjects were taught to girls as well as boys. However, as these schools taught trades to boys, as a preparation for apprenticeship, these skills were probably essential. In addition, as girls were taught to be successful wives and mothers, writing and arithmetic were necessary for managing the household account.

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46. Rules for the Government of the School of Industry, for Sixty Poor Girls, at Bamburgh Castle ... (Durham, 1804), 14.

47. Philanthropic Magazine ..., new series 1829-30, op. cit., 236.

48. Account ... Society for the Promotion of Industry ... in ... Lindsey ..., op. cit., 60.

Table 19. Curricula of some schools of industry.[49]

1. Bamburgh Castle (Northumberland)

Number of children: 60 girls. Staff: master and two mistresses.
Classification of children and subjects:

| | |
|---|---|
| youngest girls (12): | reading and knitting; catechism. |
| middle class (24): | coarse sewing and knitting. |
| upper class (24) | those able to sew fine work and perfect in knitting. Jersey and flax spinning, religion, psalmody, writing and the elementary parts of arithmetic also taught, domestic duties. |

2. Bath

Number of children: 180 (120 girls and 60 boys):
Staff: 6 mistresses, a matron, a weaver, and wool comber.
Classification of children and subjects:

| | |
|---|---|
| girls: | knitting garters and stockings, spinning wool for clothing and stockings, carding wool, spinning flax to make linen, sewing and mending. |
| boys: | Knitting garters and stockings, net making, spinning wool for clothing and stockings, carding wool. |

3. Birmingham

Number of children: 200-290.
Staff: matron, schoolmaster, schoolmistress.
Classification of children and subjects:

| | |
|---|---|
| girls: | domestic education, knitting, needlework, straw platting. |
| boys: | labouring in farms and gardens, putting heads on pins. |

4. City of London School of Industry and Instruction

Number of children: 60 (30 girls and 30 boys).
Staff: schoolmaster, schoolmistress, shoemaker, tailor and other tradesmen.
Classification of children and subjects:

| | |
|---|---|
| girls: | reading, plain needlework, domestic industry, making tablemats/doyleys etc., and (as they merit encouragement) writing and arithmetic. |
| boys: | reading, shoemaking, tailor's work, net making, or some other useful branch of trade or manufacture, and (as they merit encouragement) writing and arithmetic. |

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49. Rules for ... the School of Industry ... at Bamburgh Castle ..., op. cit., 3-14 and Bernard, op. cit., 193-200; Plans of the Sunday schools and School of Industry ... in ... Bath ..., op. cit., 25-27; Bernard, op. cit., 208-216; City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Account ... (1820), op. cit., 13-14; Bernard, op. cit., 125-133; ibid., 201-207; ibid., 182-184; Philanthropic Magazine ... new series, op. cit., 148-150, 236.

5. Kendall

Number of children: 112.
Staff: 2 mistresses (Knitting and spinning), a master (for the reading and writing school) and an usher.
(Upper and more intelligent boys used as monitors)
Classification of children and subjects:
girls: spinning, sewing, knitting, domestic work.
boys: shoemaking, cord setting (preparing machinery for cording wool)
reading, writing, practical geography, religious instruction.

6. Fincham (Norfolk)

Number of children: 64 (girls)
Classification of children and subjects:
reading, writing, straw platting.

7. Lewisham

Number of children: 60
Classification of children and subjects:
spinning, winding, knitting, weaving, reading.

8. Lindfield (Sussex)

Number of children: not stated.
Classification of children and subjects:
morning: reading, writing and arithmetic, "and other branches of useful knowledge as may be found practicable" (not specified). B.F.S.S. system attendance at place of worship.
afternoon: boys: agricultural tasks, printing, netting, shoemaking, straw-platting, spinning.
girls: needlework, knitting, spinning, "other female works" (domestic duties?)

Table 20. Curricula provided in certain schools of industry.[50]

| School | R | W | A | RK | Ps | G | S | K | Wv | SN | SB | C | N | L | P | AL | T | DL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bagshot | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| 2. Bamburgh Castle | x | x | x | x | x | | x | x | | x | | | | | | | | x |
| 3. Bath | | | | | | | x | x | | x | | | x | | | | | |
| 4. Birmingham | | | | | | | | x | | x | x | | | | x | x | | x |
| 5. Brentford | | | | x | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Bolton | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Brighton | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | | x | x |
| 8. Cheltenham | | | | | | | x | x | | | x | | | | | | | x |
| 9. Chester | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| 10. Fincham (Norfolk) | x | x | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| 11. Hertingfordbury (Herts.) | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | |
| 12. Kendall | x | x | | x | | x | x | x | | x | | x | | | | | x | x |
| 13. Leeds | x | x | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | x |
| 14. Lindfield (Sussex) | x | x | x | x | | | x | x | | x | x | | x | | | x | x | x |
| 15. Lindsey | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 16. Liverpool | x | x | x | | | | | x | | | x | | | | | | | |
| 17. City of London | x | x | x | x | | | | | | x | | | x | | | | x | x |
| 18. King St. Golden Square | x | x | | x | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | x |
| 19. Lewisham | x | | | | | | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | |
| 20. St. Mary-le-Bone | x | x | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | x | | x | |
| 21. Nottingham | x | x | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| 22. Oakham | x | | | | | | x | x | | x | | | | | | | | |
| 23. Potton (Beds.) | x | x | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | | x | | x |
| 24. Rutland | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| 25. Spratton (Northants.) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| 26. Sunderland | x | x | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| 27. York | x | | | | | | x | x | | x | | | | | | | | |

Key:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| R | Reading | SN | Sewing/Needlework |
| W | Writing | SB | Straw platting/Basket making |
| A | Arithmetic | C | Card setting |
| RK | Religious Knowledge | N | Net making |
| Ps | Psalmody | L | Lace making |
| G | Geography | P | Pin making |
| S | Spinning | AL | Agricultural Labour |
| K | Knitting | T | Trades |
| Wv | Weaving | DL | Domestic Labour |

/Footnote 50

50.

1. William Corston, British Leghorn, a new source of industry introduced into this country for the employment of poor female children (1810), 1-3.
2. Rules for ... the School of Industry at Bamburgh Castle ..., op. cit., 3-14, and Bernard, op. cit., 193-200.
3. Plans of the Sunday schools and School of Industry ... in ... Bath ..., op. cit., 25-27.
4. Bernard, op. cit., 208-216.
5. Trimmer, Oeconomy ... (1801), op. cit., 307-325.
6. Franklin Baker, The Rise and Progress of Nonconformity in Bolton ..., op. cit., 35, 71.
7. Burgoyne, op. cit., 24-25.
8. Bernard, op. cit., 217-220.
9. ibid., 233-234.
10. ibid., 201-207.
11. Instructions for cutting out Apparel ..., op. cit., vi-viii.
12. Bernard, op. cit., 125-133.
13. Baines, York ..., op. cit., 28.
14. Philanthropic Magazine ..., new series, op. cit., 148-150, 236.
15. Account ... Society for the Promotion of Industry ... in ... Lindsey ..., op. cit., 1-75.
16. Edward Baines, History, directory, and gazeteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster (Liverpool, 1824), volume 1, 177.
17. City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Account ... (1820), 6-14.
18. Rules ... to be observed ... in the Parish School of Industry, in King Street, Golden Square ..., op. cit., 1-10.
19. Bernard, op. cit., 132-134.
20. St. Mary-le-Bone School of Industry, A brief statement ..., op. cit., 3-5.
21. James Orange, History and Antiquities of Nottingham (London, 1840), volume 1, 947.
22. Bernard, op. cit., 179-180.
23. Burgoyne, op. cit., 10-18.
24. Eden, op. cit., volume 2, 604-612; Davies, op. cit.
25. Fanny Bury Palliser, History of Lace (1902), revised edition by M. Jourdain and Alice Dryden, 388-390.
26. Garbutt, A Historical and Descriptive View of ... Sunderland, op. cit., 367-368.
27. Catharine Cappe, Two Charity Schools ..., op. cit., 2-9, 97-98.

III

The content of education inside schools of industry reflected these various tendencies. However there were considerable differences in the instruction offered (Tables 19 and 20). Education in work was taught partially by establishing a routine. According to a pamphlet describing the workings of a House of Industry in Shrewsbury, the children of the poor on relief, from the age of five,

> are taken into the factory or spinning room, and begin to spin yarn at the long wheel, under the tuition of a spinning mistress; and then, they attend an evening school after the working hours are over. The children of the out poor, are generally old enough to be put to work at the time of their admission. All are allowed half an hour at breakfast, and an hour at dinner; and, as soon as these meals are over, amuse themselves in a large exercise ground adjoining the house, and enclosed by a sunk fence: they are also allowed several holidays in the course of the year. By habit their daily employment soon ceases to become irksome. They see their little companions around them, all engaged like themselves; and by their cheerful countenances and general vivacity, it is apparent that they are contented and happy. Their frequent amusement is to sing short moral songs, which they have learnt by rote; a singing master being allowed a small annual stipend to instruct them in psalmody.[51]

The pamphlet stressed that the education although based on habit was not dull. This emphasis may have been dictated by the purpose of the pamphlet. It was concerned to propagate the system throughout the country and therefore it was probably presented in its brightest colours. Nevertheless, the children probably welcomed the relief it provided from the normally purposeless nature of life inside a workhouse.

The same concern was expressed by Ingram when he described the operation of a school of industry in his own parish. Work he asserted, should "amuse, as well as occupy the mind and restrain it from wandering to every passing object."[52] Employments provided for girls in schools of industry, he maintained should be those that,

> have a tendency to generate a sedate and orderly deportment, such as exhilarate the animal spirits, without retaining them in a state of

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51. I. Wood, op. cit., 30-31.

52. Ingram, Importance of Schools of Industry ..., op. cit., 14-15.

> continual agitation, such also as are rather sedentary, but accompanied with a moderate share of exercise, without occasioning so much wear and tear of clothes as unavoidably to habituate them to rags.[53]

The types of employments he advocated were those which were most flourishing in the district where the school was created, or which provided a new source of industry "in consequence of the decline of an established branch of trade, or the loss sustained by the poor of their accustomed employments."[54] If the demand slumped for the product then he hoped that the labour would still enable children to supply some of their domestic needs.[55] Ingram examined a range of possible employments which could be conducted inside schools of industry. Straw work for hats and baskets was influenced by fashion and subject to variable wage-rates. Lacemaking was unhealthy, sedentary and "confines the body in a cramped and injurious posture".[56] Knitting was easy to learn, but not profitable. Flax and hemp spinning were sedentary, but accompanied with exercise and not threatened by spinning mills which affected the manufacture of cotton and wool. Linen, he concluded, was one of the easiest and simplest manufactures, requiring no capital or expensive machinery.[57]

Some indication of the variations of work at schools of industry are provided in tables 19 and 20. Work undertaken by boys and girls reflected the sexual division of labour in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century society. Girls learnt sewing, needlework and household tasks, whilst boys tended to follow trades or labouring work. In some cases both sexes followed identical activities such as knitting stockings or spinning: work which could be carried on collectively inside the home.

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53. ibid., 15.

54. ibid., 13.

55. ibid., 14.

56. ibid., 15-17.

57. ibid., 17-19.

The employments carried on by boys in towns and rural areas varied. In urban centres it was possible to encourage trades such as shoemaking or tailoring, where opportunities for training boys in these crafts were available and apprenticeships existed to enable them to follow these jobs in adult life. In a rural environment these activities were less appropriate. Here the emphasis was upon spinning and weaving, or employment in agricultural labouring. All of these tasks were clearly defined distinctly from the development of the factory system. Economically, these employments were not relevant to industrialization and lacked congruence with economic activities linked to this process. But in so far as they were provided to recover the economic and social content of family life they were important for the traditionally-minded promoters who wished to translate their images of social harmony into everyday life.

The inculcation of social duties, moral attitudes and skills, followed a similar habit-forming emphasis. In the school of industry at King Street, Golden Square particular attention was to be paid to cleanliness; one rule affirmed:

> That the servants under whose care the children respectively are placed, do cause their Hands and Faces to be washed every Morning, their Hair combed, their Shoes and Buckles cleaned, and Cloaths mended, and their Person, particularly their Heads, Hands and Feet, free from Dirt of every kind, not only for the Benefit of their Health, but that they may early in life learn a Habit of Cleanliness.[58]

At Bamburgh Castle an attempt was made to replace the linguistic habits of the poor as part of a policy of training the children to use "proper" English.

> The Usher is to pay particular attention to his scholars in regard to spelling, to accustom them to say their lessons, and to read, slowly, distinctly and audibly, and to make them mind their stops and the length of them, according to their nature; and he is also to endeavour all he can to soften their country dialect.[59]

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58. Rules ... to be observed ... in the Parish School of Industry, in King Street, Golden Square ..., op. cit., 5-6.

59. Rules for ... the School of Industry ... at Bamburgh Castle ..., op. cit., 14.

In the same school the presentation of accurate work was encouraged.

> The writers must be taught to sit streight at their copy book, not to loll over it, nor dirty it, to look up to their copy and not to the last line of their own writing, and to reserve a line at the bottom of each page, after they have got into joining hand, to contain their name and surname, and the day of the month and year.[60]

This establishment at Bamburgh Castle taught girls only, and was one of the few schools of industry which was justified to parents on the grounds that it might raise the status of children educated inside it.[61] Certainly this standard of work was not appropriate for a menial servant or housewife and mother. In fact the school was attempting to create a servant-training institution for the higher classes, where sophisticated skills, deportment and an accent devoid of the inflections of dialect were appropriate.

The clearest presentation of the ideals which schools of industry sought to encourage, and the vices they hoped to dispel was provided by Sarah Trimmer in the second edition of her Oeconomy of Charity, published in 1801. In her Plain Work School in Brentford, the moral curriculum was presented in the form of a table to be learnt by the girls (Appendix 3). From an analysis of this table it is possible to detect the attitudes towards authority and social behaviour which were presented in the school. Subordination, obedience and reverence were qualities which were absolute in relation to the child's superiors, whether the superiors were God, ladies or gentlemen, or teachers (see Piety, Reverence, Obedience, Civility, Gratitude, Impiety, Profaneness, Disobedience, Rudeness, Ingratitude). The replacement of "rough" by "respectable" habits was emphasized (Piety, Reverence, Meekness, Civility, Temperance, Industry, Modesty, Carefulness, Prudence, Impiety, Profaneness, Ill nature, Rudeness, Intemperance,

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60. idem.

61. Reynould Gideon Bouyer, An Earnest Address to the Parents, Guardians, or other Friends of such Children as now take ... the benefit of the Charity School, for sixty poor girls, as it has been lately regulated at Bamburgh Castle (Alnwick, 1795), 5.

Idleness, Boldness, Wastefulness, Imprudence and Tattling). Additionally, qualities were encouraged which would, it was hoped, create community values devoid of any specifically class content (Honesty, Truth, Good nature, Dishonesty, Anger, Falsehood, Ill nature).

IV

Rewards and punishments were an important part of education inside schools of industry. Rewards were designed to encourage the acceptance of the precepts and practices of these institutions, by directing children to work towards their goals in return for tangible benefits. The most important of these were the wages which children received from the profits of their work. Often this profit was not handed out directly, but collected and laid out in clothing for the children. Additional rewards such as prayer books or small monetary payments were dispensed for good conduct or achievements in work reading or spelling.[62] The difficulties which Sunday school promoters discussed concerning the morality of providing monetary payments do not appear to have arisen for the philanthropists behind the schools of industry; probably because these institutions were avowedly materialistic rather than spiritual in intent.

Punishments also featured inside schools of industry. Beating was rarely used as a form of discipline for pragmatic reasons: corporal punishment was regarded as ineffectual. It was asserted that the common use of physical violence inside the plebeian family, rendered useless any attempt to apply it in maintaining authority in schools. According to Catharine Cappe:

> Among the lower classes, a child is beaten by the parents for every little offence, and sometimes, if the parents happen to be in a bad humour or any thing goes wrong, for no offence at all; corporal

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62. Catharine Cappe, Two Charity Schools ..., op. cit., 2; St. Mary-le-Bone School of Industry, A brief statement ..., op. cit., 5; David Davies, op. cit., 94; Account ... Society for the Promotion of Industry ... in ... Lindsey ..., op. cit., 30; Ingram, Importance of Schools of Industry ..., op. cit., 56-57.

> punishment therefore if it could be resorted to, (which however I am persuaded in such institutions it never ought to be) would want much of its effect from this very circumstance, that the children have been accustomed to be thus treated, whether with or without any adequate cause, at their own homes.[63]

She advocated as alternatives, the withdrawal of benefits or the inducement of feelings of disgrace to instil obedience towards authority inside her school.

> No means of punishment therefore seemed to remain: but little privations on the one hand, and marks of disgrace to be inflicted on the other. In respect of the first, as in general (if) these privations cannot take place immediately their effect is considerably weakened; and as to the second, if not administered with great prudence and with a sparing hand, they will not only cease to be felt as any punishment at all, but may do much mischief by early destroying that acute sense of shame and disgrace, which among persons decently educated, is the most powerful preservative of virtuous conduct. For instance, if a child spin thick, be idle, or waste her wool, it may be useful for the mistress to turn her bed-gown or to pin some of the thick spun wool to her shoulder, threatening that if she be not more careful and more industrious, she shall be so exhibited to her Patroness, or other accidental Visitors of the school; but this threatening, if it can be avoided should not be put into execution. The disgrace should be removed the moment it seems to make impression, and should not even be mentioned by the Mistress to the Visitors in the hearing of the child; for the dread of being exposed will operate much more powerfully upon a child who believes that those whom she most respects are ignorant of her fault, than if she knows that they are already made acquainted with it. Much less ought such kind of exhibitions ever to be made out of school. Public disgrace of any kind, would really be disproportioned to the fault committed, and besides the feeling of resentment it would excite, both in parents and children, would be likely to produce the most pernicious effects on the whole of their future character.[64]

This was an acute perception of the practical realities of maintaining a moral consensus inside a school. Mrs. Cappe and those like her who used similar disciplinary methods had absorbed Paley's message that "the physical strength resides in the governed", and that the survival of authority depended upon the application of "delicacy and circumspection".[65] Attempts to socialize the children were not enough, they and their parents had to be treated with respect. Expulsion nevertheless, was advocated

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63. Catharine Cappe, Two Charity Schools ...., op. cit., 4.

64. ibid., 4-6.

65. See chapter 1.

for those who were persistently refractory.[66] However, sometimes dismissal was used to deal with offences which were not especially pernicious. Over three quarters of expulsions at the City of London School for Industry and Instruction, for instance were for irregular attendance or non-attendance (Table 21) This form of punishment implied that parents or children had no right to education; it was, in fact a form of charity which could be provided or withdrawn.

Table 21. Children discharged, removed or dismissed from the City of London School of Industry and Instruction 1806-1825.[67]

| | |
|---|---|
| To Apprenticeships | 24 |
| To Service | 42 |
| Removed by Parents or Friends | 36 |
| To Workhouse or Orphan Asylum | 3 |
| Ill health/death | 5 |
| Other reasons for leaving | 10 |
| Unknown | 52 |
| Bad conduct | 9 |
| Irregular or non-attendance | 33 |
| Inattention | 1 |
| Other reasons for dismissal | 1 |
| | 216 |

(The report book of admissions and discharges from which this information is obtained is probably incomplete.)

V

Schools of industry, like the Sunday schools were closely associated with schemes of social welfare. The provision of benefits was not only motivated by humanitarian concerns. Clothing, meals and aid provided by

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66. Rules ... to be observed ... in the Parish School of Industry, in King Street, Golden Square ..., op. cit., 17.

67. Gu.L., 5,951, City of London School of Instruction and Industry, General report book of admissions and discharges 1807-1821.

Friendly Societies or Savings Banks were also designed to promote the values which the school of industry possessed. R. A. Ingram revealed some of these concerns when he defended the importance of appropriate clothing for girls.

> It is unnecessary to expiate, I should hope, on the natural effect of habitual neatness on the moral character, not only of that sex, on whose assiduity domestic neatness chiefly depends, but of every other member of the same family. It prepares the mind for concerning a sense of moral decency and propriety, and is itself one of the most effectual safeguards to virtue. It adds in appearance to personal respectability, and seems to raise the poor into a higher rank in the scale of society, than many, whose means of subsistence are more ample than their own; and, at the same time, it renders a good character, in reality, of greater value to them.[68]

This was probably the unspoken assumption behind the provision of free clothing in various schools of industry. Garments were supplied to children attending Mrs. Cappe's spinning school, the St. Mary-le-Bone School of Industry,[69] and the City of London School of Industry and Instruction. Those attending the last institution were required to keep their clothing in good repair on pain of dismissal.[70] Decent clothing was deemed to be of great importance if the poor child was to advance from profligacy or neglect, towards respectability.

Some schools of industry provided food to encourage attendance and prevent time being wasted when children had to leave school, temporarily, at meal times. These concerns were explicit motivations behind the provision of sustenance in schools at York and Oakham.[71] Other interests however, were also apparent, which resembled twentieth century concerns for the health and working capacity of children who received food and drink

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68. Ingram, Importance of Schools of Industry ..., op. cit., 27.

69. Catharine Cappe, Two Charity Schools ..., op. cit., 101; St. Mary-le-Bone School of Industry, A brief statement ..., op. cit., 5.

70. Gu.L., 5941/6, City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Rough Minute Book, volume 6, 1820-1823, Quarterly Meeting of the General Committee 1 May 1821.

71. Catharine Cappe, Two Charity Schools ..., op. cit., 12; Bernard, op. cit., 130.

at school. Mrs. Cappe provided milk for breakfast in her spinning school, as an alternative to the tea generally supplied for that purpose in the pupil s' homes.[72] She announced that "the good effects of the additional benefit are visible in the improved looks and greater activity and exertion of the children ..."[73] In Lewisham also, the supply of two meals a day at the school of industry, apparently improved the health of the pupils.[74]

Schools of industry were sometimes associated with benefit societies or savings-banks. These appendages extended the formal education provided within the institutions. The Friendly Society created by Mrs. Cappe in York was subsidized by payments from former scholars, as well as additional funds from her school's more affluent supporters.[75] By supplying relief when a member of the Society was confined in hospital, the reality of benevolence was displayed outside the school not only to present, but also to former pupils. William Allen's school of industry at Lindfield was associated with a savings-bank, which was designed to encourage the children to invest their money.[76] This scheme was undoubtedly designed to develop habits of thrift, and therefore promoted the general aim of self-sufficiency.

## VI

Schools of industry not only attempted to educate the children of the poor, parents were also a focus of their concern. The promoters of these educational enterprises possessed a general purpose of social reconstruction, which implied that the whole community ought to benefit from instruction. Moreover, their emphasis upon the family as a central organization of society, made it inevitable that parents would arouse the interest of educationalists. It was hoped that parents would assist in promoting the objects of the school of industry. Thomas Simons asserted

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72. Catharine Cappe, Two Charity Schools ..., op. cit., 12.
73. idem.
74. Bernard, op. cit., 188-189.
75. Catharine Cappe, Two Charity Schools ..., op. cit., 66.
76. Philanthropic Magazine ... new series 1829-30, op. cit., 33.

that the poor were likely to welcome the establishment of these schools by law:

> the greater part will be happy in having such an opportunity in favour of their children: they will then consider their country as holding out very important services to them .... Instead of being the first, upon every occasion, to molest and disturb a government, they will be convinced that it will be to their interest to preserve it and to be the instruments of promoting the utmost order and decorum.[77]

The Rev. Bouyer, preaching to the parents of children who attended the school of industry at Bamburgh Castle, gave a precise indication of the qualities parents could expect their children to receive, as a result of their education. His appeal was less patronizing than Simons'.

> The most creditable and proper object you can have in view for your children, is to qualify them thoroughly for good and advantageous services, in which by their talents and good behaviour they may so gain the favour of those employers with whom they shall first engage, as to secure their good word, and their assistance in rising to better stations, if it shall please God to bless them with capacity or opportunities for it.[78]

As the chapter has already suggested, the curriculum provided inside this school seemed likely to encourage a degree of social mobility, but Bouyer went on to assert a more traditional concern.

> Let it be your care, as well as ours, to instil continually into their young minds every good principle. - The fear of God - the reverence and submission due to their superiors - the attention and obedience, which they owe to their instructors, - strict honesty, - constant diligence - and a scrupulous regard to truth - with kind and civil behaviour to one another, and to all mankind: so shall you join with us in preparing them for creditable and useful employments, by which, with the blessing of God, they may become the favourites of their employers, and find an easy entrance into those fair and honest pursuits, which will render their further advancement probable ...[79]

If the direct appeal of a sermon was insufficient in providing parents with the requisite positive attitudes towards their children's education, then they could be supplied with rules which they were to observe. The success of these rules presupposed the ability of parents

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77. Simons, op. cit., 21.

78. Bouyer, An Earnest Address ..., op. cit., 5.

79. ibid., 11-12.

to actually read them, an assumption that cannot necessarily be made. The fact that a large number of children at the City of London School of Industry and Instruction were dismissed for non-attendance seems to indicate that the messages in the rules were not always absorbed. Parents or guardians had to promise to observe the rules for this school before their offspring were allowed admittance. For instance, they had to ensure that they went "with clothes and stockings whole and decent, shoes clean, hair cut short and combed, hands and feet washed."[80] They were not allowed to keep their children away from school without permission, and had to send them to the school every Sunday for divine service. Parents were also expected to ensure that the children said specified prayers in the morning and evening.[81] It was not only during time at home, before or after school, that parents were required to enforce the values which the school tried to promote. In addition "during holidays and all intervals of school hours", they were required to keep their offspring:

> in good order; and not to suffer them to behave riotously, use ill-language, or play at unlawful games; and particularly not to perambulate the streets on Sundays, or other days, but under the immediate care and inspection of such parents or friends.[82]

It is unlikely that many of the parents understood a rule like this one. William Allen writing in the Philanthropist Magazine, noted that a large number of parents of the children who attended his school at Lindfield were not able to read or write.[83] Nevertheless, this obstacle he claimed, was partially overcome by the creation of a library, from which the children could borrow books to take home and read to the mothers and fathers.[84]

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80. Gu.L., City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Account ... 1809, 13.

81. ibid., 13-14.

82. Gu.L., City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Account ... 1818, 17.

83. Philanthropic Magazine ..., new series 1829-30, op. cit., 33.

84. idem.

Parents he noted,

> seem to take great pleasure ... in having their children read to them; the books being selected with a reference to the promotion of useful knowledge, good feelings, and a reverence for Religion.[85]

VII

How successful were the promoters of the school of industry in creating the kind of society which they advocated? Very little information survives to enable such a question to be answered. There does not appear to be any working-class autobiography describing the experience of education in such an institution, and no survey seems to exist which attempted to assess the impact of these schools upon children. Nevertheless, it is possible to approach this question from a number of standpoints. It is possible to examine the impact of schools of industry upon the employment prospects of their scholars and the extent to which these institutions were able to survive without failing, or being closed down by their promoters.

Information on the final destination of children educated in schools of industry is limited, but the facts that survive are not encouraging as indicators of success. Table 21 reveals that few of the children educated at the City of London School of Industry and Instruction actually obtained apprenticeships, despite the fact that boys were educated in a range of useful branches of "trade or manufacture" (see Table 19). Even amongst those boys who were placed with tradesmen, several, as the school's minutes of 1819 revealed, were performing the task of errand boy;[86] skills which they had received were of little use for these boys in obtaining a job commensurate with their education. Girls were probably more

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85. idem.

86. Gu.L., 5941/5, City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Rough Minute Book, volume 5 1818-1820, 14 April 1819.

successful. At least the minutes did not draw attention to a dearth of suitable occupations for young females. There was a rising demand for domestic servants in the nineteenth century, and those girls living in urban centres, who were acquainted with the moral qualities and household skills, which their school of industry taught, probably had considerable success in obtaining places when competing with uneducated girls from similar backgrounds.

It is possible to provide some evidence on the ability of schools of industry to survive. Schools associated with parish administration died after the initial enthusiasm had disappeared. In Lindsey, the spinning schools were laid aside after only eight years. Frederick Morton Eden in volume two of his State of the Poor of 1797 commented upon their collapse:

> The spinning schools are now wholly laid aside .... Many persons thought that schools, conducted on the plan proposed by the Society of Industry, were not only expensive to the parish, but detrimental to the children themselves; for, by being so long confined to a sedentary employment, at an early period of life, they were often rendered puny and weak; and at the age of 12 or 13, when they ought to go out to service with the farmers, or become apprentices, they were so extremely ignorant of every thing, except spinning, that it was a long time before they could be of any service to their masters .... Others were, and are, of the opinion, that, had the Society been properly encouraged, and the spinning schools continued, the county would, ultimately, have been much benefited, the rates considerably reduced, and the children of the Poor rendered serviceable members of the State, from being trained, by constant and orderly employment, to virtue and industry. The unfavourable opinion formed of these parish working schools ... was ... in many, the result of fair conviction, that the inconveniences would, ultimately, more than counterbalance the benefits of such institutions; for it cannot be supposed, that either gentlemen or farmers should be inclined to discountenance a system, from which there was any probability of their interests being essentially promoted, by a reduction of the Poor's Rate. The experience, however, of 8 years, has proved, that although schools of industry may flourish for a while, under the active zeal of their first promoters, yet, when, after a few years trial, they are left to the superintendence of less interested administrators, they dwindle into the ordinary state of parish poor-houses.[87]

Ingram for one, did not regard institutions like these as "genuine" schools of industry, but even these latter schools did not last.

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87. Eden, op. cit., volume 2, 400-401.

In the nineteenth century there was a decline in importance of the school of industry, especially as the monitorial system emerged as the main pedagogical system for day-time education. Between 1796 and 1819 the number of children who attended the Bath School of Industry fell rapidly.[88] In Leeds the three schools of industry existing in 1822 had declined to two by 1830.[89] By 1818 the returns of the Select Committee on the Education of the Poor indicated that such schools at St. Mary-le-Bone and Bamburgh Castle had been absorbed by the national school network.[90] A similar fate overtook the long-lasting boys' section of the City of London School of Industry and Instruction by 1845.[91] At the same time the girls' school was experiencing an acute financial crisis.[92] The government return of 1818 also made no reference to a number of earlier schools of industry, although it is difficult to explain the reasons for their apparent demise. Schools at Boxted in Essex (Ingram's own), Lewisham (one of the earliest metropolitan institutions), and Oakham (the subject of a laudatory discussion in the reports of the S.B.C.P.) were not mentioned, nor were other institutions at Dover, Bolton, Fincham in Norfolk, or Wigan.[93] One reason was that the monitorial schools' concentration upon the "three Rs" was probably more attractive to parents. They could educate large numbers of children more cheaply than expensive schools of industry, and were likely to attract promoters and subscribers away from more primitive institutions.

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88. New Bath Guide, op. cit., 37; Plans of the Sunday Schools and School of Industry ... in ... Bath ..., op. cit., 25-32.

89. Baines, County of York ..., op. cit., 28; William Parson and William White, Directory of the Borough of Leeds ... (Leeds, 1830) 203.

90. A Digest of Returns made to the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Education of the Poor ... 1819 (224) ix, op. cit., pt. 1, 556, pt. 2, 676.

91. Gu.L., 5,961, City of London School of Instruction and Industry, Miscellaneous papers ..., op. cit., Printed pamphlet in a bundle with 1845 material.

92. idem.

93. A Digest of Returns made to the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Education of the Poor ... 1819 (224) ix, op. cit.

These considerations raise some of the fundamental problems of the school of industry, Some schools of industry were very expensive to establish and maintain. Spinning wheels had to be bought or workmen hired to instruct the children. Sarah Trimmer discovered in Brentford that profits were not easily obtainable from the employment generated inside these institutions,[94] especially as young children needed considerable experience if they were not to damage raw materials or finished products. In addition the inexorable advance of mechanization meant that schools of industry producing wool or cotton could not compete with the cheap industrial goods manufactured by factories. This was a cause of the school of industry's failure at Chester.[95]

Furthermore, parents were inclined to treat the schools in a purely instrumental way, withdrawing their children, as at Bath, as soon as they had learnt a skill sufficiently, to enable them to earn money for the family.[96] The realities of the job market were clearly more important than the theoretical aims of the institutions' promoters. Naturally, schools of industry suffered through this disruption of their efforts; having spent time and money, training a child, they were not able to benefit from his skilled labour.

Schools of industry appear to have disappeared by the mid-nineteenth century as distinct institutions fulfilling the aims of their early theorists, but practical subjects did not disappear from the curriculum of schools for the poor. The followers of Richard Dawes with their emphasis upon "Common Things" which would enable children "not only to <u>know</u> but to <u>do</u> well, morally and physically", stressed the importance of

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94. Trimmer, <u>Oeconomy ...</u> (1802), <u>op. cit</u>., 307; Trimmer, <u>Life and Writings ...</u>, <u>op. cit</u>., volume 2, 323-324.

95. Bernard, <u>op. cit</u>., 235.

96. <u>Plans of the Sunday Schools and School of Industry ... in ... Bath ...</u>, <u>op. cit</u>., 32.

agriculture, gardening, and handicrafts for boys and domestic employments for girls.[97] The Minutes of the Committee of Council in 1846 offered grants for this purpose and many workhouse schools were supported by these means.[98] Yet this was a new emphasis based partially upon a rational approach to learning, whereas education in schools of industry was based upon habit-forming principles. Nevertheless, despite their demise, schools of industry were important in the minds of traditionally minded philanthropists. However, the significance of these institutions cannot be assessed alone, but only in the context of the promotion of a variety of educational endeavours in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Schools of industry tried to prevent a disintegration of deference and family life, and like Sunday schools they were designed to protect children from the political, social and economic changes which threatened the theory and practice of patriarchalism.

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97. Nancy Ball, Practical Subjects in Mid-Victorian Elementary Schools, 6-7; a typescript of an unpublished paper delivered to the History of the Curriculum Study Group, at the History of Education Society Conference, Borough Road College, December 1977. This paper is to be published in a slightly amended form in History of Education, May 1979. I am very grateful to Dr. Ball for permitting me to consult the typescript.

98. ibid., 7.

# Chapter 9

## The education of vagrant and criminal children: the Philanthropic Society, context, doctrines and perceptions.

The citizens of late eighteenth-century England were obsessed with vagrancy and criminal behaviour. The poor laws and the terror of the gallows had failed to stem an advancing tide of profligacy, which menaced their security and their wealth. With the formation of the metropolitan Philanthropic Society in 1788, their efforts converged on education as a means of obliterating this moral illiteracy.[1] By instructing the offspring of criminals, young delinquents and juvenile beggars in morality and hard work, it aimed to construct an obedient and economically self-sufficient company of workmen and domestic servants. According to the Society's first report the "destitute children" absorbing its attention comprised,

> a class which belongs to no rank of civil community; they are excommunicates in police, extra social, extra civil, extra legal; they are links which have fallen off from the chain of society, and which, going to decay, injure and obstruct the movements of the whole machine. A just policy requires that these links be replaced, by re-uniting the vagrant and criminal, to the classes of labourers or mechanics.[2]

The schooling of these children was not entirely new, the Marine Society and Magdalen Hospital, for instance, already catered for those whose private vices had brought them into conflict with public virtues.[3] But the Philanthropic Society had identified a separate class, distinct from the labouring poor, which threatened the safety of society. In this lay its originality. To eradicate the evil it proposed a form of education

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1. Julius Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble (1970), 4-25, contains the only significant analysis of the Philanthropic Society to date. The account provided in Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, Children in English Society (1973), volume 2, 419-430, is taken from Carlebach. It is surprising that Margaret May, "Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", Victorian Studies, volume XVII, No. 1, September 1973, 7-29, makes no mention of the Society's early years.

2. First Report of the Philanthropic Society instituted in London, September 1788, for the prevention of crimes (1790), 2nd edition, 24.

3. Rodgers, op. cit., 50-54; Owen, op. cit., 57-60.

which stemmed from its self description as a society based on principles of police, rather than charity.[4] It saw effective philanthropy not as a type of relief, but as a means of reforming character, rather than assuaging misery and want and functioning within an environment where religion, conduct, work, welfare and play operated inside the walls of its institution. No other agency for the popular education of children attempted to internalize its doctrine in this all-embracing manner; their waking hours were subject, in theory at least, to constant surveillance and control. Doctrinally, the Philanthropic Society was the first institutional attempt to link the precepts of political economy to education, but it was more than an instrument of capitalist indoctrination. Its scientific approach to social investigation and utilitarian pedagogical assumptions were combined with an adherence to the traditional distribution of riches and power. The medium of apprenticeship and the rituals and knowledge of the established Church, provided the forms through which instruction operated. Undoubtedly, the quality of food, clothing and medical care provided for the inmates exceeded that which they would have obtained in the streets, rookeries or bridewells of London. Essentially the Philanthropic Society was a protective agency removing children from an environment which was deemed to be corrupting and then releasing them into the world, as apostles of industry and virtue. This chapter examines the context of the Society's operation, its doctrines, and its perceptions of and approach towards children.

## I

This approach to human reconstruction was incubated in the atmosphere of moral panic which characterized the 1780s. The writings of the Society expressed a fear of forces inside metropolitan society which appeared to be

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4. First Report of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790) ... op. cit., 8.

uncontrollable. The decent citizens who subscribed to the Society were alarmed by the growth of crime and vagrancy, and the consequent threat to lives and property they entailed, which the law and existing charitable schemes seemed unable to prevent.

> The depravity found in human nature must give pain to a benevolent mind; and every friend to order and public good sees with concern the daily outrages and indecencies of those who are abandoned to profligacy and vice. The existence of these evils proves the inefficacy of all the means which have hitherto been employed for their remedy ...[5]

It is not surprising that these concerns should have shot to the forefront of public attention in the late eighteenth century. London had mushroomed: the city had grown by a third since 1700. Naturally crime and vagrancy would have appeared to have increased as well. Immigration and the opportunities open to commit depredations upon the public in an immensely rich centre of commerce which London so clearly was, were undoubtedly partial causes of these phenomena. But another explanation can be offered deriving from an understanding of the social structure of the metropolis. Social relations were no longer governed by forms of obedience and paternalism to the same extent as in the provinces. Day-to-day contacts were casual and determined by contract rather than custom; therefore social behaviour was interpreted and practised in terms of mutual advantage rather than deference.[6] Given this change in social life it is easy to see why the upper classes deplored the insubordination of the lower orders with increasing frequency as the eighteenth century moved on. An extreme form of this lack of respect for authority was manifested in crime and vagrancy, where the adherents to these occupations lacked any commitment to the Protestant ethic. There is some evidence to support the claim that crime

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5. An Account of the Philanthropic Society instituted September 1788 (1788), 1.

6. See chapter 3; Wrigley, op. cit., 51; M. D. George, op. cit., 14.

was on the increase. In 1768, six hundred and thirteen people in London were tried for murder, burglary, robbery and theft of whom two hundred and fortysix were convicted, and in 1794 four hundred and ninety-three were sentenced, when one thousand and sixty were brought to trial for similar offences.[7] This was a rate of increase which exceeded that of the growth in population.

Patrick Colquhoun, the most eloquent proponent of this fear of criminality gave form to the apprehensions of his fellow citizens. A self-made merchant, magistrate and political economist, contact of Adam Smith, Burke and Pitt, he was a subscriber to the Philanthropic Society, and in his capacity as a magistrate he recommended the occasional child to the Society's care.[8] Writing in his widely read publication of 1796 A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, he identified 115,000 people in and near London who supported themselves "by pursuits either criminal, illegal or immoral".[9] Given London's population at the end of the century this represented if correct between ten and fifteen per cent. of the total. Colquhoun minutely catalogued twenty four different species of delinquent and profligate individuals,[10] but his estimates despite their scientific pretensions are probably exaggerations. Nevertheless he

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7. Rude, op. cit., 96-97. See also Ted Robert Gurr, Peter N. Grabosky and Richard C. Hula (eds.), The Politics of Crime and Conflict: A Comparative History of Four Cities (Beverly Hills, 1977), 61-103, which discusses crime and public order in London during the nineteenth century.

8. On Colquhoun see Ralph Pieris, "The Contributions of Patrick Colquhoun to Social Theory and Social Philosophy", University of Ceylon Review, volume XII, No. 3, July 1953, 129-163. For his membership of the Society see the list of subscribers in An Account of the Nature and Present State of the Philanthropic Society ... (1814), 43-82. In 1804 Colquhoun recommended a girl to the Society's care see Surrey County Record Office (Su.C.R.O.), Acc.661/3/1, Royal Philanthropic Society, Register, Character of Girls 1789-c.1818, 142.

9. Patrick Colquhoun, A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis ... (1796), 2nd edition, vii-xi.

10. idem.

transmitted a strong current of feeling generated among London's propertied inhabitants. His main interest in this context lies in his identification of the causes of crime, and we shall see his sentiments paralleled in the earlier but less widely circulated writings of the Philanthropic Society. Crime he believed, was due to a lack of suitable instruction.

> Crimes of every description have their origins in the vicious and immoral habits of the people; - in the want of attention to the education of the inferior orders of society; - and in the deficiency of the system which has been established for guarding the morals of this useful class of the community.[11]

This lack of education ensured that the most corrupting vice of all governed the character of numbers among the masses and encouraged their anti-social behaviour.

> Idleness is a never failing inroad to criminality. It originates generally in the inattention and bad example of profligate parents. When such habits unfortunately take hold of the human mind, unnecessary wants and improper gratifications, not known or thought of by persons in a course of industry, are constantly generated, and hence it is, that crimes are resorted to and every kind of violence, hostile to the laws, and to the peace and good order of society is perpetrated.[12]

These statements implied that a reduction in criminality would only result from the introduction of a form of education which aimed to replace idleness with suitable virtues. In a limited way the Philanthropic Society attempted to grapple with this perceived problem of urban society.

Although similar organizations were formed in Scotland and Wales, the Philanthropic Society was the only specific agency for the reformation of potential or actual juvenile vagrants and criminals before the advent of the Refuge for the Destitute in 1804.[13] Even then, whereas the Refuge concentrated on youths and young adults, the Philanthropic admitted children up to fourteen years and so retained a lonely pre-eminence except

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11. ibid., 34.

12. ibid., 95-96.

13. The Annual Report of the Refuge for the Destitute, for the Year 1832 to which is prefixed a short account of the Institution (1833), 5.

for a prison hulk until Parkhurst Prison set up a school in 1838.[14] Robert Young, a philosopher, was responsible for the Society's origins. He opened subscriptions in 1788 for the organization; its underlying aim was the promotion of economic self-reliance.

> The infant mind must be nursed and fed and instructed at anothers expence; when he becomes a man he can support himself and others too - his family is maintained, and the community benefitted by his well-regulated exertions.[15]

Starting with his private friends, Young managed to obtain money from London's political, economic, religious and scientific elite.[16] The first published list of committee members included Young as Intendant and Treasurer, and the fifth Duke of Leeds as the Society's President. Among its Vice Presidents were three aristocrats, the Earl of Aylesford, and Viscounts Bulkely and Cremorne, George Hardinge and James Sim, both M.Ps., Alderman Sir James Sanderson, a city banker and at one time Lord Mayor of London, and Lieutenant General Rainsford, who had commanded the infantry in Hyde Park during the Gordon Riots. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, a freemason, a Rosicrucian, and a dabbler in alchemy. Members of the committee included George Adams, a mathematical instrument maker and staunch Tory, who believed in applying knowledge to combat materialism, infidelity and anarchy, Dr. Jackson, the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, William Cruikshank, a surgeon and anatomist, and William Ayton, another city banker. Among the subscribers were several who were, or would become famous in the field of popular education; Thomas Bernard, the leading figure in the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, Henry Thornton, an evangelical and a founder of the Sunday School Society, Samuel Whitbread, one of the earliest proponents of state-aided education for the masses, and William Wilberforce, the leading English Evangelical

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14. Carlebach, op. cit., 25.

15. Robert Young, Introduction to an account of the foundation of the London Philanthropic Society and the author's relation thereto (1790), 5.

16. ibid., 11-12.

and Hannah More's most important supporter. Other committee members and subscribers at later dates included the city bankers, Samuel Bosanquet, Samuel Hoare and Thomas Raikes, who was the brother of the founder of the Sunday School Movement, Andrew Bell of the National Society, William Allen, of the British and Foreign Schools Society, William Morton Pitt, M.P., a cousin of William Pitt, the Prime Minister, and campaigner on behalf of Sunday Schools, and W. E. Gladstone, the future Prime Minister, who was instrumental in obtaining the Society's transference to Redhill in 1849. By 1829 amongst the honourary members of the Society were the Corporation of London, the Governors and Directors of the Bank of England and eleven city companies.[17]

The individuals who comprised the Society were well educated, had access to scientific thought and many undoubtedly were familiar with political economy and Enlightenment doctrines. Despite the fact that they had absorbed new ideas they were not radicals; instead they were strong supporters of established religion, law and order and the existing distribution of wealth and power. Its widespread support amongst London's elite enabled the Philanthropic Society to establish itself as one of the wealthiest of the metropolitan educational charities (for its financial state see Table 22). Its income was more than double that of the Sunday

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17. Philanthropic Society, Report, list of subscribers to 15 January, 1790, and names of children received by the Society (1790), 8-18; Su.C.R.O. Acc.661/1/1, Royal Philanthropic Society, Minutes of General Court and Committee 1793-96, 23 December 1795, 497-500; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1814), op. cit., 3, 27-82; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1829), 23; A Sketch of the Principles and orking of the Philanthropic Society (1872), 13. For the biographies of these individuals see D.N.B. Although Young was the founder of the Society and its Treasurer, he was excluded from any participation in its affairs, because, it appears, of financial mismanagement, Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/5/1, Royal Philanthropic Society, Abstract of proceedings of the Philanthropic Society 1788-c.1840, September 1788-6 January 1792, 3 January 1794-27 March 1795.

Table 22. Philanthropic Society: Income and Expenditure for certain years 1791-1830.[18]

| Year | Income | Expenditure | Excess of Income over Expenditure | Excess of Expenditure over Income |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1791 | 3,736 | 3,422 | 314 | |
| 1792 | 4,096 | 4,123 | | 27 |
| 1793 | 4,489 | 4,660 | | 171 |
| 1794 | 5,372 | 4,531 | 841 | |
| 1798 | 4,356 | 4,077 | 279 | |
| 1803 | 5,373 | 6,151 | | 778 |
| 1815 | 5,909 | 5,841 | 68 | |
| 1816 | 6,328 | 5,961 | 367 | |
| 1817 | 8,266 | 6,123 | 2,143 | |
| 1818 | 6,055 | 6,488 | | 433 |
| 1820 | 7,300 | 6,220 | 1,080 | |
| 1821 | 6,265 | 5,859 | 406 | |
| 1822 | 5,921 | 5,458 | 463 | |
| 1824 | 5,132 | 5,432 | | 300 |
| 1825 | 8,349 | 5,709 | 2,640 | |
| 1826 | 4,517 | 5,100 | | 583 |
| 1827 | 5,243 | 5,351 | | 108 |
| 1828 | 14,082 | 5,439 | 8,643 | |
| 1829 | 6,848 | 6,062 | 786 | |
| 1830 | 4,131 | 5,904 | | 1,773 |

18. Philanthropic Society, An Address ... with report for 1791 (1792); Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Royal Philanthropic Society, Minutes ... 1793-96, op. cit., 52; Acc.661/1/42, Royal Philanthropic Society, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1794-95, after minutes for 24 February 1795; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1799), 30-31; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1804), 34-35; Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis, 1817 (484), 2nd report with minutes of evidence, Appendix 12, 561; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1816), 2; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1818), 3; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1819), 5; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1821), 6-7; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1822), 6-7; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1823), 6-7; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/10, Royal Philanthropic Society, Minutes ... 1830-1832, 115. Note that the amounts are presented to the nearest £.

School Society for instance. During its existence it received donations from the Bank of England - of over £1,000 in 1817 - and the East India Company.[19] Yet it repeatedly suffered from financial difficulties. Its expenditure was large supplying a total environment for the children under its care. (see Tables 23 and 24)

Table 23. Philanthropic Society: Expenditure 1798.[20]

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Provision for 162 (Servants included) | 1,427 | 0 | 10 |
| Clothing, linen and Necessaries for 180 | 851 | 1 | 8 |
| Salaries of Officers and Servants | 385 | 1 | 7 |
| Coals, Candles and House Expences | 347 | 6 | 0 |
| Repairs and alterations | 183 | 17 | 11 |
| Ground Rent | 170 | 0 | 0 |
| Furniture and Bedding | 98 | 12 | 7 |
| Tools and Implements for the Trade | 94 | 3 | 2 |
| Rewards to the Children within the Reform | 64 | 14 | 3 |
| Taxes, Insurance and Water | 38 | 16 | 4 |
| Miscellaneous Expences | 29 | 8 | 6 |
| Apprentice-Fees, Indentures and Gratuities to Girls for their good behaviour in service | 24 | 13 | 0 |
| Medicines | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Stationery, Account Books, and Stamps | 19 | 13 | 2 |
| Rent of Committee Room at St. Paul's Coffee House | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| Bibles, Prayer and School Books | 11 | 19 | 0 |
| Legacy Stamps | 8 | 19 | 0 |
| Gardener's Work | 8 | 7 | 6 |
| | 3,796 | 14 | 6 |
| Transferred as Rent in Aid of the Building Fund | 280 | 0 | 0 |
| | 4,076 | 14 | 6 |

19. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1821), op. cit., 5; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1818), op. cit., 3.

20. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1799), op. cit., 31.

Table 24. Philanthropic Society: Expenditure 1815.[21]

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Provisions | 2,399 | 2 | 2 |
| Clothing | 880 | 12 | 2 |
| Coals, Candles, House and Washing Expenses | 590 | 3 | 5 |
| Ground Rent, Taxes, and Fire Insurance | 263 | 7 | 9 |
| Salaries | 830 | 17 | 0 |
| Furniture and Bedding | 34 | 3 | 0 |
| Repairs | 175 | 6 | 0 |
| Advertisements | 36 | 2 | 0 |
| Printing, Stationery, and Books | 114 | 10 | 5 |
| Surgeon and Apothecary | 50 | 10 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous Expenses | 39 | 13 | 11 |
| | 5,414 | 7 | 10 |

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Solicitor | 17 | 17 | 0 | | | |
| Gratuities | 49 | 4 | 0 | | | |
| Rewards to Apprentices | 86 | 10 | 3 | | | |
| Rewards to Ten who had completed their Apprenticeship | 253 | 18 | 10 | | | |
| Rewards to Girls in the Female School | 8 | 11 | 8 | | | |
| Rewards to Girls at Service | 10 | 19 | 2 | | | |
| | 427 | 0 | 11 | 427 | 0 | 11 |
| | | | | 5,841 | 8 | 9 |

On several dates it appealed, for financial aid from the Government and Parliament, yet it was unsuccessful, despite the great claims made on its behalf.[22] Anthony Highmore in the important study of metropolitan philanthropy in the early nineteenth century, Pietas Londinensis, stated

21. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis, 1817 (484), 2nd report with minutes of evidence, op. cit., Appendix 12, 561.

22. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Royal Philanthropic Society, Minutes ... 1793-96, 16 May 1794, 234, 23 December 1795, 497-500; Acc.661/1/8, Royal Philanthropic Society, Minutes ... 1825-26, 21 January 1825, 4-5.

that "the people had never raised a more politic and useful institution",[23] and the Report of the Committee on the Police of the Metropolis in 1817, praised its effects and lamented its lack of funds.[24] Finance was largely responsible for the small number of children the Philanthropic Society catered for. By 1799 it possessed 159 boys and girls. Thereafter the total oscillated between roughly 160 and 180 during the next few decades, until the 1840s when changes took place in the Society's intake. At any one time girls made up about one third of the children instructed.[25]

II

It is now appropriate to focus on the aims of the Society. Robert Young, the Society's founder had seized upon the idea of applying science to solve human problems. This is significant as it reveals the Society as partially an expression of the rational philosophy inherited from the Baconian Revolution and the Enlightenment. It also helps to explain the receptiveness of the Society to the ideology of political economy, and the care with which it investigated the background of the children it instructed. We should not infer from this that the Philanthropic Society was in any sense a socially radical organization. Young should not be confused with figures like Joseph Priestley or Jeremy Bentham who possessed similar theoretical interests, in the application of science to society but this led them to very different social and political ideas. Young's motivation lay in trying to find a

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23. Anthony Highmore, Pietas Londinensis: the history, design, and present state of the various public charities in and near London ... (1814), 859.

24. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis, 1817 (484), 2nd report, 331.

25. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/3, Royal Philanthropic Society, Minutes ... 1799-1806, 13 June 1800, 47; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1804), op. cit., 17; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society (1814), op. cit., 85; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society (1823), op. cit., 7; A selection of Sacred Music, to be performed in the Philanthropic Society's Chapel ... (1828), 22. For changes in the Society during the 1840s, see chapter 10.

solution to the continual existence of the "miseries of the poor",[26] but by their miseries he did not mean their depressed social and economic condition. It is clear from his writings and the direction which the Society took that the misery he wanted to eliminate was the inability of sections of the poor to support themselves by honest industry. True to his scientific claims Young saw his initial aim as investigative, "to search the disease to its root".[27] Then he could "apply a remedy which should be certain in its effect".[28] His schemes were to be based on a link between social life and scientific theory; according to Young:

> the principles of good government among the poor were the principles of society itself; I determined therefore, to prepare for the undertaking by a course of studies on human nature, civil society and government ...
>
> Being attached to philosophical researches, the progress of these enquiries frequently led into the wide and fruitful field of the system of the universe. I found with delight, everywhere, a perfect analogy between physics and politics; between society and the natural world: I could study mechanics and astronomy, in tracing a hord of savages from their congregation together, to a state of civilization; and in the phenomena of the celestial bodies, as well as in natural appearances on earth, could discern the path and principles of a community.[29]

The validity of Young's ideas are not our concern, but they revealed an approach to human behaviour which distinguished the Philanthropic Society from the patriarchal preconceptions of other educational charities emerging at the same time. This assumption that society followed scientific principles which resembles the natural theology of William Paley, also explains why the Philanthropic Society adopted political economy to justify its operation.[30] Young spares us the precise details of his speculation, but the early reports of the Society were probably composed by him, and they are discussed below.

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26. Young, op. cit., 1.

27. ibid., 2.

28. idem.

29. ibid., 2-3.

30. See chapter 1.

Superficially, the Philanthropic Society appeared to be a charitable organization dispensing instruction and welfare to a previously neglected class in the community, but its doctrine was much more complicated. Its emphasis on the importance of labour and the uniting social effect of the division of labour reveal it as an important expression of political economy. Yet its doctrine was its own and it is important to examine the way in which it proceeded. It defined itself as a distinct organization in at least three ways. Firstly, by combining work and morality it aimed to create a useful working population.

> few charitable foundations have united industry with religious instruction, few have embraced the complex character of man, few like the present have accustomed children to employment and useful labour; few have sent them from beneath their roof perfectly qualified to obtain a decent and honest subsistence.[31]

Secondly, it attempted to maintain guardianship over its wards after they had left the institution.

> It is the peculiar characteristic of this Society, to continue its care and attention till its objects have attained to such a mature age, as to be able to think and act for themselves, and have acquired such habits as will not easily be eradicated.[32]

Thirdly, it aimed to do more than provide for those children who were "the natural inheritors of vice."[33] It looked for "a reform of manners through all ranks by the influence of its example."[34] By creating from the

> very lowest and worst description of people ... a superior class of mechanics and servants; honest, industrious, affectionate, faithful examples to others, and preferred before them, it would be impossible but that every order of society would be eager to wipe away the disgrace of being left behind in the race of virtue by those whom they had been accustomed to hold in contempt.[35]

By exceeding all others in "honesty, honour, fortitude, integrity, patience,

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31. Philanthropic Society, An Address with report to 31 December 1790 (1791), 6.

32. ibid., 7.

33. Second Report and Address of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), 25.

34. idem.

35. ibid., 26.

fidelity, chastity, and every manly, feminine, social and domestic virtue", they would excite a spirit of emulation throughout society and increase its moral standards enormously.[36]

In defining its aims in these ways the Philanthropic Society was criticising other forms of charitable enterprise. Existing schemes of philanthropy were undermined in its writings from several standpoints. Firstly, they were ineffective in preventing immorality or lawlessness.

> Notwithstanding that great sums are annually expended in the country for the service of the Poor, it is a melancholy fact that much want and misery still exist. And although the necessary severity of the laws and the frequency of punishment are subjects of general regret, vices and crimes continue to prevail and even increase in an enormous degree.[37]

Secondly, indiscriminate benevolence was positively harmful.

> It appeared to the founders of the institution that charity in itself tended to produce upon the mind and morals remote injurious effects, which a just policy in its direction ought to obviate ... a very great portion of human misery has its origin in the benevolent spirit of man, indulged without sufficient attention to the constitution of the human mind, and the collateral or remote effects which charities tend to produce.[38]

In particular charity had the effect of reducing national wealth by diminishing the number of those who worked.[39] The poor laws were especially to blame for this state of affairs.[40] Relief encouraged the very evils it should have tried to prevent.

> The consequence ... of excessive and misconducted charity is plainly to produce a spirit of indolence; and INDOLENCE we recognize as the general motive of all those evils, both of suffering and of crimes, which impinge so much on the happiness of society.[41]

Without a complete remodelling of philanthropic activity the poor in receipt of charity would continue to exist and remain an unproductive drain on the community's wealth.

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36. ibid., 27.

37. Account of the Philanthropic Society ... (1788), op. cit., 1.

38. First Report of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), op. cit., 8-9.

39. ibid., 10-11.

40. ibid., 12-13.

41. ibid., 14-15.

> It is an error to suppose that charity, generally considered feeds the poor; it feeds their poverty only, and only prolongs their wretchedness. So long as beggars can obtain alms, numbers will continue in beggary, in idleness, in vice, and in misery, evils which a misguided bounty perpetrates in community at ten times the cost which would be sufficient for their removal.
>
> Instead, then, of feeding the poor upon alms we should furnish them with employ - here, if we are not mistaken, is a simple view at once of the cause and the remedy of those mischiefs, which all men ought to deplore.[42]

This assault on charity, attack on idleness and defence of work was supported intellectually by a labour theory of value; it is probably the first attempt to apply this doctrine to sustain a specific educational enterprise. The upper and middle class perceptions of the founders of the Philanthropic Society are revealed in the expression of this theory in the organization's early writings. There were a number of clear stages in the promotion of their argument. Firstly, the poor were defined as the most significant element in the maintenance of society and the creation of wealth.

> The class of labouring poor is the first in the scale of civil society and the basis on which all the higher gradations rest. Its labour is the source of national wealth.[43]

The activity of labour had been responsible for creating social divisions based on wealth, although no conflict was implied by this state of affairs.

> In the origins of society every man must draw his resources from his own industry, labour is the general lot. Distinctions, riches, honours, exemption from toil, subordination, and authority, depend then, on a certain proportion of industry kept up, and so directed as, at length, to produce more than enough for the subsistence of the whole, a surplus which becomes riches in the hands of a few.[44]

Labour, it was argued, was essential to maintain these distinctions, otherwise a state of equality would result, requiring everyone to work for a living.[45] Why this was considered undesirable was not precisely explained, but two classes appeared to be necessary for society's survival:

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42. ibid., 20.

43. ibid., 9.

44. ibid., 9-10.

45. ibid., 10.

"One produces wealth; the other collects it, either for preservation or use.", and there was no room for a third that neither possessed wealth nor created it.[46] There was no question in this argument of criticising the unproductive landlord. The next stage in the argument revealed why pure benevolence was inimical to this philosophical system. Society depended for its existence, upon a static relationship between those who created and those who used or preserved wealth; the precise proportions required in these categories were not, however, laid down:

> If there be more who either preserve or consume, without adding to the stock, than the number of labourers will allow, there will be found a deficiency of wealth somewhere; and it is probable that this defalcation will affect the whole system.[47]

Charity, by encouraging a third class of unproductive individuals altered the balance between the two classes by reducing the number of those whose job it was to labour.

The maintenance of these two classes created social harmony. In this respect the writers of the first report of the Philanthropic Society were as utopian as their more intellectually conservative cousins in the Sunday School Movement. They believed concordance between labour and capital was natural. The utility of the labourer in the creation of wealth ensured his happiness as the beneficent support of his superior was called forth to aid him. This is very close to the notion of an alliance between one's duty and one's interest which characterized traditional social thought. But in the case of the Philanthropic Society's theory, society did not depend for its existence upon an adherence to established moral principles based on obligation. Instead a rational perception of mutual advantage was the key to the maintenance of social order. Contract rather than custom was the basis of society.

> Of the two classes of the poor, the industrious and the idle, there is no question which is the happier; those only who are useful are comfortable and respectable. The mechanic who receives from his

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46. idem.

47. idem.

> master the wages he has earned, takes a right and not a charity; the labour enriches the master; the pay recompenses the servant; both profit, and neither owes an obligation. Mutual advantage is the ground of the connexion, which therefore forms a link of the social chain. The reciprocal interests call forth the benevolent affections; the servant loves a good master; the master values a faithful servant. Protection and assistance, fidelity and gratitude, form the intercourse of sentiments and services between them.[48]

No similar bond of interest existed between the non-productive poor and the dispensers of relief:

> This is not the case between the idle who subsist on charity and their benefactors; no mutual tie connects them, the one is not held by interest, nor the other bound by gratitude. A guilt neither attaches the donor, nor the receiver to each other; no affection holds the beggar to the public who supports him; alms and plunder are alternate and indifferent to him, and men dread as an assassin him whom their bounty feeds. The nuisances, pests, and disturbers of society, are found almost exclusively among those who enjoy its gratuitous benefits.[49]

The Philanthropic Society concerned itself with restructuring the social relations between the unproductive poor and their superiors. As labour created the structure and values of the community, and was responsible for the social harmony between the master and servant, then the proper task for philanthropy was the encouragement of work. This implied a new role for philanthropy. In fact the Philanthropic Society viewed itself as a business organization based on principles of profit rather than charity. Philanthropy had "originated in a principle of pure benevolence" disassociated from notions of profit, but the Society argued, this was a mistake.[50] By organizing itself upon economic principles, it would motivate people to work for their own support; economic self-reliance would be generated:

> Our East-India Company, our cotton, iron, wool, mill, and many other manufactories, enrich numbers, and afford comfortable livings to numbers more ... They place men in a proper situation of respectability and happiness; while our charities, many of them, serve to nurture misery, and extend it around them, by encouraging men to neglect the opportunities they may have, of making a provision for themselves.

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48. ibid., 18-19.

49. ibid., 19.

50. ibid., 26.

> It is devoutly to be hoped that mankind will at length profit by an expence so dearly purchased, and found charities as principles of mutual interest, on which all society depends.[51]

This statement is significant. The Philanthropic Society saw itself as an organization promoting a rational understanding of the requirements of social life, by emphasizing the importance of work. Society did not depend upon an adherence to principles sanctified by tradition, but upon a perception by its members, that economic self-reliance was the key to its organization. By seeing itself as a business enterprise in its promotion of this virtue, the Philanthropic Society could organize itself along rational lines. It could obtain a raw material, the intractable vagrant or delinquent, and the unpromising offspring of criminal parents and it could possess a management and structure of authority dedicated to the pursuit of profit, It is possible to look at the Society's input, the child.

III

The Philanthropic Society directed its attention towards those children whom it defined as the lowest class in the community. An account of the Society, published in 1788, referred to the need to train in virtue and industry,

> the children of the worst and most atrocious among the vagrant and profligate poor; those, who, in their present condition, are destined to succeed to the hereditary vices of their parents, and become the next race of beggars and thieves.[52]

Obtaining children involved a close co-operation between the Society on the one hand, and the courts, magistrates, prisons and rudimentary police forces on the other.[53] In addition, London's rookeries and slums provided a fertile spawning ground for depravity, which the Society could explore and exploit. In describing the submerged class from which it drew its

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51. ibid., 27.

52. Account of the Philanthropic Society ... (1788), op. cit., 1.

53. Young, op. cit., 10.

wards, the Philanthropic Society did not provide an unemotional portrayal of the culture of a depressed group. Instead there are descriptions of poverty linked with images of waste, filth, disgust and fear; expressions of the sensitivity of the Society's activists towards a sector of the urban population dissevered from their own culture and values. The underlying emotions beneath these accounts express alarm towards the actual or potential depraved behaviour of the recipients of the Society's relief combined with sympathy with their real poverty, and an urgent necessity to reclaim their humanity. A long passage from the Society's first report displays these currents at work. It describes an expedition to collect children.

> The friends of the institution visit the places where the objects of it reside. They find there indescribable misery, which no friendly hand had reached, nor pitying eye had seen. The most abominable filth renders their habitations to the last degree offensive; swathed with rags, and begrimed with dirt, the traces of the human figure in them, are almost lost; a person cannot go up stairs without apprehending danger to his limbs; an empty apartment, or, at best, furnished with a broken chair, and a bundle of rags for a bed, is their wretched residence, for which the miserable tenant pays a shilling a week to some landlord, but a few degrees advanced above themselves. Sometimes there are two or three in a room. Begging and stealing are their ordinary means of subsistence; drunkenness, lying, quarrelling, profaneness and prostitution, are their manners and way of life. The springs of honest industry, in their minds, are wholly unbent; they neglect the little comforts or alleviation of misery, they might procure by their own exertion; and either abandon themselves to despair, or vainly endeavour to drown the source of affliction, by plunging themselves more deeply in oaths, intoxications and debauchery. Thus the promoters of this charity seek acquaintance with wretchedness in its last and lowest stages: they converse with these forlorn people on their way of life, and on the vileness of their condition, and point out the means of relief through the bounty of the Society. On these occasions, they are witnesses to blessings from the lips accustomed to utter only blasphemies: they hear the name of God invoked with praise, in places where it had been known, only as a mode of cursing their neighbours: and they have seen the frames of men and women, on contemplating the plan of society; agitated with emotions of gratitude, which they knew no language to express. From these places they procure children with their own and their parents joyful consent.[54]

Juveniles were drawn out from these dens of corruption. The Philanthropic Society believed it was catering for the most submerged group

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54. First Report of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), op. cit., 60-62.

of infant Londoners and the admission registers of the Society support this claim. The children selected by the Society fell mainly into three categories to begin with, vagrants, delinquents and the offspring of criminal parents. Several of course fell into more than one group. (Table 25)

Table 25. Children admitted to the Philanthropic Society in selected years 1788-1833.[55]

| BOYS | 1788-1794 | 1798 | 1803 | 1808 | 1813 | 1818 | 1823 | 1828 | 1833 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vagrant or Parents unable to support child | 61 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Criminal or accused of crimes | 68 | 10 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 11 |
| Vagrant and criminal | 8 | 3 | 2 | | | | | | |
| Bad character | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| One or both parents criminal | 13 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 6 | 10 | 4 |
| Criminal child and criminal parent(s) | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| Vagrant child and criminal parent(s) | | | | | | | | | |
| Vagrant and criminal child and criminal parent(s) | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Improper admissions | 4 | | | | | | | | |
| Unknown | 4 | | | 2 | | | | | |
| | 159 | 22 | 12 | 8 | 12 | 7 | 17 | 14 | 17 |

| GIRLS | 1789-1794 | 1797-1798 | 1802-1803 | 1807-1808 | 1812-1813 | 1817-1818 | 1822-1823 | 1827-1828 | 1832-1833 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vagrant or Parents unable to support child | 19 | 2 | | | | | | | |
| Criminal or accused of crimes | 15 | 8 | 3 | 7 | 7 | | | | |
| Vagrant and criminal | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | |
| Bad character | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| One or both parents criminal | 15 | 11 | 4 | 11 | 16 | 20 | 7 | 9 | 15 |
| Criminal child and criminal parent(s) | | | | | 1 | | | | |
| Vagrant child and criminal parent(s) | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| Vagrant and criminal child and criminal parent(s) | | | | | | | | | |
| Improper admissions | | | | | | | | | |
| Unknown | | 1 | | 3 | 1 | | | | |
| | 53 | 22 | 7 | 21 | 26 | 20 | 7 | 9 | 15 |

55. The Table is calculated from figures provided in Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/3/1, Royal Philanthropic Society, Register, Character of Girls, 1789-c.1818; Acc.661/3/2, Register, Character of Girls, 1818-1836; Acc.661/3/5, Register, Description of Boys in the Reform, 1788-93; Acc.661/3/8, Register, Character of Boys admitted into the Reform 1788-c.1806

Some of the vagrant children were collected from notorious rookeries such as St. Giles's, others were picked up from the streets. The metropolis had failed to provide employment or schooling for many children or adolescents in their early teens. Early examples of these juveniles included:

> James Field (aged 12, admitted 1789): "Has no father - his mother maintains herself partly by begging sometimes by selling matches and the boy was found in the streets naked and almost starved."
>
> Thomas Hunt (aged 13, admitted 1789): "Has no father - knows not where his mother is. In summer worked in the Brickfields - In winter maintains himself by begging - Had not slept in a bed for near two years."
>
> William Carter (aged 6, admitted 1793): "left destitute in the street by his mother and brought to the Reform by a Person who found him in a pitiable situation on Blackfriars Bridge, he used to lay in the street and does not know any thing of his Mother."
>
> Mary Crawley (aged 15, admitted 1789): "Cruelly treated, almost starved, and turned into the streets by a Brutal Father in law who consumes his earnings in drunkenness, this Girl was exposed to every danger of seduction and ruin - but for the timely succour of this charity."
>
> Catherine Rolph (aged 12, admitted 1791): "The girl's mother was a common Prostitute and is since dead - she was received into the Reform in a State of Poverty and wretchedness."[56]

Most of the children accepted by the Society as a result of their own criminal activity had committed thefts such as shoplifting, pickpocketing, stealing money and goods such as coal and scrap iron. It is difficult to break the crimes down into categories, some appear to have stolen because they were starved or cold, others seem to have been engaged in criminality as an occupation. The backgrounds of these children cannot be portrayed precisely. A few were described as children of respectable parents, but many originated from backgrounds which if not overtly criminal provided numerous temptations to vice, as the following examples show:

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55. (and Manufactory 1802-1806); Acc.661/3/9, Register, Character of Boys admitted into the Reform, 1802-1813; Acc.661/3/10, Register, Character of Boys admitted into Manufactory, 1806-1821 (and Reform after 1813); Acc.661/3/11, Register, Character of Boys, 1822-1833; Acc.661/3/12, Register, Character of Boys 1833-1837.

56. Field, Hunt and Carter: Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/3/5, op. cit., folios 12, 28 and 130; Crawley and Rolph: Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/3/1, op. cit., folios 3 and 16.

Thomas Burn (aged 13, admitted 1790): "Bred a thief from his Cradle - his Mother was transported for uttering counterfeit coin, - his father was hanged for house breaking - the boy was imprisoned for a burglary ... The boy was found perfectly incorrigible."

Thomas Pearce (aged 14, admitted 1790): "Turned out of Doors by his father, who is a violent and drunken man, and lived among thieves about two years - was imprisoned ... for a Robbery. This boy will probably never be reformed his punishment has made but little impression on him - he continues of a sullen cunning disposition - has an inordinate passion for gaming and he is still suspected of theft."

John Dalziell (aged 10, admitted 1793): "Son of (a) ... Journeyman Printer and Glazier ... has at Sundry times been guilty of pilfering and stealing alone and in company with other boys - His Father who bears a good character has hitherto tried every means to reclaim him from his wicked ways in vain ...."

Elizabeth Johnson (aged 14, admitted 1792): "Her Father is a Journeyman Stagmaker her Mother is living - this girl has distrest her Parents very much by her bad conduct being addicted to thieving in consequence of which she has been discharged from several places .."

Maria Goodall (aged 11, admitted 1793): "At Cripplegate School she was charged with shoplifting and had been such a nuisance to the school that she had been expelled and kept in the workhouse until her admission into the Philanthropic Society was possible."[57]

By 1804 five of the boys in the Society's care had received the death sentence and had been pardoned only because they could be received into the Reform.[58]

Thirdly, the Society received the children of criminals. The crimes committed by the parents were not always described, but the most common sentence involving the mother or father was transportation,[59] a situation which often left the child without any means of care or support. Parental punishment therefore, threatened to lead to the vagrancy or criminality of their children, as the latter attempted to support themselves. Two cases exist which show that the Society received children whose parents had been politically motivated when they had committed their depredations upon the public. In 1801 two girls were admitted whose father, under

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57. Burn, Pearce and Dalziell: Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/3/5, op. cit., folios 40, 54 and 135; Johnson and Goodall: Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/3/1, op. cit., folios 26 and 46.

58. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1804), 8. For an explanation of the Reform see pp. 267-268.

59. See Table 25 and references provided in footnote 55.

sentence of death at Chelmsford had stated to the Court that he had lived honestly and industriously until he read "that pernicious publication", Paine's Rights of Man. He made it his dying wish that the Court would procure admission for his Children into the Philanthropic Society's institution "where he trusted their Morals and their Principles would be secured."[60] Secondly, in 1820 the Society admitted the daughter of one of the Cato Street conspirators.[61]

As the information presented in Table 25 reveals, the type of child admitted to the Philanthropic Society during the nineteenth century changed. Those children described as vagrant gradually disappeared, and eventually criminal girls were excluded from the Society's care. On several occasions the Society had to cease all admissions entirely, because of lack of money.[62] Financial limitations, in fact, influenced the policy of the Philanthropic Society when the types of children considered by the committee for reception were discussed.[63] But the knowledge derived from the experience of trying to educate children and adolescents who rejected the values the organization was attempting to instil, also led to restrictions in the kinds of juveniles permitted to partake of the Society's instruction.[64] Regularly, the Philanthropic Society received more applicants than it could possible admit.[65] According to the steward, Thomas Russell, appearing before the Committee on the Police of the Metropolis in 1817, only one in

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60. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/3, Royal Philanthropic Society, Minutes ... 1799-1806, 20 March 1801, 99.

61. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/3/2, op. cit., folio 54.

62. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Minutes ... 1793-96, op. cit., 101; Acc.661/1/5, Minutes ... 1816-20, 221-223; Acc.661/1/7, Minutes ... 1822-24.

63. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Minutes ... 1793-96, op. cit., 10; Acc.661/1/2, Minutes ... 1796-99, 1 December 1797, 269-270; Acc.661/1/4, Minutes ... 1806-15, 22 April 1808, 108.

64. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/2, Minutes ... 1796-99, op. cit., 24 March 1797, 179.

65. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd Report with minutes of evidence, 12 May 1817, 442.

every ten applicants could be accepted, although three in every ten candidates were not qualified for admission in any case.[66] The history of admissions policy, is the history of progressive restriction on the type of child received. In 1793 the Philanthropic Society rejected pauper children as they did not come into the category of either vagrant or criminal. These children were liable to settlement in their own parishes.[67] In specific cases juveniles were rejected because they were too old, or they were so hardened they might corrupt existing inmates.[68] By 1799 vagrant children were excluded from the Philanthropic Society, which thereafter confined itself to "the infant offspring of convicted felons", and those children who had committed "petty thefts and fraudulent practices."[69] By 1804 few children were admitted below the age of eight or above twelve years.[70] Those over thirteen being generally excluded, probably because the Society had faced great difficulty in reforming boys of this age and above. In 1817 regulations were laid down which restricted the reception of girls to those who were the children of convicted criminals, as delinquent girls could not be admitted because, it was argued, there was no way of separating these two classes of females in the Society's institution; older girls appear to have been instrumental in creating disturbances and leading mass escapes from the Female School.[71] These accumulated procedures were given form by the Society in regulations promulgated in 1819, which revealed a further narrowing of the organization's

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66. idem.

67. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Minutes ... 1793-96, op. cit., 3 May 1793, 33.

68. ibid., 45, 119; Acc.661/1/2, Minutes ... 1796-99, op. cit., 24 March 1797, 179.

69. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1799), 5-6.

70. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1804), op. cit., 9.

71. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/5, Minutes ... 1816-1820, op. cit., 9 May 1817, 73; 16 May 1817, 75; 5 September 1817, 93; 12 September 1817, 98.

focus. Only the following categories were accepted: children of felons sentenced to death or transportation, the offspring of convicts under the age of thirteen, criminal boys of less than twelve years, and children in these categories provided they were not below the age of nine.[72] These rules appear to have governed the Philanthropic Society's admissions policy until the 1840s.

Throughout the Society's history up to the 1840s, one important assumption was prominent, that the child should be vigorously separated from his previously corrupt environment in the streets and tenements of the metropolis. True to the feelings of distaste towards urban society expressed by its supporters, the Philanthropic Society saw itself at war with the anti-social manifestations of low life in London. Its first establishment, a collection of houses in Hackney, known collectively as the Reform, instructed groups of twelve children under master workmen and their wives in an environment which attempted to recreate the moral and social patterns of family life.[73] There they learnt morality and trades such as knitting, weaving, shoemaking and tailoring to prepare them for a useful adult life.[74] By 1790 proposals were mooted for the creation of a country establishment to provide training in agricultural practices.[75] this would have had the effect of removing the children from metropolitan society both physically and economically, as well as morally and socially,

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72. ibid., 8 February 1819, 188.

73. Philanthropic Society, Report, list of subscribers... (1790), op. cit., 19; First Report of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), op. cit., 43; Sketch of the Principles and Working of the Philanthropic Society (1872), op. cit., 6.

74. First Report of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), op. cit., 43-44; Second Report of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), op. cit., 26-27.

75. First Report of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), op. cit., 67.

but it was not until 1849 that the Philanthropic Society transferred to the farm school at Redhill, Surrey.[76] In the 1790s, new walled premises were constructed in St. George's Fields, Southwark; large number of abscondings had rendered the previous buildings inadequate, and the Society moved there in 1792.[77] By 1802, a tripartite system of education had evolved, segregating the wards into categories by origin and sex.[78] This system was designed to render more successful the assault upon the anti-social behaviour of the children by applying a suitable education to each group. One building, which appropriated the name Reform, received criminal boys for a period of one to two years. A closely controlled regimen of oakum picking and religious instruction was provided to replace their ingrained depravity with habits more appropriate for the successful completion of apprenticeship within the Society.[79] A second institution called the Manufactory instructed boys who had not committed criminal offences and the transfigured individuals from the Reform. It purveyed a programme of work and instruction which lasted until each boy had completed his apprenticeship of seven years in occupations such as printing, twine spinning and shoemaking.[80] A smaller part of the establishment, the Female School, equipped girls with the moral requirements and skills needed for lives as domestic servants.[81] This pattern lasted with little alteration until the 1840s, when the Female School was abolished and the Philanthropic Society confined itself to the reformation of criminal boys alone.[82] Each

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76. Sketch of the Principles and Working of the Philanthropic Society (1872), op. cit., 14.

77. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1804), op. cit., 11-12; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Minutes ... 1793-96, op. cit., Report of Building Committee 31 May 1793, 48-49; Sketch of the Principles and Working of the Philanthropic Society (1872), op. cit., 7.

78. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1804), op. cit., 11.

79. ibid., 12.

80. ibid., 13-14. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 445-446.

81. ibid., 15-16.

82. See chapter 10, footnote 137.

institution attempted to create a pattern of behaviour which would prevent a return to metropolitan depravity on the release of the inmate. In 1849 when the Society moved to Redhill, a deliberate attempt was made to slough off the urban environment. By exercising the "miserable wretches who are now perishing upon dunghills in London", a report of 1846 announced, anticipating the future, it was possible to form "a hardy race of husbandmen, from the waste of society".[83] This optimistic conclusion to the Philanthropic Society's London-based activities was simply an extension of the ambitious aims which the Society had set itself in its earliest years. It is now necessary to look at the implementation of its doctrines and the relationships which governed its success or failure.

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83. Philanthropic Society (Sydney Turner and Thomas Paynter), Mettray - Report on the System and Arrangement of "La Colonie Agricole", at Mettray. Presented to the Committee of the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Fields, 19 August 1846 (1846), 2nd edition, 20-21.

# Chapter 10

## The Philanthropic Society: Process and Content of Education

The nature and quality of the education provided within the Philanthropic Society depended upon the relationships between those who implemented its ideology and the children under its care. These relationships in turn consisted of patterns of authority and ritual, pedagogy and the implementation of the curriculum, methods of reward and punishment, forms of welfare and the reaction of the inmates to these manifestations of the Society's principles and practice. The Society operated a well-organised and comprehensive system of education, but it was not a straightforward application of the rational principles of political economy. It was much more complicated, combining a manipulation of images of power which resembled the force of authority portrayed in the evangelical Sunday school, an emphasis on hard work, rational persuasion and expressions of kindness and care. This mixture of methods was not surprising in a Society which represented a wide cross-section of London's elite of bankers, aristocrats, evangelicals and scientists.

### I

Authority in the Philanthropic Society was expressed on several different levels. The control of the Society was vested in the subscribers through an elected committee,[1] which met weekly to determine the curriculum, regulations of conduct, finance and the appointment of officers.[2] It rarely met at the institution itself but was assisted by a smaller body, the sub-committee of Trade and Finance which concerned itself with the minutiae of management.[3] The members of these governing bodies had little

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1. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society (1804), op. cit., 25.
2. ibid., 30-31.
3. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society (1816), op. cit., 14.

contact with the children. They were remote from life in the institution as experienced by the paid officers of the Society. For most subscribers and committee members, the children of the Philanthropic Society would appear as they were revealed, primed for the occasion, at the Anniversary dinner, which bore as much resemblance to the life of the institution as a speech day resembles the daily routine of a contemporary school. At the close of the Anniversary dinner of the Philanthropic Society in 1793, after the subscribers and committee had wined and dined, toasted the health of the Royal family and listened to a "serious glee"[4] specially written for the occasion, the following ceremony took place. The wards of the Society appeared as any subscriber or committee member wanted them to appear: the dividends from a well placed investment.

> the Children under the Society's protection, walked in procession round the room: First; upwards of thirty girls, preceded by their Mistress; after these, near one hundred Boys; each department led by the respective Masters, the Carpenter, Printer, Shoemaker, and Taylor; the Superintendent and Steward also attending.
>
> The decent appearance, and orderly demeanour, of the children, filled the minds of the Spectators with the most pleasing sensations; the natural result of contemplating the happy change which had been wrought in the situation of this numerous little Group, lately in the high road of Vice ...[5]

This perception of the nature of the inmates of the establishment, noted in the minutes of the Society's committee, distinguished those who controlled the institution and those who implemented and experienced its activity. This last point is expanded below.

The Philanthropic Society aimed to establish a moral community for those children who had experienced immorality in their previous urban existence. Numerous officers laboured to influence the minds and habits of the juveniles. They included a superintendent, master tradesmen, journeymen and their assistants, a matron for the girls, a chaplain and

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4. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Minutes ... 1793-96, op. cit., 27.

5. idem.

schoolmaster. Thomas Russell, the Society's steward when questioned by the Committee on the state of the Police of the Metropolis, in 1817, revealed the social system at work.

> There is a superintendent of the boys, who has the sole charge of them and of their education, under the chaplain; a beadle, who is constantly on the watch during the day and evening, to prevent idleness and other improprieties; a baker, who is also the cook; a boy's matron, who is likewise nurse to the sick; a female servant, a gate-porter and an errand porter.[6]

Inside the Society these employees were symbols and representatives of authority as far as the inmates were concerned. The most important figure was the superintendent. He lived on the premises, and was responsible under the authority of a non-resident chaplain, for controlling the children and ensuring that the Philanthropic Society applied its all-embracing aims with success. He was "to overlook and inspect into the conduct of the boys, the master tradesmen, and all the servants of the institution." In practice he was supposed to watch over the boys each day, ensure that they rose at the appointed time, were kept clean and neat, and performed their work diligently. He was to prevent quarrelling or bullying, and "all vulgar, profane or indecent discourse." The food had to be inspected to his satisfaction, and the health of the boys carefully attended to. He was responsible for seeing that suitable attention was paid to their "religious and moral improvement" by inspecting the school and supervising prayers. He was the ultimate fount of discipline, except for flagrant offences which he was to report to the committee. Persuasion rather than punishment was the method to be used in reforming the refractory.[7] A matron in charge of the Female School, performed a similar role as the figurehead of authority for the girls.[8]

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6. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 442.

7. Su.C.R.O. Acc.661/1/57, Royal Philanthropic Society, Report of Special Committee (on Finance and Establishment), 9 February 1827, No. I, Duties of the Superintendent.

8. ibid., No. VI, Duties of the Matron of the Female School.

The implementation of the moral curriculum of the Philanthropic Society depended on the power of the chaplain and schoolmaster. Through these individuals, traditional, paternal authority was made manifest. The chaplain possessed overall control over the curriculum and was expected to be present inside the institution on three days in the week to fulfil his supervisory role, which included ordering books from the S.P.C.K. - the works of Sarah Trimmer found their way into the establishment - and forming a library. He was probably responsible for introducing Bell's plan of education into the Philanthropic Society. The chaplain was to provide reports to the committee on the religious and moral progress of the inmates and recommend the transference of boys in the Reform to the Manufactory. His role as a teacher was as spiritual adviser rather than instructor in skills. Regularly he delivered a monthly lecture to the boys on their duties, and was to "convene with and admonish from time to time such as may have been guilty of misconduct, or may be remarkable for perverse or untoward dispositions". He was to visit those who were confined for bad behaviour to "endeavour to bring such to a proper sense of duty". Preparing boys for confirmation and providing the consolation of religion for the sick, were other tasks he had to perform. Those about to leave the institution were issued with advice and warning for their life in the outside world.[9] The chaplain was assisted by the schoolmaster. Primarily responsible for instructing the boys at the Manufactory in reading, writing and arithmetic, he had also to watch over their behaviour "using every means to promote good order and discipline."[10]

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9. ibid., No. II, The Chaplain; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/4, Minutes ... 1806-15, op. cit., 16 June 1809, 196; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/4/10, Royal Philanthropic Society, Superintendent's Journal, 1818-22, 3 February 1821; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/46, Royal Philanthropic Society, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1806-12, 9 May 1808; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Minutes ... 1793-96, op. cit., 20 March 1795, 374; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/3, Minutes ... 1799-1806, op. cit., 18 February 1803, 217 29 April 1803, 237, 8 July 1803, 254, 7 October 1803, 269, 9 December 1803, 286, 9 March 1804, 312.

10. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/57, Report of Special Committee ... 1827, op. cit., No. V, Duties of the Schoolmaster.

Given the Philanthropic Society's desire to create a new moral world inside its institution, it is not surprising that it was concerned that the officers should be of a good character as well as competent. In 1798 when the Society advertised for a matron, it required "steady Middle Aged Active Woman capable of instructing the Girls in sewing, reading and household work".[11] On the same date a master tailor was wanted of "good moral character and well versed in cutting out".[12] Concern was also expressed that the officers of the Society should adhere to its religious commitment, in that the superintendent, matron, chaplain and schoolmaster were required to be Anglicans.[13] However, despite these requirements, a proportion of the Society's employees failed to live up to its standards. In 1794, the cook was said to be wasteful and dirty, and she was dismissed as a result.[14] Four years later, the gateporter, though described as honest and civil, often got drunk: as a result, it was claimed, he was frequently insulted by the boys and his authority suffered. He too was removed from his post.[15] In 1800, the superintendent described the master workmen as "very remiss" in their attendance at prayers.[16] Furthermore, one of the journeymen was sacked in 1816 for causing one of the boys to get drunk on rum.[17] In 1817

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11. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/43, Royal Philanthropic Society, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1796-98, 12 February 1798, 11.

12. idem.

13. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/57, Report of Special Committee ... 1827, op. cit., No. I, Duties of the Superintendent, No. II, Duties of the Chaplain, No. VI, Duties of the Matron of the Female School.

14. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Minutes ... 1793-96, op. cit., 12 September 1794, 286.

15. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/44, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1798-1800, 12 March 1798, 19 March 1798.

16. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/45, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1800-1806, 24 November 1800.

17. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/47, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1813-1820, 26 August 1816.

the baker was described as conducting himself "in a vicious and savage manner to the Porter and Beadle",[18] and in 1824 the insobriety of the master bookbinder was said to have led to his neglect of the trade.[19] Possibly, an appreciation of the inadequacy of many of the employees was responsible for the committee's appointment of prefects in the establishment during 1832.[20] Six older boys "of the most exemplary conduct" were instructed to aid the officers.[21] In return for additional food and leave of absence, they were required to preserve order at mealtimes and watch over the conduct of the boys in church and during play.[22] They were also to prevent "any improper conduct among the Boys such as profane or indecent language, Card Playing, Gambling, Smoking, Drinking, Quarrelling, Fighting, etc."[23]

II

This section of the chapter concentrates upon the theory of learning subscribed to by the Philanthropic Society during its early years in the late eighteenth century. Basically, education was designed to promote the ability of the individual to adequately fulfil his or her station in life: "the attainments most advantageous to all men are those which enable them most successfully to encounter the troubles of life and pursue the enjoyments of their station."[24] Intellectually, this idea was justified by a utilitarian argument whereby the costs of "troubles" were counter-balanced by the benefits of "enjoyments", and "enjoyments" were synonymous

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18. ibid., 3 February 1817.

19. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/7, Minutes ... 1822-24, op. cit., 26 March 1824, 127.

20. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/50, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1832-1836, 24 December 1832, 34-37.

21. ibid., 35.

22. ibid., 35-37.

23. ibid., 35.

24. Second Report and Address of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), op. cit., 47.

with virtuous behaviour.[25] Sufferings, it was implied, were not alleviated by an alteration of the individual's social state, instead they could be relieved psychologically, only through the pursuit of virtue.

> Experience and observation will instruct us in what these troubles and enjoyments principally consist. The labour of our station, disappointments, hardships, injuries, ill-temper, ingratitude, oppression, affections - our own passions, - are the troubles we have to encounter.
>
> Competency in our station, love, friendship, confidence, the esteem of our neighbours, and a good conscience, are the enjoyments of life.
>
> Now if attention to the culture and government of the passions will enable men to encounter those troubles and pursue those enjoyments with the greatest success, it follows that the labour of education should be directed principally to that object, the due regulation of the passions ... it is the basis of the School of Morals, that the characters of men, in respect to moral sentiments, temper, and virtues, public and private, may be impressed by instruction and habit; and everyone knows, that, it is upon the moral character, and the virtues of their station, that man's esteem or discretion in the world, and their happiness or misery principally depend.[26]

This theory had considerable significance, implying that the individual could only accept his social condition and not alter it. Change could only originate in personal morality and not through the manipulation of society. Despite the different theoretical basis of the Philanthropic Society's education it aimed to promote an acceptance of the status quo in the same way as the Sunday school and school of Industry.

The education provided by the Philanthropic Society involved an attempt to reverse previously ingrained habits.

> Every child brought up in the resort of vicious and profligate people must almost inevitably imbibe the contagion of moral turpitude, and become an enemy to those laws on which the general good depends. Lying is the first lesson of their tongues, and theft the first exercise of their hands, every object they see is at war with decency, and every impression they receive is a vice.[27]

Achieving a reconstruction of character required two stages; firstly an eradication of any memory of the child's previous way of life:

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25. ibid., 48.

26. idem.

27. First Report of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), op. cit., 31.

> as the first lessons taught the children would be forgetfulness, and disuse of all they had hitherto learned and practised, their own habits and errors this early and successfully combated, would give very little obstruction to the design. They were as a blank, ready to receive any impressions or forms which were designed for it.[28]

Secondly a substitution of morality for profligacy would form the essence of pedagogy.

> They have ... lessons to unlearn, and dispositions to be rooted out. This can be done only by substituting positive virtues, in the place of vice rejected, by such a stray, vigorous, and systematic education in morals as we propose to bestow: without this the society would be instrumental in strengthening the sinews and extending the mischiefs of vice.[29]

The operative method in this instructive scheme was the use of sense impressions to create moral behaviour.

> In order to promote the occasion of virtue, the first and fundamental thing is to impress clear ideas of what emotions and feelings are virtuous, and particularly what are the virtues intended for them to learn, and what the contrary vices to shun.[30]

Inside the schoolroom a list of the virtues and vices were provided, "What they are to practice, and what to avoid."

| | |
|---|---|
| Industry | Idleness, |
| Speaking truth, | Lying, |
| Honesty, | Dishonesty, |
| Piety, | Impiety, |
| Obedience, | Disobedience, |
| Good temper, | Ill temper, |
| Kindness, | Cruelty, |
| Decent language, | Immoral language, |
| Gratitude, | Ingratitude, |
| Contentment. | Discontent.[31] |

These were the virtues designed to be necessary for life for all classes in society,[32] and presumably the vices for everyone to avoid, but according to the Philanthropic Society other virtues in addition would have been appropriate if the education had been provided for children in higher stations.

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28. Second Report and Address of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), op. cit., 22-23.

29. ibid., 61.

30. ibid., 55.

31. ibid., 55-56.

32. ibid., 56.

Short explanations were provided for each virtue and vice and the children were catechised upon what they had learnt, to test their understanding and ability to apply them to everyday life.[33] Through moral exercises the children were encouraged to reject temptation and pursue morality.[34] This approach was certainly a feature of education in the Hackney Reform. Unfortunately, however, little evidence survives in the Society's records relating to the curriculum during the nineteenth century, and it is difficult to say, as a result, whether this method of instruction continued at a later date. By 1802 in fact, the form of education inside the Philanthropic Society had been completely reorganized on a tripartite basis. As this date provides a hiatus in the Society's development, the kind of education which was developed after 1802 is examined separately. However, before this aspect is analysed it is necessary to look at the Philanthropic Society's early approach to labour and discipline.

From the inception of the Society's instruction, children were allocated to perform specific tasks of work. This was different from their virtuous instruction, but was an aspect of the Philanthropic Society's attempt to create a dual educational experience of industry and morality. This attempt to encourage children to work had two aims. Firstly,

> to cause the children eventually to provide for themselves whatever they use or enjoy that they may be independent of foreign supplies, and learn to trust to their own labour and care.[35]

Secondly, it also operated to enable children to support the work of the Society by their own efforts.[36] The Society's wards, in fact, were placed apprentices within the establishment to provide for the effective implementation of these aims. If they were apprenticed to masters outside the establishment during their adolescence it was believed that they were

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33. idem.

34. ibid., 57.

35. ibid., 67.

36. idem.

more likely to fall victim to vice.[37] In fact, they were retained by the Society until the age of twenty-one. When they reached adulthood, it was alleged, they would be mature and sufficiently skilled to obtain employment: "Persons educated to habits of honest industry supplied with employment, and receiving the wages of their labour, seldom are found among the profligate poor."[38] By 1796 the eighty boys in the establishment were allocated to the following occupations: thirty-four with the shoemaker, twenty in the ropewalk, ten with the tailor, six in the printing office, three with the cook, two at the gate, one with the steward, and four were too young for employment.[39] It appears, if figures for the later date of 1800 are taken, that the apprentices were able to contribute to the running expenses of the Society. (Table 26)

Table 26. (i) Earnings of apprentices and financial gains to the Philanthropic Society over a seven year period.[40]

| Trade | Total Earnings £ | s. | Costs £ | Clear gains £ | s. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shoemaker | 184 | 4 | 175 | 9 | 4 |
| Tailor | 215 | 6 | 175 | 40 | 6 |
| Ropespinner | 209 | 6 | 175 | 34 | 6 |
| Printer | 344 | 10 | 175 | 169 | 10 |

(ii) Profits of each trade in 1800.

| Trade | Profit £ | Number of boys employed* |
|---|---|---|
| Shoemaker | 172 | 20 |
| Tailor | 108 | 6 |
| Ropemaker | 444 | 10 |
| Printer | 478 | 3 |
| Copper-plate Printer | 17 | 3 |
| Bookbinder | 28 | 2 |
| | 1,247 | |
| Deduction of costs on errand porter and loss on goods | 36 | |
| | 1,211 | |

*Other boys were associated with most of these trades but their contribution to work done was often minimal.

37. Philanthropic Society, Report list of subscribers to 15 January 1790 ... (1790), op. cit., 4.

38. idem.

39. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/2, Minutes ... 1796-99, op. cit., Report of the Special Committee appointed to examine the state of the Philanthropic Society, 20.

40. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/3, Minutes ... 1799-1806, op. cit., Report of a special sub-committee to enquire into all matters relative to the Trades, 93.

III

As the theoretical position behind the Society's methods of discipline were developed before 1802, it is appropriate to discuss this aspect of the Philanthropic Society before the tripartite system of education is examined. Rewards and punishments were provided to encourage the children to absorb the messages which the Society transmitted, but considerable care had to be taken concerning their presentation and content. For example, in the case of rewards:

> The sugar plum may be grateful to the palate; but it is doubly so when given with a smiling face as a testimony of approbation. This latter impression will remain when the flavour of the sweetmeat is gone.[41]

The aim was to provide a lasting effect, therefore rewards in the form of possessions were preferred above monetary payments.

> Badges, or distinctions in dress, calculated to please the eye, are, in common, to be preferred before money, or any thing which is soon consumed, because their effect is more lasting. The rewards which hitherto have been bestowed upon the children of the Reform have been such, that they could be valuable as tokens of good behaviour. They consider them as treasure; they have been known to prefer them before money, and they always carefully reckon up and compare the number each possesses.[42]

A detailed record was kept of each child's progress in virtue.[43] This was not simply a reflection of the Society's careful management techniques; in itself it acted as a means of instruction. The inmates were made aware that their moral activities were recorded. This acted as an inducement to virtue and discouragement to vice:

> This record gives to their actions a sort of perpetuity, the idea of which operates with wonderful force as an incentive to a laudable and a preventative of an improper conduct. Those who would despise a flogging are kept in awe by the Black Book, (as the calendar of faults is named); and this simple means has already produced an astonishing effect in the manners of these children, and almost removed every trace of their former evil propensities.[44]

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41. Second eport and Address of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), 52.

42. idem.

43. idem.

44. ibid., 52-53.

If this was not sufficient a weekly ceremony characterized by the marriage of authority and ritual acted to drive home the importance of the moral balance sheet. The key figure in this activity was the "Regulator",[45] who was judge, master and teacher. It is not without significance that he performed on the Sabbath; images of religion allied with the manipulation of power revealed this ceremony as the climactic moment of the Philanthropic Society's attempt to inculcate virtue and eradicate vice.

> Every Sunday evening, between the hours of six and eight, the School of Morals is opened; in this school an officer called the Regulator, presides. He explains to the children the nature of faults and virtues, as they tend to their happiness or misery, in a simple manner and with familiar exemplification, suited to their capacities. He then distributes rewards and punishments.
>
> These consist chiefly in tokens of honour or disgrace. Those against whom no fault worthy of notice are alleged for the preceeding week, have a ticket expressive, generally, of good behaviour .... Those who are found guilty of slight faults only, are punished merely with the deprivation of one or more tickets. Faults of a more serious kind, or frequent repetition of higher faults, are noticed by badges of disgrace which are to be worn till a certain term of good behaviour shall purchase their removal. Chastisement is as rarely bestowed as possible, and is performed with solemnity in public. Every transaction, either of reward or punishment, of these weekly schools is registered.[46]

This material is taken from the Society's published records, which were designed to portray its education as effective. The fact that considerable discontent existed in the institution implies that the reports exaggerated the Society's impact. No evidence exists to suggest that this ceremony continued on the Society's removal to St. George's Fields, and it is unlikely that the superintendent performed a similar activity in dispensing rewards in the Manufactory. It is important to note that changes did take place in the kinds of rewards offered to the children even before the emergence of the tripartite system in 1802. In 1796 the committee permitted perishable items to be provided as expressions of the organization's approbation. To encourage boys who had or might "conduct themselves with the regularity and decency expected by the orders and regulations", rewards "either in Articles of Play, as Batts, Balls, Tops, etc.

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45. ibid., 53.

46. ibid., 53-54.

or good wholesome Fruit of the season" were issued.[47] By November 1797 monetary rewards were allowed. Each boy engaged in work was permitted to have a portion of his gains paid into an account, but if he used the money for "gaming or other misconduct" then it was to be withdrawn.[48] Financial inducements remained a feature of the Philanthropic Society's education into the nineteenth century. Whether this marked a new indulgence on behalf of the committee or a realization that existing methods were ineffective in arousing change is not described.

In fact the indiscipline suffered by the Philanthropic Society casts some doubt on the claims made in its printed sources that the institution was effective in recreating the characters of its children. The establishment throughout its history was subject to close control, children were rarely allowed outside its walls, and the emotional tension which probably existed inside this environment does not make it surprising that disorder and disobedience were continually expressed. As well as perpetual attempts at absconding, "crimes" such as stealing, drinking liquour, gambling, saucy language and injuring other boys were constant activities of the male population of the institution.[49] Confinement and persuasion were the usual methods attempted to redress the balance,[50] but punishments were occasionally brutal including the use of the cat o'nine tails, although this was criticized by the chaplain, and flogging.[51] On one occasion in 1800 a boy who stole from the Society's porter was ordered to be,

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47. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/43, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1796-98, op. cit., 18 July 1796.

48. ibid., 13 November 1797.

49. See for example, Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/4/1, Superintendent's Journal 1793-94, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15 and 20 January 1793.

50. These methods of punishment are contained in Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/4/1 to Acc.661/4/14, Superintendent's Journals 1793-94 to 1832-36.

51. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/4/2, Superintendent's Journal 1794-95, 17 May 1794. For an example of flogging see First Report of the Philanthropic Society ... (1790), 56.

> publicly and severely flogged round the inside of the Reform, in the presence of all the Boys, with a label on his Forehead with the word "Thief" inscribed thereon his master attending and directing the punishment.[52]

Events such as this are rare, and methods of maintaining discipline inside the Philanthropic Society probably compare favourably with the situation in grammar and public schools at the time. But persuasion and the infliction of physical pain were not enough. Expulsion remained the most important way of dealing with hardened cases; refractory boys were usually sent to sea.[53] For the boys in the Manufactory, fines which reduced the amount permitted against their earnings were used to encourage their adherence to the Society's rules. A scale of fines contained in the superintendent's journal for 1830-1832 shows that the Society was concerned with abscondings, boys exceeding their hours of leave, lateness or absence at prayers, drunkenness, smoking, and breaking windows and tools.[54] A sophisticated system of discipline had not prevented a disregard of the Society's precepts.

## IV

In 1802 education in the Philanthropic Society was reorganized on a tripartite basis. Criminals were separated from other boys. The former were placed in a segregated part of the establishment, called the Reform, until at the chaplain's discretion, they were removed to the Manufactory.[55] The Boys contained by the Reform numbered a dozen aged between eight and twelve years; they were subjected to an intensive period of instruction

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52. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/3, Minutes ... 1799-1806, op. cit., 4 April 1800, 31.

53. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/2, Minutes ... 1796-99, op. cit., 8 April 1796, 17-18.

54. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/43, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1796-98, op. cit., 1 September 1817; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/4/13, Superintendent's Journal, 1830-32, Printed sheets pasted onto the front cover of the journal.

55. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/3, Minutes ... 1799-1806, op. cit., 13 March 1801, 96, 13 August 1802, 187.

to inculcate character traits appropriate to apprenticeship in the Manufactory.[56] The Reform was the only part of the Philanthropic Society which ruthlessly followed the intensive programme of work and religion advocated in the Society's early reports. The irreligious and immoral habits imbibed by the delinquents during their previous existence was the justification for the instruction provided. They were those:

> who have been brought before the Society for their offences having, in most cases, been taught nothing before but what was wrong, and were grossly ignorant on the subject of religion. Many have appeared before the Committee who had not learned the Creed, or the Lord's Prayer, who had never been in a Church, or heard the name of God, mentioned, except in an oath.[57]

The boys were set to work for nine to ten hours a day.[58] Initially engaged in oakum picking, by 1829 they were mending the clothes and shoes of the whole institution.[59] On no occasion were they permitted to leave the grounds of the establishment, and throughout their quarantine, they were subject to constant control under the superintendent; the boys were "never left to themselves from the time they get up till they go to bed at night, and the master's assistant sleeps in the same room."[60] If they misbehaved they were not physically punished but confined in solitude, or provided with a diet of bread and water.[61] Such a system was probably designed to have the effect of associating work with comfort, and bad behaviour with deprivation. Corporal punishment would have reduced the possibility of the child's achieving a rational understanding of the causes

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56. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with Minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 444; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1804), op. cit., 12.

57. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1829), 11.

58. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with Minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 444.

59. ibid., 443; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1804), 12; Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1829), 11.

60. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with Minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 444.

61. idem.

of his punishment. The children in the Reform were "sedulously instructed in the principles of religion and morality" by the schoolmaster.[61] Their achievement was assessed by their ability to read the Bible and say the catechism.[62] If their abilities corresponded with their moral behaviour, they were transferred to the Manufactory.[63]

The Manufactory, as the name implied, contained workshops for carrying on various trades. It had been the basic institution of the Philanthropic Society since its inception, but after 1802 it received non-criminal boys and the remodelled juvenile delinquents who had spent one or two years in the Reform. The structure of the schoolday defined the limits of experience of the boys. Order, regulation and work, especially the latter, dominated the waking hours of this establishment's inmates. Work was for nine or ten hours per day, the same as for apprentices outside.[64] Regulations established in 1802 provided the following schedule for six days in the week.

> Boys to rise at 6 - Prayer - work till 9 - Breakfast - first lesson for the Day to be read at 10 - work to till 6 - supper at 7 - Prayers at ½ past 7 in bed at 8.[65]

On Sundays the regimen was different, work was prohibited but religious instruction took its place:

> Rise at 7 o'clock - Prayer - Breakfast at 8 - Morning Service by the Chaplain or Master at 9 without a service - the Master to read a discourse to them at 12 - Dinner at one - Evening Service by the Chaplain or Master at 3 - Boys to read to the Master at ½ past 4 - Supper at 6 - Prayers at ½ past 7 - in bed at 8 - the Chaplain to perform either Morning or Evening Service in Person at his option.[66]

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62. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/3, Minutes ... 1799-1806, 18 February 1803, 217, 29 April 1803, 237.

63. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1804), op. cit., 13.

64. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/43, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1796-98, op. cit., 5 June 1797.

65. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/3, Minutes ... 1799-1806, 13 August 1802, 186.

66. idem.

Increasingly as the nineteenth century moved on, instruction in skills formed a greater part of the Society's education. In 1808 boys in the Manufactory between the ages of nine and eleven received instruction on weekdays in reading, writing and arithmetic.[67] Ten years later elder boys were required to attend an evening school "on account of a great deficiency in their knowledge of Reading etc."[68] The reasons why the Philanthropic Society felt that these forms of rational knowledge were important was not stated, increasingly however, the demands for commercial skills and mathematical literacy were required in workmen and the Society was probably reflecting a national economic change. Within the structure of the day inside the establishment, time was allowed for play and relaxation around meal times.[69] Probably ball games formed a part of this activity, as rewards distributed included items such as bats and balls. Occasional holidays were allowed, and leave of absence permitted, the former however being subject to close supervision by an officer of the Society, if they took place outside the walls of the establishment.[70] Nevertheless leave provided an alternative focus of experience for the children, which was different from the instruction and work which formed the greater part of their waking lives.

The education provided within the Manufactory revealed several tendencies of the Philanthropic Society. Firstly, the use of apprenticeship as the means of encouraging industry and self-reliance expressed the Society's adherence to traditional modes of instruction. Very little is

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67. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/4, Minutes ... 1800-1806, 5 February 1808, 96.

68. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/47, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1813-1820, 6 April 1818.

69. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/43, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1796-98, op. cit., 5 June 1797.

70. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Minutes ... 1793-96, op. cit., 13 June 1794, 251, 12 December 1794, 319; Acc.661/1/43, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1796-98, op. cit., 12 September 1796, 3 October 1796, 18 December 1797; Acc.661/1/44, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1798-1800, op. cit., 19 August 1799, 9 September 1799.

known about apprenticeship in the early nineteenth century, but it was probably in decline as a mode of instruction in several trades, a point which the Society was forced to recognize in the 1840s when it found difficulty in placing its wards in suitable occupations. Regrettably, little information survives in the Society's records describing how apprenticeship operated inside the Manufactory. The relationship between a master-workman and a boy resembled the patriarchal forms of production and cultural transmission favoured by traditionalists rather than the instrument of factory production normally associated with the doctrine of political economy. Until the Society moved to Redhill, however, apprenticeship remained the main work-experience of the boys in the Manufactory. By 1829 printing, copper-plate printing, book-binding, shoemaking, tailors work, ropemaking and twine spinning provided their means of employment and training.[71]

Secondly, the use made of the work on which the boys were employed, revealed the determination of the Philanthropic Society to operate as a business enterprise. The products of the apprentice were designed to be sold to enable the Society's expenses to be met.[72] The quality of the work was not always high. The use of young boys for instance, in the shoemaking trade meant that shoes sold were often returned, and the Society was forced to employ a foreman and journeymen, as well as the master workman to finish the work before it was sold.[73] Nevertheless the Committee on the Police of the Metropolis in 1817 congratulated the Philanthropic Society on the

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71. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1829), op. cit., 11.

72. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 441, 447; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/3, Minutes ... 1799-1806, op. cit., Report of Special sub-committee to enquire into all matters relating to the trades now carried on within the Reform, 92-93.

73. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/2, Minutes ... 1796-99, op. cit., 29 November 1799, 543; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/44, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1798-1800, op. cit., 2 December 1799; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/46, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1806-1812, op. cit., Report of sub-committee to look into the state of the trade of shoemaking in the Manufactory; Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 446.

high quality of printing its boys produced.[74] Products were sold to charities, where the quality of clothing and shoes for instance, was not necessarily required to be of the highest standard, and private individuals.[75] Thomas Russell, claimed in 1817 that each boy could produce as much profit from his labour as any apprentice normally employed in the outside world.[76]

Thirdly, each boy was allowed to retain a portion of his profit. This marked a reversal of the earlier policy of the Philanthropic Society not to encourage financial rewards. This change in policy could be explained by the fact that it expressed the Society's determination to encourage feelings of "mutual advantage", that arose from the economic relationship between master and servant. Alternatively it could be interpreted as a means of encouraging the virtues of thrift and economic self-reliance. The master received the labour of the worker, whilst the latter obtained a wage. More likely it reflected the Society's failure to obtain a commitment to its precepts unless it offered financial inducements to the boys. Proportions allowed to each apprentice varied considerably depending upon the amount of profit he made and his behaviour at work. He was allowed to retain some for immediate gratification, which he could presumably spend during leave of absence, but most was laid aside to accumulate against an amount which he would receive when he left the Society. Thomas Russell reported, that it was not uncommon for a boy to take forty pounds with him when he was released, although most received considerably less.[77]

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74. ibid., 12 May 1817, 447.

75. idem., Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/44, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1798-1800, op. cit., 26 August 1799, 18 August 1800, 15 September 1800.

76. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 445-446.

77. ibid., 446.

The type of education provided for girls reflected the restricted role women were expected to perform in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Economically men were dominant, expected to earn money for the family and directing its conduct and values. It is therefore not surprising that the boys in the Philanthropic Society were trained to be economically self-sufficient and received constant moral exhortations from the chaplain. Women on the other hand were not required to act independently, their role being constrained by the home and family. In London the temptation of prostitution for the girl without means of support was great, and the safest ways of avoiding this fate was employment in domestic service. This would also provide an efficient means of training in the crafts necessary for a future wife and mother. Girls in the Female School were therefore trained to be menial servants. This was achieved by employing them as domestics for the rest of the establishment. In 1796 they were described as being fully employed,

> in making and mending their own Gowns and all their own linen; and that of the Boys, washing the same; the stockings, sheets and House linen and keeping the House clean ...[78]

From 1797 they were instructed in spinning worsted and knitting stockings, which would have enabled a future housewife to supplement the family income under the domestic system of production.[79] By 1817 this activity appeared to have disappeared. Possibly it failed to make a profit as factory production eradicated cottage industries throughout the kingdom. By this date however, some girls were employed on fine needlework, which enabled them to contribute to the Society's financial support.[80]

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78. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/2, Minutes ... 1796-99, op. cit., Report of the Committee appointed to examine the state of the Philanthropic Society, 8 April 1796, 19. See also, Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1799), op. cit., 6.

79. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/43, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1796-98, op. cit., 20 March 1797.

80. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 445.

V

The Philanthropic Society did not operate as a relief agency. The quality of life inside the establishment obviously exceeded the food and shelter which a child would have received in the rookeries or streets of London, yet the way in which clothing, medical care or food were supplied, partly expressed the social ideals of the Society. Provided as part of an environment where they worked for their self-support, the children were encouraged to believe that these necessities had to be worked for. No evidence exists of children being denied food or medical care if they needed it, but their provision should be understood as part of the network of industry and morality which the Society created. Food in fact, was sometimes treated as a form of reward. Boys who earned more than a certain sum of money during the week were allowed additional meat at meals.[81] The same indulgence was given to girls who were employed in washing up.[82] Normally meat was supplied on four days in the week only.[83]

The aim of the Philanthropic Society was to produce workmen and domestic servants dedicated to the pursuit of industry in order to achieve a living. This doctrine was finally applied when the inmates were placed in situations outside the institution at the age of twenty-one for boys and sixteen or seventeen for girls.[84] Theoretically this practice was influenced by the feeling that the metropolis was a potential source of moral destruction and a report of 1796 recommended that boys and girls should be employed if possible away from the city. Situations away from London were safer because they involved a removal from "temptations incident

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81. ibid., 443-444; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/2, Minutes ... 1796-99, op. cit., 24 August 1797, 236.

82. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 444.

83. ibid., 443.

84. ibid., 445; Report from the Select Committee on the Police of the Metropolis with minutes of evidence and Appendix 1828 (533), VI, 26 March 1828, 163.

in towns."[85] When the Society advertised for masters to take their apprentices it proposed to "give a preference to masters who reside at some distance from London".[86] The Society's records provide little information on the ultimate destination of its wards, but few masters or mistresses, in the case of domestic servants, appeared to have employed the inmates at residences away from the metropolis.[87] To ensure that its former inmates performed successfully in the outside world, the Society retained a paternal care over their behaviour for several years. In 1797 the committee requested members of the Society "to accept the office of Guardian" over former wards who resided in their neighbourhood and "from time to time call upon them and admonish them when necessary and also report on their conduct."[88] Additionally, gratuities were provided to boys and girls upon their successful completion of one, two and sometimes three years of labour.[89] Some difficulties were found in placing the boys with suitable tradesmen. Masters were offered financial inducements to take them for a short period upon trial.[90] Particular problems were found in the 1790s in placing the apprentice tailors, although no reasons are given for this situation.[91] But according to Thomas Russell in 1817 no

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85. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/2, Minutes ... 1796-99, op. cit., Report of the Committee appointed to examine the state of the Philanthropic Society, 18-19.

86. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/43, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1796-98, 1 August 1796.

87. See for example the destinations of girls which are mentioned in Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/4/21, Royal Philanthropic Society, Matron's Journal 1829-36, 27 June 1831, 67, 17 May 1832, 99, 29 January 1833, 104, 1 April 1833, 111, 9 May 1833, 115, 26 June 1833, 120, 19 December 1833, 136.

88. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/30, Royal Philanthropic Society, Minutes of General Court and Committee (Fair copies), 1796-98, 4 August 1797, 44.

89. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 445.

90. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/43, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance 1796-98, 1 August 1796, and description at the back of the minute book describing proposals and conditions of agreement with Master Tradesmen.

91. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Minutes ... 1794-95, op. cit., 27 March 1795, 378.

great difficulty was found in allocating the girls to places as domestic servants.[92] It was left to a report in 1840 to investigate this aspect of the Society's policy. Its findings are discussed below.

VI

Authority, instruction in morality and industry, rewards and punishments, and the provision of food, clothing, medical care and jobs form some aspects of the Society's principles and practice. However a separate culture existed amongst the children and adolescents contained by the Society's institution. Its expression revealed that the inmates were not as successfully imbued with the Society's ideals as the quotation describing the behaviour of the children at the Anniversary dinner in 1793 implied. It is impossible to say how many children rejected the instruction and discipline issued by the Society's officers, or indeed how many accepted, or were moulded by it, but a significant number of children questioned or opposed the Society's policies at particular times. Protest by the juvenile inmates took various forms and had different meanings from time to time. Abscondings reflected a dislike or hatred of the Society's control and a desire to escape from its clutches, whereas petitions implied a measure of acceptance but a desire to see changes implemented. Various r uses and strategems were adopted to exploit the Society's personnel and resources, or to circumnavigate restrictions which the inmates rejected. The existence of these activities from the Society's beginning revealed that some children were not being successfully socialized by the Philanthropic Society's attempt at character reconstruction. The experience of what the exponents of the Society's activity liked to describe as idleness or depravity was too deeply ingrained for the rigorous

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92. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis 1817 (484), 2nd report with minutes of evidence, op. cit., 12 May 1817, 445.

environment provided by the organization. Yet the Society refused to recognize this as a problem until the 1840s. The optimistic ideology of the upper and middle classes dedicated to a system where science was expected to achieve the same results in social policy as it had achieved in the investigation of the natural world, prevented them from perceiving some of the problems of their own institution.

Written or verbal petitions were presented by the inmates of the establishment during the Society's history. In 1794, boys protested against the wearing of badges.[93] In 1794 and 1797, they petitioned to improve the quality of food.[94] Some of the girls expressed a wish to be taught writing in 1796.[95] A year later elder boys were permitted to go to bed later than younger boys.[96] In 1829, boys asked that visiting clergymen, giving sermons, should not make allusions to their previous criminal habits,[97] and three years afterwards, attempts were made to have the beadle removed from his post.[98] Not all of these petitions were rejected, but it is difficult to discover the reasons governing the decisions of the committee or superintendent to accept or oppose their provisions.

More serious incidents, from the standpoint of the Society's authorities, were the collective revolts and abscondings. In 1807,

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93. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/1, Minutes ... 1793-96, op. cit., 13 August 1794, 274.

94. ibid., 5 December 1794, 313-314; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/43, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1796-98, 22 May 1797.

95. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/30, Minutes of General Court and Committee (Fair copies), 1796-98, op. cit., 18 November 1796, 19.

96. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/43, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Faince, 1796-98, op. cit., 22 May 1797.

97. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/9, Minutes ... 1826-29, 20 November 1829, 308.

98. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/49, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1825-32, 6 February 1832, 442-443, 13 February 1832, 444.

several of the boys rejected their food in an attempt to get the Society to alter its policy over diet, and they continued to do so the next day, before this act of indiscipline was quelled.[99] During 1815, 1825, and 1830, there were events which involved assaults upon the Society's officers, which culminated in 1833, when the watchman and beadle were physically attacked by gangs of boys.[100] These incidents were treated as acts of insubordination by the superintendent, but they may have been motivated by grievances which the boys possessed. However the records do not enable any light to be thrown upon this aspect. In addition, collective and individual abscondings were continual problems for the Society's officers, by 1796, fifty-one boys and five girls had absconded from the institution.[101] In 1817, there were two mass outbreaks by girls, involving thirteen and seventeen individuals respectively.[102] These incidents led to a measure of liberalization in the Matron's control of the Female School, and were also instrumental in ending the reception of criminal girls into the Society's institution.[103] Abscondings remained a permanent feature of the Society's history however, and boys especially, continually left the establishment without permission, although many eventually came back. Several times the walls of the institution were raised to prevent absconding, and fines were imposed upon apprentices who escaped from the establishment, but who later returned.[104]

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99. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/4/6, Superintendent's Journal, 1804-07, 11 February 1807.

100. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/4/9, Superintendent's Journal, 1813-17, 14 August 1815; Acc.661/4/11, Superintendent's Journal, 1822-26, 21 March 1825; Acc.661/4/13, Superintendent's Journal, 1830-32, 27 July 1830; Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/50, Minutes of Sub-Committee Trade and Finance, 1832-36, 25 March 1833, 60-61.

101. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/2, Minutes ... 1796-99, op. cit., 8 April 1796, 17-19.

102. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/5, Minutes ... 1816-20, op. cit., 9 May 1817, 73; 2 September 1817, 98-99.

103. ibid., 16 May 1817, 75, 5 September 1817, 93, 12 September 1817, 98-99.

104. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/4, Minutes ... 1806-1815, op. cit., 21 September 1810, 288; Acc.661/1/10, Minutes ... 1830-32, op. cit., 17 June 1831, 149.

Inside the Philanthropic Society there were attempts to subvert the doctrines and policies of the institution. Although the building in St. George's Fields catered for both boys and girls, they were not allowed to mix. It is not surprising, therefore, that adolescents of both sexes made attempts to communicate. In 1816, four boys who had concealed themselves underneath the chapel "for the purpose of making improper communication with the girls of the Female School" were "smartly chastised".[105] Difficulties also existed in the Society's attempts to prevent relationships between the older apprentices and young female servants. For example, in 1815 the following incident occurred. According to the superintendent's account, one evening the beadle informed him,

> that Edward Cawley, one of the elder Boys was missing from his Room. The Superintendent having some Reason to suspect that this lad might be concealed in his own House ... found Edward Cawley about to pass the night in the Room of the Maid Servant.[106]

The maid was discharged and the boy placed in confinement.[107] On occasion, boys exploited the Society's resources to make money for themselves. In 1816, a boy "of very bad Principles" used a printing machine belonging to the Society for taking off "some impressions of a very obscene Print for some person unknown."[108] In 1833, alarm was expressed in the Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Trade and Finance, that "certain irregularities" such as gambling and smoking had occurred in the privy among the elder boys.[109] As a matter of urgency, it was ordered that a new privy be constructed solely for the younger boys.[110] This was presumably, to prevent the latter being corrupted by the former. In fact this incident revealed that a new problem had been perceived by the Philanthropic Society's managers: how to

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105. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/4/9, Superintendent's Journal, 1813-17, 26 July 1816.

106. ibid., 9 June 1815.

107. idem.

108. ibid., 1 October 1816.

109. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/50, Superintendent's Journal, 1832-36, 22 April 1833, 66-67.

110. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/11, Minutes ... 1832-33, 26 April 1833, 108.

deal with the dangerous period of adolescence. Not only, then, was the external environment of urban society deemed to be potentially corrupting, but subversive moral influences were present inside the establishment as well. Contact between younger and older boys was conceived as leading to the possible perversion of the former.

VII

The final section of the chapter concentrates upon the impact of the Philanthropic Society upon those it intended to instruct. Up until the 1840s, the writers of reports and minutes seem to have been convinced of the Society's success. They took pride in describing the response of former inmates towards the good education they had received. In 1796 four young men who were presented at the Society's anniversary,

> to a very numerous and respectable assembly, regenerated in their morals, compleat masters of their business are now gone forth into the world with characters and abilities to acquire their future support and add useful members to society.[111]

Richard Collyer the superintendent in 1828 noted that very few of the Society's former inmates had followed their parents into vice. He reported that he knew of only three or four individuals who became convicted felons from about 1,100 who had been through the establishment.[112] Collyer admitted however, that his evidence was not based upon a thorough investigation of every case.[113] A report delivered to the Society in 1840 nevertheless, examined the Society's effects more thoroughly and provided an indictment of its lack of success. The Committee was brought irresistibly to the conclusion:

> that the Apprentices are not benefitted by being bound to Masters within the walls, and being kept in the Institution till their

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111. Account ... of the Philanthropic Society ... (1797), 9.

112. Report from the Select Committee on the Police of the Metropolis with minutes of evidence ... 1828 (533) VI, op. cit., 26 March 1828, 164.

113. idem.

> Apprenticeship is completed. They are not well prepared for the world, and for the business of after life, either as workmen, or as Moral and Religious Men.[114]

The report asserted that they were not as competently instructed as apprentices outside and were unable to compete with them for jobs in "times of pressure and difficulty".[115] This evil it continued, could not be remedied.[116] Part of the cause lay in the master workmen and their journeymen who had "not the same interest in teaching and disciplining the Apprentices as other Masters out of doors have".[117] When they left the institution the boys had no contacts; they were "utterly without connection; and no one feels any interest in, or is under any obligation towards them" to enable their establishment in trades.[118] In addition they had little experience of the world outside the Philanthropic Society and were less able to look after themselves than other apprentices.[119] Many were forced to follow trades for which they had not been trained.[120] The institution itself, moreover, provided an inadequate environment for future life.

> The restraint also of an establishment surrounded with walls upon Young Men till the age of 21, gives it the character of a Prison, and renders it irksome and almost insupportable to them. This produces discontent among the Apprentices; and this discontent extends itself to the younger boys among whom from the age of 15-17, the chief symptoms of insubordination are manifest.[121]

It was impossible to control the older apprentices as strictly as the younger boys. This created "a degree of licence, and occasions a want of discipline" which was communicated to younger inmates.

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114. Su.C.R.O., Acc.661/1/14, Minutes ... 1840-41, Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the state and finance of the Society, and into any matters in which the Society may seem to them capable of improvement, 8.

115. ibid., 8-9.

116. ibid., 9.

117. idem.

118. idem.

119. idem.

120. idem.

121. idem.

> There is reason to believe, that as the boys grow older, and ascend from each class to the next class higher, they at present become only more unprincipled, and more intimately acquainted with Vice. The older Apprentices altogether exercise a baneful influence upon the younger children.[122]

Upon the whole, the report concluded where two or three apprentices were bound to a respectable master outside the walls of the establishment, they would have "an advantage both in skills and moral training over the young men brought up and retained till 21 within the walls of this Institution."[123] The report provided some statistical evidence to support its claims. Few had achieved the status of master tradesman. Out of 178 cases investigated, 146 followed their respective trades, 19 only were master tradesmen, and 127 were journeymen only.[124] Of the remainder, 18 were unable to gain their livelihood "from incapacity", 8 were in the army and 6 were transported.[125] Girls however, had fared more successfully.[126] The majority, the report discovered had "turned out well",[127] presumably they were employed as domestic servants or had married.

These opinions were not only those of the committee members who had reported upon the state of the Society. They were supported by the testimony of the officers and former inmates. The superintendent bemoaned the lack of instruction provided for the older boys and their predilection for "using indecent language".[128] The beadle concurred with these assertions, and noted that the boys were "quite lost" when they left the institution; they were "turned out of their shops because they cannot do their work."[129] The warehousemen reported that owing to competition the contracts the

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122. ibid., 9-10.

123. ibid., 10.

124. ibid., 29.

125. idem.

126. ibid., 10.

127. ibid., 29.

128. ibid., 27.

129. ibid., 27-28.

Society received were for goods of poor quality, as a result the boys were not given "an adequate preparation" for their future jobs.[130] Several men who were brought up in the institution agreed. G.W. who had left the Philanthropic Society in 1811 reported that apprentices were "not taught to work well enough". He himself had lost four years before he knew enough to practice the trade of tailor.[131] Another reported that he had to be supported by his father to give him time to learn his trade before he could get work.[132] This opportunity was hardly available to most of the Society's boys from vagrant or criminal environments. Other former apprentices noted that the discipline inside the establishment was lax towards the end of their time, this had the effect of causing older boys to "unlearn much of the submission and education they have previously acquired."[133] All the individuals quoted in the report, who had been brought up by the Society, agreed that they would have been better prepared for their future occupations if they had been apprenticed outside.[134] These considerations encouraged the writers of the report to recommend that in future the Society should cease to train boys after the ages of fourteen to sixteen.[135] Thereafter they should be apprenticed to masters outside the walls: "four years Industrial Education, and Moral and Religious discipline, will be amply sufficient to prepare the youth in the best means before they go out as Apprentices."[136] By 1845 this recommendation had been applied; in addition the Society no longer

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130. ibid., 28.

131. ibid., 29.

132. ibid., 30.

133. ibid., 30-31.

134. ibid., 29-31.

135. ibid., 10.

136. ibid., 11.

accepted girls or the offspring of criminals inside its establishment.[137]

The Philanthropic Society attempted to develop hard work and morality in the children received into its institution. By its own admission it had been unsuccessful in providing adequate training for life in the outside world, although it may have had some success in reforming young criminals. Whether it had created an acceptance of these values is not possible to assess. Yet its history does reveal a considerable gap between its theory and practice of education. It had provided a theoretical framework allegedly constructed upon scientific principles, large amounts of financial aid and an environment which aimed at total human reconstruction. If this institution lacked the success it had originally claimed for itself, it is unlikely that lesser agencies such as the Sunday school and school of industry, were able to inoculate their scholars against the vices which they attacked in the outside world. The Philanthropic Society had tried to protect children from corruption, instead it had inadequately prepared them for adult life. It attempted to protect juveniles from social change, but it had made them instead victims of their social environment.

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137. Sketch of the Principles and Working of the Philanthropic Society (1872), op. cit., 13.

# Chapter 11

## Conclusion

Finally, this chapter attempts to sum up the arguments presented in the thesis, and to pinpoint several relevant considerations.

### I

This study claims that the schools which originated in the 1780s gave a new direction to English education. Between these years and the 1830s, the idea of mass schooling developed and was given form in the establishment of numerous institutions which attempted to instruct all children of the labouring poor. Although several different types of school were formed in this period - the monitorial establishments being the most famous - this thesis, in fact, focusses upon three. The Sunday school was the most significant, being rapidly established in town and country during the decades after Raikes' experiments in Gloucester in 1780. It concentrated upon teaching religious education and the virtues necessary for maintaining social harmony. The school of industry was promoted less extensively, but it attempted to supplement the moral and spiritual instruction of the Sunday school, with a programme of family reconstruction and training in the skills and habits required for work. The institutions of the Philanthropic Society were designed to remodel a small group of vagrant, criminal and potentially delinquent children in the metropolis, so that they could return to society with their characters transformed after a period of education.

The messages which these establishments promoted were not completely new. The charity school of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was the most obvious antecedent. Its aim, to instil "moral and religious discipline and social subordination"[1] in the minds of the

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1. Lawson and Silver, op. cit., 184.

infant poor, was not far removed from the objectives of the institutions examined in this thesis. Moreover, each of these schools had predecessors. The catechism classes of the Anglican priest or non-conformist pastor were prototypes of the Sunday school. The school of industry, although not given form until the 1780s, developed in part from the ideas of John Locke and John Bellers in the late seventeenth century, and the working schools of the eighteenth century. The Philanthropic Society was a more original institution, but it had its precursors in the Marine Society and Magdalen Hospital.

The novelty of these institutions lay in the context in which they were generated. In essence they aimed to promote social reconstruction. They were created and used by conservative English men and women in the upper and middle classes to preserve the form and content of traditional society. Individuals like Sarah Trimmer, Hannah More, R. A. Ingram and Patrick Colquhoun were aware that England was experiencing rapid social dislocation. Industrialization and the factory disrupted the economic viability of the workshop and domestic system, where production had been concentrated in the home. Urbanization reduced the possibilities for close personal contact between rich and poor. Enlightenment thought, secular ideas and radical doctrines provided an intellectual challenge to the social, religious and political hierarchy. Popular discontent, first manifested in the eighteenth century with great seriousness during the Gordon Riots of 1780, but achieving explosive force after the French Revolution, indicated that deference no longer cemented the people to their rulers. The criminal law, despite its accumulation of penalties during the eighteenth century, no longer provided the security against crime or the bulwark of the social order, which were its intended functions. Experiencing these problems, the patrician classes underwent a moral panic. These people turned to mass schooling to cure their anxiety; three perceptions directed them towards this remedy. Firstly, an increase in

the juvenile population posed the question, what is to be done with the child? Secondly, libertarian doctrines appeared to make these children unwilling to accept the authority of their parents and their superiors. Thirdly, the upper classes and the churches seemed no longer able or willing to direct the child towards the acceptance of social harmony, through the traditional practices of paternal authority, pastoral care or catechetical instruction.

In these circumstances, the promotion of mass schooling was the last resort of English conservatives who wanted to preserve society from collapse. By providing schools, they could contain the potentially unruly child, by instructing him with teachers, they could substitute a moral agent for inadequate parents, and by providing an institution, supervised by the rich and promoting an atmosphere of personal affection, they could recreate in microcosm the ties of obligation and duty which they believed were lacking in society at large.

The Sunday school was clearly the most important institution for creating this relationship. This study has tried to characterize the institution as an essentially conservative one. It used patriarchal images and evengelical religion to promote a new moral climate in the supposedly foetid atmosphere of the working-class environment. Sunday schools, during this period, were neither designed to train a nascent factory workforce in docile habits, nor did they promote or serve a working-class culture of religion and respectability, instead they tried to recreate the social relationships of the ideal patriarchal community, by cementing rich and poor together in bonds of affection and gratitude. ithin this community, both rich and poor would possess a common moral frame ork, derived substantially from the spiritual message of evangelicalism.

Schools of industry were more than institutions which trained children in working skills, they aim d to promote social reconstruction as well. Supporters of these institutions such as Catharine Cappe, Sarah Trimmer

and R. A. Ingram believed that industrialization destroyed the economic and moral content of family life. Schools of industry, they hoped, would encourage the working-class family to recover its role as a unit of production and agency of virtuous instruction, and thus provide society with a secure economic and moral basis for promoting patriarchal relationships.

The Philanthropic Society presented a programme of education developed not only from traditional beliefs, but also from the ideas of Adam Smith and William Paley. It aimed to restore children who had been dissevered from the body politic to a place in the social order. The complete environment which the Philanthropic Society provided, concentrated on constructing a moral code and habits of work in children, whom it believed, were devoid of either.

Many images, similar to those portrayed in these institutions were projected into future educational schemes. Concern with the corrupting effects of contemporary life was to remain a significant theme during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both the promoters of the Ragged School Movement[2] and educationalists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century preoccupied themselves with the creation of institutions as antidotes to moral degeneration.[3] More specifically, Dr. James Phillips Kay, the first Secretary of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in 1839, possessed a determination to promote the moral health of the nation by inoculating children against vice. In his pamphlet of 1832, The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester, and subsequent writings, he emphasized the degrading effects of urban and industrial society, the importance of

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2. E. A. G. Clark, "The Ragged School Union and the Education of the London Poor in the Nineteenth Century" (University of London M.A. thesis, 1967); D. H. Webster, "The Ragged School Movement and the Education of the Poor in the Nineteenth Century (University of Leicester Ph.D. thesis, 1971).

3. D. A. Reeder, "Predicaments of City Children: late Victorian and Edwardian Perspectives on Education and Urban Society", in David Reeder, op. cit., 75-94.

education in teaching the poor occupational skills and the requirements of family, social, political and religious life, and the need to substitute teachers for inadequate parents in training the young for adulthood.[4] Nevertheless, although state interventionists like Kay during the 1830s and 1840s shared many assumptions with the conservative educational philanthropists of earlier decades, they were, in contrast clearly on the side of progress and believed that industrialization was essentially an elevating force.[5]

This study ends in the third decade of the nineteenth century, when the dynamics of popular education shifted from philanthropy towards agitation for state-supported schooling. Undoubtedly, the organizations which had dominated the promotion of education since the 1780s had helped to create a public opinion which regarded educational expansion as necessary: a common assumption of both voluntarists and advocates of state intervention.

The 1830s and 1840s signified a watershed in the history of the Sunday school, school of industry and Philanthropic Society. The Sunday school was no longer the favoured child of English conservatives, the monitorial school had emerged as a clear rival for their affections. It offered the prospect of inexpensive and more extensive schooling than the Sunday school could provide on one day during the week. Furthermore the 1833 factory act preventing the employment of children under the age of nine, meant that Sunday schools were no longer necessarily the most appropriate form of education for children in industrial towns. Nevertheless, Sunday school enrolment continued to grow in subsequent decades.[6] It was

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4. Richard Johnson, "Educational policy ...", op. cit., 101-102, 107, 110-112.

5. Richard Johnson, "Educating the educators ...", op. cit., 87-88.

6. Laqueur, op. cit., 44.

possible that during the 1830s the Sunday school became more closely linked to local communities, and perhaps became subject to the control of those who taught there, or who sent their children to this institution. At least the evidence which Laqueur cites to support his claim that Sunday schools were an expression of a working-class culture of religion and respectability, comes from the 1830s, and 1840s.[7]

In the 1830s, the school of industry was in decline. It had never experienced the extensive support obtained by the Sunday school, but by these years it became apparent that the equipment and materials required by the school of industry were too expensive. Furthermore, its limited curriculum, which emphasized instruction in manual skills was undoubtedly less attractive to the working-class parent than the rival programme of the monitorial school, which concentrated upon literacy and numeracy.

The Philanthropic Society only intended to cater for a minority of poor children, and it did not experience fundamental change until the 1840s. By 1840 however, evidence had accumulated to cast doubt on the effectiveness of the education it provided. A report of that year showed that its children were failing to benefit when they left the establishment, from the extensive training the Philanthropic Society purported to provide. One response to this report was an alteration in the content of education inside the Society's institutions.

II

This thesis has portrayed the social roles of three different types of educational establishment between 1780 and the early 1830s. It has argued that the messages which they provided were overwhelmingly conservative. However, it has tried to show that the education contained

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7. ibid., chapters 3 and 6.

within them was considerably more complicated than an acquaintance with the objectives of the promoters indicates. These schools, for instance, provided instruction in skills and rational knowledge which could potentially disrupt the conservative aims of educationalists. In addition, the pedagogy and curriculum of these institutions were developed with considerable sensitivity by promoters and teachers. They did not simply impose their doctrines upon children, they tried to create an environment which would encourage them to absorb the lessons they were taught. Moreover, they intended to create an affectionate atmosphere within the classroom, they discouraged corporal punishment, they tried to make lessons varied, and they attempted to use simple language. Furthermore, they hoped, not always successfully that the instruction provided within the schools would be relevant to the future occupational demands of the poor. Although these institutions were expected to recreate traditional relationships through education, they were a serious attempt to provide instruction which would interest the child and enable him to perform successfully as a member of adult society.

In addition, the thesis suggests that children did not automatically absorb the messages which schools promoted. England was not a totalitarian society and her upper and middle classes were not masters of every cultural institution. Despite their attempts to influence the family and the moral content of working life, educational promoters did not govern all sources of identity and experience. They could influence attendance, but they had no legal power to compel parents to send their children to school, neither were they in control of the contacts and friendships made by each child. Undoubtedly, the environment which he encountered contained alternative and conflicting influences to those of the school. In addition, the education of the child was probably only significant if his experience as an adult and worker supported his experience as a scholar. This was not always the case, as the report produced by the

Philanthropic Society in 1840 made clear. In this sense, the significance of these schools in constructing the mental world of the labouring poor, can only be assessed if they are related to other sources of initiation. A com lete examination of educational influences has to consider schools in relation to the impact of the family, peer group and workplace upon personal and social identity.

The period between 1780 and 1833 witnessed the origins of mass schooling in England, and this was a new experience for the labouring poor. The institutions examined in this thesis were not the creations of working-class communities, nor the means by which capitalists could secure the docility of their workers. Instead they attempted to preserve traditional relatio ships in a time of rapid social dislocation. In concentrating upon education, philanthropists raised the status of the child; he became the key to the future. If the child could be transfigured through schooling, he would become an apostle of virtue, promoting social harmony, economic well-being and religious commitment. It was this legacy which these institutions bequeathed to posterity.

Appendix 1

Examples of working-class founders of Sunday schools

1780-1812

| Name | Date | Place | Occupation etc. | Educational role |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. John Moore | | Leicester | framework knitter | Before Raikes he taught children gratis to read and write on the Sabbath. |
| 2. Benjamin Underwood | 1777 | Bisley (Cotswolds) | farm worker | He "had the village children round him on Sundays, and once every summer gave them all a treat by walking them to Bisley Church." |
| 3. James Hey | 1775 | Little Lever (Bolton) | bobbin winder | He taught children to read on Sundays. The school was patronized by a paper manufacturer and other gentlemen. The number of scholars increased, branch establishments were formed and teachers were paid. |
| 4. John Lancaster | 1784 | Manchester | Shoemaker | A staunch Methodist, he created one of the first Sunday schools in the town. Soon after its inauguration, he was joined by a grocer in the undertaking. By 1820 the school was associated with Grosvenor-street Chapel, and linked with the Methodist circuit of which the chapel was the head. |
| 5. Benjamin Barber | 1780 | Bradwell (Derbyshire) | agent for leadmines | A "principal factor" in the establishment of a Methodist chapel, he set up a Sunday school in an old silk mill and on several occasions he was stoned by local inhabitants. |

| Name | Date | Place | Occupation etc. | Educational role |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. William King | 1778 | Dursley (Gloucester) | bailiff and employer of labour | He created a Sunday school. The institution passed into the hands of one of his workmen who was a woollen-card maker. |
| 7. William Hallam | 1778 | Moneyash (Derbyshire) | proprietor of schools and schoolmaster | He "began the teaching of poor children and servants, gratis, on the sabbath", two years before Raikes. |
| 8. Mr. Harris | 1784 | Taunton | "a private person, a gardener | He became the instructor of a number of poor children who lived in the town. |
| 9. John Pounds | late 18th early 19th centuries | Portsmouth | shoemaker | Pounds was not a Sunday school founder or teacher, he is generally regarded as a precursor of ragged schooling. His enterprise in Portsmouth was a private effort to educate the very poor during the week. |
| 10. James Hamilton | | | | |
| 11. John and William Twining | 1789-c. 1820 | Sheepscombe (Gloucester) | one was a weaver | They taught poor children on Sundays. The school gradually dwindled away until it was revived by the wife of the local vicar. |
| 12. Samuel Baldwin | 1783 | Wigan | pewter worker | He founded a Sunday school in the town. Baldwin was a Methodist, the school grew considerably in size and became linked to the local Wesleyan chapel. His fellow teachers were artisans traders and manufacturers. |
| 13. James Bent | 1785 | Davyhulme (Cheshire) | weaver | He taught religion in his loomshop on Sundays. In 1786 the school moved to the Methodist chapel. It was patronized by at least one manufacturer. |
| 14. anon. | | | | |
| 15. John Riding | | | | |

| Name | Date | Place | Occupation etc. | Educational role |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16. Thomas Noble | 1787 | Newton-in-Bowland (Yorks.) | blacksmith | He appealed for help and subscriptions to enable him to teach children on the Sabbath and to protect them from vice. There is no evidence to show that his school was ever established. |
| 17. Simon Lough | | Byker, Newcastle | illiterate until his 50th year | Impressed by 'divine command', he learnt to read and carried on a Sunday school unassisted by anyone. |
| 18. Patience Steward | c. 1790 | Mendips (Somerset) | a poor farmer's daughter | She established a Sunday school. Later she became a mistress at one of Hannah More's Sunday schools. |
| 19. Thomas Cranfield | late 18th early 19th centuries | London | tailor | A promoter of numerous Sunday schools, his establishments became linked with Rowland Hill's Surrey Chapel in the Southwark Sunday School Society. |
| 20. Thomas Broadbent | 1790 | Stalybridge (Cheshire) | "a poor but deserving and pious man"; illiterate | He taught poor children especially on Sundays, in his cottage. His school experienced opposition from local inhabitants, including both workers and property owners. |
| 21. William Emerson | 1810 | Barnard Castle (Durham) | humble but zealous | He established a Sunday school. Within a few months it had become associated with the local Methodist chapel. Many 'well qualified' people offered their services as teachers. |

| Name | Date | Place | Occupation etc. | Educational role |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22. John Lupton | 1791 | York | apprenticed to a linen weaver | After visiting the Bolton Sunday School, which was praised by Wesley, he approached his master, a local preacher for the purpose of establishing a Sunday school in York. The latter canvassed the citizens for subscriptions. A school was opened for the instruction of "servants, apprentices, and the children of the rich and the poor." |
| 23. Thomas Wilkes | early 19th century | Effingshall (Staffs.) | illiterate | He came under the influence of evangelical preaching and associated himself with a local Wesleyan society. Although illiterate, he felt the need of making himself useful to the youngest scholars in the Sunday school. |
| 24. James Jones | 1794 | Bicester (Oxford) | a "working men" | He established a Sunday school and met the cost himself. He was unsuccessful in obtaining the assistance of the parish, but the dissenters stepped in with help and the school was removed to the local Meeting House. |
| 25. William Raynard et al | 1748 | Kingston (Surrey) | tallow chandler, shoemaker, farrier, haberdasher | They were responsible for reviving a Congregational Church in the town, and established a Sunday school at the same time. |
| 26. Joseph Stancomb, Jacob Chamberlain, John Cooper | | Trowbridge (Wilts.) | one was the owner of a pickings shop | They started a Sunday school in connection with a local chapel. |
| 27. Mrs. Brookes | | | | |

| Name | Date | Place | Occupation etc. | Educational role |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28. James Wharton | c. 1800 | Kent and Essex | Cooper | Not a Sunday school founder, he became a teacher and later a superintendent in various schools. |
| 29. Mr. Tory | | | | |
| 30. 16 anon. men | | | | |
| 31. 10 anon. men | before 1801 | Kirkstall (Yorks.) | forge workers | They did not establish any Sunday school. One was created for their children to prevent the neglect of the Sabbath, by people from outside the locality, presumably members of the gentry or middle class. |
| 32. Peter Cavalier | before 1800 | Whitby | not given; his son founded a cabinet making business | He established a Sunday school, but it died within his lifetime. |
| 33. James Amos | " | " | baker; wealthy enough to buy ground for a chapel | A Presbyterian, he too created a Sunday school, but it died within his lifetime. |
| 34. Thomas Littlewood | | | | |
| 35. William Smith | 1804 | Bristol | servant in a linen warehouse | He founded the first Methodist Sunday school in Bristol. Unable to obtain enough money, he applied to the Methodist Minister who was also contemplating such a plan. The latter convened a meeting, a school was formed and Smith became the first superintendent. |

| Name | Date | Place | Occupation etc. | Educational role |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 36. anon. | | Stowey (Somerset) | | A group of lay evangelists established a school. No occupations are given in the source, but one of the most active is described as being in a respectable station. The quotation which Laqueur provides is not in the source. |
| 37. Martha Rodgers | | Craigforda (Salop.) | woodranger's daughter | A Sunday school was held in her cottage for a time. No evidence suggests that she was either a founder of the school or a teacher at it. The school was linked with the development of Congregationalism in Shropshire. |
| 38. George Hunter | c. 1812 | High Felling (Durham) | pitman | He became a Christian and was associated with a local Sunday school. |

Source:

cf. Laqueur, op. cit., Table 22, Appendix 1, 252-254.

1. J. Blackner, The History of Nottingham (Nottingham, 1815), 127; Raikes of course, was the supposed founder of the Sunday school movement, D.N.B. Robert Raikes.

2. C. Northcott, For Britain's Children ... (1952), 10.

3. The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, volume 59 (volume 15 of new series), 1836, 285-286; F. . Peaples, History of the St. George's Road Congregational Church ... (Bolton, 1913).

4. The Manchester Guardian, 10 November 1879, 5.

5. Seth Evans, Bradwell: Ancient and Modern (Chesterfield, 1912), 23-24.

6. H. I. Frith, "The Earliest Sunday School", Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society, volume 10, No.4 (September 1928), 183-190; Roland Austin, "The Dursley Sunday School established in 1784", ibid., volume 10, No.5 (April 1929), 228-233.

7. J. Blackner, op. cit., 127-128.

8. Joshua Toulmin, The History of Taunton (Taunton, 1822), 594.

9. C. J. Montague, Sixty Years in Waifdom or the Ragged School Movement in English History (1969 impression of 1904 edition), 35-42; R. Everett Jayne, The Story of John Pounds: founder of ragged schools (1925).

10. Reference cannot be traced.

11. F. A. Hyett, Glimpses of the History of Painswick (Gloucester, 1928), 82.

12. C. Deane Little, Our Old School (Wigan, 1933), 13.

13. Rev. Allan Spencer, The History of Methodism in Davyhulme (Manchester, 1898), 40-43, 29-31.

14. No reference is provided by Laqueur.

15. Reference cannot be traced.

16. Thomas Whitehead, History of the Dales Congregational Churches (Keighley, 1930), 166.

17. J. Walters, The History of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Sunday School Union (1869), 88-89.

18. Martha More, The Mendip Annals ..., ed., Rev. Arthur Roberts (1859), 28-29.

19. The Sunday School Teachers' Magazine, new series, volume 10, 1839, 10-13; Richard Cranfield, op. cit.

20. ibid., new series, volume 16, 1845, 365-367.

21. Anthony Steele, History of Methodism in Barnard Castle ... (1857), 199-201.

22. John Lyth, Glimpses of Early Methodism in York (York, 1885), 17.

23. Alfred C. Pratt, Black Country Methodism (1891), 27-28.

24. John Dunkin, The History and Antiquities of Bicester (1816), 114.

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Appendix 2

Thomas Cranfield's investigation of the Mint District in London 1824

*children refers to those between the ages of five and sixteen.

| Places | Houses | Families | Children* | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May-pole Alley | 26 | 58 | 80 | The whole are Irish without instruction. |
| Red-cross Court | 68 | 108 | 176 | Several go to school. Only four parents go to a place of worship. |
| Adam's Place | 29 | 47 | 59 | Much the same. |
| Brin's Court | 26 | 48 | 79 | |
| Falcon Court | 36 | 70 | 92 | Most miserable conditions. |
| Bird cage Alley | 27 | 128 | 145 | In one house there reside no less than 18 families. |
| Mary Ann's Place | 4 | 4 | 9 | |
| Miat Street | 82 | 198 | 306 | I cannot find three righteous persons in this street. |
| Court in above | 2 | 15 | 25 | |
| Mitre Court | 6 | 6 | 13 | Gross darkness appears to cover these places. |
| Star Court | 19 | 23 | 34 | |
| Duke Street | 20 | 41 | 57 | |
| Hatton's Rents | 8 | 13 | 25 | |
| Peter Street | 37 | 81 | 97 | This place I call Sodom. The inhabitants are awfully ignorant, and scenes are here exhibited truly revolting. I asked one, if she had a Bible? She said, yes, and produced a tract left by one of Mr. Arundel's members. |
| Queen's Street | 30 | 57 | 90 | |
| King Street | 18 | 50 | 62 | |
| Mint Square | 8 | 17 | 21 | |
| Queen's Court | 8 | 15 | 22 | |
| Vine Yard | 24 | 40 | 47 | |
| Lant Street | 79 | 147 | 216 | Very few attend a place of worship. |
| Harrow Street | 22 | 40 | 51 | |
| Suffolk Court | 13 | 22 | 28 | Several attend the Mint-school. |
| Old Justice Court | 4 | 10 | 13 | |
| Blue Ball Alley | 15 | 26 | 32 | This district is very wretched; lying in the wicked one (sic). |
| Barratt's Building | 3 | 6 | 10 | |
| Cottage Place | 3 | 4 | 7 | |
| Little Lant Street | 10 | 14 | 21 | |
| Lombard Street | 31 | 79 | 105 | Very few families attend public worship, though several of the children attend the school. |
| South-sea Court | 10 | 15 | 18 | |
| Lant Place | 20 | 29 | 37 | |
| Grotto Place | 18 | 18 | 31 | |
| Lower Grotto Place | 4 | 4 | 7 | |
| John's Place | 5 | 8 | 11 | |
| Nelson's Place | 8 | 9 | 15 | |
| Kesterton's Ride | 5 | 5 | 11 | |

| Places | Houses | Families | Children* | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Great Suffolk Street | 92 | 220 | 284 | The inhabitants in these streets are more decent in their outward appearance, but few pay any regard to the sabbath. |
| John Street | 30 | 48 | 62 | |
| Rodney Street | 24 | 36 | 49 | |
| William Street | 35 | 51 | 68 | |
| Little Suffolk Street | 18 | 39 | 47 | |
| George Street | 23 | 34 | 48 | |
| Queen's Court | 26 | 28 | 54 | There are several children who attend the Mint-school from these places, but the parents for the most part are setting them a bad example. |
| King's Court | 29 | 29 | 57 | |
| Prince's Place | 21 | 30 | 63 | |
| Moon-rakers' Court | 4 | 4 | 9 | |
| Loman Street | 20 | 62 | 80 | |
| Orange Street | 37 | 88 | 105 | |
| Silver Street | 5 | 14 | 27 | |
| Lemon Street | 11 | 23 | 34 | |
| Winchester Place | 5 | 7 | 10 | One fifteenth of these children attend the Sunday-school. |
| Norfolk Street | 27 | 90 | 107 | |
| Two Chapel Courts | 8 | 12 | 18 | |
| Newland Place | 4 | 9 | 13 | A hole for thieves. |
| James's Place | 14 | 18 | 29 | Several go to Mr. Arundel's School. |
| Red-Cross Street | 65 | 102 | 142 | There are two prayer meetings held in this street, but not above 4 families attend public worship. |
| Slade's Court | 11 | 20 | 31 | The inhabitants appear to be wholly without instruction. |
| Henry's Place | 10 | 14 | 21 | |
| Mason's Yard | 4 | 4 | 7 | |
| George Yard | 13 | 25 | 32 | |
| Court in above | 11 | 16 | 24 | |
| Williams Place | 10 | 12 | 18 | Not more than one in ten of the children are able to read. |
| Princess Street | 18 | 35 | 47 | |
| Willow Court | 7 | 10 | 15 | |
| Paviour's Alley | 5 | 7 | 15 | Here is another scene of wretchedness and misery. |
| Paviour's Court | 14 | 23 | 30 | |
| Prince's Court, front | 10 | 31 | 57 | |
| Prince's Court, back | 11 | 28 | 52 | |
| Pepper Street | 30 | 63 | 84 | Many of the people here are decent, but very few under instruction. |
| Bailey's Buildings | 7 | 9 | 14 | |
| Townsend's Yard | 4 | 6 | 7 | |
| Little Guildford Street | 39 | 60 | 122 | |
| Southwark Bridge Road | 40 | 58 | 75 | The average number of children who attend the Sunday-schools, is greater here than in any other place in the district. |
| Goldsmith's Place | 13 | 14 | 29 | |
| Shayer's Place | 9 | 12 | 21 | |
| White-cross Street | 17 | 31 | 48 | Most wretched |
| Wind's Place | 2 | 4 | 5 | |
| | 1,511 | 2,881 | 4,112 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of children in the above district who attend | Charity schools | = 94 |
| " " " " " " " " " | free schools | = 120 |
| " " " " " " " " " | Sunday schools | = 297 |
| " " " " " " " " " | Irish schools | = 10 |
| | Total | = 521 |
| percent " " " " " " " " | Sunday schools | = 7.22% |

Source:

Richard Cranfield, op. cit., 166-167. See also Thomas Cranfield, Social Survey of Courts and alleys in the Borough District of Southwark (1824). This is a typescript copy of the table and is held in the Southwark Room.

# Appendix 3

## Moral Education in Mrs. Trimmer's Plain Work School, Brentford

| Virtues and Good Qualities to be Practised | Vices and Follies to be Avoided |
|---|---|
| Piety | Impiety |
| Reverence | Profaneness |
| Obedience | Disobedience |
| Honesty | Dishonesty |
| Meekness | Anger |
| Truth | Falsehood |
| Goodnature | Illnature |
| Civility | Rudeness |
| Temperance | Intemperance |
| Industry | Idleness |
| Modesty | Boldness |
| Carefulness | Wastefulness |
| Prudence | Imprudence |
| Gratitude | Ingratitude |

### The Virtues

Piety is remembering God. It is your duty to remember your Creator in the days of your youth. To remember God, is to keep in mind that he is your Maker, Governor, and Preserver: and you should shew that you do so by praying to God, and Praising him every morning and night.

Reverence, is shewing the highest regard for the honour of your Creator, by speaking of him as the greatest and best of Beings, and never mentioning any of his names or titles but with the most awful respect.

Obedience, is part of your duty to your neighbour, which requires you to shew obedience, or to obey your teachers and their superiors. To obey, signifies to do what they order you, and to keep from doing what they order you not to do. If you do not obey them, you cannot be the better for their instruction and advice.

Honesty, signifies to be true and just in all your dealings, giving and paying every one his due; and not taking from them, or keeping from them, any thing that is their right: this is part of your duty to your neighbour. If you are strictly honest, you will not take the least thing from any one without their leave. If you are guilty of thieving or pilfering, ever so secretly, God can see you, and will punish you for it.

Meekness signifies mildness and gentleness of temper. Our Saviour Christ set us an example of meekness, and said, "Come learn of me, for I am meek and lowly."

If you are meek, you will, like your Saviour, return a mild answer; you will never put yourself into a passion or a quarrel.

Truth. By truth is meant being sincere in word and deed, speaking as you think, and doing as you promise. God calls himself in scripture a God of truth, who hates liars, and who abhors all kinds of deceit. God requires us to speak the truth from the heart, and to keep from all kinds of falsehood and fraud. Liars and deceivers are hateful to God and men. If all men were to lie, cheat and deceive, there would be no order, peace, trade, or friendship, in the world. Mankind would be as bad as a parcel of wild beasts biting and devouring one another.

Goodnature. Signifies a desire to make every body happy as far as lies in our power. This is the true temper of Christians: it inclines them to love their neighbour themselves, and to do unto others as they would have others do to them; to behave and speak with kindness at all times.

Civility signifies such good behaviour as will make you pleasing to your superiors and equals. If you are Civil you will behave with respect to ladies and gentlemen. You will say, Sir, or Madam, when you speak to them; you will rise from your seat when they come into a room where you are sitting; you will make a curtsey to them; when you meet them, or when they give or take anything from your hands; you will look up when they speak to you but never stare at them; you will listen attentively to them; you will call your mistress madam, and curtsey to her when you come in or go out of the room; you will call your schoolfellows by their proper names, and say "pray" to them when you want them to do any thing for you, and "I thank you" when they have done it.

Temperance signifies keeping from gluttony and drunkenness. Those who in their early years use themselves to drinking any kind of strong liquor, are in great danger of becoming drunkards. It is a most shameful thing for a woman to get drunk, or even to have her breath smell of drams. Besides, those who take such hot things into their stomach, run the hazard of destroying their lives, and will certainly hurt their health, and bring themselves to distress and shame.

Industry. To be industrious is to be diligent in your work. We have six days in the week allowed us to work or fill up with employments that will be useful to ourselves or others. Many people in the world have no means of getting a livelihood in an honest way but by working, and you are among this number. You could not have the learning you now have, nor such neat clothing, if you were not in a school of industry. And if you let this opportunity slip, you may never have such another; therefore do not give way to sloth or idleness, but get a habit of being industrious; for sloth and idleness will certainly bring you to beggary and wretchedness.

Modesty signifies behaving, talking, and dressing, in a manner becoming to your sex and station. Every woman and girl, let her condition in life be what it will, should be modest; for it is a great shame to be otherwise. She should not be desirous of finer clothes than her circumstances will allow; for the desire of such things has been the ruin of many a girl. Modesty is the best ornament a female can have.

Carefulness signifies taking care not to waste or spoil any thing. Poor people should be very careful, because it is difficult for them to get the things they want.

Prudence. If you are prudent you will choose proper companions, and not such as will lead you into wickedness and folly; you will think before you speak, and not talk of things that do not concern you.

Gratitude signifies a desire to make the best return in your power for the favours bestowed upon you and the kindness shewed to you. If you have gratitude in your mind you will think yourself much obliged to those who subscribe to the schools; and will take care to improve in every respect, that their money and advice may not be thrown away upon you. You will also think yourself obliged to those who get work for you, and will take pains to do it well that they may have credit from employing you; and will endeavour to behave so that all your friends may have the comfort of seeing you in the way to do your duty and become useful in the world; and you will pray God to bless all your benefactors, that is to say, all who strive in any way whatever to do you good.

The Vices

Impiety is forgetfulness of God, if you neglect to say your prayers morning and evening, or to keep the Sabbath Day holy; or if you laugh or play while prayers are saying, you will be guilty of Impiety.

Profaneness. If you take the names of God in vain; that is, if you say, in common discourse, God, Lord Jesus Christ, O gracious! O merciful! Lord bless me! or any thing else that should be said only to God, you will be guilty of Profaneness.

Disobedience. If you break God's commandment you will be guilty of the sin of disobedience. If you refuse or neglect to do any thing that your parents, the mistress or the visitors of the school order you to do; or do anything that they order you not to do, you will be disobedient to them.

Dishonesty. If you take away your Sunday gown, the books, or any thing else belonging to the schools; or if you pilfer things from your schoolfellows, or any other person, you will be guilty of Dishonesty.

Anger. If you put yourself in a passion, if you speak in a cross, peevish way to any of your schoolfellows, if you wish for mischief to befall them, if you are sullen or sulky, you will be guilty of Anger.

Falsehood. If you say any thing that is not true, if you promise any thing that you do not perform, if you do any sly thing, either to hide a fault or gain an end, you will be guilty of Falsehood.

Illnature. If you do any thing to vex or tease a schoolfellow, if you speak with pleasure of the faults of other people, if you refuse to help them when they stand in need of your assistance, if you scoff at them for being lame or crooked, or for any other natural defect, you will be Illnatured.

Rudeness. If you behave with any kind of disrespect to your mistress or any visitors who come to the school, or to any of your superiors; if you do not listen to those who instruct you, if you disturb them when they are talking or reading to others, if you do not speak properly to your schoolfellows, if you call them names, or if you try to crowd them, or get their seats from them, you will be guilty of Rudeness.

Intemperance. If you are known at any time, by the smell of your breath, or otherwise, to have taken spiritous liquors, you will be charged with Intemperance.

Idleness. If you stay away from school without leave, if you come late either morning or afternoon, if you play in school hours, and if you dirty your work, and have it to undo, you will be charged with Idleness.

Boldness. If you are seen romping in the street, or any where else, with men and boys, if you are known to talk in a bold way, if you are seen listening to ballad-singers or reading ballad and fortune books, if you do not put on your clothes neat and tight, and if you wear improper finery, you will be charged with Boldness.

astefulness. If you wear any of your Sunday apparel every day, if you draggle your apron and petticoats, if you run in the dirt without pattens, if you go with your shoes unbuckled, if you tread them down at heel, if you go with holes in your stockings, or your clothes rent and torn, if you lose many needles and waste thread, if your dirty, dog's ear, or tear the books, you will be guilty of Wastefulness.

Imprudence and Tattling. If you are seen in bad company you will be reckoned imprudent. If you bring idle tales into school, or carry any out of it, and if you talk about other people's affairs, you will be charged with Tattling.

Ingratitude. If you do not endeavour to improve by the advice and instruction that are given you, if you do your work badly, if you speak unhandsomely of your mistress, or of any of the visitors of the school, or of any one who is known to have been a friend to you, whether rich or poor, you will be guilty of Ingratitude.

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II. Printed primary sources

(a) Parliamentary papers
(b) Unofficial reports
(c) Periodicals
(d) Other printed primary sources

III. Secondary sources

(a) Local studies
(b) General secondary sources
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