Remaking the Pauper: The Efficacy of the Scattered Children’s Homes of the Camberwell St Giles’ Poor Law Union, 1898-1914

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Remaking the Pauper: The Efficacy of the Scattered Children’s Homes of the Camberwell St Giles’ Poor Law Union, 1898-1914

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Submitted for the Open University M.A. in History

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Abstract

In 1898, the parish of Camberwell St Giles, South London, adopted a new method of caring for the children of the destitute chargeable under the poor law. Called ‘scattered homes’ the system, which was copied from a concept devised in Sheffield, involved renting ordinary artisans’ villas, and hiring paid foster carers to look after approximately ten children within the local community, with a view to creating a new class of artisans from those with pauper origins. This dissertation is concerned with the level of efficacy displayed on the part of the Board of Guardians in that aim during the first sixteen years of the system’s thirty-two-year lifespan. Camberwell was the first London poor law union to copy the Sheffield system, but its operations had not been studied in any depth before this project.

In assessing admission and discharge registers for the children in four houses, alongside guardians’ minutes of children’s and finance records, this study looks at the lives of the children as they entered the system, as they lived in it day-to-day, and how they were prepared to leave for the working world. However, the dissertation reveals that guardians were not supplied with a pliable and fixed population of children upon whom they could conduct their experiment. The children, despite the aims of the guardians, maintained strong bonds with birth families, and many stayed for only short periods, hampering the guardians’ chances of imparting influence without encountering resistance. They type of artisanal jobs that were initially promised in the aims of the scheme to boys
were not numerous, and the guardians fell back on military training routes for them. Girls, trained for service as domestics for the middle-class, may have lacked the skills to keep their own future homes on the wage of a man in a deskillled or unskilled occupation. That said, for many of the children who stayed long-term and who behaved in accordance with the ideals set down by the guardians, a successful future life could beckon in the superior artisan trades and teaching.

The study concludes that, as guardians moved towards a more progressive approach for dealing with children and their personal needs, rather than attending to a homogenous group, the children’s success – and guardians’ enjoyment of their success – became more apparent. A study of the second half of the scheme’s lifespan would hopefully shed light on how much more progressive the system became.
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I confirm this dissertation is all my own, unaided work. No part of this
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Abbreviations

BMJ  British Medical Journal
CABG  Camberwell Board of Guardians
CPR  Crystal Palace Road
FM  Foster mother
LGB  Local Government Board
LMA  London Metropolitan Archives
LSE  London School of Economics
NSPCC  National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
SH  Scattered home
SLHLA  Southwark Local History Library and Archives
SLC/SLC  South London Chronicle/South London Press
SMDS  South Metropolitan District School
TNA  The National Archives
WBH  Working Boys’ Home
Chapter One: Introduction

In 1892, Sheffield Poor Law Union created a new system for the care of chargeable, destitute children, which it called scattered homes. Its imperative for the system was to stop impressionable children entering the workhouse and learning bad habits from adult paupers (not only their parents), and to disperse them instead within communities where they would be assimilated rather than institutionalised.¹ This study is concerned with the concept as adopted in Camberwell St Giles, South London, which was arguably the first poor law parish to copy the ‘Sheffield system’.² The system involved the board of guardians (guardians) renting houses in respectable neighbourhoods and placing ten to twelve children in each with a paid foster parent or parents.³ Scattered homes were intended as far as possible to ‘resemble those of an average home of a respectable artisan’.⁴ Girls would receive instruction in care of children and domestic work; boys were promised training for a trade.⁵ All would be guided to this destination by the guardians’ representatives including medical officers, volunteer committee members, and other esteemed visitors.⁶

¹ Sheffield Union, A Scheme for Scattered Homes, Adopted by the Sheffield Board of Guardians on the 30th Day of November 1892, p.5; ‘Reports on the hygienic condition and administration of Metropolitan District and Separate Schools’, British Medical Journal (BMJ), 14 August 1897, p.414.
² Peter Higginbotham, ‘Camberwell (parish of St Giles), Surrey, London’ www.workhouses.org.uk/Camberwell/ [accessed 3 January 2018].
⁵ BMJ, 26 February 1898, p.569.
⁶ BMJ, 26 February 1898, p.569; Appendix 1, scattered homes rules.
This study asks how far Camberwell guardians succeeded in improving the life chances of children by raising them in scattered homes. It focuses largely on the themes of family and poverty studied in MA History Part One. A particular focus is the family as seen through the Victorian lens of idealised childhood, and how scattered homes challenge historiography around familial love. The study also considers where scattered homes fit into the debate on the post-1870 crusade against out-relief in relation to the children’s parents and their whereabouts, and whether children were trained for future roles as artisans and domestic servants as planned.

*Primary sources*

The study covers 1898 to 1914, the first half of the scattered homes’ system’s thirty-two-year existence in Camberwell. Admission and discharge registers for four scattered homes were analysed. Numbers 2 and 4 Barforth Road, Peckham Rye, were adjoining semi-detached properties that housed boys aged over seven (Figure 1A).7 Both 202 Barry Road (Figure 1B) and 272 Crystal Palace Road (CPR) (Figure 1C), East Dulwich, housed girls of all ages and infants of both genders (up to seven) and were each one of a pair of adjoining homes.8 By 1913, Camberwell was maintaining six-hundred children simultaneously in fifty-two scattered homes, meaning that the four registers provide but a small sample.9 Nonetheless they yielded 909 valid entries relating to 743 children.

7 London Metropolitan Archives (LMA) Camberwell Board of Guardians (CABG) 238, Scattered Homes Peckham, Barforth Road 002: admission and discharge register; LMA CABG/239, Scattered Homes Peckham, Barforth Road 004: admission and discharge register.
8 LMA CABG/247, Crystal Palace Road, 272: admission and discharge register; LMA CABG/249, Barry Road, 202 (later Derwent Grove 014): admission and discharge register.
9 LMA CABG/079, Children’s Committee Minutes, 7 March 1913.
Figure 1A: 2 and 4 Barforth Road, Peckham Rye, London

Figure 1B: 202 Barry Road (left), East Dulwich, London
Figure 1C: 272 Crystal Palace Road, East Dulwich, London
Figure 1D: Sample page of 272 Crystal Palace Road register\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{10} CABG/247
Registers suffered from poor handwriting, double entries, fields not uniformly filled in and items crossed out (Figure 1D). All entries that had countable data were included. Duplicate entries were not. Also consulted were children’s, finance and workhouse committee minutes, which provided evidence of communication between officials, families, and external welfare bodies. As institutional records, guardians’ sources are inherently biased towards those who created them for their own purposes, and offer the voices of the poor only at second-hand. Equally, all first-person accounts and memoirs here referenced concerning childhoods spent in state care must be acknowledged for a potential lack of objectivity and skewing by the passage of time.

Secondary sources

According to Davidoff et al, ‘[…] far from being a free-standing agent, a person is cradled by the family, however that family is defined and whether it is loved or loathed’. On that basis, a scattered homes’ study offers the chance to reappraise the argument put forward in Linda Pollock’s Forgotten Children, which criticised the repeatedly qualified idea that people had historically been incapable of showing love to their children. Gillis was among those who said Pollock’s argument lacked the strength to rebuild the literature that she destroyed. The fact Pollock resorted to anthropological and biological studies of apes to reinforce her case for familial love indicated just how little precedent

there had been in the study of human history.\textsuperscript{14} The tightly focused aspect of Anna Davin’s \textit{Growing Up Poor}, an analysis of working-class memoirs of childhood, school and the home from 1870-1914, is contemporaneous to this dissertation. Her work gives both a view of the world scattered homes’ children may have been missing out on, and a counter-narrative to those woven by authority figures. For a quantitative basis, Lydia Murdoch’s \textit{Imagined Orphans} provides a strong framework for the analysis of homes’ registers, highlighting strong similarities with Barnardo’s and other poor law institutions that further topple the argument that most children in care were orphans. Michael Childs, William Knox and Lucy Lethbridge all offer appraisal of the employment landscapes that boys and girls in this study would have graduated to. Karel Williams’s \textit{From Pauperism to Poverty}, is a bold reminder that received opinion about the work of social investigators, from Charles Booth to Beatrice and Sidney Webb, can be challenged: while his observations on the spread of a so-called crusade against out-relief are compared with activity in Camberwell, this dissertation hopes to channel his spirit of enquiry.

\textit{Background to the homes}

There has been some limited academic appraisal of the original Sheffield system, but no historiography of poor law children covers scattered homes with more than a passing reference: some historians have incorrectly conflated scattered homes with other types of care, such as the older cottage homes model.\textsuperscript{15} London scattered homes have not been investigated. By giving a

\textsuperscript{14} Pollock, pp.34-39.

broad appraisal of them, this dissertation intends to set the homes on the road to their own historiography.

Prior to 1898 the majority of Camberwell’s destitute children were boarded in Sutton, Surrey, at the South Metropolitan District School (SMDS), a two-site, 2,000-place ‘barrack’ institution shared with four other unions.\textsuperscript{16} Accusations of poor management particularly around infectious disease precipitated Camberwell’s exit from SMDS.\textsuperscript{17} The guardians sent a deputation to Sheffield in 1897 and confirmed ‘that the scattered homes principle as an adaption of home life […] is the most suggestive way of dealing with pauperism, by way of, as far as possible, extinguishing it.’\textsuperscript{18} Camberwell declined to adopt alternatives recommended by the Local Government Board (LGB).\textsuperscript{19} With adjustments for Metropolitan Common Poor Fund subsidy, Camberwell projected that the annual excess of expenditure following the Sheffield system was £4,966, compared with £6,561 for SMDS and £9,163 for boarding out.\textsuperscript{20} Initial aims for this dissertation included a fuller appraisal of the homes’ costs. But audited accounts go cold after September 1900, the last time a children’s homes’ breakdown was given (£1,440).\textsuperscript{21} Finance committees stopped including provision lists and salary breakdowns in their minutes from February 1901 and, when asked by outside organisations for breakdowns, guardian stated that


\textsuperscript{18} Sheffield Hospitals History Group, \textit{A Brief History of the Smilter Lane/Herries Road Scattered Homes} (Sheffield: Sheffield Hospitals History Group/Impact Graphics, 2007, repr. 2018), pp.73-74.

\textsuperscript{19} LMA CABG/076, Children’s Homes Minutes, 6 May 1898, p.11.

\textsuperscript{20} LMA CABG/075, Children’s Accommodation Committee Minutes, 20 June 1898, p.12.

\textsuperscript{21} LMA CABG/212/007, Financial Statements, 1900-1905, p.3.
there were none because each home was treated like a family. It is therefore impossible to verify the headline costs supplied to the LGB in 1908:

Camberwell’s relief strategy for children was reportedly London’s cheapest, at ninety-five pence per head per week. The report’s author, parliamentary secretary to the LGB Thomas James Macnamara, was the Progressive party-allied Liberal MP for Camberwell from 1900 to 1924, indicating that the homes may have been somewhat in the spotlight. In any case, the committee members appointed to oversee the homes included a smattering of Progressive party affiliates as well as local employers and professionals.

*Camberwell and its children in context*

Hattersley commented that contemporary impressions of Edwardian Britain have tended to emphasise a pre-First World War period of leisure and pleasure, but there were real-terms wage reductions, rising unemployment and a short recession in 1908-09. Camberwell, one of the largest London parishes by population in the Edwardian period, had grown sixty-five times over between 1841 and 1901 and by 1907 stood at 277,050. At that time there were 810 indoor and 1,619 outdoor paupers per 100,000 of the population, which was low compared with neighbouring Bermondsey at 1,401 and 2,753 per 100,000.

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22 LMA CABG/097, Finance and General Purposes Committee, p.441; CABG/077, 30 September 1904.
25 Appendix 2.
respectively. But there was distress on the streets with ‘men out of work’ and ‘women silently suffering at home’, in part due to the fickle nature of dock work and competition from other ports. Overbuilding in Camberwell during Victorian times led to an almost instant decline, and these circumstances combined to create the pockets of poverty, and possible lack of respectability, in the neighbourhoods where some scattered homes’ children’s families hailed from.

In considering what the guardians’ overarching aims for homes’ children might have been, it is important to acknowledge the lack of a fixed meaning for the term they used, ‘respectable artisan’. Davin identified that there were problems defining the difference between rough and respectable people because boundaries were not fixed and ‘they could be subjectively interpreted’. Though Ross said respectability came to be ‘attached to specific behaviours’ such as keeping homes and children clean, it is worth quoting social investigator Lady Bell, who commented on ‘how terribly near the margin of disaster the man (even the thrifty man) walks’. While scores of children would have undoubtedly been from the kind of families the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) were keen to get their hands on, children in the homes may have been the victims of parents’ descent into extreme poverty through loss of a parent and/or income. As Charlie Chaplin (b.1889), growing up in neighbouring Lambeth, recalled: ‘From three comfortable rooms we moved into two, then into

---

28 Cook, p.148.
29 South London Press (SLP), 3 January 1908.
30 Dyos, pp.180-183, p.185.
one, our belongings dwindling and the neighbourhoods into which we moved growing progressively drabber. From visits by investigators to ‘the cruelty man’, the intellectual, moral and social inferiority of the poor was explicitly conferred and hard to escape. Consequently authority figures were seen as ‘Them’ – a ‘composite dramatic figure’ including police and civil servants, that was shadowy, powerful and not to be trusted. Children planted in scattered homes, therefore, would have found themselves no longer at arm’s length from ‘Them’, but face-to-face within the domestic space.

This dissertation now steps across the threshold into the world of the scattered homes’ ‘pseudo-family’ to show how the guardians high ideals regularly clashed with the aims of the poor themselves, and how varied the consequences could be depending on whether they were treated as 'a nuisance to be borne, like bad weather' or as individuals with feelings.

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Chapter Two: Admission to the Homes

This chapter explores the point at which the Camberwell poor law child was transferred to the state-mandated ‘pseudo-family’, and asks how far children’s pasts were acknowledged by looking at the administrative efficacy in admission and discharge registers. The aim will be to examine guardians’ ability to erase children’s taint by association with the workhouse and remove bad influences from their lives. Analyses of children’s dates of birth and of parental whereabouts will be undertaken. For a quantitative footing the chapter turns to the methodology used by Lydia Murdoch to assess admissions and discharge registers for Barnardo’s and district board school children, and to draw comparisons with Camberwell register samples. It will also look to Karel Williams’s assessment of poor law services in the wake of the post-1870 crusade against out-relief. The maps of Charles Booth will be consulted for context about children’s places of origin.

Administrative efficacy

Homes’ admission and discharge registers contained uniform fields: age, date of birth, religion, admission date, schooling, name of two nearest known relatives (mostly father and mother, even if they were dead), address (if known), discharge date, to whom transferred, and any remarks (Figure 1E). Murdoch observed in her study that poor law registers tended to be more complete and consistent than those of the Barnardo’s charity. In the four Camberwell

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36 Murdoch, pp.72-76.
37 Murdoch, p.68.
sample homes, register uniformity guarantees neither completeness nor consistency.

Figure 2A: Missing information in the four registers

<table>
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<th>%</th>
<th>272 CPR</th>
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<td>207</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schooling missing</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>99</td>
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<tr>
<td>No parental details</td>
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<td>43</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>2 Barforth</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>4 Barforth</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tr>
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<td>100</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schooling missing</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>91</td>
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<tr>
<td>No parental details</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38 CABG/238/239/247/248.
Of the 909 viable register entries in Figure 2A, the name of a school and/or standard being studied was listed just 21 times. From 1869, poor law unions were required to keep creed registers of all inmates, but this mandatory category was not entirely complete. In all registers, discharge dates were regularly missed off, as were full dates of birth. Consistent inconsistency across the study timeframe signifies that keeping this particular record set intact was not of paramount importance to the authorities, impossible to keep intact, or both. Administrative efficacy therefore is not indicated in any sampled register. However, circumstances prevented foster mothers (FMs) from having full information. At 202 Barry Road, Frank Butler was recorded as ‘age three or four’, having been brought in by police. The scattered homes’ rules also point to a bureaucratic system that involved FMs not only keeping admissions books, but admission and discharge forms; books and forms relating to weekly provisions orders; a visitors’ record book; a report book; and a medical book.

With large numbers of children to look after, it would be hard to find the time to keep complete records, but equally hard to memorise everyone’s needs. As the registers are the only surviving house documents, it is impossible to say what else was collected that might be key to the children’s good health and general identity. Details of past illnesses and vaccinations might have been in the medical book. Limbless children were in the homes, and are discussed in guardians’ minutes, including Rose Yeomanson, who was given a false leg, and

39 Higginbotham, p238.
40 CABG/249, p.9.
41 Appendix 1.
sent to a dressmaking apprenticeship.\textsuperscript{42} However, there is no mention of life-long disabilities in the admission registers' remarks column. There is no explicit mention of siblings, though they were occasionally housed together, as was the case for Charles and Mary Gabberday at 202 Barry Road.\textsuperscript{43} Descriptions of eye and hair colour or distinguishing marks are absent, as is any information on ethnicity, even though ethnicity was sometimes mentioned in minutes, as in the case of William F. Brittain, described as ‘a black boy’ when guardians discussed his ill-health and future employment prospects, but not in the 4 Barforth Road register where he lived from 1911 to 1912.\textsuperscript{44} Conversely, Murdoch finds that Barnardo’s recorded children’s heights and skin tones in this period, and was ‘much more concerned with the children’s physical appearance, and the symbolic interpretation of this appearance, than with their family backgrounds’, particularly so that photographs and stories could be used to raise revenue to continue the charity’s work.\textsuperscript{45} As state-run facilities paid for out of the rates, there was no such promotional requirement on the scattered homes. Even so, guardians proved it was possible to capitalise on pity for children without detailed records of their personal attributes. When the media reported on the children’s annual Christmas party, sympathies were evoked by employing Dickensian clichés of orphanhood by mentioning Oliver Twist, and those who were disabled.\textsuperscript{46} These reports were also designed to encourage philanthropy in the upper echelons of Camberwell society, as well as demonstrate that charitable contributions paid for treats: ‘As a matter of fact, the rates could not

\textsuperscript{42} CABG/076, 2 March 1900, p.47; 14 September 1900, p.63.
\textsuperscript{43} CABG/249.
\textsuperscript{44} CABG/079, Children’s Homes’ Committee Minutes, 26 June 1914, p.136; CABG/239.
\textsuperscript{45} Murdoch, p.71.
\textsuperscript{46} ‘Children of the state: Mothers of ten, Infantile tea party at Peckham’, \textit{South London Press (SLP)}, 5 January 1901.
be legally charged [...] The guardians arranged for a voluntary subscription among themselves, and this [was] supplemented by offerings from their circle of friends. With additional funding raised in this manner, the outward appearance of financial efficacy could be upheld.

**Ages of children**

In poor law terms, age determined a series of classifications: Four- and five-year-olds must register for school; genders would be segregated and have their dietary increased at eight; girls aged fourteen would leave school to embark on a more involved domestic training regime before going to work at sixteen. There is evidence in Camberwell that age data was used to justify changes to household budgets. So it would seem odd that in forty-one percent (4 Barforth Road), fifty-three percent (272 CPR), fifty-six percent (2 Barforth Road) and ninety-one percent (202 Barry Road) of cases no full dates of birth were recorded. It may have been that on entering the system a parent or child could not recall the details without a cost-prohibitive birth certificate. The variance could also be explained by the administrative standards of different FMs, a certain level of aural/verbal recording, or due to the chaotic lives of the children. At 202 Barry Road, many empty and incomplete date fields relate to a transient population known as ‘ins-and-outs’ – children reuniting with parents discharging themselves repeatedly from the workhouse – where a date was given once (or partially) and not again. Of Mary Gabberday’s eight entries, two carry a date of

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47 SLP, ‘Camberwell Scattered Homes’, 5 January 1907.
48 Higginbotham, pp. 78-80; Higgs, p. 2.
49 Agreement for daily food allowance to be raised by ½d. per child due to age of boys at 12 Belvoir Road, CABG/076, 8 December 1899.
50 The headmaster at Adys Road Board School requested birth certificates for each pupil in the homes, and the guardians resolved to purchase copies at 6d. each, CABG/076, 24 November 1899, p. 39.
birth, and each is different; Charles Gabberday has seven entries showing a year, but one entry with a full date of birth is three years out. A sympathetic analysis would be to see these particular omissions as shortcuts for dealing with children left to the system in a chaotic fashion by their families. There would not have been the time or means to acquire accurate dates if a child was admitted alone or deposited anonymously at a workhouse by relatives, as happened to Hilda Taylor in January 1912. Life at 202 Barry Road highlights well the administrative difficulties of dealing with ‘ins-and-outs’ as was experienced prior to the opening of the Newlands central receiving home in 1902.

51 CABG/249.
52 Guardians’ share procedure for dealing with children aged five to fourteen admitted alone, CABG/077, Children’s Homes’ Committee Minutes, 27 May 1904; CABG/078, Children’s Homes’ Committee Minutes, 26 January 1912, p.193.
53 CABG/076, p.112.
Figures 2B and 2C offer further evidence that full dates of birth, when given, could have an administrative function, showing trend spikes at the ages when this most mattered.

Figure 2B: Specific ages given in girls and infants' homes\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{54} CABG/247/248.
In the girls’/infants’ houses, full dates for seven-year-olds were higher than for those aged eight to eleven, because by eight genders ought to have been segregated. Infant ages (under sevens) were also often given, which would help indicate when to part children from birth mothers in the workhouse or start school. Maud Curtis was brought to stay at 272 CPR two days after her third birthday in 1909. When nearing the age of departure, older girls’ exact ages (from twelve to fourteen) were more regularly recorded. Isabel McKenzie arrived at 272 CPR the day after her fourteenth birthday in 1906; Jessie Oakford arrived two days after her fourteenth birthday in 1911. At 202 Barry Road, Rose James was sent to another scattered home, 326 Upland Road, within
three weeks of turning fourteen. But boys’ houses show the inverse, with dates of
birth more commonly given from eight to eleven, and consistently more ages
given overall. Boys in this range formed the bulk of the residents and a date of
birth was needed to action their move to boys-only accommodation. It could
be argued that on the whole age information, when properly recorded, had a
purpose to assist guardians in planning household structures, and points to a
more efficacious system than was at first apparent amid the chaos.

**Parental whereabouts**

Family circumstances have historically held the key to whether the poor were
considered deserving of help from the authorities. Camberwell guardians were
still using a highly moralised system of classifying pauper adults in 1905. They
ranged from category A, described as ‘character of best’ aged over 65,
deserted, infirm or widowed and unable to support themselves ‘through no fault
of their own’, down to category C, ‘decidedly bad’ and having no privileges.
This fits with Williams’s assertion that ‘the deserving versus undeserving
distinction was a recurrent theme that was endlessly repeated and elaborated
on’ in poor law institutions from 1860 to 1914. The category to which parents
of children in scattered homes belonged is not always clear: in the children’s
registers, family forms the most complex dataset. A particular problem is the
high volume of children for whom there was no parental data at all – between
twenty and forty-three percent of cases (Figure 2A). But measurements of

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58 CABG/249.
59 Boys staying on after fourteen considered ‘unsatisfactory’ practice, CABG/077, 22 November 1907.
60 CABG/127, Gordon Road Workhouse Minutes, 23 April 1905, p.40.
61 Williams p.91.
known parentage are useful. The Camberwell data agrees with Murdoch’s findings that Longmate and Crompton were wrong in their assumption that most poor law children were orphans. Figures 2D and 2E compare data that Murdoch used relating to Barnardo’s for 1903-1914 (where some children lived in cottage homes) and in the Banstead homes of the Kensington & Chelsea District School, showing roughly a quarter of children were orphaned. Figure 2F shows even fewer fully orphaned children in the sample scattered homes, between two and six percent.

**Figure 2D: Background of Permanent Barnardo’s Admissions, 1903-1914**

![Pie chart](chart.png)

- Both parents alive: 47%
- Only mother: 28%
- Only father: 11%
- Orphan: 14%

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62 Murdoch, p.68.
63 Murdoch, p.72.
Chart 2E: Background of Admissions to the Kensington & Chelsea District School (Banstead), 1896-97

Figure 2F: Known parental status in four scattered homes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Girls/infants</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>202 Barry</td>
<td>272 CPR</td>
<td>2 Barforth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fully orphaned</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only mother known</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only father known</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents known</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

64 Murdoch, p.77.
65 CABG/238/239/247/249.
The only shared trend across the three institutions is that most children had at least one parent known to the authorities, in the majority of cases a mother. The four scattered homes are strikingly similar to each other, but differ on other points to Barnardos (covering the same time frame) and Banstead (covering a poor law institution). Barnardos and Banstead children were marginally less likely than scattered homes children to have a lone father. Scattered homes’ children were significantly more likely to have both parents alive. Murdoch concluded from her sources that a ‘lack of affordable housing, unemployment, illness, the death of one parent, and the strain of young children on the family economy – not alcoholism or wanton cruelty – were the main factors that led to applications for assistance’. Her claim that ‘continued cutbacks on outdoor relief forced many parents to seek institutional aid’, bolstered by Williams’s assertion that Camberwell was one of 41 poor law unions that maintained a strict restriction on giving out-relief towards the end of the nineteenth century, gives a strong indication that scattered homes were even more likely than Murdoch’s sample institutions to be used for the purposes specified above. This hypothesis is further supported by analysis of children’s mothers’ whereabouts.

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66 Murdoch, p.71.
67 Murdoch, p.75; Williams, pp.104-105.
Figure 2G: Whereabouts of lone mothers for four scattered homes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Girls/infants</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202 Barry</td>
<td>272%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202 CPR</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asylum</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infirmary</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workhouse</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For girls and infants, lone mothers mainly lived in the workhouse, but for boys, a much higher proportion of mothers were outside. The data is indicative that lone mothers were more able to support themselves outside if they had children aged over eight rather than infants. Records show that women outside made payments towards children’s keep, including Mrs Dove, instructed to continue paying three shillings five pence weekly towards her children (though failing to pay for two weeks in a row would mean her admission to the workhouse, suggesting it was not an entirely voluntary arrangement). The high level of mothers of girls and infants in the workhouse agrees with Murdoch’s statement that a child was ‘more likely to enter an institution after the death of a father than after the death of a mother’. The majority of records did not specify that Camberwell fathers were dead, but were left ambiguously blank. Blank entries may have served a family well: Hollen Lees states that pauper status was always contested and negotiated, and ‘before a woman received support, her

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68 CABG/238/239/247/248.  
69 CABG/127, 16 January 1911, p.376.  
70 Murdoch, p.78.
story of destitution and entitlement had to be found acceptable’.71 The high number of mothers suggests that many of Camberwell’s poorest were either using silence as a strategy for survival to avoid stigma, or that they were alone (deserted or widowed) and unable to earn enough to keep their children. It would have been known that the standard of living on offer in scattered homes was high by comparison with what could be achieved living out. Guardians, discussing the increasing cost of scattered homes in 1904, stated that maintenance of almost five shillings per head, plus accommodation charges of nearly four shillings, was far in excess of the amount given to mothers on out-relief.72 On this score, the system can be said to be efficacious by enticing women to accept the offer of less stigmatised, cost-subsidised help for their children, while getting a job or submitting only themselves to the workhouse as a last resort.

There is no space here to discuss the backgrounds and whereabouts of children with lone fathers and both parents alive, but both warrant further investigation to build a stronger picture of families’ imperatives for using relief.

72 *South London Chronicle (SLC)*, 14 May 1904.
Forwarding addresses

An absence of certain data in registers could help to reinforce children’s statuses in society as destitute. For example, a forwarding address for relatives was given in only twenty-nine percent of register entries, leaving it highly likely that there was no family home or extended family home for the majority – and as the previous section noted, the majority of known mothers were in the workhouse. Using Charles Booth’s poverty maps of London to analyse 42 of the total 262 addresses given for family members on the outside shines a light on their general poverty levels (Figure 2H). This starts to answer the question of whether children needed to be parted from unsavoury influences, as was suggested by the guardians.

Charles Booth called East Dulwich, where the majority of scattered homes were, ‘a working-class district with a fringe of middle-class on each side… with very little crime, practically none of a serious character’.73 His map (Figure 2I and 2J) confirms pink and purple with blue patches, fringed by red. Booth stated too that ‘while the Dulwich area is gradually improving, the Peckham area is gradually becoming poorer’.74 Most of the children’s addresses were in the Peckham area.

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74 Steele, p.190.
Figure 2H: Booth mapping categories from 1899 as applied to sample of 42 given addresses for scattered homes’ children, 1898-1914

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category colour</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number of addresses matching category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Lowest class. Vicious, semi-criminal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark blue</td>
<td>Very poor, casual. Chronic want</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light blue</td>
<td>Poor. 18s to 21s a week for a moderate family</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purple</td>
<td>Mixed. Some comfortable, others poor</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pink</td>
<td>Fairly comfortable. Good ordinary earnings</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Middle-class. Well-to-do</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Upper-middle and upper classes. Wealthy</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 21: Booth’s map of East Dulwich and Peckham Rye

Figure 2J: Booth’s map of Camberwell and Peckham

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While Booth’s categorisation of Camberwell altered over time as his associates made updates and refinements or admitted where map colours had been incorrectly attributed and were in any case mixed, Camberwell was a district with just two or three small pockets of true destitution and vice.\textsuperscript{78} Hollington Street – the single location accounting for all black entries in the children’s samples – was described as overcrowded and ‘a fearful mess’. People were drunk and rough, but there were ‘no thieves, housebreakers or prostitutes’.\textsuperscript{79} Peckham’s Rye Buildings, considered ‘one of the worst tenement blocks in London’ by its reviewer who labelled it dark blue, claimed it was ‘for people who can’t get in anywhere else’.\textsuperscript{80} Garsdale Road was a place populated by the ‘poor coster class… crowds of children, unpleasant women’.\textsuperscript{81} The majority of scattered homes’ families were from light blue and purple areas. Caspian Street, ‘gloomy and rough’, and Buff Place, ‘shoddy’, were light blue, and the area said to have ‘a fair proportion of juvenile criminals’. McNeil and Rignold Roads, while purple, were known as ‘bug island’, ‘owing to the quantity of vermin’ in the houses.\textsuperscript{82} Even a pink area, like Pomeroy Street, had ‘not a very good name’.\textsuperscript{83} Descriptions of degradation between categories is subtle and contradictory, highlighting the difficulty inherent in trying to grade people’s character by their dwelling place. And, even though it was the guardians’ wish for children to become respectable – purple towards pink – oral histories of respectable poor Edwardian era children in Peckham and East Dulwich paint an only marginally

\textsuperscript{78} George H. Duckworth’s Notebook: Police District 42 [St George Camberwell], 1899, Booth/B/365, p.213; Steele, p.179.
\textsuperscript{79} Booth/B/365, p.103
\textsuperscript{80} George E. Arkell’s and George H. Duckworth’s Notebook: District 43 [Camberwell], 1899, Booth/B/375, p.13.
\textsuperscript{81} Ernest Aves’ Notebook: Police District 43 [Camberwell], 1899, Booth/B/373, p.171
\textsuperscript{82} Steele, p.183.
\textsuperscript{83} Booth/B/373, p.187.
better standard of life on the outside: Alice Davies (b.1898) was the eldest of
nine in a family where ‘money was short, wages were low’. Due to a period of
bad employment for her tee-total father, she and her sister were allowed free
school meals. But life, she said, was ‘not sad’.84 Nora Cullingford said
‘happiness was not geared to the possession of a substantial income’.85 Both
Elsie Stukings and Hilda Kors recalled poverty-stricken classmates in their
schools, who were ‘thinly-clad and ill-shod’ and ‘one girl lived in what was
virtually a hovel’.86 Scattered homes’ children were in proximity to girls like these
at their families’ addresses as well as when they were in scattered homes. The
key difference however lies in the wider context of addresses: scattered homes
were situated where children lived alongside and interacted more with people of
the class above them in Booth’s schema (blue and purple surrounded by pink
and red) than with the class below (pink and purple, surrounded by light and
dark blue). Furthermore, if it can be regarded that Camberwell had very few
highly impoverished areas, and the majority of the poorest people being relieved
– parents included – were in the workhouse, then the likelihood of children
encountering the very worst class of people was vastly reduced by their living in
scattered homes unless they were among the class of ‘ins-and-outs’.

84 Southwark Local History Library and Archive (SLHLA), ‘Mrs A.C. Davies, Copleston Road, Peckham,
Typed by her daughter from her handwritten memoirs’, February 1979, P942.16422DAV.
85 SLHLA ‘The Good and Bad Old Days of Childhood Contributed by some East Dulwich People, Hanover
Chapel and St Saviour’s Church Lent programme’, 1976, P942.16423
86 SLHLA ‘The Good and Bad Old Days of Childhood’.
Chapter Three: Day-to-Day Life in the Homes

This chapter will examine how far day-to-day life in the Camberwell scattered homes contributed to the improvement of pauper children’s lives. Was the ‘pseudo-family’ setting able to replace the birth family’s perceived bad influence? This chapter will show that although high hopes were placed on scattered homes, they obscured failings that arose because the system was not designed to deal with children’s individual circumstances. It will use records of interaction between children and birth families, and recollections from children in institutions, to explain why there are problems with historians’ assertions in the past that love bestowed upon lower-class children by their parents was conditional upon them having an economic function within the family.\(^87\)

Scattered homes intended to keep children apart from lower-class persons and encourage them to develop behaviour and morals in keeping with a Victorian bourgeois family ideal; a practice from the 1870s onwards that Murdoch says was designed to deny citizenship to segments of the urban poor and reclaim their children as citizens.\(^88\) A lifestyle was prescribed to each household, whereby children attended school and church, ate together as a family and performed chores.\(^89\) Maintaining the bourgeois ideal was not always possible. In the beginning, guardians referred to ‘foster parents’.\(^90\) A foster father, Mr Mallins, was recorded at one of the earliest houses, Meadow Bank, but the

\(^{87}\) Pollock, pp.33-70.
\(^{88}\) Murdoch, p.7.
\(^{89}\) CABG/075, 6 January 1898; Appendix 1.
\(^{90}\) CABG/075, 31 December 1897, p.1.
rules, and most minutes thereafter, refer to a single FM running each house of ten children with the assistance of relief staff.91 These female-headed households were markedly different to artisanal households outside the poor law, where men were the breadwinners and women rarely managed to stay afloat alone. Rules also stipulated that FMs ought to share the religious denomination of their charges. The majority of homes’ children were recorded as Church of England. However, there were enough non-conformists to make church attendance problematic: FMs were instructed to take non-denominational children to separate services on Sunday afternoons to ameliorate the problem.92 This would not have mirrored the ordinary religious practice of an artisan household.

Guardians placed much faith in the FMs to achieve these sorts of goals, and there is evidence to support the argument that they wanted to hire literate and respectable women with experience in domestic roles, placing situations vacant in the small-ad led, populist Daily Chronicle newspaper.93 A sample analysis of 101 women employed as FMs in Camberwell found that fifty-one were single and twenty-seven widowed (Appendix 3). Forty-two had had at least one previous job and thirty-six had had two or more jobs including nurse or sister, children’s attendant in a mission or poor law institution, needlewoman or dressmaker. FMs tended to mention past experience as governesses or lady’s helps, rather than lower-status jobs as maids or general servants. Fewer had worked in factories.94 Two years into the scheme, an account in the South

91 CABG/076, 6 July 1900, p.60.
92 CABG/077, 5 January 1906.
93 CABG/077, 29 May 1908.
94 Appendix 3.
London Press (SLP) newspaper of a children’s party made much of the attributes of ‘mammas’ – ‘the homely and well-chosen’ FMs; it publicly framed their influence as nurturing and in keeping with the role of the idealised woman who ‘stayed at home, providing a fixed point’ for family.95 The children were described as well dressed ‘lucky little folk’, living in ‘simply commodious residences’. They had a ‘romping time’ laughing and eating their fill ‘removed far from the taint of the poor house’.96 In public-facing literature the children were rarely described as anything other than rehabilitated and ready for a normal future life. Birth parents – beyond being referred to as a taint – were mainly absent from news stories, which painted children as deserted or orphaned when most of them had at least one parent alive with whereabouts known (Chapter Two). Guardians and their committee volunteers were cast as paternalistic heroes, the guardians giving basics – clothes, food, lodging, overarching instruction – and benefactors offering extravagant treats – spreads of 800 buns and 300lbs of cake.97 News stories gave the impression that scattered homes and staff, being more family-oriented and less institutional than SMDS, were more familial and loving than children’s birth families and homes, despite that not being their primary aim. Publicly showering the children with the trappings of bourgeois life also had the effect of creating a tableau of a precious childhood.

Such positive stories masked another truth: the less than savoury reports concerning child behaviour not in the public domain. Murdoch’s study identified

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95 Davidoff et al, p.54; ‘Children of the state: Mothers of ten, Infantile tea party at Peckham’, SLP, 5 January 1901.
96 SLP, 5 January 1901.
97 ‘Camberwell Scattered Homes’, SLP, 5 January 1907; ‘Camberwell Guardians’ Treat’, SLP, 3 January 1908.
a recurring motif of the girl child in particular as 'hard, uncontrollable, violent, apathetic, sullen, and un-nurturing – traits that contrasted sharply with the middle-class image of working-class respectability'.

This can be found in Camberwell records. Thirteen-year-old Emily Sharp was described as uncontrollable and having a bad temper; Rose Miller, fifteen, had an ‘ungovernable temper’ and stabbed another girl in the arm. These reports were framed with no attempt to identify underlying causes. But as the importance of the child-mother relationship in emotional and social development theory did not emerge until the 1950s, it would seem unlikely that anyone would have equated familial separation with bad behaviour.

Furthermore, Dr Julie Marie Strange of the University of Manchester asserts that the poor were thought by reformers to be incapable of showing love within the family. Pollock says historians have used ‘overwhelmingly secondary’ texts, ‘moral and medical tracts, religious sermons and the views of contemporary experts’ to stack up their hypotheses, while only a few have considered the use of autobiographies and diaries for a different perspective. Burnett highlights the number of working-class people who wrote autobiographies and kept diaries in the nineteenth century, to place oneself ‘in the context of history, geography and social change’. A similar case could be made for the imperative to participate in oral history; children’s homes memories collected by Limbrick were

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98 Murdoch, p.58.
99 CABG/076, 9 January 1903, p.160; CABG/041, Camberwell Board of Guardians Minutes, 10 October 1900, p.642.
100 Pollock, p.41.
101 Children of the Scattered Homes, BBC Radio 4, 10 April 2015.
102 Pollock, p.22; pp.43-44.
given in order to create records where none existed, creating a new repository.\textsuperscript{104} Here, first-person testimony comes from these types of source and, while disparate in timespan and geographies (covering all of the UK and all types of children’s institution from 1910 to the 1950s), they share strong emotions borne of separation from family members. Charlie Chaplin was rendered ‘utterly dejected’ at being separated from his mother when admitted aged six to the Lambeth workhouse.\textsuperscript{105} A 1950s resident of cottage homes in Sheffield was ‘confused and frightened’ on being parted from his brother.\textsuperscript{106} A girl of ten sent to Sheffield scattered homes in 1936 felt guilt when the matrons split her from her younger siblings who she had promised to look after.\textsuperscript{107} Vicky Norman (b.1932), a Plymouth homes’ girl orphaned aged three, described in her collection of inmates’ memories the ‘trauma of depression, grief, anger, abuse, anxiety and rejection’ people associated with care.\textsuperscript{108} These remembered negative feelings appear to be universal rather than time-bound, so it seems likely scattered homes’ inmates were similarly affected. Bad behaviour would have been contrary to guardians’ expectations, calling into question the homes’ efficacy. The widespread institutional practice of rationing or completely preventing children’s contact with birth family members was arguably partly responsible for adverse behaviour. In Camberwell, the process of applying to see or take out one’s children involved bureaucratic form filling and approval in writing.\textsuperscript{109} Rejections appeared regularly in the minutes. The central premise of

\textsuperscript{105} Chaplin, location 416, 438.
\textsuperscript{106} Limbrick p.120.
\textsuperscript{107} Lyn Howsam, \textit{Memories of the Workhouse and Old Hospital at Fir Vale} (Sheffield, ALD Design and Print, 2002), p.21.
\textsuperscript{109} Appendix 1.
attachment theory suggests that proximity to the primary care giver brings about ‘a relaxed state in which one can begin to “get on with things”, pursue one’s projects, to explore.’\textsuperscript{110} The knowledge that some institutional care-givers historically found children behaved badly after seeing their parents suggests that ongoing familial separation could disrupt what Ainsworth called the ‘secure base’, where ‘attachment makes its presence known by a negative inverse square law; the further the attached person is from their secure base, the greater the pull of attachment.’\textsuperscript{111} In place of children’s preferred attachment figures, guardians added a fortnightly roster of visitors from the children’s committee, and encouraged freer social association with respectable neighbours and schoolmates.\textsuperscript{112} What in the eyes of the guardians constituted positive social conditioning arguably may have caused the resistance they documented in children.

What of the significance of the child-FM relationship? Davidoff et al considered the possibility that ‘for the youngest children, the person to whom they relate on a day-to-day basis is more important than the category of their carer, whether of kinship or other’.\textsuperscript{113} There is evidence of bonds between FMs and children being so strong that they did not want to be parted: FM Mrs Gorton and FM Spikes were each refused requests to take children with them on annual leave in 1912.\textsuperscript{114} But birth families were documented making representations on behalf of their children in allegations of cruelty and overwork. This was the case with

\textsuperscript{111} Murdoch, p.118; Holmes, p.70.  
\textsuperscript{112} Appendix 1.  
\textsuperscript{113} Davidoff et al, p.55.  
\textsuperscript{114} CABG/079, 17 May 1912; 28 June 1912.
Mildred Element, whose mother reported an incident at 272 CPR in 1908 when she was eleven or twelve. Mildred alleged the FM put her into a bath of cold water for disturbing girls at night with her restlessness. Since then, at 18 Ashbourne Grove, the girl complained of being asked to do more chores than she was capable of, and had been in the infirmary. The panel heard from FMs Miss Northern and Miss Trickey that Mildred had an 'untruthful character'. The fact Mrs Element didn’t complain the first time was also held against them, and the case was considered to have no grounds. In another incident, FM Miss Pollard was accused of inflicting corporal punishment on a girl. Although forbidden by the rules, the incident was deemed ‘not of a serious nature’. Fourteen-year-old Lily Gratwick, of 14 Derwent Grove, complained to the NSPCC that she was being overworked for someone of her age, but to no avail. The negating of girls’ experiences tallies with Murdoch’s analysis of the cottage homes environment, where the ‘recreated “family” […] served to naturalise the children’s transition into their roles as artisans and servants while at the same time it further delegitimised the children’s biological family structures’. Guardians met their own aims by using stereotyped notions of the children’s backgrounds to minimise their lived experience.

There were cases of alleged neglect which, like allegations of cruelty, largely considered FMs blameless, such as the death of eleven-year-old Ernest McMahon, injured during a football game. Despite being hurt on 16 March 1907,

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115 CABG/078, 24 January 1910, insert p.87A.
116 CABG/078, 31 January 1910; Appendix 1.
118 Murdoch, p.61.
his injury was not reported for five days, whereupon he died at the infirmary.\textsuperscript{119}
At the inquest his mother raised concerns about standards of care in the homes. The
unnamed FM either did not speak or her testimony was redacted. The
coroner interrogated at length fifteen-year-old Augustus Collins, the homes’ boy
who dealt the accidental fatal kick. At the inquest, and in the minutes of the
guardians’ own inquiry, the FM was apportioned no blame, despite the scattered
homes’ rule that:

\begin{quote}
In the case of illness, or if any child is ailing, the Doctor appointed to visit
the Home, whose name and address she will be provided with, is to be at
once sent for.\textsuperscript{120}
\end{quote}

FMs did occasionally contravene the rules: Miss Collyer went out at night and
left children unattended, and Mrs Gepp kept her own children in an adjacent
property but fed them homes’ rations.\textsuperscript{121} The night-time incident, following which
the FM resigned, led to a letter of protest being signed by forty-three FMs and
relief mothers requesting one night a month off instead of every six weeks,
suggesting a growing solidarity among women in addressing difficult working
conditions.\textsuperscript{122} By 1913, there was further evidence of organising activity.
Guardians were approached by the London Trades’ Council, imploring them to
ensure workers were not engaged for more than 48 hours per week.\textsuperscript{123} There
were concerns too about FM pay on a whole-time contract (around the clock).

\textsuperscript{119} ‘Football fatality at East Dulwich’, \textit{SLP}, 20 April 1907.
\textsuperscript{120} CABG/078, 26 April 1907, pp.138-9; Appendix 1.
\textsuperscript{121} CABG/078, 30 June 1911, p.168; CABG/078, 4 July 1911, p.164.
\textsuperscript{122} CABG/078, 12 January 1912, p.189; CABG/079, 3 May 1912, p.11.
\textsuperscript{123} CABG/079, 2 May 1913, p.68; CABG/079, 13 June 1913, p.72.
Records show that between 1898 and 1910, the annual salary of a regular FM remained static at £30 per year.\textsuperscript{124} Twenty-five FMs each with ten years’ service signed a letter requesting pay rises in 1914.\textsuperscript{125} FMs had an average starting age of thirty-six, though minutes documented a number growing elderly and infirm. Mrs Petty at 4 Barforth Road had her engagement terminated due to deafness.\textsuperscript{126} Emma Lightfoot retired aged sixty-nine through ill-health.\textsuperscript{127} Ill-health in general was rife among FMs, with dozens being given a leave of absence or resigning, their conditions including mental breakdown.\textsuperscript{128} Rarely a month went by without guardians needing to recruit. Growing dissatisfaction among some FMs about freedom and fair pay on the job, as well as the need for respectable single and widowed women to continue supporting themselves in gruelling employment that could harm their health, meant FMs as well as children exited the system regularly.\textsuperscript{129} Guardians appeared to turn a blind eye to much behaviour that might further destabilise households. This likely affected the level of trust children could place in carers, and contributed to disruption unlike that which might be expected in a respectable artisan family.

As early as 1877 cottage (or village) homes, a precursor model to scattered homes, had been identified as artificial. Journalist William Chambers claimed such homes ‘will prove abortive, and be attended, one way or another, with bad effects’.\textsuperscript{130} Villages were described as pauper colonies by the \textit{BMJ} in 1897

\textsuperscript{124} List of salaries matches stated wage given in 1898, CABG/078, 29 October 1910 and Appendix 1
\textsuperscript{125} CABG/079, 3 April 1914, p.125.
\textsuperscript{126} CABG/078, 24 March 1911, p.147.
\textsuperscript{127} CABG/078, 23 September 1910, p.116.
\textsuperscript{128} Partial breakdown and nervous attack of FM Jessie Foskett, CABG/076, 14 October 1904, p.57. Nervous breakdown of L Traue, CABG/077, 9 October 1906, p.192. Four FMs on sick leave, two to be pensioned off, CABG/079, 1 May 1914, p.128.
\textsuperscript{129} Appendix 3.
\textsuperscript{130} Murdoch, p.43.
where children couldn’t learn ‘every-day duties by actual experience’ or ‘see life under ordinary circumstances’. Murdoch found that family-type institutions were not less artificial than barrack schools, and promoted a ‘peculiar’ version of the family. The artificiality was not lost on children: Waifs and Strays Society children’s home inmate Edna Wheway (b.1903) expressed scorn at being thrust into the company of a particular girl on her first day: ‘We didn’t really like each other much, yet we were always paired off together.’ Wheway shared a dormitory with twelve girls and remained there for thirteen years, which differed from the scattered homes set-up where rooms were (in theory) shared by small numbers of children, with a maximum ten per household. A quantitative analysis illustrates the precarious nature and unnaturalness of scattered homes’ populations.

131 BMJ, 14 August 1897, p.414.
132 Murdoch, p.44.
Figure 3A: Number of inmates received and discharged annually 1899-1908, 202 Barry Road

Figure 3B: Number of inmates received and discharged annually 1903-1914, 272 Crystal Palace Road

\[134 \text{ CABG/249.} \]
\[135 \text{ CABG/247.} \]
Figure 3C: Number of inmates received and discharged annually 1900-1914, 2 Barforth Road

Figure 3D: Number of inmates received and discharged annually 1901-1914, 4 Barforth Road

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136 CABG/238.
137 CABG/239.
Figures 3A-3D show that in the majority of cases, there were ten or more annual admissions to houses, with half or more leaving the same year. 1907-1908 was a period of particular churn, with all four houses admitting thirty-to-forty children, and at least half exiting. Minutes in 1908 stated that the number of children in care exceeded the certified level by one-hundred-and-eleven, with two new planned homes still leaving a surplus of eighty-four.\textsuperscript{138} The LGB regularly recommended cost-saving ‘call overs’ – a reassessment of inmates to decide which families could be released – at times of oversubscription. Camberwell guardians’ commitment to call overs appears to have been lacklustre: the 1905 call over led to the ejection of only eleven children and two parish settlements being made, while one family was urged to pay two shillings a week towards a child’s keep.\textsuperscript{139} Twelve left in 1906, and seven in 1908 – though guardians also released a further eight families on out-relief with sixteen more to follow.\textsuperscript{140} Mary Clifford, a guardian in Barton Regis, held a view widely shared against giving over-generous out-relief, saying authorities had ‘no right to give free grants of money out of the pockets of honest frugal people to the families of men and women who have scandalised their neighbours by their lives’; but the LGB seemed less moved by a moral imperative when considering over-subscribed scattered homes.\textsuperscript{141} This suggests moving away from the crusade against out-relief in Camberwell was potentially driven by suspicion about the cost of scattered homes. In any case, overcrowding and the arrival and departure of

\textsuperscript{138} CABG/078, 4 December 1908, p.6.
\textsuperscript{139} CABG/077, 15 December 1905.
\textsuperscript{140} CABG/077, 14 September 1906, 9 April 1908.
multiple family members over the course of a year would have been contrary to
the aims to provide a respectable family home environment and guardians
would have had to act.

Figure 3E offers further opportunity to analyse the graph spikes above in relation
to ‘ins-and-outs’ (Chapter Two). Murdoch identified that parents of ‘ins-and-outs’
manipulated institution admissions and discharges to ‘avoid fortnightly transfer
of their children to the Kensington and Chelsea district schools outside London’,
with one family using the practice forty-two times in just under four years.\(^{142}\) The
same imperative cannot have been at play as in Banstead, because the houses
were in the same parish as the workhouses, rather than ten miles away at
SMDS. In each Camberwell home, the majority of children were placed for a
single stay but there is a small, distinct population of ‘ins-and-outs’ in the four
houses, characterised here as having been placed in the same dwelling two or
more times.

Figure 3E: Scattered homes’ ‘ins-and-outs’\(^{143}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2 Barforth</th>
<th>4 Barforth</th>
<th>202 Barry</th>
<th>272 CPR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total no. children</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. ins and outs</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hollen Lees identified that some paupers used the poor law in times of
temporary crisis and that short-term separation was seen as a way of achieving
the long-term goal of rebuilding a household.\(^{144}\) A number of super-‘ins-and-

\(^{142}\) Murdoch, p.95, p.97.
\(^{143}\) CABG/238/239/247/249.
\(^{144}\) Hollen Lees, p.181; Murdoch, p.86.
outs’ were resident during an acute crisis period. Charles Veasey (b.1898) lived at 4 Barforth Road thirteen times in 1908, when there were fifteen more admissions than discharges. This means that all but two exit records related to the same child, and that other than his recurring presence, the population that year was stable.145 Similar analysis of the graphs above applies to Roseline Gressing (b.1898) who stayed at 202 Barry Road eleven times between December 1906 and mid-1907.146 These children had least one parent in the infirmary or workhouse. In these circumstances guardians’ aims were somewhat redundant. While they wished to dictate the next generation of artisans, birth families had other plans that undermined the ability of a household to develop its own close ties. In addition, most of the acute ‘ins-and-outs’ were of compulsory school age, meaning that when they reunited with parents they were not old enough to become part of the economic family unit. This casts doubt on assertions reiterated by the likes of Anderson, Hendrick and Ross about love being conditional upon labour.147

Further problems arise when taking at face value the snapshot of a child’s single stay in a scattered home, and there are indications that ‘ins-and-outs’ were more widespread. Clara Dark (b.1898) featured on the census at 202 Barry Road on 31 March 1901.148 The house register shows that Clara was only there between 27 March and 3 April.149 Clara was at 272 CPR between 5 December 1903 and 26 April 1904, followed by elder sister Jane (b.1895) between 5 September 1904

145 CABG/239.  
146 CABG/249.  
149 CABG/249.
and 2 February 1905.\textsuperscript{150} The surviving Central Receiving Home register and index (which runs to thousands of pages), however, reveals that the sisters were among the most prolific ‘ins-and-outs’ of the scattered homes system. Clara entered on 69 occasions between 1902 and 1907, and Jane 62 times, the practice ending only with her death aged 12.\textsuperscript{151} The scattered homes’ solution was arguably of no greater benefit to the Dark family than the earlier SMDS had been, their eldest daughter Elizabeth (b.1892) having died there in 1900.\textsuperscript{152} However, the Dark family is another example of a strong kinship bond not dependent on an economic function. While in the Gordon Road Workhouse, Annie and Charles Dark regularly chose to spend time with Clara and Jane, even though Charles, a hawker in ill-health, was once prosecuted for desertion.\textsuperscript{153} Habitual ‘ins-and-outs’ then did not necessarily have a long-term goal to reunite outside as other paupers did. While there was no need to reunite for economic reasons, the natural conclusion is that they reunited out of companionship and love. They appeared to no longer display what Malthus described as ‘the fear of want, rather than the want itself’, which will most ‘invariably be found among a class of people above the class of the wretchedly poor’.\textsuperscript{154} It is possible there was a sort of peace to be achieved in letting go of the struggle: life outside was harsh. In 1907 and 1908 there were reports of local unemployment problems (Chapter Four); children were the unintended victims with reports of widespread malnutrition.\textsuperscript{155} The guardians’ aims for creating a

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[150] CABG/247.
\item[151] LMA CABG/203/001-002, Central and Receiving Home for Children, The Newlands, Stuart Road.
\item[152] ‘Sutton schools: Deaths in the Infirmary’, SLP, 27 October 1900.
\item[153] CABG/096, Finance and General Purposes Committee, 20 September 1899, p.114; CABG/203/001.
\item[155] ‘Cases in brief’, Observer, 2 December 1906; ‘Unemployed deputations, trenchant questions’, SLP, 14 and 18 December 1908; ‘Rotherhithe New Year’s service’, SLP, 3 January 1908.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
new artisan class were hampered by birth family circumstances, in that the homes set-up was not able to solve the wider socio-economic problems which contributed to the ‘ins-and-outs’ population.

**Conclusion**

Sources indicate that day-to-day existence in scattered homes could be chaotic. The fluctuating population made it difficult for houses to function as homes. FMs had little free time to relax, and some of them were elderly. They were subject to allegations of neglect and cruelty by children who did not feel close to them. Consequently FMs fell ill with stress. Children’s birth families, too, made great efforts to stay in touch. While showing that the natural family unit could remain strong despite destitution, parental behaviour further served to destabilise the ‘pseudo-family’ household. Negative comments were made about children who reacted badly to the set-up or who complained about conditions. Testimony from adults who grew up in children’s institutions suggests that it was common to turn negativity inwards. There was enough incident reporting in the guardians’ minutes to find the media portrayal of a happy environment jarring. This bias warrants further investigation, particularly in relation to the oversubscription and the true cost of the homes. It seems clear the homes were not quite the beacon of efficiency the guardians professed, and children were denied a voice in the process of trying to bring that to attention.
Chapter Four: Discharge from the Homes

This chapter looks at the intended outcomes of homes’ children via the work opportunities that awaited them. Trends exposed by the available data will cast at least some doubt on the total efficacy of the scheme. For boys this could be called the ‘artisan problem’, related both to the economic and industrial conditions of the time and the potential deskilling of various occupations. For girls an experience of being upskilled to serve a middle-class clientele, coupled with reduced social interaction with their birth families and communities, will be examined. The chapter will assess where older inmates were discharged to as well as compare the options with testimony from working-class biographers to see how the futures plotted for the children lived up to artisan life experience.

Boys

Knox described engineering, shipbuilding, construction and printing trades as the ‘classic representatives of artisanal culture and values’ at the top of a hierarchy which placed apprenticed tradesmen above semi- or unskilled labourers.\textsuperscript{156} A summary of guardians’ employment returns for scattered homes’ boys (Figure 4A) shows they were not being introduced in great numbers to jobs in these areas.

Figure 4A: Boys placed in situations 1903 to 1914\textsuperscript{157}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation or placing</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working Boys’ Homes</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercantile Marine</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naval and military bands</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawnbroker’s Assistant</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Navy</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm hand/gardener</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker/boots</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone boy</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exmouth</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>508</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second-largest category, Mercantile Marine, can be combined to make nautical the biggest overall with Navy, military bands and Exmouth (a London poor law training hulk moored in the Thames at Grays, Essex) (36.3%). Of those remaining, printer and baker could be considered artisanal trades, at 1%. The thirty-one different jobs that fall under Other (8.6%) each represent fractions of a percent of boys and include apprenticed and respectable trades, such as builder (three boys), engineer (three boys) grocer and chair frame-maker, as well as others considered unskilled, including messenger and van boy. Further information from committee minutes and exit data from house registers casts some doubt on the accuracy of the guardians’ annual employment returns and suggests the figure may have been even lower. Figure 4B shows the work-

\textsuperscript{157} CAGB/077-080.
related destinations of boys on leaving the houses (ignoring entries left blank, and the 184 boys whose next destination was another house or the central home).

**Figure 4B: Boys’ work-related destinations, 1901-1014**

It shows that nine and fifteen boys respectively were sent to Exmouth between 1901 and 1914, offering evidence that the military/nautical category was under-reported. Figure 4A shows a total of six recruits to Exmouth between 1903 and 1914 for all scattered homes.

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158 CABG/238/239.
Training ships

It is not clear why the guardians would remove Exmouth from calculations, but this may have been related to the relatively young age of the boys:

Higginbotham notes they were typically sent to training ships at eleven or twelve and would stay until fifteen or sixteen.\textsuperscript{159}

\textbf{Figure 4C: Exmouth Training Ship: mess room, c.1910}\textsuperscript{160}

The photo above shows that the majority of boys were young, if not underdeveloped due to earlier malnutrition. Boys were taught nautical skills, drill and boxing.\textsuperscript{161} They could be disciplined with the birch, food was basic and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textsuperscript{159} Higginbotham, ‘Naval Training Ships’, \url{www.childrenshomes.org.uk/TS/} [accessed 31 December 2018].
\textsuperscript{160} LMA, LCC Photograph Library, SC_PHL_02_0926_64_140, Exmouth Training Ship, 1910.
\textsuperscript{161} \url{www.childrenshomes.org.uk/TS/}
\end{tabular}
\end{footnotesize}
shoes were not always worn. Poor law authorities held the ships in high regard, as a paper to the Central Poor Law Conference in 1904 claimed:

[…]there is the substantial fact that a boy who goes from the Exmouth into a naval training ship can at the age of forty secure a pension of over £50 for life. What is more, there are few, if any, recorded instances of a blue-jacket receiving relief from the poor law.

Murdoch asserts that family objection to a life at sea was common, and that parents preferred their sons to have a trade. Boys regularly asked, and were asked, to go to Exmouth, but guardians sometimes employed 1899 child cruelty legislation to adopt children immediately prior to deciding to send them to training ships, taking away the parents’ right to choose. In Camberwell, James Taylor’s mother was refused an application to remove him from the vessel as she was deemed an unsuitable person for him to stay with even for the Christmas holidays. George Gibson’s aunt attempted to have him removed from Exmouth, even though George was said to want a career at sea. Children could be taken onboard for a lump sum or for eight to nine shillings a week. As guardians heavily promoted Exmouth, it is likely the cost and outcome were thought favourable by comparison with other options.

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162 www.childrenshomes.org.uk/TS/
163 www.childrenshomes.org.uk/TS/
164 Murdoch, pp.136-138.
165 CABG/078, 3 December 1909.
166 CABG/077 29 May 1908.
Apprenticeships

The fractured nature of boys’ placings into employment above agrees with Booth’s researchers that Camberwell had ‘no important local industry’; the poorest residents were ‘costers, loafers, and the confirmed casuals of every trade and no trade’.\(^{168}\) Poverty was a long-standing feature of life among the casuals, with soup kitchens running every year for decades.\(^{169}\) Artisans might have considered themselves immune to this predicament, but by 1890-1914, Knox observes that a ‘second industrial revolution’ via the introduction of semi-automatic machines and increased use of semi- and unskilled labour began the process of deskilling trades and pushing down wages.\(^{170}\) To Knox’s list of four artisanal trades being deskilled by mechanisation, Childs adds silverware stamping, ropemaking, brush-making, tinsmithing, cabinet making, glass and bottle-making, shoemaking and upholstery.\(^{171}\) It was into this market place that scattered homes’ apprentices were thrust. Surviving documents show that Camberwell boys were entered into occupations including those that were being deskilled. Minutes give rise to the possibility that certain of the better opportunities were being reserved for boys fulfilling criteria that met with guardians’ moral codes of behaviour.

Childs saw the deskilling of apprentices as characteristic of exploitative boy labour, turning them into a ‘cheap supply of machine minders, or practitioners of a single subdivided process’ with only a favoured few ‘put through the whole

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168 Booth/B/373, p.197.
169 SLP, 27 December 1902.
170 Knox, pp.170-173.
trade to become foremen or machine setters’.\textsuperscript{172} Camberwell continued sending small numbers of boys to shoemaking, a trade where a contributory reason for its collapse was the over-reliance on industrial school and poor law recruits.\textsuperscript{173} Although shoemaking continued to thrive in places such as Norwich during this period, Childs identifies that deskilling of this trade for men had been almost complete between 1850 and the 1880s with the evolution of closing, riveting and cutting technology.\textsuperscript{174} Additionally, boy labourers’ wages were high relative to those of adults, and Childs says this gave them the economic power to move around, picking and choosing jobs.\textsuperscript{175} This was thought ‘a potent factor in the creation of a lawless and asocial youth’ by middle-class observers, and may help to explain a tendency for guardians to prioritise military and seafaring options for boys despite their original aims to focus on skilled artisanal trades.\textsuperscript{176}

Repeat apprenticeship placement failure could result in the sending of a boy to Exmouth or a remote training colony. This was the fate of Walter Bayliss (b.1893), sent to Lingfield Training Colony having failed three tailoring apprenticeships in the space of five months.\textsuperscript{177} Guardians appeared to use other occupational tactics to catch lads who could not settle in apprenticeships for whatever reason, indicating that although there might have been a sliding scale of options, they were not entirely willing to give up on boys. A case in point was Horace St Aubyn (b.1893) recommended to Lingfield in 1913. He failed a series

\textsuperscript{172} Childs, p.789.
\textsuperscript{173} Childs, p.786.
\textsuperscript{175} Childs, p.791.
\textsuperscript{176} Childs, p.793.
\textsuperscript{177} CABG/195, Proposals of apprenticeship; CABG/198/2, p.7; CABG/078, 3 December 1909.
of apprenticeships, and one potential employer was told he had ‘peculiarities’.

Yet in 1916 the guardians had:

[...]pleasure in reporting that Private Horace St Aubyn… has been awarded the Military Medal for gallantry and devotion in action, and it was Resolved that a letter of congratulation be sent to him. 178

This is one of several examples of guardians’ displaying a sense of familial pride towards ex-homes children that went above and beyond what they promised in their aims, particularly as Horace was by this time beyond the guardians’ cut-off age for contact.179

Futures seemed bright for boys set on course for premium apprenticeship placings by the guardians, some of whom would be earning twenty shillings a week by the fifth and final year of indentures, if they could handle the first two years earning only six or seven shillings a week. These included Arthur Roberts, fourteen, awarded a five-year apprenticeship with Albany Engineering, and Douglas Coombs, apprenticed to an outdoor architectural wood carving firm.180

Their advocates observed them taking pride in crafts and described them warmly when seen to be well-behaved and grateful. Coombs was: ‘A lad of special ability, has an excellent character, and when in the Homes always showed a decided talent in carving.’181 This gives the clearest indication that guardians were still driven to some extent by their own moralistic impressions of how a poor person should behave to deserve top-drawer assistance.

178 CABG/198/2, p.13; CABG/090 10 November 1916, p.25.
179 CABG/078, 7 October 1910, p.120.
181 CABG/079, 3 May 1912, p.10.
**Working Boys’ Homes**

The largest single category in the employment return, Working Boys’ Homes (WBHs), accounted for more than a third of all boys and had a confusing crossover with the apprenticeship category. Limbrick writes that WBHs, which were half-way houses on the way to independent life, were used by both apprentices whose job came with no accommodation and those who graduated straight into jobs.\(^{182}\) Giving boys this incentive to live quasi-independently, with some supervision that was, importantly, not tied to their own families, meant that at least at the start of their working lives guardians had set them up in accordance with stated aims to reduce their exposure to bad influences. Moving boys to WBHs additionally had a financial incentive for guardians: they would either no longer be chargeable to the rates or would only be subject to small top-up payments if a training wage was too low to cover costs.\(^{183}\) Ernest Rice, a box-maker’s apprentice, needed additional funds for his tools and uniform when earning seven shillings a week and living at a WBH.\(^{184}\) The youths most commonly living at WBHs, who would not qualify for top-up funding, were those who had gone into occupations known as ‘blind alley’ or ‘dead end’ trades, identified as a growing area in the 1911 census.\(^{185}\) Much like deskilled apprenticeships, blind-alley jobs offered an initially attractive wage but left boys open to replacement by younger entrants.\(^{186}\) Camberwell guardians were warned against sending boys into blind-alley occupations by the LGB in 1910,

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\(^{182}\) Gudrun Limbrick, ‘Working Boys’ Homes’, [http://www.formerchildrenshomes.org.uk/working_boys_home.html](http://www.formerchildrenshomes.org.uk/working_boys_home.html) [accessed 31 October 2018]

\(^{183}\) CABG/078, 7 October 1910, p.120.

\(^{184}\) CABG/079, 6 February 1914, p.112.


\(^{186}\) Childs, p.794.
but they did place several as van and warehouse boys, telephone boys and messengers.\textsuperscript{187} Because there were no financial ties between the guardians and boys in unskilled professions, they disappeared swiftly from the records and it is difficult to say what exactly happened to them after the scattered homes.

\textit{Girls}

The LGB made it clear to guardians that scattered homes’ girls were to be trained for service and ‘in order that they may be fitted in after life for being wives and mothers’.\textsuperscript{188} All 369 homes’ girls included in the employment returns up to 1914 went into domestic service: at the time of the study servants ‘constituted the largest single group of working people in Britain’, and in 1911 included 1.35 million women.\textsuperscript{189} Lethbridge notes that cheaper poor law girls were popular with the lower-middle classes; domestic work had long been painted as a route to respectability, which Lethbridge defined as maintaining ‘discipline, boundaries and control’.\textsuperscript{190} That guardians did not send a single girl to factory or shop work suggests they held strong views on the superiority of domestic service. Lethbridge adds that ‘there was perceived to be an upward momentum for the good servant’, with the correct behaviour defined as ‘silent, subservient and multitudinous’.\textsuperscript{191} The Metropolitan Association for the Befriending of Young Servants (MABYS) had a long history of dealing with poor law girls and their perceived lack of this respectability: ‘A good tempered variety

\textsuperscript{187} CABG/078, 7 October 1910, p.120; CABG/076-079.
\textsuperscript{188} CABG/075, 6 January 1898; CABG/078, 7 October 1910.
\textsuperscript{191} Lethbridge, p.5.
is occasionally to be found but it is very rare.’\textsuperscript{192} Camberwell guardians sent dozens of its worst-behaved girls into MABYS care, as well as to homes for ‘friendless and fallen’ girls, indicating sexual activity was suspected or known of. Servant Margaret Powell’s observation that her employers were ‘always greatly concerned’ with her moral welfare shows that keeping scattered homes’ girls under surveillance was the norm for the times.\textsuperscript{193} Moreover, guardians may have been culturally predisposed to think the worst of girls in their care: when Ada Bridgen, thirteen, ‘alleged improper conduct on the part of a lad towards her outside the home’, it was recommended she be sent to a special training school.\textsuperscript{194} The chapter now turns to the skills girls would be expected to learn while living against this backdrop.

\textit{Childcare}

Minding siblings earned working-class girls the honorific title of ‘little mother’ among social investigators and journalists; a practice Davin describes as a middle-class affectation, since many would have seen wiping noses, scolding and holding infants’ hands as their natural role in the family.\textsuperscript{195} Mothers could go out to work and girls earn a penny here or there by helping with neighbourhood infants.\textsuperscript{196} Scattered homes’ children by comparison were not entitled to payment for the experience of looking after other people’s children and, given the breakdown by age in Figure 4D, the older homes’ girls may have had to care for youngsters in much greater numbers.

\textsuperscript{192} Lethbridge, p.93.
\textsuperscript{194} CABG/079, 17 May 1912, p.16.
\textsuperscript{195} Davin, p.88.
\textsuperscript{196} Davin, p.89.
Across the study time frame, approximately thirty girls aged eleven to sixteen lived in each scattered home, compared with one hundred and seventy to one hundred and eighty children aged four to ten, and fewer than ten infants. Figure 4E outlines how this age group bunching looked in one household, and that the composition of the pseudo-family did not match that of the average artisan family, with its several teenagers, no baby, a large group of younger children and hardly any aged in between.
While the house had two girl domestics, Christabel Sutcliffe was older than the rules stipulated to be in a scattered home, indicating one of several possibilities: that a period of transition was in place where Caroline Caufield was to take over; that Christabel needed additional training; or that special school pupil Elizabeth Turner had requirements that needed extra hands. As Elsie Brooks and Ada Bridgen were both thirteen, either may have been in danger of being moved elsewhere when a training place became free: although we know what

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happened to Ada Bridgen, Figure 4F shows that the greater likelihood was of a move to another scattered home.

**Figure 4F: Destination on leaving the home for girls aged eleven to sixteen**

Further to the challenging conditions of unstable household populations described in Chapter Three, older girls – as well as the FMs – would have repeatedly built bonds with new children in order to administer care only to break them again, which might have effects such as Bowlby described including clingingness, hostility or withholding behaviours.\(^{200}\) Descendants of Sheffield scattered homes’ children say their relatives lacked the ability to show affection; Pat Richards (b.1930) was dogged by fears that her own children would be taken into care; Ronald Stansbury (b.1929), showered his children with the love he missed out on.\(^{201}\) It is unlikely that the homes’ childcare training experience

\(^{199}\) LMA, CABG/247/249.


\(^{201}\) *Children of the Scattered Homes*, 10 April 2015; Norman, p.209, p.212.
was as effective as that available to ‘little mothers’ in genuine artisan households, but it was delivered in better quality surroundings than their own families could have provided.

Cleaning and laundry

Arguably the hardest part of training for domestic service was the physical labour involved in cleaning and doing laundry. Maud Pember Reeves outlined the gruelling rituals working-class women put themselves through at home to remain respectable, whiting hearthstones and scrubbing grates.\(^202\) For the weak, this activity could destroy their health and imperil the family.\(^203\) Institutions were found to push children harder than they should: Horn says inspectors of reformatory schools in 1915 found young girls ‘scrubbing and cleaning floors’ in preparation for a life in service, doing work suited to ‘strong healthy charwomen […] not at all suitable for the little child’.\(^204\) Domestics like Margaret Powell experienced aches and pains from a young age: flat feet from hours of standing, rheumatic pains caused by constantly plunging hands into hot and cold water; rough skin from handling chemicals.\(^205\) But employers ‘couldn’t have cared less about your physical welfare’.\(^206\) If girls could handle the strain and demonstrate long-term commitment to service, they were held as good examples and given prizes. Eleven girls received certificates from the Princess Christian ‘for serving three years or more in a position’.\(^207\) Since records of complaints were in the minority, guardians may have considered themselves successful in breaking


\(^{203}\) Hoggart, p.47.


\(^{205}\) Powell, p.76.

\(^{206}\) Powell, p.33.

\(^{207}\) CABG/077, 24 May 1907, p.171.
girls’ wills to fit them for service. However, Powell’s assertion that she and other maids hid ‘scorn and derision’ behind impassive expressions, suggests quiet endurance was possible.208

_Cooking and other household management_

It is not clear from the records how much time children spent learning each of their areas of domestic duty, but it is certain they practised before eventually graduating to a three-month training period at the central home: 14 Derwent Grove had a sewing machine when it opened in 1904, and girls were judged in a cooking and needlework competition at Goodrich Cookery Centre in East Dulwich in 1914.209 Taking pride in domestic skills could lead to good things. Rose Sexton, thirteen, was awarded a junior domestic economy scholarship, which entitled her to a termly maintenance grant of one pound.210 B.L. Hutchins reiterated in 1908 that domestic scholarships helped girls to ‘ensure better situations as young servants’, and moves had been made to extend scholarship education to polytechnics where girls could get ‘first-rate training’ in ‘dress and waistcoat-making, drawing, English and business arithmetic’.211 Social investigator Clementina Black was critical of these scholarships on the grounds that they were of largely domestic rather than industrial value. Somewhat predicting a decline in paid domestic work for women, Black felt working-class girls would be better off learning textile skills that could provide respectable roles in garment making for London’s emerging off-the-peg fashion houses, which

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208 Powell, p.96.
209 CABG/076, 20 June 1902, p.129; CABG/077, 5 February 1904, p.30; CAGB/079, 1 May 1914, p.127.
210 CABG/079, 26 June 1914, p.137.
was both interesting and ‘outside the scope of the general needlewoman’.212 Whether or not such ambition was beyond the realm imaginable for scattered homes’ girls, the route was opening up by the end of this study period.

Girls would also have had compulsory cooking and needlework classes as part of their elementary schooling in the community. Zmroczek, who recognised that authorities started to tie women’s domestic education to the strength and wellbeing of their future husbands and sons in her study of Norwich, noted that domestic economy facilities and the curriculum expanded in the Edwardian period; some instruction was given in the use of plainer ingredients than a decade earlier, and in a wide variety of cooking methods, which may have indicated ‘information and skills which could be used better in working-class homes’.213 But Margaret Powell, who experienced the long ascent from scullery maid to the prime position of cook in the houses of the urban wealthy remarked:

Employers always claimed that the training they gave you stood you in good stead.[…] When I left domestic service I took with me the knowledge of how to cook an elaborate seven-course meal and an enormous inferiority complex.214

Even working as the only domestic servant in a modest middle-class home a girl would have utensils, labour-saving equipment and fare a cut above that available to her on an artisan’s budget. Maud Pember Reeves’ study exposed the hardships of respectable poor living in two rooms, where wives lacked

213 Zmroczek, pp.125-127.
214 Powell, p.190.
utensils and ovens. Scattered homes, with up to ten rooms and dedicated kitchens, were more like the dwellings of employers. It is difficult to know how far girls were prepared for the change of circumstances that awaited them.

Hulonce surmised that scattered homes children presumably ‘learned valuable life lessons about budgeting […] from their far from perfect house mothers’. But in analysing the Camberwell archives the opposite might be true. FMs had a weekly food and necessaries budget for ten people of £1 19s. 8d in 1898 – significantly more than the titular Round About a Pound a Week that had to stretch to rent and fuel, a father’s fares and tobacco, in addition to necessaries, for a respectably poor household ten years’ later. Instead of going to the market or shops, FMs sent their weekly orders to the guardians’ clerk who arranged for provisions to be delivered by tradesmen. It took until 1905 for the LGB to consent to children experiencing real-world transactions when they began buying fruit and vegetables using petty cash. This is a strong indication that the experience of living in a scattered home needed occasional recalibration to take away unintentional institutional elements that stopped it operating like the substitute artisan home it was meant to be.

Additionally, in raising children away from their communities of origin, guardians’ intentions were for them to become estranged. Ross identified that families known to one another in neighbourhoods benefited from an “intermediate”

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215 Pember Reeves, pp.49-51, pp.101-102.
216 Lesley Hulonce, Pauper Children and Poor Law Childhoods in England and Wales, 1834-1910 (Amazon Kindle self-publishing, 2016), location 1014.
217 Pember Reeves, pp.66-67; CABG/075, 6 January 1898, p.14.
218 CABG/075, 6 January 1898, p.14.
219 CABG/077, 19 May 1905, p.81.
economy constructed around neighbourhood exchange, scavenging, theft and barter' in tough times.220 Those who kept separate could find themselves excluded from the support network.221 Former scattered homes’ children, by their period of absence, might find themselves in this category and survival further imperilled.

Other options
Towards the end of the study period there was a new phenomenon emerging in Camberwell: children chargeable to the poor law who took the London County Council scholarship exam and attended higher grade schools instead of leaving education. This opportunity was made possible by 1902 education legislation, but in practice the loss of wages and uniform costs meant many rate-paying artisans could not afford for their children to accept scholarships.222 Those whose academic aspirations were thwarted by the inability to sit for or take up school places included Margaret Powell, Edna Wheway and Janet Hitchman.223 Scholarship boy Richard Hoggart said many families refused on the grounds of ‘vaguely formulated but strong doubt of the value of education’ and fear that it may serve to insert a cultural wedge between parent and child.224 On these grounds, such a wedge might have proven attractive to guardians not only to separate children from errant parents, but to keep promising homes’ children away from those less well-behaved. In Camberwell, Alice Bowerman (b.1898) could be considered a trailblazer: a resident of 6 Newlands Cottages, she was

221 Ross, p.14.
224 Hoggart, pp.84-85.
the first recorded as passing the scholarship exam in 1910, while her father was living in the Gordon Road Workhouse. Alice's brothers, William John and James, were also allowed to take up scholarship places, and another girl, Ethel Barrett, won a place in 1914. Instead of continuing in the homes, these children were placed in civilian boarding houses. With the guardians paying for Alice's bed and board, in a perverse twist the 1911 census shows she was attended by domestic servant Annie Payne – herself a former scattered homes' girl. By 1914, the guardians were considering career paths for Alice, and excellent exam results prompted the guardians to pay for teacher training. In 1919, they received testimony from her college that Alice was intelligent, public spirited, pleasant mannered, and 'promises to be a teacher of decidedly more than average ability'. When guardians wrote to congratulate Alice, it was reported that she replied 'how deeply indebted and grateful she is for all the help and interest she has received during the past seven years'. As well as being the first academic scholarship student, guardians’ minutes about Alice demonstrate not only that they were more enthusiastic and genial about her than any other child in the system previously, but that their new-found route to success for poor law children might be a two-way street emotionally.

Conclusion

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225 CABG/078, 9 September 1910, p.115.
227 CABG/078, 9 September 1910, p.115.
228 TNA 1911, RG14/2463, District 27; Annie Payne and siblings adopted by guardians, CABG/077, 19 January 1906, p.104.
229 CABG/079, 16 October 1914, p.151; CABG/080, Children’s Homes Committee, 1 September 1916, p.16.
231 CABG/080, 5 September 1919, p.113.
There is no evidence in the homes’ records of how children were prepared for a transition to independence beyond being given occupations to follow. A middle way would be to think that some felt more prepared than others. Boys, either used to life at sea or in a hostel with other youths and money in their pockets, might find the transition to full adulthood and family responsibility hard if they worked in an occupation that was increasingly mechanised and deskilled, or where employers preferred to rely on the youngest and cheapest in the labour pool and pushed their incomes down. With this could come the descent into slum accommodation, followed by ill-health, and possibly vice and the workhouse. It is unclear how far scattered homes training, while upskilling girls for jobs with middle-class households, also offered the rudiments of household management for a working-class life after marriage. Guardians may have put girls’ survival at risk, particularly if they should marry a man in a deskilled profession like shoemaking. In observing FMs they would have learned how to plan a week ahead with a healthy budget, unlike the one they might live on if their future husband’s wages fluctuated.\textsuperscript{232} For those who did excel in the skills needed for certain artisan trades and cookery or needlework, children could find a path opened up to a better working life. For an even smaller number, professions might beckon. Surviving records indicate that homes’ children were beginning to feel the benefit of a more progressive outlook towards the end of this study period, and that guardians enjoyed seeing them thrive.

\textsuperscript{232} Pember Reeves, p.182.
Chapter Five: Conclusion

As there has been no in-depth study of London’s scattered homes until now, a broad brush approach to the topic felt necessary by way of introduction. But the very nature of this dissertation has opened up many possible avenues of enquiry for the future scholar of Camberwell’s poor. For each example of a child’s or parent’s actions in response to the remedy for pauperism set by the guardians, there are at least three more in the records left untold. There are important routes of enquiry to explore in future around the guardians, and their personal and political imperatives for being involved in the welfare of children. FMs too, could have an entire chapter or thesis dedicated to their endeavours, particularly around organising workplace solidarity. But, in the spirit of approaching history ‘from below’, it felt important to start where possible with an assessment of the children and how they fared by the scattered homes’ experiment.

It is tempting from a twenty-first century perspective to imagine that the imperfect record of children’s own narratives held in the registers was deliberately slapdash, or carelessly thrown together, simply because the backgrounds of the children didn’t much matter to the outcome of where they would be headed: the idea being to erase their pasts. But the bureaucratic nature of the system, with its multiple form-filling philosophy, coupled with the chaos created by a population of transient ‘ins-and-outs’ among the children’s population, meant that FMs only had time for proper administration when it mattered: knowing exact ages for the purpose of calculating food budgets, training schedules and house moves were important for the efficacious
functioning of the homes if their purpose was to shift children along a timeline of progress to future artisan lives once adulthood was reached. Guardians were keen to develop a new class of respectable artisans from the children of paupers, but on closer inspection, the addresses of families outside the poor law where given suggest ties to respectable poor neighbourhoods predominated, and that there were not even many extremely destitute neighbourhoods in the parish. This indicates that a strong crusade against out-relief was probably still in play in Camberwell, as Williams had suggested, and that the ‘ins-and-outs’ were the children of the most destitute parents, living in the workhouse. Single mothers, however, were found to be in the majority and suffering the effects of raising a family without a male breadwinner, either through desertion, infirmity or death.

‘Ins-and-outs’ in the records demonstrate most ably the ability of a family to maintain a strong bond in the face of destitution and separation, but parents living outside managed to do this too: most commonly this came in the form of mothers making complaints on behalf of their children when they felt they had been wronged by the system. In training for future artisan roles, parents felt their children were being worked too hard. Guardians paid lip-service to parents’ complaints, but the findings indicate that, on the whole, committee members were committed to preserving the integrity of the scattered homes’ system above all else. The actions of children which today we might understand as cries for help from the lonely and distressed – anger and violent episodes, insubordination – were in this period viewed as behaviour typical of someone of a lower class, rather than the actions of children grieving for the company their family, no matter how lowly-born they were perceived to be.
Whatever its causes, bad behaviour made the job of FMs a gruelling one, as they had to manage the care and training of all children under their roof as well as supervise the comings and goings of ‘ins-and-outs’. Consequently the bureaucracy and overwork led FMs to exit the system. Overall, the levels of change, with children and FMs either moving around or moving out of the system, served to weaken the homes’ original function, and they did not much resemble an ordinary artisan home no matter how many PR-friendly tea parties and trips out the guardians were able to organise for the children with the backing of wealthy benefactors.

An opaque financial set-up is one of the chief criticisms that can be levelled at the scattered homes’ system, but the few figures made publicly available show that the funds spent in the homes was high compared with the small sums children could be expected to have at their disposal when they were running their own homes. Girls were steadfastly set on a course to domestic service, even though with hindsight the need for servants would start to diminish after the First World War. Reformers like Clementina Black were somewhat on the money in suggesting a new respect could be found for women linked to certain shop-related work like couture fashion. Conversely, instead of setting the majority of boys on course to skilled artisanal trades via apprenticeships, they were more likely to be primed for military/nautical roles via training ships or sent out to work in ‘blind-alley’ trades with few notable prospects. Those who did have apprenticeships also had to have their low wages subsidised in order to keep them separate from their birth families while they lived in supervised WBHs. It is unclear how guardians envisaged children making the transition from their teenage years to mature adults, getting married and having families of their own
but settling into a class above the one they were from, without visible means of support. What is clear however, is that during the course of their young lives, many children could not settle into the training regime set for them: misbehaviour and disaffection led girls and boys to be sent to harsher institutions and colonies for even tighter surveillance.

There was hope for those children who saw in the scattered homes an opportunity to do better: the very brightest and best behaved boys and girls found themselves offered premium apprenticeships, domestic scholarships to technical colleges and, towards the end of the study timeframe, access to paid training for professions like teaching via academic scholarships. If we cast aside 21st century notions of how the children’s families were viewed moralistically at times, there are glimmers of change that are truly progressive compared with earlier. Guardians appeared driven to forge their own path with scattered homes, challenging recommendations made by the LGB which didn’t align with their goals. The guardians came alive in the minutes when they encountered a child who wanted to live up to their aims – Alice Bowerman and Douglas Coombs being the most prominent examples. In these examples the idea of a shadowy authoritarian ‘Them’ has been replaced with genuine admiration, pride and mutual respect: a family of sorts.
Appendix 1: Scattered homes rules, Camberwell Board of Guardians

The Committee had under notice instructions to Foster Mothers, drafted by the Clerk, in regard to the care of Children and Maintenance of the Homes and approved same, and DECIDED to RECOMMEND their Adoption by the Board, as follows: ---

INSTRUCTIONS, &C.:

1. Classes of Children, &c.-- The ages of the children placed in each Home will vary between 3 and 16 for girls, and 3 and 10 for boys, and one or two girls who have left school, will be placed in each Home in order that the Mother may have assistance in the house and needlework, with a view to the girls receiving a domestic training. The Mother will be responsible for all children of school age, attending the Board School punctually, and will be required to obtain vacancies for them at the nearest Board School having room.

No house work to be done after the return from afternoon school on an ordinary week-day, or after the mid-day meal on Saturdays, with the exception of washing the crockery used at the last meal, and the putting to bed of the younger children by the elder children.

So far as practicable the Mother's room is placed in the centre of the house in order that she may have the bedrooms well under notice, that for the boys to be

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233 LMA CABG/075, Children's Accommodation Committee, 6 January 1898, pp.30-32.
at the bottom, and for the younger children with an elder girl on the same floor as the Mother, and the remainder on the floor above.

2. Meals. – The Mother must provide the meals at stated times, and with the exception of supper, must sit at the same table, and as a rule partake of the same food as the children. The breakfast and dinner hour shall be so arranged that ample time is given the children to reach school. Should the Mother neglect to take a meal with the children, she is to note the fact in her Report Book and state the reason.

3. Supplies. – The Guardians allow food and other necessaries for a Home containing Foster Mother and ten Children, to the value of £1 19s. 8d. per week, but should there be less than ten children, a deduction of fivpence per head per day for each child under that number is made.

The following are the arrangements for the supply of food, &c. ---

The Foster Mother is to estimate each week the supplies she will require from each tradesman, and forward to the Clerk to the Board a form provided her, showing the total value of same.

Upon receipt of this form the Clerk will issue an Order upon each tradesman selected by the Board, to supply the Home with food, &c., for one week to the value of the Foster Mother’s requisition. The Foster Mother will then have to inform the tradesman of her requirements for the ensuing week, on the form provided her for that purpose.
On no account must the Foster Mother obtain other goods than those expressly mentioned on the order she gives the tradesman.

In providing food for the Home the Mother must bear in mind the class she is providing for, and arrange a wholesome and varied diet. Although as previously mentioned she is required to take her meals with the children, there is no objection to her including in her order for supplies reasonable extras for herself.

If at any time she considers the food supplied unsatisfactory in quality for the price paid, or there is any difficulty in obtaining same from a tradesman, she must call the attention of the Inspector to the matter and also note the fact in her Report Book.

When clothes, boots, &c., are required for the children, or necessaries for the house, beyond those included in the weekly orders, the Mother must enter the same in her Report Book. Applications for the renewal of clothing, &c., must be made in good time.

4. Bathing &c. – The Foster Mother is to arrange and superintend the bathing of each child once a week, and also to see that they are properly washed and dressed and tidy before sending them to school.

No corporal punishment shall be inflicted on any female child, and only on a male child on the authority of the Guardians.
5. Illness. – In the case of illness, or if any child is ailing, the Doctor appointed to visit the Home, whose name and address she will be provided with, is to be at once sent for, and if the Mother has any doubt as to the illness being of an infectious nature, the child should at once be placed in the room provided for isolating cases, pending the arrival of the Doctor.

6. Admission and Discharge. – No child is to be admitted or discharged except upon an authority signed by the Clerk to the Board, and no relative or friend is to be allowed to visit any child unless his or her name appears on the admission order. Other persons to be referred to the Clerk for an order to visit. Neither is a child to be allowed to leave the Home with any relative or friend without written authority from the Clerk.

This does not apply in the case of any child being invited home by a neighbour or schoolfellow, providing that the Foster Mother satisfies herself as to the desirability of permitting the visit.

7. Washing. – With the exception of the washing of blankets and other heavy articles, which for the present will be done at the Workhouse at Gordon Road, Peckham, the washing will have to be done by the Mother with the help of the elder children. A machine is provided.

8. Church &c. --- The Foster Mother is to arrange for the attendance at Church or Chapel, according to the denomination of the children, and also to arrange for their attendance at Sunday Schools. In regard to the religious instruction at other times the Guardians do not lay down a hard and fast line, but expect each
Mother to supplement by precept and example the instruction given the children at Sunday School.

9. Inspection of Homes. --- The Home will be visited by the Guardians, and ladies appointed for that purpose, also by the Inspector, and in cases of difficulty that Officer should be at once communicated with.

10. Generally. --- The Guardians, in drawing the attention of the Foster Mother to her responsible position in the Home, remind her that they expect her to carry on the duties of the house and provide for the children, as in a workman’s home. She will be expected to acquaint herself of any children’s Societies or Meetings in the neighbourhood, such as “Band of Hope,” &c., in order that the elder children may belong to the same.

11. The Books and Forms provided are:---

A Register of Admissions and Discharges, in which the particulars mentioned on the Admission Order are to be at once Entered.

A Tradesman’s Order Book for weekly supplies.

A supply of Cards to be filled up and sent to the Clerk to the Board every Friday morning stating the supplies required during the ensuing week.

A Record of Visitors, in which every person visiting the Home is to sign his or her name, and the time of entering and leaving.

A Medical Officer’s Book, to be filled up by the Foster Mother when the attendance of the Doctor is required.

A Report Book.
Appendix 2: Occupations held by Members of the Children’s Homes Committee and Visiting Ladies Committee of the Camberwell Board of Guardians, 1898-1914

Children's Homes Committee

Emily Mawbey, School headmaster's wife
Walter Herbert Monks, Watchmaker dealer
William O’Bolger, Shopkeeper
Frederick Webb, Stationers’ manufacturer (employer)
Samuel Richard Govier, Bootmaker (employer)
Charles Sterling Hudd, Tailor shopkeeper
Charles Renouf, Retired civil service clerk
Captain John Maclean, Retired shipmaster (brother of Allan Maclean, medical practitioner for the Camberwell Board of Guardians)
Helen Gertrude Klaassen, Volunteer social worker
Walter Arthur Keyse, Letterpress printer

234 Sample of names taken from listed committee members in CABG/076-090. Verified TNA 1901, RG13, piece 496, 497, 501, 502, 504, 506, 509, 636; TNA 1911 RG14, piece 2457, 2466, 2467, 2473, 2476, 2477, 2479, 2503, 2507, 2511, 2512, 2572, 2575, 2579, 2584: and RG78, piece 86.
Visiting Ladies’ committee

Lillian Spicer, Living on private means (daughter of politician Evan Spicer) *

Priscilla Jane Keyse, Letterpress printer’s wife

Sarah Eaborn, Retired silversmith’s wife

Catherine Matilda Pocock, Solicitor’s wife

Emily Bonavia, Accountant’s wife

Ellen Pomfret, Insurance Clerk’s wife

* Sir Evan Spicer, Progressive Party, inaugural member of London County Council and representative of Newington West 1907-1919, paper merchant’s heir and brother of politician Sir Albert Spicer, Liberal MP for Monmouth (1892-1900) and Hackney Central (1906-1918). Sir Albert authored the Local Government Board Report on scattered homes to the Camberwell Board of Guardians on 7 November 1900235

Appendix 3: Analysis of sample of 101 Foster Mothers employed by the Camberwell Board of Guardians 1898-1914

Marital status and age of women hired as Foster Mothers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Number of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information not supplied</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average age at employment 36.5 years
Youngest appointed 26 years
Oldest appointed 62 years

Previous work experience of Foster Mothers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of previous posts held as given at interview</th>
<th>Number of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One job</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two jobs</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or more jobs</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No previous experience stated</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disengaged at time of hire</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At home/with parents</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Type of job held previously by Foster mothers

Foster mother (including relief or temporary, in Camberwell and elsewhere)

Sister/mission sister

Nurse/nursing assistant/maternity help

Foundling hospital

Housekeeper/assistant

Governess/nursery governess

Needlewoman/dressmaker/bodice hand/seamstress

Teacher

Lady’s help/companion

Private school mistress

Workhouse attendant/Union attendant

Matron

Children’s/girls’/infants’ attendant

Confectioner

Stamper
Women whose departure from Foster Mother role was noted in the minutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for leaving</th>
<th>Number of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resignation</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death in service</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract terminated through declining health</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement forced through declining health/age</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average length of their service</td>
<td>4.05 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Types of reason given for Foster Mothers requesting or being given time off work

- Paid sick leave, from a week up to three months
- Unpaid leave to visit family (up to a month)
- Unpaid sick leave
- Unpaid leave to care for sick relatives
- Infirmary stay
- Partial mental breakdown/nervous attack
- Mangle injury
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